The Jupiter Hammon Project: Outcomes and implications from roundtables on the reinterpretation of Joseph Lloyd Manor

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**Executive Summary**

From February to November 2020, Preservation Long Island (PLI) executed the first phase of the Jupiter Hammon Project, a major, long-term initiative focused on developing a more relevant and equitable interpretation of the life, literature, and world of Jupiter Hammon (1711–ca. 1806) and the other individuals enslaved at Joseph Lloyd Manor, one of Preservation Long Island’s four historic properties. While enslaved at the Manor, Jupiter Hammon wrote powerfully about the social and moral conflicts slavery raised in the newly formed United States, becoming one of our county’s earliest published Black authors.

This phase of the project was made possible by the New York State Council on the Arts with the support of Governor Andrew M. Cuomo and the New York State Legislature, with additional support from the Rauch Foundation, and the DeLaCour Family Foundation. Through three roundtables and supplemental breakout sessions, Preservation Long Island brought together renowned scholars and professionals with the public to explore the legacy of slavery on Long Island via the life and work of Jupiter Hammon. The public roundtables and their administration, originally scheduled for June, July, and August of 2020, coincided with the global Covid-19 pandemic, and were reimagined as a virtual experience scheduled in August, September, and October of the same year.

Social media and in-person outreach efforts made in the lead up to the roundtables garnered local and national participation, and enlisted members of the academic, museum, and local communities to participate in breakout sessions immediately following each roundtable. During the breakout sessions, prompts stimulated discussion about themes and topics for further research and investigation, interpretive strategies for Joseph Lloyd Manor, opportunities for public programming, and academic or community partnerships.

**Roundtable One:** “Long Island in the Black Atlantic World,” August 15, 2020

- Panelists: Dr. Craig Wilder (Massachusetts Institute of Technology), Dr. Jennifer L. Anderson (SUNY Stony Brook), Dr. Nicole Maskiell (University of South Carolina), and moderated by Cordell Reaves (NYS Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation)
- Essential question: Why did Long Island have one of the largest enslaved populations in the North during the 17th and 18th centuries?
- Zoom attendance: 343
- Facebook reach: 1,400
- Breakout session participants: 68

**Roundtable Two:** “The Voice of Jupiter Hammon,” September 19, 2020

- Panelists: Dr. Jesse Erickson (University of Delaware), Malik Work (actor-teacher-writer-emecee, co-founder The Real Live Show), Dr. Phillip M. Richards (Colgate University, emeritus), and moderated by Cordell Reaves (NYS Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation)
Essential question: What do Jupiter Hammon’s writings tell us about him as an educated individual surviving within the structure of enslavement?

Zoom attendance: 162
Facebook reach: 636
Breakout session participants: 54

Roundtable Three: “Confronting Slavery at Joseph Lloyd Manor,” October 24, 2020

Panelists: Dina Bailey (CEO, Mountain Top Vision), Jessa Krick (Associate Director of Collections, Historic Hudson Valley), Joseph McGill (Founder, Slave Dwelling Project), and moderated by Cordell Reaves (NYS Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation)

Essential question: How can Preservation Long Island best engage Joseph Lloyd Manor visitors with Jupiter Hammon’s story, the region’s history of enslavement, and segregation on Long Island today?

Zoom attendance: 151
Facebook reach: 959
Breakout session participants: 40

Roundtable topics and essential questions struck a chord with novices and knowledgeable audience members alike. Feedback from participants reinforces data collected from Preservation Long Island’s CRM database, which shows greater engagement with messaging related to the Jupiter Hammon Project and a 13% increase in the organization’s overall audience by the end of the project. Nearly 90% of roundtable participants surveyed after the programs rated them as “extremely valuable,” adding comments such as:

- Fantastic experts and an excellent moderator who was able to create an easy conversation between them.
- I learn[ed] a tremendous amount of new things and was inspired to do more research on my own.
- I wasn’t aware of the project or Jupiter Hammon and it was valuable to me to engage not only in a discussion of his work, but possible new directions the research may take.
- The speakers were deeply knowledgeable, their presentation was very accessible and easy to follow, and their expertise really supported and enriched one another’s subject matter.

Project Outcomes
The public’s response to scholarly information presented in the roundtables informs the emerging direction for interpretation and research. Poll questions posed to roundtable audiences, breakout sessions after each event, and in-depth discussions with our Advisory Council are the primary source of inspiration for public engagement and research nodes that

1 All comments from Roundtable One and Two exit surveys: https://forms.gle/uyaANq6yHuTFMdMg8
will shape the interpretation of Jupiter Hammon’s story. These conversations led to the following takeaways that will carry forward from the first phase of the project:

### Vital Approaches to Public Engagement

- **Interpretation via Contemporary Arts**: A majority of participants in Roundtable Two responded to Malik Work’s spoken word performance of Jupiter Hammon’s *Essay on Slavery* with overwhelming positivity; many were deeply moved and characterized the recitation as a powerful experience. Co-panelist Phil Richards, who is intimately familiar with Hammon’s work, later reflected on hearing the piece read aloud, saying “Malik’s reading made Jupiter’s words alive for me in a way they’ve never been alive before.” Additionally, participants were able to better appreciate the meanings and significance of Hammon’s words thanks to the substantive information about historical context shared earlier during the roundtable. Breakout session discussions included suggestions for collaborating with professional actors, authors, and performance artists to commission new work inspired by Hammon.

- **Enhance and Augment K-12 Teaching and Learning**: Participants reported little to no detailed knowledge about the history of slavery on Long Island or throughout the Northern United States. Many had to educate themselves about the topic after completing K-12 schooling. “It’s not that these stories [of Northern slavery and racial violence] aren’t known,” observed Roundtable One panelist Dr. Craig Wilder, “Part of racial power is the ability to have something be known, but also not told.” To enhance teaching and learning for all age levels, the Jupiter Hammon Project should bolster K-12 pedagogy concerning the history of slavery and explicitly confront oversimplified narratives.

- **Enrich Interpretation via New Partnerships**: The stories of enslaved people, including Jupiter Hammon, span several historic sites across Long Island, New York City, Connecticut, and beyond. For example, members of Hammon’s extended family were enslaved at different times at nearby Henry Lloyd Manor and Sylvester Manor. Preservation Long Island could tell more complete stories about the lives of enslaved people by developing new institutional and community partnerships to coordinate and enrich interpretation across historic sites.

- **Harness the Power of Space (Landscape and Architectural)**: Across all three breakout sessions, comments referenced the power of Long Island’s geography in shaping the experience of slavery and imagining the lives of the enslaved. Engaging with the land around Joseph Lloyd Manor and the waterways that connect Lloyd’s Neck to Long Island and the world offers an important foundation for how slavery became integral to this area. Some participants referenced the concept of “non-space” as an emerging and interesting method for interpreting slavery. This approach entails highlighting the presence of enslaved people at historic sites and “interpreting the gaps,” as suggested by Roundtable Three panelist Dina Bailey. For example, kitchens are not usually presented as spaces for sleeping, however enslaved people both labored and slept...
in kitchens. Likewise, seemingly empty clearings in woods or fields might have served as transient meeting places where enslaved people could interact beyond the scrutiny of their enslavers.

- **Online and Virtual Programming**: The roundtables were planned to be in-person events, but the shift to virtual programming due to Covid-19 enabled Preservation Long Island to reach and engage with more participants. While the virtual audience mainly tuned-in from areas of New York and Long Island, there were also participants from Maryland, Louisiana, and Colorado. Greater audience reach could be maintained by continuing to offer virtual programming and a virtual participation option for future in-person programming.

