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**Research Report on the
Potential Underground Railroad Associations
of the Duffield Street and Gold Street Properties
in Downtown Brooklyn**

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Research Report on the Potential Underground Railroad Associations of the
Duffield Street and Gold Street Properties in
Downtown Brooklyn

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Executive Summary

A. INTRODUCTION

This report describes the physical site characteristics of the buildings on Duffield Street and Gold Street/Albee Square in Downtown Brooklyn and the historic records research conducted to determine whether these properties had potential connections to the Underground Railroad, and makes conclusions regarding the potential association of these properties with the Underground Railroad.

PROJECT BACKGROUND

The proposed Downtown Brooklyn Development project is a long-range planning strategy to create a vibrant, multi-use urban environment that serves the residents, businesses, and academic institutions of Downtown Brooklyn and its surrounding communities. This planning effort, sponsored by the New York City Department of City Planning (DCP) and the New York City Economic Development Corporation (EDC), would affect approximately 59 blocks of the Downtown Brooklyn area. Because the project required discretionary approvals, it was required to undergo a City Environmental Quality Review (CEQR) and Uniform Land Use Review Procedure (ULURP), both of which require public review and approval.

During the public comment period on the Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) for the CEQR and ULURP for the Downtown Brooklyn plan, owners of three properties on Duffield and Gold Streets, which are proposed for City acquisition, stated that their buildings had been utilized for Underground Railroad activities. Since the Downtown Brooklyn area was known to have been home to an active abolitionist movement, and since no documentary evidence was provided by the property owners to substantiate their specific claims, the City of New York instructed its consultant, AKRF, Inc., to conduct historic research to see whether any such association could be found and to include the results of the research in the Final EIS (FEIS). The FEIS, which was published in April 2004, noted that no documentable association of the 227 Duffield Street, 233 Duffield Street, and 436 Gold Street/Albee Square buildings with the Underground Railroad had been found and that there was no evidence to support a determination that the properties are eligible for National Historic Landmark status or listing on the National Register of Historic Places in relation to the Underground Railroad.¹

The land use plan's public review and approval process involved the local community board, City Planning Commission, Brooklyn Borough President, and finally, the New York City Council, which approved this long-term development plan to facilitate the continued growth of Downtown Brooklyn. However, the City Council requested that the City revisit the research conducted in the FEIS and continue further researching the claims of the property owners. A letter was presented by the property owners to the New York City Council that included, in

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addition to the three original properties, another four properties that were claimed to have historic connections to the Underground Railroad.

This report summarizes the expanded research effort that has been undertaken to include the following subject properties subsequent to the initial research effort conducted as part of the FEIS:

- 223 Duffield Street, Block 146, Lot 17
- 225 Duffield Street, Block 146, Lot 16
- 227 Duffield Street, Block 146, Lot 15
- 231 Duffield Street, Block 146, Lot 13
- 233 Duffield Street, Block 146, Lot 12
- 235 Duffield Street, Block 146, Lot 11
- 436 Gold Street, Block 146, Lot 51 (aka 436 Albee Square)

THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD IN DOWNTOWN BROOKLYN

The Underground Railroad refers to the efforts of enslaved African-Americans to gain their freedom by escaping bondage. The Underground Railroad was neither underground nor a railroad, but a network of safe houses and individuals who helped slaves escape to freedom. It was a clandestine operation that began during the colonial period, later became part of organized abolitionist activity in the 19th century, and reached its peak in the period 1830-1865.

With the enactment of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, which made it possible for the federal government to assist slave catchers to find, arrest, and return fugitives—federal marshals could be used to capture accused fugitives—it was more difficult for freedom seekers to stay in urban areas in the north by blending in as free blacks. In the aftermath of the Fugitive Slave Act, New York City was believed to have been more active in the harboring and transmission of freedom seekers using the Hudson River as a means to travel northward to Albany, Syracuse, and Rochester to Canada.² The freedom journeys of Henry Highland Garnet, Samuel Ringgold Ward, James William Charles (J.W.C.) Pennington, Harriet Jacobs, Ann Maria Weems, and Frederick Douglass establish that New York City and Brooklyn were important sites of Underground Railroad assistance. Brooklyn, in particular Downtown Brooklyn, was active in the abolitionist movement and in the Underground Railroad.

A number of churches in the Downtown Brooklyn and surrounding area have been reported to have connections with the Underground Railroad, either as sites of active abolitionist movements or having served as stations on the Underground Railroad. These sites include Plymouth Church (now Plymouth Church of the Pilgrims) in Brooklyn Heights; Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian Church in Fort Greene; Bridge Street African Wesleyan Methodist Episcopal (AWME) Church—the first African-American congregation in Brooklyn—Siloam Presbyterian Church, and Concord Baptist Church, all of which are no longer extant at their original locations in Downtown Brooklyn; and Brooklyn Friends Meeting House.

In addition, a number of persons prominently associated with the abolitionist movement and/or Underground Railroad activities, including several of the pastors of the churches noted above, lived in the Downtown Brooklyn area. These individuals include Reverend Henry Ward Beecher, Reverend Samuel Hanson Cox, Reverend Theodore L. Cuyler, Reverend Amos N.

Freeman, Reverend James N. Gloucester, William Harned, Reverend J.W.C. Pennington, Reverend Charles B. Ray, and Arthur and Lewis Tappan.

The sensitive context in which the buildings on Duffield Street and Gold Street/Albee Square existed, however, is not sufficient in itself to presume a potential connection to the Underground Railroad. Evidence particular to each building must be identified. This was the subject of the research effort; to determine whether a significant association with the Underground Railroad could be documented for any or all of the buildings on Duffield Street and Gold Street/Albee Square.

B. RESEARCH APPROACH AND SCOPE

INFORMATION PROVIDED BY PROPERTY OWNERS

The owners of 227 Duffield Street, 233 Duffield Street, and 436 Gold Street/Albee Square (Joy Chatel, Lewis Greenstein, and Dave Walker, respectively) gave testimony regarding the potential Underground Railroad associations of their properties at a public hearing on March 24, 2004. As described above, in a memo dated June 8, 2004, the Duffield Street Association expanded the area of potential significance to include 223, 225, 231, and 235 Duffield Street (seven buildings total). A letter from Frederick Laverpool, Sr., a Brooklyn history promoter, was also received regarding the need to investigate the potential connection of the Duffield Street and Gold Street buildings to the Underground Railroad.

In individual conversations or public hearing testimony given around that time, the property owners noted that:

- There was at one time a tunnel underneath the sidewalk on Duffield Street that led between the buildings (223-235 Duffield Street) and was used to transport freedom seekers, and this tunnel may still exist;
- This tunnel is indicated in an 1898 Sanborn map, which shows a dotted line leading from building to building on Duffield Street;
- Other subcellar features in the Duffield Street buildings either connected to this tunnel or may have been used to hide freedom seekers;
- John Duffield, the owner of the property encompassing the Duffield Street buildings before subdivision and development of the land in the 1840s, was an abolitionist and might have sold his property to other abolitionists, who might have used the buildings to harbor freedom seekers;
- Thomas Edwards, the owner and builder of 233 and 235 Duffield Street and a possible member of Plymouth Church from 1859 to 1867, might have rented his buildings to people who would use them to harbor freedom seekers;
- Carl was the owner of a jewelry store at 233 Duffield Street in the 1980s. According to Lewis Greenstein, the property owner of 233 Duffield Street, Carl had heard from his grandmother, who lived in the building, that it was used as an Underground Railroad station. Carl died in the early 1990s. Mr. Greenstein later clarified that Carl was Calvin Smith, that his jewelry store was possibly named "Joker Jewelry," and that he may have had a 10- or 12-

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year old son at the time of his death. Mr. Greenstein subsequently clarified that Carl Smith is the correct name, that Mr. Smith died in August 1996, what his social security number may have been, and that his son was named Christopher Smith. The social security records for the given number indicate that a Carl S. Smith was born on April 13, 1961 and died August 30, 1996 at the age of 35; and

- According to the property owners, Bishop Queen Mother Jordan, a local resident, remembers playing in the subcellar spaces as a child and hearing rumors of the buildings' Underground Railroad connection.

The New York City Department of City Planning sent letters to the owners of 223-235 Duffield Street and 436 Gold Street/Albee Square property, asking for their assistance in providing any information they might have on this subject, including: the name and contact information of anyone whom they believe should be contacted for possible interviewing who might have knowledge of the potential Underground Railroad use of their buildings; information regarding any alterations to their buildings; and any historical photographs of the buildings, or historical papers/records from previous owners. Lewis Greenstein provided a spreadsheet of information on some of the residents along the entire lengths of Duffield, Stanton, and Gold Streets (including, but not limited to, the subject properties), culled from Brooklyn city directories for 1840-1842, 1849-1852, and 1855-1857. The property owners also noted that one of the families which owned and lived at 227 Duffield Street during the period of significance, the Truesdell family, was believed to have attended Zion Shiloh Baptist Church. A site visit of 223, 225, 227, 233, and 235 Duffield Street and 436 Gold Street/Albee Square was provided by the owners of 225, 227, and 233 Duffield Street and 436 Gold Street. The site tour allowed an architectural historian, Michael Devonshire, to assess the buildings' integrity in relation to the period of significance, which is roughly defined as 1848—the approximate date of the buildings' construction—and 1865, the end of the Civil War.

Jason Donegan, the owner of 231 Duffield Street, submitted a written response to interview questions. The following scanned materials were submitted by the owner of 227 Duffield Street: a portion of the will of Harriet Truesdell; a portion of the deed to Harriet Truesdell of 227 Duffield Street; a portion of a deed to Francis Peck; a family tree of the Hyams/Hyman family; photographs of Hyams/Hyman family members; portions of court cases, deeds, and other records relating to the Hyams/Hyman/Chatel family; a portion of a book referencing an individual named William Truesdail; a portion of a source referencing the Bridge Street AWME church; a portion of an article referencing the Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women in Philadelphia, 1838; and photographs of post-1870 bottles uncovered at some time in the past (no date given) from the back yard of 227 Duffield Street, and photographs of other artifacts from the basement of 227 Duffield Street. The artifacts include metal objects presumed to be from the former beauty shop operated at 227 Duffield Street. The submittal from Jason Donegan and copies of the scanned material provided by the owner of 227 Duffield Street are provided in Appendix H.

Additional information was provided in interviews conducted in December 2005 and January 2006. The information provided in these interviews is discussed below under "Oral Tradition."

RESEARCH APPROACH

As described above, the subject of the research effort was to determine whether a significant association with the Underground Railroad could be documented for any or all of the buildings on Duffield Street and Gold Street. To that end, the research approach was to document the construction, ownership, and residency history of each building to the extent possible; to determine if any records exist of the owners' and residents' possible connection to abolitionist activities, churches, or societies; and to determine what information on the buildings' histories can be drawn from oral traditions. Multiple avenues of research were reviewed and considered.

