

Long Road to Freedom:

Surviving Slavery on Long Island

JONATHAN M. OLLY
THE LONG ISLAND MUSEUM

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Contents

Preface 7

Slavery and Freedom on Long Island: A Select Timeline 8

Introduction 10

Reminders of Slavery in Museum Collections 10

Chapter 1: Forging Bondage 18

Witness: Venture Smith (1729-1805) 26

Chapter 2: Resisting Bondage 27

Newspaper Advertisements for Long Islanders who Escaped Enslavement 27

Witness: Jupiter Hammon (1711-c. 1806) 36

Rock Hall, Latting's Hundred, and Raynham Hall: Windows on Enslaved Long Islanders' Faith and Spirituality 41

The Hidden Cost of Luxury 46

Chapter 3: What Kind of Freedom? 51

Slaveholder & Enslaved: The Mills Family and Tamer 53

From Slavery to Indentured Servitude: Abraham Captain 55

Indentured Servitude by Choice: Zeporah Molatto 56

From Slavery to Servitude: Labor at Sylvester Manor 57

Portraits of African American Labor after Slavery 59

Witness: Pyrrhus Concer (1814-1897) 63

Chapter 4: Building Community after Slavery 65

Brooklyn 65

Witness: Sarah Jane Smith Garnet (1831-1911) 66

Queens 67

Chapter 4: Building Community after Slavery 65
Manhasset 68
Westbury 69
Amityville 70
Greenlawn 71
Oyster Bay 72
Stony Brook & Setauket 73
Sag Harbor 75
Mattituck & Cutchogue 78

Chapter 5: Legacies 79
Members of the Great Migration: Dodenhuff Green and Thelma Grier 80
The Fight to Preserve Communities of Color & Their Historic Architecture 82
Pyrrhus Concer House, Southampton 82
Bethel-Christian Avenue-Laurel Hill Historic District, Setauket 83
St. Matthias Church, Wantagh 86
SANS, Sag Harbor 87
Museums 90
The Weeksville Heritage Center, Brooklyn 90
Joysetta and Julius Pearse African American Museum of Nassau County, Hempstead 91
Eastville Community Historical Society, Sag Harbor 92
Southampton African American Museum 94

Suggested Reading 96
Online Resources 98
Notes 98

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Preface

This publication is based on an exhibition of the same name which ran at the Long Island Museum of American Art, History, and Carriages, from February 15 to May 27, 2019. More than fifty organizations, companies, government offices, and private individuals contributed objects and digital images. This unprecedented collection of material in one place for only a limited time prompted the desire for a publication that would provide a permanent record of the exhibition. The following pages expand on the text from the exhibition, and reproduce a selection of its images and artifacts.

This is a noteworthy time to reflect on slavery and its legacies, as 2019 marked the 400th anniversary[1] of the introduction of slavery into what is now the United States when the English warship *White Lion* traded a group of enslaved Africans that it captured from a Portuguese slave ship to colonists in Jamestown, Virginia. Within two decades enslaved Africans lived and worked in all of the European colonies along the East Coast of North America – expanding a slave labor system already operated by Europeans in the Caribbean and Central and South America. Long Island joined this slave labor economy in the 1630s when Dutch settlers began moving from Manhattan Island to what is now Brooklyn, and bringing with them enslaved African laborers.

The *Long Road to Freedom* exhibition, the March 9, 2019 symposium of the same name, and this publication would not be possible without the hard work of the Long Island Museum's staff.

I wish to thank executive director Neil Watson, and Louise Anderson of the executive office; exhibition designer and preparator Joe Esser; Bill Bernard, Joe Governale, Danny Hernandez, Frank Pittarese, and Kevin Rolston of the facilities department; graphic designer Wendy Midgett; Joshua Ruff, Andrea Squeri, Molly McGirr, Christine Marzano, and intern Daniel Antonawich of the curatorial department; Lisa Unander, Emma Backfish, Beth Chiarelli, Kristin Cuomo, Samantha O'Rourke, Jessica Pastore, and Todd Weston of the education department; Sarah Abruzzi, Cynthia Alvarado, Alexandria D'Auria, Regina Miano, Karen Romanelli, Megan Witalis, and Julie Diamond of the advancement and external affairs department; and Anna Gass, Laurie Curiale, Victor Morreale, Karen Paquette, and Karen Lavery of the business office.

The *Long Road to Freedom* project benefited heavily from the knowledge and advice of an advisory committee comprised of **Jennifer L. Anderson** (Associate Professor, Department of History, Stony Brook University), **Mark M. Chambers** (Lecturer, Department of History, Stony Brook University), **Lynda R. Day** (Professor, Department of Africana Studies, Brooklyn College-CUNY), **Georgette Grier-Key** (Executive Director and Curator of the Eastville Community Historical Society in Sag Harbor; Adjunct Assistant Professor, Department of Social and Behavioral Sciences, Medgar Evers College-CUNY), **Allison McGovern** (Consulting Archaeologist), **Christopher N. Matthews** (Professor, Department of Anthropology, Montclair State University), and **Brenda Simmons** (Executive Director, Southampton African American Museum).

The Long Island Museum is grateful to these individuals, organizations, and institutions for helping its staff to share with a wide audience this important story of the first three centuries of the African American experience on Long Island.

Jonathan M. Olly
Curator
May 2022

Slavery and Freedom on Long Island: A Select Timeline

1626 Two years after establishing New Amsterdam, the Dutch West India Company imports the first 11 Africans to the settlement as enslaved laborers. The names of four – Paul d'Angola, Simon Congo, Anthony Portuguese, and John Francisco – suggest they may have been captured from Spanish or Portuguese slave traders.

1653 English sugar merchant Nathaniel Sylvester and his wife Grizzell bring who are possibly the East End's first enslaved Africans – Jacquero, Hannah, and their daughter Hope – to Shelter Island, where they establish one of the first provisioning plantations in the northeast.

1664 England takes control of New Netherland, renaming the colony New York and developing it into a hub of the Atlantic slave trade.

1685 In the will of Alice Crabb, a man named Tom becomes the first known enslaved African American on Long Island to be granted his freedom. He adopts the surname Gall, and continues to live in Oyster Bay.

1698 A census of Long Island records 1,053 African Americans among the 8,261 inhabitants.

1712 In the wake of a Manhattan slave revolt, New York reorganizes and adds to a series of laws enacted since the 1680s that severely restrict the lives of free and enslaved African Americans.

1718 At the annual meeting of the Flushing Society of Friends (Quakers), members "question whether Friends might Buy, sell, or keep negro slaves for Term of Life," but take no action on the matter at that time.

1749 Long Island residents number 19,607, with enslaved African Americans comprising 34% of the population of Kings County, 17% of Queens County, and 14% of Suffolk County.

1761 With the publication of his poem "An Evening Thought," Jupiter Hammon, enslaved on Lloyd's Neck, becomes the first published African American writer in America.

1776 The New York Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends directs its members to free all of the African Americans whom they have enslaved.

1776 Following the Battle of Long Island defeat, New York's Provincial Convention advises Long Islanders to evacuate "women, children and slaves, and as much of their life stock and grain…as they can" to the mainland before British troops fully occupy the island.

1779 British Army General Sir Henry Clinton issues the Philipsburg Proclamation, encouraging those enslaved to American patriots to run away by offering them freedom if they reach British lines.

1781 Seeking to raise two regiments of soldiers, New York offers slaveholders land grants in exchange for enlisting their enslaved men. If the men served for three years or until being regularly discharged, they would be freed.

1783 More than 60 African Long Islanders join the British evacuation of New York and resettle in Canada.

1785 The New York Manumission Society forms to pressure slaveholders into freeing their enslaved persons and to advocate for gradual statewide abolition.

1790 The First U.S. Census records 36,949 people living in Kings, Queens, and Suffolk counties, of whom 4,839 are enslaved and 1,980 are free people of color. The Martins are the largest slaveholding household in Queens County with 17 at their Lawrence estate, Rock Hall.

1798 Venture Smith publishes *A Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Venture, a Native of Africa: But Resident above Sixty Years in the United States of America*. Named Broteer by his father and renamed Venture by his enslaver, Smith spent the first 15 years of his bondage on Long Island's Fishers Island.

1799 New York State passes *An Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery*, declaring the children of enslaved people born after July 4, 1799 to be free but forcing them to serve their mothers' enslavers until age 28 for boys and 25 for girls.

1800 The Second U.S. Census records 42,090 people living in Kings, Queens, and Suffolk counties, of whom 3,893 are enslaved and 2,779 are free people of color.

1809 New York State recognizes marriages of enslaved people as equal under the law as marriages between free people.

1810 The Third U.S. Census finds 49,292 people living in Kings, Queens, and Suffolk counties, of whom 2,340 are enslaved and 4,462 are free people of color. This census reveals that for the first time free people of color outnumber those who are enslaved – a result of the state's 1799 abolition law and an increasing rate of manumissions since then.

1811 The Macedonia AME Church in Flushing is the first African American church established in Queens County.

1815 The Bethel AME Church forms in Amityville as Suffolk County's first African American congregation.

1817 New York State passes *An Act Relative to Slaves and Servants*, on March 31, shortening the forced servitude of children born to enslaved mothers after this date to a maximum of 21 years (ending 1838). It also states that enslaved people born before 1799 would be considered legally free on July 4, 1827.

1819 The African Wesleyan Methodist Episcopal Church in Brooklyn is the first African American church constructed in Kings County.

1820 The Fourth U.S. Census finds 57,771 people living on Long Island, of whom 1,761 are enslaved and 4,706 are free people of color.

1821 New York State's new constitution grants African American men the right to vote if they own $250 in taxable property – but removes property requirements for white men. New York will not grant women full voting rights until 1917.

1827 Slavery is legally abolished in New York on July 4; forced servitude of the children of formerly enslaved individuals continues for at least another decade.

1830 The U.S. Census for the first time records no enslaved people on Long Island.

1839 The schooner *La Amistad* anchors off Culloden Point in Montauk, under the control of Africans who captured the ship from their Spanish enslavers. A group of African men come ashore to procure water, provisions, and a captain to sail them home. All are soon detained by the U.S. revenue cutter *Washington*, and brought to Connecticut for trial.

1840 St. David AME Zion Church in Sag Harbor becomes the first AME church built on the East End.

1843 Sojourner Truth, the prominent abolitionist who was formerly enslaved in New York, spends two months walking from Brooklyn to Huntington on a spiritual pilgrimage, "exhorting the people to embrace Jesus, and refrain from sin."

1845 Pyrrhus Concer, who endured forced servitude in Southampton until age 18, becomes one of the first Americans, and the first African American, to visit Japan as a crewman of the whaleship *Manhattan*.

1849 Frederick Douglass visits Westbury and speaks at the New Light Baptist Church (now the Westbury AME Zion Church) and at the home of Quaker abolitionists Joseph and Mary Post. The Posts intended Douglass to speak at the Westbury Meeting House, but other Friends found his politics too radical.

1863 President Lincoln issues the Emancipation Proclamation, declaring "that all persons held as slaves" within the Confederate states "are, and henceforward shall be free."

1864 Hundreds of African American Long Islanders – many the grandchildren of formerly enslaved people – enlist to fight in the Civil War, serving mostly in the segregated 20th and 26th U.S. Colored Infantry regiments.

1867 The New York legislature creates free tax-funded public schools. Most public schools in Brooklyn, Queens, and Suffolk are integrated, but legally segregated exceptions in the late 19th century included Flushing, Jamaica, Lakeville, Roslyn, Hempstead, and Amityville.

1870 The Fifteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution grants voting rights to all African American men, eliminating New York's longstanding property ownership requirements. The pursuit of equality and full rights of citizenship continues for African Americans on Long Island and the United States.

Introduction

People of African descent have played an integral role in Long Island's history, just as they make essential contributions to this region's present and future. In 1626, two years after the Dutch West India Company established New Amsterdam on Manhattan, it acquired 11 enslaved Africans to toil on its farms and infrastructure projects. Recognizing the value of this forced labor, Dutch merchants imported additional enslaved men and women from Africa and the Caribbean to help build the growing colony. Concurrently, English settlers started new communities on eastern Long Island, including Gardiner's Island (1639), Southold and Southampton (1640), and East Hampton (1648). In the 1650s, Nathaniel Sylvester and his wife Grizzell moved to Shelter Island from Barbados, bringing along enslaved Africans – likely the first ones on the East End – to work on their large estate that supplied provisions to Caribbean sugar plantations.[2]

In 1664, the English took control of New York, making it a hub of the Atlantic slave trade. A 1698 census of Long Island recorded 1,053 Africans among the 8,261 inhabitants. And their numbers only grew. From 1700 to 1772, slave traders brought at least 5,305 enslaved Africans into the port of New York, with many more likely smuggled in to evade taxes. In 1749, they comprised 34% of the population of Kings County, 17% of Queens County, and 14% of Suffolk County. Overall, New York had more enslaved people than any colony north of Maryland during the colonial period.[3]

For over two centuries, enslaved Africans performed vital domestic, industrial, and agricultural labor throughout the region. At the same time, they struggled to survive in often challenging circumstances, to maintain their own cultural identity, and to resist the institution that bound them. Thanks to the allied efforts of Black and white antislavery advocates, New York State finally abolished slavery in 1827.

Yet some legacies of slavery – especially patterns of systemic racism and persistent economic inequality – stubbornly endure on Long Island to this day. Many people have little knowledge or awareness of this critical story. To correct this historical amnesia, we must both reflect on why the damaging effects of slavery have been so long obscured and honor the many contributions of African Americans to our shared heritage – through continued research, preservation, and celebration.

Reminders of Slavery in Museum Collections

Whether as artwork, artifacts, documents, or photographs, evidence of Long Island slavery exists in the collections of many museums, libraries, archives, and families. These examples from Setauket, Stony Brook, Smithtown, and Oyster Bay offer an introduction to the material legacy of slavery.

Eel Spearing at Setauket (1845) is one of William Sidney Mount's most famous and accomplished genre paintings. It depicts a boy paddling a boat in Setauket Harbor while a woman of color stands in the bow holding an eel spear. In the background is Strongs Neck with St. George's Manor just visible in the tree line. While Mount portrayed people of color in a number of his genre paintings, only in this work did he engage memory and race in multi-generational relationships.



Eel Spearing at Setauket, 1845, William Sidney Mount (1807-1868), oil on canvas, Fenimore Art Museum, Cooperstown, New York. Gift of Stephen C. Clark, N0395.1955. Photograph by Richard Walker.

In Mount's own catalogue of his work, he described the painting as "Recollections of early days. Fishing along shore, with a view of the Hon. Selah B. Strong's residence in the distance during a drought at Setauket Long Island." This detail reveals a scene inspired by both the childhood of the New York attorney who commissioned it, George Washington Strong (1783-1855), and the artist himself. Set in a tranquil past, the boy in the painting is meant to be a young George Strong, who shares the boat with one of the enslaved servants of the Strong estate, visible in the background. The woman's gray hair possibly references Mount's detailed memory from his youth of learning to spear flatfish and eels from an older African American man named Hector.

Mount likely modeled the boy in the painting on Strong's grand-nephew, Thomas Shepard "Judd" Strong (1834-1909). Whether the woman holding the eel spear is also based on a specific person is uncertain, though Mount commonly used those around him as models. However, oral histories among local families of color and genealogical research offer a few possibilities.

Community historian Theodore Green (1927-2007) postulated in a 1999 essay that the model was his great-grandmother, a woman named Rachel (née Tobias) Holland Hart (1830-1902) who worked as a housekeeper at the time for Judd Strong's father, Selah B. Strong. A number of other residents of the Bethel-Christian Avenue-Laurel Hill Historic District community have maintained this verbal tradition for generations.

More recently, authors Katherine Kirkpatrick and Vivian Nicholson-Mueller argue that the model could be Rachael Youngs Tobias (1805-1866) or Rachel Brewster (1799-c.1880). Rachael Youngs was born free but legally required to work until adulthood for her mother's enslaver, Selah Strong, the father of George Strong. Finally free at age twenty-one, Rachael eventually married Jacob Tobias and settled in Old Field. Also born free to an enslaved mother, Rachel Brewster grew up in the household of Lt. Joseph Brewster in a saltbox house just south of Strongs Neck. Under New York's gradual abolition law, Rachel and her siblings were forced to work for Brewster into their twenties. While serving his family, Rachel gave birth at the Brewster House to a son in 1816. William Sidney Mount's brother Robert married a white member of the Brewster household in 1833, and eventually moved into a house next door.

In the decades after slavery's end in New York, economic and social ties continued between these families. Having spent most of his life in Setauket and Stony Brook, Mount knew many people of color and it's plausible that he asked someone to model for one of their own enslaved ancestors. Whoever the identity is of the woman holding the eel spear, the painting remains an important touchstone for descendants of these families.[4]



Shepard Alonzo Mount, *The Slaves Grave* (c. 1850). The headstone of Cane (1738-1814) is at center, and the headstone of Anthony Hannibal Clapp (1749-1816) is at right. Long Island Museum, gift of the Estate of Dorothy deBevoise Mount, 1959.

The above painting by Shepard Alonzo Mount is a window into the intertwined histories of the Mount and Hawkins families, the African Americans whom they enslaved and memorialized, and the Long Island Museum (as collectors of Mount artwork and archival material). As their gravestones help to recount, Cane and Anthony Hannibal Clapp were both born before the American Revolution, spent decades enslaved, and eventually served the Hawkins family.

What is now known as the Hawkins-Mount House was built around 1725, with Eleazer Hawkins (1716-1791) as the first documented owner beginning in the 1750s. Over the next three decades the house tripled in size to accommodate the growing extended family.

Son Jonas (1752-1817) married Ruth Mills in 1775 and eventually had nine children in the house – including Shepard's mother, Julia Ann. Eleazer and Jonas both served in the New York militia during the Revolutionary War, with Eleazer attaining the rank of Major and Jonas serving as a courier delivering messages as part of the famous Culper Spy Ring. A 1776 census of Suffolk County records 12 people living in this house, including five African Americans – four of whom were under the age of 16.[5]



William Sidney Mount, *The Mount House* (1854) showing the artist's family home with a skylight in the roof for his attic studio. Long Island Museum, bequest of Ward Melville, 1977.

Jonas eventually inherited the house from his father who died in 1791, and then added a large addition to the eastern side of the house and a kitchen ell to its north side. In 1797 this enlarged building is labeled as "Major Hawkins Tavern" on the earliest map of Brookhaven, and also includes a store. The 1800 federal census records 17 people living in the house – including five African Americans, three of whom are enslaved. The property is a farm, store, and tavern. The 1810 census records Jonas and Ruth and seven others including one enslaved and two free African Americans. Two of these individuals are presumably Cane and Anthony Hannibal Clapp. It's possible they lived in the Hawkins-Mount House or in an adjacent outbuilding.[6]

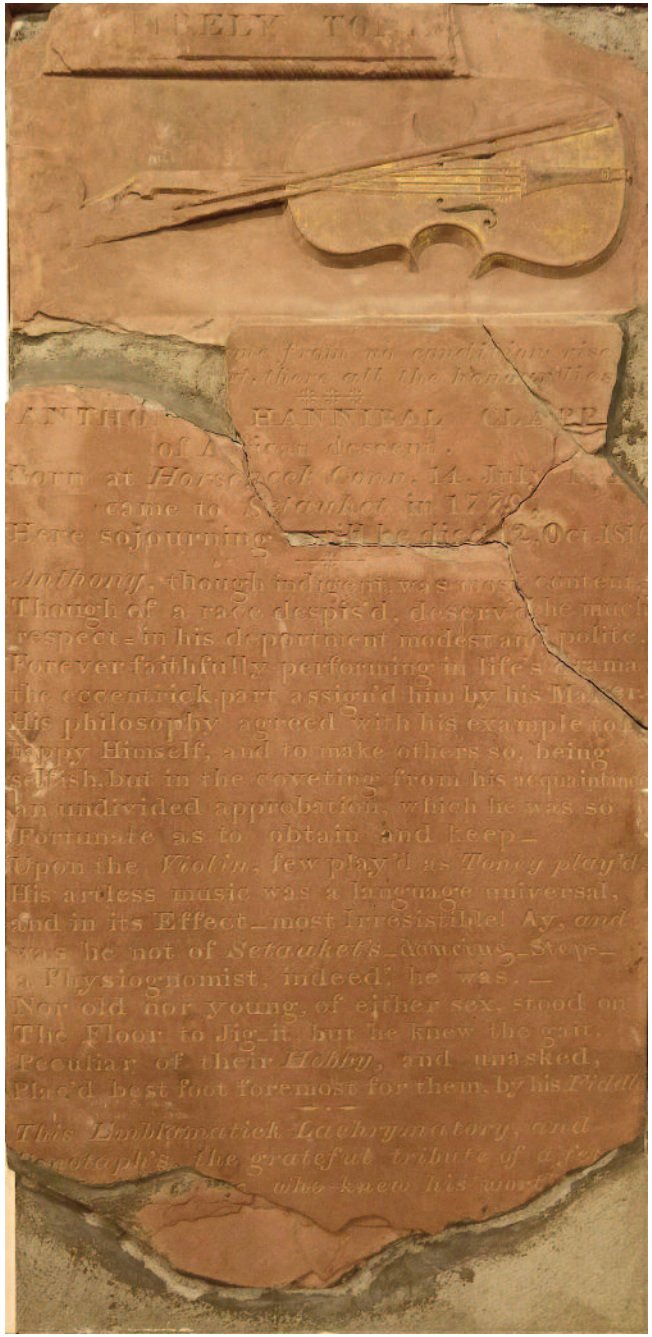
Jonas's daughter, Julia Ann, married Thomas Mount in 1801, with the couple settling in Setauket where they farmed, ran an inn, and had eight children, five of whom survived to adulthood: Henry Smith (1802-1841), Shepard Alonzo (1804-1868), Robert Nelson (1806-1883), William Sidney (1807-1868), and Ruth Hawkins (1808-1888). Three of these siblings – Henry, Shepard, and William – would become painters.

Thomas Mount died unexpectedly in 1814, and the widowed Julia Ann moved with her children the following year into the Hawkins-Mount House that she now shared with her parents. It's likely they continued to operate the inn. One of the last people to be enslaved in the Hawkins household, a man named Cane, died in 1814. The family interred him in a burial ground in the eastern corner of the farm, and marked his grave with a large headstone and an epitaph written by family friend, Ruth Smith of Setauket. Aside from this text (see page 14) nothing is known about Cane aside from a built-in bench in the Hawkins-Mount House kitchen next to the fireplace known as "Cane's seat." It's possible that Cane built it, frequently sat there as an elderly man, or both.[7]

Shortly after Julia Ann and her children arrived at the house, they would have witnessed the death of one of the last Black people who served the slaveholding family: Anthony Hannibal Clapp. We know more about Clapp's life, due to a single letter collected by the Long Island Museum's founders as they sought to preserve Mount family art and archival material beginning in the 1940s. Writing to friend C. M. Cady on November 24, 1853, William Sidney Mount describes taking a walk on his family's farm:

> In wandering about the Hills the other day, I visited the burial ground, a place appropriated for the slaves (belonging to our family) [in] years gone by, on our farm, and was so much struck with the sublimity and originality of one of the monuments to a distinguished fiddler, and as my late Uncle Micah Hawkins wrote the Epitaph and placed the stone to the old negro's memory, and as you are an advocate for musical genius, I felt it my duty to send you a copy. I have sat by Anthony when I was a child, to hear him play his jigs and hornpipes. He was a master in that way, and acted well his part.[8]

Being an artist, Mount also sketched the headstone and recorded the inscription for Cady. William's uncle, Micah Hawkins (1777-1825), had grown up in the Hawkins-Mount House and later moved to Manhattan where he operated a grocery store and inn, and was also a composer, playwright, and poet. Clapp's headstone was carved and signed by noted Connecticut-born stone cutter Phineas Hill (1778-1844) of Huntington. While it's unclear whether Clapp was enslaved or free during his years of working in the Hawkins household, his age and surname reveal that he was previously enslaved to the Clapp family in what is now Greenwich, Connecticut.[9]



Headstone of Anthony Hannibal Clapp, 1816, with the fragments set in cement in a wooden frame. Long Island Museum, Melville Collection.

[Inscription, including parts of the text now lost][10]

ENTIRELY TONE-LESS
Honor and shame from no condition rise
Act well thy part, there all honor lies

ANTHONY HANNIBAL CLAPP
Of African descent.
Born at *Horseneck Conn*, 14, July 1749
came to *Setauket* in 1779,
Here sojourning until he died 12, Oct. 1816

Anthony, though indigent, was most content,
Though of a race despis'd, deserv'd he much
respect – in his deportment modest and polite,
Forever faithfully performing in life's drama
the eccentrick part assign'd him by his Maker.
His philosophy agreed with his example to be
happy Himself, and to make others so, being
selfish, but in the coveting from his acquaintance
an undivided approbation, which he was so
Fortunate as to obtain and keep –
Upon the *Violin*, few play'd as *Toney play'd*,
His artless music was a language universal,
and in its Effect – most Irresistible! Ay, *and*
was he not of *Setauket's dancing Steps*
a Physiognomist, indeed; he was. –
Nor old nor young, of either sex, stood on
The Floor to Jig-it, but he knew the gait.
Peculiar of their *Hobby*, and unasked,
Plac'd his best foot foremost for them, by his *Fiddle*.

This Emblamatick Lachrymatory, and
Cenotaph's, the grateful tribute of a few of
either sex who knew his worth.

P. Hill. Carver.



Headstone of Cane before removal, Stony Brook, 1949. Long Island Museum.

[Inscription]

Beneath this stone was put
the mortal part of CANE,
a colour'd person.

He was born the 27th of Dec'r 1738
and died the 12th of Jan'y 1814.
in the 77th year of his age.

CANE was an honest man.
Tho nature ting'd his skin and custom mark'd
Him *"Slave"*! his mind
Was fair, free and independant.
His life, all through, was such as did command
Esteem, from those who knew him and
In death, he shew'd examples of
Religion, full
Convincing of his christian faith,
That his Redeemer liv'd
And he should see his face.

While the Hawkins-Mount House was no longer a place of enslaved labor after the 1810s, the family took the unusual step of memorializing two of the people whom they once enslaved. And as demonstrated in Shepard's painting and William's letter, the brothers subsequently did not forget their family's history as slaveholders as they depicted the people and landscapes of Long Island in their celebrated artwork. But William's numerous paintings of his large family home in an idyllic rural landscape obscured its status as a farm and inn once run in part by enslaved labor.

The burial ground received another interment in 1850, marked with a marble headstone that reads "Mrs. Mary wife of Adam Brewster died Oct. 17th, 1850 aged 35 years. Prepare to meet thy God." The couple were living in Smithtown when Mary passed away. Adam (1816-1885) moved to Setauket after her death, where he enlisted in the 26th U.S. Colored Infantry during the Civil War, remarried, and is buried in Setauket's Laurel Hill Cemetery – a burial ground for people of color since the early 19th century.

Mary Brewster's grave suggests that the site remained an important place of memory for the Black community decades after the Hawkins family first used it to bury their enslaved workers.[11]

As the property's period of farming ended, construction of a branch of the Long Island Rail Road to Port Jefferson in the 1870s split the farm, separating the house and adjacent fields from the burial ground. The headstones remained in the woods as a row of houses began to be built along nearby Dogwood Drive in the 1920s. Author Edward Lapham visited the site when writing *Stony Brook Secrets* (1942). He included descriptions of the Cane and Brewster headstones and noted that Clapp's had broken at the base and been removed by a neighbor for safekeeping.[12]

The Suffolk Museum (now the Long Island Museum) agreed to take Clapp's stone in 1944 in order to preserve it. Cane's headstone remained in place, but the museum was concerned about it also being damaged by time or vandalism. With the permission of the trustees of the town of Brookhaven, it removed the stone in 1949, and put a marker in its place. The surrounding land is today owned by Stony Brook University, though it sits adjacent to neighbors' backyards, with the burial ground's boundaries undetermined. Clapp's footstone and the broken gravestone of Mary Brewster lie on the surface nearby. Hopefully this ground will one day be marked off and granted the respect it is due.[13]



Stone marker placed by the Suffolk Museum (now the Long Island Museum) in 1949 when it removed Cane's original headstone. Photographed in December 2018.



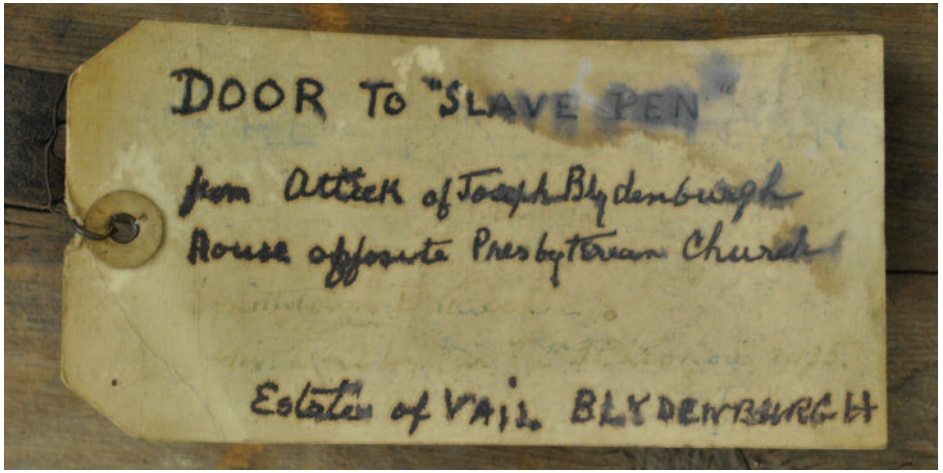
"Old Van Brunt Slave Cabin East Setauket L.I." Postcard by Arthur S. Greene, Port Jefferson, NY, c. 1900. Long Island Museum.

Arthur Smedley Greene (1872-1955) was a Port Jefferson-based professional photographer. From the turn of the 20th century through at least the 1930s, the English-born Greene took hundreds of photographs on glass plate negatives of North Shore buildings, streetscapes, people, and other subjects. Many of these he reproduced for sale as postcards. Adjacent to Port Jefferson in East Setauket was the Van Brunt estate, which dated to the 18th century. There, Greene photographed a cabin that formerly housed workers enslaved to the Van Brunt family. While typical in the South, separate housing for enslaved workers was unusual on Long Island, where their smaller numbers often resulted in them sharing the same dwelling as the slaveholding family. While the mature lilac bush and the weathered appearance of the building suggest that this chapter of Long Island history is in the distant past, the Van Brunt family were slaveholders less than a century prior. The building no longer exists.[14]

Another building now lost that once housed enslaved Long Islanders is the Blydenburgh House in Smithtown. But an attic door from the house survives with a curious paper tag:



Attic door from the Blydenburgh House, c. 1700. Collection of Smithtown Historical Society.



Tag on door reading “DOOR TO “SLAVE PEN” / from Attick of Joseph Blydenburgh / House opposite Presbyterian Church / Estate of VAiL BLYDENBURGH.”

This early 20th century artifact tag is typical of those in museum collections that may mention slavery but provide few details. Vail Blydenburgh (1874-1943) was a descendant of Joseph Blydenburgh (c. 1664-c. 1740), who married into Smithtown’s namesake family in 1692. Around 1700 he built what is believed to be the first house in the village of the Branch[15]:



Smithtown, Long Island, attributed to Alexander G. Milne [46.D07]. In this c. 1840 watercolor the Blydenburgh House is at far right. Note the attic window in the gable. Michele and Donald D'Amour Museum of Fine Arts, Springfield, Massachusetts. The Horace P. Wright Collection. Photograph by John Polak.

The exact meaning of “slave pen” on the label is unclear, but it’s likely that the African Americans enslaved by several generations of the Blydenburgh family lived in the house’s attic, instead of in separate quarters on the property. This door would have provided a measure of privacy in the attic space, but could also, as the label’s language suggests, be locked at times to keep the enslaved workers from escaping.

In the below postcard view from around 1900, the Blydenburgh House sits abandoned, with a caption falsely crediting it as a headquarters for George Washington during the Revolutionary War. Washington actually stopped at the house to feed and rest his horses during a tour of Long Island in 1790. At this time, the house was operated as an inn by Ruth Norton Blydenburgh (1738-1802), widow of Joseph Blydenburgh’s grandson. The 1790 census lists her son Benjamin (1766-1816) as the head of their family of five, in addition to five “all other persons” and three enslaved people in the household. The 1820 census lists a single enslaved woman between the ages of 26 and 44 in the household of Benjamin’s widow, Elizabeth; by this point the Blydenburgh House had been a place of enslavement for more than a century. It was likely during the house’s demolition around 1907 that someone saved the attic door for its connection to slavery in Smithtown. The house formerly stood where the Main Branch building of the Smithtown Library is now located.[16]



Detail of postcard view of the derelict Joseph Blydenburgh House, Smithtown, c. 1900. Collection of Smithtown Historical Society.



John Abeel Weekes (1820-1901), *Caesar Foster,* 1842. Collection of Raynham Hall Museum.

This painting is the only known portrait of an Oyster Bay resident who was formerly enslaved. It was painted by amateur artist John Abeel Weekes around 1842. As recalled by his son, John Abeel Weekes Jr., in *Anecdotes of Old Oyster Bay* (1924), Caesar Foster

> “lived at the Benjamin Underhills … in the early sixties…. Born in 1793, he had lived with the Weekes family through his days of slavery and days of emancipation and freedom, and died under Mrs. Underhill’s roof.”

Census records for 1860 and 1870 list a Caesar Foster born in New York between 1796 and 1798, and living with the family of Benjamin and Eliza (née Weekes) Underhill of Oyster Bay. While no longer enslaved to the Weekes family after 1827, he continued to work as a laborer on the family’s farm into his seventies.[17]



James Hunter, c. 1860. Collection of Smithtown Historical Society.

James Hunter was likely enslaved from the time of his birth around 1795, until New York abolished slavery in 1827. He first appears in federal census records in Smithtown in 1830. The 1850 census lists James (age 55), wife Sarah (age 45) and sons Abraham (age 22) and Francis (age 11). By the 1860 census, Abraham was living next door with his own growing family. While Hunter posed for this portrait as a free Black man, he continued to endure economic hardship stemming from his earlier enslavement; the St. James resident died in February 1875 from a head injury sustained from a fall on ice while gathering wood. He is buried in Laurel Hill Cemetery in Setauket.[18]

1: Forging Bondage

Enslaved Long Islanders had many paths to bondage. Some began life as free people captured in Africa or as enslaved individuals in other colonies, before being transported to New York. Others were born to enslaved people already residing there. Although exact numbers are difficult to confirm, some Native Americans were also forced into slavery.[19] Enslaved workers typically labored and lived alongside European indentured servants, apprentices, other free wage workers, and even members of the families that owned them.[20]

The Dutch and English slave systems differed to a degree. In New Netherland, enslaved African men were permitted to testify and seek redress in court, own property, buy and sell goods, serve under arms to defend the colony, and reside with their wives and children in family units. By 1644, the West India Company implemented a system of “half freedom” for some enslaved individuals, manumitting them (releasing them from bondage) in exchange for an annual tax and periodic labor. Although they were no longer subject to a racial code of laws, their children remained company property.

By contrast, the English enforced more rigid social distinctions based on race. Beginning in the 1680s, and revised following a 1712 slave revolt, New York passed laws restricting enslaved Africans’ activities – with severe punishments for infractions. Prohibitions included meeting in groups larger than three, owning firearms, trading, being entertained in a private home, owning or inheriting property, and traveling without passes.[21]

The slave system sought to dehumanize individuals by stripping away their names, kinship ties, and ancestral roots. In 1673, for example, Richard Crabb of Oyster Bay purchased a 12- or 13-year-old boy named Owah from a Glen Cove resident, and renamed him Tom. Irrespective of their family ties, enslaved persons were routinely sold, leased, or loaned between farms, towns, or even colonies to suit their owners’ needs and desires. Regarded as valuable property, enslaved people were often handed down in family wills but rarely freed prior to the late 18th century. The typical Long Island slave-owning household included two or three enslaved Africans, while prominent slaveholders might have as many as a dozen or more. In 1790, forty-one families in Suffolk County each owned as many as twenty enslaved Africans.[22]



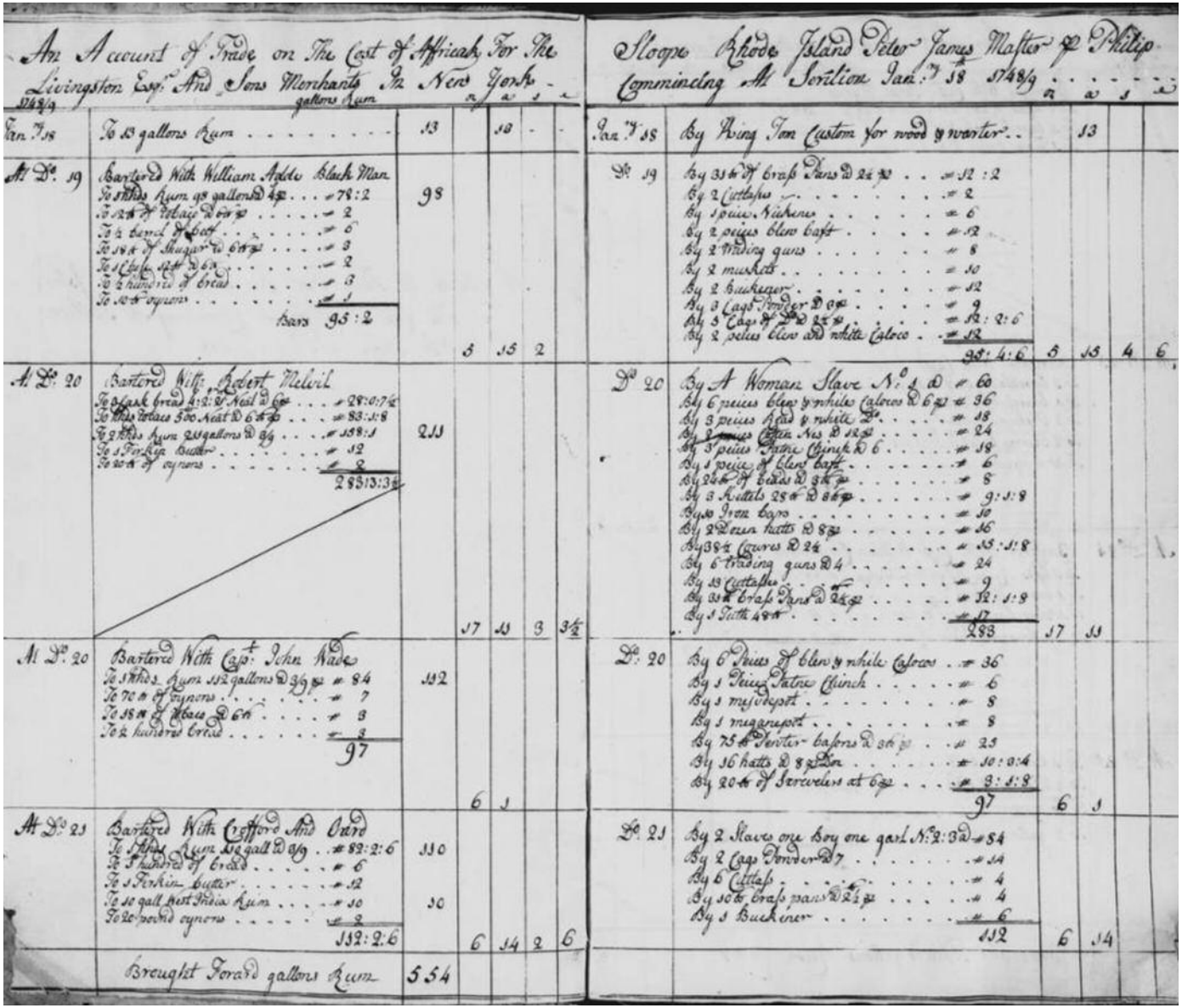
Nieu Amsterdam, c. 1654. Wallach Division of Art, Prints, and Photographs: Print Collection, The New York Public Library.



Detail of *A Map of the British Empire in America with the French and Spanish Settlements adjacent thereto*. By Henry Popple. (Sheet 4) London. Engraved by William Henry Toms & Richard William Seale, 1733. David Rumsey Map Collection, David Rumsey Map Center, Stanford Libraries.

This 17th-century engraving is the second-oldest known view of the Dutch colony and is also the first to depict enslaved Africans in what is now New York. The man and woman in the foreground are Quaker tobacco planters – identified by their hats and the large tobacco leaves the man is holding. With Fort Amsterdam visible in the background, the Quakers and enslaved Africans are standing on either Governors Island or the Brooklyn shore. With the promise of slave labor and good soil to grow cash crops, this print was meant to encourage more Europeans to settle in the colony.[23]

Beginning in 1626 with Dutch merchants bringing the first 11 enslaved Africans to Manhattan Island, colonists conducted slave auctions in the open air. These continued following the English takeover of the colony in 1664. As English merchants significantly increased the number of enslaved Africans brought to New York for resale in the early 18th century, government officials decided to erect a dedicated structure at the foot of Wall Street along the East River. This 1733 view of the eastern shore of Manhattan Island shows the bustling colonial city of New York. At the foot of Wall Street is a structure (marked “K”) that was established by Common Council law on November 30, 1711 to serve as a dedicated slave market. Enslaved Africans and Native Americans were bought and sold, as well as hired out as day laborers from this location. The slave market remained in use until 1762. Many of the enslaved Africans on Long Island first passed through this market after being unloaded from slave ships.[24]

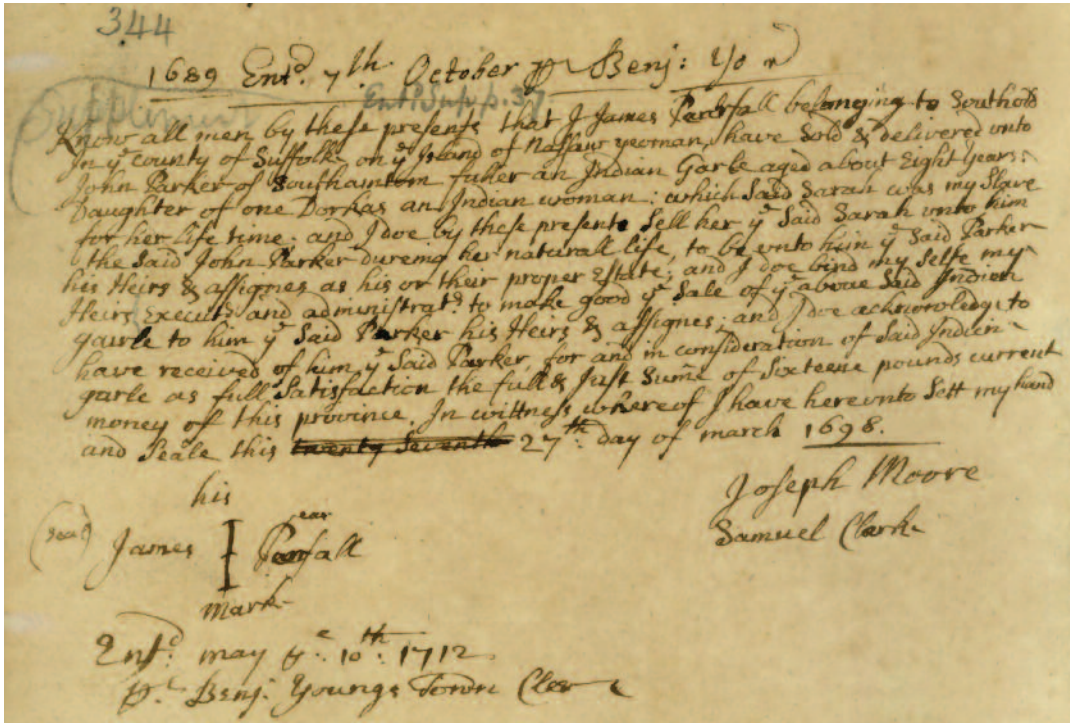


Sloop *Rhode Island* account book, Dec. 1748–July 1749. These two pages show the start of the slavers' purchase of human lives in West Africa, amid an array of items bartered and bought. In the right column they record "By A Woman Slave No. 1" for £60 on January 20, and "By 2 Slaves one Boy one garl No. 2:3" for £84 on January 21, 1749. Courtesy of the New-York Historical Society. The full book is available for browsing at: https://cdm16694.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p15052coll5/id/27568.

This account book from a voyage to the west coast of Africa for Philip Livingston & Sons is possibly the only surviving journal from a New York slave trading vessel. The sloop *Rhode Island*, captained by Peter James, left New York in November 1748 and arrived on the West Coast of Africa on January 18, 1749. The slaver sailed from Sierra Leone to the Gold Coast and then back to New York. These pages detail how the men traded iron bars, rum, firearms, swords, textiles, tobacco, food, and other commodities to eventually acquire 120 African captives, of whom eighty-two survived the subsequent voyage back to New York, where they were advertised for sale in the July 31, 1749 *New York Evening Post* as

> "A fine parcel of men, women, boys, and girls slaves, imported direct from Africa, to be sold on board the sloop Rhode Island, at Mr. Scuyler's wharf."

Philip Livingston Sr. (1686-1749) formed the company with his sons Peter Van Brugh Livingston (1710-1792) and Philip Livingston (1716-1778). The latter had a townhouse in Manhattan and a 40-acre estate in Brooklyn Heights that he purchased around 1765 with some of the earnings from his slave trading.[25]



Bill of sale for Sarah, “an Indian Garle aged about Eight years. Daughter of one Dorkas an Indian woman,” from James Parshall (c. 1650-1701) of Southold to John Parker (c. 1657-1727) of Southampton for 16 pounds, March 27, 1698. Courtesy of the Office of the Southold Town Historian, Amy Folk. For more on Sarah (Robins), see https://plainsightproject.org/items/show/1337.

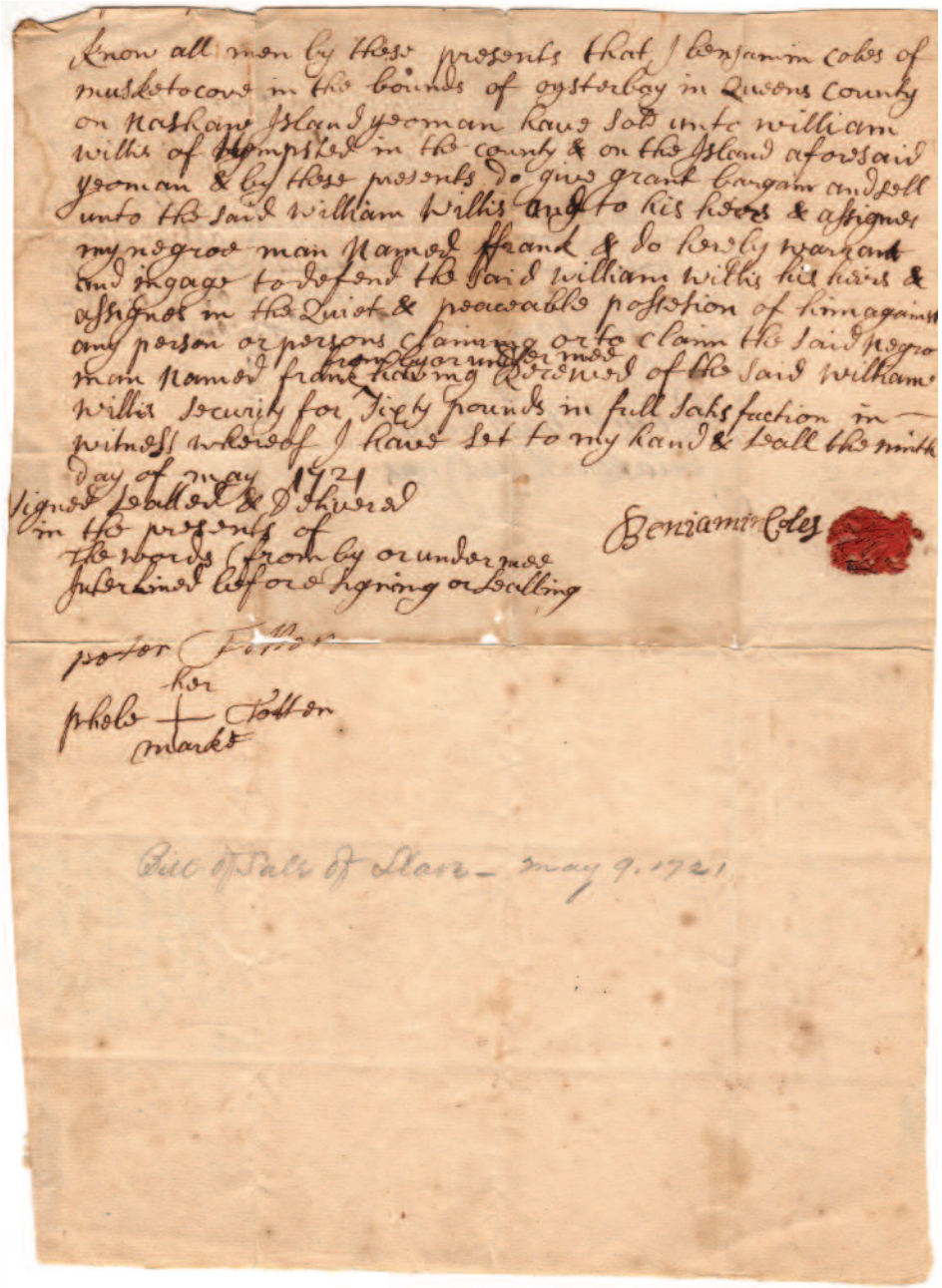
[Transcription]

1689[sic] Ent’d 7th October Benj:Yo n
Know all men by these presents that I James Parshall belonging to Southold / In ye county of Suffolk on ye Island of nassaw yeoman have Sold & delivered unto / John Parker of Southampton fuller an Indian Garle aged about Eight Years / & Daughter of one Dorkas an Indian woman: which Said Sarah was my Slave / for her Life time and I doe by these presents Sell her ye Said Sarah unto him / the Said John Parker dureing her natural life, to be unto him ye Said Parker / his Heirs & assignes as his or their proper estate; and I doe bind my selfe my / Heirs execut’d and administrat’d to make good ye Sale of ye above Said Indian / garle to him ye Said Parker his Heirs & assignes; and I doe acknowledge to / have received of him ye Said Parker, for and in consideration of Said Indian / garle as full Satisfaction the full & Just Sume of Sixteene pounds current /money of this province. In writings whereof I have hereunto set my hand / and Seale this ~~twenty seventh~~ 27th: day of march 1698.

Joseph Moore
Samuel Clarke

his
(seal) James Parshall
mark

Ent’d may ye 10th 1712
Benj. Youngs Town Clerk



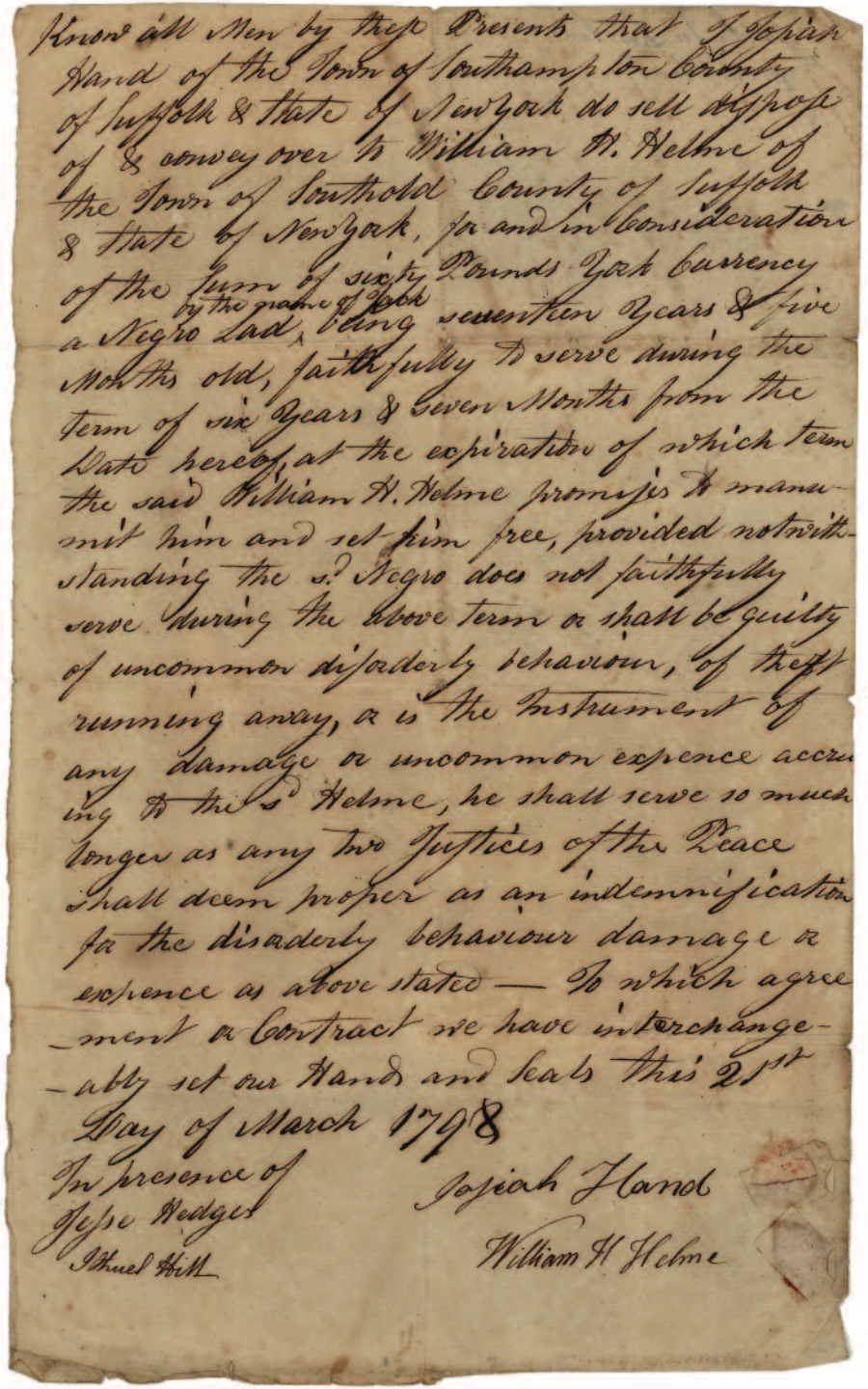
Bill of sale for “my negroe man named ffrank” from Benjamin Coles of Musketo Cove (Glen Cove) to William Willis of Hempstead for 60 pounds, May 9, 1721. Collection of Nassau County Department of Parks, Recreation & Museums, Division of Museum Services.

