

Created Communities: Segregation and the History of Plural Sites on Eastern Long Island, New York

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Abstract The making of communities is often treated as a quasi-natural process in which people of similar backgrounds and heritage, or people living in close proximity, form meaningful and mutual ties. Missing here is an appreciation of the ties that bind people to others, that are often beyond their own control. Especially in contexts of inequality, communities form because of shared interests in perpetuating, dismantling, or simply surviving the structures of an unequal distribution of resources. This article investigates the formation of communities of color on eastern Long Island since the 18th century by looking at intersections between race and settlement as evidence for how people of color worked within and against the systems that controlled them. A foundational component of the region's working class, intersecting patterns in class and race formation that complicate the understanding of these mixed-heritage Native American and African American communities are considered.

Extracto La creación de comunidades se trata a menudo como un proceso casi natural en el que las personas con antecedentes y herencia similares, o personas que

viven muy cerca forman lazos mutuos y significativos. Aquí falta una apreciación de los lazos que unen unas personas a otras, y que a menudo están más allá de su propio control. Especialmente en contextos de desigualdad, las comunidades se forman debido a intereses compartidos por perpetuar, desmantelar o simplemente sobrevivir a las estructuras de una distribución desigual de los recursos. El presente documento investiga la formación de comunidades de color en el este de Long Island desde el siglo XVIII examinando las intersecciones entre raza y asentamiento como prueba de cómo las personas de color trabajaban dentro y contra los sistemas que les controlaban. Un componente fundacional de la clase trabajadora de la región, el presente estudio considera los patrones de intersección en la formación de clase y raza que complican la comprensión de estas comunidades nativo americanas y afroamericanas de herencia mixta.

Résumé La création de communautés est souvent considérée comme un processus quasi culturel dans lequel des personnes ayant des origines sociales et un héritage similaires, ou des personnes vivant à proximité, créent des liens significatifs et réciproques. Il manque ici une appréciation des liens qui lient les gens aux autres, souvent indépendants de leur volonté. Surtout dans les contextes d'inégalité, les communautés se forment à cause d'intérêts partagés pour perpétuer, démanteler ou simplement survivre aux structures d'une répartition inégale des ressources. Cet article étudie la formation des communautés de couleur à l'est de Long Island depuis le 18e siècle en étudiant les interactions entre la

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race et l'implantation comme preuve de la façon dont les personnes de couleur travaillaient à l'intérieur et contre les systèmes qui les contrôlaient. Composante fondamentale de la classe ouvrière de la région, cette étude considère les schémas croisés dans la classe et la formation raciale qui compliquent la compréhension de ces communautés d'Amérindiens et d'Afro-Américains ayant des origines diversifiées.

Keywords segregation · racism · Long Island · New York · Montaukett Native Americans · Setauket

Introduction

In a 2005 interview with the *New York Times*, Robert Lewis, a leader in the mixed-heritage Native American and African American community in Setauket, New York, noted that “[t]he owners of the dwellings [that were moved to his neighborhood] probably felt that it would be good to provide a home for the African-Americans who were doing labor or household work for them.” Lewis is noting that some of the homes in his neighborhood on Christian Avenue—that he helped to see recognized as the second minority-focused historic district in Suffolk County—had been moved from other places by Whites who gave the houses to their Black employees. While these African Americans worked for the White families, in order to get a home of their own they had to agree for the houses to be moved to Christian Avenue so that they could be placed in the last neighborhood in Setauket where people of color still lived. Christian Avenue is the location of historic Bethel AME Church of Setauket (founded in 1848), the African American Laurel Hill Cemetery (founded in 1815), the African American Irving Hart Memorial Legion Hall (founded in 1949), and a handful of Native American and African American residences that mostly date to the early 1900s. Given these attributes, the sense is that the White homeowners thought African Americans would prefer to live among other people of color and their historic sites, and they probably also determined that Christian Avenue was the best place for them. However, Lewis describes how this action can be interpreted differently when he concludes that “putting [us] in one area created a community and a pool of labor” (Toy 2005).

That story is a springboard for this article, which seeks to document and understand how two non-White communities formed and developed in Suffolk County

on eastern Long Island, New York, in the 19th and 20th centuries. We are interested in documenting the way these communities reflect historical and racial dynamics, and especially how race was used to control where people of color lived. Lewis’s observations provide an important insight: that the process of creating non-White communities is not organic, as in the idea that people who live together and/or share certain common characteristics naturally cohere as a community. Rather, the communities we consider here are as much the result of the ways Whites segregated people of color, situated them as convenient “labor pools,” and only then regarded them as a “community.” The idea of a Black community in this sense is part of the way White power was established, both through the creation and exploitation of a dependent, racialized labor force and through the notion that they have charitably situated these people among their own “kind.”

People of color in the United States are very familiar with this sort of White benevolence. From Frederick Douglass and W.E.B. DuBois forward, this kind of charity has been seen as disempowering to minorities as it underscored a dependence on Whites for their livelihood. The Booker T. Washington vs. W.E.B. DuBois debates in the early 1900s laid some of the groundwork for this conversation in the Black community, which either had to accept Washington’s accommodation of a second-class citizenship for Blacks as presumed racial inferiors and charity cases or join with DuBois, Marcus Garvey, and others who pointed to White supremacy and racism as the real source of African American struggles (Harlan 1975; DuBois 1994:41–59). By the mid-1900s the successes of the civil-rights movement and subsequent rise of Black pride and Black power movements allowed social-justice activists to take control of this debate. The result has been the rise of a strong current of antiracism in political and social matters in the United States and an increasing recognition of the historical effects and legacies of structural racism in the way American communities have formed; e.g., Massey and Denton (1993), Sugrue (1996), Katznelson (2006), and Coates (2015). We seek to contribute to this movement by documenting the racial basis of the historical formation of communities of color in Setauket and East Hampton on Long Island, New York (Fig. 1).

The communities are an integral part of Long Island’s history. Both were formed by the collection, in a neighborhood or town, of people of color who were connected to local Whites mostly through labor relations. The

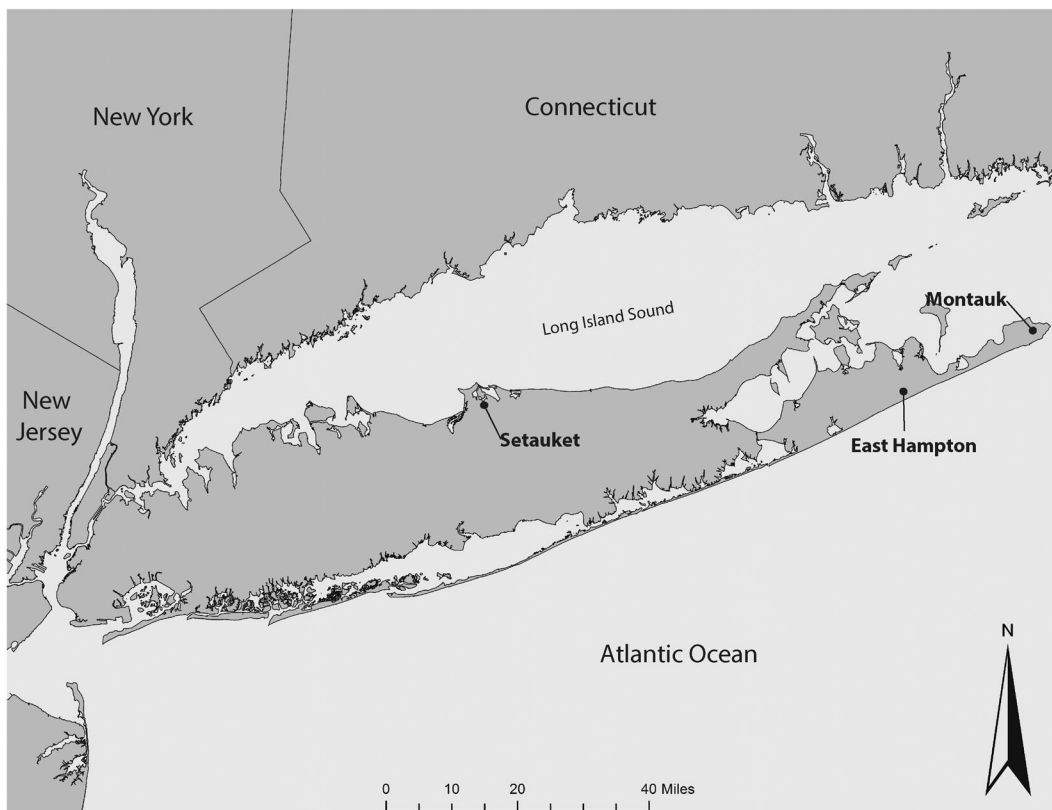


Fig. 1 Map of Long Island showing the locations of East Hampton and Setauket. (Map by Bradley D. Phillippi, 2017.)