The research effort was also the subject of a peer review. The peer review was made up of twelve members, representing local historians and representatives of local historical societies, academics specializing in African-American history and the Underground Railroad, and representatives of the New York State Freedom Trail Commission. The members of the peer review are: Leslie Alexander, Assistant Professor, Department of History, Ohio State University; Raymond Dobard, Professor, Department of Art, Howard University; Jim Driscoll, co-author of *Angels of Deliverance: The Underground Railroad in Queens, Long Island, and Beyond*; Leslie M. Harris, Associate Professor, Department of History, Emory University; Richard Hourahan, co-author of *Angels of Deliverance: The Underground Railroad in Queens, Long Island, and Beyond*; Andrew P. Jackson, Executive Director, Langston Hughes Community Library and Cultural Center, Queens Borough Public Library and member of the New York State Freedom Trail Commission; Marilyn H. Pettit, Vice President for Collections, Brooklyn Historical Society; Milton C. Sernett, Professor of African American Studies and History, Syracuse University, and former member of the New York State Freedom Trail Commission; Judith Wellman, Professor Emerita, State University of New York at Oswego, Consulting Historian, Historical New York Research Associates, and member of the New York State Freedom Trail Commission; Craig Wilder, Professor, Department of History, Dartmouth College; and A.J. Williams-Myers, Professor, Department of Black Studies, SUNY-New Paltz, and member of the New York State Freedom Trail Commission. Additionally, at the request of the property owners, the City has included Cheryl LaRoche, Research Associate, Department of American Studies, University of Maryland, as a peer reviewer. The curriculum vitae of the peer review members are provided as Appendix A of this report.

The peer review members reviewed the scope of research and data collected; gave feedback on any research issues that required further data collection and/or additional resources, contacts, or research topics that should be pursued; reviewed and commented on the draft and final research reports; and drafted findings on the final report. Responses to comments on the scope of research and the draft report are provided as Appendix B, and the peer reviewers' findings on the final report are provided as Appendix C.

The criteria for listing a property with a connection to the Underground Railroad as a National Historic Landmark on the National Register of Historic Places was also reviewed, and the Duffield Street and Gold Street/Albee Square properties were evaluated for their potential eligibility for such listing. The criteria for listing such properties on the National Underground Railroad Network to Freedom program or the New York State Underground Railroad Heritage Trail were also considered. The New York City Landmarks Law requires that, to be designated, a potential landmark must be at least 30 years old and must possess "a special character or

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special historical or aesthetic interest or value as part of the development, heritage, or cultural characteristics of the city, state, or nation.”

C. CONSTRUCTION, OWNERSHIP, AND RESIDENCY HISTORY

PRE-CONSTRUCTION OWNERSHIP

The land on which the Duffield Street and Gold Street buildings were constructed was originally part of the estates of Samuel Fleet and John Duffield. John Duffield's property in this area was subsequently passed down to his daughters, Anna Prince and Susan Lawrence. These individuals were researched, as were others who owned the properties before their development, for their potential involvement in abolitionist activities, churches, or societies.

BUILDING CONSTRUCTION AND ALTERATION

Based on property deeds from the Brooklyn City Register, tax assessment records from the New York City Municipal Archives, various historical maps available at the Brooklyn Public Library, New York Public Library, and the Brooklyn City Clerk's office, and indexed online records of the New York City Department of Buildings (actual files could not be located by the Department of Buildings), all of the buildings on Duffield Street appear to have been constructed between 1846 and 1850. Sanborn maps from 1886 and 1906 appear to indicate that the 223, 225, and 227 Duffield Street buildings had 1-story front wooden extensions or porches; these appear to have been removed ca. 1915-1938, when 2-story front extensions were built at 223 and 227 Duffield Street. In addition, 231 Duffield Street has a 1-story front extension that appears to date from 1950-1969. 225 Duffield Street was demolished ca. 1941 and a new 2-story structure was constructed on its site. The building on Gold Street/Albee Square appears to have been constructed between 1855 and 1865. Historical Perspectives, Inc. conducted the research into the buildings' construction and alteration history; this information was supplemented by the historic construction review report by Michael Devonshire of Jan Pokorny Architects, of the buildings' integrity in relation to the period of significance.

POTENTIAL EXISTENCE OF A TUNNEL

Photos taken of the subcellars of 223, 227, and 233 Duffield Street during the site tour were circulated to Historical Perspectives, Inc., the Merchant's House Museum, and the Lower East Side Tenement Museum for their suggestions as to the possible date and function of the subcellar features. It was suggested that some of the subcellar features might be coal chutes, but no definitive explanation for the features were offered. The subsequent historic construction review report by Michael Devonshire noted that with the exception of one "unpaved" section of flooring on Duffield St., there are no anomalous cellar or subcellar features in the buildings, no communication between buildings exists at the cellar levels, and the identified features conform to general construction practices of the time period.

The New York City Department of Finance, which taxes sidewalk vaults, has no record of sidewalk vaults at any of the relevant properties, though one exists at least at 227 Duffield Street. The New York City Department of Transportation and the New York City Department of Design and Construction were contacted regarding any historical records they might have on the installation of sidewalks on Duffield and Gold Streets; however, neither department has any such

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records. The New York City Municipal Archives was also contacted for any additional information they might be able to provide on sidewalk vaults on Duffield and Gold Streets.

Current sewer and water main maps of the area were also obtained, as well as historical maps (Sanborn, Hyde, Perris, Dripps, Bromley, Robinson), none of which indicate a tunnel beneath the sidewalk of Duffield Street. The Sanborn maps from 1886 and 1906 appear to indicate that the 223, 225, and 227 Duffield Street buildings had 1-story front wooden extensions or porches, which are noted by a dashed line. It is possible that this dashed line for wooden extensions/porches is what was thought to be an indication of a tunnel on an 1898 Sanborn map. According to a representative of the Sanborn Map Company, dashed lines on Sanborn maps indicate open porches, which are typically wooden but can also be other materials. Two parallel dashed lines can also indicate a tunnel, but in such cases there is an arc at each end of the lines and the notation "tunnel." Dashed lines such as those shown at the front of 223-227 Duffield Street are also shown at the front of 213-219 Duffield Street, 195 Prince Street, 376 Gold Street, and 404 Gold Street on the 1886 Sanborn map.

Archaeological testing is unlikely to offer any definitive information about whether or not these structures were part of the Underground Railroad. In addition, assuming that a tunnel was discovered, there would be no way of knowing if it served as a passageway for freedom seekers without corroborating artifacts. There are very few documented cases of tunnels used for Underground Railroad activities: these include the Milton House in Milton, Wisconsin; a hiding place below a cistern at Thaddeus Steven's house in Lancaster, Pennsylvania; and an underground "anomaly" where family tradition suggests that a tunnel connected the home and tinshop of Starr Clark, a known Underground Railroad agent in Mexico, New York.³ In addition, a study of seventeen reputed tunnels connected with Underground Railroad sites in Ohio found no evidence to support the oral traditions relating to such tunnels.⁴

BUILDING OWNERSHIP AND RESIDENCY

The Brooklyn City Register, the 1850, 1860, and 1870 federal census, the 1855 and 1865 New York state census, and 35 Brooklyn city directories from 1848-1871 were reviewed to determine the owners and residents of the buildings and their residences before and after their tenancy on Duffield and Gold Streets.

In addition, various on-line genealogical websites were reviewed for potential additional information on the owners and residents, and 23 New York City directories from 1848-1871 were reviewed to cross-check the information on the owners and residents who conducted business in Manhattan. A detailed, lot-by-lot description of building ownership and residency histories is provided in the body of the report. It does not appear that any of the owners of the buildings were African-American. Except for a servant at 227 Duffield Street and a servant and her young son at 231 Duffield Street in 1855, no African-American residents of these buildings before 1865 were identified. It should be noted, however, that the race designations provided in the census and city directories were subjective and could be inconsistent or inaccurate.

D. POTENTIAL CONNECTIONS OF THE OWNERS AND RESIDENTS

The names of individuals identified to have ownership or residency ties to the properties in question—using the criteria outlined above, under "Building Ownership and Residency"—as well as owners of the land before construction of the buildings, were noted and formed the basis

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for research into potential connections of the owners and residents to abolitionist churches, societies, activities, or noted persons.

LOCAL CHURCHES

Membership lists and any other relevant information for the following churches, which were located in the surrounding area and were established pre-1865, were sought: Bridge Street AWME Church, Concord Baptist Church, First Presbyterian Church, Fleet Street Methodist Episcopal Church, Friends Meeting House, Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian Church, Pierrepont Street Baptist Church, Plymouth Church of the Pilgrims, St. Ann's Church, St. Mark's Church, Sands Street Methodist Episcopal Church, Second Reformed Dutch Church, Siloam Presbyterian Church, and the Washington Street Methodist Episcopal Church. Membership lists and any other relevant information were also sought for Mother African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Zion Church and the First Colored Presbyterian Church (also known as the Shiloh Presbyterian Church), both of which were located Manhattan.

Any available information from the New York City Register, New York Public Library, Brooklyn Public Library, New-York Historical Society, New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, Family History Center of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (Brooklyn), Friends Historical Library at Swarthmore College, American Baptist-Samuel Colgate Historical Library, Episcopal Diocese of Long Island, General Theological Seminary, Union Theological Seminary, genealogical websites, the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* online database of articles from 1841-1902, and the *New York Times* online database of articles from 1851-2001 was reviewed. The churches were also contacted to obtain any additional records they might have.

According to the property owner of 227 Duffield Street, Thomas and Harriet Truesdell, residents and owners of 227 Duffield Street, attended Zion Shiloh Baptist Church. The Zion Shiloh Baptist Church building was built sometime between 1855 and 1867, based on the maps from those dates. The building was located on the east side of Duffield Street between Myrtle and Willoughby Streets, and was demolished sometime between 1982 and 1995 (based on the Sanborn maps from those dates). It appears to have been constructed for a Presbyterian church, possibly the First Reformed Presbyterian Church; however, in 1889 it was occupied by Concord Baptist Church. After the Concord Baptist Church congregation left the church on Duffield Street in 1917, it was later used by the Antioch Baptist Church (ca. 1930-1950) and then by Zion Shiloh Baptist Church (ca. 1985-demolition), based on the Sanborn maps from those dates. Therefore, it does not appear that the Zion Shiloh Baptist Church dates from the period of significance, although the building in which it was located was built during that period.

Table S-1 shows which churches showed potential matches with residents or owners of the properties in question.

ABOLITIONIST SOCIETIES OR PROMINENT ABOLITIONISTS

A number of resources were reviewed, including, but not limited to: anti-slavery petitions in the collections of the National Archives and Records Administration; primary and secondary sources relating to numerous anti-slavery societies, including those in the collections of the New-York Historical Society, the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, and the Archives of Ontario; the journals, memoirs, and/or papers of Henry Ward Beecher, Sydney

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Howard Gay, William Jay, Samuel J. May, Charles B. Ray, William Henry Seward, Lewis Tappan, and Thurlow Weed; contemporary local newspapers, including the *Brooklyn Evening Star*, *Williamsburgh Daily Times*, *Brooklyn Daily Union*, *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, and the *New York Times*; contemporary African-American and anti-slavery newspapers, journals, and almanacs; Blassingame's *Antislavery Newspapers and Periodicals*; "Accessible Archives," a digitized collection of 19th century African-American and Christian newspapers and journals; the photograph archives of the Brooklyn Public Library, New York Public Library, and New-York Historical Society; the databases of the Library of Congress and the Gilder-Lehrman Institute of American History; the National Union Catalog of Manuscripts Collections; and New York State's Historical Documents Inventory.