**Content Areas for Further Research and Development**
- **Change, Continuity, and Identity**: Some participants expressed interest in the past social relationships and cultural dynamics among people of Native American, African, and African American descent at Joseph Lloyd Manor. In several panel discussions and breakout sessions, people expressed curiosity about what archaeological and material evidence might reveal about agency, change, and continuity in social and cultural identities among diverse inhabitants at Joseph Lloyd Manor, the surrounding community on Lloyd Neck, and other communities farther away connected by commerce or other interactions.

- **Religious Practices and Beliefs**: Another recurring topic during panel discussions and breakout sessions involves the relationship between African and European religions and ritual practices at Joseph Lloyd Manor. Participants expressed general interest in gaining a better understanding of the religious practices and beliefs of captured Africans and their descendants as well as Native Americans and European colonists. Christianity in the American colonies came up in Roundtables One and Two, especially as an ideology within which Jupiter Hammon and other enslaved people of color were able to argue for and assert the vision of a world without slavery.

- **Freedom, Emancipation, and Abolition**: Contrary to the common misperception that emancipation and abolition entailed a clear and straight-forward transition from slavery to freedom, the roundtables highlighted the prevalence of complexities and contradictions. Discussions revealed that up until abolition and the rise of Jim Crow segregation, free and enslaved people of color were a central part of Long Island, especially in communities like Huntington. Most participants were unaware or had not considered how the lives and livelihoods of people of color were negatively impacted by segregation and other racist practices in the North after abolition.
  - The leadership of African Americans, such as Jupiter Hammon, in demanding an end to slavery needs to be highlighted and clarified. Ongoing efforts to end inequality and racism in our communities today must also be mentioned.

- **Literacy and Rhetoric during the 18th Century**: To fully appreciate the significance of Jupiter Hammon’s contribution to American literature and scholarship,
audiences need to contextualize his writing within American literature and rhetoric 18th century, especially on Long Island. Audience must also be introduced to the day-to-day context for print media in the 17th and 18th century. In addition, Hammon’s work took on new meaning and instilled curiosity in participants when diverse perspectives were introduced and discussed. For example, in contrast to reading silently on one’s own, participants of color and those familiar with services at Baptist and AME Churches expressed a more powerful and immediate connection to Hammon’s work when it was recited out loud.

- **Inequality and Racism Today:** Insight into inequality and racism on Long Island today may be gained by examining historical links to past practices of slavery and segregation. New interpretative approaches should acknowledge contemporary issues experienced by visitors and facilitate respectful, productive dialogue by providing opportunities for visitors to discuss and explore how slavery, segregation, exclusion, etc., may be connected to racism and inequality today.

**Next Steps**
Planning and grant applications to pursue Phase Two of the Jupiter Hammon Project are underway. The next phase of the project will focus on relationship-building and direct engagement with local stakeholders at Joseph Lloyd Manor to inform new interpretive plans for the site. Preservation Long Island will continue to engage with the project’s Advisory Council as the project continues to the next phase. However, in the interim the following activities will further the goals of the overall Jupiter Hammon initiative:

- **Ongoing identification of potential project stakeholders:** Many roundtable participants attended all three public programs, and several followed up with emails and phone calls expressing curiosity about a particular topic or other forms of continued interest. At the end of Phase One, the Project Manager identified a list of individuals for potential continued involvement. In addition, PLI has ongoing community programs through which valuable relationships could arise before the next phase, which focuses directly on local engagement.

- **Prepare Joseph Lloyd Manor to elevate the story of Jupiter Hammon:** Dr. Jennifer Anderson will be scholar-in-residence at Preservation Long Island as part of her American Council of Learned Societies “Scholars in Society” fellowship for the 2021 academic year. Dr. Anderson will work with Preservation Long Island staff to develop preliminary interpretive interventions at the Manor to reflect the ongoing work of the Jupiter Hammon Project.

- **Present Roundtable Content at Joseph Lloyd Manor:** The Jupiter Hammon Project Roundtables revealed valuable information for the public. Recorded audio and video of the events offers a trove of material that can augment visits at Joseph Lloyd Manor. Temporary interpretive interventions would allow visitors to access this rich
collection of content. These could include graphic panels about the roundtable events; video clips presented on iPads in key locations; audio segments or a new audio tour; or even a “watch party” in which visitors can stop the video at key points to explore the Manor.
Part 1: Project Context & Background

Preservation Long Island’s mission is to celebrate and preserve Long Island’s diverse cultural and architectural heritage through advocacy, education, and stewardship of historic sites and collections. Joseph Lloyd Manor (completed by 1767) is one of four historic properties under Preservation Long Island’s stewardship. Built at the end of the colonial period for Joseph Lloyd (1716–1780), the house was the seat of a 3,000-acre provisioning plantation known as the Manor of Queens Village, established in the late 17th century on the ancestral lands of the Matinecock people. Jupiter Hammon (1711–c.1806) one of the first published African American writers, was one of the many people of African descent enslaved at the site.

Joseph Lloyd Manor was determined to be the property most in need of an updated interpretive approach. Emphasizing the organization’s significant collection of material culture, the visitor experience invites people into period rooms that are furnished in alignment with inventories of the Lloyd family’s possessions and period images of domestic interiors. The rooms recreate a late 18th-century kitchen, parlor, office and sleeping chambers, as well as enslaved quarters, to bring understanding and appreciation for the historic lifeways of the Manor’s colonial era residents. During the 1990s and early 2000s, Preservation Long Island integrated some content about Jupiter Hammon and slavery at the house into panels and interpretive programming. In addition to new school programs, a second-floor room in the northwestern corner of the house was refurbished as a “slave quarters.” These interpretive changes ultimately sought to attract local school groups and were largely guided by the K-12 curriculum related to colonial history and slavery. Buttressed by a growing body of academic scholarship, the interpretation of Hammon’s story can be strengthened in the site’s current physical and experiential program, highlighting the national importance of Hammon’s writing.

In 2019, the organization undertook the Jupiter Hammon Project as the lead component of a larger initiative that aims to augment interpretive and educational programming at all Preservation Long Island sites to present a multiplicity of voices and perspectives in history. The Project departs from PLI’s previous approach to historic house interpretation and embraces a collaborative process that engages community input and decentralizes the institutional perspective. This new interpretive direction for Joseph Lloyd Manor encourages responsible, rigorous, and relevant encounters with Long Island’s history of enslavement and its impact on society today.
To support the collaborative process, Preservation Long Island convened a community advisory council to assist in crafting content and catalyzing community engagement in Spring of 2019. Later that year, an Arc of Dialogue training led by The International Coalition of Sites of Conscience took place at Joseph Lloyd Manor for PLI staff members and the council. The training equipped key project members with the tools to navigate difficult or contested histories—challenging visitor preconceptions, fostering dialogue and sparking civic action.

In the first phase of this collaborative process, three separate roundtables brought scholars into conversation with local descendants, community stakeholders, and the general public. Each roundtable furthered the goals of empowering descendant voices to contribute narratives that reflect their presence, values, and interests; and to affirm authentic history that emphasizes the agency and humanity of the enslaved individuals held in bondage by the Lloyd family.

Each public roundtable addressed a specific topic and centered on exploring an essential question during the panel discussion:

Roundtable One – Long Island in the Black Atlantic World: Why did Long Island have one of the largest enslaved populations in the North during the 17th and 18th centuries?
Co-Host: Weeksville Heritage Center (Brooklyn), originally scheduled June 20, 2020; moved to August 15, 2020

Roundtable Two – The Voice of Jupiter Hammon: What does Jupiter Hammon’s poetry tell us about him as an educated individual surviving within the structure of enslavement?
Co-Host: Suffolk County Historical Society (Riverhead), originally scheduled July 11, 2020; moved to September 19, 2020

Roundtable Three – Confronting Slavery at the Joseph Lloyd Manor: Based upon the lessons learned from roundtables 1 & 2, how can Preservation Long Island best engage Joseph Lloyd Manor visitors with Jupiter Hammon’s story, the region's history of enslavement, and segregation on Long Island today?
Co-Host: Lloyd Harbor Historical Society (Huntington), originally scheduled August 8, 2020; moved to October 24, 2020

This report shares the successes and challenges of the program and the community engagement process, which may serve as a model for other historic and cultural sites. It documents the learning and public dialogue that surfaced as a result of the roundtables. Finally, conclusions and recommendations for interpretive themes and priorities to be pursued at Joseph Lloyd Manor are made based on the outcomes of this first phase of the project.