communities consist of families with deep roots on Long Island and connections both to original Native American inhabitants and enslaved Africans brought to Long Island after the mid-1600s. While both communities resisted their marginalization and established themselves in a lasting way on the landscape through self-made social institutions and places like homes, churches, cemeteries, and other community sites and events, each dealt with the routine effects of anti-Black racism that constrained much about their daily experience and their community's development. We document evidence of this racism mostly through archival data that detail their development through time. The trajectory we propose is one in which plurality within larger communities eroded so that mixed households were replaced by mixed communities that ultimately gave way to stark evidence of residential segregation by race in the present.

The development of race and racism on Long Island, as elsewhere, is best understood in relation to changes in colonialist and postcolonial policies and practices over time. As Julian Go (2004:28) and others (e.g., Marks

[1995], Roediger [2007], Hartigan [2015], and Mebane-Cruz [2015]) point out, race is not a "natural" phenomenon, but an artifact of policies used to define membership in society, citizen privileges, and access to resources. During the colonial period, Suffolk County included several plural settlements consisting of English settlers, enslaved Africans, and Native Americans, yet these mixed communities were regulated by racialized legal structures. New York's 1702 Black Codes formally enforced a master's rights over enslaved persons as property and restricted the congregation and travel of enslaved Africans (Marcus 1994:4). Native Americans were also isolated and controlled by rulings and sales that recognized only small parcels in the county as reserved lands for their use (Strong 2001, 2011). Moreover, restrictions imposed on whaling, shellfishing, and hunting eroded Native Americans' access to the resources that sustained their subsistence economy. Informally, both Native Americans and African Americans were subjugated by the limitations on their autonomy imposed by slavery and indentures, and, for free Blacks and Native Americans, by limited opportunities for

employment and the acquisition of property, as well as accumulated debt. For example, there are numerous records housed in local archive that detail the exchange of labor as a way for non-Whites to settle debts owed to merchants and employers (Strong 2001; Manfra McGovern 2015).

The basis of racial categories changed for people of color on Long Island following the passage of New York State's Gradual Emancipation Act, which provided gradual freedom for individuals who were "born slaves" after 4 July 1799 and kept slavery legal in the state until 1827. However, these categories also blurred the lines between fixed notions of "White" and "Black" by recognizing the mixed-heritage people that plural communities in the colonial era produced. In 19th-century census data, account books, probate inventories, and deeds, people of color on Long Island were variously identified as "coloured," "mulatto," "mestize," "mustee," "negro," "Indian," and "black." These descriptions provide often inconsistent information about how individuals and families were perceived by Whites (other than their being non-White) and no definitive information about individual heritages. Rather than simply complicating the understandings of racial identities in the past, these terms should be understood as representative of categories that were probably fluid and changeable, making them useful for structures of White power, but also malleable for resistance by people of color. In this article we simplify this complexity by identifying individuals and communities as either non-White or as people of color.

The case studies that follow provide a very useful comparison by discussing communities with comparable but different historical trajectories. The Montaukett community in East Hampton descends from historically recognized Native Americans who preceded and survived at the margins of White colonial settlement. While their tribal status was denied by legal proceedings in the 1890s, descendant Montauketts still live in East Hampton and have worked with co-author Allison Manfra McGovern to document their survival. Non-Whites in Setauket are a mixed-heritage community that descends from Native American Setalcotts and enslaved Africans who worked and lived together in the colonial period. Their Native American status has not been recognized outside the community, thus their history has been as a people defined by outsiders as "colored" or Black. Co-author Chris Matthews has worked with descendants still living in Setauket to recover their history through

archaeology, oral history, and documentary research. While both communities are similar because of their survival and their participation in the research presented below, they also provide insight on the struggles with racism by non-Whites from different perspectives. We note, however, that it is the commonalities of rather than the differences between these histories that stand out, proving that the racist methods of subjugation, exploitation, and control of non-Whites described below have salience across cultural and historical contexts.

Native Montauketts in East Hampton

We begin with the native Montauketts, who occupied the easternmost portions of the South Fork of Long Island when White settlers arrived. The Montauketts are a native Algonquin group that is most closely identified with Montauk, a hamlet in the town of East Hampton that lies at the eastern end of the south shore of Long Island (Figs. 1, 2). The Montauketts practiced "flexible sedentism" (compare Duranleau [2009]) prior to European arrival, a settlement pattern that has left traces in the archaeological record throughout present-day East Hampton Town (Manfra McGovern 2015). There is archaeological evidence of their seasonal settlement along the northern and southern coasts of Long Island's South Fork, ethnohistorical evidence of economic and kin networks that connected the Montauketts to other native groups throughout coastal New York and southern New England, and documentary evidence of Montaukett involvement in land agreements with Europeans in the 17th century that extends beyond the limits of East Hampton Township. So, although their history is closely associated with present-day Montauk, their settlement, trade, subsistence strategies, and political affairs both before and after European settlement frequently led them beyond the geographical limits of eastern Long Island. In this article, Montaukett habitation at two geographic locations on eastern Long Island will be discussed: Indian Fields, which was a Montaukett village site in Montauk inhabited between roughly 1700 and 1885, and Freetown, a mixed-heritage neighborhood that was established around 1800 and located north of the primarily White East Hampton Village (Fig. 2) (Manfra McGovern 2015).



Fig. 2 Map of the Freetown neighborhood. (Map by Bradley D. Phillippi, 2017.)

Marginalized in Montauk

East Hampton Village was settled by Whites in 1648, roughly 20 mi. west of Montauk. The 1648 purchase of the site was made by the English governors of Connecticut and described the joint use of land, including native rights to hunt, fish, collect shellfish for wampum, and take fins and tails from beached whales (Strong 2001). Connecticut officials then sold shares of the land to White settlers from already-established New England and coastal New York towns, including Southampton to the west (Fig. 2). At that time, Montaukett people were living in small indigenous settlements roughly 5 mi. north and more than 10 mi. east of the White village.

The 34 original White settlers of East Hampton were considered “proprietors” who owned a share of the land, harbors, and ponds of the town. Each proprietor established his homelot in the village and, east or west

of this homelot, had a share of fertile land used mostly for grazing. Livestock (including cattle, sheep, hogs, goats, and horses) became a central aspect of the agrarian economy as animals were raised for export to coastal and West Indian markets. Early on, roads were established connecting the homelots to a shipping port at Northwest Harbor and to the agricultural lands, meadows, and wood lots along the way.

As the White village of East Hampton grew, the villagers looked east to more than 12,000 ac. of rolling hills at Montauk for expansion of cattle pasturage. Some East Hampton proprietors negotiated pasture rights at Montauk from the Montaukett in 1653. White settlement did not extend much farther east than Amagansett at the time. With increasing demand for pastureland, the settler community expanded into the common spaces that comprised the Montaukett homeland. By 1700, this led to conflicts, as Montaukett hunting, fishing, and

shellfishing practices interfered with the settlers' needs for grazing cattle. In response, the East Hampton proprietors forced the semi-sedentary Montauketts to select a permanent place of residence in Montauk. This place became known as Indian Fields.