Table S-1
**Church Membership Lists Compared with Resident and Owner Lists
for Subject Properties**

Church	At Least One Potential Match with Property Owners or Residents	Matches with Property Owners or Residents Unlikely	No Church Records Available
Bridge Street AWME Church		•	
Concord Baptist Church			•
First Colored Presbyterian Church		•	
First Presbyterian Church	•		
Fleet Street Methodist Episcopal Church		•	
Friends Meeting House		•	
Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian Church		•	
Mother AME Zion Church			•
Pierrepont Street Baptist Church		•	
Plymouth Church	•		
St. Ann's Church	•		
St. Mark's Church		•	
Sands Street Methodist Episcopal Church	•		
Second Reformed Church			•
Seventh Presbyterian Church	•		
Siloam Presbyterian Church		•	
Washington Street Methodist Episcopal Church	•		

The Prince Hall Masons, an African-American Freemasons organization, has sometimes been linked to Underground Railroad activities. Several lodges were warranted (i.e., established) in Brooklyn by the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of the Free and Accepted Masons in Massachusetts: these are the Rising Sun No. 3 Lodge (1826), Stone Square No. 6 Lodge (1859), Widow's Son No. 1 Lodge (1859), and the Hiram No. 21 Lodge (1863). However, no information about the location or members of these lodges has been identified.

Membership lists of over two dozen northeastern abolitionist societies, as well as numerous anti-slavery petitions were obtained.

There were several potential name matches in the various sources and lists identified with the known owners and residents of Duffield and Gold Streets. In addition, through "Accessible Archives," several newspaper or journal articles including a potential name match with an owner or resident of Duffield Street or Gold Street were identified.

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No marriages between the owners and residents of Duffield Street and Gold Street, or between the owners and residents of Duffield Street and Gold Street and abolitionist families of the area, are known to have occurred.

Most listings were considered to be unlikely matches to the owners or residents of the Duffield Street and Gold Street properties. Potential matches were found for Daniel Lord, Jr. and the Truesdell Family.

DANIEL LORD, JR.

The name Daniel Lord (or Daniel Lord, Jr.) was identified in a number of locations. A Daniel Lord is listed as one of the members and signors of an anti-slavery letter in *The National Era*, vol. VIII, no. 393, p. 110, July 13, 1854, in a call to the People of the State of New York, on the Nebraska Perfidy and Slavery Aggression, New York State Convention, To Be Held At Saratoga Springs, August 16, 1854. In another article in *The National Era* (vol. X, no. 492, p. 91, June 5, 1856), entitled "Popular Movements in the Free States," a Daniel Lord is noted as having made a speech denouncing the perpetrator of an assault on Senator Sumner by Preston S. Brooks. Henry Ward Beecher also made a speech at the event. Daniel Lord is noted in the article as a vice president of the Brooklyn Tabernacle. An 1845 letter from Lewis Tappan notes an opinion, of which Mr. Tappan disapproved, written by Mr. Lord regarding the constitution of the Ladies of the Moral Reform Society.

These listings might be the same person as "Daniel Lord," a prominent attorney and citizen of New York City who owned the 227, 233, and 235 Duffield Street lots from 1847 to 1848, before they appear to have been developed. As described above, Mr. Lord does not appear to have owned or occupied any of these buildings after their development; he is listed in New York City directories from 1848-1868 as having a residence in Manhattan. In addition, his ownership of the properties was for a very brief time.

TRUESDELL FAMILY

A number of listings were identified for Harriet Lee Truesdell and Thomas Truesdell, the owners and residents of 227 Duffield Street from ca. 1851-1863. Thomas Truesdell is listed as a subscriber to the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* in June 1855, April 1860, March 1862, and December 1862.⁵ A Thomas Truesdell (also-spelled Truesdale) of Brooklyn is also listed as a contributor to the American Anti-Slavery Society in May 1853, July 1853, July 1855, May 1856, May 1857, May 1860, and April 1862. Although the subscription listing gives his address as New York City, rather than Brooklyn, the New York City directories from 1847-1863 only list a Thomas Truesdell, cotton broker, with a business address on Pearl Street and a home address on Duffield Street in Brooklyn. Therefore, the Thomas Truesdell on the subscriber list is presumed to be the owner and resident of 227 Duffield Street. Thomas Truesdell was also listed as a delegate from Providence, Rhode Island to the Rhode Island Anti-Slavery Convention, which was held in Providence in February 1836.

A *Liberator* article from April 1835 describes the formation of a Female Anti-Slavery Society in Providence, of which Harriet L. Truesdell was treasurer.⁶ In 1837, an H.L. Truesdall wrote a letter to the *Liberator*, describing the organization of the Providence Female Anti-Slavery Society in June of that year, of which Mrs. Harriet Truesdall was 'Cor. [corresponding] Secretary.'⁷ Harriet Truesdell also was a delegate to and member of the program planning

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committee of the Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women, which took place in Philadelphia in May 1838. No further connections for Harriet or Thomas Truesdell have yet been identified.

Thomas Truesdell appears to have been born on July 10, 1789 in Woodstock, Connecticut and died on March 10 1874 in Cedar Grove, New Jersey. Harriet Lee appears to have been born July 10, 1786 in Providence, Rhode Island. Harriet Lee Truesdell married Thomas Truesdell in Providence, Rhode Island on October 14, 1811 and died in Brooklyn on June 29, 1862. Several of their children and grandchildren lived with them on Duffield Street.⁸ None of the children resulting from the marriage of Harriet and Thomas Truesdell had any offspring who survived past early childhood.

Mary Truesdell was married to Charles W. Frederickson by Reverend E.E.L. Taylor in 1844. Other than a list of the pastors of the Pierrepont Street Baptist Church, 1840-1870, no other records for the church have been identified; however, it is possible that the Truesdell family were members of the church. This church is not known to have been abolitionist, nor is it reported to have been a station on the Underground Railroad.

Thomas Truesdell had six siblings, including John Truesdell, who was born July 25, 1786 in Woodstock, Connecticut, and died on May 17, 1860 in East Killingly, Connecticut. In 1816, John Truesdell designed the Matthew Bowen Homestead in Woodstock, Connecticut. This house is listed on the National Register of Historic Places and was owned after Matthew Bowen's death by Henry C. Bowen. (The property passed to Colonel Matthew Bowen, Matthew Brown's son, and his son Andrew Williams Bowen, who sold it to Henry C. Bowen, his cousin.) Henry C. Bowen founded Plymouth Church in Brooklyn Heights; worked for Arthur and Lewis Tappan; married Lucy Tappan, one of the daughters of Lewis Tappan; founded and edited *The Independent*; financed the establishment of the *Brooklyn Union* as a Republican newspaper, and lived on Hicks and Willow Streets in Brooklyn Heights. Henry Bowen's sister Amelia was a corresponding member from Woodstock, Connecticut to the Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women, which was also attended by Harriet Truesdell.

In Windham County, Connecticut three adjoining villages—Pomfret, Woodstock, and Brooklyn—were the home of Bowens, Truesdells, and Bensons, as well as several prominent abolitionists. Helen Eliza Benson of Brooklyn, Connecticut married William Lloyd Garrison in 1834. William Lloyd Garrison was heavily involved with Reverend Samuel J. May—who also resided in Brooklyn, Connecticut—in the 1831-1834 struggles over Prudence Crandall's school for African American girls in Canterbury, Connecticut, which neighbors Brooklyn.⁹ Individuals such as Reverend May and Reverend Simeon Jocelyn (of New Haven, Connecticut) were key figures in linking the activities of New England and mid-Atlantic abolitionists and their organizations, which were important to facilitating the interregional network that assisted freedom seekers and anti-slavery action. Reverends May and Jocelyn also helped tie Lewis and Arthur Tappan to national abolitionist campaigns; for instance, Reverend Jocelyn appeared with Arthur Tappan and William Lloyd Garrison at the 1831 National Negro Convention in Philadelphia.¹⁰ Reverend Jocelyn also was the pastor of the First Congregational Church in Williamsburg, Brooklyn from the mid-1840s until his death in 1879.¹¹

PRO-SLAVERY SOCIETIES OR SOUTHERN SYMPATHIZERS

The *New York Times* and *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* online databases did not turn up any relevant information on the Democratic Vigilant Association, New York Kidnapping Club, Pine Street Club, 'slave catchers,' 'blackbirders,' southern sympathizers, or other similar search terms related to known pro-slavery sentiments. *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898* mentions several members of the New York Kidnapping Club, but none of the names match any of the known owners or residents of Duffield Street or Gold Street.

A Gideon Mapes, who might be the same person as "Gideon Mapes," the owner of 225 Duffield Street from 1866 through 1867, signed a petition published in the *New York Times* on December 15, 1859. The petition stated that "the undersigned, regarding with just abhorrence the crimes of John Brown and his confederates, desire to unite with our fellow-citizens of New York and vicinity in a public and formal denunciation of that and all similar outrages." There is only one listing for a Gideon Mapes in the Brooklyn city directories from 1848-1871. Therefore, it is presumed that this listing is a match. The signing of the petition and the rejection of John Brown's raid is not the same as a pro-slavery endorsement, however, and this name match is not considered to provide significant information in regard to potential Underground Railroad activities.

CASES OF FREEDOM SEEKERS

The index listings for Kings County court hearings, minutes, determinations, etc. at the New York City Municipal Archives for the 1830s and 1840s and through the 1860s were reviewed, but did not turn up any cases relevant to the Duffield and Gold Street buildings, residents, or owners. The New York Department of Records and Information Services (DORIS) database has court records from 1830-1857, but had no references to fugitive slave cases. The New York State Archives' trial transcripts end in 1847, before the date of construction of the Duffield and Gold Street buildings. *African American Slave Narratives: An Anthology* was reviewed and a few narratives were found which mention staying in Brooklyn and being helped by or meeting noted New York City abolitionists, but these do not include any description of people they stayed with or addresses. Also reviewed were "Documenting the American South," a website that indexes slave narratives; *Slavery and the Law*; *The Slave Catchers: Enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law*, which contains an appendix with a list of known fugitive slave cases from 1850-1860; an article entitled "The Chronicles of Kidnapping in New York: Resistance to the Fugitive Slave Law, 1834-1835" in the journal *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History*; and *Judicial Cases Concerning American Slavery and the Negro*, but found no matches with any of the known owners' or residents' names or Duffield or Gold Street. Searches of the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* online database found no relevant references to escaped or fugitive slaves. The Library of Congress has indicated that there are no unpublished slave diaries in their collection.

E. ORAL TRADITION

There is a fair amount of debate regarding how much faith to place in the historical accuracy of oral traditions, and how oral traditions should be weighed against other sources of information. Therefore, as discussed in *Oral Traditions and Beyond*, when evaluating an oral tradition that relates to the Underground Railroad, it is important to consider whether the story was recorded or told by someone directly involved in the Underground Railroad; whether the author was

physically, mentally, and emotionally able to see and know what happened; what purpose(s) the narrator may have had in recording the story, and what audience(s) he/she was addressing; and how many years elapsed between the original event and the time the story was recorded. Moreover, as much as possible, an oral tradition should be corroborated with more than one source.