**Jupiter Hammon**

Jupiter Hammon is a logical starting point for establishing richer and more equitable interpretation at Joseph Lloyd Manor. Numerous primary source materials serve as touchpoints to Hammon’s story: three essays and six poems, some of which grapple with the moral and theological complexities of enslavement relative to the concept of freedom; a well-documented
account of his life and position at the “Manor of Queens Village” before and after the Revolutionary War; and a record of his family’s and community’s post-manumission diaspora. Recent discoveries, including An Essay on Slavery discovered in the Hillhouse Papers at Yale University, add nuance to scholars’ understanding and knowledge of his life and work and his position on the abolition of slavery. Hammon’s story offers contemporary Americans the perspective of an educated and articulate enslaved person during a time of significant social upheaval.

Jupiter was born into slavery in 1711, to a couple whose own parents were kidnapped into slavery and survived the treacherous Middle Passage to the Americas in the late 17th century. He lived as a member of the enslaved community belonging to the Lloyd family at the Manor of Queens Village (now Lloyd Neck). He learned to read and write during his childhood, most likely alongside the Lloyd family’s children, which was unusual for enslaved individuals living at this time. Scholars believe he was a preacher and a notable member of his community. At forty-nine years old, he published his first known poem, “An Evening Thought.” His most famous piece of writing “An Address to the Negroes in the State of New York on September 24, 1786,” was originally interpreted as a case for enslaved people to remain in bondage.

It’s only through considering the tumultuous time and place where these pieces were written that we gain more insight into their complexity. The end of the 18th century was a period in which New York and Long Island transitioned from slavery to emancipation. However, during the years between 1799, when the first manumission laws were introduced, and 1827 when slavery was abolished, enslaved communities lived in uncertainty about attaining and protecting freedom, and about economic survival for elderly former slaves and freed African American families. In the years following the American Revolution, people of color increasingly advocate for their own freedom, and establish mutual aid societies to bolster their efforts to survive and thrive in a society that maintained forms of injustice and inequity even after slavery was abolished. Hammon’s story, and its context, presents several dynamic interpretive topics:

- Long Island’s central role within the Atlantic slave trade
- Jupiter Hammon’s work as a reflection on his lived experience
- The chaotic transition from colony to new republic
- The complex historical period of manumission in New York
- Shifting definitions of wealth
- Perspectives on liberty, freedom, and exile

Each of these topics would be uniquely strengthened by the Joseph Lloyd Manor site and have pertinent parallels for contemporary audiences.

Covid-19 Impacts to Schedule and Format
In February 2020 the Preservation Long Island staff, Jupiter Hammon Project Manager, and Advisory Council initiated community development efforts and outright event production for the roundtables just as countries and cities across the world were ordered to stay at home to prevent the spread of a novel coronavirus causing a global pandemic, Covid-19. In mid-March
New York Governor Andrew Cuomo issued the 10-point “NY State on Pause” plan, which banned gatherings of any size for any reason and closed non-essential businesses. The team quickly realized that even if these stay-at-home orders were lifted in New York state by summer, indoor in-person gatherings like the roundtables would be psychologically difficult for people in June and even possibly in July and August. Additionally, doing face-to-face meetings and education events in Long Island communities to garner participation in roundtables would be difficult. Over the course of the following month, Preservation Long Island shifted the project timeline to accommodate new restrictions and guidelines and continued to build plans to make the project a success even if the pandemic continued into 2021.

The first challenge was to re-envision the roundtable events scheduled for the summer of 2020. The project team discussed three possible contingency plans for the roundtables:

- Rescheduling for weekends in fall 2020 with the hope that gathering in-person would be possible and museums could open
- Convening just the small group of panelists in person, which would be digitally broadcast live and used to foster an online discussion, if group size needed to be limited
- Conducting digital roundtables, if in-person gatherings were still prohibited

The subject matter to be discussed at the roundtables prompted a strong preference for in-person gathering if it would not pose a health risk. The team also considered the importance of keeping the roundtables in order, so that participants would have the necessary context and knowledge if they chose to attend the latter two roundtable discussions. This ruled out the option of maintaining the original date for the third roundtable and rescheduling the first two to follow it.

With these considerations at the fore, the team chose to move the roundtables to the fall, and then carry out the other contingency options (gathering only the panelists in person or converting the meetings to digital format) at that time if social distancing was still in place. The team worked with partner sites and panelists to identify new dates for the fall and by mid-April all events were rescheduled, and panelists confirmed for new dates: August 15, September 19, and October 24, 2020. A related event, the Literary Landmark celebration for Jupiter Hammon, was rescheduled for October 17th.

By mid-May, it was clear that public events of the type and scale imagined for the Jupiter Hammon Project roundtables would not be possible due to the ongoing challenges associated with Covid-19. Project partners at Suffolk County Historical Society pointed out that with social distancing regulations in place, they would only be able to host a maximum of 10 people. Executive Director Victoria Berger wrote, “If we calculate a bare minimum of 3 panelists, plus ONE Preservation Long Island rep, and myself that puts me at only 5 available seats. Have the other venues done their spatial calculations yet?” Weeksville Heritage Center, host for Roundtable One, communicated they would not hold any physical meetings at the site.

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The entire series of roundtables moved to a digital format. There were in-depth discussions about how this would impact the project, as well as the pros and cons of in-person and digital formats. While the entire team acknowledged that there could be a loss of certain types of participants because of the digital format, there were some exciting opportunities that opened up. Virtual roundtables made it possible for people to engage in multiple events, a chance to establish a more long-term conversation with participants about the project content. In addition, people outside of the immediate area around each host site could now participate.

The project team was aware of the impact videoconferencing has on attention span, therefore keeping people tuned in and focused for a full-day event no longer seemed realistic. Preservation Long Island’s Education Director, Darren St. George, conducted extensive research into online videoconferencing platforms (Zoom, WebEx, etc.), learning management hubs (like Google Classroom or Blackboard), and other digital tools to create multiple modes of engagement. The team also looked at ways to solicit input over a longer period of time. What follows is a summary of the revised program for each roundtable:

1) “Getting to Know” videos with each panelist
   A brief video pre-recorded with Darren St. George, Preservation Long Island’s Education and Public Programs Director. Made available to participants via website, social media, and email before each Roundtable, these videos serve as an introduction to the panelists and the expertise they contribute to the program.

2) Roundtable Convening
   A live, online video-conference program including a moderated expert panel discussion (roughly 90 minutes long); followed by a breakout session wherein smaller groups of participants will be prompted to discuss key takeaways (20-30 minutes long); and a brief reconvening for final messages.

3) Office Hours Q&A
   A 30-minute live question-and-answer session, where Roundtable participants can ask panelists further questions or get clarification on topics discussed. Delivered via videoconferencing, this session will be facilitated by Preservation Long Island staff who will filter/consolidate questions in advance and manage the session.

The second challenge was to ensure community members would still learn about the project and participate in the roundtables. While personal phone calls, emails, and networking with members of the Long Island community, the Advisory Council, scholars, and event host sites could continue, in-person informational presentations could not be planned. The team put more content online and increased digital assets for the project, initially by creating a resources page on the website (see https://preservationlongisland.org/jupiter-hammon-project-resources/) and by creating digital postcards and visuals for each roundtable that were circulated via email.