[Transcription]

know all men by these presents that benjamin coles of
musketo cove in the bounds of oysterbay in Queens County
on nashaw Island yeoman have sold unto William
Willis of Hempsted in the county & on the Island aforesaid
yeoman & by these presents do give grant bargain and sell
unto the said William Willis and to his heirs & assigns
my negroe man Named ffrank & do hereby warrant
and ingage to defend the said William Willis his heirs &
assigns in the Quiet & peaceable possesion of him against
any person or persons claiming or to claim the said negro
man named frank (^from by or under mere) having Received of the said
William Willis security for Sixty pounds in full Satisfaction in—
Witness whereof I have Set to my hand & Seall the ninth
day of may 1721
Signed Sealled & Delivered
in the presents of *Benjamin Coles*
The words (from by or under mere
Interlined before Signing or Sealling

Peter Totten
her

Phebe + Totten
marks


Know all Men by these Presents that I Josiah
Hand of the Town of Southampton County
of Suffolk & State of New York do sell dispose
of & convey over to William H. Helme of
the Town of Southold County of Suffolk
& State of New York, for and in Consideration
of the Sum of sixty Pounds York Currency
a Negro Lad, by the name of Jack being seventeen Years & five
Months old, faithfully to serve during the
term of six Years & Seven Months from the
Date hereof, at the expiration of which term
the said William H. Helme promises to manu-
mit him and set him free, provided notwith-
standing the s^d Negro does not faithfully
serve during the above term or shall be guilty
of uncommon disorderly behaviour, of theft
running away, or is the Instrument of
any damage or uncommon expence accru-
ing to the s^d Helme, he shall serve so much
longer as any two Justices of the Peace
shall deem proper as an indemnification
for the disorderly behaviour damage or
expence as above stated — To which agree-
-ment or Contract we have interchange-
-ably set our Hands and Seals this 21st
Day of March 1798
In presence of
Jesse Hedges
Ithuel Hill
Josiah Hand
William H Helme

[Transcription]

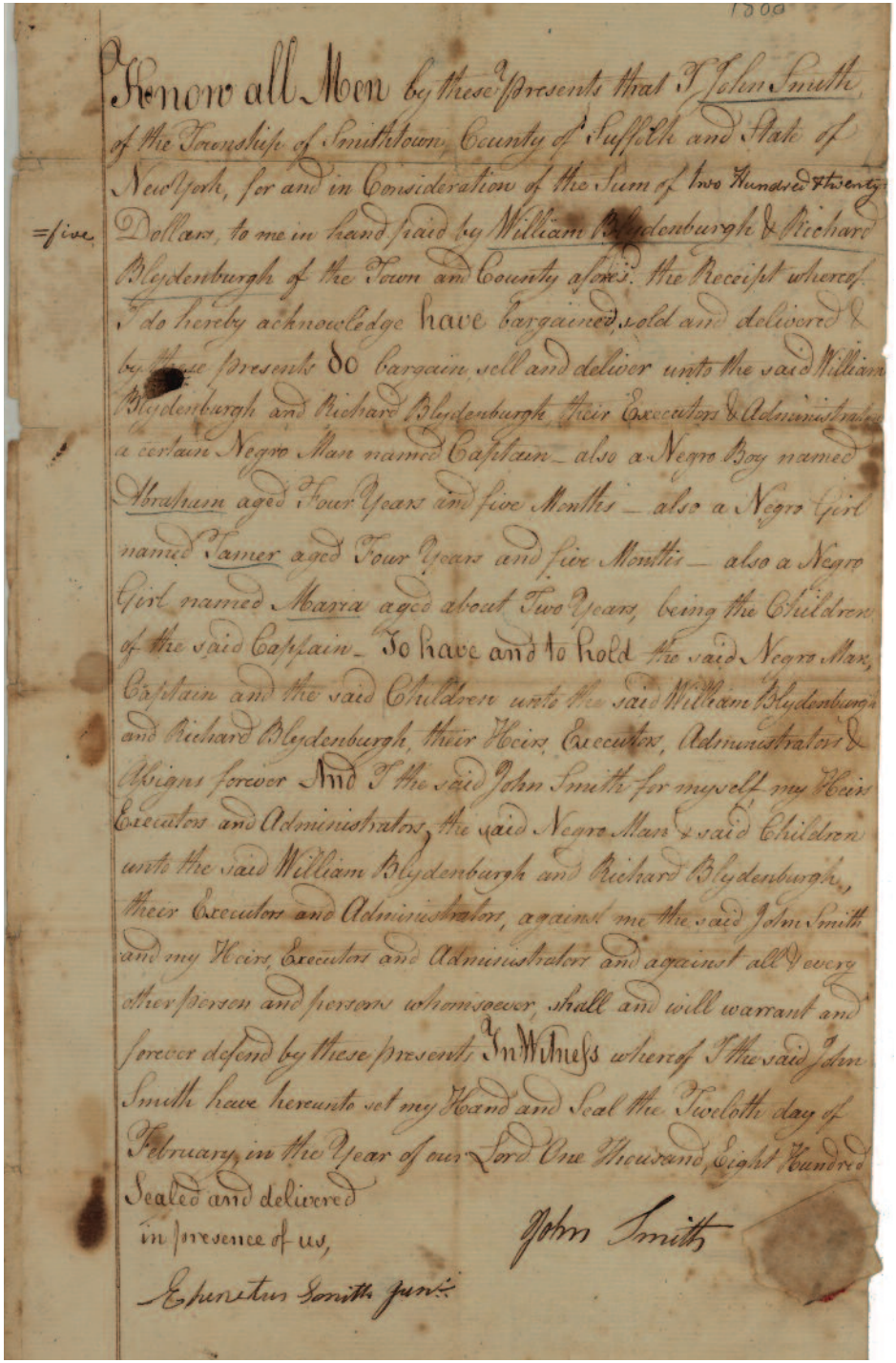
Know all Men by these Presents that I Josiah Hand of the Town of Southampton County of Suffolk & State of New York do sell dispose of & convey over to William H. Helme of the Town of Southold County of Suffolk & State of New York for and in Consideration of the Sum of sixty Pounds York Currency a Negro Lad (^by the name of Jack) being seventeen Years & five months old, faithfully to serve during the term of six Years & seven Months from the Date hereof at the expiration of which term the said William H. Helme promises to manumit him and set him free, provided notwithstanding the s'd Negro does not faithfully serve during the above term or shall be guilty of uncommon disorderly behaviour, of theft, running away, or is the Instrument of any damage or uncommon expence accruing to the s'd Helme, he shall serve so much longer as any Two Justices of the Peace shall deem proper as an indemnification for the disorderly behavior damage or expence as above stated - To which agree--ment or Contract we have interchange--ably set our Hands and Seals this 21st Day of March 1798

In presence of

Jesse Hedges *Josiah Hand*

Ithuel Hill *William H Helme*

Contract dated March 21, 1798 in which Josiah Hand of Southampton agrees to sell a 17-year-old enslaved man named Jack to William H. Helme of Southold for 6 years and 7 months, after which he would be freed. Stony Brook University Libraries Special Collections.



Know all Men by these Presents that I John Smith
of the Township of Smithtown County of Suffolk and State of
New York, for and in Consideration of the Sum of two Hundred & twenty
=five Dollars, to me in hand paid by William Blydenburgh & Richard
Blydenburgh of the Town and County afores. the Receipt whereof
I do hereby acknowledge have bargained, sold and delivered &
by these Presents do bargain, sell and deliver unto the said William
Blydenburgh and Richard Blydenburgh their Executors & Administrators
a certain Negro Man named Captain— also a Negro Boy named
Abraham aged Four Years and five Months — also a Negro Girl
named Tamer aged Four Years and five Months — also a Negro
Girl named Maria aged about Two Years, being the Children
of the said Captain— To have and to hold the said Negro Man,
Captain and the said Children unto the said William Blydenburgh
and Richard Blydenburgh, their Heirs, Executors, Administrators &
Assigns forever And I the said John Smith for myself my Heirs
Executors and Administrators, the said Negro Man & said Children
unto the said William Blydenburgh and Richard Blydenburgh,
their Executors and Administrators, against me the said John Smith
and my Heirs, Executors and Administrators and against all & every
other person and persons whomsoever, shall and will warrant and
forever defend by these presents In Witness whereof I the said John
Smith have hereunto set my Hand and Seal the Twelfth day of
February, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred
Sealed and delivered
in presence of us,
Epenetus Smith Junr.

John Smith

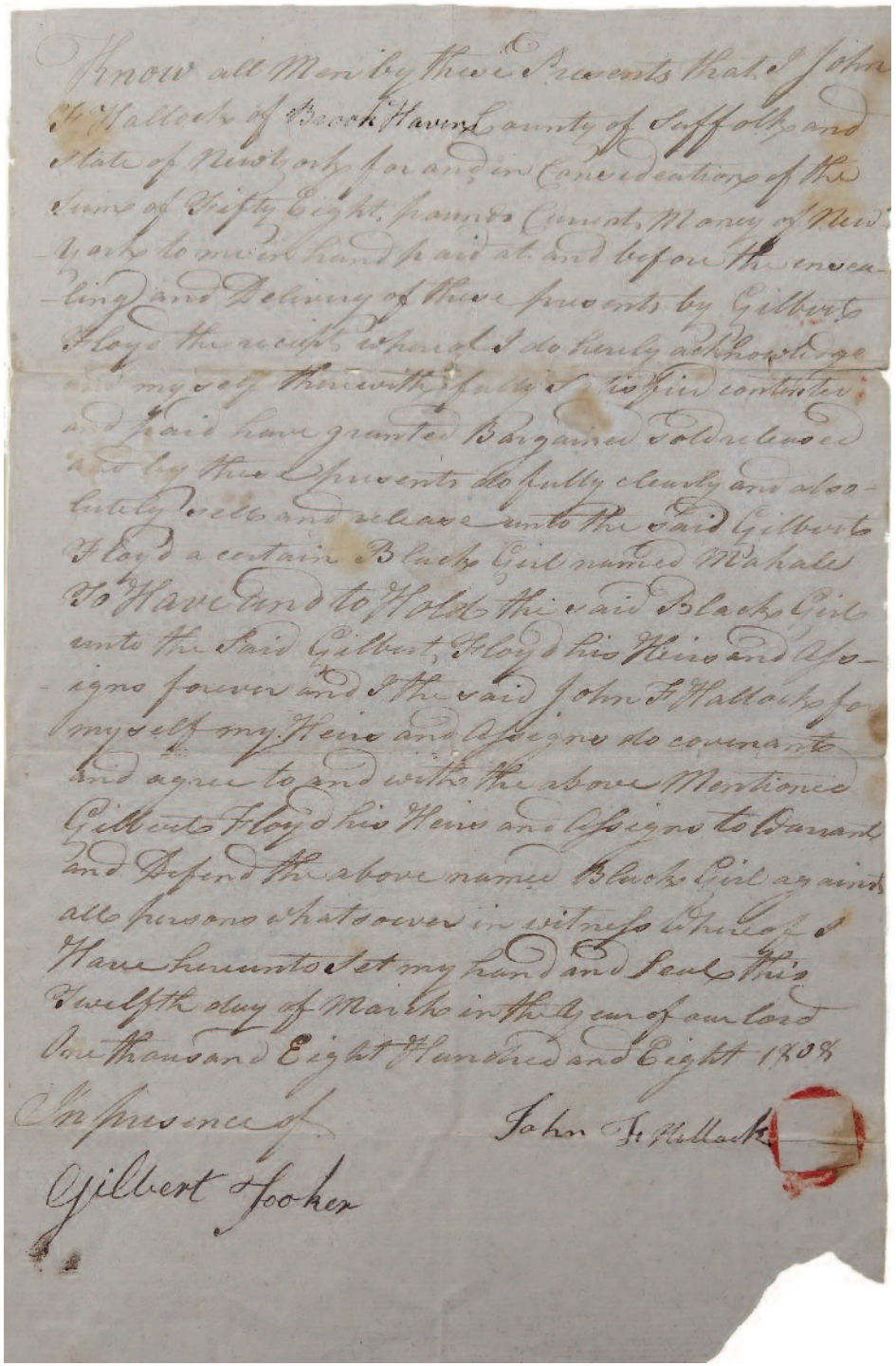
[Transcription]

Know all Men by these presents that I John Smith, of the Township of Smithtown County of Suffolk and State of New York, for and in Consideration of the Sum of two Hundred twenty= =five Dollars, to me in hand paid by William Blydenburgh & Richard Blydenburgh of the Town and County afores. the Receipt whereof I do hereby acknowledge have bargained, sold and delivered & by these presents do bargain, sell and deliver unto the said William Blydenburgh and Richard Blydenburgh, their Executors & Administration a certain Negro Man named Captain—also a Negro Boy named Abraham aged Four Years and five months—also a Negro Girl named Tamer aged Four Years and five Months—also a Negro Girl named Maria aged about Two Years, being the Children of the said Captain- To have and to hold the said Negro Man, Captain and the said Children unto the said William Blydenburgh and Richard Blydenburgh, their Heirs, Executors, Administrators & Assigns forever And I the said John Smith for myself my Heirs Executors and Administrators, the said Negro Man & said Children unto the said William Blydenburgh and Richard Blydenburgh, their Executors and Administrators, again me the said John Smith and my Heirs, Executors and Administrators and against all & every other person and persons whomsoever, shall and will warrant and forever defend by these presents [In Witness] whereof I the said John Smith have hereunto set my Hand and Seal the Twelfth day of February, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred
Sealed and delivered
in presence of us, *John Smith*
Epenetus Smith Jun.



While the life stories of many of the enslaved people of color on Long Island are unknown, the four-year-old Tamer of this document survived enslavement and eventually married and had children. Shepard Alonzo Mount painted her portrait in 1830. See page 54.

Left: Bill of sale for an African American man named Captain, his twins Abraham and Tamer, and daughter Maria, from John Smith of Smithtown to William and Richard Blydenburgh of Smithtown for $220, February 12, 1800. Collection of Smithtown Historical Society.



[Transcription]

Know all Men by these Presents that I John F Hallock of Brook Haven County of Suffolk and State of New York for and in Consideration of the Sum of Fifty Eight pounds Current Money of New-York to me in hand paid at and before the ensealing and Delivery of these presents by Gilbert Floyd the receipt whereof I do hereby acknowledge and myself therewith fully Satisfied contented and paid have granted Bargained sold released and by these presents do fully clearly and absolutely sell and release unto the said Gilbert Floyd a certain Black Girl named Mahale To Have and to Hold the said Black Girl unto the Said Gilbert Floyd his Heirs and Ass--igns forever and I the said John F Hallock for myself my Heirs and Assigns do warrant and agree to and with the above Mentioned Gilbert Floyd his Heirs and Assigns to Warrant and Defend the above named Black Girl against all persons whatsoever in witness Whereof I Have hereunto Set my hand and Seal this Twelfth day of March in the Year of our Lord One thousand Eight Hundred and Eight 1808

In presence of *John F Hallock*

Gilbert Tooker.

John F. Hallock is most likely John Foster Hallock (1757-1813) of Lake Grove. In this document, he is selling a Black girl named Mahale to Gilbert Floyd (1771-1832), a ship captain from Setauket. Floyd purchased Mahale around the time he married his first wife, Sarah DeWitt. Congress had abolished the trans-Atlantic slave trade the previous year with the passage of the Act to Prohibit the Importation of Slaves, which took effect January 1, 1808. The law, however, did not curtail the sale of enslaved people within the United States, as this document demonstrates.[26]

Bill of sale for a girl named Mahale, from John F. Hallock of Lake Grove to Gilbert Floyd of Setauket for £58 on March 12, 1808. Long Island Museum, Dominick Collection.

Witness: Venture Smith (1729-1805)

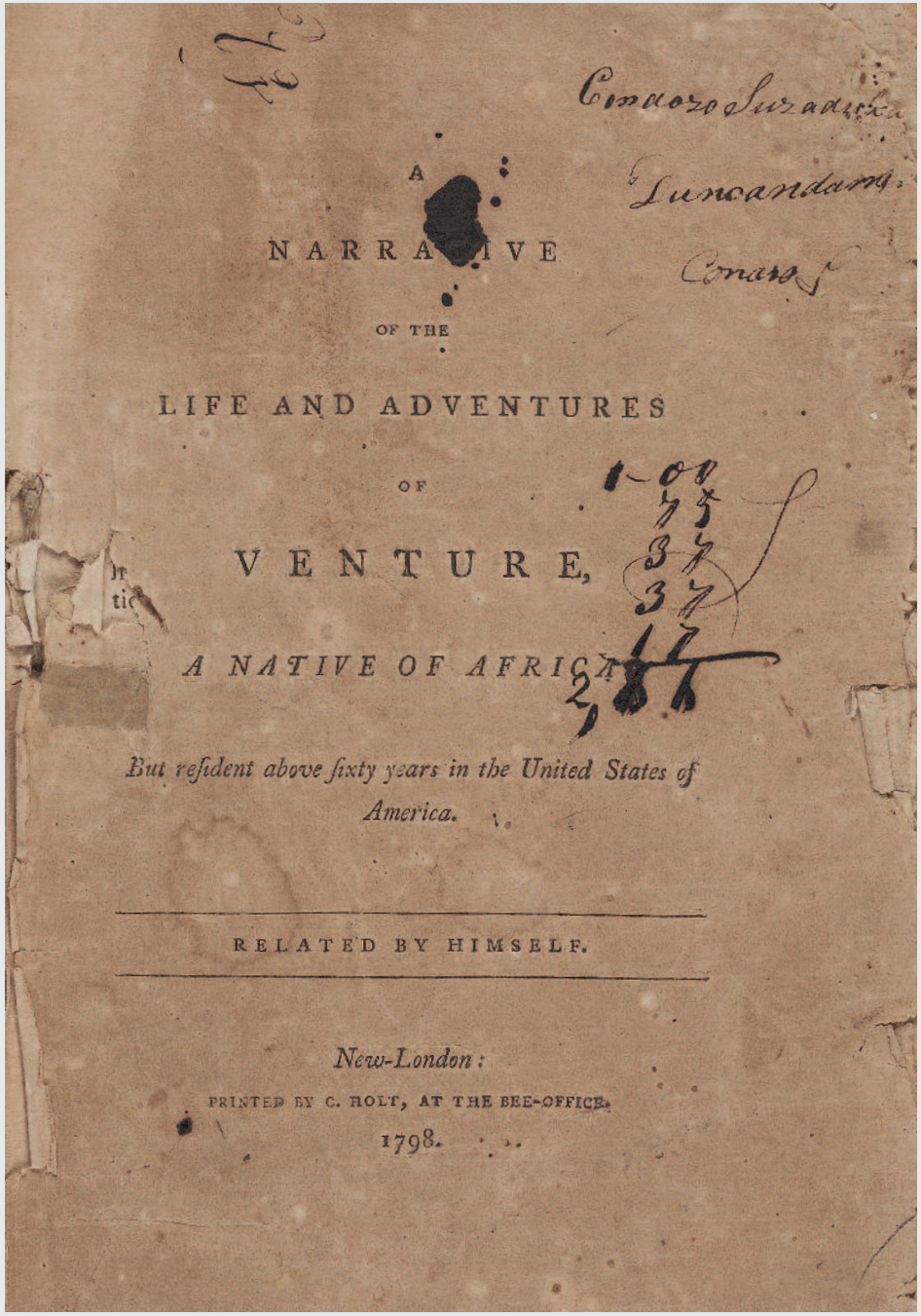


Reproduction five-gallon 18th-century cask (collection of Town of Hempstead, Rock Hall Museum) and a sample of calico cloth.

Venture Smith (birth name Broteer) is the only known enslaved African on Long Island who documented his life. As related in his autobiography, *A Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Venture, a Native of Africa: But Resident Above Sixty Years in the United States of America*, which he dictated in 1798, Smith was born around 1729 in Dukandarra, West Africa, as the eldest son of Saungm Furro, Prince of Dukandarra. Captured by an invading army after the murder of his father, Broteer was brought with other captives to the port city of Anomabu in what is today Ghana. Broteer recalled that he was one of 260 captives purchased in the spring of 1739 by a Rhode Island slave ship – the *Charming Susanna* of Newport. The ship's steward, Robinson Mumford, purchased Broteer for "four gallons of rum and a piece of calico [a type of coarse cotton cloth]," and renamed him Venture. The *Charming Susanna* reached Barbados in August, with most of the surviving Africans sold to island sugar plantations. Mumford took Venture north, where for the next 15 years, he was an enslaved worker on Mumford's estate on Fishers Island, New York.

During this time, Venture married, joined a failed escape attempt (see pages 34-35), and had a daughter. In 1754 Venture was sold to the first of three slaveholders in Connecticut, where his family were also soon sold. Venture eventually made a deal with his fourth enslaver and purchased his freedom in 1765 for 71 pounds and two shillings. It was from this man, Oliver Smith, that Venture adopted the surname Smith.

Finally free again at the age of 36, Venture Smith moved to Long Island, where he worked for the next four years to earn money to buy the freedom of his sons Solomon and Cuff, daughter Hannah, wife Meg, and three African American men. Smith then moved his family to East Haddam, Connecticut, where he purchased a farm and resided until his death in 1805.[27]


A
NARRATIVE
OF THE
LIFE AND ADVENTURES
OF
VENTURE,
A NATIVE OF AFRICA
But resident above sixty years in the United States of America.
RELATED BY HIMSELF.
New-London:
PRINTED BY C. HOLT, AT THE BEE-OFFICE.
1798.

Title page of Venture Smith's autobiography. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

2: Resisting Bondage

Defined under the law as human chattel (property), enslaved Long Islanders were vulnerable to many abuses and indignities. Their resistance took varied forms, direct and indirect, such as disobeying slaveholders' orders, breaking tools, feigning illness, or performing tasks poorly. New York newspapers also regularly carried advertisements for African Americans who ran away from their enslavers, with a reward offered for their capture or return. In some extreme situations, enslaved people resorted to violence as a response to injustice and maltreatment. In 1712, a slave revolt in Manhattan resulted in the execution of twenty-one suspected participants, feeding a persistent fear of slave insurrections among the white populace – including the larger slaveholders out on Long Island. During the Revolutionary War, a mass exodus of enslaved people ensued when British forces offered freedom to any who managed to reach their occupied territory, including New York City. After the war, more than 60 Black Long Islanders left with the British and resettled in Canada.[28]

Various forms of cultural resistance were also vital to the survival of those in bondage and contributed to their shared sense of solidarity and community. Events such as Pinkster, a Dutch religious holiday adopted and transformed by African Americans, provided opportunities to socialize and celebrate. Many retained African spiritual beliefs and rituals, even while adopting Christianity. Bible study, in fact, helped some individuals learn to read and write at a time when people in bondage had limited access to literacy.[29]

While still enslaved on Long Island, Jupiter Hammon, now renowned as the first published African American poet, used his writings to inspire hope in his fellow bondspeople, to critique the institution of slavery, and to spark the consciences of purportedly Christian slaveholders. Free African Americans likewise sought to undermine slavery, including by purchasing enslaved brethren to free them, pursuing education and success in the arts and business, and promoting the antislavery movement. As early as 1718, the Religious Society of Friends (commonly called Quakers) on Long Island began publicly debating the morality of selling and owning people. Not until the eve of the American Revolution, however, were this religion's members actually required to free those whom they enslaved to remain in good standing.[30]

Newspaper Advertisements for Long Islanders who Escaped Enslavement

An advertisement for the return of a person who fled enslavement was ordinary news in American newspapers of the 18th and early 19th centuries. With enslaved Native and African Americans legally defined as property, they could be bought, sold, and advertised as missing if they escaped. Ads can reveal a person's appearance, skills, and personal history. While the total number of enslaved people who escaped from Long Island communities is unknown, the following sampling demonstrates that people actively resisted their enslavement regardless of age or where they lived. In most cases, these advertisements provide glimpses of individuals for whom no other information about them may now exist.[31]

from Brooklyn

***The New-York Gazette*; or, *The Weekly Post-Boy*, August 21, 1766**

Ran away about the Middle of July last from the Subscriber, living in King's County, Long Island, a Negro man named Jack, he is about 35 years of age, slim made, about 5 Feet 8 Inches in height, speaks good English and Dutch, and has been used to tending in a Grist Mill. – Whoever secures him in any Gaol or brings him to me shall be well rewarded, and all reasonable Charges paid by ABRAHAM SCHENK.
New-York, August 15, 1766[32]

***The New-York Gazette*: and the *Weekly Mercury*, July 15, 1776**

RUN-away from the Subscriber, living in King's County, Long-Island, a short Time ago, two Negro Men, one named Nathaniel, a very handsome Fellow, about 5 Feet 6 Inches high, straight and well built, 24 Years old, of a yellow Complexion, with long Hair tied up with a Ribbon; born at Newton, Queen's County, and lived at Flatbush. Had on when he went away, a brown Linen Jacket, with an under one double breasted, one Side red Cloth the other Homespun; also homespun Trowsers, and a half worn Hat. The other Fellow that he went away with belonging to Jeromus Remsen, at Newton, and are very like each other, being Brothers; he was well cloathed, and went by the Name of Jacob, and is a Cooper by Trade. Whoever secures the above Runaways in any Gaol so that their Masters mat have them again, shall have Eight Pounds Reward, and all reasonable Charges paid by HENRY WYCKHOFF.[33]

The Royal Gazette **[New York], September 1, 1781**

ABSCONDED a few days ago, from their owners, from the house of Mr. Ruble, at Flat-Bush: two Negro Girls, Slaves, one named Betsey, marked on the right shoulder T.A., the other named Polly, without any mark, they both speak bad English.

Whoever may apprehend one or both Negroes, and deliver them to Alexander Forteath, No. 52, Burling Slip, shall receive for each Eight Dollars, if concealed, or harboured by any person, they may depend on being prosecuted.[34]

The Connecticut Courant **[Hartford], April 30, 1806**

STOP THE RUNAWAY.

RUN AWAY, on the 6th inst. a Negro Man, of a pretty dark complexion, named FRANK or FRANCIS, about 27 years of age, about 5 feet 7 or 8 inches high, stout and acrive, speaks both low Dutch and English, has a scar above one of his eyes, shews his teeth very much when laughing, is very fond of taking care of gentlemen's horses, at taverns: had on when we went away, a greenish colored twilled great coat and trowsers, a dark mixt short coatee, a striped swansdown vest, and a stout pair of laced shoes: took with him a pair of pantaloons, the color of his coat, with some other clothes. A reward of 20 dollars and all reasonable charges will be paid to any person who shall detect said negro and deliver him to his master, or secure him in any goal so that his master may get him again. GARRIT VAN DER VEER, at Flatbush, King County, Long Island, or at No. 63, Maiden- Lane, New-York.

All persons are forbid harboring said negro at their peril. April 13.[35]

from Queens

The Royal Gazette **[New York], November 19, 1783**

TEN POUNDS Reward. RUN-AWAY from the Subscriber, on Sunday night the 16th inst. a NEGRO WENCH, named ISABEL; had on when she run-away, a short whitish Cloth Cloak, with a hood, about 5 feet 6 inches high, very black colour, speaks pretty thick. She was taken away by her Husband, a Negro Man, called Peter Longster, about 6 feet high, pretty stout, formerly lived with Col. Lutwyche, at Brooklyne-Ferry, Long-Island. – Whoever will secure either of them, or give information to the Subscriber, or to William Bryan, at the Fly-Market Stairs, so that he may get his property again, shall receive the above reward, and all reasonable charges paid.

EDWARD BARDIN,
at Jamaica, Long-Island.

N.B. All Masters of Vessels and others, are hereby forewarned not to harbor them, but at their peril.[36]

from North Hempstead

The Royal Gazette **[New York], August 28, 1782**

TWO GUINEAS REWARD. RUN AWAY on Tuesday morning the 20th instant, from Doctor David Brooks, of Cow Neck, on Long-Island, a Negro Boy named BEN, about five feet six inches high; he is tall, round faced, and of a yellow complexion, has a scar under one of his eyes from a burn, and has lost the first joints of three of his small toes on the left food; he walks limping with one foot turned outward; had on when he went away, a brown homespun coat, with Pewter buttons, a black sattin lasting jacket, tow shirt and trowsers, and a round black hat.

Whoever will apprehend or secure the said Negro slave, so that the Owner may get him again, shall receive the above reward.

All Masters of Vessels and others, are desired not to harbor or conceal said slave, as they will answer it at their peril.
New-York, August 27th, 1782.[37]

from Hempstead

The New-York Gazette**: and the *****Weekly Mercury*****, November 10, 1783**

RUN-AWAY on Tuesday night the 4th instant, from the subscriber at Hampstead, in Queen's county, Long-Island, a negro man slave named ANTHONY, about 35 years old, of a middling stature, a black complexion, very talkative, speaks good English, and pretends to be a preacher, and sometimes officiates in that capacity among the Blacks. Had on when he went away a bearskin great coat, and the rest of the cloaths chiefly of the same kind, and partly worn, and may very likely have changed his clothes. Any person who will apprehend said negro man, and delivers him to the subscriber, or secures him so that his master may have him again, shall receive a reward of FIVE DOLLARS, if taken in Queen's county; and TEN DOLLARS if taken elsewhere to be paid by me.

N.B. All masters of vessels, and others, are hereby forbid to carry him off, &c. S. CLOWES.[38]

from Oyster Bay

The New-York Gazette, Revived in the Weekly Post-Boy, **July 10, 1749**

Run away the 21st Instant from William and Benjamin Hawxhurst, of Oyster-Bay on Long-Island, a negro Man named Tom, a middle sized Fellow and is pretty well cloath'd: Took with him a black Horse with a white Snip or Spot on his Nose. Whoever takes up and secures the said Negro and Horse, shall have a reasonable Reward paid by WILLIAM and BENJAMIN HAWXHURST.[39]

The Boston Gazette and Country Journal, **April 7, 1766**

FIVE DOLLARS REWARD.

New Haven, March 27, 1766.

RUN-away, from Doris Van Wyck of Oyster Bay, on Long-Island, a Negro Man, named Dick but now calls himself John Dickerson; He is of a middle Stature, has a wildish whitish Look with his Eyes, especially when frightened, a likely Fellow, about forty Years of Age. He talks as if he has a Cold, and had on when he went away grey yarn Stockings, Pumps, large Silver Buckles, blue Broad Cloth Breeches, a blackish thickset Jacket, a whitish Broad Cloth Coat, and a grey Homspun great Coat, a Cap and a large Beaver Hat, cock'd. About a Fortnight ago he went over Milford Ferry, with a false dirty Pass all written by one Hand, with the Names of 6 or 7 Long Island Justices of the Peace, at the Bottom. He enquired the Road to Boston and 'tis supposed he is gone that Way, to see an Acquaintance. Whoever secures the said Negro so that his Master may have him again, shall have Five Dollars Reward, and all reasonable Charges. And 'tis desired he may be delivered to Michael Peck, of Milford, living at the Ferry, who will pay the Reward and Charges, for the said

DORIS VAN WYCK.[40]

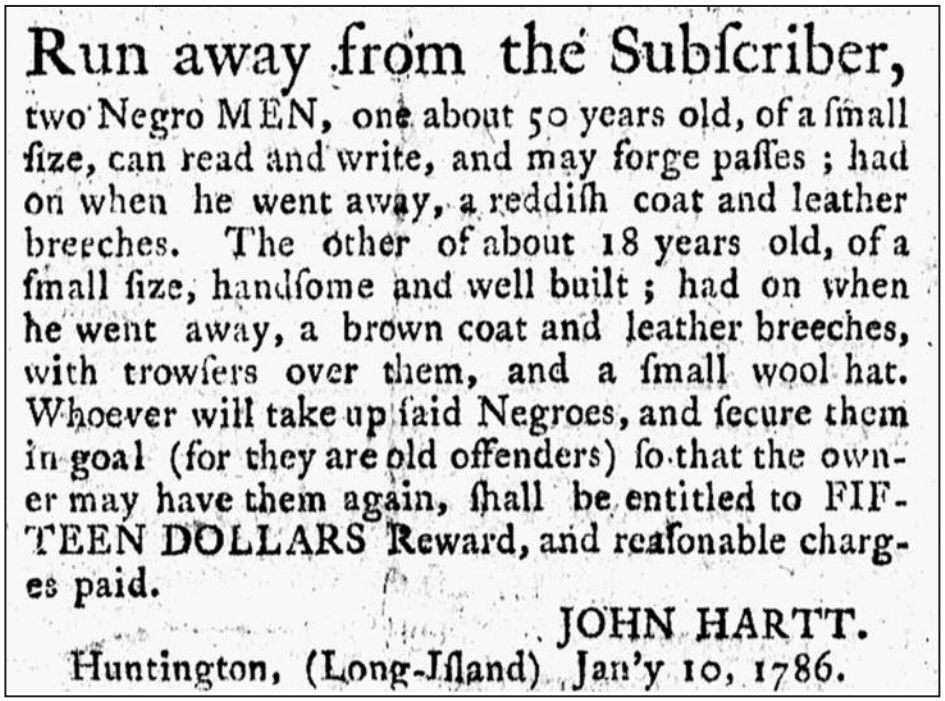
from Huntington

The Connecticut Journal **[New Haven], January 11, 1786**

Run away from the Subscriber, two Negro MEN, one about 50 years old, of a small size, can read and write, and may forge passes; had on when he went away, a reddish coat and leather breeches. The other of about 18 years old, of a small size, handsome and well built; had on when he went away, a brown coat and leather breeches, with trowsers over them, and a small wool hat. Whoever will take up said Negroes, and secure them in goal (for they are old offenders) so that the owner may have them again, shall be entitled to FIFTEEN DOLLARS Reward, and reasonable charges paid.

JOHN HARTT.

Huntington, (Long-Island) Jan'y, 10, 1786.[41]


Run away from the Subſcriber,
two Negro MEN, one about 50 years old, of a ſmall
ſize, can read and write, and may forge paſſes ; had
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TEEN DOLLARS Reward, and reaſonable charg-
es paid.
JOHN HARTT.
Huntington, (Long-Iſland) Jan'y 10, 1786.

***The Connecticut Courant [Hartford]*, January 30, 1792**

TWENTY DOLLARS REWARD

RAN-away from the subscribers on the night of the 5th of June last, two Negro Men Slaves, one named Pompey, about 29 years old, something of a pale complexion, one of his fore fingers stiff, and near the end perished, with a scar almost the length of it, also another scar on the left side of his belly nearly under his waistband, occasioned by having a cancer cut out.

The other, named Ishmael, about 22 years of age, is of a black complexion, has a scar on his forehead and another on his right temple, near his eye, has thick lips and a clumsy lounging gait; both of them are of a middle size, but rather tall. Whoever will return the said Negroes, or either of them, so that their masters may have them again, shall be entitled to the reward of Ten Dollars for each, and all reasonable charges, to be paid by us.

JOHN WICKES,
ZADOCK SMITH.
Huntington, (Long-Island) Jan. 10, 1792.[42]

***The Connecticut Journal [New Haven]*, July 25, 1792**

Ten DOLLARS Reward.

RUNAWAY from the subscriber, of Huntington, on Long Island, the night of the 9th instant, a Negro Man Slave, named BUD, about 25 years old, stocky built, but not tall, has a smooth black skin, thick lips, broad nose, and large eyes, short hair, which he often ties behind, large flat feet; - took with him a thick over jacket of a grey color, with wooden buttons, and a thick under jacket with two rows of white metal buttons, two shirts, one woolen check, the other linen, two pair of trowsers, one pair new linen clour'd yellow, the other woolen, an old beaver hat with a large brim.

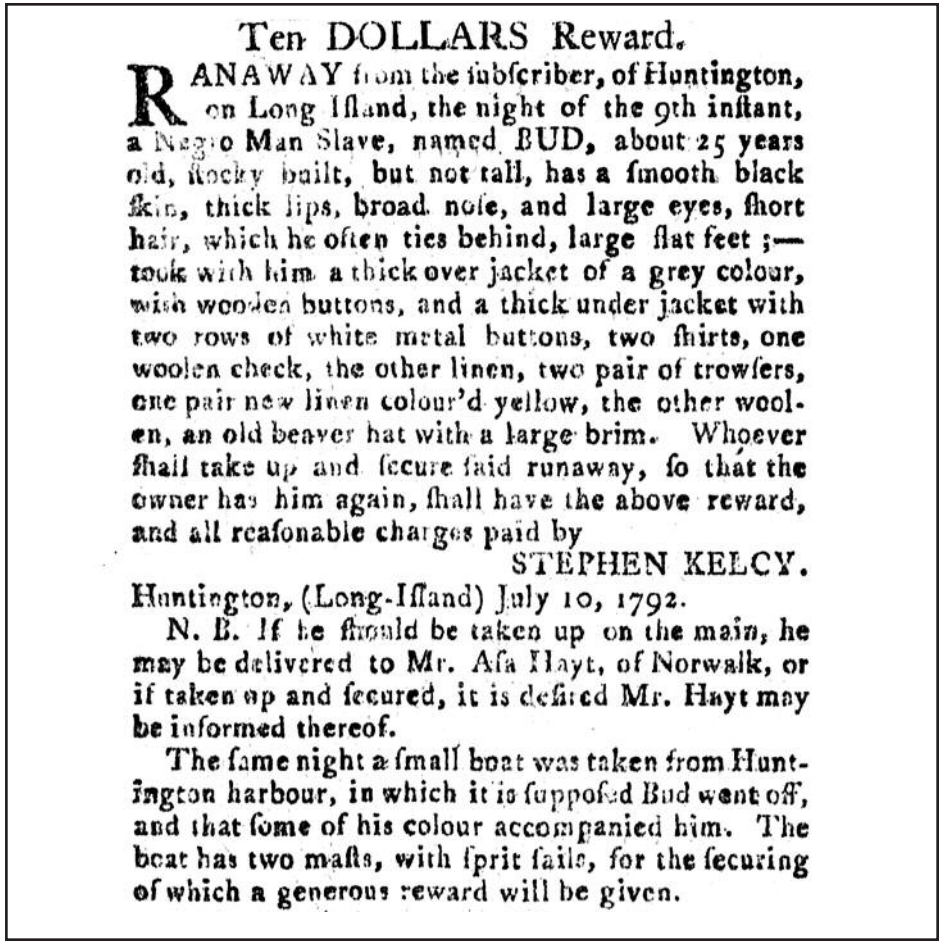
Whoever shall take up and secure said runaway, so that the owner has him again, shall have the above reward, and all reasonable charges paid by

STEPHEN KELCY.

Huntington, (Long-Island) July 10, 1792.

N.B. If he should be taken up on the main, he may be delivered to Mr. Asa Hayt, of Norwalk, or if taken up and secured, it is desired Mr. Hayt may be informed thereof.

The same night a small boat was taken from Huntington harbour, in which it is supposed Bud went off, and that some of his colour accompanied him. The boat has two masts, with sprit sails, for the securing of which a generous reward will be given.[43]



Ten DOLLARS Reward.

RANAWAY from the ſubſcriber, of Huntington, on Long Iſland, the night of the 9th inſtant, a Negro Man Slave, named BUD, about 25 years old, ſtocky built, but not tall, has a ſmooth black ſkin, thick lips, broad noſe, and large eyes, ſhort hair, which he often ties behind, large flat feet ;— took with him a thick over jacket of a grey colour, with wooden buttons, and a thick under jacket with two rows of white metal buttons, two ſhirts, one woolen check, the other linen, two pair of trowſers, one pair new linen colour'd yellow, the other woolen, an old beaver hat with a large brim. Whoever ſhall take up and ſecure ſaid runaway, ſo that the owner has him again, ſhall have the above reward, and all reaſonable charges paid by

STEPHEN KELCY.

Huntington, (Long-Iſland) July 10, 1792.

N. B. If he ſhould be taken up on the main, he may be delivered to Mr. Aſa Hayt, of Norwalk, or if taken up and ſecured, it is deſired Mr. Hayt may be informed thereof.

The ſame night a ſmall boat was taken from Huntington harbour, in which it is ſuppoſed Bud went off, and that ſome of his colour accompanied him. The boat has two maſts, with ſprit ſails, for the ſecuring of which a generous reward will be given.

from Smithtown

***The Connecticut Journal [New Haven]*, August 4, 1784**

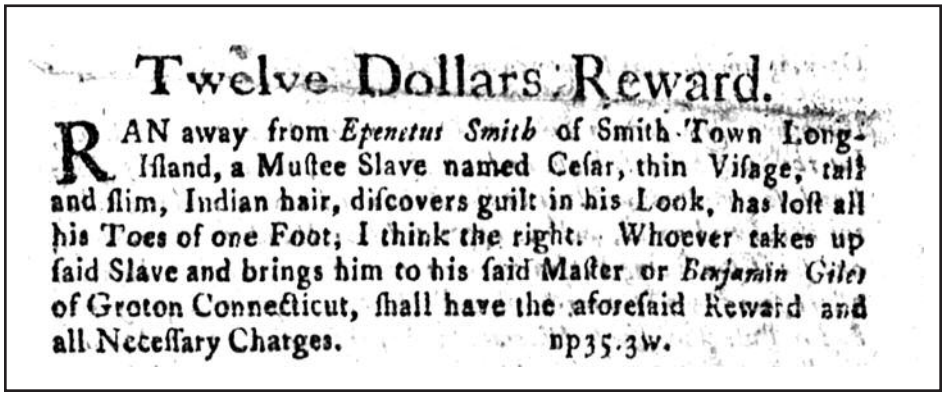
Long-Island, Suffolk County, Smithton, July 24, 1784. RUNAWAY from the Subscriber, a NEGRO BOY, about fifteen Years old, very witty, an excellent Whistler of any March, mannerly, and speaks good English, his Name is Isaac, but very likely to change it; when he went away he had on nothing but a Shirt and Trowsers, being much tarred. Whoever will take up said Boy, so that the Owner may have him, shall be entitled to Fifteen Dollars Reward, and reasonable Charge paid, by JOHN HARTT.

N.B. Whoever may have taken up said Boy, much be very careful or he will get away.[44]

***The New-London Summary, or, The Weekly Advertiser,* February 18, 1763**

Twelve Dollars Reward.

RAN away from Epenetus Smith of Smith Town Long-Island, a Mustee Slave named Cesar, thin Visage, tall and slim, Indian hair, discovers guilt in his Look, has lost all his Toes of one Foot, I think the right. Whoever takes up said Slave and brings him to his said Master or Benjamin Giles of Groton Connecticut, shall have the aforesaid Reward and all Necessary Charges.[45]



Twelve Dollars Reward.

RAN away from *Epenetus Smith* of Smith Town Long-Island, a Muſtee Slave named Ceſar, thin Viſage, tall and ſlim, Indian hair, diſcovers guilt in his Look, has loſt all his Toes of one Foot; I think the right. Whoever takes up ſaid Slave and brings him to his ſaid Maſter or *Benjamin Giles* of Groton Connecticut, ſhall have the aforeſaid Reward and all Neceſſary Charges. np35-3w.

***Connecticut Herald [New Haven],* July 14, 1818**

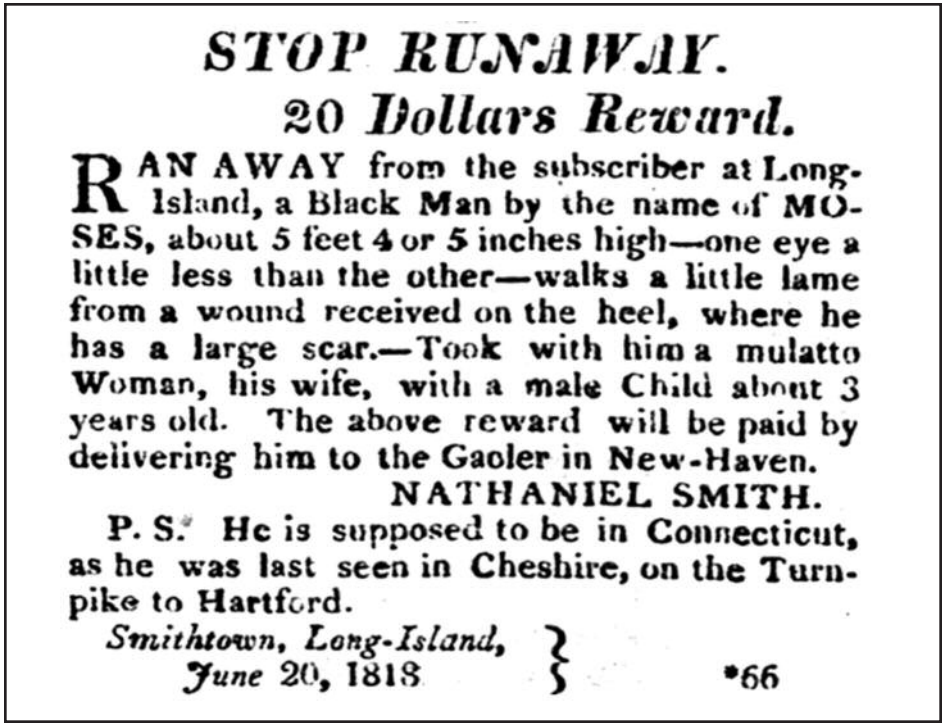
STOP RUNAWAY.

20 Dollars Reward.

RAN AWAY from the subscriber at Long-Island, a Black Man by the name of MOSES, about 5 feet 4 or 5 inches high – one eye a little less than the other– walks a little lame from a wound received on the heel, where he has a large scar. – Took with him a mulatto Woman, his wife, with a male Child about 3 years old. The above reward will be paid by delivering him to the Gaoler in New-Haven.

NATHANIEL SMITH.

P.S. He is supposed to be in Connecticut, as he was last seen in Cheshire, on the Turnpike to Hartford. Smithtown, Long-Island, June 20, 1818[46]



STOP RUNAWAY.

20 Dollars Reward.

RAN AWAY from the subscriber at Long-Island, a Black Man by the name of MOSES, about 5 feet 4 or 5 inches high—one eye a little less than the other—walks a little lame from a wound received on the heel, where he has a large scar.—Took with him a mulatto Woman, his wife, with a male Child about 3 years old. The above reward will be paid by delivering him to the Gaoler in New-Haven.

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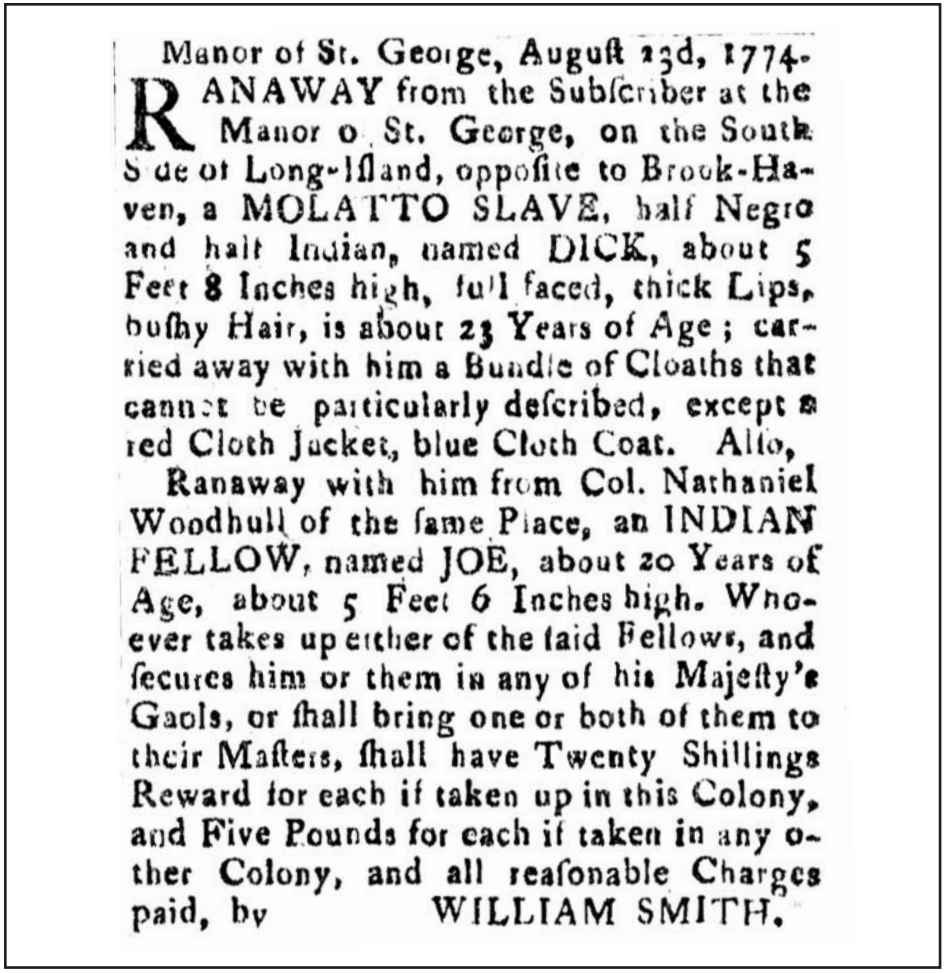
Smithtown, Long-Island,
June 20, 1818 } *66

from Smithtown

***The Connecticut Journal [New Haven],* September 16, 1774**

Manor of St. George August 23, 1774-

RANAWAY from the Subscriber at the Manor of St. George, on the South Side of Long-Island, opposite to Brook-Haven, a MOLATTO SLAVE, half Negro and half Indian, name DICK, about 5 Feet 8 Inches high, full faced, thick Lips, bushy Hair, is about 23 Years of Age; carried away with him a Bundle of Cloaths that cannot be particularly described, except a red Cloth jacket, blue Cloth Coat. Also, Ranaway with him from Col. Nathaniel Woodhull of the same Place, an INDIAN FELLOW, name JOE, about 20 Years of Age, about 5 Feet 6 Inches high. Whoever takes up either of the said Fellows, and secures him or them in any of his Majesty's Gaols or shall bring one or both of them to their Masters, shall have Twenty Shillings Reward for each if taken up in this Colony, and Five Pounds for each if taken in any other Colony, and all reasonable Charges paid, by WILLIAM SMITH.[47]



Manor of St. George, August 23d, 1774.

RANAWAY from the Subſcriber at the Manor o St. George, on the South Side of Long-Iſland, oppoſite to Brook-Haven, a MOLATTO SLAVE, half Negro and half Indian, named DICK, about 5 Feet 8 Inches high, full faced, thick Lips, buſhy Hair, is about 23 Years of Age; carried away with him a Bundle of Cloaths that cannot be particularly deſcribed, except a red Cloth Jacket, blue Cloth Coat. Alſo,

Ranaway with him from Col. Nathaniel Woodhull of the ſame Place, an INDIAN FELLOW, named JOE, about 20 Years of Age, about 5 Feet 6 Inches high. Whoever takes up either of the ſaid Fellows, and ſecures him or them in any of his Majeſty's Gaols, or ſhall bring one or both of them to their Maſters, ſhall have Twenty Shillings Reward for each if taken up in this Colony, and Five Pounds for each if taken in any other Colony, and all reaſonable Charges paid, by WILLIAM SMITH.

The New-York Gazette: or, The Weekly Post-Boy, May 16, 1757

Run away the 25th of April last, from Thomas Robinson of Brookhaven in the County of Suffolk, on Long Island, a negro man named Ned, about 23 years old, he stole a Barge and was seen on the Thursday following in the Sound opposite to Lloyd's Neck, steering to the Westward. The Barge has lost part of her stem and several of her Timbers broke. He has a crooked Knee. Had on when he went away a new grey Kersey Coat, a new Pair of Pumps. The said negro can both read and write, and probably has wrote himself a Pass. Whoever takes up the said negro and secures him so that his master may have him again shall have Twenty Shillings Reward and all reasonable Charges paid by Thomas Robinson, jun.[48]

from Southampton

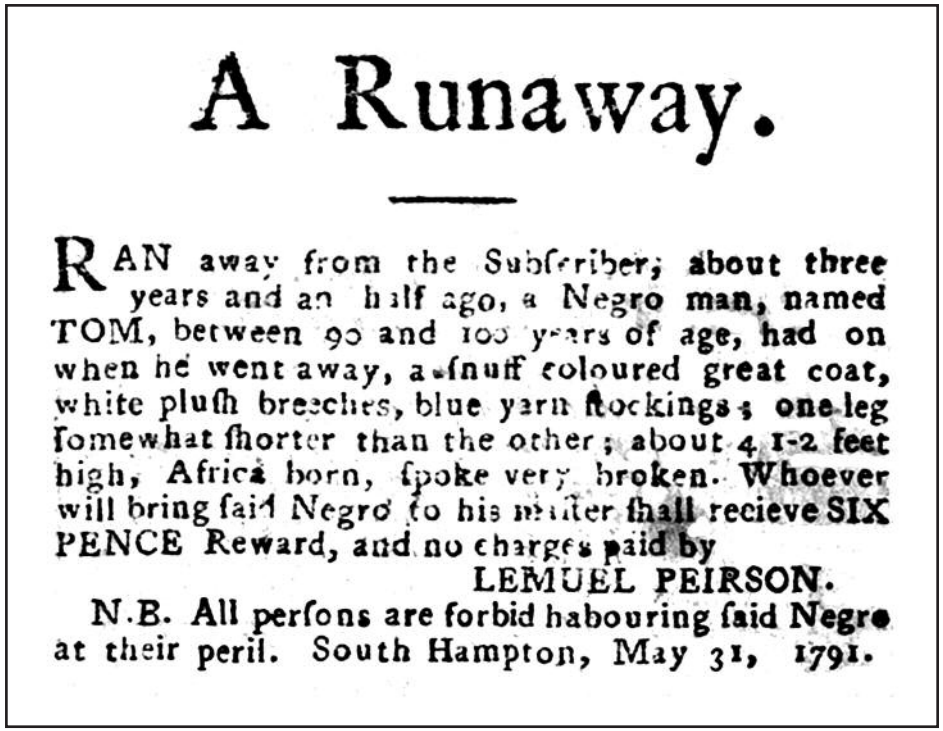
Long Island Herald [Sag Harbor, NY], June 14, 1791

A Runaway.

RAN away from the Subscriber, about three years and an half ago, a Negro man, named TOM, between 90 and 100 years of age, had on when he went away, a snuff coloured great coat, white plush breeches, blue yard stockings; one leg somewhat shorter than the other; about 4 1-2 feet high, Africa born, spoke very broken. Whoever will bring said Negro to his master shall receive SIX PENCE Reward, and no charges paid by

LEMUEL PEIRSON.

N.B. All persons are forbid harbouring said Negro at their peril. South Hampton, May 31, 1791.[49]



A Runaway.

RAN away from the Subſcriber; about three years and an half ago, a Negro man, named TOM, between 90 and 100 years of age, had on when he went away, a ſnuff coloured great coat, white pluſh breeches, blue yarn ſtockings; one leg ſomewhat ſhorter than the other; about 4 1-2 feet high, Africa born, ſpoke very broken. Whoever will bring ſaid Negro to his maſter ſhall recieve SIX PENCE Reward, and no charges paid by

LEMUEL PEIRSON.

N.B. All perſons are forbid habouring ſaid Negro at their peril. South Hampton, May 31, 1791.