POTENTIAL SOURCES OF ORAL TRADITIONS

Carlvin Smith (also referred to as Carl or Calvin), the source of one potential oral tradition relating to the historical use of 233 Duffield Street (see discussions above and below) was researched using Cole's Metropolitan Householders Directory for Brooklyn (1971-1981 and 1983-1997), and New York City telephone directories from 1971-1975 and 1985-1993. There were no listings for a person with the last name of Smith or Joker Jewelry at 233 Duffield Street in any of the directories. In 1973-1974, there was a listing for "Merchant of OYO African Jewelry" at 233 Duffield Street; however, there were no other jewelry stores noted on Duffield Street in any of the other directories. The records for the social security number provided indicate that a Carl S. Smith was born on April 13, 1961 and died August 30, 1996 at the age of 35. Therefore, it is considered unlikely that this number is a match for a Carl/Calvin Smith who would have owned a jewelry store on Duffield Street in the 1980s. Additional information provided on Carlvin Smith in interviews conducted in January 2006 is described below. Subsequent to the oral tradition collection interviews, letter requests to Reverend Herbert Daughtry of the House of the Lord Church and to Ali Lamont were submitted requesting additional information on Carlvin Smith and Georgia Ware, his mother. A response to these letters will be acted upon if received.

Another potential source of oral tradition was identified and contacted: Paul E. Truesdell, Jr.—the great-grandson of Thomas Truesdell and his second wife, Janet Margery Gunn—who is active in researching his family's genealogy. To Mr. Truesdell's knowledge, there are no family oral traditions regarding the Truesdell family's potential involvement in the Underground Railroad.¹²

Oral tradition outreach letters were sent to the following churches on September 17, 2004: Bridge Street AWME Church, Brooklyn Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Concord Baptist Church, Old First Reform Church, First Presbyterian Church of Brooklyn, Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian Church, Mother Zion AME Church, Plymouth Church of the Pilgrims, St. Ann and the Holy Trinity Church, St. James Cathedral-Basilica, St. Charles Borromeo Roman Catholic Church, St. Peter St. Paul Our Lady of Pilar Church, and Siloam Presbyterian Church. The letters requested assistance from the pastors of the churches in reaching out to their staff and parishioners, as well as participants of any senior citizens programs the churches may operate, to inform them of this effort, as parishioners may have oral traditions relating to the potential Underground Railroad use of the Duffield Street and Gold Street properties. On the same date, the oral tradition outreach letter was also sent to the Society of Old Brooklynites, a civic society founded in 1880 to promote and commemorate Brooklyn history.

The Reverend Daniel Meeter from the Old First Reformed Church responded to the letter. Reverend Meeter stated that the congregants of his church at the time were, unfortunately, slave-holding advocates, and the Dutch Reformed Church was the last slave-holding congregation in

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New York. In addition, the membership of the church had changed completely over the years with its move from Downtown Brooklyn and near-closure in the 1970s. Therefore, he believed that the congregation would have no relevant oral traditions relating to the Underground Railroad and the Duffield Street and Gold Street properties. The clerk of the History Committee of the Brooklyn Monthly Meeting also responded to say that they were unaware of any oral traditions concerning Brooklyn Quakers and the Underground Railroad. The Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary responded that no one was available to provide information on the oral tradition request. No other responses have been received thus far from the churches.

At the suggestion of peer reviewer Andrew Jackson, oral tradition outreach letters were also sent to Brooklyn and alumni/ae chapters of African-American fraternities and sororities. The letters requested assistance in reaching out to the Brooklyn-based alumni/ae of the fraternities and sororities, since alumni/ae who grew up in the Downtown Brooklyn area could have oral traditions relating to the potential Underground Railroad use of the Duffield Street and Gold Street properties. Letters were sent to the following chapters on October 7, 2004: Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, Alpha Mu Chapter; Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Brooklyn Alumnae Chapter; Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity, Long Island University (Brooklyn Campus) Chapter; Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity, Alpha Alpha Phi Chapter, Beta Lambda Chapter, Kappa Beta Sigma Chapter, and Long Island University (Brooklyn Campus) Chapter; Sigma Gamma Rho Sorority, Eta Nu Sigma Chapter and Kappa Epsilon Chapter; and Zeta Phi Beta Sorority, Brooklyn College Chapter and Delta Alpha Zeta Chapter. No responses have been received thus far from the fraternities or sororities. Two of the outreach letters were returned by the United States Postal Service as unable to forward; attempts to find alternate addresses for these chapters were not successful.

ORAL TRADITION COLLECTION EFFORT

The oral tradition collection effort began by searching for an oral historian who could interview the potential sources of oral tradition, make transcripts of those interviews, and determine what information, if any, should be followed up on from the interviews. Recommendations of qualified oral historians were sought from the peer reviewers, New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission, Oral History Association, Columbia University Oral History Research Office, New York University's Public History and History Programs, CityLore, Society for the Preservation of Weeksville and Bedford-Stuyvesant History, Brooklyn Historical Society, New-York Historical Society, and Arizona State University's Public History Program. An oral historian, Jennifer Scott, was selected in late September 2004. Ms. Scott was unable to set up interviews with the property owners in October 2004, and had to end her participation in the oral tradition collection effort at the end of October 2004 because of academic commitments. A second oral historian team, Kemile Jackson and Professor Philip Napoli of Brooklyn College, was selected in late November 2004. The curriculum vitae of the oral historians are provided as Appendix G of this report.

Ms. Jackson and Professor Napoli began communicating with the property owners in December 2004 to introduce themselves and set up interviews. A series of health issues initially prevented the property owners from meeting with the oral historians. Although several introductory meetings and a number of telephone calls were conducted, the property owners were reluctant to accept the professional qualifications of Ms. Jackson and Professor Napoli or participate in the

oral history collection effort. Ultimately, the property owners did not commit to participation and Ms. Jackson and Professor Napoli were unable to set up any interviews, with one exception. One individual was interviewed by Kemile Jackson in February 2005. Because of academic commitments, Ms. Jackson and Professor Napoli had to conclude their participation in the oral tradition collection effort at the end of May 2005.

During Ms. Jackson and Professor Napoli's participation on the oral tradition collection effort, several individuals were suggested by the property owners or others as potential interview subjects, as they might have knowledge of the historical uses of the subject properties. These individuals included Bishop Queen Mother Jordan, Dr. Amos Jordan, Garland Roberts, Robert Patterson, and several others who were ultimately interviewed by Dr. Delores Walters (see discussion below). As discussed above, Bishop Queen Mother Jordan—a member of the Society of Old Brooklynites—is reported to remember playing in the subcellar spaces of the subject properties as a child and hearing rumors of the buildings' Underground Railroad connection. Garland Roberts is a member of the Society of Old Brooklynites. Ms. Jordan and Mr. Roberts declined to be interviewed or participate in the oral history collection effort. Dr. Amos Jordan declined to be interviewed due to ill health. Robert Patterson, who is working on a study of the Bridge Street AWME Church and its potential links to an African American village near the church, expressed interest in participating in a group interview with the property owners; however, because the property owners did not commit to participation in the oral history collection effort during the involvement of Ms. Jackson and Professor Napoli, this interview did not take place.

In August 2005, the decision was made by the City to re-open the oral tradition collection effort. Recommendations of qualified oral historians were sought from the peer reviewers, as well as the following organizations or institutions: African-American Genealogy Group; African American Museum of Philadelphia; American Anthropological Association; American Ethnological Society; the Center for Oral History at the University of Connecticut; the Center for Oral History and Cultural Heritage at the University of Southern Mississippi; the Center for Studies in Oral Tradition at the University of Missouri; the Center for the Study of History and Memory at Indiana University; CityLore; the Harry T. Williams Center for Oral History at Louisiana State University; Heritage New York; Howard University; the Institute for Oral History at Baylor University; Legacy Program; New York University; Oral History Association; Oral History in the Mid-Atlantic Region; the Oral History Program at California State University, Long Beach; the Oral History Program at the University of Kentucky; the Oral History Research Office at Columbia University; the Port Washington Public Library Oral History Program; the Southern Oral History Program at the University of North Carolina; and the William Still Underground Railroad Foundation. Based on this outreach, as well as the input of the property owners of 227 and 233 Duffield Street, a third oral historian—Dr. Delores Walters of the National Underground Railroad Freedom Center in Ohio—was selected in October 2005. Dr. Walters' curriculum vita is provided in Appendix G.

Dr. Delores Walters met with the property owners of 227 and 233 Duffield Street in early November 2005; to discuss the oral tradition collection effort. In late December 2005 and early January 2006, Dr. Walters conducted seven interviews. Some of the information from these interviews, as well as the interview conducted in February 2005, that is relevant to the history of the Underground Railroad in Brooklyn is provided in the report. Any documentary research conducted to corroborate specific points of information is also provided. As approval of the

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transcripts of these interviews has not been obtained, we are unable to provide a copy of the same, or the names of those individuals who were interviewed.

As discussed above, Jason Donegan, the property owner of 231 Duffield Street, also expressed interest in providing information for this report; however, he was unable to be interviewed in person by Dr. Walters. Dr. Walters submitted a list of the questions that would have been covered in an interview to Mr. Donegan in a letter dated January 9, 2006. Mr. Donegan's response to these questions, which was received in a letter dated April 14, 2006, is summarized below and provided in Appendix H.

A log of the contacts made during the searches for oral historians and the oral tradition collection effort is provided as Appendix I.

F. POTENTIAL ELIGIBILITY FOR DESIGNATION

The Underground Railroad Resources in the United States Theme Study, prepared in 1998 by the National Park Service, provides criteria for evaluating a property's eligibility to be listed on the National Register of Historic Places. Properties considered for eligibility under this theme study are ones associated with some aspect of the Underground Railroad between the American Revolution and the Civil War, with an emphasis on the period between the formal organization of the abolitionist movement in 1820 and the end of the Civil War. They include the following property types:

- 'Stations' on the Underground Railroad (buildings, structures, or sites where fugitives were harbored and their use as such has been documented);
- Properties associated with prominent persons;
- Slave rebellion sites;
- Properties associated with legal challenges to slavery;
- Properties associated with documented slave escapes;
- Properties associated with documented fugitive rescues;
- Churches associated with congregations active in the Underground Railroad;
- Maroon communities;
- Archeological sites; and
- Others.

In order to be eligible as National Historic Landmarks, the Duffield Street and Gold Street/Albee Square buildings would need to retain high integrity from the period of significance (between the American Revolution and the end of the Civil War) and (1) be connected with a nationally significant event, such as a slave rescue, court case, or slave insurrection; (2) vividly represent, through a combination of extant resources possessing high integrity and solid documentation, the contribution of a particular social, political, or ideological group to the functioning of the Underground Railroad; or (3) have a significant association with a national figure of the Underground Railroad and his or her Underground Railroad activity.

In order to be eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places, the Duffield Street and Gold Street buildings would need to retain integrity from the period of significance (between

the American Revolution and the end of the Civil War) and meet one or more of the National Register Criteria, as discussed below:

- Be associated with some event, or represent some broad aspect of the working of the Underground Railroad locally, statewide, or regionally. (Criterion A);
- Be associated with local 'conductors' who assisted fugitive slaves, such as leaders of local abolition societies, ministers, and free blacks (Criterion B); or
- Have yielded or may be likely to yield, information important in history or prehistory (Criterion D).

The properties must possess a documentable association with the Underground Railroad.

While some properties in New York City that are listed on the National Register of Historic Places have Underground Railroad associations and histories, no building in New York City has been determined eligible for listing on the National Register specifically because of a documented association with the Underground Railroad. In addition, no building within New York City has been designated as a New York City Landmark by the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission (LPC) solely because of a documented association with the Underground Railroad. The LPC would evaluate a property for designation in accordance with the guidelines set forth in the New York City Landmarks Law.