Indian Fields, along with the surrounding lands in Montauk, was initially purchased by a handful of White residents of East Hampton Town. East Hampton proprietors shared rights to pasture at Montauk, and they were permitted to graze a limited number of cattle per share of ownership, which was recorded by the town in Common Pasture and Fattening Fields lists. The land on which the cattle grazed was managed by East Hampton Town, but it was purchased and owned privately by a few White residents of East Hampton Town. The indigenous Montaukett community would be permitted to live there indefinitely according to the purchase agreement. The settlement at Indian Fields was, therefore, not a legal reservation, rather, a 1703 land transaction made the Montauketts tenants on the lands owned by a private group of White East Hampton residents.¹

The spatial reorganization of East Hampton and the Montauk district during this era shows the effects of White power on the Montaukett community. At first, the Montauketts were useful to Whites. Living in Montauk 20 mi. from White settlements, Montauketts were hired to graze White-owned cattle throughout the Montauk area. They were employed as “gin keepers” (a gin is an enclosure for grazing animals) and mended the fences that separated grazing fields. This kept both the Montauketts and cattle contained in a space beyond the visibility of White villages, but beneficial to the well-being of White settlers. The employment of Montaukett men in whaling, beginning in the 17th century, also decreased their visibility. In this sense, during the 1600s the Montauketts were present in the settler community, but kept apart, a situation that was to some degree mutually beneficial.

The expanding White farming settlements put pressure on the Montauketts for greater access to the lands in present-day Montauk. As a result, Montauketts' experiences were marked by challenges to their sovereignty and basic human rights. These instances are recorded in complaints of trampled planting fields and encumbrances to

hunting territories made to the colonial officials by the Montauketts (Strong 2001; Manfra McGovern 2015). They were prohibited from hunting, fishing, and shellfishing, and were now expected to keep their own livestock and cattle, though their numbers were limited and much lower than those of the White villagers. In this sense, in the early 1700s Montauketts were increasingly incorporated into the settler community, though they were at a disadvantage, with fewer resources to support their survival.

In 1719, the Montauketts also confronted racialized policies directed at impeding their social reproduction, as Montaukett marriages with non-Montauketts were prohibited by law (Strong 2001:60–61). This policy was intended to limit the claims of Montauk land rights to full-blooded Montauketts; however, this thinking became the foundation for mainstream expectations of native authenticity. It was also adopted later by indigenous people. For example, in the 1780s some Montauketts were at the center of an indigenous movement to establish Brotherton, a planned native settlement for native people in upstate New York. But the relocation effort, which was organized by Samson Occom and several Native Americans from coastal New York and southern New England, was restricted to members of “racial purity” (Strong 2001). Then, in 1806, the Montauketts who were living at Montauk, probably with the aid of White officials, compiled an internal census of “True Blooded natives” that listed residents of Montauk as being full-blooded Indians with “not an instance of negro mixture ... but few of whight ... generally owing to the honour of our hampton Neighbors” (reprinted and transcribed in Stone [1993:408–409]). Although the purpose of this enumeration is not described, we interpret it as a local response to developing racism. To establish their claims to Montauk lands, Montaukett people actively defined their identity in relation to racist postcolonial policies.

Other indigenous reactions to White incursions led to even greater disruptions of Montaukett tribal life and the disappearance of many Montaukett people from their homeland. Many “Indian” children were indentured and living in White households in the 18th and 19th centuries (*Records of the Town of East-Hampton* 1887). In some cases, entire Montaukett families left Montauk to live near or within White villages, such as the Free-town settlement adjacent to East Hampton Village (Strong 2001), where they had better access to jobs. Native men found work in agricultural fields when they

¹ In 1851, the collective owners of the Montauk district, known as the Trustees of Montauk, won a lawsuit that gave them the right to sell the lands, which they did in 1879 (East Hampton Trustees 1926:9; Strong 1993:94). The Montauketts' habitation at Indian Fields ended shortly after this sale.

were not working at sea. Native women also worked in agricultural fields, did laundry, and performed various skilled crafts. Other Montaukettts left Long Island entirely to establish a new home with other indigenous peoples at Brotherton in upstate New York, an extreme effort to free themselves from White coercion and economic limitations, and enable them to redefine their native identity (Lambert 2004; Cipolla 2010). In this sense, by the end of the 1700s, most Montaukettts lived as exiles or as a dependent labor force serving the settler community. By 1800, Indian Fields was the last independent Montaukett community. Yet, even those who remained at Indian Fields worked mostly for Whites at sea (even after the demise of the whaling industry) as skilled and unskilled household and agricultural labor, as hunting and fishing guides, and producing craft goods, such as scrubs and brushes for the local market (Manfra McGovern 2015). So, by the start of the 19th century, there were no Montaukettts left who lived entirely separate from the East Hampton settlers. In this sense, the plural colonial landscape created by Europeans and Native Americans in the 17th century was gone.

Creating Freetown

Notably, around the same time, a new settlement of people of color, known as Freetown, was established on the outskirts of the village of East Hampton. Essentially providing a colored labor pool for the village, the settlement history of Freetown provides another illustration of how plural communities were sorted out for the benefit of Whites in power. Located north of the village, Freetown was a segregated “colored” neighborhood established by John Lyon Gardiner and other wealthy East Hampton landowners (Figs. 2, 3). Evidence for its founding comes from the second volume of Gardiner’s “Account Book of Colours or Mulattos” from 1801–1806, which recorded the exchange of “one third of my freetown land” with two of his laborers, Plato and Prince (Gardiner 1801). It is important to note, however, that the longevity of these and similar land grants to people of color cannot be determined. For instance, there were three transactions recorded in Gardiner’s account books that detail labor in exchange for land or payment for land, but titles to the property were not recorded in any official records, leaving people of color vulnerable to loss through debt to employers. By not making an official record of land transactions, East Hampton Whites further impoverished and

subordinated the emergent non-White working class (Manfra McGovern 2015).

The founding of Freetown also speaks to plurality and racial dynamics within East Hampton Town. Prior to 1800, free and enslaved people of color in East Hampton lived and worked in the homes of Whites. On the 1790 federal census, for instance, there were no independent non-White households listed: 99 free people of color and 99 slaves were all listed as living within White households (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1790b). These two categories comprise 13% of the East Hampton Town population (which consisted of 1,497 people) as documented on the 1790 census, but do not include Native Americans who were living more than 15 mi. east of the village (in Napaeague and Montauk) (Fig. 2). It was not until 1800 that free people of color in the town of East Hampton lived in households that were independent of Whites. Prince and Plato, who labored in exchange for one-third (each) of Gardiner’s land at Freetown, were listed as free people of color and heads of household on the 1800 federal census along with Rufus, Sirius, Quough, Judas, Abraham Cuffee, Caleb Cuffee, Virgil, and Jane (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1800b). The placement of these names in close proximity to each other on the manuscript census sheets suggests they were all residents of Freetown. These 11 households included 50 free people of color, comprising roughly 45% of the documented people of color in East Hampton Town. Moreover, some of these individuals represent the earliest documentation of several prominent and enduring non-White lineages in eastern Long Island: the Plato, Quaw/Quough, and Cuffee families.