Social Media Campaign
Given that the roundtables were delayed by eight weeks, the time between April and June was used to build an online presence for the project. Social media posts had to mesh with the
existing voice of Preservation Long Island, which has wide-ranging content including a contest to name lambs as well as an image of Huntington town records with text that explored babies being manumitted as slavery was ending. For the Jupiter Hammon Project, posts aimed to stimulate attendance at events and educate interested social media users about the topics to be covered in the project roundtables. The team developed different streams of content for each platform (Instagram, Facebook, and Twitter) to prevent fatigue among those who follow the organization on different platforms. On Twitter, the team simply posted segments of Jupiter Hammon’s poetry in sequence, ending on the morning of roundtable events.

Some of the social media content focused on building imagery around the critical questions at the core of the roundtables’ development. Questions like “What is the power of documentation?” or “Was emancipation always positive?” create the opportunity to connect images and historical content spanning from Jupiter Hammon’s time to the present, mainly on Instagram. Though this approach included images that could be considered controversial (a sample image included a kneeling Colin Kaepernick), when it was reviewed by the PLI’s Education Committee they felt it was interesting and exciting. Content for Facebook included highlighting Preservation Long Island’s process—how and why interpreting Jupiter Hammon’s story is being undertaken in this way. The team created several pieces of video content for this effort, including a series entitled “Study Hall,” which invited several different people connected to the project to discuss resources on the project page.

Social media content was positively received, and there were no negative comments on any of the Jupiter Hammon Project posts. In addition to these content-rich posts, there was a need and request for typical publicity images to help promote the project, especially from the co-host organizations. These were created by PLI and distributed to all of the host sites for cross-promotion.

Differentiating content for each social media stream (Instagram, Facebook and Twitter) was beneficial to the project. Instagram content at times had double the average number of “likes.” Video content, in particular, worked well on Facebook: the roundtables more than doubled (in one case quintupled) Preservation Long Island’s page views, and the Office Hours programs spurred greater traffic, with additional reach of about 50%. The social media efforts were generally regarded as successful because they kept the programming on the minds of potential participants.
Community Outreach
At the same time rescheduling and social media efforts were taking place, the Project Manager initiated and continued to develop leads and contacts for the project. This outreach sought to cultivate attendance at the roundtables, and identify members of the descendant community, local leaders, and other individuals who would provide feedback during the breakout sessions that accompanied each roundtable. No longer limited by the size or location of the co-host venue, the scope of community outreach and breakout session size grew exponentially as a result of the virtual format and strengthened important conversations about defining the descendant community moving forward.

The Jupiter Hammon Project Advisory Council, a group of Long Island residents who have strong ties with diverse communities in the area, had previously provided suggestions for outreach based on their individual networks. The Project Manager began with phone calls to each Advisory Council member and continued with introductory emails, phone calls and invitations to their suggested contacts following those conversations.

Unfortunately, outreach efforts coincided with the brutal killing of George Floyd and related uprisings across the country to protest violence against Black people in America. Many members of the Advisory Council as well as their recommended connections (individuals involved with the NAACP, anti-racist organizations, and community organizations) spoke about being overwhelmed by requests for “participation” in community efforts and official comments for publication. In early June, one project contact said, “Things have changed, socially and politically. New positions and advisory offers are coming fast and furious. The whole temperament has changed, and Black communities need to deal with a new reality. . . [I’ve] gotten calls from 5 different police departments [for advisement] . . .”

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3 David Byre-Tyre, personal communication, June 18, 2020.
With the increased demand for input from Black community leaders, some people simply were unable to respond to the request for participation in the Jupiter Hammon Project. For others, the invitation was met with skepticism. Time was spent during outreach phone calls clarifying exactly what would happen during the project and breakout sessions, and the Project Manager endeavored to make clear that Preservation Long Island did not have a program, exhibit or interpretive theme in mind already—that any input would actually shape the outcomes of the project. Potential participants wanted to ensure that their commentary would be valued and have impact, rather than serve as a form of validation for something that had already been developed.

Since all programs would be virtual, the opportunity arose to develop deeper or more sustained relationships with individuals over the course of the project’s run. This shift in format prompted the team to consider the use of the word “stakeholder” and what that would mean in the context of the Jupiter Hammon Project. This conversation explored the ways the term “stakeholders” had been used in other programs at Preservation Long Island (such as advocacy), or at other institutions. The conversations resurfaced an important resource from the conception of the project—the report “Engaging Descendant Communities in the Interpretation of Slavery at Historic Sites and Museums,” produced by James Madison’s Montpelier in partnership with the National Trust for Historic Preservation’s African American Cultural Heritage Action Fund. Its introduction provided a helpful lens for thinking about the descendant community at these early stages of the project:

“In its most fundamental form, a “descendant community” is a group of people whose ancestors were enslaved at a particular site, but it can transcend that limited definition. A descendant community can include those whose ancestors were enslaved not only at a particular site, but also throughout the surrounding region, reflecting the fact that family ties often crossed plantation boundaries. A descendant community can also welcome those who feel connected to the work the institution is doing, whether or not they know of a genealogical connection.”

This being a multi-year project, the team agreed that while potential stakeholders might be identified during the roundtables, Preservation Long Island would most likely engage with individuals as stakeholders during subsequent phases. Preservation Long Island chose to cast the widest net possible for invitation to the breakout sessions. The list of invitees includes people from the following groups:

- Local and regional government
- Professors at colleges and universities with programs in African American literature, Africana Studies, Archaeology, History, and/or Literature
- Museum professionals from across Long Island / New York State
- Museum professionals from around the country with similar content interests

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- Library science and literary professionals
- Members of the religious community on Long Island
- Educators
- Local residents with a self-described interest in this history

In general, efforts to build project participation were successful. When it was made clear that the project was in early stages (some participants initially understood the project to be further along), people were excited to build relationships and participate in multiple roundtable convenings. Scholars who teach Jupiter Hammon’s writing as a part of their course offerings, historians who are conducting work in similar fields, and museum professionals who are interested in doing similar work to reinterpret their sites are some of the people who reached out during the three roundtables to make a more intentional connection. As a part of the project wrap-up, contacts who showed deeper interest and those who had unique experience or knowledge to offer the project were grouped for further communication from Preservation Long Island’s staff as the project continues.

Preservation Long Island also took care to leverage existing relationships, carefully selecting the right staff or Advisory Council member to reach out to specific people. Despite the care and persistent effort to connect, participation from members of the local Black and descendant community was relatively low. PLI recognizes the need to develop a sense of trust with the local Black community and will continue to dedicate energy to mobilizing involvement and deepening relationships in subsequent phases and beyond.
Part 2: Roundtable Production & Summaries

Interest in Roundtable One grew in an exciting and unexpected way in the weeks leading up to the event: Preservation Long Island made a decision to increase the capacity for the webinar series in order to accommodate anyone who wanted to attend. By early August, Roundtable One had 600 Eventbrite registrations and upwards of 60 breakout session participants.

The Run-of-Show for each event followed a similar format: Approximately 15 minutes of welcome and introduction from Preservation Long Island and co-hosting institutions, introduction of the moderator and panelists, an hour of panel discussion, and 15 minutes of questions and concluding remarks. The project team included interactive elements in the webinar to make the experience more dynamic. A member of the Advisory Council (also an employee of Weeksville Heritage Center) took on the task of annotating the conversation with contextual information for less knowledgeable participants, as well as repeating panelists’ most impactful statements. In addition, to solicit feedback from the participants at large, a series of multiple-choice polls were launched at random during each webinar. Any unanswered questions from the webinar were recorded and used to launch the conversation in the Office Hours sessions.