Courtesy of the East Hampton Library, Long Island Collection.

The Boston-Gazette, and Country Journal, **May 10, 1773**

Ran-AWAY from his Master John Foster, on Long-Island, about three Months since a Negro-Man Named Cush, about five Feet nine Inches high, his Complexion got very black, one or two of his fore Teeth out, a Scar upon one of his Ears, Speaks good English, has Forg'd a Pass; had on when he went away a blue Mill'd Cap, a blue outside Jacket, and a red Bays Shirt. – It is likely he may have chang'd his Dress, as he has broke open his Master's Store, and Stole to the value of 100 Dollars in Cash and Goods.

Whoever shall apprehend said Negro and commit him to any of his Majesty's Goals, shall have 10 Dollars Reward, and all necessary Charges paid; and for securing the Pass 20 Dollars, if it can be prov'd who was the Forger of it, Paid by me JOHN FOSTER.

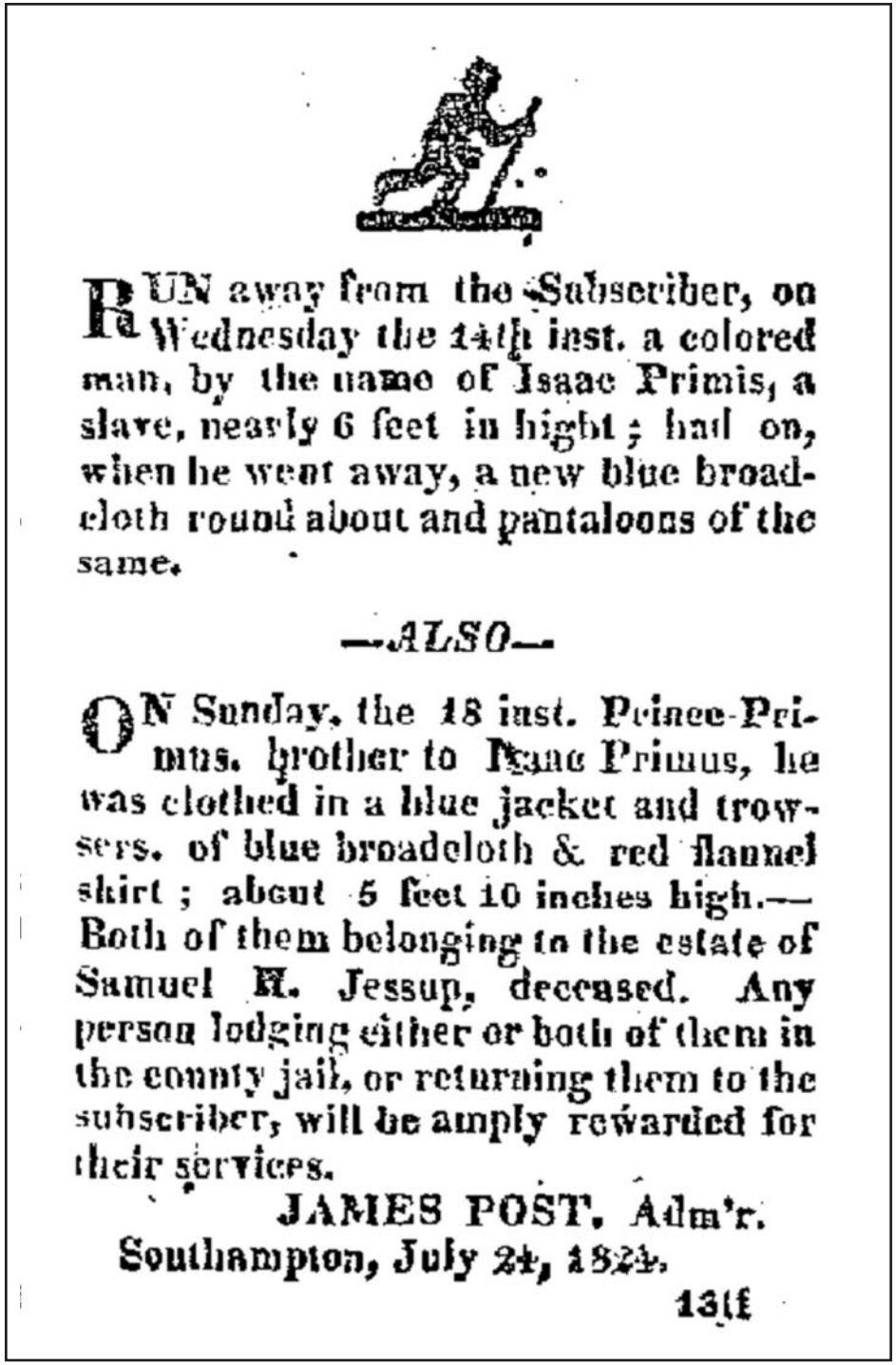
All Masters of Vessels and others are hereby Cautioned against harbouring, concealing or carrying off said Servant as they would avoid the Penalty of the Law. South-Hampton, April 28, 1773.[50]

The Corrector [Sag Harbor, NY], **July 24, 1824**

RUN away from the Subscriber, on Wednesday the 14 inst. a colored man, by the name of Isaac Primis, a slave, nearly 6 feet in hight; had on, when he went away, a new blue broadcloth round about and pantaloons of the same.

–ALSO–

ON Sunday, the 18 inst. Prince Primus, brother to Isaac Primus, he was clothed in a blue jacket and trowsers, of blue broadcloth & red flannel shirt; about 5 feet 10 inches high. Both of them belonging to the estate of Samuel H. Jessup, deceased. Any person lodging either or both of them in the county jail, or returning them to the subscriber, will be amply rewarded for their services. JAMES POST. Adm'r. Southampton, July 24, 1824.[51]



RUN away from the Subscriber, on Wednesday the 14th inst. a colored man, by the name of Isaac Primis, a slave, nearly 6 feet in hight; had on, when he went away, a new blue broadcloth round about and pantaloons of the same.

—ALSO—

ON Sunday, the 18 inst. Prince-Primus, brother to Isaac Primus, he was clothed in a blue jacket and trowsers, of blue broadcloth & red flannel skirt; about 5 feet 10 inches high.—Both of them belonging to the estate of Samuel H. Jessup, deceased. Any person lodging either or both of them in the county jail, or returning them to the subscriber, will be amply rewarded for their services.

JAMES POST, Adm'r.

Southampton, July 24, 1824.

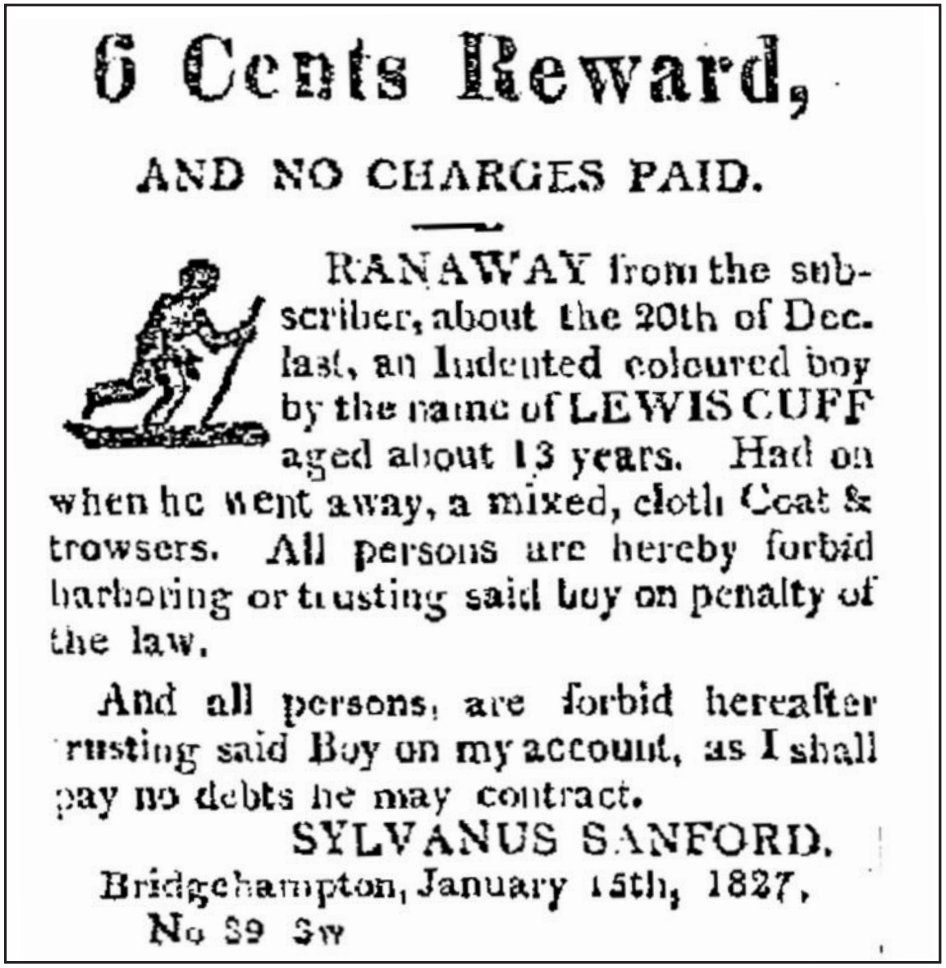
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The Corrector [Sag Harbor, NY], February 24, 1827

6 Cents Reward, AND NO CHARGES PAID.

RANAWAY from the subscriber, about the 20th of Dec. last, an Indented coloured boy by the name of LEWIS CUFF aged about 13 years. Had on when he went away, a mixed, cloth Coat & trowsers. All persons are hereby forbid harboring or trusting said boy on penalty of the law.
And all persons, are forbid hereafter trusting said Boy on my account as I shall pay no debts he may contract.

SYLVANUS SANFORD
Bridgehampton, January 15th, 1827.[52]



6 Cents Reward,

AND NO CHARGES PAID.

RANAWAY from the subscriber, about the 20th of Dec. last, an Indented coloured boy by the name of LEWIS CUFF aged about 13 years. Had on when he went away, a mixed, cloth Coat & trowsers. All persons are hereby forbid harboring or trusting said boy on penalty of the law.

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SYLVANUS SANFORD.

Bridgehampton, January 15th, 1827.

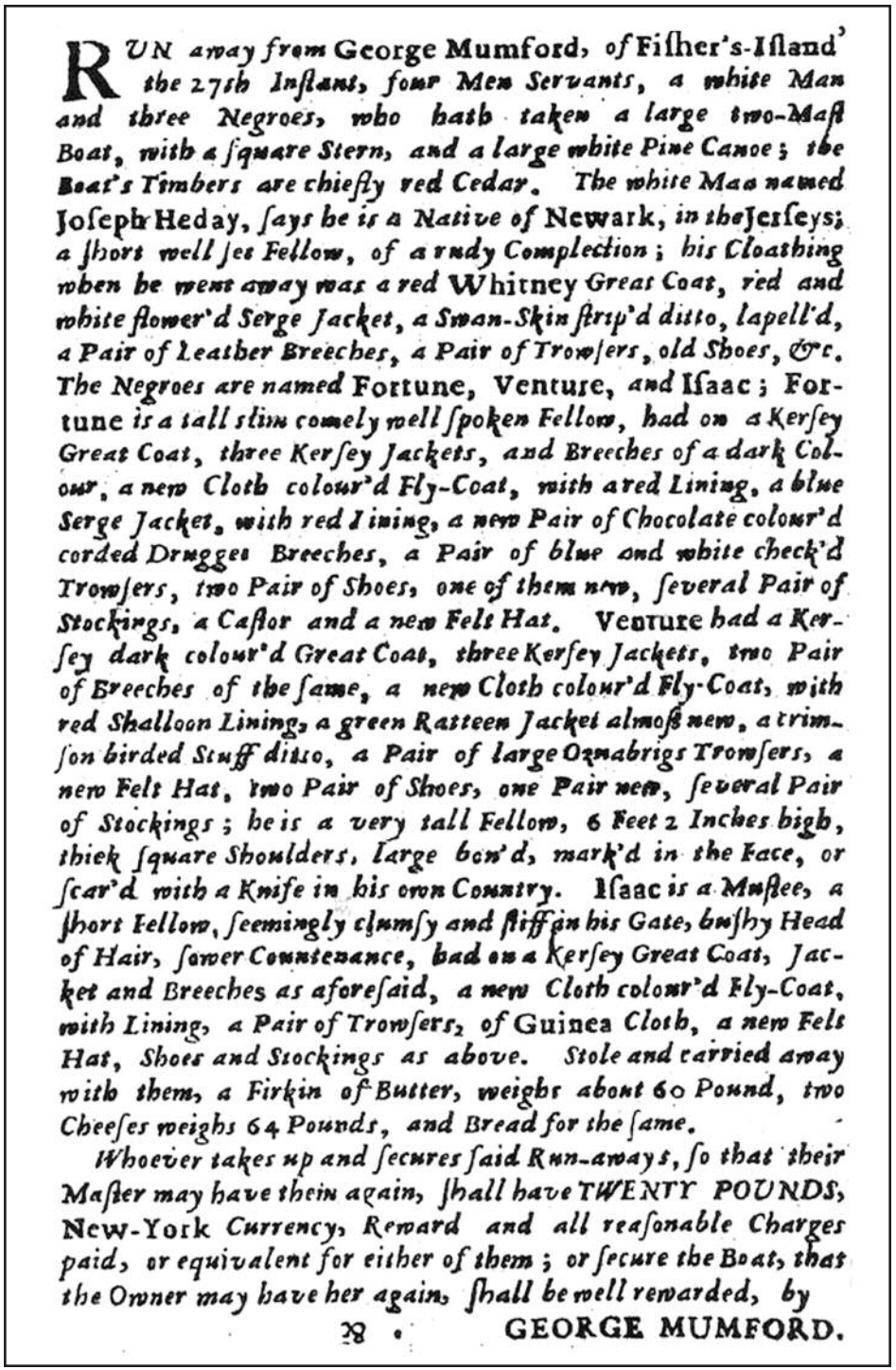
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from Southold

***The New-York Gazette: or, The Weekly Post-Boy,* April 1, 1754**

RUN away from George Mumford, of Fisher's Island, the 27th Instant, four Men Servants, a white Man and three Negroes, who hath taken a large two-Mast Boat, with a square Stern, and a large white Pine Canoe; the Boat's Timbers are chiefly red Cedar. The white Man named Joseph Heday, says he is a Native of Newark, in the Jerseys; a short well set Fellow, of a rudy Complection; his Cloathing when he went away was a red Whitney Great Coat, red and white flower'd Serge Jacket, a Swan-Skin strip'd ditto, lapell'd, a Pair of Leather Breeches, a Pair of Trowsers, old Shoes, &c. The Negroes are named Fortune, Venture, and Isaac; Fortune is a tall slim comely well spoken Fellow, had on a Kersey Great Coat, three Kersey Jackets, and Breeches of a dark Colour, a new Cloth colour'd Fly-Coat, with a red Lining, a blue Serge Jacket, with red lining, a new pair of Chololate colour'd corded Drugges Breeches, a Pair of blue and white check'd Trowsers, two Pair of Shoes, one of them new, several Pair of Stockings, a Castor and a new Felt Hat. Venture had a Kersey dark colour'd Great Coat, three Kersey Jackets, two Pair of Breeches of the same, a new Cloth colour'd Fly-Coat, with red Shalloon Lining, a green Ratteen Jacket almost new, a crimson birded Stuff ditto, a Pair of large Oznabrigs Trowsers, a new Felt Hat, two pair of Shoes, one Pair new, several Pair of Stockings; he is a very tall Fellow, 6 Feet 2 Inches high, thick square shoulders, large bon'd, mark'd in the Face, or scar'd with a Knife in his own Country. Isaac is a Mustee, a short Fellow, seemingly clumsy and stiff in his Gate, bushy Head of Hair, sower Countenance, had on a Kersey Great Coat, Jacket and Breeches as aforesaid, a new Cloth colour'd Fly-Coat, with Lining, a Pair of Trowsers, of Guinea Cloth, a new Felt Hat, Shoes and Stockings as above. Stole and carried away with them, a Firkin of Butter, weighs about 60 Pound, two Cheeses weighs 64 Pounds, and Bread for the same.

Whoever takes up and secures said Run-aways, so that their Master may have them again, shall have TWENTY POUNDS, New-York Currency, Reward and all reasonable Charges paid, or equivalent for either of them; or secure the Boat, that the Owner may have her again, shall be well rewarded, by GEORGE MUMFORD.[53]



RUN away from George Mumford, of Fisher's-Island the 27th Instant, four Men Servants, a white Man and three Negroes, who hath taken a large two-Mast Boat, with a square Stern, and a large white Pine Canoe; the Boat's Timbers are chiefly red Cedar. The white Man named Joseph Heday, says he is a Native of Newark, in the Jerseys; a short well set Fellow, of a ruddy Complection; his Cloathing when he went away was a red Whitney Great Coat, red and white flower'd Serge Jacket, a Swan-Skin strip'd ditto, lapell'd, a Pair of Leather Breeches, a Pair of Trowsers, old Shoes, &c. The Negroes are named Fortune, Venture, and Isaac; Fortune is a tall slim comely well spoken Fellow, had on a Kersey Great Coat, three Kersey Jackets, and Breeches of a dark Colour, a new Cloth colour'd Fly-Coat, with a red Lining, a blue Serge Jacket, with red Lining, a new Pair of Chocolate colour'd corded Drugget Breeches, a Pair of blue and white check'd Trowsers, two Pair of Shoes, one of them new, several Pair of Stockings, a Castor and a new Felt Hat. Venture had a Kersey dark colour'd Great Coat, three Kersey Jackets, two Pair of Breeches of the same, a new Cloth colour'd Fly-Coat, with red Shalloon Lining, a green Ratteen Jacket almost new, a trimson birded Stuff ditto, a Pair of large Oznabrigs Trowsers, a new Felt Hat, two Pair of Shoes, one Pair new, several Pair of Stockings; he is a very tall Fellow, 6 Feet 2 Inches high, thick square Shoulders, large bon'd, mark'd in the Face, or scar'd with a Knife in his own Country. Isaac is a Mustee, a short Fellow, seemingly clumsy and stiff in his Gate, bushy Head of Hair, sower Countenance, had on a Kersey Great Coat, Jacket and Breeches as aforesaid, a new Cloth colour'd Fly-Coat, with Lining, a Pair of Trowsers, of Guinea Cloth, a new Felt Hat, Shoes and Stockings as above. Stole and carried away with them, a Firkin of Butter, weighs about 60 Pound, two Cheeses weighs 64 Pounds, and Bread for the same.

Whoever takes up and secures said Run-aways, so that their Master may have them again, shall have TWENTY POUNDS, New-York Currency, Reward and all reasonable Charges paid, or equivalent for either of them; or secure the Boat, that the Owner may have her again, shall be well rewarded, by

GEORGE MUMFORD.

***The New-York Gazette, Revived in The Weekly Post-Boy,* December 5, 1748**

Run away on the first of November last from John Tuthill of the Oyster Ponds at the East End of Long Island, a Mollatto man slave named Toney, 19, had on when he went away a Felt Hat, a brown Camblet coat, a red Jacket and speckled Trowsers. Also seen in company with him, and Indian man named Jack, belonging to John Petty of the same place, aged 18, had his hair cut off. Had on when he went away an old Beaver hat, a lightish colour'd close-bodied Coat, a red jacket, leather breeches and speckled trowsers. Whoever takes up the said Toney, and sends him to his said Master, or to Obadiah Wells in New-York, shall have Forty Shillings as a Reward, and Twenty Shillings for doing the same with the said Jack, and all reasonable Charges paid by John Tuthill, John Petty, or Obadiah Wells.[54]

***The New-York Gazette: and the Weekly Mercury,* November 13, 1775**

RUN-away from the Subscriber, a Negro Man called Mingo, 20 Years of Age, of a yellow Cast, round Face, and middling flat Nose, about five Feet two Inches high: Had on when he went away, a Felt hat cut in the Fashion, a brown Sirtout, a homespun streaked Jacket, homespun chequered Trowsers, a Pair of blue Stockings speckled with white; carried with him a Pair of mix'd blue home knit Stockings. Whoever takes up and secures the said Fellow, so that his Master may have him again, shall receive Four Dollars Reward, and all reasonable Charges Paid by me, Benjamin Hutchinson, of Southold, Suffolk County, Long-Island.[55]

from East Hampton

***The Connecticut Gazette; and The Universal Intelligencer [New London],* July 9, 1773**

Ran away from me the Subscriber, of East Hampton, on Long Island, the 11th of June last, a NEGRO Man Slave named PRINCE, but has since called himself sundry different Names: He lived about Six Years with Mr. Daniel Denison, at Stonington, in New London County; is about 28 Years old, of midling Stature and Bigness, and straight limed; tells various Stories to prevent his being taken for a Runaway. Had on a Kersey Waistcoat of a redish cast, with Cuffs, striped Towcloth Trousers, with a patch of the same on one or both Knees, whited Towcloth Shirt, and a Castor Hat with a white Loop.

Whoever will take up said Slave and return him to me the Subscriber in East Hampton, or secure him in any of his Majesty's Goals, so that I may have him again, shall receive THREE DOLLARS Reward, and all necessary Charges paid by me. *JOHN MULFORD.*

July 5, 1773.[56]

Ran away from me the Subſcriber, of *Eaſt-Hampton*, on *Long Iſland*, the 11th of *June* laſt, a NEGRO Man Slave named *PRINCE*, but has ſince called himſelf by ſundry different Names: He lived about Six Years with Mr. *Daniel Deniſon*, at *Stonington*, in *New-London* County; is about 28 Years old, of midling Stature and Bigneſs, and ſtraight limed; tells various Stories to prevent his being taken for a Runaway. Had on a Kerſey Waiſtcoat of a rediſh caſt, with Cuffs, ſtriped Towcloth Trouſers, with a Patch of the ſame on one or both Knees, whited Towcloth Shirt, and a Caſtor Hat with a white Loop.

Whoever will take up ſaid Slave and return him to me the Subſcriber in *Eaſt Hampton*, or ſecure him in any of his Majeſty's Goals, ſo that I may have him again, ſhall receive THREE DOLLARS Reward, and all neceſſary Charges paid by me JOHN MULFORD.

July 5, 1773.

Witness: Jupiter Hammon (1711 - c. 1806)



Completed in 1767, the Joseph Lloyd Manor House in Lloyd Harbor was where an enslaved Jupiter Hammon lived and worked for the Lloyd family, and wrote poetry and prose later in his life. Image courtesy of Preservation Long Island, which owns and maintains the property as a museum.

Jupiter Hammon is one of the founders of African American literature. Born in 1711 on the estate of Henry Lloyd at Lloyd Neck in what was then Queens County (now part of the village of Lloyd Harbor in the town of Huntington in Suffolk County), he was one of two sons of Obium and Rose, who were held in slavery by the Lloyd family. Jupiter was educated with the Lloyd children, learning to read and write and eventually adopted their devout Christian faith.

Possibly serving as an enslaved butler and senior servant in the Lloyd family manor, Jupiter's first published poem, "An Evening Thought. Salvation by Christ with Penetential Cries," appeared as a broadside in 1761. His next published poem came while living in Connecticut in 1778 after the Lloyd family evacuated Long Island following the British occupation of New York and brought their enslaved workers. "An Address to Miss Phillis Wheatly" shows Hammon in dialog with the internationally famous (and only other published) African American writer. Three more of his works were published in Hartford before the family returned to Long Island with the enslaved Hammon.

Jupiter Hammon never married or had children, and remained in bondage his entire life. His last work, "An Address to the Negroes in the State of New-York" was published in New York in 1787, with Hammon listed as "Servant of John Lloyd, jun., Esq; of the Manor of Queen's Village, Long-Island." In this address delivered to the African Society of New York in 1786, the seventy-four year old advocated for enslaved African Americans to be obedient, honest, and faithful to their slaveholders as part of their Christian duty. He did not wish to be free, but hoped that others, particularly young African Americans, would be freed. Far from excusing enslavement, the elderly Hammon was concerned that slave owners would free their elderly captives and leave them destitute. Such was not Hammon's fate: he passed away around 1806 and benefited from a large support network of relatives, some with whom he lived in his final decade.

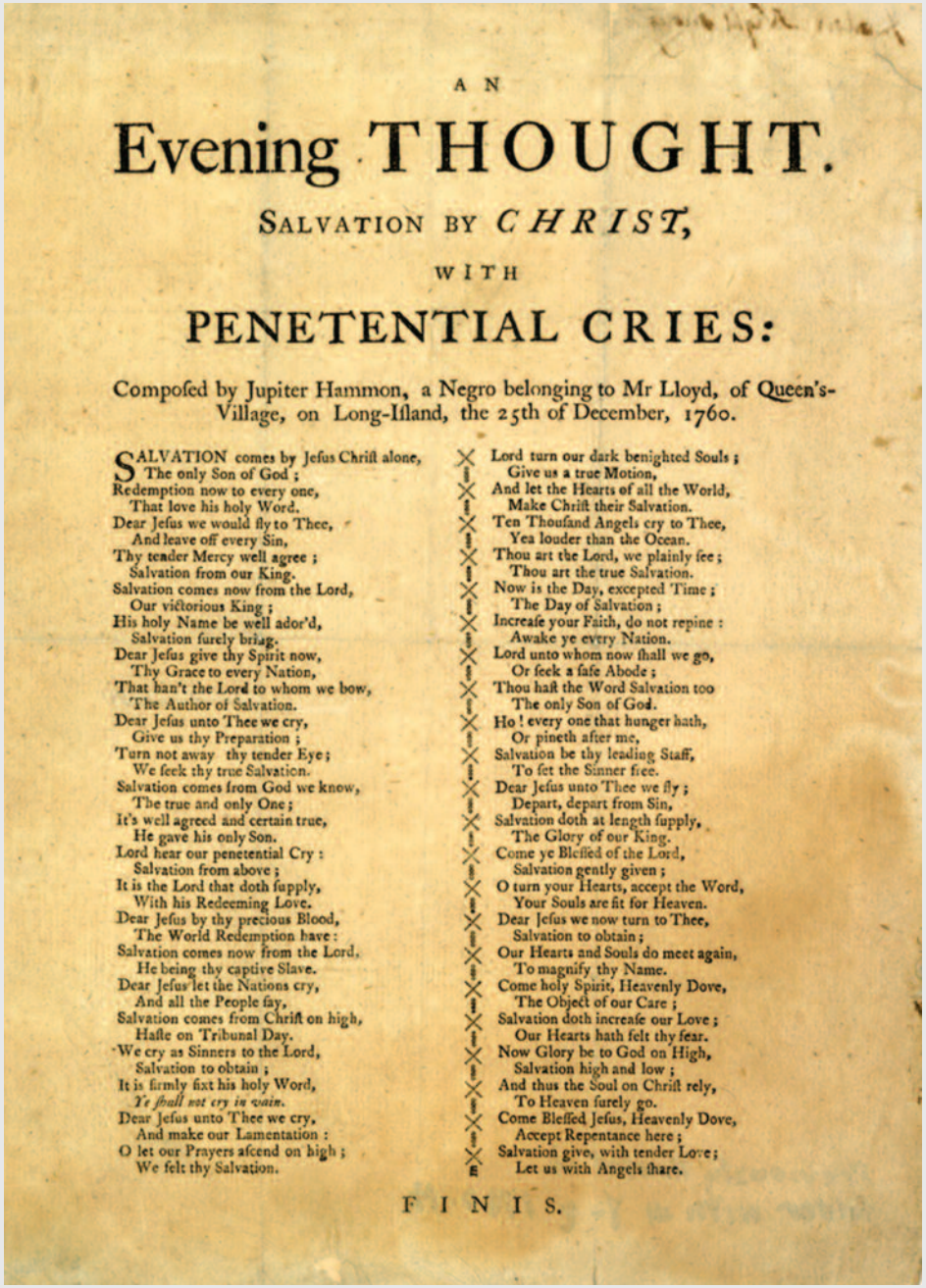
The poems and essays published during Hammon's lifetime have been joined by recent discoveries of two unpublished poems in the collections of Yale University in 2011, and the New-York Historical Society in 2015. The former, "An essay on Slavery" (1786), demonstrates his criticism of slavery – a viewpoint which conflicted with those of the Lloyd family who enslaved him and likely contributed to this work not being published.[57]

Poems

- "An Evening Thought. Salvation by Christ, with Penetential Cries" (published New York, 1761)
- Untitled poem on Ann Hutchinson (unpublished; transcribed by Phebe Townsend, 1770; manuscript found in collection of New-York Historical Society, 2015)
- "An Address to Miss Phillis Wheatly" (published Hartford, 1778)
- "An Essay on the Ten Virgins" (published Hartford, 1779; no known copy exists)
- "A Poem for Children with Thoughts on Death" (published Hartford, 1782, in the same pamphlet as "A Winter Piece")
- "An essay on Slavery, with Submission to Divine Providence, knowing that God Rules over all things" (1786; unpublished manuscript found in collection of Yale University, 2011)

Essays

- "A Winter Piece: being a Serious Exhortation, with a call to the Unconverted: and a short Contemplation on the Death of Jesus Christ" (published Hartford, 1782)
- "An Evening's Improvement. Shewing, the Necessity of beholding the Lamb of God. To which is added, A Dialogue, Entitled, The Kind Master and Dutiful Servant" (published Hartford, c. 1783)
- "An Address to the Negroes in the State of New-York" (published New York, 1787)



AN

Evening THOUGHT.

SALVATION BY *CHRIST*,

WITH

PENETENTIAL CRIES:

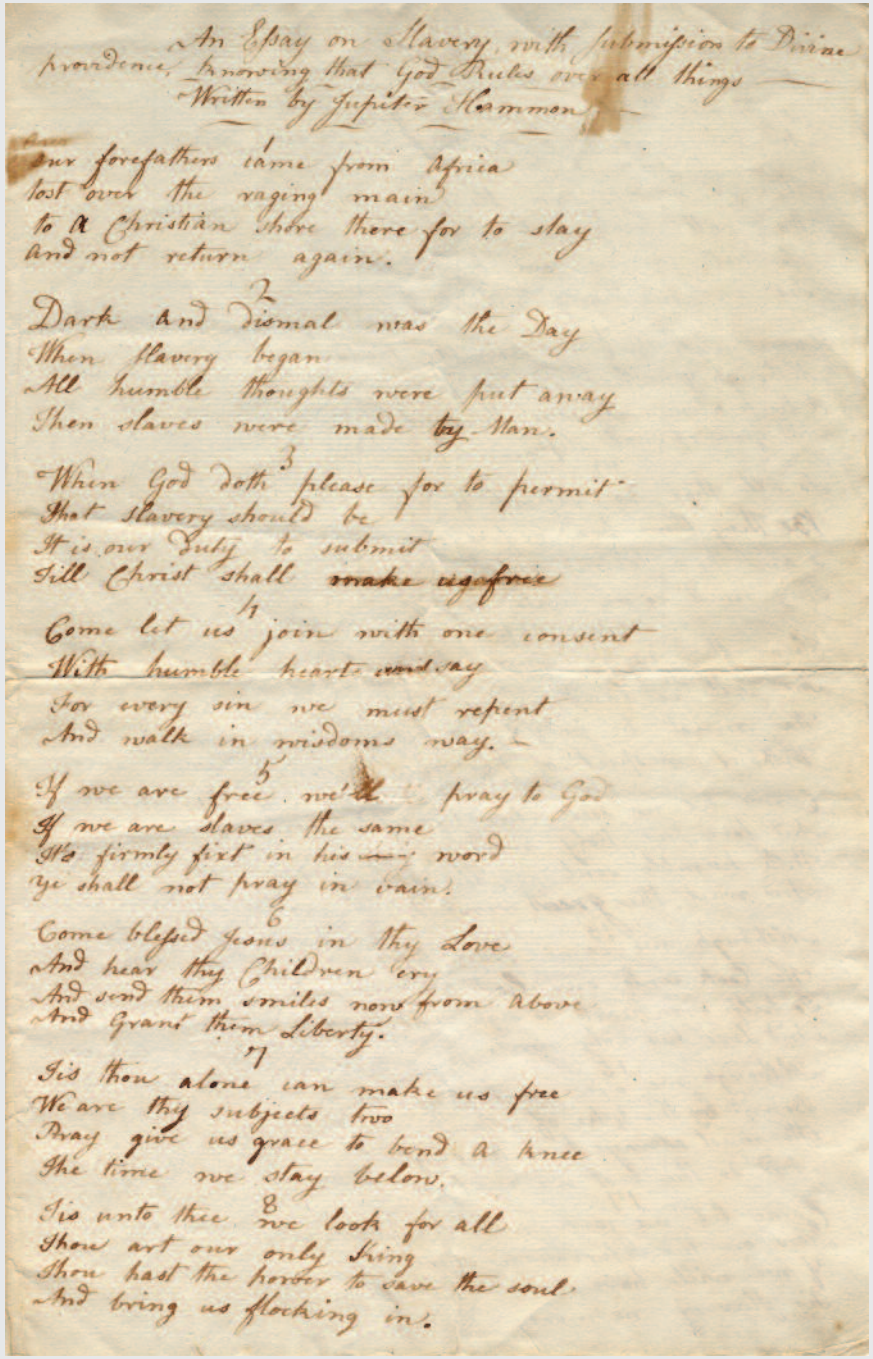
Compoſed by Jupiter Hammon, a Negro belonging to Mr Lloyd, of Queen's-Village, on Long-Iſland, the 25th of December, 1760.

SALVATION comes by Jeſus Chriſt alone,
The only Son of God;
Redemption now to every one,
That love his holy Word.
Dear Jeſus we would fly to Thee,
And leave off every Sin,
Thy tender Mercy well agree;
Salvation from our King.
Salvation comes now from the Lord,
Our victorious King;
His holy Name be well ador'd,
Salvation furely brings.
Dear Jeſus give thy Spirit now,
Thy Grace to every Nation,
That han't the Lord to whom we bow,
The Author of Salvation.
Dear Jeſus unto Thee we cry,
Give us thy Preparation;
Turn not away thy tender Eye;
We ſeek thy true Salvation.
Salvation comes from God we know,
The true and only One;
It's well agreed and certain true,
He gave his only Son.
Lord hear our penetential Cry:
Salvation from above;
It is the Lord that doth ſupply,
With his Redeeming Love.
Dear Jeſus by thy precious Blood,
The World Redemption have:
Salvation comes now from the Lord,
He being thy captive Slave.
Dear Jeſus let the Nations cry,
And all the People ſay,
Salvation comes from Chriſt on high,
Haſte on Tribunal Day.
We cry as Sinners to the Lord,
Salvation to obtain;
It is firmly fixt his holy Word,
Ye ſhall not cry in vain.
Dear Jeſus unto Thee we cry,
And make our Lamentation:
O let our Prayers aſcend on high;
We felt thy Salvation.

Lord turn our dark benighted Souls;
Give us a true Motion,
And let the Hearts of all the World,
Make Chriſt their Salvation.
Ten Thouſand Angels cry to Thee,
Yea louder than the Ocean.
Thou art the Lord, we plainly ſee;
Thou art the true Salvation.
Now is the Day, excepted Time;
The Day of Salvation;
Increaſe your Faith, do not repine:
Awake ye every Nation.
Lord unto whom now ſhall we go,
Or ſeek a ſafe Abode;
Thou haſt the Word Salvation too
The only Son of God.
Ho! every one that hunger hath,
Or pineth after me,
Salvation be thy leading Staff,
To ſet the Sinner free.
Dear Jeſus unto Thee we fly;
Depart, depart from Sin,
Salvation doth at length ſupply,
The Glory of our King.
Come ye Bleſſed of the Lord,
Salvation gently given;
O turn your Hearts, accept the Word,
Your Souls are fit for Heaven.
Dear Jeſus we now turn to Thee,
Salvation to obtain;
Our Hearts and Souls do meet again,
To magnify thy Name.
Come holy Spirit, Heavenly Dove,
The Object of our Care;
Salvation doth increaſe our Love;
Our Hearts hath felt thy fear.
Now Glory be to God on High,
Salvation high and low;
And thus the Soul on Chriſt rely,
To Heaven ſurely go.
Come Bleſſed Jeſus, Heavenly Dove,
Accept Repentance here;
Salvation give, with tender Love;
Let us with Angels ſhare.

FINIS.

"An Evening Thought. Salvation by Christ, with Penetential Cries: composed by Jupiter Hammon...," c. 1760. Broadside SY1760 no.2, Patricia D. Klingenstein Library, New-York Historical Society.


An Essay on Slavery with Submission to Divine
providence, knowing that God Rules over all things
Written by Jupiter Hammon

1
Our forefathers came from Africa
Tost over the raging main
To a Christian shore there for to stay
And not return again.

2
Dark and dismal was the Day
When slavery began
All humble thoughts were put away
Then slaves were made by Man.

3
When God doth please for to permit
That slavery should be
It is our duty to submit
Till Christ shall ~~make us free~~

4
Come let us join with one consent
With humble heart and say
For every sin we must repent
And walk in wisdoms way.

5
If we are free we'll pray to God
If we are slaves the same
It's firmly fixt in his ~~holy~~ word
Ye shall not pray in vain.

6
Come blessed Jesus in thy Love
And hear thy Children cry
And send them smiles now from above
And Grant them Liberty.

7
Tis thou alone can make us free
We are thy subjects too
Pray give us grace to bend a knee
The time we stay below.

8
Tis unto thee we look for all
Thou art our only King
Thou hast the power to save the soul
And bring us flocking in.

Jupiter Hammon, "An Essay on Slavery," 1786, page 1 of 4. Hillhouse Family Papers (MS 282). Manuscripts & Archives, Yale University.

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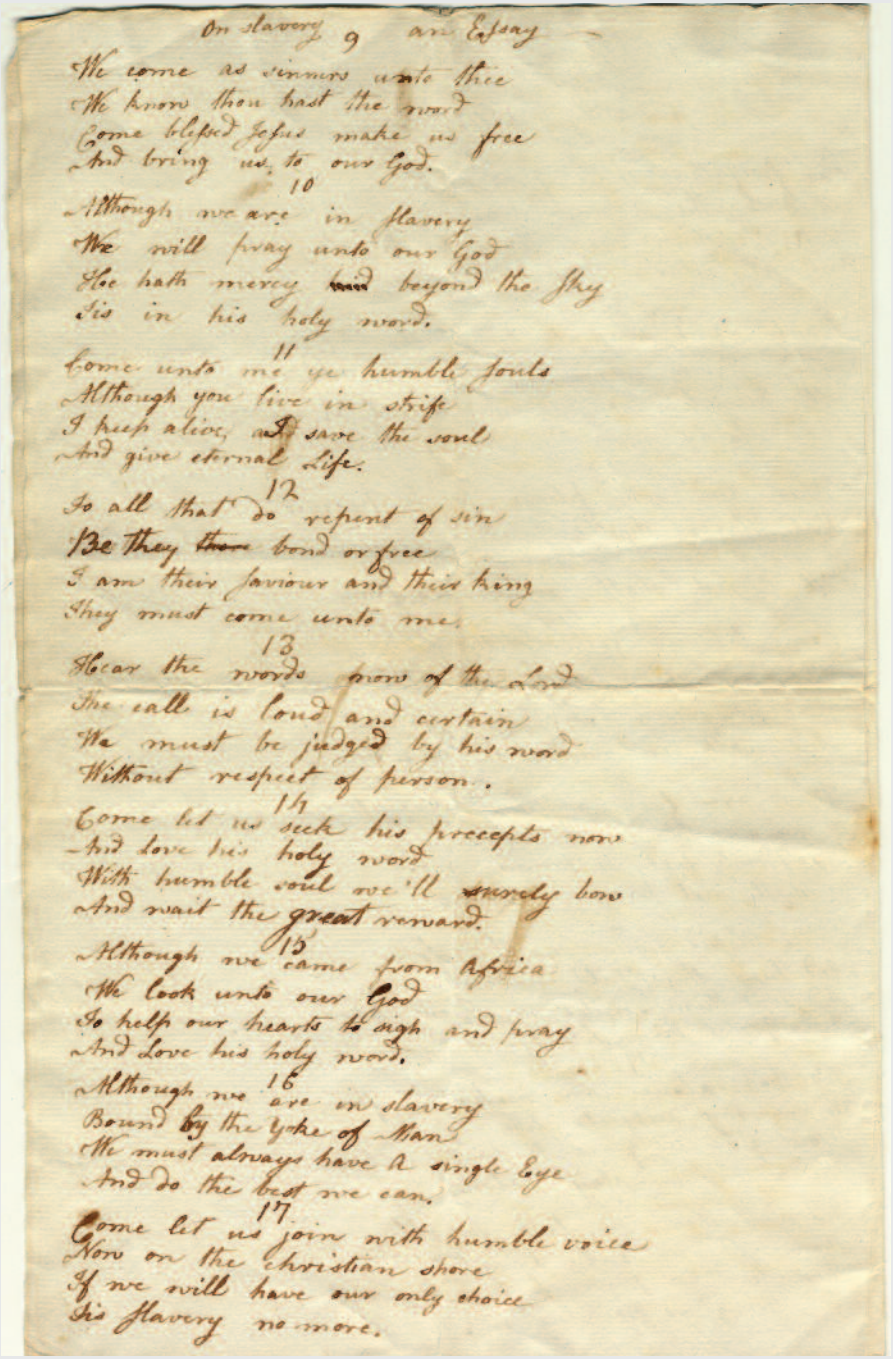
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Thou hast the power to save the soul
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On slavery 9 an Essay

We come as sinners unto thee
We know thou hast the word
Come blessed Jesus make us free
And bring us to our God.

10

Although we are in slavery
We will pray unto our God
He hath mercy beyond the sky
Tis in his holy word.

11

Come unto me ye humble souls
Although you live in strife
I keep alive, and save the soul
And give eternal Life.

12

To all that do repent of sin
Be they bond or free
I am their saviour and their king
They must come unto me.

13

Hear the words now of the Lord
The call is loud and certain
We must be judged by his word
Without respect of person.

14

Come let us seek his precepts now
And love his holy word
With humble soul we'll surely bow
And wait the great reward.

15

Although we came from Africa
We look unto our God
To help our hearts to sigh and pray
And Love his holy word.

16

Although we are in slavery
Bound by the Yoke of Man
We must always have A single Eye
And do the best we can.

17

Come let us join with humble voice
Now on the christian shore
If we will have our only choice
Tis slavery no more.

Jupiter Hammon, "An Essay on Slavery," 1786, page 2 of 4. Hillhouse Family Papers (MS 282). Manuscripts & Archives, Yale University.

9

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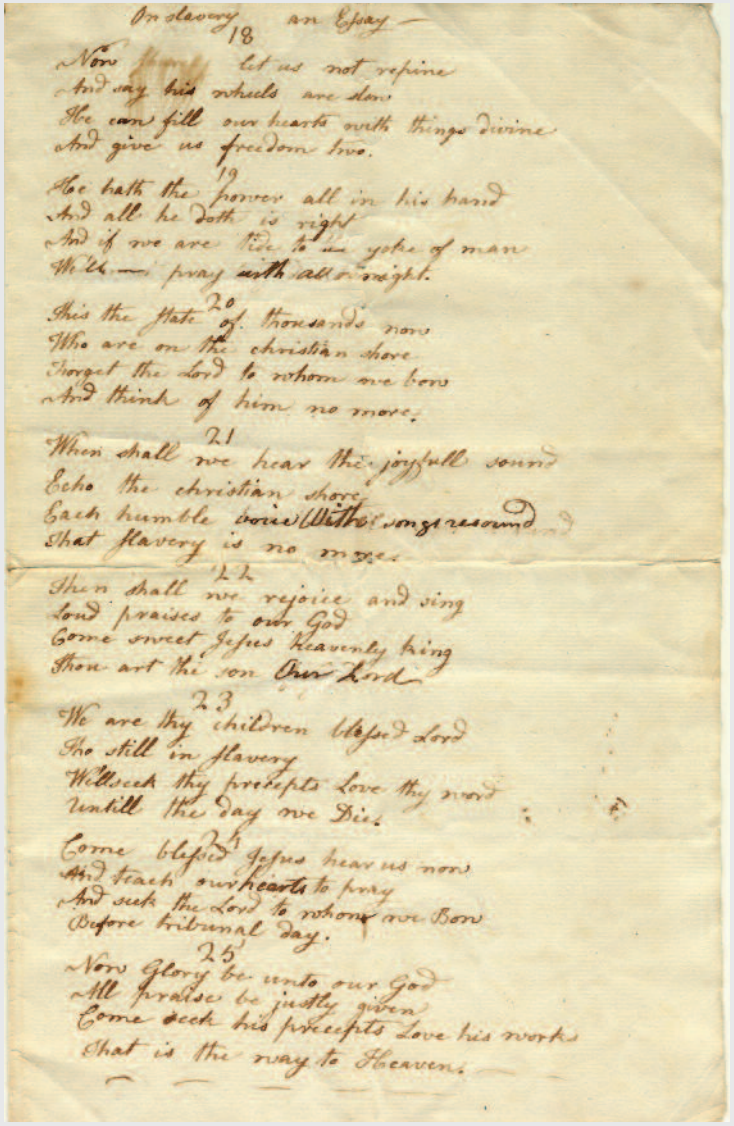
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If we will have our only choice
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On slavery an Essay

18

Now [illegible] let us not repine
And say his wheels are slow
He can fill our hearts with things divine
And give us freedom too.

19

He hath the power all in his hand
And all he doth is right
And if we are tide to the yoke of man
We'll — pray with all our might.

20

This the State of thousands now
Who are on the christian shore
Forget the Lord to whom we bow
And think of him no more.

21

When shall we hear the joyfull sound
Echo the christian shore
Each humble voice with songs resound
That slavery is no more.

22

Then shall we rejoice and sing
Loud praises to our God
Come sweet Jesus heavenly king
Thou art the son Our Lord.

23

We are thy children blessed Lord
Tho still in slavery
We'll seek thy precepts Love thy word
Untill the day we Die.

24

Come blessed Jesus hear us now
And teach our hearts to pray
And seek the Lord to whom we Bow
Before tribunal day.

25

Now Glory be unto our God
All praise be justly given
Come seek his precepts Love his works
That is the way to Heaven.

Composed By Jupiter Hammon
A Negro Man belonging to Mr John Lloyd
Queens Village on Long Island
November 10th 1786

Jupiter Hammon, "An Essay on Slavery," 1786, pages 3 and 4. Hillhouse Family Papers (MS 282). Manuscripts & Archives, Yale University.

18

Now Shurely let us not repine
And say his wheels are slow
He can fill our hearts with things divine
And give us freedom too.

19

He hath the power all in his hand
And all he doth is right
And if we are tide to the yoke of man
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Rock Hall, Latting's Hundred, and Raynham Hall: Windows on Enslaved Long Islanders' Faith and Spirituality

Historic houses on Long Island which were once sites where enslaved African Americans lived and worked are important places to learn about their lives through historical and archaeological investigations. The following three houses in Nassau and Suffolk counties provide evidence of their faith and spirituality – ways of culturally resisting the dehumanization of slavery.

Rock Hall

In 1767 English sugar plantation owner Josiah Martin (1699-1778) moved his family and some enslaved servants from Antigua to Long Island, New York. At age sixty-seven, he sought a retirement free from possible insurrections from his large enslaved plantation workforce. Purchasing a 600-acre farm later that year in what is now the village of Lawrence, Martin oversaw the construction of a large Georgian style house that he named Rock Hall. In addition to the main house, his enslaved laborers also erected outbuildings essential to a farm's operation. After Josiah's death in 1778, his son, Dr. Samuel Martin, continued to live at Rock Hall with his family while managers continued to operate the Martin's Antiguan sugar plantation, Green Castle.

The first U.S. Census in 1790 recorded nine members of the extended Martin family at Rock Hall and 17 enslaved workers – the largest number of any household in Queens County. The 1800 Census recorded 14 enslaved African Americans supporting a Martin household of eight. Following Dr. Martin's death in 1806, the family largely moved away and the estate's operation by enslaved workers ended before the 1810 census.[58]

Beginning in 2000, archaeological excavations have helped provide insight into the lives of Rock Hall's enslaved African Americans, including their spirituality. In the summer of 2004, archaeologists excavated a former cellar entrance on the western side of Rock Hall. It was in use from the construction of the house in 1767 until being abandoned around 1830 and finally sealed around 1880 (circled in red, next page). Given the location of a former separate kitchen building in Rock Hall's west yard, archaeologists believe that the Martin family's enslaved servants would have brought food from the kitchen, through this cellar entrance for final preparation (no kitchen existed within Rock Hall) before serving the family upstairs.



Rock Hall (built c. 1767), Lawrence, Long Island, 2019.



Detail of August 15, 1817 survey of Rock Hall by Morris Fosdick. Courtesy of Town of Hempstead, Rock Hall Museum. Fosdick likely created this survey in preparation of the Martin family subdividing and selling the estate. While meant to accurately depict the land and not the buildings, it still provides a record of Rock Hall's outbuildings – including two with chimneys that may have served as living quarters for enslaved workers.





Rock Hall cellar entrance excavation photos by Ross Rava, 2004.

Upon excavating the area in front of the former entrance, they discovered two caches of artifacts. One was comprised of lead bird shot, iron nails, and brass straight pins scattered between two red sandstones (arrows below left) placed upright in the soil. A second cache in a hole to the left of the former cellar entrance contained items such as a bone utensil handle, brass hair clip, pipe stem, brass sewing pins, buttons, ceramic and glass fragments, animal teeth and bones, and quartz stones.[59]





(Top) Two red sandstones flank examples of the lead bird shot, cut and hand-forged nails, and brass pins excavated from a former cellar entranceway at Rock Hall. (Above) A portion of the second cache, containing bones, glass, ceramics, pins, pottery, and seashells. Photos from *Long Road to Freedom* exhibition.

Far from being random deposits of discarded objects, these are instead examples of African spiritual practices brought to the U.S., and which are found at many sites of enslavement such as Rock Hall as well as post-emancipation houses of African Americans. Such deposits – called minkisi (singular: nkisi) bundles – are often found at windows, doorways, and chimneys, and appear to be intended to spiritually protect these entrances.[60]

Latting's Hundred



Latting's Hundred (built 1653), Huntington, Long Island, 1947. Huntington Historical Society.

During renovation work at a colonial house called Latting's Hundred (built 1653; expanded c. 1702) in Huntington in the 1970s, the homeowners found what we now know to be three African spiritual caches. The first was a linen bundle placed under the cellar staircase containing (right, at top) bent nails, glass and pottery fragments, buttons, pins, and a single red bead, scallop shell, and piece of quartz. A second smaller cache placed under the sill of an interior doorway contained a piece of window glass and a brass waistcoat button (right, at bottom left). And two necklaces of blue [61] and white glass beads (right) were found on top of a sill in the basement.



Three African spiritual caches, or minkisi, discovered at Latting's Hundred. Long Island Museum, gift of the family of Reginald H. Metcalf, Jr.

Owing to their location, these caches date to after 1702, when Captain William Jarvis acquired the property and added the two story dwelling, from which he also operated a general store. In 1739 Captain Joseph Lewis and his wife Abigail Scudder moved into the house, bringing with them Rachel and her son Peter. The enslaved mother and child were part of Scudder's dowry when she married Lewis. With the Lewis family operating the property as an inn and home, Rachel managed both, with her son working as a butler. While it's unknown who placed these caches and when, it's possible that they were either Rachel, her son Peter, niece Sarah, or nephew Elijah, when the family lived and worked in the house between 1739 and 1792.[62]

Raynham Hall

In 1740, twenty-three-year-old Samuel Townsend (1717-1790) purchased a two-year-old house in the center of the village of Oyster Bay. To accommodate a growing household that would eventually include his wife Sarah, ten children (eight surviving to adulthood), and enslaved servants, Samuel enlarged the rear of the house. In addition to operating a general store from his home, Samuel ran a shipping business with his brother Jacob that by 1765 owned four ships trading between Europe and the Caribbean for goods including rum, dye, china, sugar, molasses, tea, and lumber.

With his ships transporting goods such as lumber and sugar made through slave labor, and enslaved African Americans from other households coming to his store to make purchases, Samuel had made his first documented purchase of an enslaved man back in 1749. In a 1755 census of Oyster Bay, Samuel Townsend is listed as having an enslaved man and woman, but that number would eventually increase.

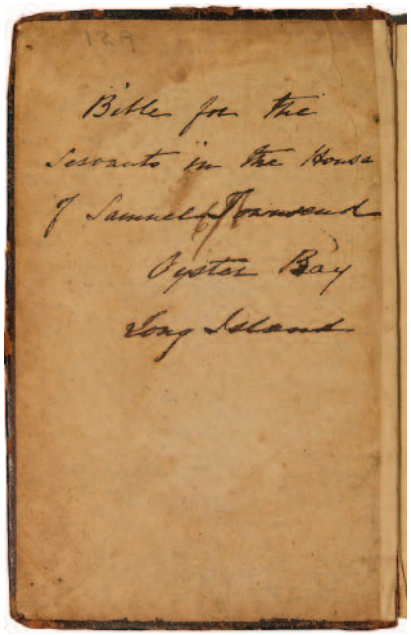


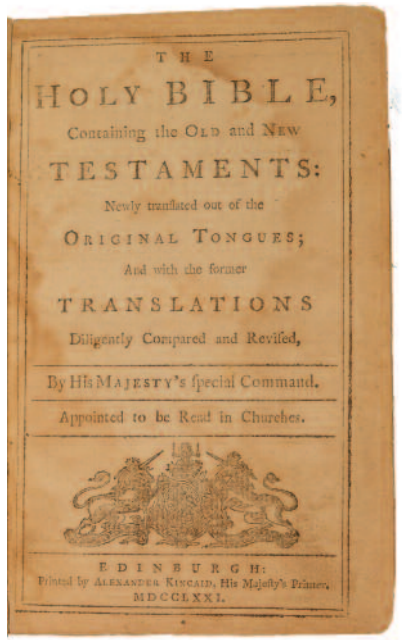
Raynham Hall (built 1738), Oyster Bay, Long Island, 2015. Collection of Raynham Hall Museum.

In the collection of Raynham Hall Museum is a 1771 Bible with the following inscription on the inside front cover: “Bible for the servants in the House of Samuel Townsend, Oyster Bay, Long Island.”