The 1800 federal census demonstrates a significant moment in the establishment of non-White homes in East Hampton (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1800b). In 1800, 113 free people of color and 66 slaves were documented in East Hampton. Of that total, only 13 free people of color were listed in White households. The vast majority of free people of color, therefore, were living in 21 households that were exclusively composed of people of color. Meanwhile, only 2 of the 29 White, slaveholding households in East Hampton Town also included free people of color. The establishment of these free households of color was an early step toward the spatial separation of the labor force from the elites who employed them, and, as we mentioned, most of these people lived in Freetown

The census data is not straightforward in the ethnic/racial composition of free and enslaved people, or in the

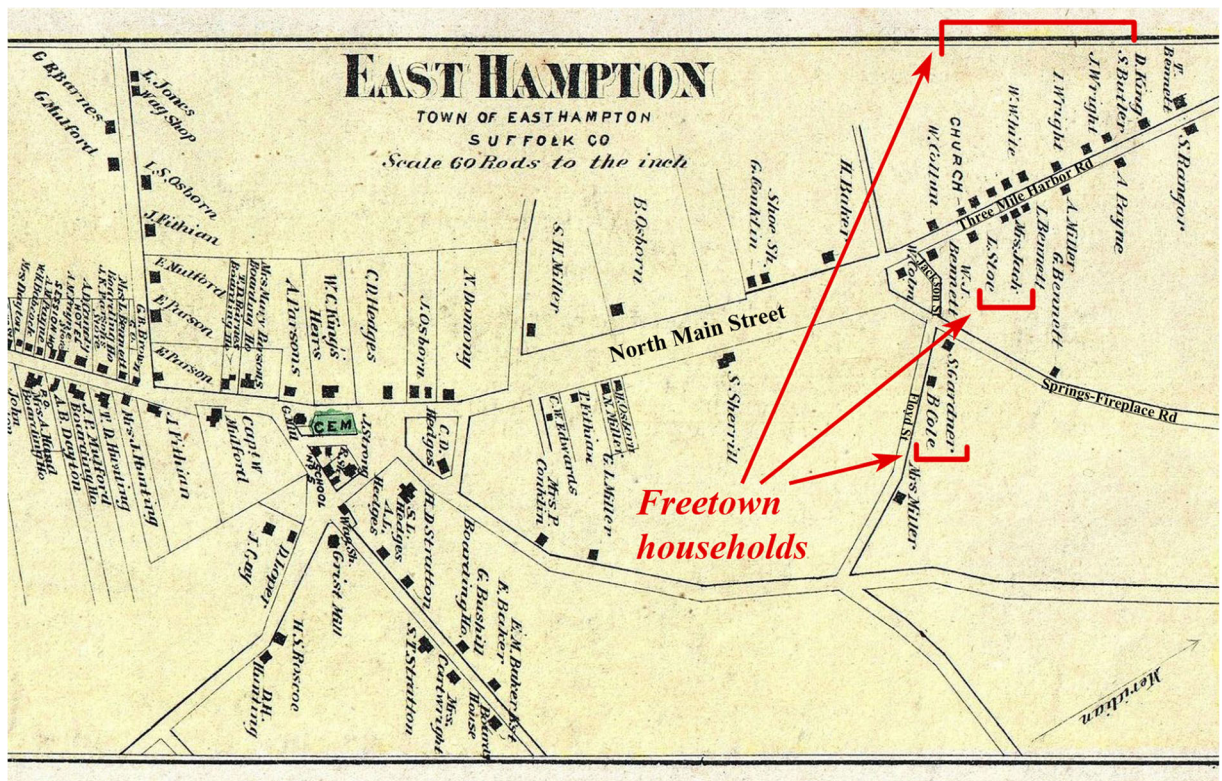


Fig. 3 Map of East Hampton, showing the location of Freetown sites/roads (Beers 1873).

total numbers of non-White East Hampton residents. The residents of Indian Fields, for example, were excluded from enumerations because the federal census did not include “American Indians not taxed” as a rule of apportionment before 1870. However, Native Americans who left Indian Fields prior to 1870 and were living off reserved lands elsewhere in East Hampton were listed among “all other free people of color.” In addition, many non-White whalers were likely absent during the census taking. The census data also creates a false notion of separation in status and community by polarizing East Hampton residents in binary categories (e.g., White/non-White; free/slave). Enslaved laborers who lived in White households were not altogether separated from the free Black and Native American residents of the town. Indeed, the slaveholders of East Hampton also employed free people of color for short- and long-term work; these plural settings presented opportunities for shared experiences and the development (or maintenance) of social and kin connections. John Lyon Gardiner, whose household included four slaves in 1800, employed many free native- and/or African-descended people between 1799 and 1806 (Gardiner

1799, 1801; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1800b). Slave owners Daniel Hedges, Isaac Van Scoy, and Nathaniel Hand also employed free African American and Native American people. These interactions are recorded in ledgers and daybooks (Manfra McGovern 2015).

By 1810, a racially segregated settlement pattern in the town of East Hampton was largely in place, and it overlapped with labor strategies. Nineteen free households of color are listed in the federal census containing, altogether, seventy-six free people of color. Six of these households were listed near John Lyon Gardiner, who also had ten free people of color and four enslaved individuals within his household. The heads of five of these households of color were also listed in John Lyon Gardiner’s account books. It is not known whether the Gardiner family was living in the village of East Hampton or on its private island at this time. Either way, it is likely that the free households of color were located in both Freetown and Springs, a settlement across the bay from Gardiner’s Island. It has been thought that when employed on Gardiner’s Island laborers probably stayed in short-term housing (Robert Hefner 2014, pers. comm.).

The placement of households at Freetown must be understood geographically and economically in relation to the properties of wealthy farmers, merchants, and company owners. Freetown developed in proximity to the central village area where most of the wealthy Whites had their homes. Most of the elites were descendants of the early families who settled the town and owned, in addition to agricultural lands, portions of woodlands, meadows, and marshes. They chose small sections of their extensive landholdings to sell or allocate to their workers for settlement. And it seems the landed gentry shared ideas about sections of the town that would be collectively allocated for settling the labor class, as they began to sell portions in similar areas to people of color. This is illustrated in the clusters or enclaves in the federal census listings. In addition to the Gardiner family, the Dominy, Osborn, Miller, and Dayton families all reserved lands at or near Freetown for this early construction of workforce housing (Osborn 1804; Suffolk County 1820, 1831; Barnes 1821); see Manfra McGovern (2015).

The boundaries of Freetown were not fixed; that is to say, Freetown does not resemble a neighborhood or enclave of streets and cross streets. Instead, Freetown appears to begin as a place along North Main Street/Three Mile Harbor Road, where Whites provided some of their least valuable land for settlement of their laborers (Hefner 1990). Some people of color also settled along Springs/Fireplace Road in the 19th century and on Floyd and Jackson streets, which are cross streets between North Main Street/Three Mile Harbor Road, Springs/Fireplace Road, and Old Accobonack Road (Fig. 3). These north–south routes connected the White village of East Hampton with the protected harbors of the north shore of the South Fork, where ships would arrive, and passage off island to points north and east could be obtained.

The spatial position of Freetown allowed its residents to maximize mobility for employment, but it is important to remember that this neighborhood developed through White control of labor and the land. The settlement at Freetown permitted the non-White labor force to be close enough to the village for work, but still separate and beyond immediate visibility. This distance is marked by 20th-century residents' memories of the neighborhood as “under the bridge” or “down street” from the [White] village (History Project, Inc. 1998). Moreover, when East Hampton Village incorporated in 1920, it did not include the Freetown neighborhood.

Transcending Spatial Boundaries between Segregated Settlements

The Freetown settlement included a number of Montaukett families, and through time members of some of these families married African Americans, as they shared a space on the landscape reserved, in practice, for non-Whites. The Freetown Quaw, Hannibal, Peters, and Right/Wright families were among the Native American households listed off reservation in the 19th-century censuses (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1850b, 1860b). These families were among the earliest native families to leave the Montauk district for work and settlement closer to East Hampton Village.

The data from the 1810–1840 censuses demonstrate the endurance of non-White families, and, in some cases, the longevity of their households in East Hampton. For instance, households by the names of Gardiner, Right/Wright, Stove/Store, Jack, Dep(p), and Coles were located in Freetown and nearby Accobonack/Springs, and seem to remain there until nearly the turn of the 20th century (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1810b, 1820, 1830b, 1840b). From 1840 through 1920, the Freetown neighborhood grew to include African American migrants from the southern United States who formed unions with the already-established African American and Native American families. Although changing economic patterns produced new labor opportunities, people of color remained employed together in similar capacities, as seamen, laborers, and domestic servants.