Following the panel discussion, breakout session participants logged into a separate Zoom meeting. The breakout sessions started with a brief introduction, 20 minutes of small group conversation, and time for each group to share their conversation at the end. Each breakout room was “hosted” and moderated by a member of the Preservation Long Island staff or Advisory Council who participated in brief preparation and training meetings and was provided with discussion prompts. Each breakout group was organized by the Jupiter Hammon Project team in advance. The goals for the breakout sessions following the first two roundtables were the same:

1. What are participants’ responses to the central questions discussed during the panel discussion? (see project questions, in appendices)
2. Demonstrate a need for this type of programming on Long Island - to cultivate further grant funding
3. Integrate advocacy into the interpretive process and avoid siloed work
4. In what ways do people want to encounter this information at a history institution (programs, exhibits, outreach, etc.)?

The following prompts were developed to spur discussion of relevant information, which corresponded to the goals for the conversation:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Resulting information</th>
<th>Goals Met</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In what ways was this panel discussion important to you?</td>
<td>Value of the content / information presented</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Potential to highlight certain topics / themes that have value across groups and can drive interpretation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Was the information discussed today new or insightful? Why?</td>
<td>What information is new and interesting to participants</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How can sites like Joseph Lloyd Manor do more to tell these narratives? What kinds of programs would you be interested in?</td>
<td>Participants’ desires for interpretation</td>
<td>3, 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In what ways does the content connect to your experience on Long Island?</td>
<td>Contemporary connections to historical information</td>
<td>1, 2 (possibly 4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The goals and prompts were shifted for the third roundtable’s breakout session. Most of the participants had attended one or both of the previous breakout sessions, and the panel discussion during Roundtable Three focused on interpretive opportunities and explored how historic sites, like Joseph Lloyd Manor, can effectively engage audiences with difficult historical narratives. Therefore, it made more sense to focus the breakout conversations on potential aspects of interpretation at Joseph Lloyd Manor. Three areas of public engagement were imagined:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scenarios</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interpretation at Joseph Lloyd Manor (working with objects, rooms, and physical space)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Programs (artistic performances, public tours, lectures, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Academic and Professional Program (research institutes, teacher training, literary residencies, etc.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An additional question was posed to all three groups:
• What topics, issues and situations could be challenging or spark discomfort in potential visitors to Joseph Lloyd Manor? What could be done to mitigate discomfort or encourage people to stay with difficult topics?

Following Roundtable One, breakout session participants were given priority to sign up for the Office Hours to ensure that they would have a place. However, the turnout for Office Hours generally was smaller than anticipated. The team took a suggestion from Jennifer Anderson to move Office Hours closer to the original roundtable for the second offering of the program, as well as making the invite available via Eventbrite immediately at the close of the event. However, turnout remained the same. For the final Office Hours all the panelists were grouped together for a single discussion. Attendance for the Office Hours portion of the program remained fairly low but provided an opportunity for the most engaged audience members to listen to their favorite panelists go more in-depth on specific topics. Members of the Preservation Long Island staff were also able to ask more specific clarifying questions that enhanced the nuanced understanding of key aspects of the panel discussion.
Roundtable One: Long Island in the Black Atlantic World (Summary)

Three hundred forty-three people logged into this webinar on Zoom, and the Facebook livestream had a reach metric of 1,400. Cordell Reaves, the project moderator, beautifully framed the conversation by setting the goal to respectfully delve into the world that surrounded Jupiter Hammon, as well as the forces that impacted his community and his family. The panel discussion started with an explanation of Long Island’s position within and centrality to the Atlantic slave trade in the late 17th and early 18th century. The arc of the conversation is best encapsulated by Dr, Craig Wilder’s brief statement, “scholarship over the last 20-30 years has started to unfold this story . . . of how central and indispensable slavery is to the nation that we now know.”

It’s interesting to look at this introductory conversation alongside the results of a polling question that was posed during the event [Figure 2]—close to three-quarters of webinar participants said that they either didn’t understand the complexity of slavery in the North, or the centrality of slavery to Long Island (approximately 63%, blue and red sections) or the issue was completely new (approximately 10%, green section).

During the panel discussion, there were some requests from the audience for more information or a primer on Jupiter Hammon and his life—one participant asked about Hammon’s wife and children, unaware that he was never married and never fathered children. This was addressed in the live annotation, but also resulted in the creation of an opening slideshow presenting basic facts about Hammon’s life for the following two roundtables.

The discussion also touched on the multicultural and multilingual community surrounding Jupiter and his family. Panelists described the complex interactions between Black enslaved and free communities and Indigenous tribes, illustrating ways in which those relationships were manipulated by European colonists. The conversation also explored the vast range of enslaved, free and manumitted situations of Black people in colonial Long Island, both generally and in the life of Jupiter Hammon specifically, explaining the impact of gradual manumission on

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families and social networks. These two topics garnered significant interest for further research and interpretation during the breakout sessions that followed.

A clear group of themes and topics carried across the breakout session’s conversations:

- **Education**
  - People are not familiar with and not taught this history—it’s poorly understood. (Reinforced by Poll Data: see Figure 3, represented by yellow section)
  - There is a need for education across several age groups
  - Participants would like to see a curriculum created around slavery in the North

- **Connection**
  - People would like to see slavery interpreted across several Long Island sites, and suggested partnerships between organizations
  - Participants highlighted the opportunity to tell a “bigger story,” and use Jupiter Hammon’s life to illustrate themes and topics that have broader impact
  - Making connections to contemporary racial issues and what we experience today

- **Intersectionality**
  - Cultural development, mixing and multiplicity of languages and relationship between Indigenous and African American peoples and cultures
  - Religious complexity and overlapping of African and Christian spiritual Practices

- **Complexity of the Black experience and its intersection with freedom**

- **Desire to work with the geography/water/land in interpretation**

Roundtable One was the most well-attended of the series and created a strong public presence for the project. Douglas Jones, a Rutgers University professor who attended the session, was surprised to learn that the roundtables were brand new programs because it was presented in such a “polished” way. Ed Dugger, a member of the project’s Advisory Council and breakout session guide, reflected on the excellence of the event and how it would impact his future work as an instructor by shifting conversations with students, even with prior knowledge about the

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In addition to these comments, messages (such as the ones below) received from the public demonstrated wide appreciation for the project:

---Original Message-----
From: Ruth Ann [mailto: rif@thehf.org]
Sent: Saturday, August 15, 2020 11:50 AM
To: Elizabeth Abrams <eabrams@preservationlongisland.org>
Subject: Very impressive panel this morning

I learned so much.
It's sad that white supremacy squeezed this history for so long & I am grateful for your efforts to unearth, preserve and disseminate the facts.

Sent from my iPhone

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Integral Justice
to me ➤

11:54 AM (4 minutes ago)

Thank you Christina!
Yes, I was able to attend Saturday - it was so great. I thought I knew some things, but whew, that was a wealth of education! I will definitely attend and participate in the next two.
Please let me know if you need any additional information from me. Thank you!

Please be well,

Vivianne

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Roundtable Two The Voice of Jupiter Hammon (Summary)
This roundtable was attended by 130 participants on Zoom and the Facebook Live reached 636 viewers. The panelists agreed that beginning the roundtable by looking at Hammon’s last known work, the unpublished “An Essay on Slavery,” would provide participants with a visual reference for the material quality of 18th century published documents (by looking at the digital copy) and a feeling for the language. This initial portion of the conversation centered Hammon’s work in the context of 18th and 19th century writing, as well as identifying details that may signal Hammon’s understanding of writing for and communicating to both a white and a Black audience.

The panel discussion continued, exploring Hammon’s relationship with Christianity and how it influenced his work. Panelists discussed how the public may have come into contact with Hammon’s compositions, either via oral transmission (like a sermon, and its connections to that form and structure) or via print media, and the ways in which Christianity may have facilitated his publication. Dr. Phil Richards neatly explained the concepts of virtue and divine providence as they existed in the late 18th century, and how they are employed in Hammon’s writing.