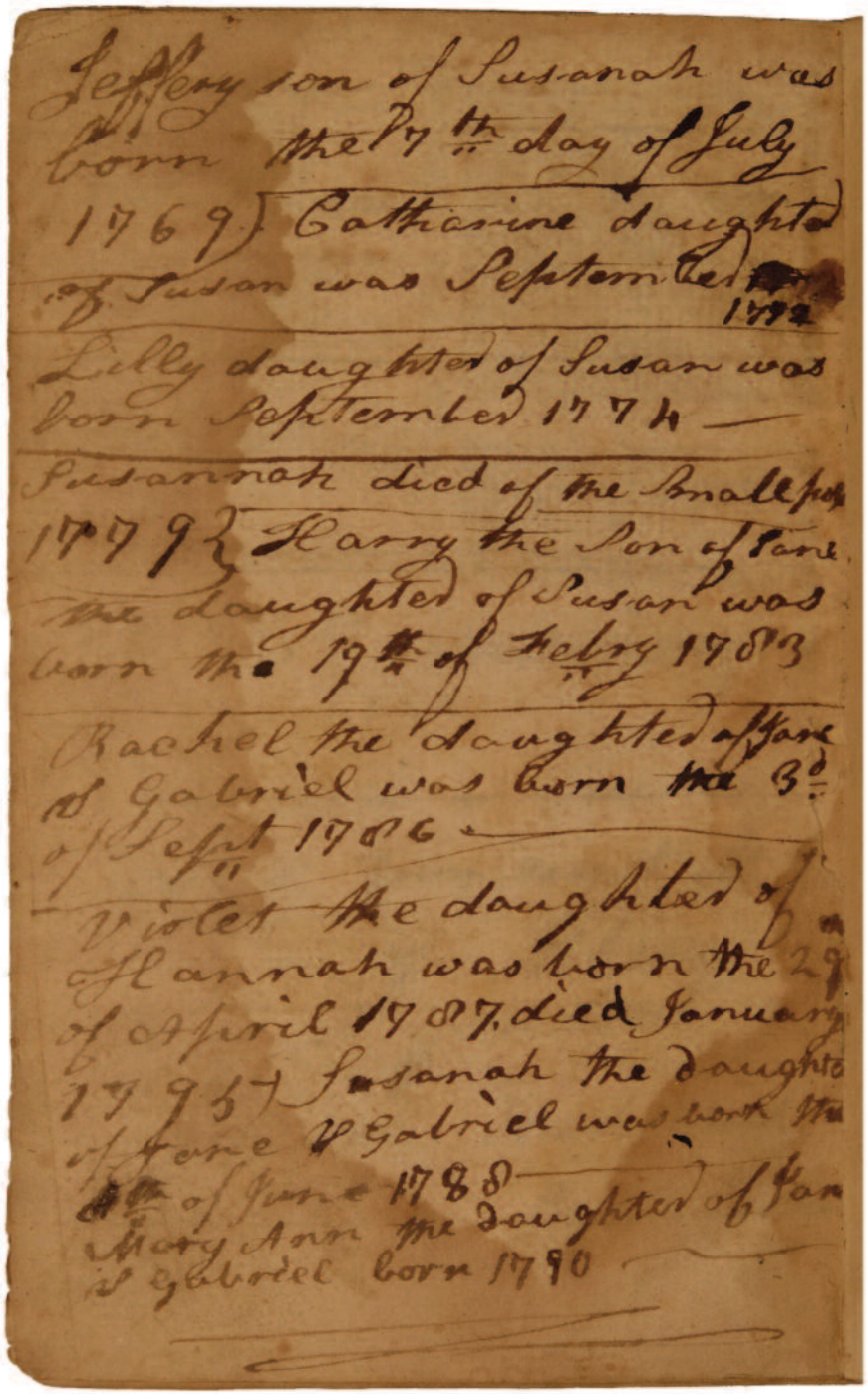
This gift from Samuel is a record of faith, life, and education. It suggests Townsend expected his enslaved staff to be both Christian and literate, with this book perhaps helping them to learn to read. In addition to the book’s education value, an enslaved resident of Raynham Hall or a Townsend family member used the end pages to record births and deaths from 1769 to 1795.

Among those named (see following page), Samuel gave Gabriel and Jane as a wedding present to his son Solomon around 1782. Not every person the Townsend family enslaved, however, is recorded on these pages; surviving correspondence shows that a woman named Elizabeth escaped when British troops left Oyster Bay in 1779. Commander of the Queen’s Rangers, Lt. Colonel John Graves Simcoe, had chosen the house as his headquarters and resided with the Townsend family for six months in 1778-1779.[63]





The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments..., published, Edinburgh, Scotland, 1771. Collection of Raynham Hall Museum. Inscription on the pastedown reads “Bible for the / Servants in the House / of Samuel Townsend / Oyster Bay / Long Island.”



[Transcription]

Jeffery son of Susanah was
Born the 7th day of July
1769

Catharine daughter
of Susan was September 1772

Lilly daughter of Susan was
born September 1774

Susannah died of the Smallpox
1779

Harry the son of Jane
the daughter of Susan was
born the 19th of Febry 1783

Rachel the daughter of Jane
& Gabriel was born the 3d
of Sept 1786

Violet the daughter of
Hannah was born the 29
of April 1787. died January
1795 Susanah the daughter
of Jane & Gabriel was born the
4th of June 1788
Mary Ann the daughter of Jane
& Gabriel born 1790

Page from Bible given by Samuel Townsend to his enslaved servants, listing births and deaths, 1769-1795. Collection of Raynham Hall Museum.



J. McGahey, "Felling Mahogany." Lithograph published in Chaloner & Fleming, *The Mahogany Tree: Its Botanical Characters, Qualities and Uses...* (Liverpool: Rockliff and Son, 1850). The LuEsther T. Mertz Library of the New York Botanical Garden.



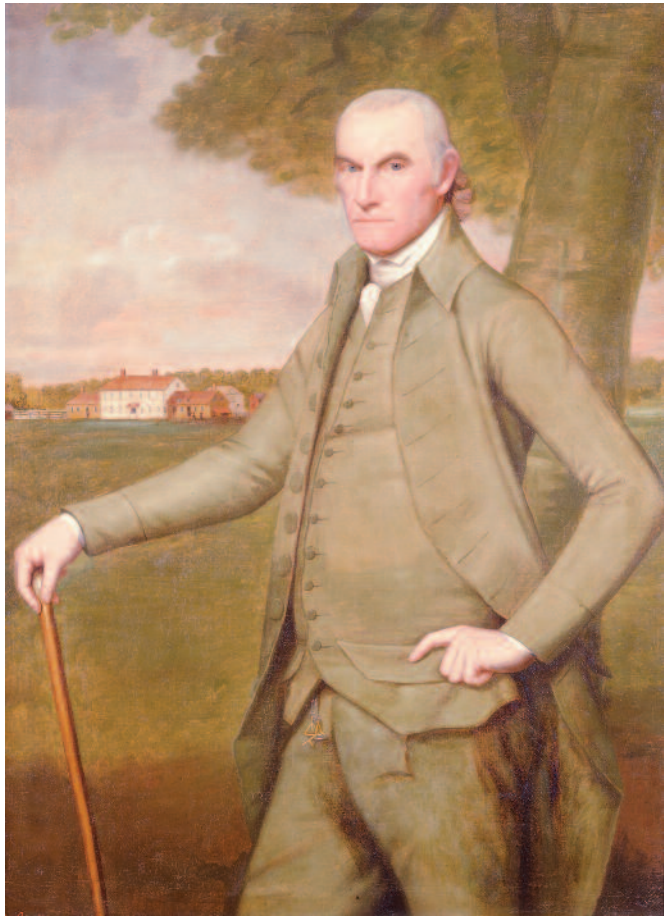
William Clark, "Cutting the Sugar-Cane." Lithograph published in *Ten Views in the Island of Antigua, in which are Represented the Process of Sugar Making...* (London: Thomas Clay, 1823). Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library.





(Left) Chippendale-style mahogany tea table, 1765-1785, descended through the family of William Floyd. Collection of Preservation Long Island, 2003.1. (Above) Teapot marked by Elias Pelletreau, c. 1765. Cream pot, sugar cup, and sugar tongs marked by shop of Elias Pelletreau, c. 1791. Collection of Paul Guarner. Photograph by Glenn Castellano.

Even for households on Long Island that did not own enslaved workers, they might still benefit from slave labor in their consumer purchases. These two images offer a look at laborers harvesting mahogany and sugar in Central America and the Caribbean in the early to mid 19th century. These luxury products were found in every middle and upper-class home and demonstrated one's refined taste and disposable income. Before Honduras outlawed slavery in 1824, and Antigua in 1834, these products were harvested by enslaved laborers in brutal conditions.[64]



Ralph Earl (1751-1801), *Colonel William Floyd*, 1793. Oil on canvas. Courtesy of Independence National Historical Park.



Old Mastic House, the William Floyd estate, c. 1724, with later additions. Mastic Beach, Long Island. Fire Island National Seashore, National Park Service.

Daily luxuries for some Long Islanders in the slavery era included drinking tea poured from a silver teapot and sweetened with sugar, and enjoyed on mahogany furniture. But these acts also marked participation in the slave economy, locally and globally. Silversmith Elias Pelletreau (1726-1810) of Southampton owned two enslaved individuals, Peg and Pomp, at the start of the Revolutionary War, and their labor in his household contributed to the successful operation of his business.[65]

Reflecting on the willingness of consumers to overlook the enslavement and brutal working conditions on Caribbean sugar plantations, Ralph Waldo Emerson commented in 1844 that "The sugar they raised was excellent. Nobody tasted blood in it."[66]

Pelletreau's clients included plantation owner and patriot William Floyd (1734-1821). This portrait (above, left) by Ralph Earl depicts the Founding Father a decade after the end of the Revolutionary War, during which he fled Long Island for Connecticut. Returning in 1783, he restored and expanded the family manor house in Mastic Beach using free and enslaved workers. The 1790 U.S. Census lists fourteen enslaved people at the Floyd estate (the largest number of any estate in Suffolk County), along with five free people of color. Floyd heavily relied on enslaved labor, both in the operation of the estate and in the luxury goods with which he equipped his home (above, right), including the table pictured on the preceding page.[67]


The People of the State of New York by the grace of God free and Independent: To all to whom these presents shall come Greeting: know Ye that We having inspected the records remaining in our Secretary's Office do find there recorded in book of pardons No. 2. page 39 a certain pardon in the words and figures following to wit ——— The People of the State of New York by the grace of God free and Independent: To all to whom these presents shall come Greeting: Whereas at a Court of Oyer and Terminer held in and for our County of Queens in the Month of September 1805 Tom (a Negro slave of Richard Allen) was convicted of Robbery and was thereupon sentenced to be imprisoned in the State prison at hard Labor for Life under which conviction and sentence thereupon the said Tom now lies imprisoned and he being represented unto us as a fit object of our mercy Therefore know Ye that We have pardoned remised and released and by these presents do pardon remise and release the said Tom of and from the Offence whereof in our said Court he stands convicted as aforesaid and of and from all Sentences judgments and Executions thereon In Testimony whereof We have caused these our Letters to be made patent and the Great Seal of our said State to be hereunto affixed Witness our trusty and well beloved Morgan Lewis Esquire Governor of our said State General and Commander in Chief of all the Militia and Admiral of the Navy of the same at our City of Albany the twenty ninth day of April in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seven and in the thirty first year of our Independence Morgan Lewis ——— All which We have Exemplified by these presents In Testimony whereof We have caused these our Letters to be made patent and the great Seal of our said State to be hereunto affixed Witness our trusty and well beloved Daniel D. Tompkins Esquire Governor of our said State General and Commander in Chief of all the Militia and Admiral of the Navy of the same at our City of Albany the second day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seven and in the thirty first year of our Independence.

Daniel D. Tompkins

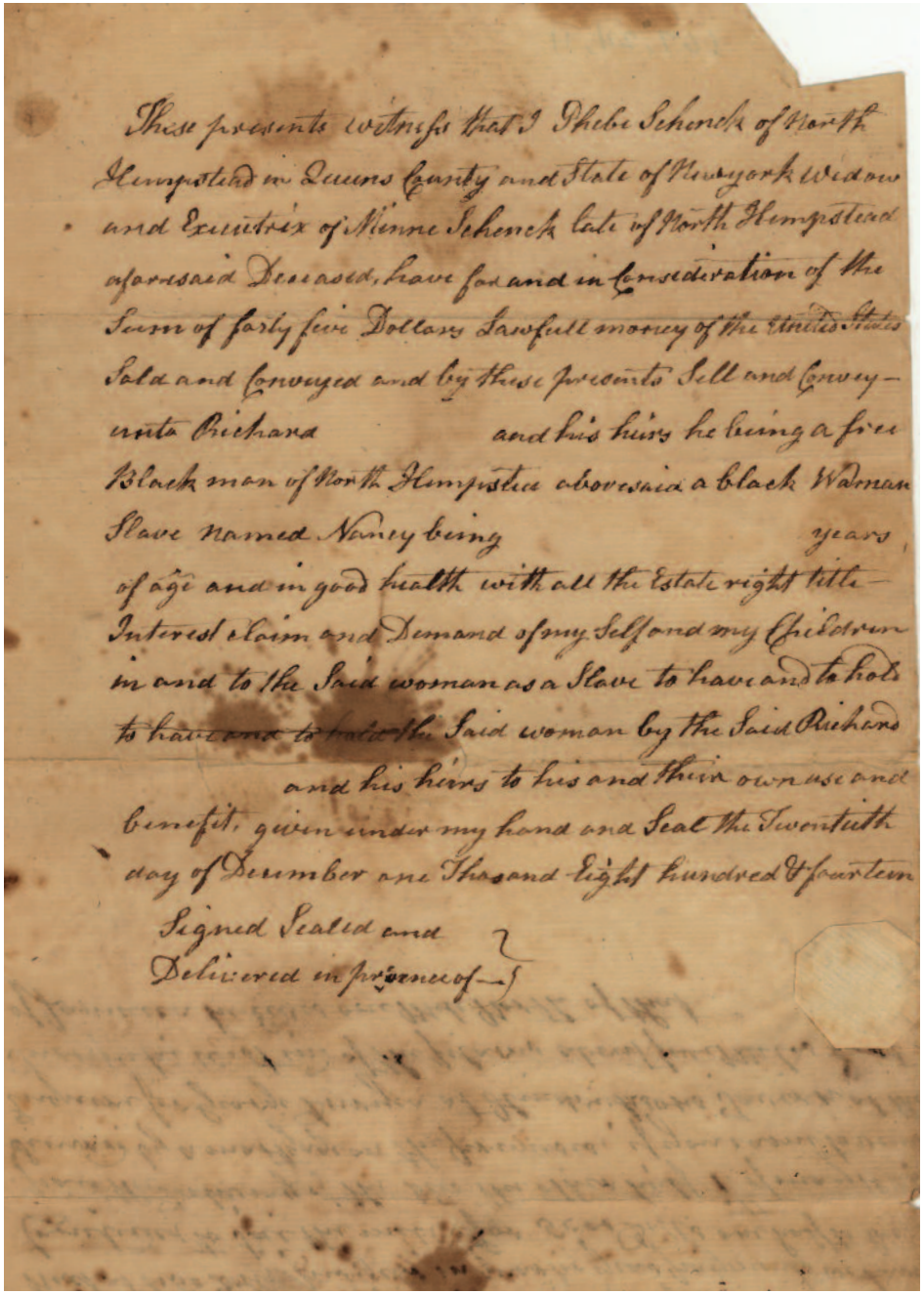
Governor Daniel Tompkins' July 2, 1807 pardon of Tom, an enslaved African American convicted of robbery in 1805 and sentenced to life imprisonment. Collection of Nassau County Department of Parks, Recreation & Museums, Division of Museum Services.
See transcription on the following page.

The People of the State of New York by the grace of God free and Independent: To all to whom these presents shall come Greeting: know ye that we having inspected the records remaining in our Secretary's Office do find there recorded in book of pardons No. 2. page 39 a certain pardon in the words and figures following to wit __ "The People of the State of New York by the grace of God free and Independent: To all to who these presents shall come Greeting: Whereas at a Court of Oyer and Terminer held in and for our County of Queens in the Month of September 1805 Tom (a Negro slave of Richard Allen) was convicted of Robbery and was thereupon sentenced to be imprisoned in the State prison at hard Labor for Life under which conviction and sentence thereupon the said Tom now lies imprisoned and he being represented unto us as a fit object of our mercy Therefore know ye that we have pardoned remised and released and by these presents do pardon remise and release the said Tom of and from the offence whereof in our said Court he stands convicted (^as a foresaid) and of and from all Sentences Judgments and Executions thereon In Testimony whereof we have caused these our Letters to be made patent and the Great Seal of our said State to be hereunto affixed Witness our trusty and well beloved Morgan Lewis Esquire Governor of our said State General and Commander in Chief of all the Militia and Admiral of the Navy of the same at our City of Albany the twenty ninth day of April in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seven and in the thirty first year of our Independence Morgan Lewis" All which We have Exemplified by these presents In Testimony whereof we have caused these our Letters to be made patent and the great Seal of our said State to be hereunto affixed Witness our trusty and well beloved Daniel D. Tompkins

Esquire Governor of our said State General and Commander in Chief of all the Militia and Admiral of the Navy of the same at our City of Albany the second day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seven and in the thirty first year of our Independence.

Daniel D. Tompkins

In September 1805, an enslaved man named Tom was convicted of robbery and sentenced to life imprisonment. In the New York State justice system, it was not unusual for punishments to be more severe for an African American than for a white person convicted of the same crime. Slaveholder Richard Allen of North Hempstead likely then wrote to New York Governor Daniel Tompkins to ask for clemency. This was likely not a humanitarian action to save Tom from a punishment that far exceeded the crime. Rather, a pardon allowed Allen to continue to benefit from Tom's free labor for the remainder of his life. Assuming that Tom was even guilty of robbery in the first place, such an action was one of the ways he resisted his enslavement. It may have been related to an escape attempt.



These presents witness that I Phebe Schenck of North Hempstead in Queens County and State of New-york Widow and Executrix of Minne Schenck late of North Hempstead aforesaid Deceased, have for and in consideration of the Sum of forty five Dollars Lawfull money of the United States Sold and Conveyed and by these presents Sell and Convey— unto Richard and his heirs he being a free Black man of North Hempstead abovesaid a black Woman Slave named Nancy being years of age and in good health with all the Estate right title— Interest claim and Demand of my Self and my Children in and to the Said woman as a Slave to have and to hold to have and to hold the Said woman by the Said Richard and his heirs to his and their own use and benefit, given under my hand and Seal the Twentieth day of December one Thosand Eight hundred & fourteen Signed Sealed and Delivered in presence of—

Bill of sale for an enslaved woman named Nancy from Phebe Schenk of North Hempstead to Richard, a free Black man, for $45, December 20, 1814. Collection of Nassau County Department of Parks, Recreation & Museums, Division of Museum Services.

[Transcription]

These presents witness that I Phebe Schenck of North Hempstead in Queens County and State of New york widow And Executrix of Minne Schenck late of North Hempstead aforesaid Deceased, have for and in Consideration of the Sum of forty five Dollars Lawfull money of the United States Sold and Conveyed and by these presents Sell and Convey— unto Richard and his heirs he being a free Black man of North Hempstead abovesaid a black Woman Slave named Nancy being years of age and in good health with all the Estate right title— Interest claim and Demand of my Self and my Children in and to the Said woman as a Slave to have and to hold to have and to hold the Said woman by the Said Richard and his heirs to his and their own use and benefit, given under my hand and Seal the Twentieth day of December one Thosand Eight hundred & fourteen Signed Sealed and Delivered in presence of—

In addition to escape, violence, refusing work, pursuing education, and maintaining faith and religion as some of the ways of resisting slavery, free African Americans sometimes purchased enslaved people and set them free. In this instance, Nancy may be Richard's wife or a family member.

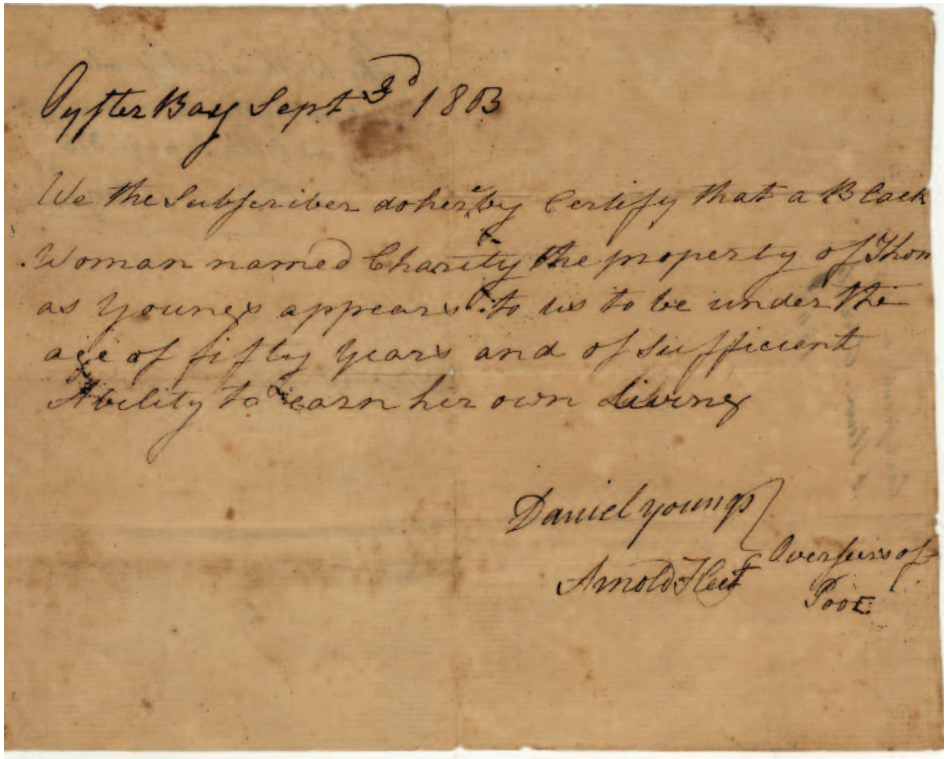
3: What Kind of Freedom?

After several failed attempts to end slavery, the abolition movement in New York gained new momentum with the founding of the New York Manumission Society in 1785. The state legislature banned the import or export of enslaved people for the purpose of sale and legally recognized the Quakers' manumissions of their enslaved persons. In 1799, New York passed *An Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery*. While ostensibly designed to ease enslaved people's transition out of bondage over two decades, lawmakers primarily sought to buffer the economy against an abrupt shift to a solely wage-based labor regime.[68]

The law thus specified that children born into slavery after July 4, 1799 would be free, but they were forced to serve their mothers' enslavers – initially until the age of 28 for boys and 25 for girls. The legal institution of slavery was not eradicated in New York until almost three decades later, on July 4, 1827. Yet various forms of forced labor persisted in the region long thereafter. As late as 1830, the U.S. Census still recorded 76 enslaved people around the state, but none on Long Island.[69]

The path from slavery to freedom, however, was neither secure nor necessarily life-changing. With limited education and job skills, no property, and few financial resources (despite years of labor), many had little choice but to continue working for their former enslavers. They struggled to support and keep their families together. Absent any social safety net, some parents had to place their children as apprentices or servants in wealthier, usually white households. Likewise, town officials routinely "bound out" poor or orphaned children until they reached adulthood.[70]

While some individuals thrived in spite of tremendous challenges, most African Americans struggled to overcome these obstacles, amidst increasing hostility from the white majority who sought to reduce them to a permanent underclass. Two centuries of slavery became the foundation for increasingly entrenched systemic racism.


Oyster Bay Sept 3d 1803

We the Subscriber do hereby Certify that a Black Woman named Charity the property of Thomas Youngs appears to us to be under the age of fifty years and of sufficient Ability to Learn her own Living

Daniel Youngs
Arnold Fleet
Overseers of Poor

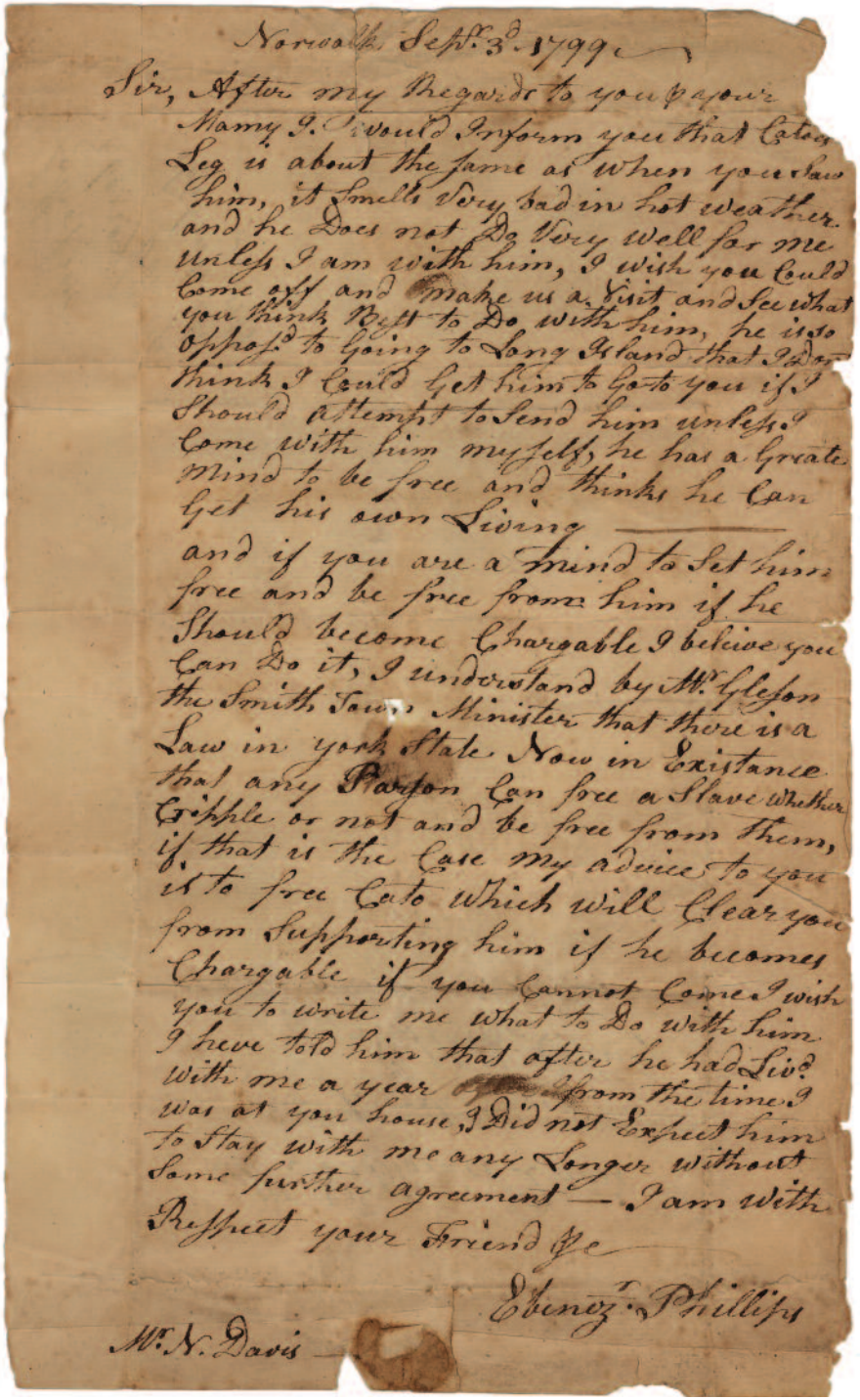
[Transcription]

Oyster Bay Sept 3d 1803

We the Subscriber do hereby Certify that a Black Woman named Charity the property of Thomas Youngs appears to us to be under the age of fifty years and of sufficient Ability to earn her own living

Daniel Youngs
Arnold Fleet
Overseers of Poor

(Above right): Statement of manumission for an enslaved African American woman named Charity by Thomas Youngs of Oyster Bay, September 3, 1803. Collection of Nassau County Department of Parks, Recreation & Museums, Division of Museum Services.



[Transcription]

Norwalk Septr. 3d 1799 ~
Sir, After my Regards to you & your
Mamy I would Inform you that Cato's
Leg is about the same as when you Saw
Him, it Smells Very bad in hot weather
And he Does not Do Very well for me
Unless I am with him, I wish you Could
Come off and make us a visit and See what
You think Best to Do with him, he is so
opposd to Going to Long island that I dont
think I Could Get him to Go to you if
I Should attempt to Send him unless I
Come with him myself, he has a Greate
Mind to be free and thinks he Can
Get his own Living ----------
and if you are a mind to Set him
free and be free from him if he
Should become Chargable I believe you
Can Do it, I understand by Mr. Gleson[71]
the Smith Town Minister that there is a
Law in York State Now in Existance
That any Parson Can free a Slave Whether
Cripple or not and be free from them,
if that is the Case my advice to you
is to free Cato which will Clear you
from Supporting him if he becomes
Chargable if you Cannot Come I wish
you to write me what to Do with him
I have told him that after he had Livd
with me a year after I from the time I
was at your house I Did not Expect him
to Stay with me any Longer without
Some further agreement ---- I am with
Respect your Friend

Ebenezr Phillips

Mr. N. Davis

Letter from Ebenezer Phillips of Norwalk to Nathaniel Davis of Miller Place, regarding the injured leg of Davis's enslaved servant, Cato, September 3, 1799. Private collection.

It was common practice among Long Island slaveholders to hire out their enslaved laborers to individuals in neighboring towns and even across Long Island Sound. Nathaniel Davis (1760-1825) of Miller Place hired Cato out to Ebenezer Phillips (1753-1829) in Norwalk, Connecticut. During this time Cato injured his leg. Likely because of the severity of this injury, Cato did not want to return to Long Island, and the two men discussed possibly freeing Cato so that Davis can avoid permanently caring for a disabled servant who can no longer earn or save him money.

The law which Phillips heard about from the Smithtown minister is likely *An Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery*, New York's first gradual abolition law, which passed the New York legislature six months prior. Of relevance to Phillips and Davis's situation was its last sentence: "And be it further enacted that it shall be lawful for the owner of any slave immediately after the passing of this Act to manumit such slave by a certificate for that purpose under his hand and Seal."[72]

But what the Connecticut resident perhaps did not understand was that this law built on a prior state law from 1788 allowing manumissions of enslaved individuals who could support themselves. If that person became the responsibility of the town's Overseers of the Poor, then Davis could be liable to reimburse the town for Cato's care. While the fate of Cato is unknown, most enslaved African Americans on Long Island gained their freedom not through being manumitted by their slaveholders, but through New York's gradual abolition laws or by freeing themselves.[73]

Slaveholder & Enslaved: The Mills Family and Tamer

William Wickham Mills Jr. (1797-1865) and Eliza Ann Mills (1802-1865) oversaw the end of their family's status as slaveholders. The couple married in 1822 and had nine children over the next 20 years. William was the nephew and adopted son of William Wickham Mills Sr. (1760-1825), one of the wealthiest men in Suffolk County, and lived on a farm in St. James.

Town records list six children born to enslaved women in Mills' household between 1800 and 1819. Around this same time, Mills Sr. was also manumitting (freeing) his enslaved workers, including Eunice in 1819, Amey in 1821, Frank and Tamer in 1824, Jeremima in 1825, and Abraham in 1826. The last two manumissions, taking place after Mills' death in February 1825, were carried out by his adopted son.[74]

Renowned painter William Sidney Mount painted William and Eliza – his first cousins once removed – at least twice. The first time was in 1829 at the start of his career as a painter, and then again in 1855 and 1856. In both cases, he depicted them in a level of comfort and wealth in part derived from the labor of the family's enslaved African Americans.[75]



William Sidney Mount, *Portrait of William Wickham Mills*, 1856. Oil on canvas, 33 ⅞ x 26 ⅞ in.; William Sidney Mount, *Portrait of Eliza Ann Mills*, 1855. Oil on canvas, 33 ⅞ x 26 ⅞ in. The Heckscher Museum of Art, Huntington, NY; Gift of Caroline Roberta Smith, 2012.1.1 and 2012.1.2



Mills Pond House (built 1838-1840), where Tamer Wren likely continued to work as a servant for the Mills family. 660 North Country Road, Saint James, Suffolk County, NY, c. 1940. Historic American Building Survey. Courtesy of the Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress.



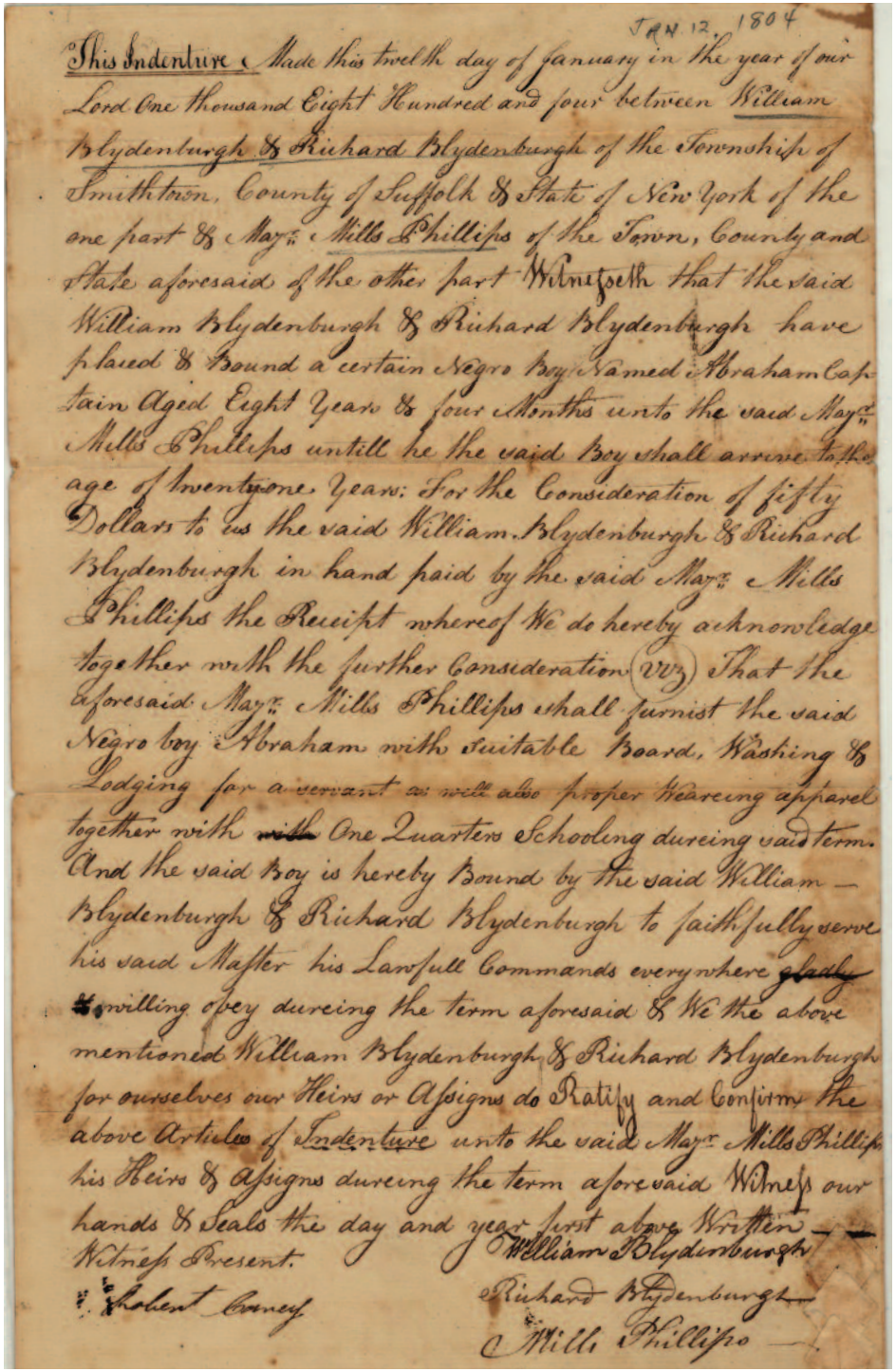
Located a short walk from the Mills Pond House, the Mills Cemetery has mostly members of this large family, but also some of Tamer Wren's family and possibly her as well.

Around the time that William Sidney Mount painted his first portraits of Eliza Ann and William Wickham Mills Jr., his brother Shepard painted a servant in their household, an African American woman named Tamer. Born around 1795, Tamer and her family – her father Captain, twin brother Abraham, and sister Maria – were sold by John Smith of Smithtown to brothers William and Richard Blydenburgh of Smithtown for $220 in 1800 (see this document on page 24). She had other enslavers, the last being William Wickham Mills Sr., who freed her in 1824. The text of her manumission, as recorded in town records, reads:

Whereas William W. Mills hath made application to us the Undersigned Overseors [sic] of the Poor of the Town of Smithtown in the County of Suffolk and State of New York to manumit a certain Negro Woman Slave owned by him named Tamer – according to the Statutes in such cases made and provided and her having examined into the circumstances of said Slave and finding her to be under forty five years of age and in our Judgment & Opinion of Sufficient ability to provide for and maintain herself – Now therefore we do hereby certify that we consent and approve of the Manumission of said Slave In Witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names this Twenty Sixth Day of April in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Twenty Four.

Overseeors [sic] of the Poor Thomas Halliock
John S. Arthur[76]

After receiving her freedom, Tamer continued to work for the Millses in St. James as a domestic servant. Around the time of her portrait (which survives in a private collection) she married Simeon Wren. He died a short time later, in 1835, and is buried in the nearby Mills Cemetery. On March 8, 1837, a fire destroyed William and Eliza Mills' large home on Mills Pond. A servant, a girl of color named Glory Ann Smith, had intentionally set a fire in an empty bedroom. As part of the arson investigation, Tamer Wren was interviewed as a witness. The house was rebuilt in 1838-1840 (and is now the home of the Mills Pond Gallery). By the 1850 census, it appears that Tamer Wren had married William Johnson (born c. 1792 in Maryland), and the couple continued to live together in Smithtown for at least the next 30 years. The New York State Census in 1865 noted that she had been married twice and had five children – presumably from her first marriage.[77]


JAN. 12, 1804

This Indenture Made this twelfth day of January in the year of our Lord One thousand Eight Hundred and four between William Blydenburgh & Richard Blydenburgh of the Township of Smithtown, County of Suffolk & State of New York of the one part & Majr Mills Phillips of the Town, County and State aforesaid of the other part Witnesseth that the said William Blydenburgh & Richard Blydenburgh have placed & Bound a certain Negro Boy Named Abraham Captain Aged Eight Years & four Months unto the said Majr Mills Phillips untill he the said Boy shall arrive to the age of twenty one Years: For the Consideration of fifty Dollars to us the said William Blydenburgh & Richard Blydenburgh in hand paid by the said Majr Mills Phillips the Receipt whereof We do hereby acknowledge together with the further Consideration (viz) That the aforesaid Majr Mills Phillips shall furnish the said Negro boy Abraham with suitable Board, Washing & Lodging for a servant as well also proper Weareing apparel together with with One Quarters Schooling dureing said term. And the said Boy is hereby Bound by the said William Blydenburgh & Richard Blydenburgh to faithfully serve his said Master his Lawfull Commands everywhere gladly & willing obey dureing the term aforesaid & We the above mentioned William Blydenburgh & Richard Blydenburgh for ourselves our Heirs or Assigns do Ratify and Confirm the above Articles of Indenture unto the said Majr Mills Phillips his Heirs & Assigns dureing the term aforesaid Witness our hands & Seals the day and year first above Written - -

Witness Present.
Robert Carney

William Blydenburgh
Richard Blydenburgh
Mills Phillips

From Slavery to Indentured Servitude: Abraham Captain

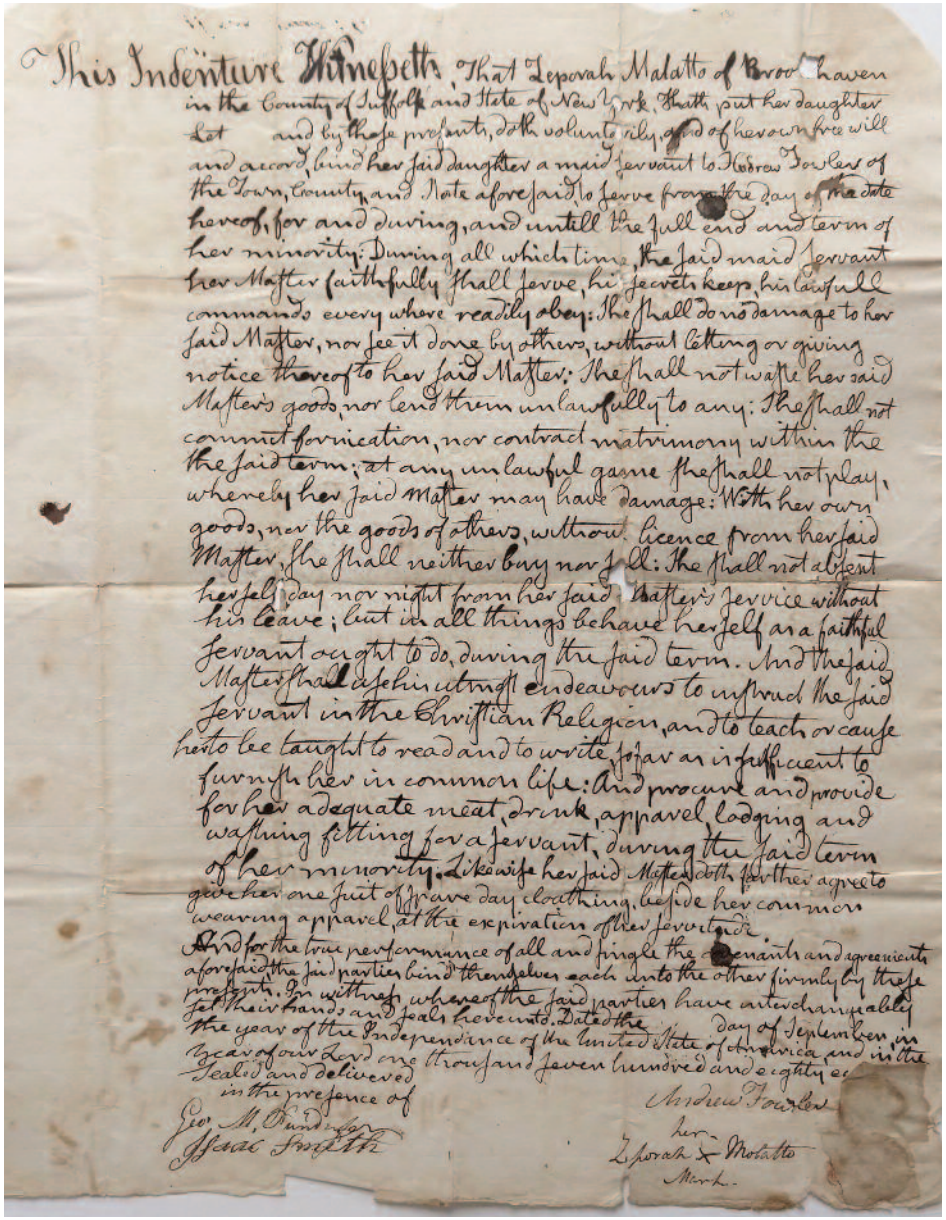
[Transcription]

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Witness Present.
Robert Carney

William Blydenburgh
Richard Blydenburgh
Mills Phillips

Indenture document, in which William and Richard Blydenburgh bound Abraham Captain, age eight, to Mills Phillips until he turns twenty one, January 12, 1804. Collection of Smithtown Historical Society.



This Indenture Witnesseth, That Zeporah Malatto of Brookhaven in the County of Suffolk and State of New York, Hath put her daughter Let and by these presents, doth voluntarily and of her own free will and accord, bind her said daughter a maid servant to Andrew Fowler of the Town, County, and State aforesaid, to serve from the day of the date hereof, for and during, and untill the full end and term of her minority: During all which time, the said maid servant her Master faithfully shall serve, his secrets keep, his lawfull commands every where readily obey: She shall do no damage to her said Master, nor see it done by others, without letting or giving notice thereof to her said Master: She shall not waste her said Master's goods, nor lend them unlawfully to any: She shall not commit fornication, nor contract matrimony within the the said term; at any unlawful game she shall not play, whereby her said Master may have damage: With her own goods, nor the goods of others, without licence from her said Master, she shall neither buy nor sell: She shall not absent herself day nor night from her said Master's service without his leave; but in all things behave herself as a faithful servant ought to do, during the said term. And the said Master shall use his utmost endeavours to instruct the said servant in the Christian Religion, and to teach or cause her to be taught to read and to write so far as is sufficient to furnish her in common life: And procure and provide for her adequate meat, drink, apparel, lodging and washing fitting for a servant, during the said term of her minority. Likewise her said Master doth further agree to give her one suit of plane day cloathing, beside her common wearing apparel, at the expiration of her servitude.
And for the true performance of all and single the covenants and agreements aforesaid, the said parties bind themselves each unto the other firmly by these presents. In witness whereof the said parties have interchangeably set their hands and seals hereunto. Dated the day of September, in the year of the Independance of the United State of Amarica, and in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty eight
Sealed and delivered
in the presence of
Geo. M. Pundusen
Isaac Smith

Andrew Fowler
her
Zeporah X Molatto
Mark

Indenture document, in which Zeporah Molatto of Brookhaven binds her daughter Let to Andrew Fowler, September 1788. Long Island Museum, Dominick Collection.

Indentured Servitude by Choice: Zeporah Molatto

[Transcription]

This Indenture Witnesseth, That Zeporah Malatto of Brookhaven In the County of Suffolk and the State of New York, Hath put her daughter Let and by these presents, doth voluntarily and of her own free will and accord, bind her said daughter a maid servant to Andrew Fowler of the Town, County, and State aforesaid, to serve from the day of the date hereof, for and during, and untill the full end and term of her minority: During all which time, the said maid servant her Master faithfully shall serve, [his] secrets keep, his lawfull commands every where readily obey: She shall do no damage to her said Master, nor see it done by others, without letting or giving notice thereof to her said Master: She shall not waste her said Master's goods, nor lend them unlawfully to any: She shall not commit fornication, nor contract matrimony within the the said term; at any unlawful game she shall not play, whereby her said Master may have damage: With her own goods, nor the goods of others, without licence from her said Master, she shall neither buy nor sell: She shall not absent herself day nor night from her said Master's service without his leave; but in all things behave herself as a faithful servant ought to do, during the said term. And the said Master shall use his utmost endeavours to instruct the said servant in the Christian Religion, and to teach or cause her to be taught to read and to write so far as is sufficient to furnish her in common life: And procure and provide for her adequate meat, drink, apparel, lodging and washing fitting for a servant, during the said term of her minority. Likewise her said Master doth further agree to give her one suit of plane day cloathing, beside her common wearing apparel, at the expiration of her servitude.
And for the true performance of all and single the covenants and agreements aforesaid, the said parties bind themselves each unto the other firmly by these presents. In witness whereof the said parties have interchangeably set their hands and seals hereunto. Dated the day of September, in the year of the Independance of the United State of Amarica, and in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty eight
Sealed and delivered
in the presence of
Geo. M. Pundusen[?]
Isaac Smith

Andrew Fowler
her
Zeporah X Molatto
Mark

The preceding two documents present different types of indentured servitude for African American Long Islanders. A practice in America since the beginning of European settlement, indentured servitude was an agreement between two parties whereby one person worked for another for a set period of years without pay. In return, they were provided with food, clothing, shelter, and taught a set of skills, learned a trade, or paid off a debt. White indentured servants, or bondsmen, often worked alongside enslaved African Americans on Long Island farms.

As slavery declined on Long Island in the early 19th century due to the falling cost of white labor and rising anti-slavery sentiment, some slaveholders converted their workers' permanent enslavement into indentured servitude. The holder of the indenture sometimes sold that individual's labor to another person. Mirroring the experience of enslavement, these agreements did not include the consent of the person whose labor was being sold.

Abraham Captain was Tamer Johnson's twin brother. With the institution of slavery waning on Long Island, the Blydenburgh brothers sold Abraham to Mills Phillips for $50, and converted his permanent enslavement into indentured servitude to expire when he turned twenty one in 1816. In an identical document signed later that year, the brothers also sold Abraham and Tamer's six-year-old sister, Maria, to Mills Phillips as an indentured servant for $20 until she turned twenty one in 1819.

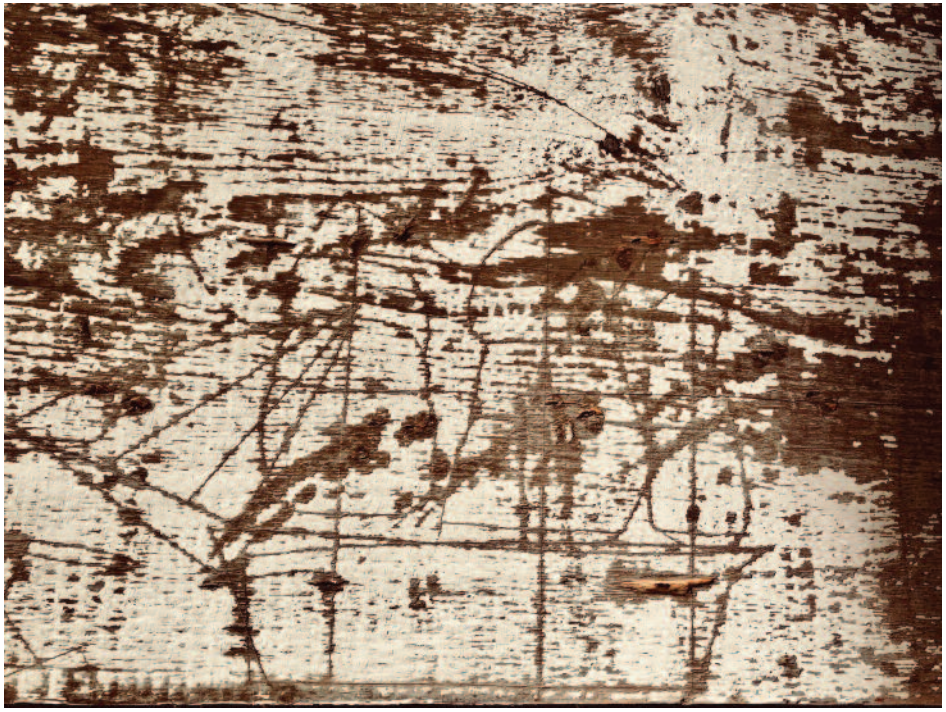
While African Americans such as Abraham and Maria were resold into indentured servitude by their white slaveholders, free African Americans also sometimes indentured their children. Zeporah, a free woman of color ("Molatto" not being her actual surname but a racial identifier) in Brookhaven, bonded her daughter to Andrew Fowler (1760-1850) as a domestic servant in exchange for his promise to teach Let about Christianity and to read and write. The newly married Fowler would be ordained as a deacon the following June and then as an Episcopal priest in 1790, serving at churches in Oyster Bay, Huntington, and Setauket. That Zeporah signed the indenture with an X suggests that she was illiterate. A half century before free tax-funded public schools made education accessible to nearly every child on Long Island, it could be expensive and time-consuming for someone to even achieve basic literacy.[78]

From Slavery to Servitude: Labor at Sylvester Manor



Sylvester Manor on Shelter Island, built circa 1737 by Nathaniel and Grizzell's grandson, Brinley Sylvester, and which replaced the original house.

This view of Sylvester Manor on Shelter Island conveys some of the wealth of the Sylvester family earned through enslaved labor. In 1651 Nathaniel Sylvester and three business partners purchased the 8,000-acre Shelter Island as a provisioning plantation for their sugar plantations in Barbados. When Nathaniel (c. 1610-1680) and his wife Grizzell (c. 1636-1687) moved to the island in 1653, they brought with them Grizzell's enslaved servants: Jacquero, Hannah, and their daughter Hope. These three are the first known African family on Shelter Island, and were among the first enslaved people brought to the island. Slavery lasted at Sylvester Manor until 1820. The individuals who labored on the plantation during this time included enslaved writer Jupiter Hammon's father Obium (c. 1668-1757) before his sale to the Lloyd family in 1687, and Jupiter's paternal grandparents, Tamero and Oyo. Likely born in what is today Nigeria and captured and brought to Barbados in the 1660s, the pair were eventually brought by the Sylvesters to Shelter Island, where they had at least four children. Tamero and Oyo were eventually buried in a cemetery on the plantation.[79]



Etching on attic beam of a sailing ship by Isaac and William Pharoah. Photograph courtesy of Donnamarie Barnes, Sylvester Manor.

In 1829 Montaukett brothers Isaac and William Pharoah of East Hampton were indentured by their widowed mother Esther Pharoah to the proprietor of Sylvester Manor, Samuel Smith Gardiner. Isaac was five and William was eight years old, and their indentures would last until age 21.

Native Americans had lived and worked at Sylvester Manor as both free and enslaved laborers since the 17th century. While slavery in New York legally ended in 1827, the practice of indentured servitude remained legal. As had generations of servants, the boys lived in the attic. William ran away in 1840. Isaac, though his indenture ended in 1845, spent the remainder of his life at Sylvester Manor. During his decades living seasonally in the attic (with summers spent on a nearby peninsula), Isaac continued the brothers' habit of carving images of sailing vessels into the beams.[80]



Part of the attic living space of William and Isaac Pharoah in Sylvester Manor. Photograph courtesy of Donnamarie Barnes, Sylvester Manor.

Portraits of African American Labor after Slavery

Born between 1808 and 1815, Julia Dyd Havens Johnson was the daughter of Dido, a woman enslaved to the Havens family of Shelter Island. Dido eventually married a freed Black man named Comus Fanning, who worked for Sylvester Dering on the Sylvester Manor estate. In 1820 Fanning purchased 21.75 acres of land from the Dering family, and lived on his property with Dido and Julia. Fanning died in 1831, and willed the property – the largest owned by African Americans on the island – to his wife and stepdaughter. When Dido passed away in 1834, Julia inherited their house and land. Around this time Julia met Morris Johnson; the couple eventually had a son named Manford and lived as common-law husband and wife.

Julia worked as a housekeeper for three generations of Sylvester Manor owners. In 1836 they began repurchasing her land at far below market value – illustrating the challenge of multi-generational Black property ownership in the decades after the end of slavery in New York. In 1880 with most of her land purchased by her employers, she was forced to enter the poorhouse in Greenport for the winter until the Sylvester Manor's owners returned in the summer and offered her continued employment. In 1887 Julia was photographed as part of an article Martha Lamb wrote for the *Magazine of American History* about Sylvester Manor. In it, Johnson's portrait is reproduced as an etching, and incorrectly captioned "One of the last slaves on the Sylvester Manor." Though Johnson was never enslaved and owned her own home, the article portrayed her not as a person but as a sentimental stereotype: the loyal Black servant. Johnson died around 1907.[81]



"One of the last of the slaves on the Sylvester Manor." Printed in Martha J. Lamb, "The Manor of Shelter Island," *Magazine of American History*, November 1887.



Portrait of the Smith family and an African American woman, 1852. Quarter-plate Daguerreotype. Collection of Smithtown Historical Society.