In order to survive, Indian Fields residents depended on a social network of mixed-heritage people that transcended spatial boundaries. This was first discovered in 19th-century census data, which show that some Montauketts lived in mixed-heritage households throughout East Hampton Town by the mid-1800s. Account books, ledgers, and whaling-crew lists suggest individuals of native, African, and European ancestries crossed paths in shared labor patterns on land and at sea. But census rolls, marriage records, and probate inventories demonstrate that these shared labor experiences gave rise to social bonds and extended kin networks (Manfra McGovern 2015). This is best demonstrated through a discussion of families whose connections between Indian Fields and Freetown can be traced.

Abraham Pharaoh was a whaler who sailed out of New Bedford, Massachusetts, in 1848. Although his name is absent from all federal census listings, his

presence is documented in labor rolls and legal documents pertaining to real property. His absence from the federal census, interestingly, provides some hints to his early life and activities. In his early years, he probably grew up with other Pharaohs at Indian Fields. He married Catherine (“Kate”) Jack in the Presbyterian church in East Hampton in 1856. That same year he bought a previously foreclosed parcel in Freetown at public auction (Manfra McGovern 2015). His decision to purchase land in Freetown is interesting, since he probably also maintained residency rights at Indian Fields. Abraham is absent from the 1850 and 1860 federal censuses, suggesting that he may have been at sea. Meanwhile, Catherine, who was 19 years old in 1850, was listed in the home of Abraham Jack (a 43-year-old, non-White laborer who was probably her father) with Dinah (37 years old), Samuel (a seaman, 27 years old) and Margaret (13 years old). In 1860, Catherine Faro (an alternate spelling of Pharaoh) was listed as a domestic (along with Oliver Cuffee) in the home of Elias H. Miller, a White farmer in East Hampton. In 1875, Abraham Pharaoh’s will directed his house at Freetown be left to his wife, Kate Jack, and then to his sister, Jerusha Pharaoh, after Kate’s death. The will was witnessed by Benjamin F. Coles, another free person of color, who received a mortgage for some Freetown property from Catherine Pharaoh in 1861 (Manfra McGovern 2015).

Although his activities are minimally documented prior to 1870, Benjamin F. Coles was probably a life-long resident of Freetown. In 1867 he married Hannah Farrow (another alternative spelling of Pharaoh), who may have been a daughter of Chief Sylvester Pharaoh and a resident of Indian Fields. Coles was a non-White farm laborer in 1870 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870b). At that time, Coles was 34 years old and living with his wife, who was 24; infant daughters Mary and Kate; and in-law Mary Pharaoh (a 35-year-old domestic servant). His parentage is unknown, but he is likely the son of Benjamin F. Coles, who in 1839 was administrator of Stephen Coles’s estate. When Stephen Coles died, his kin included his wife, Hannah Coles; Sabiner, wife of John Joseph; Ruth Peterson (deceased); and Silas Coles (deceased). According to the federal censuses, Stephen Coles lived in Freetown in 1820, and Silas Coles lived there in 1850. Silas Coles sailed out of Sag Harbor on whaling ships in 1830, 1831, and 1838, and was outfitted by Isaac Van Scoy for whaling voyages between 1828 and 1838. He and members of the Coles family were listed in the account books of Gardiner &

Parsons, Isaac Van Scoy, and another unidentified (but probably Gardiner-family) account book (Account Book 1830; Manfra McGovern 2015).

The marriages of Abraham Pharaoh and Benjamin Coles demonstrate just two of many known unions between residents of Indian Fields and Freetown. These marriages created bonds across geographic distances that may have been necessary strategies for survival. In addition to housing nuclear families, many households contained extended kin networks, including sisters and brothers, mothers, grandmothers, and grandchildren (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1850b, 1860b, 1870b, 1880b, 1900b). Furthermore, the unions that were formed by marriages between Indian Fields and Freetown residents were informed by previously established labor and social networks. Both neighborhoods yielded whalers, seamen, and fishermen, as well as laborers and domestic servants, who likely knew each other from shared work experiences. Yet, even these relationships were appropriated by East Hampton Whites, who, after selling the Montauk lands that included Indian Fields in the 1870s, relocated the remaining native residents to Freetown. Based on already existing ties, the dispossessed residents of Indian Fields likely agreed that Freetown was a neighborhood where they could live “among their own kind.”

The “End”

Montaukett dispossession of Indian Fields began in 1879 when the Trustees of Montauk decided to sell 11,500 ac. of Montauk land at auction to the highest bidder. The public notice mentioned that the property “will be sold subject to the rights and privileges of the Montauk Tribe of Indians.” The bidding opened on 22 October 1879 at \$40,000 and closed with the highest bid of \$150,000 by Arthur Benson (*New York Times* 1879; Strong 2001:105).

Although Benson was legally required to recognize the rights of the Montaukett residents at Indian Fields, he worked hard to remove the encumbrances to the land. The federal census listed about a dozen Montaukett people living in two or three houses at Indian Fields in 1880, but there may have been more residents (some of whom were at sea) than were documented. Benson purchased land in Freetown that he would offer in exchange for Montaukett residence rights at Indian Fields. After 1885, the last remaining Indian Fields

residents were moved to Freetown. Some of them lived in houses that were moved or rebuilt from Indian Fields (Manfra McGovern 2015). They travelled “ancient” pathways that connected the neighborhood to other villages and to the protected harbors (Devine 2014), and they worked in service for wealthy East Hampton Whites (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1900b, 1910b, 1920b, 1930b). Their homes are marked on early 20th-century maps, but their stories are waiting to be retold.

This brief history of 18th- and 19th-century Montaukett settlement and, more generally, of non-White settlement in East Hampton Town, indicates that White power was the central force behind the geographic distribution and movement of people of color and the development of non-White communities. In both Montauk and Freetown, the placement of the non-White labor force was intentional, distanced from White visibility, yet still close enough for access by the workforce. And, in both locations, the local memories of the non-White residents are skewed. In Montauk, the native presence is romanticized as “a thing of the past.” In Freetown, on the other hand, the non-White settlement pattern continued through the 20th century, but its history is silenced. Though periodically remembered in local newspaper articles and oral testimonies, the history of this neighborhood is rarely told through the voices of its descendants—some of whom still live there. Moreover, given its history, it should come as no surprise that 20th-century industrial zoning and the presence of the town recycling facilities mark Freetown as the least valuable and/or least desirable land in East Hampton, even in the present-day context of the socially and economically super-elite Hamptons.

Segregating Setauket

The village of Setauket provides a second example of the way communities of color formed and struggled in the racist sociohistorical environment of Long Island. In this case study we track increasing residential segregation that displaced non-White households and communities, ultimately concentrating them onto one small strip of Christian Avenue in the later 20th century. Setauket is on the north shore of Long Island in the town of Brookhaven, an administrative unit of Suffolk

County (Fig. 1). The village was founded in 1655 by colonists from Massachusetts and eastern Long Island, and was named for the Setalcott Native Americans, who granted the colonists the right to settle. As Setauket was established through a mixed economy of farming, shipbuilding, and trade, settlers and administrators quickly purchased other tracts from Native Americans on both sides of Long Island. Taken together these lands formed the town of Brookhaven for which Setauket served as the seat during the colonial period.

Plurality in Setauket

Setauket was always a plural community consisting of Native Americans, European settlers, enslaved Africans, and free African Americans. Native Americans were, of course, part of the early community. Yet, in addition to initial land transactions with the first colonial settlers, Native Americans appear in later colonial records, such as a 1746 indenture in which Indian Rubin bound himself to work for Richard Floyd as a whaler for three years (Adkins 1980:13). The first African-descended person documented in Setauket was Antony, who was sold in 1672 (Adkins 1980:13). This sale was followed by another in 1677, when John Thomas of Setauket purchased Samboe, and again when Jack was purchased by Mihell Lane in 1683 (*Records. Town of Brookhaven up to 1800* 1880:48,51–52). Slave ownership was common in and around Setauket, so from 1672 forward African-descended people have always been part of the community. By 1776 there were 142 “negroes” in the town of Brookhaven, the majority of whom lived on the north side of the township where Setauket is located. The emergence of a mixed-heritage native and African community in the region is also documented in the county’s provincial muster rolls from 1758–1762, which distinguished between “Indian,” “Mustee,” “Mestizo,” “Mulatto,” and “Negro” men (Strong 2011:136–137). These identifiers were based on complexion and are taken to reflect different degrees and types of “race mixing” among the community’s major social groups. Given this complexity, people of African, Native American, or mixed heritage in this study are grouped together as “non-Whites” or “people of color.”