The panelists shifted to discussing Hammon’s ability to be subversive within this context and highlighted his personal and literary connections to the Griot culture of Africa. Phillis Wheatley and Hammon’s father, Obium, who’s name in Igbo means “diviner,” were cited as religious

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influences but also strong connections to African culture. The connections to Africa and the dual meaning of certain phrases were identified as the most interesting aspects of Hammon’s writing.

The discussion also touched time and again on the content of Hammon’s writing and the conditions surrounding its publication. Panelist Malik Work emphasized Hammon’s writing as a demonstration of intelligence—at the time a form of resistance. He reiterated to the audience that a lyricist is “hyper-crafty” with language: Hammon was not just literate, he had a high level of scholarship and facility with language. This topic also came up when discussing Hammon’s position with the Lloyd family and the work he did as an enslaved member of the household. A poll question during the roundtable illustrated that many participants wanted to know more about Hammon’s relationship with the Lloyds [Figure 4]. Finally, several questions posed during the webinar focused on how Hammon was involved in the editing and publication of his own work.

The panel discussion ended with Malik Work’s spontaneous reading of “An Essay on Slavery.” A request from the audience, this was by far the most popular moment of the entire roundtable series and kicked off the breakout sessions with resounding positive reflections and a desire for reading and performance to be incorporated into the experience at Joseph Lloyd Manor. A breakout session participant reflected these sentiments, saying, “What a revelation to hear Malik reading. I got choked up . . . There’s a real difference between reading the text yourself and hearing it performed.”

Most participants who attended the breakout session that followed this roundtable had also attended the breakout session after Roundtable One, though participants were grouped differently and had an additional five minutes for conversation. While several themes from the first breakout session resurfaced, for example, a need to focus on teaching this history and making it more well-known, and making connections across sites on Long Island and to contemporary race issues, new ideas also arose.

A need to understand 18th century Long Island came up in several breakout sessions—people wanted more information about the literacy and the accessibility of Hammon’s work, particularly for free and enslaved Black people, as well as the general presence of print media in daily life. Participants also suggested providing greater knowledge about Christianity in the 18th

8 Jessa Krick, breakout session participant in conversation with Lauren Brincat, September 19, 2020.
century, to help people understand the nuanced meaning of language used by Hammon and how it might affect different audiences.

Roundtable Two breakout session participants also discussed religious complexity and a desire to know more about overlapping of African and Christian spiritual practices, which adds depth to the theme of cultural mixing and adaptation that came up in Roundtable One. In addition, there were some requests to continue doing virtual programming, as some participants would never have been able to join the conversation if the meetings had been in-person events.

Finally, the desire to work with the geography of Long Island came up in some of the breakout session conversations, with suggestions to include artists and performers as well as didactic material.

Roundtable Three Confronting Slavery at Joseph Lloyd Manor (Summary)

On October 24, 151 Zoom participants logged into the final webinar of the series, which reached 959 people through Facebook Live. Cordell Reaves, the project moderator, set the tone for this final conversation by asking panelists to speak about the interpretive opportunities in Jupiter Hammon’s story. Their comments illustrated opportunities to have rich discussions regarding the complex lives of enslaved people, forms of agency, and the nuanced ways in which agency was expressed. Discussion also highlighted the unique situation of having Hammon’s words recorded and published, although he was most likely among a cohort of Black writers and orators whose works were not commonly documented.

This topic quickly segued to examples of rigorous interpretation at other sites. Successful experiences were noted for qualities such as building trust (by establishing facts which are shared consistently), using dialogue to discover and start “where people are,” as well as creative processes that prioritized thinking about equity and how to represent who was using or engaging with historic house objects and spaces the most. Panelists mentioned sites and experiences that included memorials or spaces of reflection as a way to reinforce messages that are emotional rather than instructive. Panelist Dina Bailey highlighted empathy as a measure of success, and stressed the importance of educators and staff taking their time rather than trying to “get through” a certain amount of material.9 Examples demonstrated the usefulness of objects (including reproduction objects) as entry points into the experience of the enslaved, and the usefulness of interpreting the gaps in documentation or knowledge instead of thinking of a lack of material as a hindrance.

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Roundtable Three attendees were fascinated by the Slave Dwelling Project and asked Joe McGill several questions about his experiences sleeping in the spaces of the enslaved, and specifically what it had been like to sleep at Joseph Lloyd Manor. Joe spoke about the difference of sleeping inside the same house as the enslavers (rather than in slave cottages more common across the American South), and the intimacy that brought to mind.

The experiential quality of the Slave Dwelling Project led to a discussion of the interpretive methods used at Connor Prairie, in which visitors (with consent) were positioned as enslaved people who had chosen to flee their enslavers in a live reenactment. Further discussion highlighted the drawbacks in this style of immersive interpretation, but that there are many other styles of interpretive performance to explore, such as pairing actors and performers with scholars who could provide context.

The concept of developing interpretation that involves actors and performers as well as historians and specifically sociologists in order to create safe space and context for audience members was echoed in the breakout sessions that followed the webinar. Aligning with previous roundtable sessions, groups discussed connecting to several sites across Long Island and working with the landscape as a way to engage with audiences. Education also came up again, with a valuable conversation about “filtering” information for children. A member of one breakout group highlighted that Black families around the country are having contemporary conversations about the dangers of living in America as a person of color, which has direct connections to this history. While it may not be necessary to delve deeply into graphic violence, many children are being educated about complex racial issues in their regular life, and we privilege white fragility when we ignore the opportunity to engage in sharing age-appropriate historical information about slavery.

Considering the remote location of the house and the value of the information, attendees stressed the need to continue with virtual programs or consider traveling to other sites in order to make the content accessible.

One breakout group discussed working on interpretation at Joseph Lloyd Manor, and also rekindled themes that were present in previous breakout sessions, including working with the land. A specific suggestion was given to consider the concept of “non-space,” such as hallways, open landscapes, and transition areas, as a place to develop these stories. This led to a conversation about how to center Hammon’s story at the house, with breakout session attendees
noting that he’s the most important historical resident. A participant went so far as to ask, “Could this be the Hammon-Lloyd House?” The concept of creating more of a presence for Jupiter Hammon in the identity of the house resonated with breakout session participants, even if the name was not formally changed.

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10 Breakout session participant, in conversation with Ed Dugger, October 24, 2020.
Part 3: Outcomes and Implications for Research and Interpretation

Overall, the first phase of the Jupiter Hammon Project is regarded as a success. Going into the roundtables the prevailing attitude within the staff and administration at Preservation Long Island was one of experimentation: especially with the pandemic impacting the country throughout the project. The team consistently asked “What IS possible?” rather than dwelling on the challenges, which allowed the project to evolve and thrive in a digital format.

The first roundtable had the highest attendance and covered the broadest content. As the topics became more focused in the two roundtables that followed, the roundtable attendance leveled off around 150 participants. Most people in the breakout sessions following each roundtable attended at least two of the three programs, and many attended all of them. This sustained engagement would not have been possible with live programming in distant locations. In some cases, it allowed for deeper reflection and conversation in breakout sessions. For example, during Roundtable Two a small number of participants spoke about the history of slavery being “hidden” in public life but instructed in private family conversations. It is unclear if these more intimate reflections would have surfaced during a single in-person event.

Colleagues at Weeksville Heritage Center, who continued to support the project during Roundtables Two and Three in addition to being part of the Advisory Council, commented both on the organization of the project as well as the timeline. Despite the changes due to Covid-19, the prevailing impression among the co-hosts was of an organized and smooth event production. In addition, both Julia Keiser and Zenzele Cooper commented on the strength of “having so much time” to explore the topics and build relationships with the audience, rather than moving quickly to specific outcomes or programs. The first phase of this project has gone a
long way towards building a foundation of trust with participants and a favorable impression with ongoing program partners.