The National Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Program of the National Park Service also has listed criteria for inclusion in the Network to Freedom. Any element nominated to the Network to Freedom must have a verifiable association to the Underground Railroad. The association must be verified using professional methods of historical research, documentation, and interpretation. The application instructions for the Network to Freedom also note that while the Underground Railroad existed in the context of abolitionism and anti-slavery thought, those associations alone are not sufficient to include a site, facility, or program in the Network to Freedom. Participation in the Underground Railroad—escaping from enslavement or assisting the freedom seeker—was a violation of the federal fugitive slave acts and hence illegal. Through their acts of civil disobedience, these individuals demonstrated a higher level of commitment to the principles of freedom and self-determination. It is this level of commitment that is recognized in the Network to Freedom.¹³

The documentation which supported the nomination of several Underground Railroad sites that have been listed on the National Register in New York State, specifically residential buildings that were part of a multiple property nomination entitled "Historic Resources Related to the Freedom Trail, Abolitionism, and African American Life in Central New York, 1820-1870," (the Orson Ames House, the John B. and Lydia Edwards House, the Hamilton and Rhoda Littlefield House, the Edwin W. and Charlotte Clarke House, and the Asa and Caroline Wing House) included:

- Personal letters from John B. Edwards to Gerrit Smith;
- An oral tradition collected in the early 20th century and published in a paper written for the Daughters of the American Revolution in 1907;
- An oral tradition passed through a family;
- Asa Wing's personal diary;
- Signed anti-slavery petitions published in the Friend of Man;

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- A fugitive slave account published in the *Friend of Man*; and
- Minutes of the Oswego County Antislavery Society.

The Freedom Trail multiple property nomination used as 1-5 rating scale to separate sites that could be reliably identified as having an association with the Underground Railroad, from those that could not or required more research. The nomination recommended that only sites that received a rating of 4 or 5 should be considered sufficiently documented to warrant nomination to the National Register. (A rating of less than 4 would not eliminate a site from potential eligibility for the National Register, but such a site would require further investigation.) According to peer reviewer Judith Wellman, most sites being nominated to the National Underground Network to Freedom Program or the Heritage Trail program are similarly rated at a 4 or 5. The Underground Railroad Heritage Trail Designation Documentation Form utilizes this rating scale for documentation of Underground Railroad or anti-slavery involvement. It is possible that such a rating scale could be used to evaluate the Duffield Street and Gold Street buildings.

The Freedom Trail rating system was as follows:

1. *Probably not involved.* Local tradition may associate this site with the Underground Railroad, but there is no other evidence linking people and events connected with this site to abolitionism, African-American life, or the freedom trail.
2. *Some possibility of involvement.* An owner's name may have appeared on a list of people who attended a county anti-slavery convention or signed an anti-slavery petition, for example, but there is no documentary evidence for long-term, consistent involvement with abolitionism and no clear evidence of association with the Underground Railroad.
3. *Quite possibly involved.* Considerable evidence of owner's consistent, long-term commitment to abolitionism, but no positive evidence of Underground Railroad involvement.
4. *Almost certainly involved.* Considerable documentary evidence of owners' or residents' abolitionist activity, and strong local association of the site (often carried through oral tradition) with the Underground Railroad. In the case of homes of fugitives, local association and oral tradition may have been lost. Census or cemetery records that list place of birth in a southern state or Canada strongly suggests that these African-Americans were born in slavery.
5. *Certainly involved.* Strong local association of the person or site (often carried through oral tradition) with the Underground Railroad, combined with primary evidence—recorded by someone directly involved—that directly links the person or site with the Underground Railroad.¹⁴

INTEGRITY

The following definition of integrity is taken from the Underground Railroad Resources in the United States Theme Study.

Integrity is the ability of a property to convey its significance. The National Historic Landmark and National Register criteria recognize seven aspects that define integrity: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. For National Historic Landmark designation, a property must possess these aspects to a high degree and the property must retain

the essential physical features that enable it to convey its historic significance. For National Register listing, a property must possess several, and usually most, of these aspects. To assess integrity, one must 1) define the essential physical features that must be present to a high degree for a property to represent its significance; 2) determine whether the essential physical features are apparent enough to convey the property's significance; and 3) compare the property with similar properties in the nationally significant theme.

G. CONCLUSIONS

A summary of the potential for the Duffield Street and Gold Street properties to have associations with the Underground Railroad is discussed below by address. The properties are assigned ratings based on the Freedom Trail rating system, and conclusions regarding their potential eligibility for listing on the National Register of Historic Places or as National Historic Landmarks are noted. Information regarding the potential connections of the owners and residents of the properties are also summarized.

As summarized below, the information on the properties, owners, and residents identified through the research process and the oral tradition collection effort did not conclusively document the presence of Underground Railroad activity at the subject properties, although one property—227 Duffield Street—is associated with a family with well-documented abolitionist ties. It is important to note, however, that while a good faith research effort has been conducted to learn as much as possible about the subject properties and their potential Underground Railroad associations, the nature of this type of research means that more information could be unearthed in the future which could change the rankings provided below.

It is acknowledged that the city of New York, the former city and now borough of Brooklyn, and the neighborhood of Downtown Brooklyn played vital roles in the abolitionist and Underground Railroad movements. This research report has identified a need for greater education of the public about the historical significance of the Underground Railroad, and research to identify, document, and interpret sites that have a verifiable association to the Underground Railroad and New York's abolitionist history. It is anticipated that the information provided in this report could be the basis of a subsequent effort to prepare a walking tour or other interpretive guide documenting such sites in Downtown Brooklyn and the borough as a whole. Such a walking tour—ideally developed in conjunction with members of the local community, as well as institutions and individuals with relevant expertise—could incorporate on-site signage and an accompanying exhibit to highlight and commemorate the Underground Railroad in Downtown Brooklyn. The potential audience could encompass a diversity of people ranging from those who may first learn of the Underground Railroad from this experience to those with considerable knowledge about this subject.

223 DUFFIELD STREET

This property is assigned a rating of 1 (probably not involved). Although there are potential name matches with members of Siloam Presbyterian Church (Edward, Anna, and Emma Smith), which has been reported to have supported the Underground Railroad, these are common names and therefore the likelihood of any of the listings being a match with the Duffield Street residents is diminished. In addition, given the young age of Edward, Anna, and Emma Smith during their tenancy of 223 Duffield Street, it is considered unlikely that they were involved with

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abolitionist or Underground Railroad activities during that time, particularly as no records of such activity have been identified for their parents. Ira Perego, owner of 223 Duffield Street from 1858 until 1868, and his son Ira Jr. are noted as members of the Sands Street Methodist Episcopal Church. The Sands Street Methodist Episcopal Church is not known to have contained an abolitionist congregation or participated in the Underground Railroad, though it is reported that there was an anti-slavery community within the church.

None of the collected oral traditions directly relate to the owners or residents of 223 Duffield Street during the period of significance, or their heirs. The collected oral traditions do reference Duffield Street in general as being active in Underground Railroad activities, as well as the existence of a tunnel linking the buildings on Duffield Street (including 223 Duffield Street) and the use of such tunnel for the transportation and protection of freedom seekers. As noted above, the potential existence of such tunnel has not been verified by any documentary sources. The oral traditions also illustrate how the proximity of Duffield Street to African American and abolitionist churches, African American settlements, and businesses that employed African Americans created an environment that would have supported Underground Railroad activity.

223 Duffield Street does not appear to be eligible for National Historic Landmark status, as it has not been found to be connected with a nationally significant event or to have a significant association with a national figure of the Underground Railroad and his/her Underground Railroad activity. The property does not appear to be eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places. In order to be eligible for listing on the Register, the property would need to meet one or more of the National Register criteria and retain integrity from the period of significance. The building does not retain integrity from the period of significance. It appears to have been raised from two to three stories in the 1880s (based on nineteenth-century tax records); the original wood cladding has been covered or replaced with aluminum siding; the wooden extension (possibly a porch) on the front façade has been removed and replaced by a 2-story addition constructed between 1915 and 1938; and a large 1-story rear extension that extends almost to the rear property line was also built between these years.

As 223 Duffield Street and its owners and residents have not been found to have a documentable association with an Underground Railroad event or local 'conductor,' represent some broad aspect of the working of the Underground Railroad locally, statewide, or regionally; or to have yielded or be likely to yield, information important in history or prehistory, it does not meet this threshold.

225 DUFFIELD STREET

This property is assigned a rating of 1 (probably not involved). As the Sands Street Methodist Episcopal Church is not known to have contained an abolitionist congregation or participated in the Underground Railroad—though it is reported that there was an anti-slavery community within the church—no connotation is drawn from the name match of Nathaniel Bonnel. A Gideon Mapes signed an anti-abolitionist petition published in the *New York Times*. This might be the same person as "Gideon Mapes," the owner of 225 Duffield Street from 1866 through 1867, and as there is only one listing for a Gideon Mapes in the Brooklyn city directories from 1848-1871, it is presumed that this listing is a match. However, the signing of the petition, and the rejection of John Brown's raid, is not the same as a pro-slavery endorsement, and this name

match is not considered to provide significant information in regard to potential Underground Railroad activities.

None of the collected oral traditions directly relate to the owners or residents of 225 Duffield Street during the period of significance, or their heirs. The collected oral traditions do reference Duffield Street in general as being active in Underground Railroad activities, as well as the existence of a tunnel linking the buildings on Duffield Street (including 225 Duffield Street) and the use of such tunnel for the transportation and protection of freedom seekers. As noted above, the potential existence of such tunnel has not been verified by any documentary sources. The oral traditions also illustrate how the proximity of Duffield Street to African American and abolitionist churches, African American settlements, and businesses that employed African Americans created an environment that would have supported Underground Railroad activity.

225 Duffield Street does not appear to be eligible for National Historic Landmark status, as it is not connected with a nationally significant event and does not have a significant association with a national figure of the Underground Railroad and his/her Underground Railroad activity. The property does not appear to be eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places. In order to be eligible for listing on the Register, it would need to retain integrity from the period of significance, which it does not, as the original house has been replaced by a 20th century structure. The original house on this lot was replaced ca. 1941, based on demolition and new building permits, by the current 2-story concrete structure. The cellar-level walls of the current structure have been significantly altered, concealing any potential evidence of 19th century construction.

227 DUFFIELD STREET

While the Truesdell's level of involvement in abolitionism during their residence on Duffield Street is unclear in the documentary record, given their long-term commitment to abolitionism, their property was assigned a rating of 3 (quite possibly involved, considerable evidence of owner's consistent, long-term commitment to abolitionism, but no positive evidence of Underground Railroad involvement). There is considerable evidence of Harriet and Thomas Truesdell's consistent involvement in the abolitionist movement, but no positive, documentary source evidence has been identified of Underground Railroad involvement, including evidence to verify the oral tradition described by one interviewee. No documentary source evidence has yet been identified that Harriet Truesdell was involved in the abolitionist movement during her tenancy at 227 Duffield Street. No documentary source evidence that Mary Truesdell Frederickson or Charles Frederickson assisted Elizabeth Harris in escaping to Canada, or that Elizabeth Harris was a freedom seeker, has been identified to verify the oral tradition described by Joy Chatel. Thomas Truesdell's support of abolitionism while at 227 Duffield Street was of a passive nature. This property would not merit a rating of 4 (almost certainly involved), since there is no considerable documentary evidence or strong local oral tradition of a direct association of the site to local Underground Railroad activities. As described below, there is one oral tradition that links the residents of the site to local Underground Railroad activities; however, certain elements of the oral tradition cannot be corroborated, or conflict, with documentary sources; the individuals and/or records that would create a linkage between the Truesdell family and the Jacobs and Chatel families as the carriers of this oral tradition have not yet been identified; and the other collected oral traditions do not reference this specific association.