Bessie Springs Smith White (1862-1950), labeled this daguerreotype “Nannie Old Ruth, Tootie, and I think May, April 1852.” As Bessie’s sister Madeline May Smith was born in 1854, the girl is likely another sister, Louise Nicoll Smith, born in 1849. All three were among the 11 children of Sarah Nicoll Smith and Judge John Lawrence Smith of Smithtown.[82]

“Nannie Old Ruth” may be the woman at right. In the 1850 U.S. Census, a 43-year-old African American woman named Ruth Spencer and her four-year-old son Theodore are listed in the household of Nathaniel Smith, who lived five houses down from John Lawrence Smith. A 40-year-old African American man named Ambrose Spencer is listed in the latter’s household, and is likely a sibling or spouse of Ruth.[83]

Preserved on the grounds of the Smithtown Historical Society since 1955, the Caleb Smith House was originally located on the north side of Jericho Turnpike in Commack at Ruth Boulevard. Caleb Smith II (1763-1831) built the house around 1819 from a smaller, older house on site, and it served as the home for several generations of Smith descendants.[84] Eventually constructed next to the farmhouse was a small one-and-a-half story building that served as living quarters for servants – some of whom were possibly formerly enslaved to the Smith family.[85]

After Caleb Smith died in 1831, the house passed to his son, Caleb T. Smith (1809-1874). Between two and four free African Americans typically lived and worked at the Caleb Smith House over the next 40 years. Emeline Carl arrived by 1865 (along with five-year-old Mary Carl and 14-year-old Hores Carl) and would stay for at least the next 15 years. Born around 1820, she was the last generation born during the era of slavery on Long Island. If her mother was enslaved, then Emeline would have been forced to serve that family until 1838 according to New York’s gradual abolition laws. While living at the Caleb Smith estate, her surname changes three times, from Carl in the 1865 New York State Census to Arch in the 1870 U.S. Census to Harries in the 1880 U.S. Census, after which she disappears from census records.[86]



Emeline Arch standing outside the entrance to the basement kitchen of the Caleb Smith House, Commack, c. 1870. Collection of Smithtown Historical Society.



Caleb Smith House and adjacent servant quarters, Commack, Suffolk County, NY, c. 1940. Historic American Building Survey. Courtesy of the Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress.



Caleb Smith House with “Slave House” in foreground, Commack, Suffolk County, NY, c. 1940. Historic American Building Survey. Courtesy of the Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

These two views of the Caleb Smith House and accompanying servant quarters were recorded in an Historic American Building Survey around 1940. Separate housing for enslaved workers was unusual on Long Island, where laborers usually resided in attics or other rooms within the slaveholder’s main residence. The “slave house” name written on the above 4” x 5” negative, though, is likely a misnomer; the Caleb Smith House was constructed around 1819, by which point the Smith family had apparently manumitted or sold their enslaved servants. But the small building continued to house African American servants until at least 1880. When the property was facing demolition in 1955 for construction of a housing development, the Smithtown Historical Society relocated the house to a plot of land next to the Smithtown Public Library. The building for the family’s servants was likely torn down.[87]



William Sidney Mount (1807-1868), *Farmers Nooning*, 1836. Oil on canvas. Long Island Museum, gift of Frederick Sturges Jr., 1954.

One of William Sidney Mount’s masterpieces, the genre painting *Farmers Nooning* depicts a group of Long Island farmer workers taking a mid-day rest from cutting hay. With this scene set less than a decade after the abolishment of slavery in New York, the African American man in the center was likely either born enslaved or forced to serve his mother’s enslaver for most of his working life. Only now does his labor belong to him. The Setauket-born William Sidney Mount spent most of his life in the villages of Setauket and Stony Brook. His genre paintings focused on his rural neighbors in scenes of gaiety and humor, with the figures and situations often alluding to larger political and societal debates. The sleeping farmer, in one interpretation, represents African Americans at this time in a liminal state between slavery and freedom.[88]



William M. Davis (1829 – 1920), *Sharpening the Saw*, 1867. Oil on canvas. Long Island Museum, gift of Mr. and Mrs. Ward Melville, 1957.



Frank Myers Boggs (1855 – 1926), *Clamming at Shelter Island,* 1878. Oil on canvas. Long Island Museum, museum purchase, 1996.

Painter William M. Davis of Port Jefferson was a younger contemporary of William Sidney Mount; both found inspiration for their genre and landscape paintings in the area that surrounded Setauket. In *Sharpening the Saw*, Davis portrays an African American farmer using a file to sharpen the teeth of a bucksaw before resuming cutting logs into firewood. Painted two years after the end of the Civil War and the abolishment of slavery in the United States, the farmer's gray hair suggests that he lived through the final years of slavery on Long Island before it was outlawed forty years before.[89]

Born in Ohio, Frank Myers Boggs moved to New York as a teenager and first found work as a wood engraver. In his early twenties, he traveled to Paris and studied painting at the École des Beaux-Arts. Returning briefly to the U.S. in 1878, Boggs visited Long Island's East End, where he painted on Shelter Island and exhibited his work back in Manhattan at the National Academy of Design.

During his time on the island, Boggs evidently witnessed African American men clamming in the choppy waters off Shelter Island. Standing in rowboats, the men in his painting each use a long-handled rake to collect clams lying in the mud perhaps a dozen feet below. The rakes have a basket above the teeth to catch the clams as the tool is dragged along the bottom. The men are performing a type of labor that would have also been done by their enslaved predecessors. Back in 1851, the Suffolk County Board of Supervisors passed a law restricting the harvesting of clams in the waters off Shelter Island to residents of that town, which suggests that these men lived there.[90]

Witness: Pyrrhus Concer (1814-1897)

Whaleman, adventurer, father, husband, Christian, and philanthropist, Pyrrhus Concer at the end of his life was one of the most famous African Americans to have survived slavery on Long Island. Born in 1814 to an enslaved mother, Violet Williams, in Southampton, Pyrrhus spent his first years in forced servitude to his mother's slaveholder, Nathan Cooper. After Cooper's death in 1817, Concer remained in the Cooper household until they sold him around the age of five to a son or grandson of silversmith Elias Pelletreau. Under New York's 1799 abolition law, Concer was born free but forced to serve his mother's owner until the age of 28. Nonetheless, Concer was sold from one Southampton family to the other as if he were property.[91]

While still legally bound to the Pelletreau family at age 18, Concer joined the local whaling industry. By his mid-20s Concer was free and living with his grandfather, Gad Cooper (later known as Gad Williams). In 1843, Concer joined the Sag Harbor whaleship *Manhattan* for a Pacific voyage. The ship's captain, Mercator Cooper, was the son of Concer's first enslaver, Nathan Cooper. The voyage became famous when the whaleship rescued 22 shipwrecked Japanese sailors and returned them to Japan – becoming the first Western vessel to be allowed to enter Tokyo Bay. Concer was likely among several of the *Manhattan*'s crewmen depicted by Japanese artists.[92] As recounted by author Charles Jagger in a 1912 article in *Southampton Magazine*,

But the object of greatest interest to the Japanese was the colored men on the ship. There were several negroes in the crew ... [including] *the late Pyrrhus Concer and Gad Williams* [Prince Gad Williams, Pyrrhus's uncle] *of Southampton. They used to tell with much amusement how the Japanese would gather around them and stare at them with wide open eyes and look them over from every side and feel of their skin to see if the color would rub off....*[93]

At least three different Japanese artists depicted the whaleship and its crew during their brief stay in Tokyo Bay in 1845. Shozo Usui was a local official who would later paint Commodore Matthew Perry's arrival in Japan in 1853. In the image on the following page, Usui depicts the *Manhattan*'s captain, Mercator Cooper, in a long jacket, and two crewmen. Pyrrhus Concer is possibly the man on the right, waving his hat.[94]



An African American crewman of the *Manhattan*, possibly Pyrrhus Concer, on Japanese scroll, c. 1845. Collection of the Maritime Museum of Kobe University.



Shozo Usui, Scroll of the Ship *Manhattan*, 1845 [detail]. Courtesy of the New Bedford Whaling Museum.

Back in the United States, Concer participated in the California Gold Rush before settling back in Southampton in a house with his wife Rachel, son James, and grandmother Esther. Working as a ferry operator on Lake Agawam and as a fisherman, he also invested in real estate and was an active member of Southampton's Presbyterian Church. Proud of his whaling past, Concer participated in Southampton's 250th anniversary parade in 1890, joining other retired whalemen in manning a pair of whaleboats. In 1896, a year before his death, a profile in the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* credited him as "one of the most respected residents of the village." Pyrrhus Concer's personal and professional success was exceptional for the generations that survived slavery.[95]



Pyrrhus Concer next to mast of his catboat, used to ferry passengers across Lake Agawam, Southampton, c. 1880. Southampton History Museum.



Pyrrhus Concer (far left) stands in the bow of a whaleboat with other retired whalemen, photographed on the day of Southampton's 250th anniversary parade on June 12, 1890. Southampton History Museum.

4: Building Community after Slavery

For African Americans, property ownership was a critical step towards autonomy, financial security, and self-determination. Many settled on land given or sold to them by their former owners (e.g. Freetown in East Hampton) or on subdivided lots purchased from large landowners (e.g. Weeksville in Brooklyn). In Setauket, African Americans already had deep ties with the Setalcott Indians who possessed land there for generations. In the Eastville neighborhood of Sag Harbor, African Americans, Montaukett and Shinnecock Indians, and Europeans forged a sense of community by living, working, worshipping and even being interred together. While much of Long Island's Black population descended from Africans who had first arrived in the 17th century, newcomers from surrounding areas and Southern migrants after the Civil War soon bolstered their numbers. Whatever their backgrounds, African Americans often settled in close proximity to one another, cultivating a vital sense of community.[96]

Beginning in the early 19th century, they also formed their own religious institutions, social clubs, civic organizations, and mutual aid societies. Churches, in particular, became centers of community life. Facing racism in some predominantly white churches, African Americans founded the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME) in Philadelphia in 1816, and the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church in New York City in 1821. Many Black communities on Long Island coalesced around an AME, AME Zion, or Southern Baptist church.[97]

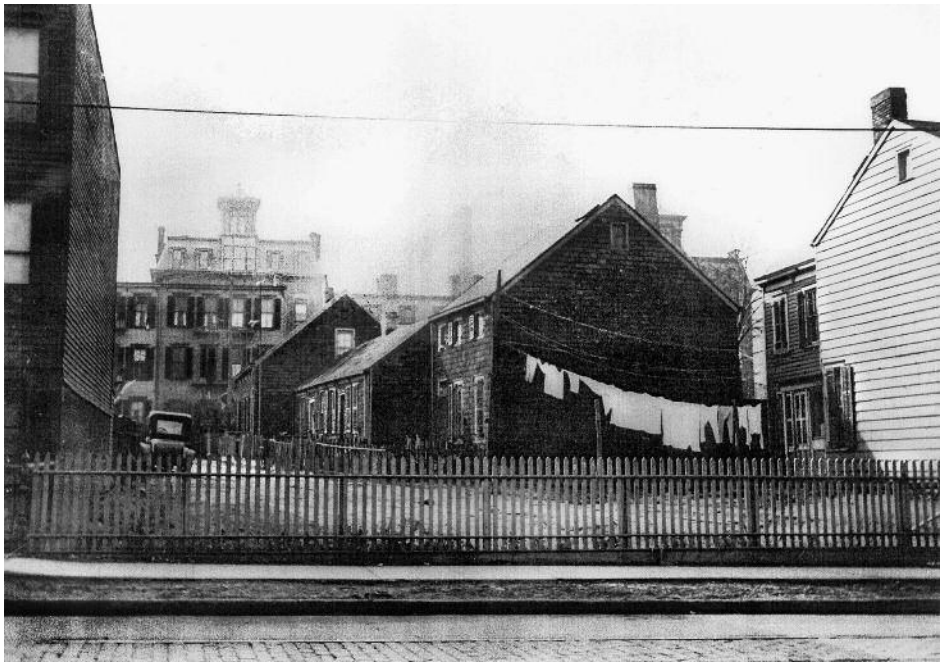
Education was another important goal for these emerging communities. Public schools, established under state laws in 1812 and 1814, were partially funded with tuition, disadvantaging poor families, Black and white. Consequently, most African American children could not attend until free public schools were created in 1867. While most public schools in Brooklyn, Queens, and Suffolk were integrated by the late 19th century, exceptions included Flushing, Jamaica, Lakeville, Roslyn, Hempstead and Amityville. Like today, however, the quality of education students enjoyed varied depending on local economic conditions.[98]

As a matter of honor and pride, African American men also demanded the right to represent the United States in the military. During the Civil War, they initially could not enlist, but political pressure led to the creation of segregated regiments beginning in 1863. Hundreds of Black men from Long Island joined, with most serving in the 20th and 26th U.S. Colored Infantry units. Black Long Islanders have continued to answer America's call to arms in every subsequent conflict.[99]

Brooklyn

During the late 19th century, New York City and Long Island saw rapid change – with new rail lines, burgeoning communities and businesses, and massive European immigration. The resulting economic growth was a blessing and a challenge for historically Black communities as some were surrounded or subsumed by new white neighbors. The following stories and images provide a small introduction to the people and places in some of these communities.[100]

This photograph depicts a row of houses along Hunterfly Road in Brooklyn that are among the last remaining structures from the African American community of Weeksville founded in the 1830s. Land investors began buying rural acreage in Brooklyn's Ninth Ward that decade, and marketed lots to fellow African Americans nationwide. Land ownership appealed to many buyers because it fulfilled New York's requirement since 1821 that Black men own $250 in taxable property in order to vote. The community soon took the name of Weeksville, after African American stevedore James Weeks, who purchased two lots there in 1838.[101]



Eugene L. Armbruster, *Hunterfly Road*, 1922, photograph, V1987.11.2; Eugene L. Armbruster photographs and scrapbooks, ARC.308. Brooklyn Public Library, Center for Brooklyn History.

The rapidly growing community soon required a school, with local residents in adjacent Carrsville forming an African Union Society that opened Brooklyn's second school for African Americans in 1840. In 1853, now under the control of the city's Board of Education and known as Colored School No. 2, it moved to a new building at the corner of Dean Street and Troy Avenue in Weeksville. Despite the name, white children had also attended the school since its start; the changing racial demographics of Weeksville, however, eventually prompted intense debate by 1869 between residents and the Brooklyn Board of Education over whether the teachers should be Black or white.[102]

While Weeksville was a predominantly Black community in its first two decades, a rapid influx of European American residents into Brooklyn dropped the percentage of African Americans in Weeksville from 82% in 1850 (366 of 445 residents) to 61% in 1855 (521 of 855 residents) to 37% in 1860 (458 of 1240 residents) and 33% in 1865 (466 of 1424 residents). But Weeksville remained home to a vibrant and growing Black population, boasting Brooklyn's highest rate of Black property ownership, serving as a sanctuary during the 1863 draft riots, and was the location of a number of organizations including the Bethel AME Church (incorporated 1849), Berean Baptist Church (inc. 1850), Citizens Union Cemetery (1851), Weeksville Unknowns baseball team (by 1860), African Civilization Society (founded 1858; moved to Weeksville, 1864), Howard Colored Orphan Asylum (founded 1866), and the Zion Home for the Aged (opened 1874).[103]



Public School No. 68 (formerly Colored School No. 2), corner Dean Street and Troy Avenue, Brooklyn. *Souvenir of Our Public Schools, Brooklyn, N.Y.* (New York: E.J. Whitlock, 1892).

Witness: Sarah Jane Smith Garnet (1831-1911)



Educator and suffragist Sarah Jane Smith Garnet was born in 1831 as the first of 11 children of Ann and Sylvanus Smith of Brooklyn. Her parents were of African and Native American ancestry. Sylvanus was one of the earliest land investors in what became the free Black community of Weeksville. By 1842 he was also serving as a trustee of Colored School No. 1 on Nassau Street in what became downtown Brooklyn.[104] A few years later, fourteen-year-old Sarah started work as a teacher's assistant. In 1854 she became a teacher at the private African Free School in Williamsburg, Brooklyn. And in 1863 she became the first woman of color to be appointed principal of a New York public school. She would remain principal of Colored School No. 4 (later renamed Grammar School No. 81) and Public School No. 80 in Manhattan until retiring in 1900. In that time she fought racial discrimination in the school system, advocating for equal pay and the removal of racial barriers to teaching assignments. The year she retired, New York repealed a law allowing separate schools for white and Black students.[105]

(Above): Sarah J.S. Garnet, c. 1900. Original photograph by Oxford & Dillhoff of Brooklyn, and reprinted in Hallie Quinn Brown, ed. & comp., *Homespun Heroines and Other Women of Distinction* (Xenia, OH: Aldine Pub. Co., 1926), 96. Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Manuscripts, Archives and Rare Books Division, The New York Public Library.

While serving as a principal, Sarah married Presbyterian minister Henry Highland Garnet in 1879. Having escaped slavery in Maryland as a child and come to New York, Garnet built a career as an abolitionist and orator with international appeal. Their marriage was brief; Garnet passed away in 1882 two months into his position as ambassador to Liberia.

The Smith family's interest in education extended to Sarah's sister, Susan Smith McKinney Steward, who in 1870 became the first woman of color to earn a medical degree in New York State (and only the third in the U.S.). She subsequently set up a practice in Brooklyn, helped to found the Women's Hospital and Dispensary in Clinton Hill in 1881, and was a physician at the Brooklyn Home for Aged Colored People (formerly the Zion Home for the Aged) in Weeksville at the start of the 20th century.

Both sisters were active supporters of women's suffrage and African American civil rights. In the late 1880s they organized the Equal Suffrage League, a Brooklyn-based club that advocated for voting rights for African American women. They were both members of the Woman's Loyal Union of New York and Brooklyn, which formed in 1892 to oppose lynching. Garnet was also the superintendent of the Suffrage Department of the National Association of Colored Women, while Steward served as president of Brooklyn Women's Christian Temperance Union No. 6.

And the pair traveled to London in 1911 to attend the First Universal Races Congress at the University of London, where Susan gave a speech. Garnet passed away weeks after returning home to Brooklyn.[106]



Public School 48 (formerly the Jamaica Colored School), South Street between Sutphin Place and Church Street, Queens, c. 1915. Archives of the Aquinas Honor Society of the Immaculate Conception Catholic Academy. Courtesy of Carl Ballenas.

Queens

At the same time as Sarah Garnet served as a principal in Manhattan, Mary Shaw became an educator in Flushing. Born in Pennsylvania in 1851 Mary Elizabeth Hood married John William Alexander Shaw in Manhattan in 1873, with the couple eventually settling in Flushing. An immigrant from Antigua, J.W.A. Shaw had attended Howard University's Theological Department from 1871 to 1872, and then its Medical College from 1873 to 1874. Now a political activist who rallied African Americans to the Democratic Party in local and national elections, John founded the short-lived newspaper *The Suffragist* in 1880, while Mary worked as a school teacher.[107]

By 1888 Mary had become principal of Flushing's grammar school for African Americans. Running the school with two assistants, her duties included participating along with other Flushing schools in Arbor Day tree plantings. In 1890 she led her children in planting a tree in honor of Toussaint L'Ouverture, leader of the Haitian Revolution. In January of 1894 she resigned as principal after inheriting $75,000 from a family friend. Separated from her husband for the past few years, she eventually moved back to her home state where she died in Philadelphia in 1905. But Shaw remained a supporter of Flushing. In her will she left funds to several local institutions, including Flushing's hospital, the Ebenezer Baptist Church, Macedonia AME Church, and the Flushing Free Library, which is now the Flushing branch of the Queens Public Library.[108]



Mary Shaw, principal of the Colored School at Flushing, 1890. Courtesy of the Queens Borough Public Library, Archives, Portraits Collection.

Manhasset



Lakeville AME Zion Church, Manhasset, 2009. Photograph courtesy of Allison Manfra McGovern.

In the hamlet of Manhasset within the town of North Hempstead, free African Americans formed a community along Valley Road in the late 18th century called Success, after nearby Lake Success. The 1790 federal census recorded approximately 150 residents. By the 19th century the Native and African American residents of Success had built more than thirty buildings along Valley Road. Moses Coss moved to Success in 1829, with his new house serving as the meeting place for an AME congregation that had formed eight years prior and first met at his home in Little Neck. With the congregation reaching 35 members in 1832, they erected a church. Today one of the earliest surviving African American churches in Nassau County, the Lakeville AME Zion Church continues to operate in a small neighborhood of houses that became designated as the Valley Road Historic District on the National Register of Historic Places in 1977.[109]

Westbury



Rev. Eliakim Levi (1803 - 1873), minster of the New Light Baptist Church in Westbury, c. 1870. Photograph courtesy of the Historical Society of the Westburys.



Cased half-plate daguerreotype of Frederick Douglass by Samuel J. Miller, 1847- 1852. Collection of the Art Institute of Chicago, Major Acquisitions Centennial Endowment.

In the late 18th century, Quakers in Westbury and Jericho (who had manumitted their enslaved servants in the 1770s and '80s) assisted freed African Americans in establishing a community called Guinea Town near where today Glen Cove Road (formerly Guinea Woods Road) crosses the Long Island Expressway.

The Reverend Eliakim Levi (1803-1873) became the community's first minister, and he helped to draw up the charter for a New Light Baptist Church in 1834.[110]

As Guinea Town had a church and houses but no businesses, its residents were still dependent upon their Quaker neighbors for employment. In the early 19th century African American women worked as domestic servants in surrounding homes, while men typically worked on area farms. Reverend Levi, for example, managed the farm of Sarah Hicks.[111]

Famed abolitionist Frederick Douglass visited Westbury for three days in April 1849, staying with members of the Post family. Writing to Quaker abolitionist friends Isaac and Amy Post in Rochester, New York, on April 22, Douglass noted that,

"I have two meetings appointed for this good Sabbath day. One at the colored meeting house, and the other in this room. Your Brother Joseph tried to get Friends meeting house and asked for it but friends were unwilling. They are too godly to favor goodness."

Douglass spoke at Levi's New Light Baptist Church. In 1867 the congregation moved into the center of Westbury at what is now 274 Grand Boulevard. The church changed its name to the Westbury AME Zion Church in 1892.[112]



Rachel Hicks (1857-1941) photograph of Priscilla Pearsall (at left) and friend, Westbury, c. 1885. Nassau County Department of Parks, Recreation, & Museums, Photo Archives Center.

Rachel Hicks was a Quaker born in Westbury, and studied art at Swarthmore Preparatory School in Pennsylvania before teaching herself photography. She took most of her photographs near her Westbury home from 1885 to 1896, including this image of Priscilla Pearsall (above, at left) and another African American woman crossing fields between Westbury and Roslyn.[113]

Born in New York around 1818, Priscilla Pearsall first appears in census records in 1860 married to George Pearsall and living in North Hempstead with their eight-year-old son Walter. A decade later the couple now owned their own farm, valued at $2500. The 1900 census lists 86-year-old George and 82-year-old Priscilla as having been married for 45 years, and parents to seven children, two of whom were currently living.[114]

Amityville

The Bethel AME Church is the oldest Black church on Long Island. Its roots begin with Delaney H. Miller and Daniel Squires starting a Sunday school in 1814, and then helping to form a congregation the following year for African and Native American members of the community. For the first two decades members met in each other's homes. In 1839 the congregation received a donated lot of land on Albany Street in Amityville, and a purpose-built church was completed by 1850. The church's first pastor was Benjamin Bates, who traveled from Jamaica each Sunday. The congregation continued to enlarge the building into the mid-20th century, including a steeple, stained glass, and an auditorium. Seeking more space, the growing congregation relocated to a new church building in Copiague in 1967. A fire destroyed the original church in 1989.[115]



Bethel AME Church, corner of Albany Avenue and West Jefferson Street, Amityville, mid 20th century. Courtesy of the Amityville Historical Society.

Greenlawn

Samuel Henry Ballton was born enslaved on a plantation in Westmoreland County, Virginia, in 1838. He married Ann Rebecca Richardson, an enslaved woman on a nearby plantation, in 1861. The couple escaped to the Union lines in 1862, and settled in Alexandria, Virginia. In 1864 Samuel went to Boston and enlisted with the Fifth Regiment Massachusetts Volunteer Colored Cavalry; he subsequently fought in the Second Battle of Petersburg and the Siege of Petersburg.

In 1873 the growing Ballton family joined other African American migrants heading north for better job opportunities after the war, and settled in Greenlawn. Samuel eventually worked as a sharecropper for the owner of the largest farm in Greenlawn, Alexander Gardiner. It was here that Ballton earned the nickname “The Pickle King” for his ability to grow a prodigious[116] amount of cucumbers. He also worked as a buying agent for a pickle business in Boston, joined the Greenlawn Presbyterian Church in 1875, and was a proud member of the William Lloyd Garrison Post, Grand Army of the Republic, a segregated Brooklyn unit of the large Union veterans’ organization.



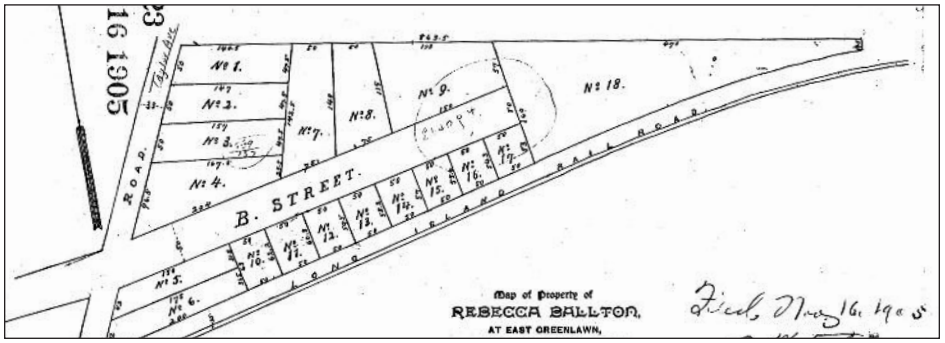


(Left): Hand-tinted portrait of Samuel Ballton (1838-1917) in his Grand Army of the Republic uniform, c. 1910. Greenlawn-Centerport Historical Association. (Right): Rebecca Ballton (1847-1925) standing on porch, c. 1915. Greenlawn-Centerport Historical Association.



Ballton House, now 75 Boulevard Avenue, Greenlawn, c. 1980. Greenlawn-Centerport Historical Association.

The Balltons built this house in 1910 on Lot 7 in the map below (just above the word “STREET”). It became their residence, and was where they celebrated their 50th wedding anniversary on April 15, 1911.



Map of Property of Rebecca Ballton, at East Greenlawn, filed November 16, 1905. Courtesy of the Office of the Huntington Town Historian, Robert Hughes.

The Balltons eventually had thirteen children, seven of whom survived to adulthood. In addition to raising a family and growing and dealing in cucumbers, the couple became important residential developers of Greenlawn (while also building houses in Northport[117] and Centerport). Surviving property maps from the 1890s and 1900s in town records show house lots owned by Rebecca and her son-in-law James E. Jackson. The family would buy lots of land, hire crews to build houses, and then sell them for a small profit. Some of these houses exist today.[118]



FOR SALE; late design; new house; 6 large, airy rooms; one and a half acres level land; garden planted; five minutes walk to train; Greenlawn; price and terms easy; guaranteed at 25 per cent. less than you can buy any adjoining property; don't sit and write for particulars; come out and look it over, any day, Sunday as well, or write one day ahead to SAMUEL BALLTON, P. O. Box 42, Green Lawn, L. I.

Advertisement placed by Samuel Ballton in the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, May 3, 1908, p. 44.[119]



House built by David Carll after the Civil War. Carlls Hill Road, Oyster Bay, 2019.

Oyster Bay

In 1863 when pressure from African Americans and their supporters finally convinced the federal government to authorize the formation of African American military units, hundreds of men from Long Island signed up to defend the Union and to defeat slavery. From Oyster Bay alone, 26 African American men soon traveled to Jamaica to enlist, including David Carll (1845-1910)[120] on January 2, 1864. A few days before he had married Mary Louisa Appleford (1844-1899), in what was one of the first interracial marriages in Oyster Bay.[121]

Paid a bounty of $300 for enlisting, Carll immediately used most of that money to purchase a plot of land in Oyster Bay off Pine Hollow Road for $200 on January 7, 1864. Until being discharged on August 28, 1865, Carll served with Company I of the 26th U.S. Colored Infantry around Beaufort and Port Royal, South Carolina. Upon returning home, he built a house on the land he had purchased with his enlistment bounty, where he and Mary raised ten children. His descendants still reside there. In the 1870 and 1880 censuses, Carll worked as a "boatman," an occupation he initially shared with his Appleford neighbors and brothers-in-law. By 1890 he applied for a pension for his Civil War service, and in 1902 submitted a tintype photograph (see image next page) of himself to the Bureau of Pensions as part of his long-running fight to secure a veteran's pension.

Discovered by his descendants in the National Archives more than a century later, the image is one of the few surviving photographs of an African American soldier from Long Island.[122]



Private David Carll of Oyster Bay, c. 1865. Courtesy of Denice Evans-Sheppard and John Hammond.

Stony Brook & Setauket

The Phillips family is part of a community of Native and African American heritage which extends from Stony Brook into Setauket (part of this area is now included within the Bethel-Christian Avenue-Laurel Hill Historic District). Levi Phillips was born in Bridgeport, Connecticut, around 1819 to James Phillips and Jane Jones, two Native Americans from Rhode Island, with James claiming descent from 17th century Wampanoag sachem Metacom (called King Philip by English colonists). Levi's parents moved the family to Old Field in the early 19th century, where they indentured their son to farmer William Covert Powell (1812-1903) in St. James.[123]

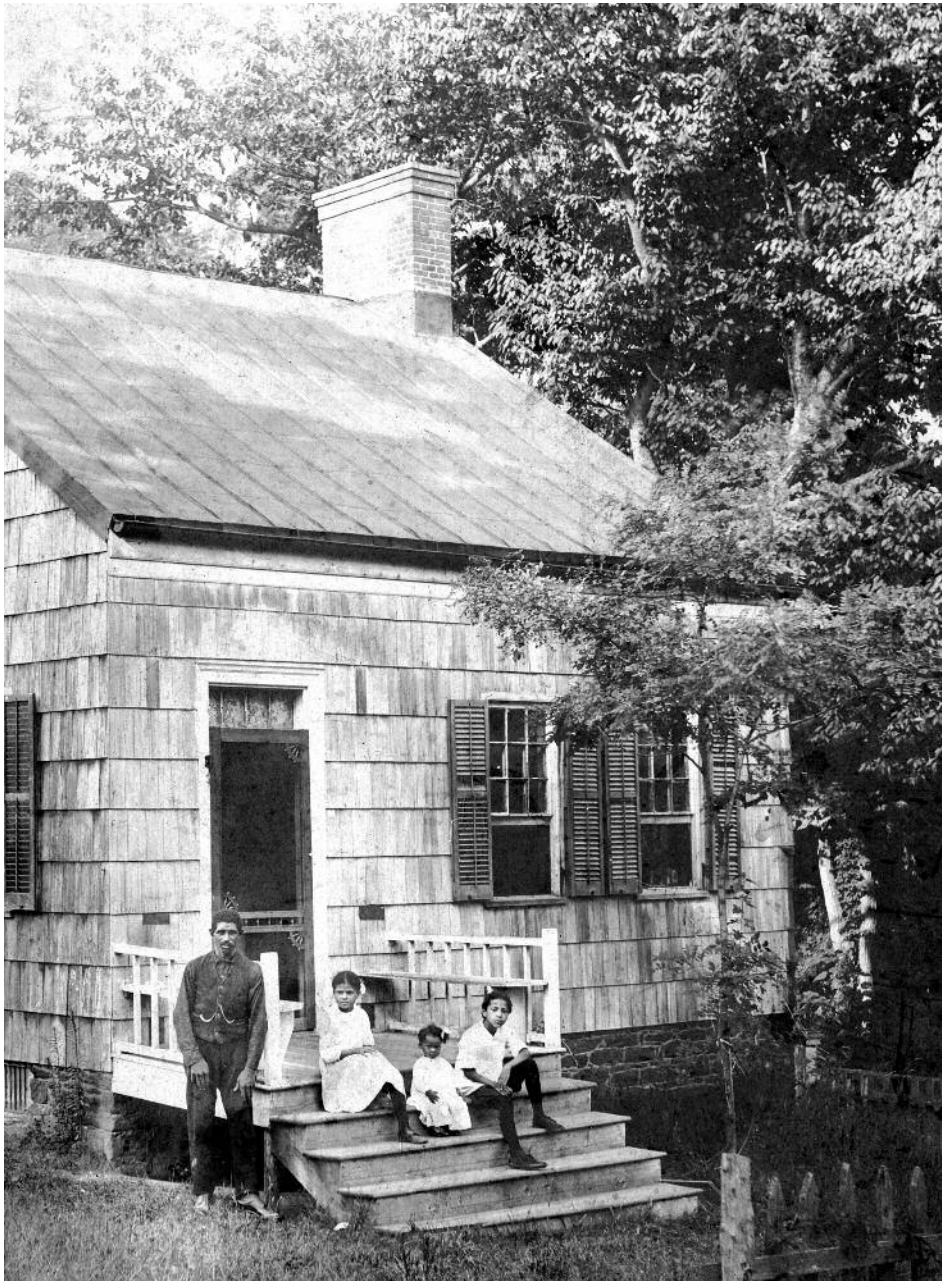
At the expiration of his indenture, Phillips settled in Smithtown, where he married twice and had ten children, three of whom would outlive him. His first marriage was to Maria Roscoe, a woman of African American and Shinnecock or Nissequogue heritage. Beginning in the 1850s and continuing alongside work as a farm laborer, Phillips began serving as an herbal doctor, gathering and preparing roots and herbs into medicine which he dispensed to patients along much of the North Shore. He was also a member of the Bethel AME Church (founded 1848) in Stony Brook, which in 1871 relocated a mile down Christian Avenue to Setauket.[124]

After the death of Maria in the early 1860s, Levi placed some of their eldest children in area homes, including Albert who became a servant in the Brookhaven household of farmer Frank Overton by 1865, and daughter Martha, who was living with William and Tamer Johnson (formerly enslaved to the Mills family and freed in 1824) in Smithtown by 1870.[125] By 1870 Levi had married Elizabeth Ruggles, an African American woman from Norwich, Connecticut, who joined the household along with her children Martha and Richard. Following Elizabeth's death in 1886, Levi moved in with his son Albert's family in Stony Brook. Albert had married Martha Ruggles, his step mother's daughter from a previous marriage, around 1877. The 1900 census shows them living on Christian Avenue in Stony Brook with their five children and the octogenarian Levi. Albert identifies his occupation as a sailor. The family's house still survives.[126]

Levi eventually moved to the west side of Port Jefferson, where he continued to prepare his own medicines and treat local patients. In the first decade of the 20th century his practice and appearance attracted the attention of newspapers across the island, which celebrated his life story and advanced age. While numerous census records show his birth date to be around 1819, newspapers announced his centennial on September 29, 1909. The addition of a decade to his age was possibly clever marketing by Levi, who passed away in 1911.[127]



Doctor Levi Phillips (c. 1819-1911) walking to visit patients, circa 1870, carrying a box with bottled medicine, walking stick, and a carpet bag of herbs. Courtesy of Three Village Historical Society and Carlton “Hub” Edwards.



Albert Phillips (c. 1853-1924) stands in front of his home at 249 Christian Avenue, Stony Brook, with his children Anna Mae (born 1883), Minnie Elizabeth (born c. 1887), and Albert Junius (born c. 1879), c. 1889. Courtesy of Three Village Historical Society and Carlton “Hub” Edwards.

Sag Harbor



Caroline Charlotte Smiley Fortune, c. 1880. Collection of Eastville Community Historical Society.



Caroline Smiley Fortune's treadle sewing machine, made c. 1873 by the Howe Machine Company of Bridgeport, CT. Loaned by Robert P. Pharaoh to the *Long Road to Freedom* exhibition, 2019.

Caroline Charlotte "Carrie" Smiley Fortune (1860-1940) and her husband, Timothy Thomas Fortune (1856-1928), were among the thousands of people of color who left the South after the Civil War to seek a better life in the North. Carrie was born in Jacksonville, Florida, in 1860, as the child of a white plantation owner and an enslaved Native American woman. Around the age of 16, she came north and accepted a job in Sag Harbor as a seamstress of the wife of a ship captain. In 1878 she traveled to Washington, DC, where she married T. Thomas Fortune – whom she had known in Jacksonville. The pair moved to Brooklyn the following year.[128]

T. Thomas Fortune was born in 1856 in Marianna, Florida, into an enslaved family of Native American, African American, and European descent. After the Civil War, his father was elected as a state legislator from Jackson County, before moving the family in 1870 to Jacksonville where he remained active in city and county politics. Timothy gained early experience in politics as a page in the Florida Senate and then in journalism with jobs at newspapers in Marianna and then Jacksonville. He enrolled at Howard University in 1876 but left after two years and took a job as a typesetter at the African American newspaper, *The People's Advocate*, in Washington, DC.[129]



T. Thomas Fortune, c. 1902. *The Colored American Magazine* (Feb. 1902): 224.[130]

Living in New York the following year and newly married, Fortune briefly worked as a typesetter at the *Weekly Witness* before leaving to co-found a weekly newspaper for African Americans, *Rumor*, which became the *New York Globe* in 1882. After it ceased publication in 1884, Fortune started the *New York Freeman*. After three years, Fortune took on Jerome Peterson as a business partner and they renamed the paper the *New York Age*.[131]

With Fortune as editor, the *New York Age* became one of the nation's leading African American newspapers. It protested exploitation and violence against African Americans, pushed for greater funding for Black education and criminal justice reform, as well as promoted Black solidarity and self-help. At the helm of the *New York Age*, Fortune became one of the most respected Black writers and activists in America, writing hundreds of articles and editorials as well as the book *Black and White: Land, Labor, and Politics in the South* (1884).[132]

The Fortunes were among the earliest families of color to vacation in the East End, spending summers in the neighborhood of Eastville in Sag Harbor where Carrie had worked before their marriage. Thomas and Carrie had two children: Jessie in 1883 and Frederick in 1891. During their time in Eastville, it's likely that Carrie continued to work as a seamstress for clients in the East End.

Carrie, Thomas, and Frederick moved in 1901 from Brooklyn to Red Bank, New Jersey. Daughter Jessie remained in New York, working at her father's newspaper. The couple separated around 1908, with Carrie returning to Brooklyn in the 1910s. There she resided near her daughter, who had married Aubrey Bowser in 1912; the pair subsequently had careers teaching in New York City schools while continuing to summer in Sag Harbor with Carrie. Jessie kept her mother's sewing machine after her death in 1940, which remained in the family until her daughter, Elizabeth Bowser of Sag Harbor, passed away in 2015.[133]



St. David African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, 33 Eastville Avenue, Sag Harbor, mid-20th century. Collection of Eastville Community Historical Society.

The Fortune and Bowser families lived a short distance from the cultural and spiritual heart of the Eastville neighborhood, the St. David AME Zion Church. Frustrated with segregation at Sag Harbor's Methodist Church, a group of local Native and African American residents sought their own house of worship, with David Hempstead, Lewis Cuffee, William Prime, and Charles Plato appointed to serve on a building committee. In 1840 they purchased a lot in the neighborhood of Snooksville (renamed Eastville in 1851) and a building was erected later that year for $700. Cuffee, Prime, and Plato served as the first Church trustees, and Reverend John P. Thompson (c. 1805-1862) served as the first pastor.[134]

The congregation gained their own cemetery around 1857, when Church trustees purchased land from Hannah and Anna Maria Solomon along Eastville Avenue. To also accommodate the needs of the congregation, the church was remodeled in the 1890s to include a steeple. One of the oldest surviving AME Zion churches in Suffolk County, both it and the cemetery are now under the care of the Eastville Community Historical Society.[135]



Sarah Luisa Parker, c. 1890. Collection of Eastville Community Historical Society.

But religious events for the Eastville community were not limited to just those at the church. In the late 19th century, Sag Harbor was host to regular camp meetings, with the Reverend John Washington Parker (c. 1812-1888) playing a prominent role. Born enslaved in either Virginia or Maryland around 1812, Parker arrived in Sag Harbor shortly after the end of the Civil War, where he met and soon married Sarah Luisa Joseph (1837-1914). Between about 1866 and 1873 the couple had four children, though only their daughter Mary Elizabeth Parker (1870-1965) would outlive them.[136]

From at least 1869 to 1876, Parker helped to organize camp meetings on the outskirts of Sag Harbor – usually in a grove next to Round Pond and lasting as long as ten days. An 1869 profile in the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* summarized his duties as "from seven o'clock in the morning until about eleven at night [he] is hard at work, praying, singing, preaching, fixing things up around the camp, building fires, assisting in the cooking, trimming lamps, and at the same time keeping his eyes on everything and everybody around him." Presumably his family would have all helped in various ways at the camp meetings. The image of Sarah (at left) is from a circa-1890 tintype, and is one of the earliest depictions of an African American resident in East Hampton (the village of Sag Harbor straddles the boundaries of the towns of East Hampton and Southampton, with Eastville lying in the East Hampton portion).[137]

CAMP MEETING

AT SAG-HARBOR.

The African Methodist Episcopal Ziens will hold a Camp-Meeting in the grove of Geo. B. Brown, just West of the Toll-house, on the East Hampton Turnpike, commencing on FRIDAY, August 13th.

Ministers and their congregations are invited to attend.

Persons wishing to have tents on the ground are requested to apply to the undersigned.

All persons attending the meeting are requested to strictly obey the laws in reference thereto, as all violators of the same will be dealt with accordingly.

JOHN WASHINGTON PARKER,
Manager.

Sag-Harbor, July 19th, 1869. 2w2

Advertisement for a camp meeting, *Sag-Harbor Express*, July 29, 1869, p. 3.[138]

Mattituck & Cutchogue



Elymus Reeve (1783-1870) posing for a photograph with his hand resting on a Bible, c. 1860. Published in Charles E. Craven, *A History of Mattituck, Long Island, N.Y.* (1906). Courtesy of the Office of Southold Town Historian, Amy Folk.

In December of 1783, Elymus Reeve was born enslaved on the Cutchogue farm of James and Elizabeth (née Wickham) Reeve. On January 6, 1785 James purchased a two-year-old African American girl named Hagar from John Leveret Hudson of Cutchogue for £35. The 1790 U.S. Census recorded 11 people in the Reeve household, seven of whom were enslaved. After James passed in 1791, the 1800 census noted Elizabeth living with her daughter and two enslaved people – Elymus and Hagar. Elizabeth freed Elymus in 1813 and presumably Hagar around the same time. While continuing to run Elizabeth's farm until her death in 1819, Elymus and Hagar married and had eight children between about 1814 and 1831.[139]

While enslaved, Elymus had learned to read and write, and also received religious instruction from a woman named Betty enslaved to a neighboring family. He joined the Cutchogue Presbyterian Church in 1806. Now with a growing family, Hagar and Elymus continued to worship at the church and also sent their children to Mattituck's schoolhouse.[140]

Elymus had become a landowner in 1820 when he received an acre of land in Elizabeth's will. In 1825 Elymus's father, Reuben, also formerly enslaved to the Reeve family, sold him a house and three and a half acres of land in Mattituck. This became the home in which the family raised their children.[141]

Robbed of the first 30 years of their lives, Hagar and Elymus likely took pride in the success of their children who were born free. Daughters Betsey Reeve Rock (1822-1910) and Keturah Reeve Girard (1828-1881) moved to Newport, Rhode Island, and started families. Son Enos (c. 1827-1900) left home around 1849 and lived the rest of his life in British Columbia and California. Daughter Parthenia (1816-1883) purchased a house in Mattituck for her parents in 1849 between the north side of Marratooka Pond and what is now Main Road. After a brief period living in Manhattan in which she married Haitian immigrant Alexander Silone in 1851, the couple returned to Mattituck to raise their family.[142]

Youngest son John Bunyan Reeve (1831-1916) left home in 1848 at the age of 17. After working in Manhattan for five years, he enrolled at New-York Central College in what is now the village of McGraw in Cortland County. The college was one of the few in the U.S. to admit students regardless of race or gender. Graduating in 1858, he then became the first African American to enroll at the Union Theological Seminary (now affiliated with Columbia University), graduating with honors in 1861. He moved to Philadelphia later that year to serve as pastor of the Lombard Street Central Presbyterian Church. In 1870 he received an honorary Doctor of Divinity from Lincoln University, and the following year left his pastorship to organize and then run Howard University's Theological Seminary in Washington, DC. After five years as dean, he returned to his Philadelphia church and continued as its beloved pastor until his death.[143]

Back in New York, Hagar had passed away in 1857, with Elymus continuing to live with their daughter, son-in-law, and eventually two granddaughters. He died in 1870 at the age of 86, having survived slavery, built a family, and left a story that, like many African Americans who formed communities on Long Island in the 19th century, is worth remembering.[144]



The gravestone of Elymus and Hagar Reeve, Old Burying Ground, 32770 Main Road, Cutchogue. Image courtesy of Gail Ford.

5: Legacies

The legacies of slavery are still felt on Long Island. Since the colonial period, African Americans have consistently faced discrimination in access to education, jobs, housing, health care, political representation, recreation, and cultural resources. Today, Long Island remains one of the most segregated places in the United States. As recently reported by *Newsday*, "half of Long Island's black population lives in just 11 of the Island's 291 communities, and 90 percent lives in just 62 of them, according to 2017 census estimates."[145]

Suburbanization is largely responsible for this clustering. In the 20th century, as whites fled urban neighborhoods for Long Island's bedroom communities, residents in predominantly Black neighborhoods were denied mortgages by the government and banks, which prevented them from moving to more affluent areas with better housing stock; redlining, as this process was called, is now illegal but still continues in some quarters. Some subsidized affordable housing developments, such as Levittown, also barred African Americans from moving into new postwar planned neighborhoods. Housing segregation also resulted in de facto school segregation as Black children attended schools with fewer resources due to their communities' smaller tax bases. Three out of four Black students on Long Island currently attend schools in districts that are predominantly non-white and under-funded.[146]

Despite these significant challenges, African Americans on Long Island continue to sustain vibrant communities and to proudly celebrate their history and culture. Religion retains its importance, even as many more faiths are represented with the arrival of diverse migrants and immigrants. The Great Migration brought another influx of African Americans from the South to New York in search of better opportunities. Their presence contributed to a new sense of Black identity that blossomed into the intellectual, social, and artistic ideals of the Harlem Renaissance.[147]

In the past half century, citizens have founded museums to preserve and share Black history. Preservation advocates are fighting to protect African American historic sites and districts of regional and national significance in the face of gentrification. Archaeologists are expanding our knowledge about communities of color whose histories were often not written down. Community leaders are initiating research projects to recover the names and stories of people once enslaved. New museum exhibitions are addressing difficult topics. And individuals are tracing family trees with new technologies. All of these examples speak to a growing awareness and desire among Long Islanders to remember and learn from two bitter centuries of slavery.[148]

Members of the Great Migration: Dodenhuff Green and Thelma Grier

The Great Migration was the movement of 6 million African Americans from the South to the North and West of the U.S. from the 1910s to the 1970s. It profoundly changed the demographics of many states including New York, as migrants sought to escape the segregation, discrimination, and poverty of the Jim Crow South. The Green and Grier families are two who made the journey. Their experience of settling first in New York City and then moving out to Long Island after World War II made them a part of the generation that built modern suburban Long Island.[149]





Rev. Dr. Dodenhuff Green, c. 1980. Courtesy of the Grier family. Rev. Dr. Green (center, in white) and his family on April 21, 2013 at Humbleway C.O.G.I.C., 133-15 120th Avenue, South Ozone Park, Queens. This is a sister church to the one that Green started in 1971. Courtesy of the Grier family.

Born in 1915 in Barnwell County, South Carolina, Dodenhuff Green was the fourth of six children of farmers Arthur and Queen Green. In 1926 the family moved to Aiken, where a few years later Dodenhuff married Lucille Robinson. The couple would eventually raise six children. After relocating to Augusta, Georgia, in the early 1940s, Dodenhuff and his family joined the Great Migration later in the decade and settled in Harlem. There, as a member of the Rescue Baptist Church, he attended Covenant Baptist Seminary and eventually served as assistant pastor of Rescue Baptist Church for 14 years and then pastor for another three.

The family moved out to Hempstead in the 1950s. While continuing to minister in Harlem, Green put to use mechanical skills learned while working for the Army Corps of Engineers in Georgia and became one of the first African Americans in Nassau County to own and operate a service station, on Babylon Turnpike near the border of Roosevelt and Freeport. Later he worked for Grumman Aerospace in Bethpage, eventually retiring as a metallurgical engineer. After the passing of Lucille in 1959, he joined the Church of God in Christ Little Zion on Helen Avenue in Freeport, where he met and married Evelyn Fenn in 1961. In a few years Green began serving there as assistant

pastor (C.O.G.I.C. being a Pentecostal church founded in the South in 1897). In 1971 he left Little Zion to start his own church, Christ Temple C.O.G.I.C., which first met in his Freeport home on Grand Avenue. The growing congregation soon relocated to Uniondale, where Rev. Green built a new church at 912 Nassau Road that opened in 1973.

Green returned to school in the 1970s, eventually earning doctorates in psychology, sacred scripture, and divinity. In addition to his ongoing pastoral work, he oversaw churches from Brooklyn to Bridgehampton as a C.O.G.I.C.

Charlotte along with her siblings. In the early 1940s, she married Theodore Grier, and following the example of her aunt Henrietta Wallace Wilcox who had moved to Harlem, the young couple also journeyed to the New York City neighborhood in 1947 as part of the Great Migration. Their son George (born in 1942) joined them a year later. In 1949 the couple moved to Brooklyn, where they raised their son and eventually a niece. Thelma attended Sarah J. Hale Vocational High School and became certified as a seamstress. The Griers left the city for Long Island in the early 1960s, purchasing a home in Uniondale. Thelma eventually earned certification as a nursing assistant with





George Wallace Grier poses next to the choir robe worn by his mother, Deaconess Thelma Grier, and the Doctor of Divinity clergy robe (at left) worn by his father-in-law, Rev. Dr. Dodenhuff Green, on display in the *Long Road to Freedom* exhibition, 2019. Deaconess Thelma Grier, c. 1985. Courtesy of the Grier family.

administrator. In recognition of his decades of service to the community, Hempstead Town Supervisor Kate Murray dedicated "Rev. Dodenhuff Green Street" in 2007 at the corner of Adams Street and Nassau Road in Uniondale, where Rev. Dr. Green's church is located. The Freeport resident retired from the ministry in 2012 and passed away in 2014 at the age of 99.[150]

Born in 1923 in Charlotte, North Carolina, Thelma (née Wallace) Grier was the first of 11 children of farmers Matthew and Jessie Wallace. Her family were members of Smithfield Baptist Church, and she attended public school in

specializations in newborn and child care, and geriatrics and convalescent care.

Seeking a spiritual home within their new suburban community, the Griers became members of the South Hempstead Baptist Church in 1964. There, among other activities, Thelma taught Sunday school, sang in the senior choir, and was consecrated as Deaconess in 1969 – a position she held for 44 years until her passing in 2013 at the age of 90.[151]

The Fight to Preserve Communities of Color & Their Historic Architecture

The rapid suburbanization of Long Island in the decades after World War II provided much-needed housing for incoming populations; however, it also endangered, and in many cases, destroyed much of the island's early architecture and cultural landscapes. Development of remaining open space and neighborhood gentrification are important concerns facing communities of color and the historic architecture that visually and culturally anchor them. What follows are a few recent examples of preservation challenges in Nassau and Suffolk counties.

Pyrrhus Concer House, Southampton



Deconstruction begins of the Pyrrhus Concer House, August 2014. Courtesy Robert Strada.