Marketing metrics suggest that interpreting enslavement is building Preservation Long Island’s community and audience engagement. The Jupiter Hammon main page on the PLI website is the second-most viewed page of the year with 2,556 views, and 60% of the website traffic from October 2020 to November 18, 2020 is from new viewers. The project likely contributed to attracting new visitors to the website. Additional data shows the total audience for the project (as of November 18, 2020) was 2,350 contacts. This includes 480 new contacts, which represents 13% growth overall. It’s interesting to note that the Jupiter Hammon Project audience is also a more engaged segment: they are more likely than PLI’s overall audience to open newsletter communication (50% vs 30%). These may be helpful statistics for other museums and historic sites to gain support for augmenting their interpretation to include stories of enslaved people: rather than losing patrons by interpreting challenging material, Preservation Long Island has gained them, and they are more engaged in the content.

**Emerging Approaches to Public Engagement**
Among the wealth of ideas for interpretation, several surfaced frequently and continued to develop complexity across all three breakout sessions. These approaches to public engagement have been echoed in various ways by the Advisory Council. As the project continues to evolve, it will be crucial to consider how proposed extensions of the project build on these strategies:

**Enhance and Augment K-12 Teaching and Learning:** Most adults are not familiar with the history of slavery in New York, and those who have detailed knowledge on the topic sought it out and educated themselves after completing their K-12 education. Few people, even younger [millennial] participants in the roundtables had been taught about slavery in the Northern states. To quote panelist Dr. Craig Wilder, “It's not that these stories [of Northern slavery and racial violence] aren’t known. Part of racial power is the ability to have something be known, but also not told.”

Currently, the history of slavery on Long Island is taught unevenly across schools and classrooms. While the 4th grade curriculum includes the Key Idea 4.5a: *There were slaves in New York State. People worked to fight against slavery and for change,* some teachers go to great lengths to develop students’ understanding while others simply meet the curriculum requirements. Working with teachers to develop resources that support adding nuance, complexity and detail to the stories of the enslaved will better the next generation’s ability to understand this history and engage in discussion about its impacts.

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There is a need for Preservation Long Island’s work to explicitly confront oversimplified narratives and bolster education at all age levels.

**Enrich Interpretation through New Partnerships:** The historical prevalence, impact and legacy of the institution of slavery is widespread on Long Island. The stories of the enslaved connect Joseph Lloyd Manor to several historic sites across Long Island, New York City, and Connecticut as well as other parts of the world. Existing public offerings, such as the Plain Sight Project and programming at Sylvester Manor and Raynham Hall, document and deepen the knowledge of enslaved people across the East End of Long Island. Many breakout session attendees wanted to connect the stories of the enslaved across several sites and explore the history of slavery as well as the history of Black achievement in many locations. By connecting sites across Long Island and developing institutional and community partnerships, Preservation Long Island will be able to tell a richer, more complete story.

**Harness the Power of Space (Landscape and Architectural):** Breakout session comments after Roundtable One referenced the unique geography of Long Island and the ways it shaped the lives of the enslaved. Specific ideas included creating a program in which participants crossed the water to Connecticut, or exploring the landscape of Lloyd Neck and developing a walking tour. Another participant suggested working with land- and water-based interpretive art practitioners.

Some of the more academic breakout session participants referenced the concept of “non-space” as an emerging and interesting method of interpreting slavery, similar to the practice that panelist Dina Bailey referenced when she discussed “interpreting the gaps” in historical documents. Hallways might display pairs of shoes in various sizes, or wooded expanses could be used to imagine an enslaved person’s escape to freedom. Examining the architectural and geographical spaces at Joseph Lloyd Manor with a fresh perspective could develop new opportunities to interpret the lives of enslaved residents.

**Interpretation via Contemporary Arts:** Malik Work’s reading of Jupiter Hammon’s “Essay on Slavery” was the most talked about experience during any of the roundtables. Several participants mentioned being emotionally affected, choking up or feeling tears in their eyes. Co-panelist and literary scholar Phil Richards later reflected on hearing the piece performed live, saying “Malik’s reading made Jupiter’s words alive for me in a way they’ve never been alive before.” It’s certain that new interpretation at Joseph Lloyd Manor should include performance of Hammon’s work. During Roundtable Two, the piece was fortuitously framed by an initial conversation about the piece, which provided context for the audience to understand the words. Careful reading before a performance could be a meaningful attribute of developing a nuanced and holistic appreciation for Hammon’s pieces.

Other breakout discussions included suggestions for working with professional actors and performance artists to develop work inspired by Jupiter’s writing, but with a more

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15 Phil Richards, Office Hours Preparation in conversation with Christina Ferwerda, September 23, 2020.
contemporary look or feel. Rather than pursuing highly dramatic and immersive experiences (like the one at Connor Prairie, described in Roundtable Three), there was a general preference for performance that included scholars and thinkers who could provide perspective on the dramatized events, or creative interpretations by dancers, visual artists, and other types of contemporary artists.

**Online and Virtual Programming:** The shift to virtual programming as a result of Covid-19 restrictions offered some advantages. When some initial panelists were unable to participate, it was much easier to involve new and valuable scholars in the roundtables on short notice. In addition, participants who felt connected to the Jupiter Hammon Project content, whether or not they had a genealogical or geographical connection to the descendant community on Long Island, tuned in and offered valuable reflections and suggestions. While the audience mainly tuned in from areas of New York and Long Island, there were participants from as far as Maryland, Louisiana, and Colorado.

A few comments emphasized the isolated location of Joseph Lloyd Manor, and the ways in which virtual programs allowed the message to permeate further into the local community. Continuing to offer some virtual programming, and a virtual option for live programming could enhance connections with several audiences: with Long Island’s residents with mobility issues, as well as distant audiences. Preservation Long Island could continue to build and maintain important relationships with scholars, museum professionals, and artists who contribute to the project in meaningful ways by continuing to use formats like Zoom and Facebook Live.

**Content Areas for Further Research and Development**

These areas of content garnered the most interest among our participants, measured by the level of questions, conversation, and curiosity garnered across the roundtable programming. In many ways, these themes and topics overlapped with areas of continued interest for participating scholars. They offer Preservation Long Island not only the opportunity to explore emerging areas of historic research and interpretation, but also the opportunity to demonstrate to audiences that history is not “old and brown” (as it is sometimes perceived at historic sites), but an evolving, exciting field that has contemporary relevance and intriguing questions to explore.

**Inequality and Racism Today:** Breakout session participants commented on the ways in which scholars connected historical and contemporary events and culture. For example, one attendee said, "*It was energizing to see the connections drawn between 17th, 18th, and 19th century histories and seeing the history in the context of structural racism.*" In Roundtable Two, Dr Jesse Erickson illuminated the connection between Hammon’s writing and contemporary sample culture in hip hop music. Building on this concept from another angle, Dina Bailey urged participants in Roundtable Three to consider meeting people “where they are” (a sentiment echoed in the breakout session that followed). Interpretive methods should

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16 Breakout session participant in conversation with Zenzele Cooper, August 15, 2020.
[https://preservationlongisland.org/jupiter-hammon-project-roundtable-3/](https://preservationlongisland.org/jupiter-hammon-project-roundtable-3/)
connect to visitors’ lived experience and provide opportunities to discuss and examine contemporary issues and the ways they have been influenced by history.

Contemporary injustice and inequality can be better understood when the historical roots of these issues are explained and connected to present-day experiences. Racial inequality is a topic of national importance, and Jupiter Hammon’s story offers potent opportunities to promote equality.

**Change, Continuity, and Identity:** Roundtable One participants had many questions about the development of relationships between Indigenous, African, and African American peoples and the ways their cultural practices intersected and merged. Understanding indigenous tribes’ acceptance or rejection of European systems of slavery and its impact on their societal connections increased appreciation for the complexity of life on Long Island in the 17th and 18th centuries. In addition, Dr. Nicole Maskiell highlighted the documentation of enslaved people speaking multiple languages including Native American dialects, further illustrating the wide range of enslaved people’s talents and motivating the audience to question how that might have affected European, Indigenous, and African cultural transformation and transmission.