The following provides a view of the development of the non-White community in the village of Setauket and

the town of Brookhaven taken from census documents and oral history. We show that a relatively integrated multiracial community during the colonial period shifted to one that was racially highly segregated in the 20th century. The discussion proceeds chronologically, assessing the level of segregation of the community within the town of Brookhaven as evident in census records between 1776 and 1900. This is followed by a closer look at segregation in the village of Setauket in the 20th century drawn also from oral history.

More than just a source of population figures, the census can also be a tool for documenting evidence of residential location and segregation. The census was typically collected in a systematic fashion as recorders went house to house to collect data. Therefore, households listed sequentially in the census were likely neighbors at the time of recording. From this base it is possible to document the distribution of non-Whites throughout an area based on how dispersed across the pages of the census in a given year households with non-Whites are found to be. For example, if some pages in a census year have few or no households with non-White residents, while other pages show many households with non-Whites listed, a relatively high level of residential racial segregation can be inferred. The following discussion examines early census data in this way by recording the distribution of non-Whites across the census records, including the number of households with non-Whites per page for several early census years (1790, 1800, and 1830). For later censuses (1870 and 1900), other means for determining geographic location and assessing residential segregation are used, including village names and census enumeration districts.

Census Data for the Town of Brookhaven

The starting point of this analysis is the 1776 census of the town of Brookhaven, which recorded a total of 142 “negroes” (6.9% of the population) living among 2,031 Whites (Longwood Central School District 2017). This census also records the highest level of integration in Setauket’s documented history. As all people of color were recorded as residents of homes headed by Whites, the level of integration for the society the settlers created was essentially 100% for non-Whites. Such multiracial households reflect the paternalism of slavery and its legacy, which viewed non-White laborers as incapable of living independent of White masters (Phillippi 2016, this issue). Notably, the 1776 census does not make any

note of Native Americans. It is certain that Indian people and communities were living in independent households, however, as we mentioned above, Native Americans were not tax-paying residents and, as such, were left off the census rolls.² Initial signs of residential segregation appear in the 1790 federal census, which recorded 510 non-Whites, who accounted for 15.7% of the total population of the town of Brookhaven (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1790a). This figure combines 232 slaves and 278 “other free persons.” The latter group included a total of 48 persons living in 13 independent, non-White-headed households, so that almost 10% of the non-White population lived separately from Whites.

In both the 1790 and 1800 federal censuses people of color were recorded on all pages for the town of Brookhaven, suggesting a relatively racially integrated community. Almost half (49.4%) of the households recorded in 1790 included people of color. This count includes both free and enslaved persons living in White-headed households, as well as those living in 13 independent non-White-headed households. Of the 14 pages in the 1790 census for the town of Brookhaven, the lowest percentage of households with non-White residents per page was 17.5% (7 households out of 40 on the page), while the highest was 67.4% (31 out of 46 households). So while there is some variation from page to page, people of color appear to have lived in all parts of Brookhaven in 1790. In 1800, only 25.3% of all households included people of color, and the number of independent, non-White households increased to 30. The distribution of households with non-White residents per census page in 1800 ranged from a minimum of 2.2% (1 household out of 45 on the page) to a maximum 64.4% (29 out of 45 households on the page). In this case, even though people of color could be found on every page, the distribution data show that as early as 1800 there were sections of Brookhaven that were becoming increasingly less plural.

In 1830, the residential segregation of non-Whites was more pronounced, as non-Whites were not recorded on every census page (they appear on only 3 out of 39 pages) (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1830a). The percentage of households with non-White residents also dropped to only 17.3%. The distribution of households

² Furthermore, by not including Native Americans in the 1776 census, the thinking of the majority group about who counted as being part of the community can be seen; therefore, even with independent Indian households in the region, the level of integration for the society the settlers created remained 100% for non-Whites in 1776.

with non-White residents per census page in 1830 ranged from a minimum of 0.0% and maximum 59.3% (16 households out of 27 on the page). This change is also reflected in the fact that 13 census pages in 1830 had three or fewer households with non-White residents. That these were sequential pages (pp. 180–192) indicates that a large section of Brookhaven (represented by one-third of all the pages) was White by a vast majority. At the same time, the non-White population was concentrated in fewer sections, as 75% (373 of 499) of all people of color in Brookhaven were recorded on just 13 of 39 total pages. These pages record 83% (55 out of 66 households and 244 out of 288 individuals) of the number of independent non-White-headed households in the town. After the end of slavery in New York in 1827, as people of color left their former slave-owners' homes, it appears they were constrained to live in only a small handful of neighborhoods in the township that tolerated independent, non-White residents.

By 1870, evidence for segregation in the town of Brookhaven is even more pronounced, as people of color were recorded on only 70 out of 262 pages (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870a). This means that nearly $\frac{3}{4}$ of all the neighborhoods in the township were entirely White. As the 1870 census records the names of villages where data were collected, we use this as a geographic basis to assess the level of segregation in the town. This assessment shows that 51 (46.4%) of all non-White-headed households were located in the two north-shore villages of Port Jefferson (22 households) and Setauket (29 households). Adding neighboring north-shore settlements (i.e., Wading River, Miller Place, Mount Sinai, Fire Place, and Stony Brook) to this count increases the figure to 66 non-White households. This means that 60% of all non-White households in the township were concentrated on the north shore. On the south shore there was another cluster of 20 non-White households in the villages of South Haven and Moriches. These districts included the reserved lands of the Unkechaug Native American community (Strong 2011), among other non-White households. Taken together, these north-shore and south-shore concentrations account for 78% of all non-White households in the town of Brookhaven, a figure that illustrates both the segregation of people of color into fewer neighborhoods, and the fact that most sections in the township were majority, if not entirely, White by 1870.

In 1900, non-Whites were recorded on 132 out of a total of 302 pages of the census. This distribution of

non-Whites across the census pages of the township shows that well over half the neighborhoods in the town were exclusively White (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1900a). The 1900 federal census for Brookhaven was recorded in 14 enumeration districts (ED), which provide the geographic basis for documenting residential segregation. A majority (53.5%) of all households with non-White residents are recorded in just four EDs (EDs 739, 740, 747, and 748). Based on the known residences of some of the families recorded, these districts included the north-shore villages of Setauket and Port Jefferson and the south-shore villages of South Haven and Moriches. The 115 households with non-White residents accounted for 10.1% of the total number of households in these EDs. This figure contrasts with the fact that households with non-Whites in the 10 other districts accounted for just 3.9% of households. Similarly, 60.8% (79 out of 130) of all independent, non-White households were found in these four districts, which accounted for 7.0% of all households in those districts. This contrasts with the 10 other districts where only 2.0% of all households were headed by non-Whites. In sum, these data continue to show the pattern of racial segregation observed in 1870, as the vast majority of non-Whites lived in just a few sections on the north and south shores of the township.

Census data from 1790–1900 show a clear trend of increasing residential segregation in the town of Brookhaven over the course of the 19th century. It is not entirely certain how and why this change was taking place during this period. On the south shore the concentration is, in part, explained by the presence of Unkechaug Native Americans, who lived on and near reserved lands granted to them in 1700 (Strong 2011). Non-Whites on the north shore were more likely concentrated by virtue of a combination of long-term family residence and opportunities for employment and community that led some to stay and others to find work. By 1900, many non-White families on the north shore had lived in Setauket and Port Jefferson for more than a generation and some for much longer. The Tobiasases and Woodhulls, for example, are found in the 1790 and 1800 federal censuses, and the Woodhulls, Brewsters, and probably others were likely descendants of enslaved laborers owned by the White families of the same names who lived in Setauket in the colonial period. The origin of the Tobias lineage is not as clear, though Jacob, Abraham, and David Tobias were founding trustees of the

Bethel AME Church of Setauket in 1848 (Three Village Historical Society 1848).