In 2013 a Brooklyn couple purchased a house at 51 Pond Lane in Southampton for $2.75 million, with plans to demolish it to build a new one. The site was the former home of famed African American whaleman Pyrrhus Concer (see pages 63-64), though experts initially disagreed on whether the small house was built before or after Concer's death in 1897. A public hearing



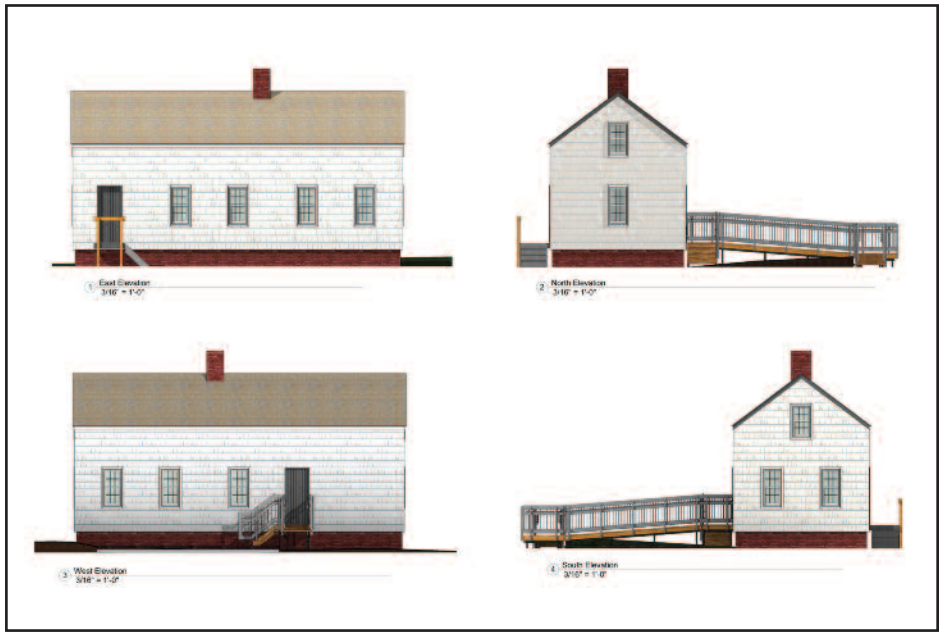
Timber framing that dates to the time of Pyrrhus Concer is labeled prior to disassembly, August 2014. Courtesy Robert Strada.

by the Southampton Village Board of Architectural Review & Historic Preservation on September 25, 2013 on whether to approve the demolition led concerned citizens to form the Pyrrhus Concer Action Committee (PCAC) to fight for the house's preservation.[152]

After significant public opposition to the proposed demolition, the board denied the property owners' application. But after the couple sued the village for $10 million in the spring of 2014, the village and the couple reached an agreement in May: the village would approve the demolition, but it could salvage the historic components of the house as it was being taken down. Architects subsequently determined that the oldest parts did date to Concer's ownership. The house was deconstructed in August 2014, with the village intending to rebuild it on another site.[153] Apparently souring on the building project, the owners put the 0.82-acre lot up for sale in November 2014 for $5 million. In July 2015, following public pressure to save the land from future development, the Southampton Town Board purchased the property for $4.3 million using its

Community Preservation Fund. Southampton Village plans to use the salvaged timber to reconstruct a house based on Pyrrhus Concer's home that can serve as a community resource. While the project is currently stalled, the PCAC succeeded in dedicating an historical marker on the site and renaming Pond Lane to Concer's Way on August 16, 2015, and commissioning an archaeological dig on the lot in June 2016.[154]

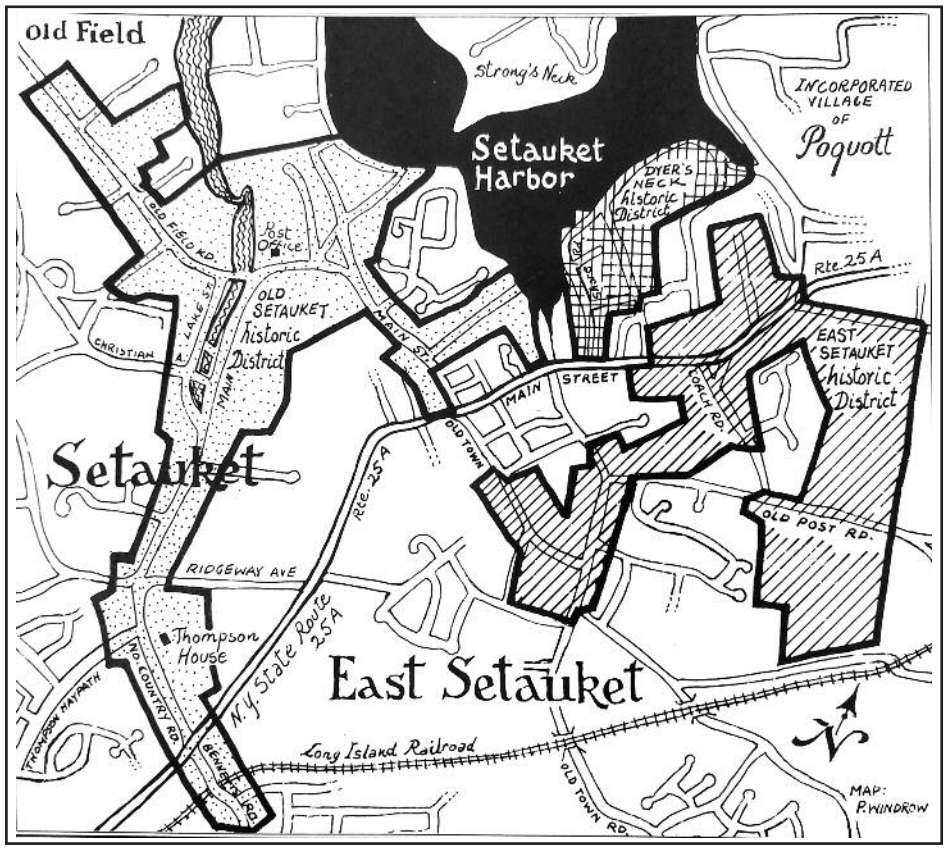
The story of the fight to save Concer's house is part of a larger challenge of recognizing African American history in our built environment. Despite the Concer House being within the Southampton Village Historic District, it was not individually listed as a contributing historic property. This oversight – its important history overlooked because it was an example of African American vernacular architecture – directly contributed to its destruction. As people of color are underrepresented in library and museum collections, preserving historic sites associated with African Americans offers another opportunity for communities to share a more inclusive history. But community involvement remains essential throughout the process, from identifying sites, to understanding what they mean to descendants and other community members, and how these historic resources can best be adapted to meet their current needs.[155]



Detail of architectural plans for reconstruction of the Pyrrhus Concer House, 2019. Courtesy Chaleff & Rogers Architects.

Bethel-Christian Avenue-Laurel Hill Historic District, Setauket

In the decades after WWII as Nassau and Suffolk counties experienced rapid population growth, many residents were alarmed at the loss of buildings or sites that were architecturally or historically significant to their communities. Reflecting the larger historic preservation movement in postwar America, municipalities on Long Island began in the 1960s to designate historic districts as a way to preserve the historic character of an area. In December of 1978, the Town of Brookhaven – the largest and one of the fastest-growing towns in the state – designated four historic districts in Setauket and Stony Brook after intense local debate. A Historic District Advisory Committee would now review new construction in the districts and modifications to existing structures.[156]



Map by Patricia Hope Windrow showing the Old Setauket, Dyer's Neck, and East Setauket historic districts, 1986.[157] Christian Avenue is in the upper left. Reproduced with permission of the Three Village Historical Society.

The historic districts of Stony Brook, Old Setauket, East Setauket, and Dyer's Neck were significant preservation victories, but did not include sites known to be home to people of color over the past 200 years. Significantly, the boundaries of the Old Setauket Historic District, site of the first settlement in the Town of Brookhaven, did not extend to an area along Christian Avenue that remains predominantly the home of Setauket's descendant community of color.[158]

In 1655 colonists purchased land from the Setalcott Indians, and soon built homes and farms on land which the Setalcotts had lived for thousands of years. Eventually the settlement took the name Setauket, a modification of the original inhabitants' name. During the colonial period, Long Island's Native American population was decimated by European diseases, warfare, and the disruption of traditional hunting and farming practices. Survivors worked to maintain their culture, while also adapting to their new neighbors. Setalcotts, and soon, African Americans, performed domestic and agricultural work in white households and farms as enslaved, indentured, and free laborers. The two groups intermarried, and are the ancestors of the present community of color.[159]

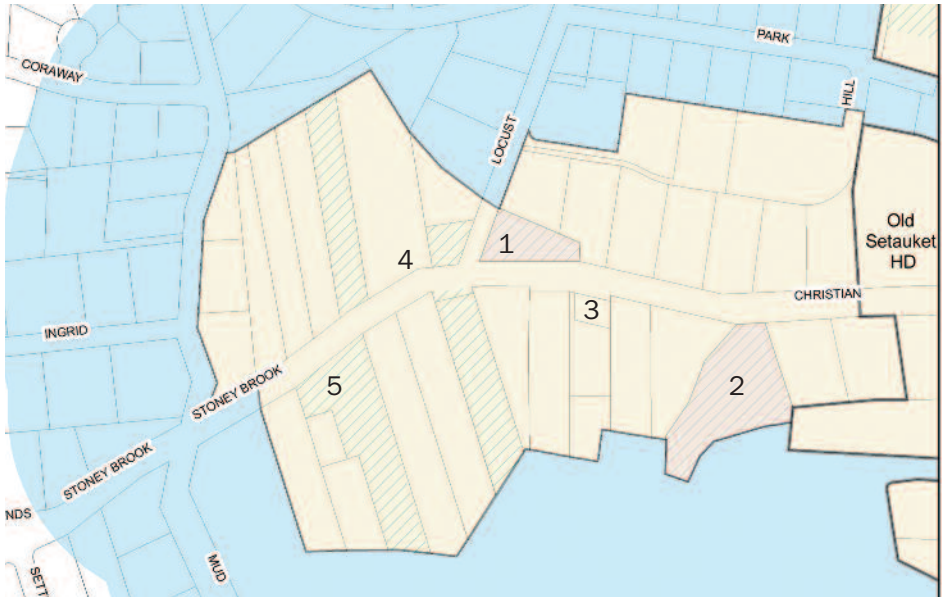
By the mid-19th century, descendants of this mixed-heritage Native American and African American community had settled along Christian Avenue, which runs from Stony Brook to Setauket. Community members established the African Methodist Episcopal Society of Setauket and Stony Brook in the late 1840s, with Society trustees in 1848 purchasing an eighth of an acre at the intersection of Christian Avenue and Woodfield Road in Stony Brook for a church and burial ground.[160]

In 1871 the congregation moved about a mile east on Christian Avenue into Setauket, erecting a new church at the corner of Locust Avenue. The Bethel AME Church at this time became caretakers of the nearby Laurel Hill Cemetery. Back in 1815, Brookhaven town trustees had set the land aside as a public burial ground for people of color. A February 1909 fire destroyed the church, but members rebuilt it by the following year.[161]

In the first half of the twentieth century, Setauket's neighborhoods and households became more segregated, owing to changes in labor practices (such as fewer women of color as live-in domestics in white households), the incorporation of the Old Field area of Setauket as an elite residential village in 1927, and residential and commercial development displacing residents of color (development disproportionately affecting poor and working class residents). Clusters of non-white households in Setauket gradually consolidated to just those on Christian Avenue by the 1960s.[162]

The Christian Avenue community declined to join the Old Setauket Historic District when first proposed, out of concern it would attract development and affect property values. While the Bethel AME Church formed a non-profit that purchased three lots on Christian Avenue in 2000 to prevent their development, residents continued to face rising property taxes and developer interest in their homes and land that didn't have the protections afforded those in the adjacent historic district. In 2004 a developer demolished the R. W. Hawkins House, replacing the 19th-century cottage with a much larger home out of character to the neighborhood. In response, residents formed the Higher Ground Inter-Cultural and Heritage Association, a non-profit preservation organization which successfully petitioned the Town of Brookhaven to approve the Bethel-Christian Avenue-Laurel Hill Historic District in June 2005[163]

Within its boundaries are the Bethel AME Church, late-19th to mid-20th century houses, and American Legion Irving Hart Post 1766. Native and African American veterans after World War II encountered racial bias at Setauket's existing American Legion post, and so created their own that welcomed veterans regardless of race. They built a meeting hall – which still stands today, across the street from the church – between 1954 and 1973.[165]



The Bethel-Christian Avenue-Laurel Hill Historic District adjacent to the Old Setauket Historic District, with the Bethel AME Church (1), designated as a Town of Brookhaven Historic Landmark in 2009, Laurel Hill Cemetery (2), designated as a Town of Brookhaven Historic Landmark in 1993 (at the same time as the Old Bethel Cemetery farther down Christian Avenue in Stony Brook), the American Legion Hall (3), Lucy Hart Keyes House (4), and Eato House (5).[164]



Rick “Long Tree” Sells (left) and Jordan Brown (right) sift for artifacts at the Lucy Hart Keyes site at 37 Christian Avenue during an ALTC workshop, September 2010. Photo by Robert Lewis.



The Reverend David and Mary Baker Eato House, 46 Christian Avenue, April 2022.

Since 2005, the Christian Avenue community has continued to work toward discovering its past. In 2010 the Higher Ground Inter-Cultural and Heritage Association partnered with local academics and activists on the “A Long Time Coming” (ALTC) project to investigate the history and archaeology of Setauket’s Native and African American community, with a focus on the historic district. The ALTC project began that year with community workshops on oral history, genealogy, archaeological techniques and methods, and material culture research.[166]

In 2011 a team from Hofstra University collaborated with community members to research and record interviews about several properties within the historic district. They also excavated a site at the intersection of Lake and Main streets that was the home of Jacob and Hannah Hart from 1888 to 1931 and where they raised nine children. After Jacob’s death in 1931 (Hannah had died in 1921), the house was torn down.[167]

A Hofstra team returned to Setauket in 2013 and 2014 for two seasons of excavations at the circa-1709 Thompson House in the Old Setauket Historic District. Five generations of the prominent Thompson family resided in the house from the early 18th century to 1886. For much of this period the site was also where enslaved, indentured, and free non-white laborers did the bulk of the work on the farm.[168]

In 2015 community members and archaeologists returned to the Jacob and Hannah Hart site for additional excavations, as well as excavation of the Silas Tobias site in Old Field. Located on the western shore of Conscience Bay, the property was home to members of the Tobias family for the entire 19th century, and was part of an enclave of non-white households that survived in the neighborhood into the 1920s.[169]

Amid this archaeological work, the Higher Ground Inter-Cultural & Heritage Association successfully applied to the Preservation League of New York State to get the historic district designated in 2014 as an endangered historic site. The status didn’t grant any protection, but it drew public attention to the ongoing development pressure facing the community. The following year, the League granted $7,000 to Higher Ground for surveying the district in support of listing on the National Register of Historic Places.[170]

At the September 14, 2017 meeting of the New York State Board for Historic Preservation, it considered Higher Ground's nomination, and subsequently recommended that the Old Bethel Cemetery in Stony Brook, and the Bethel Christian Avenue Historic District be included on the State and National Register of Historic Places. The National Parks Service officially listed both places on the Register on November 9, 2017.[171]

The Christian Avenue community has taken important steps in documenting its history through archaeology, oral history, and archival research. It has then used this knowledge to attain town, state, and national preservation status. The results help the living community maintain its way of life and contribute to a more accurate portrait of Setauket's history and cultural heritage.

But the work is ongoing. The Higher Ground Inter-Cultural & Heritage Association is currently partnering with the Bethel AME Church to restore the Eato House. One of only five structures within the core of the historic district dating from the late 19th to mid 20th centuries, it was formerly the home of Reverend David and Mary Lucinda Baker Eato. The couple moved to Setauket when David became minister of the Bethel AME Church in 1917. Mary Baker was born in South Carolina after the Civil War and moved to Long Island in 1901 with her family as part of the Great Migration. She married the Roslyn-born Eato in Port Washington in 1913. After her husband's death in 1926, Mary purchased their home in 1928, making it an early and important example of African American homeownership on Long Island.



Members of the leadership of the Higher Ground Inter-Cultural & Heritage Association receive an Organizational Excellence Award from Preservation Long Island during its annual Preservation Awards ceremony on May 5, 2018, at the Old First Presbyterian Church in Huntington, NY. From left to right: Wayne D. Hart (Trustee), James R. Edwards (Vice President), Geral Deane Lee (Trustee), and Robert Lewis (President). Photo by Christopher Matthews.

With the Bethel AME Church now owning the Eato House, it is working with Higher Ground to restore the building to be a community heritage center. The project draws on the support of preservation organizations such as Preservation Long Island (which put the house on its 2017 list of Endangered Historic Places) and grant-funding organizations including the Gerry Charitable Trust and New York Landmarks Conservancy. The community's continuing efforts to document and preserve its history and maintain residents' way of life makes it a model for historic communities of color threatened by gentrification elsewhere on Long Island.[172]

St. Matthias Church, Wantagh

The Bethel AME Zion Church is at the center of Setauket's Christian Avenue community. But when the size of a congregation declines, it can threaten the survival of its church. This is the case for St. Matthias Church, on the border of North Bellmore and Wantagh, in Hempstead.

The Episcopal Diocese of Long Island built the shingle-style building at the corner of Jerusalem and Oakfield avenues in 1904 as one of the first three Episcopal churches in Queens and Nassau counties erected for primarily African American congregations. The area south of what is now Jerusalem Avenue and west of the Twin Lakes Preserve was once a wooded area known as "the Brush," and was home to a community of color since at least the early 19th century. Community members started an African Methodist Episcopal church by the 1840s, and acquired land for a church and cemetery on what is now Oakfield Avenue in 1851. After the AME church burned around the turn of the twentieth century, St. Matthias continued to serve the community for the next century, with burials continuing at the nearby cemetery on Oakfield Avenue until 1943.[173]



A for-sale sign on the lawn of the closed St. Matthias Church, 2856 Jerusalem Avenue, Wantagh, February 2019.

In 2009 the Episcopal Diocese closed the church, citing low attendance. Parishioners had successfully resisted previous attempts by the diocese to close the church in the 1920s and 1960s. Now, the congregation formed an independent Christian group, St. Matthias Ministries, and continued to hold services in the building. While the congregation soon revived from ten to over 100 members, both sides began a decade-long legal fight over ownership of the property.[174]

In April 2018, the congregation was evicted after court rulings that the Episcopal Diocese owned the land. With the property subsequently listed for sale, it was possible that a new owner could demolish or significantly alter the building if it didn't have any protective status. After significant study, and despite opposition from the diocese, in February 2019 the Town of Hempstead Landmarks Preservation Commission voted to recommend that the town board landmark the church.[175]

The New York State Office of Historic Preservation added its support three months later, determining that the church was eligible for listing on the state and national registers of historic places. Finally, on October 2, 2019, the Hempstead Town Board voted to grant landmark status to St. Matthias Episcopal Church based on its architectural and historical significance. This vote complemented a prior one by the board in 2014 to landmark the town-owned St. Matthias Church Cemetery on Oakfield Avenue.[176]

The fight to preserve St. Matthias is a partial victory. The building will not be demolished, and it is publicly recognized as one of the few surviving structures linked to the community of color that formed in "the Brush" in the early 19th century. Also, despite being built in the twentieth century, it is likely the second-oldest surviving African American religious structure in Nassau County (after the 1832 Lakeville AME Zion Church in Manhasset). But the congregation was evicted and now meets in Amityville. As of 2022, the empty 118-year-old church building still faces an uncertain future.[177]

SANS, Sag Harbor

The village of Sag Harbor has been a diverse community since its founding in the early 18th century, with the work of people of color integral to it becoming a major port in the early American whaling industry. Located on the eastern edge of the village, the neighborhood of Eastville by the early 19th century became home to a community of Native Americans, African Americans, and European immigrants, with the St. David AME Zion Church (built 1840) as its cultural and spiritual heart.[178]

In the late 19th century, people of color such as the Fortune family of Brooklyn (see page 76) began joining other middle and upper class Americans in vacationing in Sag Harbor during the summer. Often staying in the racially and ethnically integrated Eastville, Black vacationers rented houses or boarded with local families, with some eventually building their own summer residences. Amid the post-WWII suburban building boom on Long Island, African Americans continued to face discrimination in access to housing and vacation destinations – among a myriad of Jim Crow-era legal and social restrictions present across Long Island. Sag Harbor, though, remained a refuge for vacationing African Americans. The village's population decline since its height in the 1910s, and the departure of most of its industry during this time, presented opportunities for African Americans seeking expanded and more modern vacation housing options outside Eastville. Undeveloped land on the outskirts of the village could be the site of a new summer resort community.[179]

Beginning just after World War II, Black seasonal residents and entrepreneurs sought to develop the first of what would become five new Sag Harbor subdivisions on wooded land just east of the village. The first three, Azurest (1947), Sag Harbor Hills (1950) and Ninevah Beach (1952), were established north of Hampton Street (Route 114) and bordered Sag Harbor Bay, while Chatfield's Hill and Hillcrest Terrace were subsequently laid out south of Hampton Street and were landlocked.[180]

Sisters Maude Kenney Terry (1887-1968) and Amaza Lee Meredith (1895-1984) are primarily responsible for the creation of Azurest. Born and raised in Virginia, the African American sisters earned degrees from the Teachers College of Columbia University, with Terry subsequently becoming a Brooklyn schoolteacher and Meredith a professor at Virginia State University where she founded the Department of Art. Maude Terry had been a seasonal resident of Eastville with her family since the 1930s, and worked with the Gale family of Huntington to subdivide land the Gales owned in Sag Harbor in 1947 and 1948 to form Azurest.[181]

Streets were named for the co-founders' families (Terry Drive, Meredith Avenue, Richards Drive), and local families of color (Milton Avenue, Walker Avenue, Cadmus Road, and Cuffee Drive). The first house, belonging to Terry and Meredith and known as Terry Cottage or HIHIL, was built in 1949. It was designed by Meredith, who in addition to her work as an educator and artist, was also one of the first female African American architects. She subsequently designed other Azurest homes.[182]

In order to develop Azurest into a community, the sisters joined with other investors to establish Azurest Syndicate, Inc. in 1953. African American real estate syndicates were a way to counter Jim Crow-era housing discrimination. With banks and the federal government often refusing to provide mortgages to people of color, or employing predatory lending practices, the Azurest Syndicate marketed and sold lots, as well as provided mortgages for people seeking to buy and develop them.[183]

The success of Azurest prompted other development companies in the early 1950s to begin selling lots to African Americans in adjacent subdivisions of Sag Harbor Hills and Ninevah to the east. Word spread through social networks, with buyers coming from as far south as Virginia and as west as Illinois. In the coming decades, the subdivisions contributed to Sag Harbor's status as a prestigious Black vacation destination, in addition to resort communities such as Oak Bluffs in Massachusetts, Highland Beach in Maryland, and Atlantic Beach in South Carolina.[184]

By the early 1990s, a new generation of wealthy African American residents in the subdivisions were increasingly turning their modest summer cottages into larger, year-round homes. But they largely remained invested in the kinship and communal spirit of their neighborhoods. While houses rarely came up for sale, rising real estate values also contributed to white residents from the Hamptons buying in these communities.[185]

Around 2015, however, investors and developers began targeting the traditionally African American enclaves of Azurest, Sag Harbor Hills, and Ninevah. Attracted by deeded beach access and property values lower than elsewhere in the Hamptons, buyers purchased modest homes, tore them down, often combined adjoining lots, and then built large luxury residences marketed to outsiders seeking isolation instead of community.[186]



Terry Cottage overlooks Sag Harbor Bay at 63 Terry Drive in Azurest. Designed by architect Amaza Lee Meredith and built in 1949 for her, sister Maude Terry, and their families, it is still owned by their descendants. Photo courtesy of Georgette Grier-Key.

Concerned about the outsized redevelopment and erosion of their community identity, advocates looked to historic designation as a way to protect their history and culture. In the summer of 2016, residents got 51% of homeowners in the three subdivisions to sign petitions asking the town to pursue historic landmarking. Sag Harbor Hills resident Renee V.H. Simons coined the term



A 5,261-square-foot house – requiring a special permit because it exceeded the 4000-square-foot cap for its lot size – is under construction at the corner of Harding Terrace and Lincoln Street in Ninevah, August 2017.[187] Photo courtesy of Allison Manfra McGovern.



SANS residents participate in an oral history session at the home of Renee Simons in Sag Harbor Hills, May 27, 2017. Photo courtesy of Allison Manfra McGovern.

SANS to refer to the Sag Harbor Hills, Azurest, and Ninevah Subdivisions, and cofounded the SANS Steering Committee (also called SANS Sag Harbor) to lead the preservation effort.[188]

The steering committee consulted with advisors at Preservation Long Island, the New York State Historic Preservation Office, and the Eastville Community Historical Society and decided a cultural resource survey was necessary to understanding SANS' history and architecture before applying for local, state, or national landmark designation. Following a community meeting in September 2016 that demonstrated support for landmark status, residents agreed to self-fund the project. In 2017 the steering committee hired a preservation consultant to begin the survey, which included volunteers collecting oral histories from SANS residents.[189]

Aided by grants from the Preservation League of New York State and the Robert David Lion Gardiner Foundation, the historic resource survey was completed in March 2018. With about 306 houses in SANS, volunteers from the National Organization of Minority Architects joined residents that October in helping to photograph and catalog the houses. Three years of community meetings, fundraising, public advocacy, and networking between state and local preservation and historical organizations resulted in SANS being listed as an historic district on the New York State Register of Historic Places in March 2019, and on the National Register that July.[190]

But these listings are a badge and not a shield; landmarking increases public awareness of the nationally significant history of SANS and access to preservation grants and tax credits, but does not stop demolition or regulate development. As the examples of St. Matthias Church in Hempstead and the Bethel-Christian Avenue-Laurel Hill Historic District in Brookhaven demonstrate, it's local historic designation that can most effectively maintain how an historic community looks. Though temporarily stalled as Sag Harbor deals with the coronavirus pandemic, talks are ongoing between residents of SANS and the Sag Harbor village government as to how best to preserve one of the last predominantly African American resort developments in the country.[191]

Museums

Adding SANS to the National Register of Historic Places was more than a local victory. It has increased our national awareness of the contributions of African Americans within our historic build landscape. As of 2020, only 2% of the more than 95,000 properties on the National Register focus on African Americans.[192] A similar disparity exists on Long Island, where among more than a hundred museums only a small number specifically focus on the stories of African Americans within their mission. The following four museums represent some of the accomplishments of activists across Long Island in the past six decades to offer a richer account of African American history and culture within their communities.

The Weeksville Heritage Center, Brooklyn

The Weeksville Heritage Center (WHC) began in the late 1960s, amid a growing interest in the African American roots of the Brooklyn neighborhoods of Crown Heights and Bedford-Stuyvesant. The area was once home to Weeksville, a community founded by free African Americans in the 1830s (see pages 65-67) and which thrived for decades before being eventually absorbed into the modern urban grid of Brooklyn.[193]

In 1968 James P. Hurley was a local historian who had given walking tours and taught a seminar on Bedford-Stuyvesant history at the Pratt Institute of Community Development. He shared an interest in Weeksville with Joseph H. Haynes, a mechanical engineer, Crown Heights resident, and recreational pilot. Flying over the neighborhood, the men discovered a row of four dilapidated 19th-century houses in an alley between Bergen Street and St. Marks Avenue. Upon investigation, the alley was a remnant of rural Hunterfly Road and the houses the last of Weeksville.[194]

The neighborhood in the late 1960s was undergoing drastic change, as the city government began demolishing entire blocks for construction of low-income housing as part of urban renewal. Seeking to salvage the community's history amid the demolition, Hurley secured support from the antipoverty group Youth in Action Community Corp. and worked with a group of volunteer archaeologists starting in the summer of 1969 that included Boy Scouts, schoolchildren, and community residents. Digging through rubble and searching abandoned houses, their finds included documents, a Bible, tintype photograph, and even a gold wedding band. The material helped to tell the story of a prosperous African American community in the decades after the end of slavery in New York.[195]



Three of the four 19th-century houses that survive from the community of Weeksville, now part of the campus of the Weeksville Heritage Center, 2009.

At this same time, activists Dolores McCullough and Patricia Johnson, and artist Joan Maynard founded the Society for the Preservation of Weeksville and Bedford-Stuyvesant History. The community raised money toward the houses' preservation, and supported a petition that Maynard delivered to the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission that convinced it to landmark the houses in the summer of 1970. Their continued advocacy also got the houses listed on the National Register of Historic Places in December 1972. With the society not yet a legal non-profit organization (that came in 1974), the Bedford Stuyvesant Restoration Corp. purchased the houses on its behalf in June 1973.[196]

Though now protected from demolition, the Weeksville houses still faced a long road toward improvement. Through the 1970s and '80s, the society continued to research and fundraise, organized a small temporary exhibition on Weeksville at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in February 1976, began restoration of the houses, and held community archaeological digs, workshops, and other events on its property. Of the four houses – 1698 Bergen Street (built c. 1883), 1700 Bergen (c. 1883), 1702-1704 Bergen (c. 1830), and 1706-1708 (c. 1865) – the latter was entirely rebuilt in 1993 after suffering an earlier fire. Finally in June 2005 the houses opened to the public after a $3 million renovation and included administrative offices, storage, interpretation, and exhibition spaces.[197]

That year the society changed its name to the Weeksville Heritage Center (WHC), and was already planning for a modern educational facility on its grounds. In December 2013 it completed the Education and Cultural Arts Center, a $34 million, 23,000 square-foot, two-story building at 158 Buffalo Avenue. Providing exhibition, office, lecture and performance, classroom, archival storage, and studio spaces, it allowed the WHC to further its mission of documenting, preserving, and interpreting the history of Weeksville and other free African American communities.[198]

The WHC has faced significant financial challenges since its beginning, with perhaps the most serious in the 2010s with reductions in staff, budget, and programming. Following emergency crowdsource fundraising in May 2019 to prevent closure, the WHC was finally added in June to a list of city-funded cultural institutions, and the first addition since 1998. The Cultural Institutions Group (CIG) comprises 34 non-profit organizations that operate in city-owned facilities and parkland. As a member of the CIG, the WHC now has a more stable political and financial foundation from which to continue promoting African American history through the arts, education, and civic engagement.[199]



Part of the new Education and Cultural Arts Center at 158 Buffalo Avenue, with the Weeksville Heritage Center's four historic houses in the background, August 2013. Photograph ©Nic Lehoux.

Joysetta and Julius Pearse African American Museum of Nassau County, Hempstead

The African American Museum of Nassau County is operated by the county's Department of Parks, Recreation, and Museums. But it started with one man. In February 1968, Professor Leroy L. Ramsey (1922-2013) set up an exhibition on African American history at Nassau Community College. The exhibition's popularity led Ramsey to continue it past Black History Month, and added new material to the display from his personal collection.[200]

The historian, educator, and civil rights activist taught Black history at several universities including Hofstra and Adelphi, and served on the Nassau County Commission on Human Rights, where he supervised its review of schools' Black history courses and multi-ethnic textbooks. Ramsey's expertise led Nassau County to hire him in June 1969 to curate a permanent exhibition about the history of African Americans on Long Island. In contrast to the Metropolitan Museum of Art's controversial *Harlem on My Mind* exhibition that spring – which excluded Black artists and prompted widespread condemnation – Ramsey solicited community involvement in planning from the beginning.[201]

Nassau County eventually chose to house the future exhibition in a rented storefront within the Hempstead bus terminal, at 106A Main Street. Ramsey spent 16 months on the project, with research assistance from Hofstra history students. On September 20, 1970, the Black History Exhibition Center opened, and welcomed 20-30,000 visitors its first year.[202]

The museum's first decade was its most challenging. Ramsey quit in January 1972, citing a lack of support by the county for adequate funding and staff. The museum suffered from mismanagement, inaccessibility by predominantly non-white school groups for lack of travel funds, few new exhibitions, almost no artwork added to the collection, and a building increasingly known for crime and decay. A county task force in August 1978 polled about 2,500 residents of predominantly Black communities; all respondents said that the museum wasn't meeting their needs.[203]

But the young museum had dedicated supporters. In August 1978, the African American Heritage Association of Long Island formed to promote Black culture, and made supporting the museum its first goal. In its first three years, it sponsored dozens of cultural programs at the museum, and successfully pushed the county to increase funding for what was now called the Black History Museum. In 1983 the county hired Lynda Day as the museum's first



The African American Museum of Nassau County, 110 North Franklin Street, Hempstead, January 2019.

professional curator. And finally responding to calls since 1972 to give the museum more space, Nassau County purchased a building at 110 North Franklin Street and opened the new 6,000-square-foot African American Museum of Nassau County in September 1985.[204]

Though Nassau County is in its name, the museum continued to pursue a wider focus in its exhibitions and programming, including local Black history, Caribbean art, civil rights, and folk art. Having a professional staff and dedicated building allowed the museum to grow into an important community center, hosting meetings and programs of local fraternal and community organizations, workshops, and annual celebrations for Kwanzaa, Martin Luther King Day, Malcolm X's birthday, and a Street Festival. The activities were both what staff proposed and what community members requested – making the museum into the cultural hub for Long Island's African Americans.[205]

But the museum's growth and renewed popularity – seeing 22,000 visitors in 1992 – came amid an early '90s recession. As Nassau County began slashing budgets and laying off staff at its ten county-operated museums, supporters of the African American Museum – including the Heritage Association – again rallied to its defense and successfully petitioned the county to keep the museum open.[206]

Continued advocacy brought a much-delayed $1 million renovation to completion in 1995, giving the museum an exhibition hall, auditorium, photography darkroom, research library, and children's activity area. The museum's subsequent 25 years have been largely ones of growth, with a larger budget, regular changing exhibitions, theater, music, and art programs, publications, and genealogical research. It's perhaps also the only museum home to a genealogical society: The African Atlantic Genealogical Society (TAAGS). In May 2021 Nassau County renamed the museum after its longtime director, Joysetta Pearse, and her husband Julius. Now in its 52nd year, the museum remains an essential place for people to gather and learn about African American culture, art, and traditions.[207]

Eastville Community Historical Society, Sag Harbor

The Eastville Community Historical Society (ECHS) was incorporated in 1981 by Catherine Davis, Kathy Tucker, Mary D. Killoran, Louise Johnson, Cora Whiteside, Ann Mack, Odell Taylor, Thomas A. Curtis, and other local activists to preserve Eastville's historic buildings and document and share its history. The cultural heart of the neighborhood was the 141-year-old St. David AME Zion Church – one of Sag Harbor's oldest houses of worship. But its small congregation couldn't afford to maintain the building on its own. So the nascent organization chose the church as its first project.[208]

A decade prior, in 1972, the Village Board had formed an historic preservation commission, and the following year carried out an architectural survey to support the creation of an historic district in Sag Harbor. Listed on the National Register of Historic Places in July 1973, the eastern boundary of the Sag Harbor Village District stopped just a block short of Eastville. The exclusion left the neighborhood more vulnerable to redevelopment, ineligible for many preservation grants, and not publicly recognized as important to Sag Harbor's history.[209]

Undaunted, community members sought to document the working-class neighborhood built by Native Americans, African Americans, and European immigrants, with the goal of eventually getting it included in the historic district. Addressing the church's repairs in stages, the society celebrated the restored belfry in the summer of 1982, and began an "old fashioned fish fry" as an annual fundraiser and community event.[210]

The society sought to highlight Eastville as not only part of Sag Harbor's history but part of the larger story of a diverse America. In 1983 it began collaborating with Sag Harbor's John Jermain Memorial Library to have it host exhibitions and programs connected to people of color. The first, *Whaling and the Black Man*, was curated by the Black History Museum in Hempstead and shows the ECHS beginning to engage with cultural organizations across Long Island.[211]

By 1987 the society's work with the library expanded into an annual Black History Month celebration; the ECHS sponsored exhibitions at the library and related programs either there or at a nearby church. Topics included Black veterans and civil rights, Eastville, Native and African American women, Black inventors, Weeksville, African American artists and writers, the *Amistad* revolt, Paul Robeson, Black whalers, and Black composers. Speakers included scholars and artists drawn from across the island and local residents such as Tuskegee Airman Lee Archer Hayes.[212]

With limited funds, a volunteer membership, and no headquarters, collaborations with individuals, businesses, government, and other institutions were key to the ECHS advancing its mission. In the summer of 1990, the ECHS and the Sag Harbor Historical Society (founded in 1985) sponsored a new architectural survey of the village, with the goal of doubling the size of the historic district. More than a decade of research, fundraising, and advocacy by members and others led to an enlarged Sag Harbor Village District (which now included Eastville) being placed on the State Register of Historic Places in March 1994, and on the National Register that May.[213]



Heritage House of the Eastville Community Historical Society, 139 Hampton Street, Sag Harbor, February 2019.

In the early 1990s, the ECHS became one of the co-presenters of what is now called HarborFest, the popular village-wide weekend event held each September celebrating Sag Harbor's maritime history. ECHS's volunteers have given walking tours of Eastville, put up exhibitions, and offered programs such as Native American storytelling, panel discussions, and sampling of Native and African American foods. It's helped to bring greater recognition of Eastville to tourists and residents alike.[214]

The ECHS still needed a home of its own. The Village Board agreed in 1996 to purchase from Suffolk County a derelict Sears catalog house at 139 Hampton Street in Eastville, which it had taken a decade prior for back taxes. It was built in 1925 for Rosa Johnson, a laundress, and her husband Lippman, a handyman. In April 1997 the ECHS signed a lease with the Village Board and began a laborious six-year restoration that cost more than $120,000. But finally the ECHS had a dedicated exhibition, program, collection, and office space. At the end of August 2002, what is now called the Heritage House hosted its first exhibition, *Threads of Freedom*.[215]

The quilt exhibition coincided with the arrival of the schooner *Amistad* in Sag Harbor. The ECHS had worked with two other local organizations for the past 19 months to bring the educational sailing vessel (a replica of the slave ship *La Amistad*) to the village for a week of public tours and school programs. It built on the society's earlier 1997 exhibition and program about the *Amistad*, and its dedication in 1998 of a memorial at Montauk Point near where the slaver was captured in 1839. Taken together, the *Amistad* projects represent the range of activities that the ECHS is willing to take on in and beyond Sag Harbor in order to better connect the community with its wider history.[216]

Amid the society's annual changing exhibitions and programming, it remains a strong preservation advocate in and around Sag Harbor. Led by executive director and curator Georgette Grier-Key, in 2013 it fought the demolition of the Pyrrhus Concer House in Southampton as Grier-Key co-founded the Pyrrhus Concer Action Committee. And the ECHS pushed for an archaeological survey for an Eastville property being demolished in 2014.

Though these efforts failed, the ECHS raised public awareness of the greater development threats often facing historic properties associated with people of color.[217]

The society has also had its share of preservation victories. As steward of the St. David AME Zion Church Cemetery, it organized an archaeological survey to learn more about the burials in June 2014. A grant from the William G. Pomeroy Foundation allowed the ECHS to install an historical marker there in May 2015. With the Sag Harbor Partnership, the ECHS raised funds and received support from local businesses to install a wrought-iron fence around the site in December 2016. Most recently, it successfully advised SANS residents in their effort to be listed on the National Register. Over the past 41 years, the ECHS has set a high standard for what a community-run historical society can achieve.[218]

Southampton African American Museum

The Southampton African American Museum (SAAM) was co-founded in 2005 by Southampton residents Brenda Simmons and Bonnie Cannon as the East End African American Museum and Center for Excellence. Both women were concerned about the lack of public recognition of African American culture and history in the East End. Simmons was a poet and assistant to the Southampton Village mayor, and a past director of the Economic Opportunity Council of Suffolk County. Cannon, a businessperson, would become the first African American elected as a Southampton Village trustee in 2006.[219]

That year, a long-time business closed. Around 1950, Emanuel Seymore had erected a one-story building at 245 North Sea Road. He operated a barbershop on the south side of the building, while Evelyn Baxter (Brenda Simmons's aunt) and Katherine Spellman ran Evelyn's Beauty Shop in the north half. In the late 1970s, barber Randolph Conquest purchased the building and continued the business until retiring in 2006. In that half century, 245 North Sea Road became an important meeting place for the African American community.[220]

Recognizing the building's history and potential as a community museum, residents convinced the Town and Village of Southampton to purchase it in 2006 for $500,000 using the Community Preservation Fund. That winter SAAM began an annual African American film festival, partnering with the Parrish Art Museum, Southampton Cultural Center, and Southampton Arts Center to show films, as well as live jazz and spoken word performances. The festival brought attention to the history and diversity of Black cinema as it informed, challenged, and entertained audiences; it soon became a multi-day event spread over several venues.[221]



Georgette Grier-Key (left, Executive Director, Eastville Community Historical Society) and Brenda Simmons (Executive Director, Southampton African American Museum) stand outside the former location of Randy's Barber Shop and Evelyn's Beauty Shop, 245 North Sea Road, Southampton, August 2015. They hold a "This Place Matters" banner as part of a National Trust for Historic Preservation campaign to spread awareness of historic places. Courtesy Joseph McGill.

Continuing SAAM's mission of promoting African American culture, Brenda Simmons curated *Mahogany Dew: African American Artists in Southampton*. Hosted by the Southampton Historical Society, the exhibition spotlighted four contemporary local artists of color; during its run from September to November 2007, it became the most attended exhibition in the society's 109-year history. In 2010 Simmons followed with *Mahogany Dew II: More African American Artists in Southampton*.[222]

In December 2010 the Southampton Village Board of Historic Preservation and Architectural Review designated the barbershop as an historic landmark.

As SAAM's intended future home, it continued fundraising for the building's eventual renovation – estimated at $1 million.[223]

Amid the barbershop project, SAAM also became an advocate for preserving another important local building: the former home of 19th century whaleman Pyrrhus Concer. When the property owners sought to demolish the house in 2013, Brenda Simmons joined with Georgette Grier-Key of the Eastville Community Historical Society, Tom Edmunds of the Southampton Historical Society, Lucius Ware of the Eastern Long Island branch of the NAACP, and preservationist Sally Spanburgh to form the Pyrrhus Concer Action Committee (PCAC) that October.[224]

Though the Concer House was taken down in August 2014, the committee succeeded in having the historic framing saved and advocating for the Southampton Town Board to purchase the lot in July 2015 for the house's eventual reconstruction. Toward learning more about the property, PCAC also sponsored a three-day archaeological dig on the site in June 2016.[225]

In July 2018, a groundbreaking ceremony marked the start of transforming Randy's Barbershop into the Southampton African American Museum. Estimated to cost $1.25 million, funding came from town, state, and private sources. The renovated building would host exhibitions, a research center, and community space for meetings and events including the African American film festival.[226]



Construction of the new Southampton African American Museum, February 2019. Courtesy Jeff Heatley, Art & Architecture Quarterly.



The completed Southampton African American Museum, a week before its grand opening, June 2021.

Though construction was expected to be completed in the fall of 2019, the Southampton Town Board terminated its agreement with the contractor in the spring of that year, citing defective workmanship and other issues. With a new contractor chosen at the start of 2020, work resumed that summer. The museum held its grand opening on the weekend of Juneteenth (June 19), 2021.[227]

As one of the newest museums on Long Island, SAAM continues to bring much needed attention to the important contributions of African Americans to our history and culture, nationally and locally, through events, exhibitions, and community celebrations. As first a neighborhood barbershop and now a community museum, 245 North Sea Road is a place already rich in stories.

From Brooklyn to the Hamptons, the Weeksville Heritage Center, the Joysetta and Julius Pearse African American Museum of Nassau County, the Eastville Community Historical Society, and the Southampton African American Museum are four museums on Long Island that focus on African Americans. Within their communities they serve as important centers for preserving and sharing local history, art, and culture, and connect these to historical and contemporary experiences of people of African descent across the U.S. and abroad. As brick

and mortar institutions, they publicly demonstrate that people of color live in and have been an important part of these communities since the 17th century, and been bolstered by members of the Great Migration in the 20th century.

Despite four centuries of African Americans living on Long Island, the Black past is less preserved and less well known than the European-American one. Partly this is because middle and upper-class white Long Islanders have had greater opportunities to accumulate wealth and pass on objects, images, and records, and preserve these in libraries, archives, and museums. But these predominantly white cultural institutions have also largely ignored or excluded African American voices until the late 20th century. Many still do not fully engage with the diverse communities in which they operate and seek to serve.

Much has been lost, but many Long Islanders are taking a renewed interest in their diverse and interwoven histories. Historic preservation, archaeological digs, exhibitions, publications, school and community programs, oral history and genealogy workshops, community conversations, demonstrations, and cultural celebrations are some of the ways that Long Island's people of color are commemorating their past and planning for the future.



Robert Lewis, Helen 'Hart of the Morning Star' Sells, and Reverend Gregory Leonard at the blessing of the Jacob and Hannah Hart site in Setauket prior to an archaeological excavation on June 2, 2011. Photo by Christopher Matthews.

Suggested Reading

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Online Resources

The 1619 Project Curriculum [resources for teaching about slavery and the contributions of African Americans at the center of American history, based on a special issue of The New York Times Magazine], https://pulitzercenter.org/lesson-plan-grouping/1619-project-curriculum and https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/08/14/magazine/1619-america-slavery.html.

Black Heritage Collection, Roosevelt Public Library, https://www.rooseveltlibrary.org/departments/black-heritage.

Celia M. Hastings Local History Room, Patchogue-Medford Library, https://history.pmlib.org/longislandhistory.

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East Hampton Star and East Hampton Free Library, Plain Sight Project [a project to recover the names of enslaved people living in East Hampton], http://plainsightproject.org/.
In Pursuit of Freedom [online version of exhibition about Brooklyn's anti- slavery movement that opened in January 2014 at the Brooklyn Historical Society, in partnership with the Weeksville Heritage Center and Irondale Ensemble Project], http://pursuitoffreedom.org/

Jupiter Hammon Project: Mapping People & Places. Preservation Long Island, 2020, https://preservationlongisland.org/jupiter-hammon-project/.

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The Long Island Index [reliable objective data about Long Island], http://www.longislandindex.org.

The Long Island History Project [Long Island history podcast], https://www.longislandhistoryproject.org/category/african-americans/.

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Notes

1. For more information, see The *New York Times Magazine*'s 1619 Project: https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/08/14/magazine/1619-america-slavery.html, and the accompanying podcast: https://www.nytimes.com/column/1619-project.
2. First enslaved Africans in New York from Leslie M. Harris, *In the Shadow of Slavery: African Americans in New York City, 1626-1863* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 18-20. For Jacquero, Hannah, and Hope as the first enslaved Africans on Shelter Island in 1653 see Mac Griswold, *The Manor: Three Centuries at a Slave Plantation on Long Island* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2013), 136; and Katherine Lee Priddy, "From Youghco to Black John: Ethnohistory of Sylvester Manor, ca. 1600–1735," *Northeast Historical Archaeology* 36, article 4 (Special Issue: *The Historical Archaeology of Sylvester Manor,* 2007), 21.
3. Richard Shannon Moss, *Slavery on Long Island: A Study in Local Institutional and Early African-American Communal Life* (New York, NY: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1993), 36

(enslaved Africans entering the port of New York), 154-156 (African American population statistics).

4. Mount noted in the catalogue of his work that in April 1845 "One picture, Fishing along shore. Painted for George W. Strong Esqr. On canvass 29 x 36. He paid me two hundred and fifty dollars. $250. [Notation at the bottom of page:] Recollections of early days. Fishing along shore, with a view of the Hon. Selah B. Strong's residence in the distance during a drought at Setauket Long Island." Alfred Frankenstein, *William Sidney Mount* (New York, NY: Harry N. Abrams, 1975), 471. It was exhibited at the National Academy of Design in 1846 under the title *Recollections of Early Days* – "Fishing along shore." See ibid., 483. For Ted Green's essay about his great-grandmother, see Theodore A. Green, "The Hart-Sells Connection" in Elizabeth Kahn Kaplan, Robert W. Kenny, and Roger Wunderlich, eds., *William Sidney Mount: Family, Friends, and Ideas* (Setauket, NY: Three Village Historical Society, 1999), 63-67. For bios of Rachael Youngs Tobias and Rachel Brewster, see Chapter 2 of Katherine Kirkpatrick and Vivian Nicholson-Mueller, *The Art of William Sidney Mount: Long Island People of Color on Canvas* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2022). For an in-depth exploration of the mixed-heritage Native American and African American community in Setauket, see Christopher N. Matthews, *A Struggle for Heritage: Archaeology and Civil Rights in a Long Island Community* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2022).
5. Zachary N. Studenroth, *The Hawkins-Mount Homestead: An Historic Structure Report*, Prepared for The Museums at Stony Brook (Stony Brook, NY: n.p., 1979), 4 (date of initial house construction), 9-10 (Hawkins family). For more on the Culper Spy Ring, see Alexander Rose, *Washington's Spies: The Story of America's First Spy Ring* (New York, NY: Bantam Books, 2006). For genealogy of the Hawkins family, see Ralph Clymer Hawkins, *A Hawkins genealogy, 1635-1939: Record of the Descendants of Robert Hawkins of Charleston, Massachusetts*, Vol. 1 (New York, NY: The Hawkins Association, 1939), 16 (Eleazer Hawkins), 26 (Jonas Hawkins). For 1776 census, see *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts, Relating to the War of the Revolution, in the Office of the Secretary of State, Albany, N.Y.* Vol. I (Albany, NY: Weed, Parsons and Company, 1868), 383. Eleazer Hawkins's name is misspelled as "Elezer Hawkins."
6. Zachary N. Studenroth, *The Hawkins-Mount Homestead: An Historic Structure Report*, Prepared for The Museums at Stony Brook (Stony Brook, NY: n.p., 1979), 10, 65-66. Jonas Hawkins, 1800 U.S. census, Suffolk County, New York, population schedule, Brookhaven, p. 8; digital image, Familysearch.org, accessed December 2, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:XH5B-N5Q. Jonas Hawkins, 1810 U.S. census, Suffolk County, New York, population schedule, Brookhaven, p. 494; digital image, Familysearch.org, accessed December 2, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:XH2T-YGQ.
7. Zachary N. Studenroth, *The Hawkins-Mount Homestead: An Historic Structure Report,* Prepared for The Museums at Stony Brook (Stony Brook, NY: n.p., 1979), 11-12. Ruth Smith as author of epitaph and "Cane's Seat" are from Kate W. Strong, "A Babe in a Basket," *Long Island Forum* 7, No. 8 (August 1944): 157. Edward Lapham claimed that Micah Hawkins also wrote Cane's epitaph but doesn't offer any evidence. See Edward Lapham, *Stony Brook Secrets* (New York, NY: Gotham Bookmart Press, 1942), 74.
8. Text reproduced in Alfred Victor Frankenstein, *William Sidney Mount* (New York, NY: Harry N. Abrams, 1975), 91.
9. For a bio of Micah Hawkins, see Ralph Clymer Hawkins, *A Hawkins genealogy, 1635-1939: Record of the Descendants of Robert Hawkins of Charleston, Massachusetts, Vol. 1* (New York, NY: The Hawkins Association, 1939), 53-54. For Phineas Hill, see Richard F. Welch, "Careers in Stone: Ithuel and Phineas Hill," *Long Island Forum* 46, No. 1 (January 1983): 14-17.
10. Letter from William Sidney Mount to C.M. Cady, November 24, 1853. Long Island Museum, The Mount Collection, William S. Mount Letters Box 2, KSa020420.
11. Text of Mary Brewster's headstone from Edward Lapham, *Stony Brook Secrets* (New York, NY: Gotham Bookmart Press, 1942), 75. Adam Brewster, 1850 U.S. census, Suffolk County, New York, population schedule, Smithtown, sheet 122, family 7, dwelling 7, lines 29-30; August 22, 1850; digital image, Familysearch.org, accessed December 21, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:MC15-NQZ. Adam Brewster in entry for Henry K. Townsend, 1860 U.S. census, Suffolk County, New York, population schedule, Brookhaven, page 62, family 491, dwelling 473, line 4; June 23, 1860; digital image, Familysearch.org, accessed December 21, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:MCHR-NVZ. Adam Brewster, 1870 U.S. census, Suffolk County, New York, population schedule, Brookhaven, page 48, family 403, dwelling 359, lines 24-31; June 27, 1870; digital image, Familysearch.org, accessed December 21, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:M8K2-HS5. Adam Brewster's birth and death years are from his headstone in Laurel Hill Cemetery. See "Adam Brewster," https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/76330170/adam-brewster. Brewster served in Company D of the 26th Regiment, United States Colored Infantry according to "Brewster, Adam," Soldier and Sailors Database, National Park Service, https://www.nps.gov/civilwar/search-soldiers-detail.htm?soldierId=3A2CEA85-DC7A-DF11-BF36-B8AC6F5D926A. For the Laurel Hill Cemetery history, see slide 12 of Robert E. Lewis, Christopher N. Matthews and Judith A. Burgess, "The Bethel-Christian Avenue-Laurel Hill Historic District," *Long Island History Journal* 23, no. 2 (2013): https://lihj.cc.stonybrook.edu/wp- content/uploads/2013/10/The-Bethel-Christian-Avenue-Laurel-Hill-Historic- District.pdf.
12. Houses on the west side of Dogwood Drive were built between 1928 and 1972 according to real estate listings on https://www.zillow.com. Edward Lapham, *Stony Brook Secrets* (New York, NY: Gotham Bookmart Press, 1942), 74-75. "I visited these graves on my way over here. They are on the opposite side of the old stage-coach road in a patch of woods overgrown with brambles and poison-ivy. Cane's stone is still there but Tony's had broken off, and I understand it is now in William Sidney's studio on the top floor of the [Hawkins-Mount] house...Incidentally, there is on this hill a third gravestone which rather puzzles me."
13. The Long Island Museum initially assigned Anthony Hannibal Clapp's headstone an accession number of X44.2, which suggests it came to the museum in 1944. It currently has an accession number of 0007.015.2140. In the object file for the Cane headstone (accession # 0007.015.2139) is a file card noting the source as "Gift of Mr. & Mrs. John Eglinton, 1950, w/permission of the Trustees of the Town of Brookhaven." But a cataloging worksheet from 1984 in this same file notes that the stone was received and accepted on October 27, 1949. In a letter from Richard Gipson to Alphonsine Eglinton, "Surely I am in sympathy with your feeling that grave stones, under ordinary circumstances, should remain in their original positions. However, as we both know, unless grave stones are guarded they can be mutilated easily, sometimes innocently, sometimes maliciously. And, grave stones do disintegrate with time and weather so that interesting and important historical and genealogical material is often lost permanently. My purpose in interceding with you and Mr. Eglinton is modestly to urge that you either present this stone to the Suffolk Museum at Stony Brook, as your personal gift, or sell it to a friend of mine who, in turn, would give it to the Museum for permanent preservation." Letter from Richard M. Gipson to Alphonsine Eglinton, dated October 3, 1949. Long Island Museum, 0007.015.2139 "Cane Tombstone" object file. A survey map by civil engineers Teas and Steinbrenner filed in the office of the New York State Department of Public Works on January 9, 1967 describes a lot of land known as Parcel E that subsequently became part of Stony Brook University's property. Map provided by Records Access Officer, Stony Brook University, Freedom of Information

Request – Plot Map (20181203MC1), courtesy of request by Professor Mark Chambers, Department of Africana Studies, Stony Brook University. For an example of a grave that has been recently designated and preserved, see Lisa Irizarry, "Gravestone honoring former slave returned to burial plot," *Newsday*, October 26, 2015, https://www.newsday.com/long-island/suffolk/ned-s-gravestone-honoring-former-slave-returned-to-burial-plot- 1.11013343. For a recent article on the burial ground, see Brianne Ledda, "Stony Brook graves lost to memory, buried in time," *The Statesman*, February 29, 2020, https://www.sbstatesman.com/2020/02/29/stony-brook-graves-lost-to-memory-buried-in-time/.