In other panel discussions and breakout sessions, archaeology and research into artifacts that demonstrate the maintenance or shifting of cultures were of interest to participants. A critical aspect of interpreting and presenting this topic includes clearly demonstrating the agency of marginalized cultures in choosing to keep traditional practices or adopt and adapt to new ones that are presented in the dominant American culture of the 17th and 18th century.

**Religious Practices and Beliefs:** Participants in the Jupiter Hammon Project roundtables wanted and needed a better understanding of the overlapping African and Christian spiritual practices, with a general interest in both 18th century Christianity and Jupiter’s spiritual roots in Africa. Religion came up in both Roundtables One and Two, especially as a structure within which Hammon, and emerging Black American society in general, could assert their vision for a world without slavery. Some breakout session participants who had attended services in traditionally African American churches mentioned, “if you grew up in the Black church culture [hearing Jupiter Hammon’s writing] felt very familiar.” For those who had less experience with Christian traditions, there was a lot of interest in understanding how religion overlapped with the American Revolution, and created a common language for Hammon to integrate concepts of freedom into his writing for both Black and white audiences.

**Freedom, Emancipation, and Abolition:** The first roundtable discussion in particular highlighted the common misperception that New York’s transition from slavery to freedom was a clear, straight-forward progression. By discussing the conditions of free, half-free and enslaved people living in close proximity, as well as illustrating the emotional impacts of gradual manumission on Black families, Roundtable One highlighted the complexity of the Black experience until slavery was abolished in 1827. Most impactful during that roundtable was the confusion and danger this created for Black and Indigenous people.

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Dr. Craig Wilder noted the activity of mutual aid societies just before Hammon’s “Address to the Negroes of the State of New York,” and how that may have framed the delivery of this text. In addition, several panelists highlighted the subtle and complex forms of resistance that co-existed during this time, and the leading role that African Americans took in demanding an end to slavery. Exploring the emergence of freedom, and clearly communicating that freedom is not equivalent to power or equality has the potential to enhance a variety of interpretive opportunities and connect to conversations about racial inequality that continues today.

**Literacy and Rhetoric during the 18th Century:** The routines and habits of day-to-day life on Long Island in Jupiter Hammon’s time are at best remote for a contemporary audience. In order to understand and appreciate Jupiter Hammon’s work and its subtlety, knowledge about the role of literacy and orature in Black American culture at the time is crucial. Additionally, understanding the general cultural setting of print media in the 17th and 18th century, including where and when people encountered published works (such as broadsides), illuminates the context for Hammon’s work. His writings take on new meaning and instill curiosity in readers and listeners when an understanding of the different language cues for white and black audiences during that time is folded into the discussion.

A second context to consider is the American Revolution, and the rhetoric about freedom in the forming United States. Hammon is one of very few writers whose words intersect with that conversation but provide a perspective from the Black community.

**Next Steps**

As this project is the first step in a multi-year exploration of what the Joseph Lloyd Manor can offer to the public, fundraising and planning for more impactful changes will continue. Preservation Long Island will continue to engage with the Advisory Council and local leaders to maintain public input as the project proceeds towards the next phase. Preservation Long Island has applied for additional funding to continue this project, which will focus on engaging with local stakeholders in a series of programs in the Joseph Lloyd Manor to reimagine interpretation in certain areas of the house. However, in the interim a few steps will capitalize on the work completed in the first phase of the project:

- **Ongoing identification of potential project stakeholders:** Many roundtable participants attended all three public programs, and several further followed up with emails and phone calls expressing curiosity about a particular topic or other comments that showed continued interest. At the end of phase 1, the Project Manager identified a list of individuals for potential continued involvement. In addition, the next phase focuses directly on local engagement, and Preservation Long Island has ongoing community programs through which valuable relationships with people in Suffolk and Nassau counties could arise.

- **Prepare Joseph Lloyd Manor to elevate the story of Jupiter Hammon:** Dr. Jennifer Anderson will be scholar-in-residence at Preservation Long Island as part of her American Council of Learned Societies "Scholars in Society" fellowship for the 2021 academic year. Dr. Anderson will work with Preservation Long Island staff to develop
preliminary interpretive interventions at the Manor to reflect the ongoing work of the Jupiter Hammon Project.

- **Present Roundtable Content at Joseph Lloyd Manor:** Many valuable statements and conversations were revealed during the Jupiter Hammon Project Roundtables. Recorded audio and video of the events offers a trove of material that can augment visits at Joseph Lloyd Manor. Temporary interpretive interventions would allow visitors to access this rich collection of content. These include graphic panels about the roundtable events; video clips presented on iPads in key locations; audio segments or a new audio tour; or even a “watch party” in which visitors can stop the video at key points to explore the Manor.
Jupiter Hammon Project Resources

For a complete bibliography, please see the Jupiter Hammon Project Bibliography.

Historical Documents
Jupiter Hammon’s Poetry
- Jupiter Hammon, “An Evening Thought,” 1760
- Jupiter Hammon, “Dear Anne Hutchinson is Dead and Gone,” 1770
- Jupiter Hammon, “An Address to Miss Phillis Wheatley,” 1778
- Jupiter Hammon, “An Address to the Negroes in the State of New-York,” 1787

Laws & Municipal Records
- New York Slave Code, 1730
- “Census of Slaves,” 1755
- An Act Concerning Slaves, 1788
- An Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery, 1799
- Town of Huntington Manumission Records, 1800-24
- An Act Relative to Slaves and Servants, 1817

Papers
- Papers of the Lloyd Family of the Manor of Queens Village
- Sylvester Manor Archive
- Records of the First Church in Huntington, Long Island, 1723-79
- Annals of St. John’s Church, Huntington, Suffolk County, NY

Digital Resources
Interactive Websites & Recorded Talks
- National Museum of African American History & Culture, Talking about Race
- Historic Hudson Valley, People Not Property
- American Antiquarian Society, Black Self-Publishing
- Brooklyn Historical Society, 400 Years of Inequality: Slavery, Race, and Our Unresolved History
- New York Times Magazine, 1619 Project
- Columbia University, Mapping the African American Past
- NPR 5-Minute Listen, “Student Finds New Work By First Published African-American Poet”
- RACE Project
- Humanities New York, Reckoning with the History of Enslavement

Online Exhibitions
- New-York Historical Society, Slavery in New York
- Brooklyn Historical Society, In Pursuit of Freedom
- Colonial Williamsburg, Slavery and Remembrance: A Guide to Sites, Museums, and Memory
- James Madison’s Montpelier, A Mere Distinction of Color
- Slavery at Mount Vernon
- The Paradox of Liberty: Slavery at Jefferson’s Monticello

Databases
- New York Slavery Records Index
- Slave Voyages Database
- Slavery Images
- Freedom Narratives
- Plain Sight Project
- Freedom on the Move: A Database of Fugitives from American Slavery

**Scholarly Publications**

**Preservation Long Island Blog Posts**
- The Life and Works of Jupiter Hammon (1711–before 1806)
- Jupiter Hammon and New York’s Long Struggle for Freedom
- Writing Revolution: Jupiter Hammon’s Address to Phillis Wheatley

**Articles and Dissertations**
- Cedrick May, “An Enslaved Poet on Slavery”
- Phillip M. Richards, “Nationalist Themes in the Preaching of Jupiter Hammon”
- Allison McGovern, “Digging the Roots of Inequality on Long Island”
- Nicole Maskiell, “Slavery Among Elites in Colonial Massachusetts and New York”

**Other Publications**
- Anna Gedal, “Unpublished Jupiter Hammon Poem Discovered at N-YHS”
- African Americans in the Town of Huntington: The Early Years
- Hofstra University Library – Slavery on Long Island