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227 Duffield Street does not appear to be eligible for National Historic Landmark status, as it has not been found to be connected with a nationally significant event or have a significant association with a national figure of the Underground Railroad and his/her Underground Railroad activity. The property does not appear to be eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places. In order to be eligible for listing on the Register, it would need to retain integrity from the period of significance, which it does not. The property would also need to meet one or more of the National Register criteria. The wooden extension (possibly a porch) on the front façade has been removed and replaced by a 2-story brick addition constructed between 1915 and 1938, and the wooden extension on the rear façade has also been removed.

The Truesdells, who lived at 227 Duffield Street from 1851 until 1863 and whose family owned the building until 1921, participated in various ways in the abolitionist movement. Although Harriet Truesdell and Juliana Tappan both attended the Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women in Philadelphia, no further connection between these women could be identified, and Juliana Tappan is not known to have been involved with the Underground Railroad. In addition, Harriet Truesdell's participation in this event dates from her residency in Providence, Rhode Island, rather than on Duffield Street.

Elizabeth Harris, noted in the 1855 census as black, lived in the household of Harriet and Thomas Truesdell, at least ca. 1855. An Eliza Harris is noted as a member of Shiloh Presbyterian Church in 1844. This is close to the name of "Elizabeth Harris." However, Elizabeth Harris was noted as being 19 years old in the census, which would make her 8 years old in 1844; she was also noted as having been in Brooklyn for two years. Therefore, it is considered unlikely that the membership listing for Elizabeth Harris is a match to the Duffield Street resident.

The name Daniel Lord, the attorney who owned the 227, 233, and 235 Duffield Street lots from 1847 to 1848 before they were developed, was identified in a number of locations, including a call to the People of the State of New York on the Nebraska Perfidy and Slavery Aggression (1854); a speech at a meeting denouncing the perpetrator of an assault on Senator Sumner by Preston S. Brooks; and a memorial to the Senate and House of Representatives, stating that states should have the right to regulate the matter of slavery in their borders, including the rights secured by the constitution to the delivery of fugitives. He also represented a Confederacy defendant in the *United States v. Schooner Savannah*, a piracy case during the Civil War, and the southern section of the Methodist Episcopal Church in a suit against the northern section of the church, on a property settlement case resulting from the separation of the church on the issue of slavery. The various listings identified seem to present contradictory information on Daniel Lord's potential abolitionist sympathies, and therefore are not considered to be conclusive. No evidence of involvement in the Underground Railroad has been identified for Mr. Lord. In any case, Mr. Lord does not appear to have owned or occupied any of these buildings after their development; he is listed in New York City directories from 1848-1868 as having a residence in Manhattan. In addition, his ownership of the properties was for a very brief time.

One of the oral traditions collected references the Truesdell family. (The Truesdell family is also mentioned tangentially in two other interviews, but not in reference to a specific oral tradition.) The described oral tradition passed through Albert Chatel, Vera Jacobs Chatel, and Hannah and Harry Jacobs, as well as a local community member (Fred Laverpool), and notes Truesdell family participation in Underground Railroad activities. The oral tradition references Elizabeth Harris, who is listed in the 1855 New York census as an African American servant at 227

Duffield Street, as a freedom seeker who leaves Brooklyn in 1857 for Nova Scotia with the assistance of Mary Truesdell Frederickson and Charles Frederickson. The oral tradition also links Harriet Lee Truesdell to Juliana Tappan, Lewis Tappan, and William Harned, as well as to ongoing abolitionist activity while at 227 Duffield Street. As described above, certain elements of the oral tradition cannot be corroborated, or conflict, with documentary sources. In addition, the individuals and/or records that would create a linkage between the Truesdell family and the Jacobs and Chatel families as the carriers of this oral tradition have not yet been identified. It is possible that the 19th century records held by and requested of one of the interviewees may establish this linkage. As mentioned above, contact was made with Paul E. Truesdell, Jr.—the great-grandson of Thomas Truesdell and his second wife, Janet Margery Gunn—who is active in researching his family's genealogy. To Mr. Truesdell's knowledge, there are no family oral traditions related to the Truesdell family's potential involvement in the Underground Railroad.

The other collected oral traditions reference Duffield Street in general as being active in Underground Railroad activities, as well as the existence of a tunnel linking the buildings on Duffield Street (including 225 Duffield Street) and the use of such tunnel for the transportation and protection of freedom seekers. As noted above, the potential existence of such tunnel has not been verified by any documentary sources. The oral traditions also illustrate how the proximity of Duffield Street to African American and abolitionist churches, African American settlements, and businesses that employed African Americans created an environment that would have supported Underground Railroad activity.

231 DUFFIELD STREET

This property is assigned a rating of 2 (some possibility of involvement, but no documentary evidence for long-term, consistent involvement with abolitionism and no clear evidence of association with the Underground Railroad). As the Seventh Presbyterian Church is not known to have been abolitionist, nor is it reported to have been a station on the Underground Railroad, no connotation is drawn from the name match of John A. Ackley. It is considered unlikely that the membership listing a Mr. Hunter at Siloam Presbyterian Church is a match with the Robert Hunter who lived on Duffield Street. Peter and Mary Hawes are presumed to have been members of Plymouth Church from March 1860 to February 1872. However, their involvement with the church postdates their tenancy of 231 Duffield Street; there is no evidence of involvement with the church or abolitionist activities during their tenancy on Duffield Street; and there is no documentary evidence of long-term, consistent involvement with abolitionism and no clear evidence of association with the Underground Railroad for the Hawes family. No documentary source evidence has been identified to verify the oral tradition described Jason Donegan. No significance has been derived from Sophia and George Hilles's employment in the Hawes household.

231 Duffield Street does not appear to be eligible for National Historic Landmark status, as it is not connected with a nationally significant event and does not have a significant association with a national figure of the Underground Railroad and his/her Underground Railroad activity. The property does not appear to be eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places. In order to be eligible for listing on the Register, it would need to retain integrity from the period of significance, which it does not. The property would also need to meet one or more of the National Register criteria. A 1-story front extension was built between 1950 and 1969, and at the

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rear façade, a large opening has been created at the first-floor level and is enclosed by a roll-down metal grate.

231 Duffield Street and its owners and residents have not been found to represent some broad aspect of the working of the Underground Railroad locally, statewide, or regionally, or to have yielded or be likely to yield, information important in history or prehistory. Although Peter and Mary Hawes appear to have been members of Plymouth Church, their involvement with the church postdates their tenancy of 231 Duffield Street; there is no evidence of involvement with the church or abolitionist activities during their tenancy on Duffield Street; and there is no documentary evidence of long-term, consistent involvement with abolitionism and no clear evidence of association with the Underground Railroad for the Hawes family. Therefore, 231 Duffield Street does not meet this threshold.

John A. Ackley is noted as a member received into Seventh Presbyterian Church in December 1827. This is the same name as "John A. Ackley," who appears to have built the house at 231 Duffield Street and owned its lot from 1850-1853. There is only one listing for a John Ackley in the Brooklyn city directories from 1848 until his death in 1853; therefore, it is assumed that this listing is a match. As discussed above, the church has not been reported to have been abolitionist or a station on the Underground Railroad. Therefore, no connotation is drawn from this name match.

The oral tradition collected from Jason Donegan references the Hawes family. The described oral tradition passed through Albert and Vera Jacobs Chatel, and notes the family's membership at Plymouth Church. The individuals and/or records that would create a linkage between the Hawes family and the Chatel family as the carriers of this oral tradition have not yet been identified. It is possible that the 19th century records held by and requested of one of the interviewees may establish this linkage.

The other collected oral traditions directly relate to the owners or residents of 231 Duffield Street during the period of significance, or their heirs. The collected oral traditions do reference Duffield Street in general as being active in Underground Railroad activities, as well as the existence of a tunnel linking the buildings on Duffield Street (including 231 Duffield Street) and the use of such tunnel for the transportation and protection of freedom seekers. As noted above, the potential existence of such tunnel has not been verified by any documentary sources. The oral traditions also illustrate how the proximity of Duffield Street to African American and abolitionist churches, African American settlements, and businesses that employed African Americans created an environment that would have supported Underground Railroad activity.

233 DUFFIELD STREET

This property is assigned a rating of 2 (some possibility of involvement, but no documentary evidence for long-term, consistent involvement with abolitionism and no clear evidence of association with the Underground Railroad). There are two potential name matches with the membership listings of Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian Church, and three potential name matches with the membership listings of Plymouth Church. However, given that these names (William Jones, Charles Lewis, Mary Clark, Mary Foster, and Thomas Edwards) are common, it is not certain that these listings are matches, and no inferences can be drawn. The potential name match of Carrie Foster with the Brooklyn Friends Meeting House is tenuous. The potential name match with a subscriber to the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* is considered unlikely to be a

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match. The name matches for Reverends John Crawford and Francis Peck and the potential name match for Mr. Clem are not considered to be of note, as the Washington Street Methodist Episcopal Church and St. Mark's Church are not known to have been abolitionist, nor are they reported to have been stations on the Underground Railroad. No significance is drawn from Daniel Lord's brief ownership of 227 Duffield Street. The property would not merit a rating of 3 because there is no considerable evidence of an owner's or resident's consistent, long-term commitment to abolitionism.

233 Duffield Street does not appear to be eligible for National Historic Landmark status, as it is not connected with a nationally significant event and does not have a significant association with a national figure of the Underground Railroad and his/her Underground Railroad activity.

The property does not appear to be eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places in relation to the Underground Railroad. In order for the property to be eligible for listing on the Registers in relation to the Underground Railroad, it would need to retain integrity from the period of significance and meet one or more of the National Register criteria. As 233 Duffield Street and its owners and residents have not been found to have a documentable association with an Underground Railroad event or local 'conductor,' represent some broad aspect of the working of the Underground Railroad locally, statewide, or regionally; or to have yielded or be likely to yield, information important in history or prehistory, it does not meet this threshold.

Reverend John Crawford, who is noted in Brooklyn city directories as residing at 233 Duffield Street ca. 1862-1864, is noted as a pastor of the Washington Street Methodist Episcopal Church from ca 1851-1853. However, this church is not known to have been abolitionist, nor is it reported to have been a station on the Underground Railroad. Therefore, no connotation is drawn from this listing.

The name Daniel Lord, the attorney who owned the 227, 233, and 235 Duffield Street lots from 1847 to 1848 before they were developed, was identified in a number of locations. The various listings identified seem to present contradictory information on Daniel Lord's potential abolitionist sympathies, and therefore are not considered to be conclusive. No evidence of involvement in the Underground Railroad has been identified for Mr. Lord. In any case, Mr. Lord does not appear to have owned or occupied any of these buildings after their development; he is listed in New York City directories from 1848-1868 as having a residence in Manhattan. In addition, his ownership of the properties was for a very brief time.