Port Jefferson and Setauket also had the largest number of developed industries in the town of Brookhaven during the 19th century. Setauket had a piano factory in the 1870s and, later, a series of rubber factories that all employed non-Whites (Stern 1991). Shipbuilding was a vital industry in both villages (Welch 1991). In addition, many farms and estates surrounding the village centers provided employment. Drawing from the 1900 federal census of Setauket and Port Jefferson, 17 different types of occupation were recorded for 88 non-Whites. One individual was a professional (AME preacher), two were commercial workers (salesman and fish dealer), one was a skilled laborer (horse trainer), and the remaining eighty-four (95.4%) worked in unskilled laboring occupations, such as day/farm laborer, servant, coachman, cook, housekeeper, laundress, sailor, and teamster. While these unskilled occupations were limiting to socioeconomic advancement, Setauket and Port Jefferson provided a greater diversity of occupations for people of color and, according to the 1900 federal census, a higher likelihood of owning rather than renting a home than other places in Brookhaven. In addition, the 1900 census shows that Setauket and Port Jefferson had the lowest percentages of non-White individuals employed as household servants in Brookhaven (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1900b).

Neighborhoods Lost in Setauket since 1900

Even though non-Whites in Setauket were advantaged by a larger community and greater opportunities for work, they nevertheless faced repeated restrictions on where they could live in the village, even if their families had been living in homes in these locations for decades. (Fig. 4). We discuss evidence of their serial displacement in the examples below. The first case concerns a small enclave of non-White families who lived in the Old Field section of Setauket along the west shore of Conscience Bay. The earliest document referencing these households is an 1823 deed between two non-White relatives, Silas and Abraham Tobias, for a half-acre lot with a dwelling house (Suffolk County Clerk 1823). That there is not a previous deed to this property suggests Silas Tobias was already living there before the deed was executed, and the depiction, on the 1797 Isaac Hulse map, of a house on the lot on which he lived suggests he may have resided there then (Hulse 1797). In the 1800 census an individual recorded as “Silas, a negro,” appears as the head of an

independent, non-White household. On the same page are “Abraham, a negro,” as well as five other non-White-headed households, along with members of White families, such as the Woodhulls, who are known to have lived close to the location of the property noted in the 1823 deed (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1800a). Tobiases are listed among other non-White families in the same area in the 1810 and 1840 federal censuses (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1810a, 1840a).

A more detailed record in the 1850 federal census shows that 10 non-White households consisting of 47 individuals lived in close proximity to each other (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1850a). That these included the families of Abraham, Silas, and Jacob Tobias suggests these households resided near the just-discussed Tobias lot in Old Field. Many of the same families were also found in close proximity to each other in the 1860, 1870, and 1880 censuses (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1860a, 1870a, 1880a). In 1870, the household of Adam Brewster and, later, his daughter Tabitha and her husband James Calvin, expand the number of non-White households living in this section of Old Field. In 1880 the federal census shows the Old Field cluster to consist of four households headed by Emeline Tobias, Adam Brewster, James Calvin, and Jerry Sills. In the 1900, 1910, and 1920 federal censuses the Calvins continued to anchor a small cluster. The enclave is no longer there in 1930, however (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1900a, 1910a, 1920a, 1930a).

Oral testimony (Carlton Edwards 2012, pers. comm.; Idamae Glass 2012, pers. comm.; Robert Lewis 2012, pers. comm.) confirms that a small cluster of people of color lived in this area of Old Field in the early 1900s. Some also recall that one house was moved from Old Field to Christian Avenue in Setauket by Tabitha and James Calvin’s son, Edward G. Calvin, around 1930. Notably, this is just after Old Field Village incorporated as a separate, elite residential section of Setauket in 1927, suggesting that the residents of the newly created Old Field likely encouraged these families to leave their neighborhood and resettle among other people of color on Christian Avenue. At roughly the same time, the Old Field Trustees cut off Mud Road at the village line (Fig. 5). Mud Road had been the route used by people of color in the Old Field cluster to visit friends and relatives and attend church at Bethel AME on Christian Avenue. Cutting off Mud Road at the village line symbolically segregated people of color from the new residents of Old Field, which has been all White ever since.

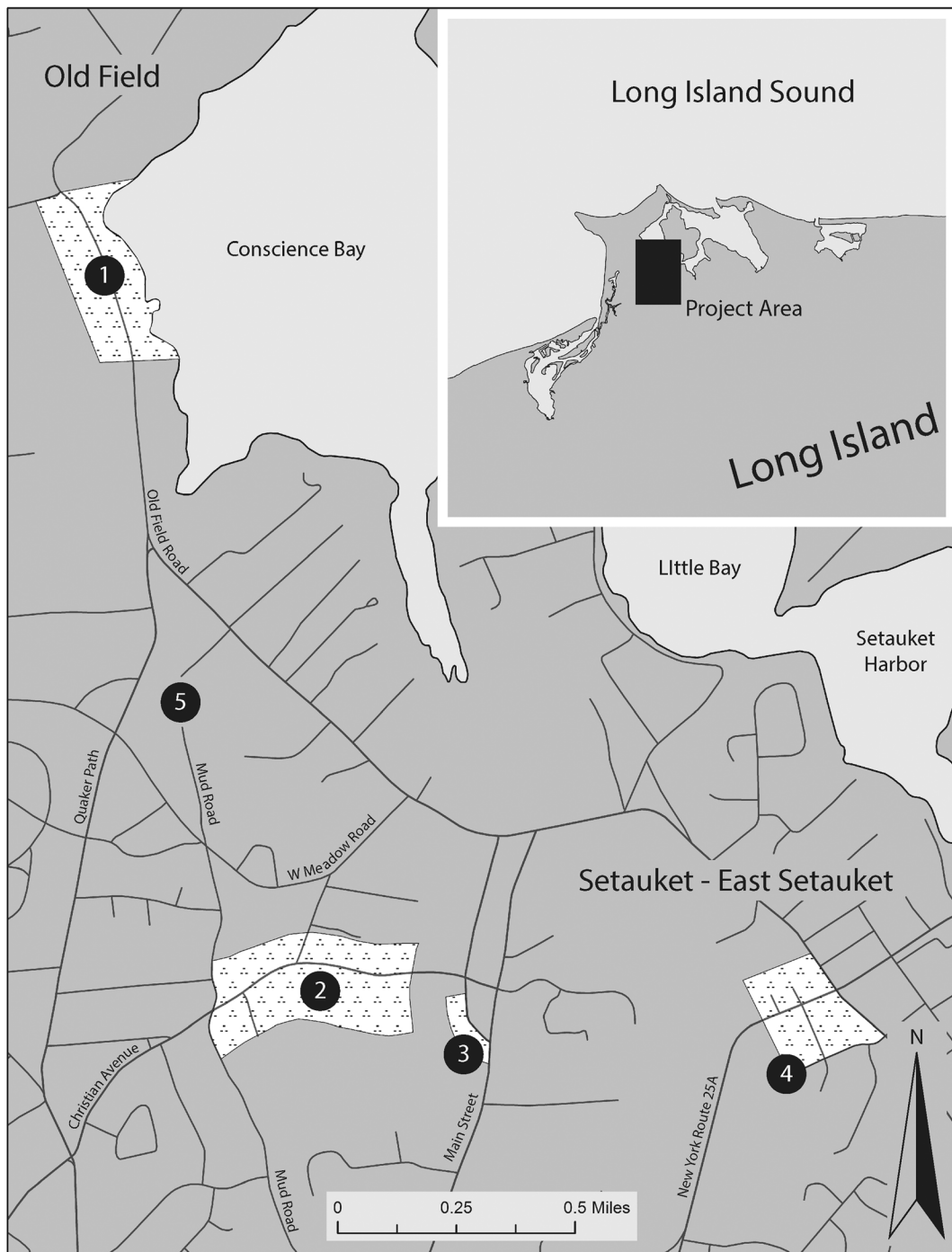


Fig. 4 Map of Setauket, showing the locations mentioned in the article where non-White families formerly lived, as well as the location of the contemporary Christian Avenue community: (1) Old Field neighborhood, (2) Christian Avenue neighborhood and

historic district, (3) Lake Street cluster, (4) Chicken Hill neighborhood, and (5) Mud Road dead end. (Map by Bradley D. Phillippi, 2017.)