14. For details about Arthur S. Greene, see Karin Lipson, "Frozen in Time, With Hints of What Was to Come," *New York Times*, January 4, 2013, https://www.nytimes.com/2013/01/06/nyregion/a-photo-exhibition-of-the-way-new-yorkers-lived-a-century-ago.html; and "Newly Digitized Images by Port Jefferson Photographer Arthur S. Greene," Preservation Long Island, https://www.preservationlongisland.org/newly-digitized-photographs-by-arthur-s-greene/; and Kenneth C. Brady, *Arthur S. Greene, 1867-1955: The Life and Work of a Long Island Photographer* (N.p.: K.C. Brady, 1999). While 1867 is commonly given as Greene's birth year, his September 15, 1923 naturalization petition lists his birthday as January 26, 1872 in Peterborough, England. Arthur Smedley Greene, Petition for Naturalization #813, Petitions for naturalization and petition evidence 1923-1924; Vol. 9, 801-900, "New York, County Naturalization Records, 1791-1980," database with images, Familysearch.org, accessed December 29, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QGR5-XXGN. The Van Brunt estate comprised about 420 acres of land on what became known as Van Brunt's Neck in East Setauket, which Jacob Van Brunt (1747-1813) had inherited from his grandfather, Jacob Bergen of Brooklyn. See Teunis G. Bergen, *Genealogy of the Van Brunt Family, 1653-1867* (Albany, NY: Joel Munsell, 1867), 62-63. In the 1810 census, Jacob's son, John Van Brunt (1772-1814) is head of a household of 15 people living on this estate, including three enslaved people. John Van Brunt, 1810 U.S. census, Suffolk County, New York, population schedule, Brookhaven, p. 489; digital image, Familysearch.org, accessed December 29, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:XH2T-Y8M. For an early 20th century hand-drawn map (in the collection of the Three Village Historical Society) of the peninsula comprising Van Brunt Manor, with the location of the "slave cabin," see page 21 in Christopher Matthews, Alexis Alemy, and Sophia Hudzik, *A Counter-Map of Setauket, New York*, Department of Anthropology, Montclair State University, 2016, https://www.arcgis.com/apps/MapSeries/index.html?appid=6c19b6a5d9784f239729781116151969.
15. For Joseph Blydenburgh's history and genealogy, see Blyden, "Augustine Blydenburgh," Blydenian, https://www.blydenian.net/blydenfirst4gen/. The exact date of the house's construction is unknown, though Colonel Verne Rockwell states that part of the house could have been built as early as 1688. See Charlotte Adams Ganz, ed., *Colonel Rockwell's Scrap-book* (Smithtown, NY: Smithtown Historical Society, 1968), 1-2. Simeon Wood, writing his history of Hauppauge between 1906 and 1909, noted that Joseph Blydenburgh "went to Smithtown about the year 1700, having previously married Deborah, daughter of Jonathan Smith, eldest son of the patentee, and established the ancestral home of the Blydenburghs of Long Island across the road from where the Presbyterian Church now stands. The house now being torn down...." Charles J. Werner, ed., *A History of Hauppauge, Long Island... by Simeon Wood* (New York, NY: Charles J. Werner, 1920), 27.
16. For Washington stopping at the inn in 1790, and the house being torn down around 1907, see Charlotte Adams Ganz, ed., *Colonel Rockwell's Scrap-book* (Smithtown, NY: Smithtown Historical Society, 1968), 1-2; and Charles J. Werner, ed., *A History of Hauppauge, Long Island... by Simeon Wood* (New York, NY: Charles J. Werner, 1920), 27. Benj'n B. Blydenburgh, 1790 U.S. census, Suffolk County, New York, population schedule, Smithtown, p. 96; digital image, Familysearch.org, accessed December 29, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:XHK5-SDB. Elizabeth Blydenburgh, 1820 U.S. census, Suffolk County, New York, population schedule, Smithtown, p. 314; digital image, Familysearch.org, accessed December 29, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:XHL1-4TK.
17. Quotation from Alice Delano Weekes, *Anecdotes of Old Oyster Bay* (1924), Collection of Raynham Hall Museum. Document page shared with author by Claire Bellerjeau of the Raynham Hall Museum. "Lezar Foster" in household of Benj. C. Underhill, 1860 U.S. census, Queens County, New York, population schedule, Oyster Bay, p. 113, family 795, dwelling 795, line 14; July 20, 1860; digital image, Familysearch.org, accessed August 17, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:MC4J-WHX. "Ceasar Foster" in household of B.F. Underhill, 1870 U.S. census, Queens County, New York, population schedule, Oyster Bay, p. 138, family 1, dwelling 1, line 6; July 8, 1870; digital image, Familysearch.org, accessed August 17, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:M8V1-SRC.
18. There were three men named James Hunter in Smithtown in the 1830 U.S. Census, two of whom were men of color, married, with at least one child: James Hunter, 1830 U.S. census, Suffolk County, New York, population schedule, Smithtown, p. 271; digital image, Familysearch.org, accessed August 17, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:XHPQ-DPL; and James Hunter, 1830 U.S. census, Suffolk County, New York, population schedule, Smithtown, p. 274; digital image, Familysearch.org, accessed August 17, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:XHPQ-DY7. In subsequent censuses, there is only one James Hunter living in Smithtown: James Hunter, 1850 U.S. census, Suffolk County, New York, population schedule, Smithtown, p. 134, family 184, dwelling 171, line 13; September 4, 1850; digital image, Familysearch.org, accessed August 17, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:MC1R-XDW. James Hunter, 1860 U.S. census, Suffolk County, New York, population schedule, Smithtown, p. 17, family 132, dwelling 125, line 21; June 6, 1860; digital image, Familysearch.org, accessed August 17, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:MC4P- C2S. For Hunter's fall while gathering wood, see "Long Island Items," *Sag-Harbor Express*, February 11, 1875. p. 2. Obituary: "James Hunter, of Saint James, fell on the ice two weeks ago, and injured his head. He died last Thursday." *The Long-Islander*, February 19, 1875, p. 2.
19. Ibid, 10-12. See also Margaret Ellen Newell, *Brethren by Nature: New England Indians, Colonists, and the Origins of American Slavery* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2015).
20. For example: Richard Shannon Moss, *Slavery on Long Island: A Study in Local Institutional and Early African-American Communal Life* (New York, NY: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1993), 77-78. Robert K. Fitts, "The Landscapes of Northern Bondage," *Historical Archaeology* 30, no. 2 (June 1996): 54–73. James C. Garman, "Rethinking 'Resistant Accommodation': Toward an Archaeology of African- American Lives in Southern New England, 1638-1800," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 2, No. 2 (June 1998): 133-160. Bradley D. Phillippi and Christopher N. Matthews, "A counter-archaeology of labor and leisure in Setauket, New York," *World Archaeology* 49, no. 3 (August 2017): 357-371; and Bradley D. Phillippi, "Muffled, but not Mute," *Historical Archaeology* 52, no. 1 (March 2018): 113-124. See also chapters 4 and 5 in Wendy Warren, *New England Bound: Slavery and Colonization in Early America* (New York, NY: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2016).
21. For differences between Dutch and English slavery practices see Lynda R. Day, *Making a Way to Freedom: A History of African Americans on Long Island* (Interlaken, NY: Empire State Books, 1997), 20-25; and Richard Shannon Moss, *Slavery on Long Island: A Study in Local Institutional and Early African-American Communal Life* (New York, NY: Garland

Publishing, Inc., 1993), 93-118.

22. For Richard Crabb's purchase of Owah (later named Tom Gall) from Lewis Morris, see John Cox Jr., ed., *Oyster Bay Town Records, Vol. 1: 1653-1690* (New York: Tobias A. Wright, 1916), 83; and Richard Shannon Moss, *Slavery on Long Island: A Study in Local Institutional and Early African-American Communal Life* (New York, NY: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1993), 127-128. For size of slave-owning households, see ibid., 71-72. For more on Tom Gall, see George Dewan, "A Freed Slave on His Own; Tom Gall starts a farm in Oyster Bay and even buys a slave for himself," *Newsday*, November 18, 1997, A19.
23. For an analysis of this print see Firth Haring Fabend, "'Nieu Amsterdam': A Copper Engraving from the Seventeenth Century," *New York History* 85, no. 3 (Summer 2004): 233-246.
24. New York City Department of Parks & Recreation, "Mannahatta Park," https://www.nycgovparks.org/parks/mannahatta-park/highlights/19696. Sylviane Diouf, "New York City's Slave Market," https://www.nypl.org/blog/2015/06/29/slave-market.
25. Philip Misevich, "In Pursuit of Human Cargo: Philip Livingston and the Voyage of the Sloop 'Rhode Island,'" *New York History* 86, no. 3 (Summer 2005): 185-204.
26. "John F. Hallock" is most likely John Foster Hallock of Lake Grove. See Lucius H. Hallock, *A Hallock Genealogy: An Attempt to Tabulate and Set in Order the Numerous Descendants of Peter Hallock, Who Landed at Southold, Long Island, N.Y., About the Year 1640, and Settled at Aquebogue, near Mattituck* (Orient, NY: L.H. Hallock, 1926), 418. See digitized version: https://www.familysearch.org/library/books/records/item/490849-a-hallock-genealogy-an-attempt-to-tabulate-and-set-in-order-the-numerous-descendants-of-peter-hallock-who-landed-at-southold-long-island-n-y-about-the-year-1640- and-settled-at-aquebogue-near-mattituck?viewer=1&offset=30#page=424&viewer=picture&o=info&n=0&q=. Gilbert Floyd was a sea captain from Setauket. See Kate W. Strong, "An Ocean Voyage in 1797: A True Tale," *Long Island Forum* 3, No. 1 (January 1940): 13; and Kate W. Strong, "Tales of the Good Ship Boyne," *Long Island Forum* 29, No. 9 (September 1966): 178-180; and Kate W. Strong, "Tales of the Good Ship Boyne, Part II," *Long Island Forum* 29, No. 10 (October 1966): 194-195. For a sailing advertisement in which Floyd is listed as master, see "For Charleston," *New York Evening Post*, November 23, 1802, p. 1, New York State Historic Newspapers, https://www.nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn83030385/1802-11-23/ed-1/seq-1/. For the inscription of Gilbert Floyd's gravestone and those of his three wives, see "CHURCH YARD AND CEMETERY: 'F-G'," Setauket Presbyterian Church, https://www.setauketpresbyterian.org/about-us/church-yard-and-cemetery/f-g/. Floyd and DeWitt's marriage year of 1808 is based on the birth of their first child, Benjamin Floyd, on April 15, 1809. See "Gilbert Floyd," Long Island Surnames, https://www.longislandsurnames.com/getperson.php?personID=I03581&tree=Floyd.
27. James Brewer Stewart, ed., *Venture Smith and the Business of Slavery and Freedom* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2010). Chandler B. Saint and George A. Krimsky, *Making Freedom: The Extraordinary Life of Venture Smith* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2009). Established in 2005, the Documenting Venture Smith Project has led efforts to research and promote the important story of Venture Smith through public events, exhibitions, an archaeological excavation of his gravesite, and ongoing scholarship. Their website includes this helpful timeline: https://www.venturesmith.org/time-line-1. See also the digital archaeological report funded by the Connecticut Yankee Atomic Power Company: Lucianne Lavin and Marc Banks, *The Venture Smith Homestead* (Torrington, CT: American Cultural Specialists, LLC, 2010), https://www.web.archive.org/web/20130115192108/http://www.connyankee.com/assets/pdfs/The%20Venture%20Smith%20Homestead.pdf
28. For examples of runaway slave advertisements, see Graham Russell Gao Hodges and Alan Edward Brown, eds., *"Pretends to Be Free": Runaway Slave Advertisements from Colonial and Revolutionary New York and New Jersey* (New York, NY: Fordham University Press, 2019). For various ways in which enslaved people rebelled, see Moss, 106-118. Loyalist printer James Rivington first published General Clinton's June 30, 1779 Philipsburg Proclamation in the July 3, 1779 issue of the *Royal Gazette*. For text of the proclamation, see George Washington Williams, *History of the Negro Race in America from 1619 to 1880* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1885), 357. While Richard Shannon Moss in Appendix G (216-221) lists the names of fifty-nine African Long Islanders who left with British forces for Canada in 1783, browsing the digitized *Book of Negroes* produces sixty-three names. Cross referencing these lists produces seventy-four names. Carleton Papers – *Book of Negroes, 1783*, https://www.bac- lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/military-heritage/loyalists/book-of-negroes/Pages/search.aspx
29. For more on Pinkster, see "Pinkster Celebration," https://www.nps.gov/afbg/learn/historyculture/pinkster.htm; Bradford Verter, "Interracial Festivity and Power in Antebellum New York: The Case of Pinkster," *Journal of Urban History* 28, no. 4 (May 2002): 398-428; Henry R. Stiles, *A History of the City of Brooklyn*, Vol. 2 (Brooklyn, NY: 1867), 39-40. A Bible in the collection of Raynham Hall in Oyster Bay was given by Samuel Townsend to his enslaved workers. See "1740-1776: Before the Revolution," https://www.raynhamhallmuseum.org/history/; For the continuation of African spiritual practices on Long Island see Ross Thomas Rava and Christopher N. Matthews, "An Archaeological View of Slavery and Social Relations at Rock Hall, Lawrence, New York," *Long Island History Journal* 23, No. 2 (2013): https://lihj.cc.stonybrook.edu/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/An_Archaeological_View_of_Slavery_and_Social_Relations_at_Rock_Hall_Lawrence_New_York_Long_Island_History_Journal.pdf
30. For an introduction to Jupiter Hammon see Charla E. Bolton, AICP and Reginald H. Metcalf, Jr., "The Migration of Jupiter Hammon and His Family: From Slavery to Freedom and its Consequences," *Long Island History Journal* 23, No. 2 (2013): http://lihj.cc.stonybrook.edu/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/The_Migration_of_Jupiter_Hammon_and_His_Family_From_Slavery_to_Freedom_and_its_Consequences_Long_Island_History_Journal.pdf. For the anti-slavery movement among New York Quakers, see Thomas E. Drake, *Quakers and Slavery in America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1950), 134, 170-172; Arthur J. Worrall, *Quakers in the Colonial Northeast* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1980), 157-163; Lynda R. Day, "Friends in the Spirit: African Americans and the Challenge to Quaker Liberalism, 1776-1915," *Long Island Historical Journal* 10, No. 1 (Fall 1997): 1-16. For an example of a free Black person buying the freedom of enslaved people, see the profile of Venture Smith in part 1 (Forging Bondage) of this publication.
31. Advertisements are sourced from: New York Heritage Digital Collections, https://www.nyheritage.org/; "The Annotated Newspapers of Harbottle Dorr Jr.", Massachusetts Historical Society, https://www.masshist.org/dorr/; the New York State Historic Newspapers database, https://www.nyshistoricnewspapers.org; Graham Russell Gao Hodges and Alan Edward Brown, eds., *"Pretends to Be Free": Runaway Slave Advertisements from Colonial and Revolutionary New York and New Jersey* (New York, NY: Fordham University Press, 2019), and Runaway Connecticut, a database created by students at Wesleyan University, https://wesomeka.wesleyan.edu/runawayct/. A crowdsourced database organized by a team of scholars from Cornell University, University of Kentucky, Ohio State University, University of New Orleans, and University of Alabama called "Freedom on the Move" is currently (2019) gathering advertisements of fugitives from American slavery: https://freedomonthemove.org/index.html.
32. Graham Russell Gao Hodges and Alan Edward Brown, eds., *"Pretends to Be Free": Runaway Slave Advertisements from Colonial and Revolutionary New York and New Jersey* (New York, NY: Garland Publishing, 1994), 141.

33. Graham Russell Gao Hodges and Alan Edward Brown, eds., *"Pretends to Be Free": Runaway Slave Advertisements from Colonial and Revolutionary New York and New Jersey* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1994), 186-187.
34. Graham Russell Gao Hodges and Alan Edward Brown, eds., *"Pretends to Be Free": Runaway Slave Advertisements from Colonial and Revolutionary New York and New Jersey* (New York, NY: Garland Publishing, 1994), 255.
35. Garrit Van Der Veer, advertisement for Frank or Francis, *Connecticut Courant*, April 30, 1806, Runaway Connecticut Project, Wesleyan University, https://wesomeka.wesleyan.edu/runawayct/items/show/4934.
36. Graham Russell Gao Hodges and Alan Edward Brown, eds., *"Pretends to Be Free": Runaway Slave Advertisements from Colonial and Revolutionary New York and New Jersey* (New York, NY: Garland Publishing, 1994), 300.
37. Graham Russell Gao Hodges and Alan Edward Brown, eds., *"Pretends to Be Free": Runaway Slave Advertisements from Colonial and Revolutionary New York and New Jersey* (New York, NY: Garland Publishing, 1994), 273.
38. Graham Russell Gao Hodges and Alan Edward Brown, eds., *"Pretends to Be Free": Runaway Slave Advertisements from Colonial and Revolutionary New York and New Jersey* (New York, NY: Garland Publishing, 1994), 297.
39. Graham Russell Gao Hodges and Alan Edward Brown, eds., *"Pretends to Be Free": Runaway Slave Advertisements from Colonial and Revolutionary New York and New Jersey* (New York, NY: Garland Publishing, 1994), 32-33.
40. Doris Van Wyck, advertisement for Dick or John Dickerson, *The Boston-Gazette, and Country Journal*, April 7, 1766, The Annotated Newspapers of Harbottle Dorr Jr., Massachusetts Historical Society, https://www.masshist.org/dorr/volume/1/sequence/381.
41. John Hartt, advertisement for Two Negro Men, *The Connecticut Journal*, January 18, 1786, Runaway Connecticut Project, Wesleyan University, https://wesomeka.wesleyan.edu/runawayct/items/show/5362.
42. John Wickes and Zadock Smith, advertisement for Pompey and Ishmael, *Connecticut Courant*, January 30, 1792, Runaway Connecticut Project, Wesleyan University, https://wesomeka.wesleyan.edu/runawayct/items/show/4805.
43. Stephen Kelcy, advertisement for Bud, *Connecticut Journal*, July 25, 1792, Runaway Connecticut Project, Wesleyan University, https://wesomeka.wesleyan.edu/runawayct/items/show/5543
44. Antonio T. Bly, ed., *Escaping Bondage: A Documentary History of Runaway Slaves in Eighteenth-Century New England, 1700-1789* (New York: Lexington Books, 2012), 251.
45. Epenetus Smith, advertisement for Cesar, *New-London Summary*, February 18, 1763, Runaway Connecticut Project, Wesleyan University, https://wesomeka.wesleyan.edu/runawayct/items/show/5395.
46. Nathaniel Smith, advertisement for Moses, *Connecticut Herald,* July 14, 1818, Runaway Connecticut Project, Wesleyan University, https://wesomeka.wesleyan.edu/runawayct/items/show/5337.
47. William Smith, advertisement for Dick and Joe, *Connecticut Journal* , September 16, 1774, Runaway Connecticut Project, Wesleyan University, https://wesomeka.wesleyan.edu/runawayct/items/show/5508.
48. Graham Russell Gao Hodges and Alan Edward Brown, eds., *"Pretends to Be Free": Runaway Slave Advertisements from Colonial and Revolutionary New York and New Jersey* (New York, NY: Garland Publishing, 1994), 65.
49. Lemuel Peirson, advertisement for Tom, *Long-Island Herald*, June 14, 1791, The East Hampton Library, Long Island Collection, https://cdm16694.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p15281coll2/id/16491/rec/18.
50. Antonio T. Bly, ed., *Escaping Bondage: A Documentary History of Runaway Slaves in Eighteenth-Century New England, 1700-1789* (New York: Lexington Books, 2012), 164.
51. James Post, advertisement for Isaac and Prince Primus, *The Corrector*, July 31, 1824, New York State Historic Newspapers, https://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn83031606/1824-07-31/ed-1/seq-4/.
52. Sylvanus Sanford, advertisement for Lewis Cuff, *The Corrector*, February 24, 1827, New York State Historic Newspapers, https://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn83031606/1827-02-24/ed-1/seq-4/.
53. George Mumford, advertisement for Joseph Heday et al., *New York Gazette*, April 1, 1754, Runaway Connecticut Project, Wesleyan University, https://wesomeka.wesleyan.edu/runawayct/items/show/5482.
54. Graham Russell Gao Hodges and Alan Edward Brown, eds., *"Pretends to Be Free": Runaway Slave Advertisements from Colonial and Revolutionary New York and New Jersey* (New York, NY: Garland Publishing, 1994), 30.
55. Graham Russell Gao Hodges and Alan Edward Brown, eds., *"Pretends to Be Free": Runaway Slave Advertisements from Colonial and Revolutionary New York and New Jersey* (New York, NY: Garland Publishing, 1994), 184-185.
56. John Mulford, advertisement for Prince, *Connecticut Gazette*, July 9, 1773, Runaway Connecticut Project, Wesleyan University, https://wesomeka.wesleyan.edu/runawayct/items/show/5499.
57. Biographical sketch of Hammon from Stanley Austin Ransom Jr, ed, Oscar Wegelin, and Vernon Loggins, *America's First Negro Poet: The Complete Works of Jupiter Hammon of Long Island* (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1970); digitized version available at https://digitalcommons.unl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1064&context=etas. For Hammon as a butler and senior servant, see Charla E. Bolton and Reginald H. Metcalf Jr., "The Migration of Jupiter Hammon and His Family: From Slavery to Freedom and its Consequences," *Long Island History Journal* 23, No. 2 (2013): https://lihj.cc.stonybrook.edu/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/The_Migration_of_Jupiter_Hammon_and_His_Family_From_Slavery_to_Freedom_and_its_Consequences_Long_Island_History_Journal.pdf. Anna Gedal, "Unpublished Jupiter Hammon Poem Discovered at N-YHS," April 16, 2015, *Behind the Scenes* blog, New-York Historical Society, https://behindthescenes.nyhistory.org/jupiter-hammon-poem-discovered. Cedrick May and Julie McCown, "'An Essay on Slavery': An Unpublished Poem by Jupiter Hammon," *Early American Literature* 48, no. 2 (2013): 457-71.
58. For construction and early history of Rock Hall including census statistics, see Shirley G. Hibbard, *Rock Hall: A Narrative History* (Mineola, NY: Friends of Rock Hall, Inc. in association with Dover Publications, 1997), 7-14. For dissolution of estate following Dr. Martin's death, see Amy Vacchio, "The Bannisters and McNeills of Rock Hall Rediscovered," *Nassau County Historical Society Journal* 74 (2019): 9.
59. For a report on the archaeology at Rock Hall, see Ross Thomas Rava and Christopher N. Matthews, "An Archaeological View of Slavery and Social Relations at Rock Hall, Lawrence, New York," *Long Island History Journal* 23, No. 2 (2013): https://lihj.cc.stonybrook.edu/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/An_Archaeological_View_of_Slavery_and_Social_Relations_at_Rock_Hall_Lawrence_New_York_Long_Island_History_Journal.pdf
60. Walter Richard Wheeler, "Magical dwelling: apotropaic building practices in the New World Dutch Cultural Hearth," in Christiane Bis-Worch and Claudia Theune, eds., *Religion, Cults & Rituals in the Medieval Rural Environment*, Ruralia XI (Leiden, NL: Sidestone Press, 2017), 388-390. PDF available at: https://mafiadoc.com/magicaldwelling_5b998aff097c474a6a8b46f0.html
61. See Linda France Stine, Melanie A. Cabak, and Mark D. Groover, "Blue Beads as African-

American Cultural Symbols," *Historical Archaeology* 30, no. 3 (Sept. 1996): 49-75.

62. Ibid., 389-390. African American family described in article "Latting's Hundred," Mapping the African American Past (MAAP), Columbia University, https://maap.columbia.edu/place/70.html; and Jacqueline Birzon, "Park Avenue Home One Of Oldest In USA," *Half Hollow Hills Newspaper*, April 25, 2013, A11, A20, https://issuu.com/longislandernewspapers/docs/hhh_full_04_25_13.
63. For early history of the house and slavery, see "1740–1776: Before the Revolution," and "The Revolution." For family history see "A sketch of the Samuel Townsend Family," Raynham Hall Museum, https://raynhamhallmuseum.org/history/. For the April 24, 1755 census of Oyster Bay listing Samuel Townsend as holding one enslaved man and woman, see E.B. O'Callaghan, *The Documentary History of the State of New-York*, Vol. 3 (Albany, NY: Weed, Parsons & Co., 1850), 864. Raynham Hall Museum acquired the Bible at auction in 2005. See Margo Nash, "Museum Gains Slave Archive: A 1771 Bible," *New York Times*, March 6, 2005, https://www.nytimes.com/2005/03/06/nyregion/history-museum-gains-slave-archive-a-1771-bible.htm. For subsequent research on the Bible, see Laura Lane, "Slave Bible becomes a conduit to understanding O.B. history," *Long Island Herald*, August 11, 2017, http://liherald.com/stories/slave-bible-becomes-a- conduit-to-understanding-ob-history,94579.
64. For the role of slavery in the mahogany trade, see Jennifer L. Anderson, *Mahogany: The Costs of Luxury in Early America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012).
65. Pelletreau purchased Peg in 1766 for thirty-five pounds sterling. While the family evacuated to Connecticut in the fall of 1776 with Peg, they possibly left behind Pomp to safeguard the family farm and home. It's likely that Pomp escaped during this time, as Pelletreau later stated that the British took him and claimed a £300 loss. Dean F. Failey, *Elias Pelletreau: Long Island Silversmith and Entrepreneur, 1726-1810* (Cold Spring Harbor, NY: Preservation Long Island, 2018), 51-52.
66. Emerson delivered this line during a public address in Concord, Massachusetts, on August 1, 1844 to commemorate the ten-year anniversary of the abolition of slavery in British colonies. "Address on Emancipation in the British West Indies" in Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Miscellanies: Vol. 11 of Emerson's Complete Works* (Cambridge, MA: Riverside Press, 1883), 154.
67. "Historic William Floyd Estate Grounds," Fire Island National Seashore, National Park Service,https://www.nps.gov/fiis/learn/historyculture/floyd-estate-grounds.htm. William Floyd, 1790 U.S. census, Suffolk County, New York, population schedule, Brook Haven, p. 100; digital image, Familysearch.org, accessed August 1, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:XHK5- SBL.
68. For the founding of the New-York Manumission Society, see Edgar J. McManus, *A History of Negro Slavery in New York* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1966), 168-171. New York passed a law in 1785 prohibiting the importation of slaves for sale, and three years later banned the import or export of enslaved people. In 1788 the New York legislature also allowed slaveholders to manumit enslaved people without having to post a bond if the person was under the age of fifty and able to provide for themselves. See ibid., 166. In 1798 New York State passed a law recognizing Quaker manumissions: *An Act concerning Manumissions of Slaves, heretofore made by people commonly called Quakers and others*. New York State, *Laws of the State of New York: Passed at the Sessions of the Legislature Held in the Years 1797, 1798, 1799 and 1800, inclusive*, Vol. 4 (Albany, NY: Weed, Parsons and Company, 1887), 168.
69. For text of 1799 gradual abolition law, see "An act for the gradual abolition of slavery," Digital Collections, New York State Archives, https://digitalcollections.archives.nysed.gov/index.php/Detail/objects/10815. For end of slavery in New York, see Edgar J. McManus, *A History of Negro Slavery in New York* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1966), 174-175, 178-179. For 1830 census still showing 76 enslaved people in New York State, see U.S. Census Office, *Abstract of the Returns of the Fifth Census* (Washington, DC: Duff Green, 1832), 10.
70. See "Chapter VI: Freedom and Its Limits" in Grania Bolton Marcus, *Discovering the African-American Experience in Suffolk County, 1620-1860* (Setauket, NY: Society for the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities; Mattituck, NY: Amereon House, 1995), 155-188.
71. Robert E. Cray Jr., "Congregational Autonomy and Presbyterian Discipline: The Immoral Ministry of Luther Gleason in Early Republic New York, 1789-1808," *Long Island Historical Journal* 11, no. 1 (fall 1998): 47-63. Digital version available at: https://dspace.sunyconnect.suny.edu/handle/1951/51315.
72. "An act for the gradual abolition of slavery," Digital Collections, New York State Archives, http://digitalcollections.archives.nysed.gov/index.php/Detail/objects/10815. Ebenezer Phillips was born and raised in Smithtown. He likely still had family there, which may explain how he knew of this minister. See Edwin Hall, comp., *The Ancient Historical Records of Norwalk, Conn*. (Norwalk, CT: James Mallory & Co., 1847), 237; and Charles M. Selleck, *Norwalk* (Norwalk, CT: Charles M. Selleck, 1896), 254-255.
73. For the 1788 law allowing conditional manumission, see Edgar J. McManus, *A History of Negro Slavery in New York* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1966), 166. Only 857 manumissions are documented in 200 years of slavery on Long Island according to Richard Shannon Moss, *Slavery on Long Island: A Study in Local Institutional and Early African-American Communal Life* (New York, NY: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1993), 125.
74. For Mills' ownership and manumission of African Americans, see Bradley Harris, *Black Roots in Smithtown: A Short History of the Black Community* (Smithtown, NY: Office of Town Historian, 1986). For the Mills' wedding date and list of children, see "William Wickham Mills," Long Island Surnames, https://longislandsurnames.com/getperson.php?personID=I00353&tree=Mills. William Wickham Mills Jr. as the adopted son of William Wickham Mills Sr. from Edward Smith, "Re: clarification on William Wickham Mills," e-mail to Jonathan Olly, January 24, 2019.
75. Alfred Victor Frankenstein, *William Sidney Mount* (New York, NY: Harry N. Abrams, 1975), 20, 468, 479 (1829 portraits), 473 (1855 & 1856 portraits).
76. Bradley Harris, *Black Roots in Smithtown: A Short History of the Black Community* (Smithtown, NY: Office of Town Historian, 1986), 74.
77. For Tamer Wren/Johnson biography and portrait, see Deborah J. Johnson, *Shepard Alonzo Mount: His Life and Art* (Stony Brook, NY: The Museums at Stony Brook, 1988), 34-35. Tamer Johnson, 1850 U.S. census, Suffolk County, New York, population schedule, Smithtown, p. 125, family 49, dwelling 45, line 38; August 23, 1850; digital image, Familysearch.org, accessed August 17, 2019 https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:MC15-Y9K. Tamer Johnson, 1865 New York State census, Suffolk County, Smithtown, p. 43, household 314, line 41; June 26, 1865; digital image, Familysearch.org, accessed August 17, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QVNV-JHMS. William Johnson, 1880 U.S. census, Suffolk County, New York, population schedule, Smithtown, p. 8, family 81, dwelling 72, lines 32-33; June 5, 1880; digital image, Familysearch.org, accessed August 17, 2019, www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:MZNM-TMV. For Wren's testimony, see *People v. Glory Ann Smith* (1837), Court Action file 330, case 9, pp. 41-46, Historic Documents Library, Suffolk County Clerk's Office, Riverhead, NY.
78. For short bio of Fowler, see Henry Onderdonk Jr., *Antiquities of the Parish Church, Jamaica* (Jamaica, NY: Charles Welling, 1880), 97. See also, E. Clowes Chorley, "The Reverend Andrew Fowler: 1760-1850," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 3, No. 4 (December 1934): 270-276, 278-279. For other examples of indentures by free African Americans, see Grania Bolton Marcus, *Discovering the African-American Experience in*

Suffolk County, 1620- 1860 (Setauket, NY: Society for the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities; Mattituck, NY: Amereon House, 1995), 102-103, 170-171.

79. Charla E. Bolton and Reginald H. Metcalf Jr., "The Migration of Jupiter Hammon and His Family: From Slavery to Freedom and its Consequences," *Long Island History Journal* 23, No. 2 (2013): https://lihj.cc.stonybrook.edu/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/The_Migration_of_Jupiter_Hammon_and_His_Family_From_Slavery_to_Freedom_and_its_Consequences_Long_Island_History_Journal.pdf. For purchase of Shelter Island in 1651 and Jacquero, Hannah, and Hope as the first enslaved Africans there in 1653 see Mac Griswold, *The Manor, Three Centuries at a Slave Plantation on Long Island* (New York, NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2013), 21-22, 31-32, 136, 323; and Katherine Lee Priddy, "From Youghco to Black John: Ethnohistory of Sylvester Manor, ca. 1600-1735," *Northeast Historical Archaeology 36,* article 4 (Special Issue: *The Historical Archaeology of Sylvester Manor*, 2007), 21.
80. For Isaac Pharaoh's indenture, see Katherine Howlett Hayes, *Slavery Before Race: Europeans, Africans, and Indians at Long Island's Sylvester Manor Plantation, 1651-1884* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2013), 83-84, 144-145; and Mac Griswold, *The Manor: Three Centuries at a Slave Plantation on Long Island* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2013), 293-294, 405. Note: Hayes and Griswold use "Pharoah," as this is the spelling on the indenture, though the Montaukett Indian Nation and members of the family today spell it "Pharaoh." Indenture located in New York University, Sylvester Manor Archive (Mss.208), Record Group III: Gardiner Family, Series A: Samuel Smith Gardiner, Subseries 4: Legal Papers, Box 46, Folder 14: Indenture – Isaac Pharoah, https://sites.dlib.nyu.edu/viewer/photos/mss208_ref4492?embed=true. Samuel Gardiner recounted William running away in a September 8, 1840 letter to his daughters living in Albany: "The day after we left home our boy William went away and has not since returned. I presume he went to sea in one of the whaling ships. He was seen in Sag Harbor and afterwards in New London. In his place I have hired the colored man Jason which adds to my expenses as I have to pay him eleven dollars a month." New York University, Sylvester Manor Archive (Mss.208), Record Group III: Gardiner Family, Oversize Series A: Samuel Smith Gardiner, Subseries 1: Correspondence, Box 144, Folder 2, Samuel Gardiner to Gardiner Daughters, September 9, 1840, https://sites.dlib.nyu.edu/viewer/photos/fales_mss208_cuid1601/24. For an in- depth look at Montaukett labor, see Allison Manfra McGovern, "Disrupting the Narrative: Labor and Survivance for the Montauketts of Eastern Long Island," (Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, 2015).
81. Julia Johnson biography from Mac Griswold, *The Manor: Three Centuries at a Slave Plantation on Long Island* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2013), 285-287; and "Comus Fanning, Dido and Julia Dyd Havens Johnson," Sylvester Manor Education Farm, https://sylvestermanor.org/comus-julia-dido. Martha J. Lamb, "The Manor of Shelter Island," *The Magazine of American History* 18, no. 5 (Nov. 1887): 361-389. The etching of Johnson is on page 386.
82. Label of daguerreotype from collection of Smithtown Historical Society. Children of John Lawrence Smith and Sarah Nicoll Smith from "John Lawrence Smith," Long Island Surnames, https://longislandsurnames.com/getperson.php?personID=I02421&tree=SmithBull.
83. Ruth Spencer, 1850 U.S. census, Suffolk County, New York, population schedule, Smithtown, sheet 127, family 81, dwelling 71, line 6; August 27, 1850; digital image, Familysearch.org, accessed August 17, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:MC1R-JYJ.
84. Caleb and his family originally lived in Hauppauge. There, his daughter Sarah C. Smith (1795-1879) married her second cousin, Ebenezer Smith (1795-1879), on February 22, 1820, with Caleb apparently giving them his Hauppauge home as a wedding present. Around this time he purchased a farm in Commack and enlarged the existing structure into the Federal-style house that exists today. That Caleb's neighbors were similar in the 1810 and 1820 federal censuses, and completely different in the 1830 census, suggests that his family moved to Commack in the 1820s. For the Hauppauge house as a wedding present, and a brief architectural history of Caleb Smith's house in Commack, see "Caleb Smith II House (Now Smithtown Historical Society)," in American Institute of Architects, Long Island Chapter, and the Society for the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities, *AIA Architectural Guide to Nassau and Suffolk Counties, Long Island* (New York, NY: Dover Publications, 1992), 166. Marriage date is from "Ebenezer Smith," Long Island Surnames, https://longislandsurnames.com/getperson.php?personID=I1376&tree=Sayre. For Ebenezer Smith and Sarah C. Smith as second cousins, see Bradley Harris, Kiernan Lannon, and Joshua Ruff, *Smithtown* (Images of America) (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2009), 22. For Caleb Smith living in Hauppauge then Commack, see William S. Pelletreau, *A History of Long Island: From Its Earliest Settlement to the Present Time*, Vol. II (New York, NY: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1905), 217.
85. Caleb Smith and his wife Elizabeth were listed as slaveholders in the 1810 U.S. census, but were not listed as slaveholders in the 1820 U.S. census, so it appears that they freed or sold their enslaved servants before moving to their new house in Commack around 1820. As the number of workers in their household changed from three in 1810, to one in 1820, a different one in 1830, and then four in 1840 and 1850, Caleb Smith may have had the servant quarters built as late as 1840 to accommodate this increase in workers. The 1810 U.S. census records one person in the category "all other persons except Indians not taxed" (possibly a white, Black, or Native American indentured servant), and two enslaved people in the household of Caleb and Elizabeth Smith, along with two "free white males" under the age of 10 (sons David and Caleb T.), two "free white females" under the age of 10 (daughters Elizabeth and ?), and two "free white females" aged 10-26 (daughters Martha and Sarah). The 1820 U.S. census records one person in the category "all other persons except Indians not taxed" who is not counted under the "Slaves" or "Free Colored Persons" categories, and is possibly the same white, Black, or Native American indentured servant as listed in the 1810 census. The rest of the Caleb Smith household are 12 free white people. The 1830 census records a seven-member Smith household, of whom six are free white persons and one "free colored" female under the age of 10. For federal census data of the Smith household, 1810-1830, see Caleb Smith, 1810 U.S. census, Suffolk County, New York, population schedule, Smithtown, p. 532; digital image, Familysearch.org, accessed August 17, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:XH2T-BV6. Caleb Smith, 1820 U.S. census, 1820 U.S. census, Suffolk County, New York, population schedule, Smithtown, p. 318; digital image, Familysearch.org, accessed August 17, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:XHL1-HQV. Caleb Smith, 1830 U.S. census, Suffolk County, New York, population schedule, Smithtown, p. 267; digital image, Familysearch.org, accessed August 17, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:XHPQ-D2G.
86. For Smith family ownership of house, see Charlotte Adams Ganz, ed., *Colonel Rockwell's Scrap-book* (Smithtown, NY: Smithtown Historical Society, 1968), 2-3. For census data of the Smith household, 1840-1880, see Caleb Smith, 1840 U.S. census, Suffolk County, New York, population schedule, Smithtown, p. 253; digital image, Familysearch.org, accessed August 17, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:XHR5-2Z2. Caleb Smith, 1850 U.S. census, Suffolk County, New York, population schedule, Smithtown, sheet 143, family 333, dwelling 317, lines 3-12; September 14, 1850; digital image, Familysearch.org, accessed August 17, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:MC15-GD1. Caleb Smith, 1860 U.S.

census, Suffolk County, New York, population schedule, Smithtown, p. 31, family 245, dwelling 240, lines 30-36; June 11, 1860; digital image, Familysearch.org, accessed August 17, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:MC4P- DR2. Emeline Carl in household of Caleb Smith, 1865 New York State census, Suffolk County, Smithtown, p.18, household 121, line 17; June 15, 1865; digital image, Familysearch.org, accessed August 17, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QVNV-JW19. Emeline Arch in household of Caleb Smith, 1870 U.S. census, Suffolk County, New York, population schedule, Smithtown, p. 26, family 206, dwelling 212, line 17; June 16, 1870; digital image, Familysearch.org, accessed August 17, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:M8KL-6Q2. Emeline Harries in household of Robert B. Smith, 1880 U.S. census, Suffolk County, New York, population schedule, Smithtown, sheet 422D, family 306, dwelling 282, line 10; June 19, 1880; digital image, Familysearch.org, accessed August 17, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:MZNM-1P6.

87. Charlotte Adams Ganz, ed., *Colonel Rockwell's Scrap-book* (Smithtown, NY: Smithtown Historical Society, 1968), 2-3. "Fifteen Landmarks Are Recorded," *The County Review*, February 19, 1942, p. 12, New York State Historic Newspapers, https://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn84035791/1942-02-19/ed-1/seq-12/. For photos of the relocation of the Caleb Smith House in 1955 from Commack to Smithtown, see Bradley Harris, Kiernan Lannon, and Joshua Ruff, *Smithtown* (Images of America) (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2009), 124.
88. Art historian Elizabeth Johns argues that "Mount uses the tam-o'shanter- capped young boy with his tickling straw to make visible the phrase 'tickling the ear,' which alluded to the (false) promises that abolitionists made to slaves about freedom." Elizabeth Johns, "'Boys Will Be Boys': Notes on William Sidney Mount's Vision of Childhood," in Deborah J. Johnson, ed., *William Sidney Mount: Painter of American Life* (New York, NY: The American Federation of Arts, 1998), 12. See also Elizabeth Johns, *American Genre Painting: The Politics of Everyday Life* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1991), 34-35.
89. For a biography of Davis, see *W.M. Davis 1829-1920: Port Jefferson's Foremost Painter* (Port Jefferson, NY: The Historical Society of Greater Port Jefferson, 1973).
90. Biography of Frank Myers Boggs from Doreen Bolger Burke, *American Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Vol. III: A Catalogue of Works by Artists Born between 1846 and 1864* (New York, NY: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980), 180-181. Subsection 1 of the law reads "No other person than the inhabitants of the town of Shelter Island shall take or catch any fish or clams of any kind, in any manner, in any of the waters of the town of Shelter Island." See "Laws Passed By the Board of Supervisors of Suffolk County," *The Corrector*, November 5, 1851, p.2, New York State Historic Newspapers, https://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn83031606/1851-11-05/ed-1/seq-2/.
91. Joysetta Marsh Pearse, *Pyrrhus Consor: Born Free* (Freeport, NY: The African Atlantic Genealogical Society, 2014), 3-6, 10. While Pearse uses the spelling of "Consor" as this was the spelling his father's family used, the more popular spelling is "Concer" as found on Pyrrhus's gravestone and obituaries. "Death of Pyrrhus Concer," *South Side Signal*, September 4, 1897, p.2, New York State Historic Newspapers, https://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn83031038/1897- 09-04/ed-1/seq-2/. "On the First Ship to Yeddo; Pyrrhus Concer, a Colored Seaman, Last Survivor of the Manhattan's Crew, Is Dead," *The Sun*, September 1, 1897, p. 7, New York State Historic Newspapers, https://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn83030272/1897-09-01/ed-1/seq-7/.
92. Joysetta Marsh Pearse, *Pyrrhus Consor: Born Free* (Freeport, NY: The African Atlantic Genealogical Society, 2014), 10-12. For a contemporary account of the voyage (it does not mention Concer), see C.F. Winslow, "Some Account of Mercator Cooper's Visit to Japan, in the Whale Ship Manhattan, of Sag Harbour," *The Nautical Magazine* 15, no. 8 (August 1846): 411-418.
93. Charles A. Jagger, "Entering a Forbidden Port," *The Southampton Magazine* 1, no. 1 (Spring 1912): 11. Google Books, https://books.google.com/books?id=8vxHAQAAMAAJ&dq=two%20seamen%2C%20Gad%20Williams%20and%20Pyrrhus%20concer%2C%20were&pg=PA3#v=onepage&q=entering%20&f=false. Jagger's article, and the one following it ("The Manhattan's Log Near Japan," 15-23) contains photos of Japanese souvenirs of the voyage and a transcription from Cooper's logbook. Many of these artifacts and the log are now in the collections of the New Bedford Whaling Museum.
94. Information about Shozo Usui (Usui is the surname) is from a label for this scroll (accession #1986.36) in the exhibition *Enlightened Encounters: The Two Nations of Manjiro Nakahama*, which opened at the New Bedford Whaling Museum on October 8, 2017, https://www.whalingmuseum.org/explore/exhibitions/enlightened-encounters-two-nations-manjiro-nakahama/. In addition to the two depictions of a man who is possibly Pyrrhus Concer, the third illustrated account of the *Manhattan*'s visit is in the collection of the Tokyo University Marine Science and Technology Library: https://lib.s.kaiyodai.ac.jp/library/bunkan/tb-gaku/hyoryu/BUYO/buyo-index.html. Image 28 includes a Black man playing a kokyu, a traditional Japanese string instrument. As the depictions of the whaleship, tools, and crew are all highly stylized it's unclear whether this is the same man pictured in the two other Japanese illustrations in this publication, as there were other crewmen of color aboard the *Manhattan* including Pyrrhus's uncle, Prince Gad Williams.
95. Joysetta Marsh Pearse, *Pyrrhus Consor: Born Free* (Freeport, NY: The African Atlantic Genealogical Society, 2014), 17-19, 21-23. For two whaleboats in Southampton's 250th anniversary parade on June 12, 1890, see "Old Southampton, The 250th Anniversary," *The Corrector*, June 14, 1890, p. 2, New York State Historic Newspapers, https://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn83031606/1890-06-14/ed-1/seq-2/. "First Negro to Enter Japan; His Name is Pyrrhus Concer and He was a Boat Steerer," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, April 5, 1896, p. 12, New York State Historic Newspapers, https://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn83031151/1896-04-05/ed-1/seq-12/. The text from Concer's obituary in *The Southampton Press* is reproduced in Grania Bolton Marcus, *Discovering the African-American Experience in Suffolk County, 1620-1860* (Setauket, NY: Society for the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities; Mattituck, NY: Amereon House, 1995), 181-182.
96. For the history of **Freetown**, see Allison Manfra McGovern, "Disrupting the Narrative: Labor and Survivance for the Montauketts of Eastern Long Island," (Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, 2015), 143-155. For a history of **Weeksville**, see Judith Wellman, *Brooklyn's Promised Land: The Free Black Community of Weeksville, New York* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2014); and Joan H. Geismar, "The Hunterfly Road Houses and the Evolution of Weeksville, an African American Community in Brooklyn, New York," in Christopher N. Matthews and Allison Manfra McGovern, eds., *The Archaeology of Race in the Northeast* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida and the Society for Historical Archaeology, 2015), 176-197. For a history of **Eastville**, see Allison Manfra McGovern, "Facing the End: Termination and Survivance for the Montauketts of Eastern Long Island" in Christopher N. Matthews and Allison Manfra McGovern, eds., The Archaeology of Race in the Northeast (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida and the Society for Historical Archaeology, 2015), 215- 231; and "Dedicated to Heritage," Eastville Community Historical Society, https://www.eastvillehistorical.org/. Note: Eastville was known as Snooksville until a community vote on December 4, 1851. See "Notice," *The Corrector*, December 6, 1851, p. 2, New York State Historic Newspapers, https://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn83031606/1851-12-06/ed-1/seq-2/. For

histories of **Setauket**, see Robert E. Lewis, Christopher N. Matthews, and Judith A. Burgess, "The Bethel-Christian Avenue-Laurel Hill Historic District," *Long Island History Journal* 23, no. 2 (2013): https://lihj.cc.stonybrook.edu/#articles_2244; and Susan Bridson, "Setauket's Black Community," *The Village Times*, February 16, 1984, pp. 1, 9, reprinted in Grania Bolton Marcus, *Discovering the African- American Experience in Suffolk County, 1620-1860* (Setauket, NY: Society for the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities; Mattituck, NY: Amereon House, 1995), 178-180. For African Americans migrating to Long Island after the Civil War, see Lynda R. Day, *Making a Way to Freedom: A History of African Americans on Long Island* (Interlaken, NY: Empire State Books, 1997), 108-109. For the 20th century African American Great Migrations, see Isabel Wilkerson, *The Warmth of Other Suns: The Epic Story of America's Great Migration* (New York, NY: Random House, 2010); and James N. Gregory, *Southern Diaspora: How the Great Migrations of Black and White Southerners Transformed America* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2005).

97. For community formation, see Lynda R. Day, *Making a Way to Freedom: A History of African Americans on Long Island* (Interlaken, NY: Empire State Books, 1997), 51-58 and 93-97. For African American churches, see Grania Bolton Marcus, *Discovering the African-American Experience in Suffolk County, 1620- 1860* (Setauket, NY: Society for the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities; Mattituck, NY: Amereon House, 1995), 174-177. For a study of an African American church (First Baptist Church of Cutchogue) as the center of its community (Church Lane), see Allison Manfra McGovern and David J. Bernstein, "Preserving Church Lane: Applied Anthropology and History in a Long Island African-American Community," *Long Island History Journal* 23, no. 2 (2013): https://lihj.cc.stonybrook.edu/#articles_2244; and Gary R. Hammond, "St. Matthias Church (1904) considered for designation as Hempstead Town landmark," Preservation Long Island, https://preservationlongisland.org/st- matthias-church-1904-considered-for-designation-as-hempstead-town- landmark/; and Gary R. Hammond, *St. Matthias Church [Wantagh, NY] Historic Structure Report*, December 2, 2018. Copy provided by author.
98. Lynda R. Day, *Making a Way to Freedom: A History of African Americans on Long Island* (Interlaken, NY: Empire State Books, 1997), 58-64.
99. For African American military service, see ibid., 99-106. John E. Hammond, comp., *Civil War Records: Town of Oyster Bay* (Oyster Bay, NY: Town of Oyster Bay, 2011), 13-18, 20, https://oysterbaytown.com/wp-content/uploads/CIVIL- WAR-GUIDE.pdf. Francis S. Carl and Denice Evans Sheppard, *Footsteps of a Forgotten Soldier: The Life and Times of David Carll* (Self-published, Wilshire Press, 2015). African Americans are included in the list of Suffolk County Civil War veterans comprising Chapter VII: "The Record of Suffolk County's Volunteers in the Civil War" in *History of Suffolk County, New York, with Illustrations, Portraits, & Sketches of Prominent Families and Individuals* (New York, NY: W.W. Munsell & Co., 1882), 70-79.
100. For immigrants in the development of late 19th and early 20th century Long Island, see Salvatore LaGumina, *From Steerage to Suburb: Long Island Italians* (New York, NY: Center for Migration Studies, 1988); Joshua Ruff, "Diasporas in Suburbia: Long Island's Recent Immigrant Past," *Long Island History Journal* 21, No. 1 (2009): https://lihj.cc.stonybrook.edu/2009/articles/diasporas-in-suburbia- long-islands-recent-immigrant-past/; Diana R. Gordon, *Village of Immigrants: Latinos in an Emerging America* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2015). Mary Jane Capozzoli, "The Role of Italian Americans in Nassau County, 1900-1945," in Joann P. Krieg, ed., *Evoking a Sense of Place* (Interlaken, NY: Heart of the Lakes Publishing, 1988), 153-163. Lindenhurst Historical Society with Anna Jaeger and Mary Cascone, *From Breslau to Lindenhurst: 1870 to 1923* (Images of America) (Mount Pleasant, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2018).
101. For the founding of Weeksville, see Judith Wellman, *Brooklyn's Promised Land: The Free Black Community of Weeksville, New York* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2014), 29-30.
102. Ibid., 68, 148-153 (teacher debate). For a more in depth look at the Weeksville School, see Lara Steensland Mullarkey, "In the Hands of Their Own: The Story of the Weeksville School, 1840-1893," (Ed.D. diss., Teachers College, Columbia University, 2012).
103. Ibid., 53 (Bethel AME Church), 61-62 (Berean Baptist Church), 74 (Weeksville Unknowns), 88 (property ownership), 107, 111 (African Civilization Society), 116- 118 (draft riots), 167-174 (Howard Orphan Asylum), 174-177 (Zion Home for the Aged), 184 (population percentages).
104. For Smith as one of the three trustees of Colored School No. 1, see "Report of the Committee on Common Schools," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, February 8, 1842, p. 2.
105. "Negro Mother's Victory; How the Public Schools Were Opened to Mrs. Cisco's Children," *The Sun*, April 29, 1900, p.7, New York State Historic Newspapers, https://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn83030272/1900-04-29/ed-1/seq-17/.
106. Biography of Garnet summarized from Susan Goodier, *Biographical Sketch of Sarah Jane Smith Thompson Garnet* (Alexandria, VA: Alexander Street, 2017), 1-5. https://search.alexanderstreet.com/view/work/bibliographic_entity%7Cbibliographic_details%7C3911200. For more on her sister, Susan Smith McKinney Steward, see Judith Wellman, *Brooklyn's Promised Land: The Free Black Community of Weeksville, New York* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2014), 178-179; and Lynda R. Day, *Making a Way to Freedom: A History of African Americans on Long Island* (Interlaken, NY: Empire State Books, 1997), 85-86.
107. For birthplaces and marriage date, see "New York, New York City Marriage Records, 1829-1940," database, *FamilySearch* (https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:2492-7MN: 10 February 2018), John Shaw and Mary Hood, 23 Dec 1873; citing Marriage, Manhattan, New York, New York, United States, New York City Municipal Archives, New York; FHL microfilm 1,561,973. Daniel Smith Lamb, ed. & comp., *Howard University Medical Department, Washington, D.C.: A Historical, Biographical and Statistical Souvenir* (Washington, DC: R. Beresford, 1900), 260-261. "The Suffragist is a new paper published in New York by J.W.A. Shaw, a colored resident of Flushing…", *The Corrector*, February 14, 1880, p. 2, New York State Historic Newspapers, https://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn83031606/1880-02-14/ed-1/seq-2/; Mary E. Shaw in household of John W. A. Shaw, 1880 U.S. census, Queens, New York, population schedule, Flushing, sheet 176D, family 156, dwelling 149, lines 24-25; June 5, 1880; digital image, Familysearch.org, accessed October 11, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:MZFQ-VT7. John W. Shaw is listed as chairman of the New York Colored Democratic Association in "The Colored Democratic Association; Recognition to be Asked from the Chicago National Convention," *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, June 29, 1884, p. 12, New York State Historic Newspapers, https://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn83031151/1884-06-29/ed-1/seq-12/.
108. First mention of Mary Shaw as principal, see "A Teacher's Good Fortune," *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, January 22, 1888, p.13, https://bklyn.newspapers.com/image/50437530/?terms=%22colored%2Bschool%22%2Bflushing%2Bshaw; Shaw's assistants mentioned in "On Long Island; A Day of Graduations in the Public Schools," *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, June 28, 1890, p. 1, https://bklyn.newspapers.com/image/50370206/?terms=%22colored%2Bschool%22%2Bflushing%2Bshaw; Shaw leading tree planting on Arbor Day was reported in the *Flushing Journal*, May 3, 1890, via Carlton Mabee, "Control by Blacks over Schools in New York State, 1830-1930," *Phylon* 40, No. 1 (1st Qtr., 1979), p. 33. "Mrs. Shaw Inherits a Fortune; Flushing's Colored Principal Tenders Her Resignation," *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, January 31, 1894, p. 9, New York State Historic Newspapers,

https://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn83031151/1894- 01-31/ed-1/seq-9/; Obituary notice for Mary Shaw included in "Among the Churches; Doings of the Various Religious Bodies Throughout the Island," *The Long Island Farmer*, March 24, 1905, p. 4, New York State Historic Newspapers, https://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn87070021/1905-03-24/ed-1/seq-4/; Gina Martinez, "Queens Library Honors 19th Century Flushing Philanthropist," *QNS*, February 14, 2018: https://qns.com/story/2018/02/14/queens-library- honors-19th-century-flushing-philanthropist/

109. Lynda R. Day, *Making a Way to Freedom: A History of African Americans on Long Island* (Interlaken, NY: Empire State Books, 1997), 51, 56-57. "Lakeville," Mapping the African American Past (MAAP), Columbia University, https://maap.columbia.edu/place/67.html.
110. Lynda R. Day, *Making a Way to Freedom: A History of African Americans on Long Island* (Interlaken, NY: Empire State Books, 1997), 45, 56.
111. Lynda R. Day, "Friends in the Spirit: African Americans and the Challenge to Quaker Liberalism, 1776-1915," *Long Island Historical Journal* 10, No. 1 (Fall 1997), 7, https://dspace.sunyconnect.suny.edu/handle/1951/51313.
112. Letter from Frederick Douglass to Amy and Isaac Post, dated April 22, 1849, D. 93 Post Family Papers, "Frederick Douglass Project Letter #100," University of Rochester Frederick Douglass Project, https://rbscp.lib.rochester.edu/2538. Betsy Abraham, "A.M.E. Zion Celebrates 180 Years," *The Westbury Times*, June 3, 2014, https://thewestburytimes.com/2014/06/a-m-e-zion-celebrates-180-years/.
113. Description of photograph from Bette S. Weidmann and Linda B. Martin, *Nassau County Long Island in Early Photographs 1869-1940* (New York, NY: Dover Publications, Inc., 1981), 74. Details on Rachel Hicks from Natalie A. Naylor, *Women in Long Island's Past: A History of Eminent Ladies and Everyday Lives* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2012), 147.
114. George Pearsall, 1860 U.S. census, Queens County, New York, population schedule, North Hempstead, p. 12, family 89, dwelling 74, lines 17-19; June 6, 1860; digital image, Familysearch.org, accessed October 23, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:MC4Q-VPW. George Pearsall, 1870 U.S. census, Queens County, New York, population schedule, North Hempstead, p. 112, family 872, dwelling 795, lines 19-21; July 18, 1870; digital image, Familysearch.org, accessed October 23, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:M8V1-4DW. George Pearsall, 1900 U.S. census, Nassau County, New York, population schedule, North Hempstead, sheet 11A, family 206, dwelling 197, lines 6-7; June 9, 1900; digital image, Familysearch.org, accessed October 23, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:MSJ6-HKL.
115. Lynda R. Day, *Making a Way to Freedom: A History of African Americans on Long Island* (Interlaken, NY: Empire State Books, 1997), 54-55. "Bethel AME Church of Amityville," Mapping the African American Past (MAAP), Columbia University, https://maap.columbia.edu/mbl_place/63.html.
116. "Alexander Gardiner and Mr. Ballton have picked from Mr. Gardiner's farm this year fully four millions of pickles." "Pickle Notes," *The Corrector*, September 23, 1882, p. 2, New York State Historic Newspapers, https://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn83031606/1882-09-23/ed-1/seq-2/.
117. For example: "Mrs. R.A. McCully is to occupy the new cottage on Woodbine avenue which Samuel Ballton is erecting." "Northport," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, July 19, 1896, p. 8, https://bklyn.newspapers.com/image/50459076/?terms=samuel%2Bballton.
118. The biographies of Rebecca and Samuel Ballton are from: "Greenlawn Pickle King. He is Samuel Ballton, a Negro, Born a Slave in 1838. His Life Story Interesting," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, September 8, 1910, p. 82, https://bklyn.newspapers.com/image/53910904/?terms=samuel%2Bballton; and "Married Fifty Years. Greenlawn Negro Couple, Born in Slavery, Have Become Prosperous and Respected Citizens," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, April 15, 1911, p. 8, https://bklyn.newspapers.com/image/55354008/?terms=samuel%2Bballton. See also *Samuel Ballton (1838-1917): The Pickle King of Greenlawn*, Greenlawn-Centerport Historical Association, https://www.huntingtonny.gov/filestorage/13747/99540/16499/Samuel_Ballton.pdf. Two additional surviving houses built by the Balltons are at 30 and 34 Taylor Avenue in Greenlawn. A historic marker was placed by the town of Huntington at this site in recognition of Ballton in 2016.
119. "Country Property For Sale, To Let, Or Exchange," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, May 3, 1908, p. 44, https://bklyn.newspapers.com/image/53878491/.
120. Various records give conflicting dates for David Carll's birth. In his pension application he lists 1845 in Oyster Bay. In the Town of Oyster Bay's 1864 Enrollment Book his birth year is 1842. The 1910 U.S. Census estimates his birth year as 1842, and the 1870 and 1880 U.S. censuses estimate his birth year as 1843. The 1892 New York State Census also estimates his birth year as 1843.
121. For enlistment of African Americans from Oyster Bay and Carll's enlistment date, see John E. Hammond, comp., *Civil War Records: Town of Oyster Bay* (Oyster Bay, NY: Town of Oyster Bay, 2011), 13-14, http://oysterbaytown.com/wp- content/uploads/CIVIL-WAR-GUIDE.pdf. For Carll's marriage date, see Francis S. Carl and Denice Evans Sheppard, *Footsteps of a Forgotten Soldier: The Life and Times of David Carll* (Self-published, Wilshire Press, 2015), 123. As it being one of the town's first interracial marriages, see jlouis, "The Struggle Within: Tells the Story of David Carll's Oyster Bay Descendents," *Oyster Bay Enterprise-Pilot*, February 10, 2012, https://oysterbayenterprisepilot.com/2012/02/the-struggle- within-tells-the-story-of-david-carlls-oyster-bay-descendents/.
122. For Carll's bounty, land purchase, and service dates, see John E. Hammond, comp., *Civil War Records: Town of Oyster Bay* (Oyster Bay, NY: Town of Oyster Bay, 2011), 13-14, http://oysterbaytown.com/wp-content/uploads/CIVIL-WAR- GUIDE.pdf. The Carlls' ten children is from the 1880 U.S. Census and 1892 New York State Census. David Carle, 1870 U.S. census, Queens County, New York, population schedule, Oyster Bay, p. 145, family 3, dwelling 3, lines 10-14; July 11, 1870; digital image, Familysearch.org, accessed October 23, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:M8V1-RV3. David Carll, 1880 U.S. census, Queens County, New York, population schedule, Oyster Bay, sheet 367A, family 87, dwelling 77, lines 28-37; June 4, 1880; digital image, Familysearch.org; accessed October 23, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:MZFH- 7DX. David Carll, 1892 New York State census, Queens County, Oyster Bay, p.2; February 16, 1892; digital image, Familysearch.org, accessed August 17, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:X3XZ-BJN. For pension application and found photo, see jlouis, "African American Civil War Museum Honors OB Civil War Vet David Carll," *Oyster Bay Enterprise-Pilot*, August 20, 2010, https://oysterbayenterprisepilot.com/2010/08/african-american-civil-war- museum-honors-ob-civil-war-vet-david-carll/.
123. Robert E. Lewis, Christopher N. Matthews and Judith A. Burgess, "The Bethel- Christian Avenue-Laurel Hill Historic District," *Long Island History Journal* 23, no. 2 (2013): https://lihj.cc.stonybrook.edu/#articles_2244. "'Dr.' Levi Phillips Dead; Was Over 101 Years Old," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, February 19, 1911, p. 42, https://bklyn.newspapers.com/image/53949004/?terms=levi%2Bphillips%2Bdead. Levi and his parents are listed as living in Stratford, Connecticut, in 1820. See James Philips, 1820 U.S. census, Fairfield County, Connecticut, population schedule, Stratford, p. 217;

digital image, Familysearch.org, accessed October 31, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:XHLL-XG1.