Although Carlvin Smith—a former tenant of 233 Duffield Street—and Georgia Ware were identified as carriers of oral traditions in several interviews, these oral traditions do not reference or have traceable linkages to any of the owners or residents of 233 Duffield Street during the period of significance, or their heirs. The collected oral traditions do reference Duffield Street in general as being active in Underground Railroad activities, as well as the existence of artifacts from 233 Duffield Street that may date from the period of significance, and the existence of a tunnel linking the buildings on Duffield Street (including 233 Duffield Street) and the use of such tunnel for the transportation and protection of freedom seekers. The oral traditions also illustrate how the proximity of Duffield Street to African American and abolitionist churches, African American settlements, and businesses that employed African Americans created an environment that would have supported Underground Railroad activity. As noted above, the potential existence of such tunnel has not been verified by any documentary sources. No relevant artifacts dating from the period of significance are known to currently exist at this property.

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235 DUFFIELD STREET

This property is assigned a rating of 2 (some possibility of involvement, but no documentary evidence for long-term, consistent involvement with abolitionism and no clear evidence of association with the Underground Railroad). There are two potential name matches with the membership listings of Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian Church and Plymouth Church; however, as noted above, only the membership listing for Mrs. H.G. Nichols at St. Ann's Church is considered probable. In addition, as the Sands Street Methodist Episcopal Church is not known to have contained an abolitionist congregation or act as an Underground Railroad station—though it is reported that there was an anti-slavery community within the church—the potential name match of William Walsh is not considered to be of note. There is no documentary evidence of long-term, consistent involvement with abolitionism and no clear evidence of an association with the Underground Railroad for Mrs. Henry G. Nichols. No significance is drawn from Daniel Lord's brief ownership of 227 Duffield Street. The property would not merit a rating of 3 because there is no considerable evidence of an owner's or resident's consistent, long-term commitment to abolitionism.

235 Duffield Street does not appear to be eligible for National Historic Landmark status, as it is not connected with a nationally significant event and does not have a significant association with a national figure of the Underground Railroad and his/her Underground Railroad activity. The property does not appear to be eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places. In order to be eligible for listing on the Register, it would need to retain integrity from the period of significance, which it does not. The property would also need to meet one or more of the National Register criteria. It appears to have been raised from two to three stories in the 1880s, based on nineteenth-century tax records. The building has been refaced in brick and a modest bay front, cornice, and large 2-story (with basement) rear extension extending almost to the rear property line have been added. The rear extension appears to have been added between 1904 and 1915, based on the Sanborn maps from those years.

Mrs. H.G. Nichols is noted as a member of St. Ann's Church, joining in September 1843. This could be the wife of "Henry G. Nichols," who is noted with a residence at 235 Duffield Street from ca. 1852-1855. There is only one Henry Nichols listed in Brooklyn city directories from 1848-1871; therefore, it is probable that this membership listing is a match.

The name Daniel Lord, the attorney who owned the 227, 233, and 235 Duffield Street lots from 1847 to 1848 before they were developed, was identified in a number of locations. The various listings identified seem to present contradictory information on Daniel Lord's potential abolitionist sympathies, and therefore are not considered to be conclusive. In any case, Mr. Lord does not appear to have owned or occupied any of these buildings after their development; he is listed in New York City directories from 1848-1868 as having a residence in Manhattan. In addition, his ownership of the properties was for a very brief time.

None of the collected oral traditions directly relate to the owners or residents of 235 Duffield Street during the period of significance, or their heirs. The collected oral traditions do reference Duffield Street in general as being active in Underground Railroad activities, as well as the existence of a tunnel linking the buildings on Duffield Street (including 235 Duffield Street) and the use of such tunnel for the transportation and protection of freedom seekers. As noted above, the potential existence of such tunnel has not been verified by any documentary sources. The oral traditions also illustrate how the proximity of Duffield Street to African American and

abolitionist churches, African American settlements, and businesses that employed African Americans created an environment that would have supported Underground Railroad activity.

436 GOLD STREET/ALBEE SQUARE

This property is assigned a rating of 1 (probably not involved). There are two probable name matches with the membership listings of St. Ann's Church and First Presbyterian Church. However, as Mrs. E. Sackett was removed as a communicant before 1845, it is not certain that this listing is a match, and Samuel Fleet may have been a member of the group that withdrew from the congregation of First Presbyterian Church during Reverend Cox's pastorate, these listings are not considered to be significant in linking the site to abolitionism or to local Underground Railroad activities. In addition, while the price paid by Emeline Sackett in 1865 for the lot suggests it was already developed, it is considered possible that the structure was built after Samuel Fleet's death in 1864 and before the surveyor's map of August 1865. If so, the house would date to after the period of significance. In any case, neither Samuel Fleet nor Emeline Sackett lived at 436 Duffield Street after its development.

436 Gold Street does not appear to be eligible for National Historic Landmark status, as it is not connected with a nationally significant event and does not have a significant association with a national figure of the Underground Railroad and his/her Underground Railroad activity. The property does not appear to be eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places. In order to be eligible for listing on the Register, it would need to retain integrity from the period of significance, which it does not. The property would also need to meet one or more of the National Register criteria. At some point, presumably in the late 19th century, it appears that the building on the lot was raised from two and a half stories to three stories, and possibly the current bay was installed on its front façade at the same time.

Samuel Fleet is listed as a signor of a letter to David Leavitt, dated January 30, 1839, dealing with the schism in the congregation of the First Presbyterian Church that occurred during Reverend Cox's pastorate; he seems to have been a member of the group that withdrew from the congregation. This is the same name as "Samuel Fleet," who owned the land on which the 436 Gold Street building was ultimately developed. Brooklyn city directories only list one Samuel Fleet from 1848 until his death in 1864; therefore, it is presumed that this listing is a match.

None of the collected oral traditions directly relate to the owners or residents of 436 Gold Street/Albee Square during the period of significance, or their heirs. The collected oral traditions do not reference Gold Street in general as being active in Underground Railroad activities; however, they do reference the existence of a tunnel linking the buildings on Duffield Street, which may extend onto Gold Street, and the use of such tunnel for the transportation and protection of freedom seekers. As noted above, the potential existence of such tunnel has not been verified by any documentary sources. The oral traditions also illustrate how the proximity of Duffield Street to African American and abolitionist churches, African American settlements, and businesses that employed African Americans created an environment that would have supported Underground Railroad activity.

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ENDNOTES

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- ² Siebert, Wilbur H. The Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom. 1898. Reprint, New York: Russell & Russell, 1967, pp. 35, 71, 113.
- ³ "Digging into a Historic Rivalry," *Smithsonian Magazine*, February 2004; www.miltonhouse.org.
- ⁴ Fruehling, Byron D. and Robert H. Smith, "Subterranean Hideaways of the Underground Railroad in Ohio: An Architectural, Archaeological and Historical Critique of Local Traditions." *Ohio History*, Volume 102, p. 98-117.
- ⁵ Sydney Howard Gay Papers, ca. 1837-1886. Special Collections, New York Public Library.
- ⁶ *The Liberator*, April 18, 1835.
- ⁷ *The Liberator*, October 27, 1837.
- ⁸ <http://petjr.crosswinds.net/GENE/>
- ⁹ Strother, Horatio T. The Underground Railroad in Connecticut. Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1962, p. 30-34.
- ¹⁰ "Minutes and Proceedings of the First Annual Convention of the People of Color." *The Liberator*, October 22, 1831.
- ¹¹ Hearne's 1859-1860 Brooklyn City Directory [from website: <http://www.bklyn-genealogy-info.com/Directory/1859/index.html>]; Stiles, Henry R. ed. The Civil, political, professional and ecclesiastical history and commercial and industrial record of the county of Kings and the city of Brooklyn, NY.: from 1683 to 1884. New York: W.W. Munsell, 1884, p. 809; "In Memory of Father Jocelyn." *New York Times*, September 22, 1879.
- ¹² Paul E. Truesdell, Jr., personal communication to Jennifer Morris, October 26, 2004.
- ¹³ National Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Application (OMB#1024-0232) Instructions.
- ¹⁴ Sernett, Milton C., et. al. Draft Multiple Property Nomination, Historic Resources Related to the Freedom Trail, Abolitionism, and African American Life in Central New York, 1820-1870.

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A. INTRODUCTION

This research report describes the physical site characteristics of the buildings on Duffield Street and Gold Street in Downtown Brooklyn; the historic records research conducted and oral traditions that may be relevant in determining whether these properties had potential connections to the Underground Railroad; and makes conclusions regarding the potential association of these properties with the Underground Railroad.

THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD IN DOWNTOWN BROOKLYN

The Underground Railroad refers to the efforts of enslaved African-Americans to gain their freedom by escaping bondage. The Underground Railroad was neither underground nor a railroad, but a network of safe houses and individuals who helped slaves escape to freedom. It was a clandestine operation that began during the colonial period, later became part of organized abolitionist activity in the 19th century, and reached its peak in the period 1830-1865. It is estimated that approximately 100,000 persons in North America successfully escaped slavery between 1790 and 1860. Homes and businesses where freedom seekers could rest and eat were called "stations" and were run by "stationmasters;" those who contributed money or goods to the cause were "stockholders;" and the "conductor" moved fugitive slaves from one station to the next. Fugitive slaves were known as "packages" or "freight."

With the enactment of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, which made it possible for the federal government to assist slave catchers to find, arrest, and return fugitives—federal marshals could be used to capture accused fugitives—it was more difficult for freedom seekers to stay in urban areas in the north by blending in as free blacks. Thus, more fugitive slaves sought freedom in Canada and the Caribbean.¹ Although the routes that freedom seekers from the southern slave states traveled were numerous and secretive, one general escape route pattern to Canada extended from Kentucky and Virginia, across Ohio, and from Maryland through Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and New England. Another escape route pattern extended from Kentucky, across to Illinois and Indiana. In the aftermath of the Fugitive Slave Act, New York City was believed to have been more active in the harboring and moving through of freedom seekers using the Hudson River as a way of traveling northward to Albany, Syracuse, and Rochester to Canada.² The most direct route between two points was not necessarily the deciding factor in determining the course of flight from slavery or the placement of assistance for fugitives from bondage. The freedom journeys of Henry Highland Garnet, Samuel Ringgold Ward, James William Charles (J.W.C.) Pennington, Harriet Jacobs, Ann Maria Weems, and Frederick Douglass establish that New York City and Brooklyn were important sites of Underground Railroad assistance.

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Brooklyn, in particular Downtown Brooklyn, was active in the abolitionist movement and in the Underground Railroad. A brief description of the individuals and sites reported to have been involved in these movements is provided below.

A number of churches in the Downtown Brooklyn and surrounding area have been reported to have connections with the Underground Railroad, either as sites of active abolitionist movements or having served as stations on the Underground Railroad. These sites include Plymouth Church (now Plymouth Church of the Pilgrims) in Brooklyn Heights; Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian Church in Fort Greene; Bridge Street African Wesleyan Methodist Episcopal (AWME) Church—the first African American congregation in Brooklyn—Siloam Presbyterian Church, and Concord Baptist Church, all of which are no longer extant at their original locations in Downtown Brooklyn; and Brooklyn Friends Meeting House. Figure 1 presents the approximate location of these churches.

In addition, a number of persons prominently associated with the abolitionist movement and/or Underground Railroad activities, including several pastors of the churches noted above, lived in the Downtown Brooklyn area. These individuals include Reverend Henry Ward Beecher, Reverend Samuel Hanson Cox, Reverend Theodore L. Cuyler, Reverend Amos N. Freeman, Reverend James N. Gloucester, William Harned, Reverend J.W.C. Pennington, Reverend Charles B. Ray, and Lewis Tappan. Where possible, the approximate residential or church location of these individuals is presented in Figure 1.