A second example from Setauket is a neighborhood along the south end of Lake Street that for several decades before and after 1900 was home to a cluster of

non-White households. This area includes the former home site of Jacob and Hannah Hart, which was archaeologically excavated in 2011 (Matthews et al. 2012). An

Fig. 5 Sign noting the dead end on Mud Road in Setauket. (Photo by Christopher N. Matthews, 2015.)



1873 map shows that the area was home to two non-White households headed by “W. Harts” and A. Tobias (Beers 1873). Jacob Hart’s parents were William Hart (born 1825) and Rachel L. Tobias (born 1830), so it is believed that Jacob Hart grew up and then chose to live in a neighborhood that included members of his ancestral family. The Harts purchased the lot at the corner of Lake and Main in 1888. They raised 12 children in the home and lived there for the rest of their lives. Hannah died in 1921, and Jacob died in 1931.

After Jacob Hart passed away the home site was abandoned and the house torn down. While this abandonment has left a very well-preserved archaeological site, it also raises the question of why no one in the family or community chose to keep the house. Part of the answer lies in a serious environmental concern. Located at the mouth of a spring and adjacent to a creek, the site was well placed for access to fresh water. Robert Lewis (2012, pers. comm.) notes that the creek bed was also a place where children played and where people of color caught frogs, crabs, turtles, and fish, and collected useful marsh plants. However, descendants also remember that the Harts dealt with groundwater problems (Carlton Edwards 2012, pers. comm.; Pearl Hart 2012, pers. comm.). Supposedly they could lift a floorboard to see standing water under the house, and another account notes that Jacob Hart removed the weeds in the millpond downstream (Carlton Edwards 2012, pers. comm.), presumably to create a better flow so that the creek would not back up and flood his property. Besides dealing with

flooding, the family likely also abandoned the house, since by the 1930s the cluster of non-White families on Lake Street was gone.

Instead, by 1930 the federal census records a cluster of 13 non-White households consisting of 58 individuals living a half-mile away on Christian Avenue, including households headed by Lucy Keyes and Minnie Sanford, Jacob and Hannah Hart’s youngest daughters (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1930a). In 1920 this section had only 5 non-White households consisting of 20 individuals (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1920a). In light of the disappearance of the Old Field and Lake Street enclaves, the decade of the 1920s can be pinpointed as the time when the contemporary non-White Christian Avenue community coalesced, and its emergence is due in large part to the elimination of other clusters of non-White households elsewhere in Setauket.

The increased concentration of non-White families on Christian Avenue in the 1920s also correlates with a change in the labor practices of non-White women in Setauket. In 1930 the federal census records that only 6.0% of non-Whites in the town of Brookhaven were living in the homes of their employers (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1930a). This is a substantial decline from 1900, when the federal census recorded that 41.5% of all non-White women were live-in domestics. This change reflects a separation of work from home that further segregated the larger community by race, as households, just like neighborhoods, were increasingly constituted by a single race. A number of non-White women from

the Christian Avenue community worked as “live-out” domestics in the 20th century; Lucy Keyes is one example. In contrast, Lucy’s mother, Hannah Hart, was a laundress who worked at home, work that is documented in the census (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1900a) and also evidenced by a thimble, scissor blade, 17 types of buttons, and a fragment of a Sperm Sewing Oil bottle recovered in the excavation of her home (Matthews et al. 2012) (Fig. 6). Elders in the community also remember non-White women taking in laundry from local White families (Carlton Edwards 2012, pers. comm.; Barbara Russell 2013, pers. comm.). That Whites no longer visited non-White households to drop off their laundry (and non-Whites no longer lived in their White employers’ homes) further demonstrates how these groups occupied ever more strictly separated spaces within the larger Setauket community.

Development in Setauket continued to impact the non-White community after World War II, when a bypass for Route 25A was built. This new road led traffic away from the historic village center and promoted a new commercial strip. The east end of the bypass was the location of a former rubber factory that operated in the early 20th century. By the 1950s the factory was a thing of the past, although a small working-class neighborhood adjacent to the factory site, known as Chicken Hill, was still there. The 1930 federal census indicates that Chicken Hill was home to six non-White households consisting of 19 individuals (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1930a). Based on the presence of similar surnames, some families likely moved there after being displaced from Old Field, and oral testimony (Carlton Edwards 2012, pers. comm.) records that the Bunn family moved there from nearby Stony Brook after that village redeveloped its center. Non-White families lived in Chicken Hill alongside several working-class, immigrant, Jewish families, who also worked in the factories. Some members of these White and non-White families

intermarried, producing a new generation of mixed-heritage individuals (Lewis 1987; Green 1999). However, after the Route 25A bypass was completed in the 1950s, the perception of Chicken Hill shifted from culturally diverse working-class section to blighted neighborhood of rental housing ready for renewal. Ethel Lewis tells of a rumor that the drinking water in Chicken Hill was contaminated: “They just told them that the water wasn’t clean enough, and it would start a disease over there and the whole town would be an epidemic” (Lewis 1987:35). She recalled hearing people saying: “We don’t know where to go? Where are we going to go?” and “after that Christian Ave. seemed to be the only part to develop then left in Setauket” for non-Whites (Lewis 1987:36). By 1960 Christian Avenue was, indeed, the only section left in Setauket where people of color lived, and it was at this time that it became known to some as “N— Hollow” (Eugene Cokcschutt 2012, pers. comm.).

Since the 1960s, Christian Avenue has been the last enclave in Setauket for people of color to call home. Through the effort of some current residents, the neighborhood was designated an historic district in 2005, which has helped the community to gain the recognition it deserves. However, even with this recognition, in the long run the community still faces a struggle to preserve Christian Avenue as a dwelling space for people of color. Since 2005, several properties in the historic district have been sold, and with the exception of three lots purchased by Bethel AME Church, these sales have brought more Whites into the neighborhood, who are essentially replacing, house by house, non-White residents. So, while the displacement of people of color from Old Field and Chicken Hill may have been more dramatic, the slow process at work on Christian Avenue is producing an equally powerful displacement of non-Whites from Setauket. This time, however, there is nowhere else in the village for them to move, leading

Fig. 6 Sewing-related artifacts recovered from the Jacob and Hannah Hart site in Setauket. (Photo by Christopher N. Matthews, 2015.)



some to believe that Setauket will soon be entirely White for the very first time.

Conclusion

This article presents case studies that illustrate the way two of Long Island's modern communities of color formed as a result of racial segregation and the erosion of the rights and ability of non-Whites to continue to live in places they had occupied, in some cases, for generations. The removal of the Montauketts from Indian Fields, of the Tobiases and others from Old Field, and the Harts from Lake Street in Setauket has left behind rich and well-preserved archaeological sites that have been excavated and studied. However, our effort in this article has not been to interpret the archaeological materials that these sites produced, but to explore how and why these homes exist now as archaeological sites rather than components of living communities. Our research shows that these sites were abandoned and eliminated from the landscape not because their residents left for other opportunities, but because they were forced out by White outsiders who sought control of these properties for their own gain. The result has been the creation of a racially segregated landscape in East Hampton and Setauket with fewer and fewer areas for people of color to live.

Our goal has been to show that the segregation seen today was not the norm, but only emerged through actions by Whites that, consistently in the past and continuing in the present, restrict where non-Whites live. While our archaeological research has provided and will provide important details and textures of the lives of non-Whites in the past, we have shown here that the sites we study as archaeologists may first and foremost be evidence of a loss of history and access to resources and heritage that racism and racial segregation caused. We close by asking all archaeologists to be mindful of this aspect of their work, through which what they bring to light may be not just lost evidence of the past, but how these places and objects became lost in the first place.

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