124. For Levi's number of children, first wife being part Nissequogue, and practicing medicine since the 1850s, see "102 Years Old; Aged Herb Vender of Port Jefferson Claimed Indian Blood," *The Long-Islander*, February 24, 1911, p. 2, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn83031119/1911-02-24/ed-1/seq-2/. First wife being part Shinnecock, from "'Dr.' Levi Phillips Dead; Was Over 101 Years Old," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle,* February 19, 1911, p. 42, https://bklyn.newspapers.com/image/53949004/?terms=levi%2Bphillips%2Bdead. Levi Phillips is described in a September 6, 1904 document as being one of four people who are "the only persons now living that were officers and members of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church of the United States of America at Grove Place Suffolk County and State of New York...." Grove Place is a former village at what is now Lubber Street in Stony Brook. See "Bethel AME 1904 Deed" on page 10 in Christopher Matthews, Alexis Alemy, and Sophia Hudzik, *A Counter- Map of Setauket, New York*, Department of Anthropology, Montclair State University, 2016, https://www.arcgis.com/apps/MapSeries/index.html?appid=6c19b6a5d9784f239729781116151969.
125. Death of Maria Phillips in the early 1860s is determined by her listing in the 1860 U.S. Census, not appearing in the 1865 New York State Census of the Phillips household, and Levi living with his new wife in the 1870 U.S. Census. Albert Phillips in household of Franklin Overton, 1865 New York State census, Suffolk County, District 05, Brookhaven, p. 23, household 179, line 10; digital image, Familysearch.org, accessed August 17, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QVNV-JB9T. Martha Phillips in household of Tamar [sic] Johnson, 1870 U.S. census, Suffolk County, New York, population schedule, Smithtown, p. 35, household 282, line 6; June 21, 1870; digital image, Familysearch.org, accessed August 17, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:M8KL-WH7.
126. Sarah A. Phillips in household of Levi Phillips, 1870 U.S. census, Suffolk County, New York, population schedule, Smithtown, p. 37, household 305, line 30; June 22, 1870; digital image, Familysearch.org, accessed August 17, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:M8KL-8XB. Sarah A. Phillips died June 30, 1886 in Smithtown according to New York State Death Index, 1880-1956, p. 430, entry 34878; digital image, Familysearch.org, accessed August 17, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QG2T-9CHB. The year of Albert and Martha's marriage is from the 1910 U.S. census: Albert Phillips, 1910 U.S. census, Suffolk County, New York, population schedule, Brookhaven, sheet 10A, family 178, dwelling 171, lines 18-19; May 5, 1910; digital image, Familysearch.org, accessed October 23, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:M5H1- Y33. Albert E. Phillips, 1900 U.S. census, Suffolk County, New York, population schedule, Brookhaven township, Election District 1, sheet 4A, family 92, dwelling 85, lines 46-53; June 11, 1900; digital image, Familysearch.org, accessed October 23, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:MSGF-KNB.
127. For centennial birthday profiles see *East Hampton Star*, October 15, 1909, p. 1, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn83030960/1909-10-15/ed-1/seq-1/ and "'Doctor' Levi Phillips One Hundred Years Old," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, October 9, 1909, p. 19, https://www.newspapers.com/clip/5261038/levi_phillipsbrooklyneagle10091909/. For death, see "102 Years Old; Aged Herb Vender of Port Jefferson Claimed Indian Blood," *The Long-Islander*, February 24, 1911, p. 2, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn83031119/1911-02-24/ed- 1/seq-2/
128. Carrie Fortune's birth and death dates are from her headstone in the Evergreens Cemetery in Brooklyn. See "Caroline Charlotte 'Carrie' Smiley Fortune," https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/183741803/caroline-charlotte-fortune. The story of her early life is from recollections of her granddaughter, Elizabeth Bowser. See Nina Tobier, ed., *Voices of Sag Harbor: A Village Remembered* (Sag Harbor, NY: Harbor Electronic Publishing, 2007), 39. "TT Fortune" married "CC Smilie" on February 21, 1878 in Washington, DC, according to "District of Columbia Marriages, 1811-1950," Familysearch.org, accessed August 17, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:XLSV-Z9K.
129. Biograpical sketch from Cyrus Field Adams, "Timothy Thomas Fortune: Journalist, Author, Lecturer, Agitator," *The Colored American Magazine* (February 1902): 225-226, The Digital Colored American Magazine, http://coloredamerican.org/?page_id=548#fortune.
130. Image of T. Thomas Fortune from Cyrus Field Adams, "Timothy Thomas Fortune: Journalist, Author, Lecturer, Agitator," *The Colored American Magazine* (Feb. 1902): 224. The Digital Colored American Magazine, http://coloredamerican.org/?page_id=525.
131. Ibid., 226-227.
132. Summary of the New York Age from Heather Martin, "New York Age," in Cary D. Wintz and Paul Finkelman, eds., *Encyclopedia of the Harlem Renaissance, Volume 2: K-Y* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2004), 901-902; and "New York Age, a Black Weekly, Publishing Again," *New York Times*, April 21, 1974, p. 42, https://www.nytimes.com/1974/04/21/archives/new-yorkage-a-black-weekly-publishing-again-old-editorial-policy.html. "Among the numerous editors of the present day, the name of T. Thomas Fortune stand preeminent. Although born a slave, Mr. Fortune is, at the age of forty-five, the best known and most widely quoted editorial writer of the African American race. This notice of his writings is not confined to the race papers, for the great dailies of the country recognize the *New York Age* as the mouthpiece of the advanced thought of the Afro-American people." Cyrus Field Adams, "Timothy Thomas Fortune: Journalist, Author, Lecturer, Agitator," *The Colored American Magazine* (February 1902): 224.
133. The sewing machine is now in the collection of the Sag Harbor Historical Society. The experiences of the Fortune and Bowser families in New York City and Sag Harbor are from the recollections of Elizabeth Bowser. See Nina Tobier, ed., *Voices of Sag Harbor: A Village Remembered* (Sag Harbor, NY: Harbor Electronic Publishing, 2007), 39-42. For the Fortunes' move to New Jersey in 1901 and eventual separation, see "The House," T. Thomas Fortune Foundation & Cultural Center, https://www.tthomasfortuneculturalcenter.org/the-house/. Carrie Fortune is listed in the 1915 New York State Census: Carrie Fortune, 1915 New York State census, Kings County, Brooklyn, p.13, Familysearch.org, accessed August 17, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:K9TH-374. The Bowsers' 1912 marriage date is from Jessie Bowser's obituary: "Mrs. Jessie Bowser," *East Hampton Star*, August 1, 1957, p. 6, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn83030960/1957-08-01/ed-1/seq-6/. Gavin Menu, "Elizabeth Bowser," *Sag Harbor Express*, January 26, 2016, https://sagharborexpress.com/elizabeth-bowser/. It's unclear from Bowser's recollections of her family whether her grandfather returned to Eastville after 1901 or during her childhood summers there in the 1920s before his death in 1928.
134. For segregation as the reason leading to the founding of a new church, see "The St David AME Zion Church," Sag Harbor Partnership, https://www.sagharborpartnership.org/eastville-community-unique-diversity.html. For building committee members, cost, construction date, and first pastor, see "Zion's African Methodist Episcopal Church," *Sag-Harbor Express*, January 19, 1860, p. 2, New York

State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn83031600/1860-01-19/ed-1/seq-2/. The church's first three trustees are identified on a marble plaque inside the building. Eastville was known as Snooksville until a community vote on December 4, 1851. See "Notice," *The Corrector*, December 6, 1851, p. 2, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn83031606/1851-12-06/ed- 1/seq-2/.

135. For the cemetery, see "The St David AME Zion Church Cemetery," Sag Harbor Partnership, https://www.sagharborpartnership.org/eastville-community-unique- diversity.html. A history of the church, including 1890s renovation work, is recounted in "Work Will Begin on the AME Zion Church," *Sag Harbor Express*, August 27, 1964, p. 4, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn90066145/1964-08-27/ed-1/seq-4/. For the church under the care of the ECHS since the 1980s, see Rashed Mian, "Sag Harbor: Former Black Enclave & Home To Historic AME Church," *Long Island Press*, October 22, 2015, https://www.longislandpress.com/2015/10/22/sag-harbor-former-black-enclave-home-to-historic-ame-church/; and "Eastville Community News," *Sag Harbor Express*, August 13, 1981, p. 3, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn90066145/1981- 08-13/ed-1/seq-3/.
136. See, for example, "Camp Meeting at Sag-Harbor," *Sag-Harbor Express*, July 29, 1869, p. 3, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn83031600/1869-07-29/ed-1/seq-3/; "Colored Camp Meeting," *Sag-Harbor Express*, August 31, 1876, p. 2, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn83031600/1876-08-31/ed-1/seq-2/; and "The colored camp meeting recently held in the grove at Round Pond, did not meet with the favor and support hoped for. The preaching is pronounced to have been good and the services interesting, but the attendance was small. The receipts amounted to $175.11, the expenses $151.92, leaving a balance of $23.19." *Sag-Harbor Express*, September 3, 1891, p. 3, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn83031600/1891-09-03/ed- 1/seq-3/. As John W. Parker's birth year is inconsistent on census records, I'm basing it on his death notice: "Parker – At Eastville, Sag Harbor, Feb. 21st, Rev. John Washington Parker, aged 76 years." *The East Hampton Star*, February 25, 1888, p. 5, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn83030960/1888-02-25/ed-1/seq-5/. John W. Parker gave his place of birth as Maryland in the 1870 census, and Virginia in the 1880 census. These also list the Parkers' four children. John W. Parker, 1870 U.S. census, Suffolk County, New York, population schedule, Town of East Hampton, p. 51, dwelling 401, line 16; July 8, 1870; digital image, Familysearch.org, accessed November 2, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:M8K2-GFW. John W. Parker, 1880 U.S. census, Suffolk County, New York, population schedule, Sag Harbor, sheet 191C, family 401, dwelling 387, line 42, June 25, 1880; digital image, Familysearch.org, accessed November 2, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:MZF1-1TT. Number of surviving children from 1910 census: Sarah L. Parker, 1910 U.S. census, Suffolk County, New York, population schedule, East Hampton, sheet 14B, family 259, dwelling 232, line 88; April 25, 1910; digital image, Familysearch.org, accessed November 2, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:M59F-CQJ. Sarah L. W. Parker died September 14, 1914 in Sag Harbor according to New York State Death Index, 1880-1956, p. 331, entry 53187; digital image, Familysearch.org, accessed November 2, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QGLD-YHK8. Her parents are John and Sabina Joseph according to the 1860 census: Sarah Joseph in household of Jno Joseph, 1860 U.S. census, Suffolk County, New York, population schedule, East Hampton, p. 85, family 667, dwelling 586, lines 23-27; June 15, 1860; digital image, Familysearch.org, accessed November 2, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:MC4R-4GN.
137. The last camp meeting that I can find in which John W. Parker presides over is one that concluded on September 10, 1876: "There is a very large attendance at the colored camp meeting...," *Sag-Harbor Express*, September 7, 1876, p. 2, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn83031600/1876-09-07/ed-1/seq-2/. For the profile of John W. Parker, see C.H.H., "The Sag Harbor Camp Meeting," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, August 17, 1869, p. 2, https://bklyn.newspapers.com/image/50504407/?terms=%22sag%2Bharbor%22%2B%22parker%22. The tintype of Sarah L. Parker was featured in a 2015 exhibition *Collective Identity: Portraits of Early Eastville Residents 1882 – 1915*, curated by Donnamarie Barnes at the Eastville Community Historical Society. See Lucia De Stefani, "19th Century Tintypes Offer Rare Look at Life in a New York Town," *Time*, August 5, 2015, https://time.com/3930866/tintypes-long-island/; Jennifer Landes, "Eastville Tintypes, From Floor to Wall," *East Hampton Star*, July 2, 2015, https://www.easthamptonstar.com/archive/eastville-tintypes-floor-wall. Carrie Ann Salvi, "Treasure Tells Tales of an Extraordinary Community," *Sag Harbor Express*, July 8, 2015, https://sagharborexpress.com/treasure-tells-tales- of-an-extraordinary-community__trashed/; and "Collective Identity," Eastville Community Historical Society, https://www.eastvillehistorical.org/exhibitions.
138. "Camp Meeting at Sag-Harbor," *Sag-Harbor Express*, July 29, 1869, p. 3, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn83031600/1869-07-29/ed-1/seq-3/.
139. Elymus's birth month and year is calculated based on his headstone inscription of "Died April 10, 1870 Æ 86 ys & 5 mo." See "Elymus Reeve," https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/91515735. It's possible that Elymus had a sister, as an 1879 newspaper article listing early 19th century deaths in Southold includes "1839 April 30 Reeve, Jane, colored, 54, M[attituck]". See "The Salmon Record. Deaths. R. Cleveland's Supplement. 1812-1879," *The Long Island Traveler*, December 18, 1879, p. 3, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn84031476/1879-12-18/ed-1/seq-3/. For her gravestone, see "Jane Reeve," https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/78675044/jane-reeve. The 1830 census for Southold lists a "Jayne Reeves" as a free woman of color living alone, and between the ages of 36 and 54: Jayne Reeves, 1800 U.S. census, Suffolk County, New York, population schedule, Southold, p. 349; digital image, Familysearch.org, accessed December 2, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:XHPQ-XTS. Charles Edmiston Craven, *A History of Mattituck, Long Island, N.Y.* (New York: Frank M. Lupton, 1906), 207 (Elymus's birth in the Reeve household, and freed in 1813), 209 (father to eight children). Document detailing the sale of Hagar is transcribed in J. Wickham Case, ed., *Southold Town Records*, Vol. 2 (New York: Charles M. Green Printing Company for the towns of Southold and Riverhead, 1884), 515-516. Family of James and Elizabeth Reeve in 1790 census: James Reeves, 1790 U.S. census, Suffolk County, New York, population schedule, Southold, p. 118; digital image, Familysearch.org, accessed December 2, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:XHK5-3CH. For James Reeve's gravestone, see "James Reeve," https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/15114774/james-reeve. Elizabeth Reeve, 1800 U.S. census, Suffolk County, New York, population schedule, Southold, p. 23; digital image, Familysearch.org, accessed December 2, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:XH5B-V48. For Elizabeth Wickham Reeve's gravestone, see "Elizabeth Wickham Reeve," https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/15114760/elizabeth-reeve. For Elymus running Elizabeth Reeve's farm, see Clarence Ashton Wood, "Lymas Reeve, Southold Slave," *Long*

Island Forum 14, No. 8 (August 1951), reprinted in https://longislandgenealogy.com/slaveryonLI.html. I have been able to identify six children by name. Possibly their first child, Miriam, was born c.1814 and died in 1822: "1822 Nov. 30 Reeve, Elymus, dau. Miriam, colored, 8, M[attituck]," See "The Salmon Record. Deaths. R. Cleveland's Supplement. 1812-1879," *The Long Island Traveler*, December 18, 1879, p. 3, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn84031476/1879-12-18/ed-1/seq-3/.

140. For Elymus learning to read and write, receiving religious instruction from Betty, and joining the church in 1806, see Clarence Ashton Wood, "Lymas Reeve, Southold Slave," *Long Island Forum* 14, No. 8 (August 1951), reprinted in https://longislandgenealogy.com/slaveryonLI.html. Surviving village records note that in 1835 Elymus and Hagar sent four of their children to Mattituck's schoolhouse. Charles Edmiston Craven, *A History of Mattituck, Long Island, N.Y.* (New York: Frank M. Lupton, 1906), 199.
141. Charles Edmiston Craven, *A History of Mattituck, Long Island, N.Y.* (New York: Frank M. Lupton, 1906), 206-207.
142. Keturah Reeve Girard died at her home at 5 Fillmore Street, Newport, Rhode Island, on January 13, 1881. See Rhode Island Death and Burials, 1802-1950, p. 55; digital image, Familysearch.org, accessed December 2, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:F8XY-FY2. Betsey R. Rock died at her home at 14 Fillmore Street, Newport, Rhode Island, on March 10, 1910. See Rhode Island Death and Burials, 1802-1950, p. 95; digital image, Familysearch.org, accessed December 2, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:F8X6-12R. Enos's 39 years in California and British Columbia is mentioned in "Mattituck," *South Side Signal*, August 4, 1888, p. 3, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn83031038/1888-08-04/ed-1/seq-3/. Enos returned to California where he married Julia A. Woodhull of Canada on January 22, 1896 in Redlands, San Bernardino County: "California, County Marriages, 1850-1952," database with images, Familysearch.org, https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:XL8S-PM9, accessed December 8, 2019, Enos Reeves and Julia A Woodhull, 22 Jan 1896; citing San Bernardino, California, United States, county courthouses, California; FHL microfilm 1,290,192. For Enos's gravestone, see "Enos Reeves," https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/30765418. For Parthenia's house purchase, see Charles Edmiston Craven, *A History of Mattituck, Long Island, N.Y.* (New York: Frank M. Lupton, 1906), 204-205. Parthenia Reeves in household of John B. Reeves, 1850 U.S. census, New York City, ward 8, New York, p. 382, family 1137, lines 7-8; August 28, 1850; digital image, Familysearch.org, accessed December 2, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:MCB7-89X. "Parthena Reeve" married "Alexander Silome" on August 27, 1851 at the Shiloh Presbyterian Church in New York. "New York Marriages, 1686-1980," database with images, Familysearch.org, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:F64R-LV4. Alexander Silone renounces allegiance to the nation of Haiti in his October 29, 1873 naturalization petition: "New York, County Naturalization Records, 1791-1980," database with images, Familysearch.org, accessed December 2, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QPZ2-NKKT.
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144. For Hagar and Elymus death dates and ages, see their headstone: "Elymus Reeve," https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/91515735. Limas [Elymus] Reeve, 1860 U.S. census, Suffolk County, New York, population schedule, Southold, p. 130, family 1124, dwelling 1049, lines 26-30; July 25, 1860; digital image, Familysearch.org, accessed December 2, 2019, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:MC4P-Q99.
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158. For descriptions of each of these historic districts with maps, see Three Village Hamlet Study Task Force, *Three Village Hamlet Study: A Citizens' Blueprint for Our Future* (Brookhaven, NY: Town of Brookhaven, 1997), 5-10, https://www.brookhavenny.gov/DocumentCenter/View/880/1997-Three-Village-Hamlet-Study-PDF. For districts not including homes of people of color, see Bradley D. Phillippi and Christopher N. Matthews, "A counter-archaeology of labor and leisure in Setauket, New York," *World Archaeology* 49, no. 3 (2017), 364.
159. Howard Kenneth Klein, *Three Village Guidebook: The Setaukets, Poquott, Old Field & Stony Brook* (East Setauket, NY: Three Village Historical Society, 1986), 15- 16. See also page 3 ("What is Setauket?") in Christopher Matthews, Alexis Alemy, and Sophia Hudzik, *A Counter-Map of Setauket, New York*, Department of Anthropology, Montclair State University, 2016, https://www.arcgis.com/apps/MapSeries/index.html?appid=6c19b6a5d9784f239729781116151969.
160. See page 13 ("Old Bethel Church Site and Cemetery") in Christopher Matthews, Alexis Alemy, and Sophia Hudzik, *A Counter-Map of Setauket, New York*, Department of Anthropology, Montclair State University, 2016, https://www.arcgis.com/apps/MapSeries/index.html?appid=6c19b6a5d9784f239729781116151969.
161. See page 10 ("Bethel AME Church") and page 12 ("Laurel Hill Cemetery") in Christopher Matthews, Alexis Alemy, and Sophia Hudzik, *A Counter-Map of Setauket, New York*, Department of Anthropology, Montclair State University, 2016, https://www.arcgis.com/apps/MapSeries/index.html?appid=6c19b6a5d9784f239729781116151969. For the 1909 fire and rebuilding, see "Laying of Corner Stone," *The Port Jefferson Echo*, October 16, 1909, p. 1, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn88075686/1909-10-16/ed- 1/seq-1/; and "What is Doing in the Island's Churches," *South Side Signal*, October 23, 1909, p. 2, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn83031038/1909-10-23/ed-1/seq-2/. When the church was completely rebuilt is unclear, but an August 1910 article mentions the congregation receiving donations of an organ, hymn books, several pews, and dishes and lamps. See the last paragraph of "Setauket," *The Port Jefferson Echo*, August 27, 1910, p. 1, New York State Historic Newspapers, https://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn88075686/1910-08-27/ed-1/seq-1/.
162. Christopher N. Matthews and Allison Manfra McGovern, "Created Communities: Segregation and the History of Plural Sites on Eastern Long Island, New York," *Historical Archaeology* 52, no. 1 (March 2018): 43-46.
163. The Christian Avenue community declining to join the Old Setauket Historic District is from email and phone conversations with two Setauket residents: Beverly Tyler, "Long Road to Freedom," email message to Jonathan Olly, February 5, 2021; and Robert Lewis, telephone conversation with Jonathan Olly, February 7, 2021. The Bethel AME Church formed the Bethel-Laurel Hill Community Preservation, Inc. non-profit that purchased three wooded lots from the Acker family in 2000. See the "1873" tab in Scott Zukowski, *Setauket's Christian Avenue Neighborhood (1873-1947)*, Digital Humanities Open Mic, 31 October 2016, Center for Scholarly Communication, Stony Brook University, https://www.arcgis.com/apps/MapSeries/index.html?appid=bd1407516a43483e97c854eea5319c3f. For the 21st century challenges and community responses, see slides 14

("The struggle to remain") and 15 ("Fighting Back") of Robert E. Lewis, Christopher N. Matthews, and Judith A. Burgess, "The Bethel-Christian Avenue-Laurel Hill Historic District," *Long Island History Journal* 23, no. 2 (2013): https://lihj.cc.stonybrook.edu/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/The-Bethel-Christian-Avenue-Laurel-Hill-Historic-District.pdf.

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203. Les Payne, "A Founder of Black Museum Quits," *Newsday*, January 28, 1972, p. 17. Michael Alexander, "Museum Head Resigns Over Jobs," *Newsday*, February 1, 1974, p. 3. Tony Schaeffer, "Ex-Museum Head Held For 'Stealing' His Pay," *Newsday*, November 1, 1974, p. 17. Michael Alexander, "Curator Is Ousted At Black Museum," *Newsday*, December 30, 1975, p. 7. For most school tours coming from predominantly white school districts, see Bill McTernan, "Nassau's Black History Center," *Newsday*, February 23, 1973, p. E29. In November 1972 the Center introduced the first new exhibition ("a display on busing in the U.S. from 1896 to the present") since opening two years earlier. See David Fluhrer, "Marking a Step to Progress," *Newsday*, October 9, 1972, p. 22. As of August 1981: "The museum still does not have a curator, and its exhibit of blacks in Long Island history – installed when the museum opened – has yellowed and is in dire need of a facelift" according to Marilyn Milloy, "A Center Of Culture And Enthusiasm," *Newsday*, August 6, 1981, p. B1. As of September 1980 only one painting and a 19-piece print collection had been added to the museum's collection since 1970, according to Sid Cassese, "Group Seeks More Staff for Black Museum," *Newsday*, September 25, 1980, p. 21. For Hempstead bus terminal's decline, see Michael Alexander, "From County Hub to Village Eyesore," *Newsday*, February 17, 1977, p. 1A. "Poll Finds Problem In Black Museum," *Newsday*, March 2, 1979, p. 28.
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205. A sampling of 1980s exhibitions at the museum: the photography exhibition *The World of Our Grandparents: African-Americans on Long Island, 1880's-1920's* opened in 1985, as mentioned in Sid Cassese, "Afro-American Museum Moves In," *Newsday*, September 19, 1985, p. 27. *Highlights of Haitian Art: The 1940's to the 1980's* opened in 1986 according to "Haitan [sic] art is on show," *Bellmore Life*, January 22, 1986, p. 26, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn90066174/1986-01-22/ed-1/seq-26/. *Essence of Caribbean Contemporary Art* opened in 1986. See review by Karin Lipson, "From the Caribbean Via Brooklyn," *Newsday*, October 16, 1986, p. A14. The photography exhibition *We Shall Overcome* opened in 1989, as mentioned in Audrey Clinton, "In Tribute to An American Hero," *Newsday*, January 13, 1989, p. 18. *Black Folk Art: Minnie Evans and Bill Traylor* opened in 1989. See review by Karin Lipson, "At the African American Museum Black Folk Art on Display," *Newsday*, August 30, 1989, p. 11. For an example of a workshop, see Sid Cassese, "Kids Get a Taste Of 'Soul' Heritage," *Newsday*, August 13, 1986, p. 29. For the museum described as the cultural hub for Long Island's African Americans, see Dele Olojede, "Fears Raised for Black Museum Director among 65 being laid off at 10 jeopardized institutions," *Newsday*, January 9, 1992, p. 24. The annual Street Festival marked its ninth year in 1995 according to Steve Parks, "Arts, Crafts, Eats June is the month for street fairs," *Newsday*, June 2, 1995, p. B17. Additional details are from an email conversation with Lynda Day, curator of the museum from 1983 to 1988. Lynda Day, "RE: NCAAM in museum publication," email message to Jonathan Olly, August 5, 2020.
206. According to Tony Panzarella, assistant commissioner of the Nassau County Department of Parks and Recreation, 22,000 people visited the museum in 1992, as mentioned in Carrie Mason-Draffen, "Museum Project Held Up Again," *Newsday*, August 12, 1993, p. 27. For budget cuts and community pushback, see Dele Olojede, "Fears Raised for Black Museum Director among 65 being laid off at 10 jeopardized institutions," *Newsday*, January 9, 1992, p. 24; Jim Puzzanghera, "Museum Fear: Loss of Inspiration," *Newsday*, January 19, 1992, p. 25; Dele Olojede, "Museum Barely Survives Budget Ax," *Newsday*, February 15, 1992, p. 11.
207. For 1995 renovation, see "A Lesson in Survival: African-American Museum Reopens Feb. 25," *Newsday*, February 15, 1995, p. A20. For examples of recent exhibitions and publications, see "Exhibits," African American Museum of Nassau County, https://theaamuseum.org/services/. For an example of new innovative programming, see Collin Nash, "African American Museum, Pushing past the past, Hands-on history is just

the start of a lively future," *Newsday*, August 8, 2004, p. G36. For museum as first to house a genealogical society, see "History," African American Museum of Nassau County, https://theaamuseum.org/about/; and a profile of executive director Joysetta Pearse in Jim Merritt, "Cultural Ambassador of Nassau's African American Museum," *Newsday*, January 30, 2014, https://www.newsday.com/lifestyle/retirement/cultural-ambassador-of-nassau-s-african-american-museum-1.6911551.

208. The list of ECHS incorporators is from the Eastville Community Historical Society provisional charter (#18141), granted May 22, 1981 by the Board of Regents of The University of the State of New York, with a copy supplied to Jonathan Olly by ECHS curator and Executive Director Georgette Grier-Key. Catherine Davis is additionally credited as a founder of the ECHS in her obituary. See "Catherine Davis," *East Hampton Star*, February 14, 1991, p. 2, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn83030960/1991-02-14/ed-1/seq-2/. For a profile of Kathy Tucker, see Allison Lennon, "Kathy Tucker: Woman of Distinction," *Sag Harbor Express*, May 20, 1999, p. 1, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn90066145/1999-05-20/ed-1/seq-1/; for her as a retired teacher who moved to Sag Harbor in 1975, see "On Black History," *Sag Harbor Express*, February 5, 2004, p. 10, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn90066145/2004-02-05/ed-1/seq-10/. For a profile of Mary D. Killoran, see "Killoran to Head NAACP," *East Hampton Star*, January 26, 1989, p. 3, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn83030960/1989-01-26/ed-1/seq-3/. Cora Whiteside (1896-1987) was the mother of Kathy Tucker, as described in her obituary: "Mrs. Richard Whiteside," *Sag Harbor Express*, January 22, 1987, p. 2, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn90066145/1987-01-22/ed-1/seq-2/. For obituary of Odell Taylor (1904-1993), see "Odell Taylor," *Sag Harbor Express*, January 7, 1993, p. 5, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn90066145/1993-01-07/ed-1/seq-5/. For obituary of Thomas A. Curtis (1906-1989), see "Thomas A. Curtis," *East Hampton Star*, September 28, 1989, p. 2, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn83030960/1989-09-28/ed-1/seq-2/. Though not included in the list of incorporators in the ECHS's 1981 charter, retired lawyer Dorothy Spaulding is named as a founder in "Tree Lighting," *Sag Harbor Express*, November 15, 1984, p. 6, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn90066145/1984-11-15/ed-1/seq-6/. For Spaulding's status as a lawyer and one of the incorporators of the Azurest Syndicate back in 1953, see Grace Lynis Dubinson, "Slowly, Surely, One Plat, One Binder at a Time: Choking Out Jim Crow and the Development of the Azurest Syndicate Incorporated" (M.A. thesis, Georgia State University, 2012), 9, 53. For the ECHS's mission as stated in 1981 and today, see "Eastville Community News," *Sag Harbor Express*, August 13, 1981, p. 3, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn90066145/1981-08-13/ed-1/seq-3/ and "Our Mission," Eastville Community Historical Society, https://www.eastvillehistorical.org/mission. The St. David AME Zion Church is the second oldest church building in Sag Harbor, and the oldest still serving as a church. The former United Methodist Church at 48 Madison Street was built in 1832 (but moved to its current location in 1864), while the First Presbyterian Church (Old Whaler's Church) at 44 Union Street was built in 1844. For the congregation not able to maintain the St. David AME Zion Church, see Debbie Tuma, "Church Restoration Eyeing Memorial Day Weekend Opening," *Sag Harbor Express*, May 19, 1989, p. 3, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn90066145/1989-05-18/ed-1/seq-3/.

209. For creation of the Commission and village survey, see "Robert Pine Conducts Tour of Sag Harbor for Posterity," *Sag Harbor Express*, March 29, 1973, p. 4, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn90066145/1973-03-29/ed-1/seq-4/. The Sag Harbor Village District was added to the National Register of Historic Places on July 20, 1973 as NRHP #73001274. See "New York SP Sag Harbor Village District," National Archives Catalog, https://catalog.archives.gov/id/75322224. For the district's boundary stopping just a block from the St. David AME Zion Church, see Peter Cunningham, "Eastville Recalls Its History as Black Community," *Southampton Press*, August 22, 1985, p. 30 (B4), New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn83007173/1985-08-22/ed-1/seq-30/.

210. For the ECHS working to get Eastville included in the historic district, see Peter Cunningham, "Eastville Recalls Its History as Black Community," *Southampton Press*, August 22, 1985, p. 30 (B4), New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn83007173/1985-08-22/ed-1/seq-30/. For the restoration of the belfry and start of the annual fish fry, see "Eastville Community Historical Society News," *Sag Harbor Express*, June 24, 1982, p. 8, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn90066145/1982-06-24/ed-1/seq-8/.

211. See "Exhibit" and "Hawkes" in the column "Secret Sam Sez," *Sag Harbor Express*, July 14, 1983, p. 8, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn90066145/1983-07-14/ed-1/seq-8/.

212. ECHS members Kathy Tucker and Catherine Davis curated an exhibition highlighting "some of the contributions of Black history to the growth of America in the past and the continuous development at all levels to improve the quality of life for all people" for Black History Month at the John Jermain Memorial Library in 1985, but it's unclear if this was on behalf of the ECHS or their own work. They are described as "retired educators" and not society members. See "Celebrate Black History Month," *Sag Harbor Express*, February 28, 1985, p. 7, New York State Historic Newspapers, https://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn90066145/1985-02-28/ed-1/seq-7/. In 1987 the ECHS partnered with the John Jermain Library to show "films that celebrate black history month" during February. See "Wednesday Night Films at John Jermain Memorial Library Begin at 7pm," *Sag Harbor Express*, January 29, 1987, p. 5, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn90066145/1987-01-29/ed-1/seq-5/. In 1988 the ECHS began installing exhibitions at the library for Black History Month, an arrangement that lasted through 2001 or 2002. See "Celebrate Black History in Sag Harbor," *Sag Harbor Express*, February 4, 1988, p. 7, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn90066145/1988-02-04/ed- 1/seq-7/. Select Black History Month topics: Black veterans and civil rights: "Films" in column "Secret Sam Sez," *Sag Harbor Express*, February 19, 1987, p. 7, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn90066145/1987-02-19/ed-1/seq-7/. Eastville: "Eastville Society Celebrates Black History Month," *Sag Harbor Express*, February 25, 1988, p. 5, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn90066145/1988-02-25/ed-1/seq-5/. Black inventors: "At The Library" in Virginia Bennett's column "Sag Harbor, North Haven, Noyak," *East Hampton Star*, February 16, 1989, p. 6, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn83030960/1989-02-16/ed-1/seq-6/; and Pamela Thiele, "Eastville Rediscovers Black Inventors," *Sag Harbor Express*, February 28, 2002, p. 3, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn90066145/2002-02-28/ed-1/seq-3/. Native American and African American women: "Eastville Community Historical Society," *Sag Harbor Express*, January 11, 1990, p. 2, New York State Historic Newspapers,

http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn90066145/1990-01-11/ed-1/seq-2/. Weeksville: "Gatherings, Saturday, February 9th," *Sag Harbor Express*, February 7, 1991, p. 8, New York State Historic Newspapers, https://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn90066145/1991-02-07/ed-1/seq-8/. African American artists and writers: "Arts and African-Americans," *Sag Harbor Express*, February 22, 1996, p. 9, New York State Historic Newspapers, https://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn90066145/1996-02-22/ed-1/seq-9/; and "Historical Society Offers Black Writing Celebration," *Sag Harbor Express*, January 28, 1999, p. 8, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn90066145/1999-01-28/ed-1/seq-8/. *Amistad* revolt: Annette Hinkle, "A Liberating Revolt at Sea," *Sag Harbor Express*, January 30, 1997, p. 10, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn90066145/1997-01-30/ed-1/seq-10/. Paul Robeson: "Paul Robeson Remembered" in Annette Hinkle, "East End Digest," *Sag Harbor Express*, February 5, 1998, p. 2, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn90066145/1998-02-05/ed-1/seq-2/. Black whalers: Elizabeth A. Bonora, "When Black Men Pursued Whales," *Sag Harbor Express*, February 17, 2000, p. 11, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn90066145/2000-02-17/ed-1/seq-11/. Black composers: "Eastville Community Historical Society: Portrait of a People," *Sag Harbor Express*, February 8, 2001, p. 5, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn90066145/2001-02-08/ed-1/seq-5/. For more on Lee Archer Hayes, see Joan Baum, "Who's Here: Lee Hayes, Tuskegee Airman," *Dan's Papers*, February 24, 2012, p. 17, https://www.danspapers.com/2012/02/whos-here-lee-hayes-tuskegee-airman/; and Martin C. Evans, "After Making History, Left Behind," *Inside the Wire*, March 28, 2011, https://mcevans82.wordpress.com/2011/03/28/after-making-history- left-behind/. Originally published in *Newsday* on March 27, 2011.

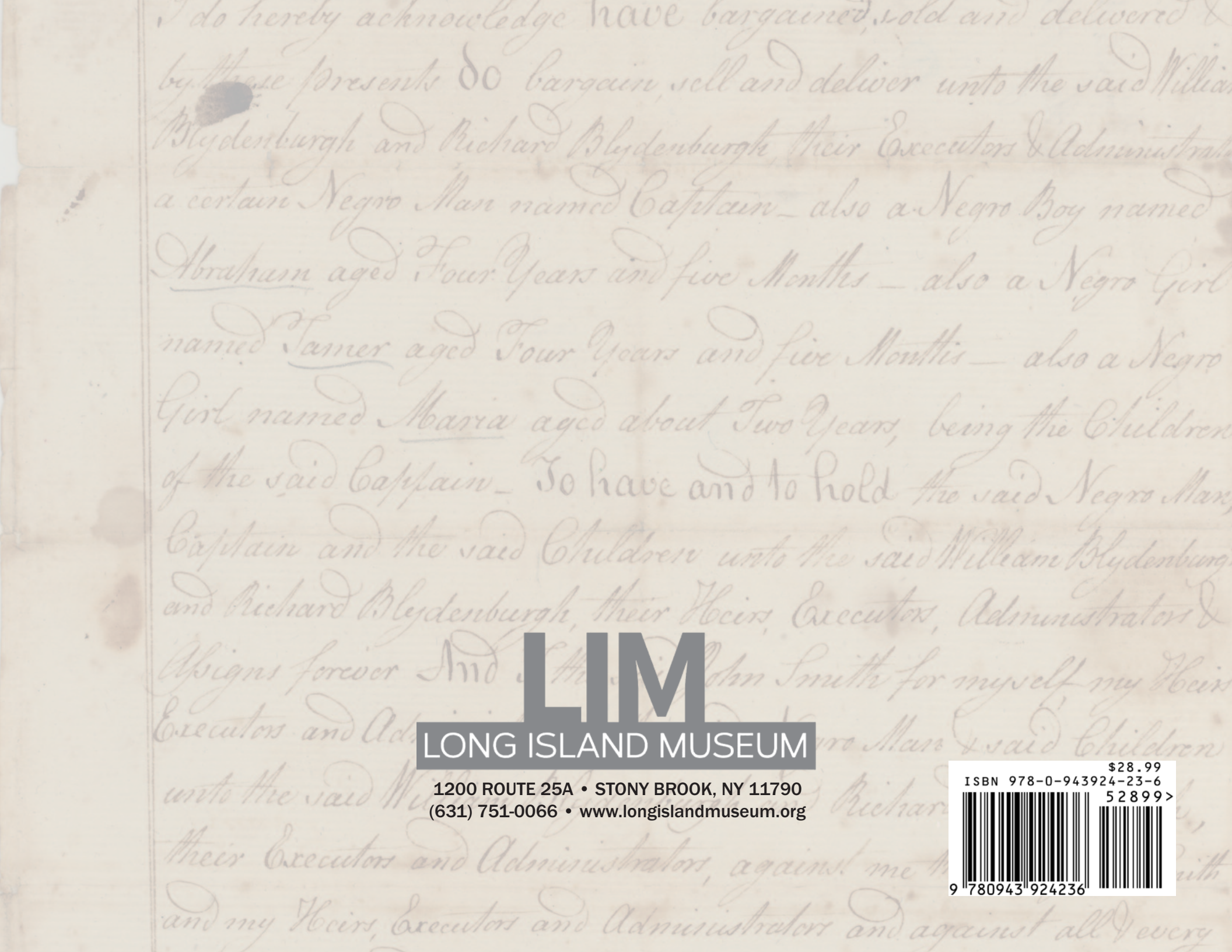
213. Heath Foster, "The Other Sag Harbor, Revisited Expanded historic district to include world of poor," *Newsday*, August 19, 1990. Bryan Boyhan, "District On State Register," *Sag Harbor Express*, March 17, 1994, p. 3, New York State Historic Newspapers, https://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn90066145/1994-03-17/ed-1/seq-3/. On the National Register of Historic Places, the Sag Harbor Village District is Reference # 94000400, and was listed on May 10, 1994. See "National Register Database and Research," National Park Service, https://www.nps.gov/subjects/nationalregister/database-research.htm; and "New York SP Sag Harbor Village District (Boundary Increase)," National Archives Catalog, https://catalog.archives.gov/id/75322226.
214. In 1993 what is now called HarborFest was "The Sag Harbor Celebration: A Historic Festival." For a description of Eastville-related activities, see Bryan Boyhan, "Whale Ho! Festival Celebrates Harbor's History," *Sag Harbor Express*, September 9, 1993, p. 1 & 3, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn90066145/1993-09-09/ed-1/seq-1/. For an advertisement listing ECHS as one of the nine presenters, see "The Sag Harbor Celebration: A Historic Festival," *Sag Harbor Express*, September 16, 1993, p. 5, New York State Historic Newspapers, https://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn90066145/1993-09-16/ed-1/seq-5/. For the most recent event, see "HarborFest," Sag Harbor Chamber of Commerce, https://sagharborchamber.com/events/harborfest/.
215. For the house as a possible home for the ECHS, see Bryan Boyhan, "Mail Order Museum," *Sag Harbor Express*, February 8, 1996, p. 3, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn90066145/1996-02-08/ed-1/seq-3/. For Sag Harbor purchase of house, see Bryan Boyhan, "New Home for Eastville Society," *Sag Harbor Express*, August 8, 1996, p. 3, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn90066145/1996-08-08/ed-1/seq-3/. For ECHS signing lease with village, see "Historic Step" in "Letters to the Editor," *Sag Harbor Express*, April 10, 1997, p. 6, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn90066145/1997-04-10/ed-1/seq-6/. For amount of money spent rehabilitating the house, and the first owners, see Bill Bleyer, "A Houseful Of History In Sag Harbor," *Newsday*, July 27, 2001, A29. For first exhibition, see "2002: The Return of the Amistad," *Sag Harbor Express*, August 29, 2002, p. 8, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn90066145/2002-08-29/ed-1/seq-8/.
216. Jonathan Peters, "Making Ready for Amistad," *Sag Harbor Express*, April 4, 2002, p. 1, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn90066145/2002-04-04/ed-1/seq-1/. For 1997 exhibition, see Annette Hinkle, "A Liberating Revolt at Sea," *Sag Harbor Express*, January 30, 1997, p. 10, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn90066145/1997-01-30/ed-1/seq-10/. For 1998 monument see "An Eastville Remembrance" in Annette Hinkle, "East End Digest," *Sag Harbor Express*, August 6, 1998, p. 2, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn90066145/1998-08-06/ed-1/seq-2/. For a contemporary account of the *La Amistad* anchoring off Culloden Point, and some of the Africans coming ashore for supplies, as reported by captains Henry Green and Peletiah Fordham of Sag Harbor, see "A Prize Schooner," *The Corrector*, August 28, 1839, p. 3, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn83031606/1839-08-28/ed-1/seq-3/. A watercolor from 1840 depicting *La Amistad* anchored off Culloden Point and African men coming ashore in a rowboat is in the collection of the New Haven Museum.
217. For a list of recent exhibitions, events, and projects, see Eastville Community Historical Society, https://www.eastvillehistorical.org/. Georgette Grier-Key started as director and curator in 2011. See Claire Walla, "A Conversation with Georgette Grier-Key," *Sag Harbor Express*, June 30, 2011, p. 11, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn90066145/2011-06-30/ed-1/seq-11/. "On October 1, 2013 the Pyrrhus Concer Action Committee (PCAC) was formed with core members consisting of the author, Brenda Simmons, Tom Edmonds, Lucius Ware, and Sally Spanburgh. Our mission was, and is, to preserve the historic structure at 51 Pond Lane that was Mr. Concer's homestead, and, as such, his legacy." Quote from Georgette Grier-Key, "Preservation Update: The Case of the Pyrrhus Concer Homestead," *Long Island History Journal* 25, no. 1 (2016): https://lihj.cc.stonybrook.edu/#articles_3959. For the ECHS arguing for an archaeological survey, see "Eastville House Controversy," *Sag Harbor Express*, October 9, 2014, p. 7, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn90066145/2014-10-09/ed-1/seq-7/; and Mara Certic, "ARB Washes its Hands of Eastville Dig," *Sag Harbor Express*, October 16, 2014, p. 5, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn90066145/2014-10-16/ed-1/seq-5/. The ECHS also participated in the public debate over the renovation and expansion of the Harbor Heights Service Station at 144 Hampton Street in Eastville in the early 2010s. "We are very concerned about the size of that gas station and its appearance because it doesn't fit in with our community," said ECHS president Eunice Vaughn at a zoning board meeting on October 15, 2013, as quoted in Kathryn G. Menu, "Harbor Heights Battled," *Sag Harbor Express*, October 17, 2013, p. 1, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn90066145/2013-10-17/ed-1/seq-1/. Industrial and commercial sites and their attendant pollution are often concentrated in working-

class neighborhoods inhabited by people of color–a fact supporting the rise of the environmental justice movement in the 1980s. For African American historic places facing greater threats, see Casey Cep, "The Fight to Preserve African-American History, *The New Yorker*, January 27, 2020, https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2020/02/03/the-fight-to-preserve-african-american-history.

218. The ECHS took over the cemetery in 2001 from the St. David AME Zion congregation, after they were no longer able to maintain it. For this, the archaeological survey, and historical marker, see Stephen J. Kotz, "Preserving a Place in History," *Sag Harbor Express*, May 7, 2015, p. 11, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn90066145/2015-05-07/ed-1/seq-11/. For installation of the fence, see Douglas Feiden, "Fencing in Eastville's Past," *Sag Harbor Express,* September 29, 2016, p. 1, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn90066145/2016-09-29/ed-1/seq-1/; and "Reclaiming Eastville's Cemetery's Past," *Sag Harbor Express*, December 8, 2016, p. 2, New York State Historic Newspapers, https://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn90066145/2016-12-08/ed-1/seq-2/. Georgette Grier-Key was one of the two advisors to the SANS Steering Committee (along with Sarah Kautz of Preservation Long Island), and co-led the first two public meetings of concerned SANS residents in September 2016 and July 2017, and remained an advocate throughout the process. See: Allison Manfra McGovern, *SANS Reconnaissance and Intensive-Level Historic Resource Survey* (n.p.: SANS Steering Committee, March 4, 2018), 3-4; Kelly Zegers, "Sag Harbor's Historically Black Communities Eye Cultural Recognition," *Southampton Press*, September 5, 2016, https://www.27east.com/real-estate-news/sag-harbors-historically-black-communities-eye-cultural-recognition-1405178/; and Vera Chinese, "Push to preserve Sag Harbor's historic African American district," *Newsday*, June 17, 2019, https://www.newsday.com/long-island/suffolk/sag-harbor-historic-district-1.32516273.
219. For SAAM founding year and initial name, see "About SAAM," Southampton African American Museum, https://www.saamuseum.org/about-saam. For Brenda Simmons and Bonnie Cannon as co-founders, see Nicole Cotroneo, "Barber Shop Set to Be Black History Museum," *New York Times*, February 6, 2009, https://www.nytimes.com/2009/02/08/nyregion/long- island/08museumli.html. For Simmons's background, see Rohma Abbas, "A home for African American artists," *Southampton Press*, September 14, 2010, https://www.27east.com/arts/a-home-for-african-american-artists-1371153/; and Alyssa Melillo, "Brenda Simmons To Embark On A New Chapter In Her Life," *Southampton Press*, January 6, 2016, https://www.27east.com/southampton-press/brenda-simmons-to-embark-on-a-new-chapter-in-her-life-1481443/. For Cannon's background, see "Bonnie Michelle Cannon," Guild Hall, https://www.guildhall.org/people/bonnie-michelle-cannon/; and "Bonnie Cannon," LinkedIn, https://www.linkedin.com/in/bonnie-cannon-13418434.
220. For history of the barbershop, see "Village Landmark–The African-American Museum of the East End," Southampton New York Historic Places, https://gis.southamptontownny.gov/historic/; and Valerie Bando-Meinken, "A Walk Down Memory Lane With Randy Conquest," *The Independent*, October 9, 2018, https://indyeastend.com/news-opinion/features/a-walk-down-memory-lane-with-randy-conquest/.
221. For the barbershop's museum potential and purchase by town, see Valerie Bando-Meinken, "A Walk Down Memory Lane With Randy Conquest," *The Independent*, October 9, 2018, https://indyeastend.com/news- opinion/features/a-walk-down-memory-lane-with-randy-conquest/. For purchase price and it being a joint effort between the village and town, see Colleen Reynolds, "African American Museum Of The East End Works Toward A New Home," *Southampton Press*, February 1, 2012, https://www.27east.com/southampton-press/african-american-museum-of-the-east-end-works-toward-a-new-home-1608806/. For first African American film festival, see "Black Film Festival" under "Saturday 11/4," *Sag Harbor Express*, November 2, 2006, p. 13, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn90066145/2006-11-02/ed-1/seq-13/. The second annual film festival was spread over two days, as described by Nicole B. Brewer, "High Energy Salutes," Hamptons Online, November 14, 2007, https://www.hamptons.com/article.php?articleID=2255. The third annual film festival was also spread over two days, as described by Nicole B. Brewer and Edward Callaghan, "Art and Culture Combine To Spread The Message Of Diversity," Hamptons Online, November 17, 2008, https://www.hamptons.com/article.php?articleID=5494. The fourth film festival was a three-day event, as described in Elise D'Haene, "Black Films: Diverse Menu," *East Hampton Star*, November 5, 2009, p. 22, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn83030960/2009-11-05/ed-1/seq-22/.
222. Annette Hinkle, "Contemporary Visionaries: Work by three Sag Harbor African- American artists," *Sag Harbor Express*, September 20, 2007, p. 7, New York State Historic Newspapers, http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/lccn/sn90066145/2007-09-20/ed-1/seq-7/. The article title refers to 3 of the 4 artists in the show being from Sag Harbor. For the historic attendance of *Mahogany Dew*, and coverage of *Mahogany Dew II*, see Rohma Abbas, "A home for African American artists," *Southampton Press*, September 14, 2010, https://www.27east.com/arts/a-home-for-african-american-artists-1371153/. What is today called the Southampton History Museum (formerly called the Southampton Historical Museum) organized in 1898 and incorporated in 1910. See "About the Southampton History Museum," Southampton History Museum, https://www.southamptonhistory.org/about.
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