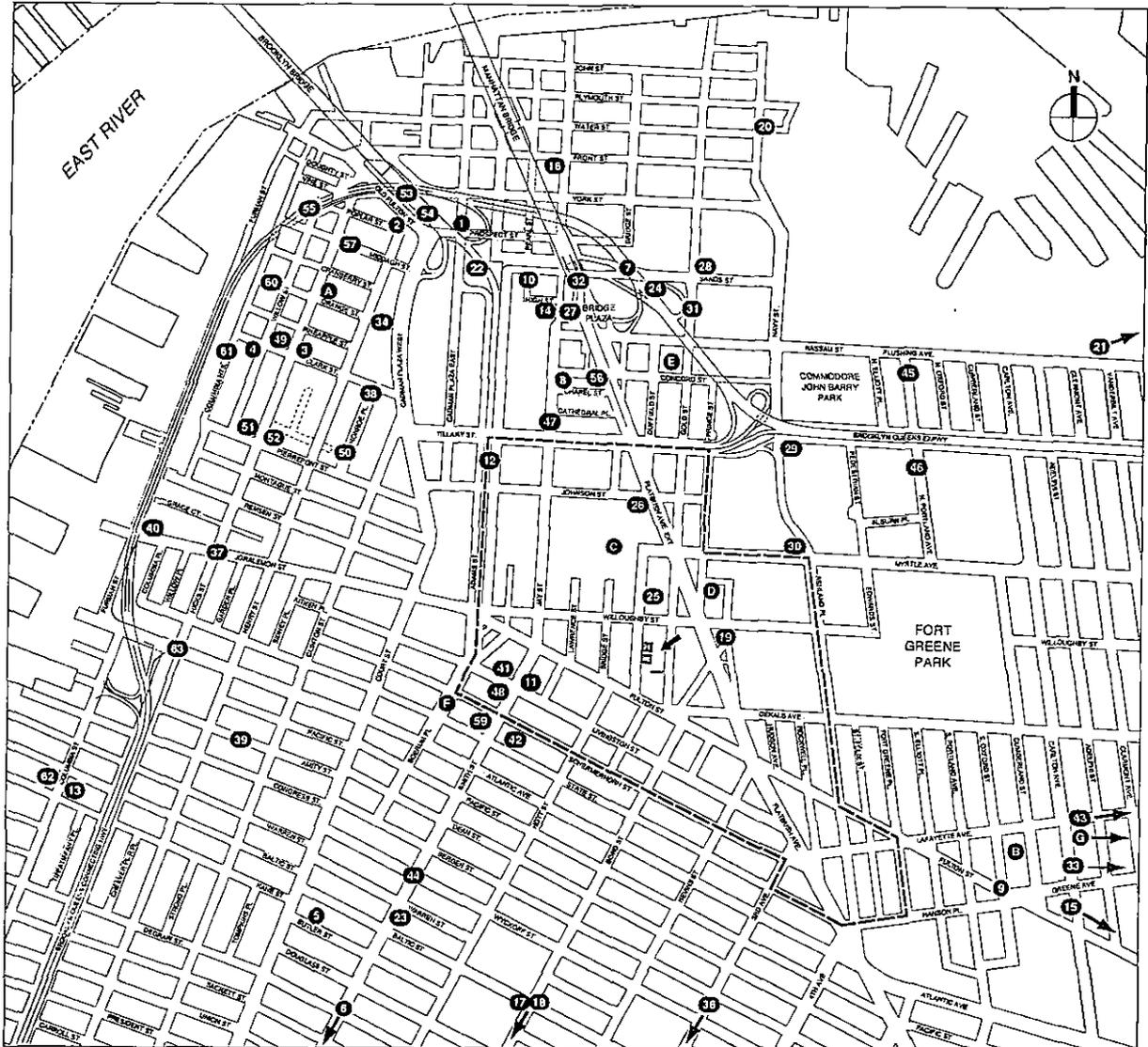
Reverend Henry Ward Beecher was the first pastor of Plymouth Church in Brooklyn Heights (see discussion below) and a leader in the anti-slavery movement. He initiated the tactic of “auctioning” slaves to purchase their freedom in 1848. Beecher’s fund-raising drive to purchase rifles to arm the antislavery forces in the territories of Kansas and Nebraska was well publicized, and the arms were later dubbed “Beecher’s Bibles.” He edited the *New York Independent* and later founded and edited the *Christian Union* (1870).

Reverend Samuel Hanson Cox was the pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Brooklyn from 1837 until 1854. He was a prominent abolitionist, and his outspoken opposition to slavery led to vandalism of the Laight Street Presbyterian Church in Manhattan, in 1834.³ His home was also vandalized, and he was reportedly burned in effigy as far away as Charleston, South Carolina.⁴ He also took a leading part in the foundation of the University of the City of New York.⁵

Reverend Theodore L. Cuyler was the pastor of the Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian Church in Brooklyn from 1860 until 1890. He was an abolitionist and frequent correspondent to the *New York Evangelist*. As noted below, Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian Church is reported to have been a station on the Underground Railroad.

Reverend Amos N. Freeman joined Siloam Presbyterian Church in 1852, and under his pastorate the church was reported to have been a station on the Underground Railroad. He is also noted by Still as a conductor on the Underground Railroad and was involved with the freedom journey of Ann Maria Weems.⁶ Freeman succeeded Henry Highland Garnet as president of the African Civilization Society, recruited men for the Union Army, and delivered the eulogy for Lewis Tappan at his death.⁷ Christiana Taylor Williams, Amos Freeman’s wife, was a major figure in the Association for the Benefit of Colored Orphans that advised and assisted the Colored Orphan Asylum in New York City with its Quaker and abolitionist governing board.⁸

Reverend James Newton Gloucester was the founder of the Siloam Presbyterian Church in Brooklyn. His father, John G. Gloucester, was the founder of African American Presbyterianism



--- Development Area Boundary
 - Subject Properties for Underground Railroad Research

0 500 1000 FEET
 SCALE

Individuals

See Table 1 for Reference Numbers/Name Matches

Churches

- A Plymouth Church
- B Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian Church
- C Former Bridge Street AWME Church (Now Wunsch Hall, Polytechnic University)
- D Former Location of Siloam Presbyterian Church
- E Former Location of Concord Baptist Church
- F Brooklyn Friends Meeting House
- G Weeksville (Off-Map)

NOTE: All locations approximate

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in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. As described below, Siloam Presbyterian Church established a fund for the Underground Railroad while under Gloucester's leadership. James Gloucester also was a contributor to John Brown.

William Harned was a close associate of Lewis Tappan, publisher of a number of anti-slavery pamphlets, officer of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and treasurer of the New York State Vigilance Committee (an active Underground Railroad organization) in the late 1840s and early 1850s. He is known to have assisted in the journeys of at least two freedom seekers; he assisted Paul Edmonson in gaining the freedom of his daughters Mary Jane and Emily Catherine Edmondson, was involved in the effort to recover Joseph Belt from kidnappers, and worked to raise money to free Emily Russell and her sisters.⁹ He conducted most of his business in Lower Manhattan, first at 22 Spruce Street, then 61 John Street and 48 Beekman Street. He also raised money to defend William Chaplain, who was a conductor on the Underground Railroad who had been imprisoned for his participation.¹⁰

Reverend James William Charles (J.W.C.) Pennington was born a slave in Maryland, escaped in 1827 and settled in Brooklyn in 1829.¹¹ He conducted the wedding of Frederick Douglass, was the founder and president of the Union Missionary Society, and formed the Legal Rights Association in New York City with the Dr. James McCune Smith and Reverend Henry Highland Garnet. Pennington was also a pastor at Shiloh Presbyterian Church, and is listed by Seibert as a notable Underground Railroad conductor.¹²

Reverend Charles B. Ray, an ardent abolitionist and conductor on the Underground Railroad, is reported to have smuggled freedom seekers through Brooklyn and Plymouth Church.¹³ As documented in the *Liberator*, Ray was driven off the Wesleyan campus by pro-slavery students and came to New York City to continue his studies for the ministry; however, he maintained connections to abolitionists in New England.¹⁴

Arthur and Lewis Tappan were prominent abolitionists, funders and supporters of the Underground Railroad, and founders of Oberlin College. Lewis Tappan, like Amos Freedman, reportedly assisted in the freedom journey of Ann Maria Weems, and Arthur Tappan's store at 122 Pearl Street in Manhattan has been reported as a possible Underground Railroad station.¹⁵ The brothers helped form the American Anti-Slavery Society, and were part of the split that formed the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society in 1840.¹⁶ Lewis Tappan moved from Manhattan to 68 Pierrepont Street in Brooklyn after his home was destroyed in an anti-abolitionist riot of 1834. Lewis Tappan funded the *Emancipator* and was closely involved with the Amistad case.¹⁷ Juliana Tappan, the daughter of Lewis Tappan, was one of the managers in the Ladies New York City Anti-Slavery Society (1836); she also attended the Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women in Philadelphia in May 1838.¹⁸

Figure 1 also notes the approximate location of Brooklyn contributors to the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* (ca. 1848-1859), officers of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society (ca. 1840-1855), as well as, where possible, the individuals described below (see Table 1 for reference numbers):

- Henry C. Bowen, son-in-law of Lewis Tappan, helped to found Plymouth Church;
- Lydia Maria Child was an editor of the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*;¹⁹
- Reverend Samuel Cornish was a founder of the *Colored American* magazine, a member of the New York Vigilance Committee, and an officer of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society;²⁰

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- Robert H. Cousins, a member of the High Street AWME Church when it moved to Bridge Street (and changed its name) in 1854, harbored freedom seeker Thomas H. Jones and his family in 1849;²¹
- Reverend Eli Hall was an abolitionist;
- James Hamlet was arrested in violation of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850;²²
- Reverend George Hogarth, another deacon in 1832 of the High Street AWME Church, was an abolitionist and associate of Samuel Ringgold Ward; he, Henry C. Thompson, and George Woods were also contributors to *Freedom's Journal*;²³
- Isaac H. Hunter, who had purchased his freedom from his master, was compelled to leave North Carolina for New York because of an 1826 act and later purchased his wife and six children;²⁴
- Martha Mott Lord was the daughter of the abolitionist and Underground Railroad operative Lucretia Mott;
- Croyden Sperry was an officer of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society;²⁵
- Henry C. Thompson, a free African American from whom James Weeks purchased the land that would become Weeksville, was the second president of the Brooklyn African Woolman Benevolent Society and a deacon (in 1832) of the High Street AWME Church;
- Mary and James Tredwell (alternately listed as Treadwell) harbored the daughter of freedom seeker Harriet Jacob, Louisa, circa 1842;²⁶
- Adrian Van Sinderen gave freedom seeker Reverend J.W.C. Pennington a job as a coachman;²⁷ and
- William J. Wilson, also known as "Ethiop," was a teacher and Brooklyn's correspondent to the black and abolitionist press, often writing under his pseudonym;²⁸ he was also a contributor to the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* in 1853.

Prominent abolitionists further away, in Williamsburg, Brooklyn, included Armstrong Archer, William Hodges, Willis Augustus Hodges, Maria Stewart, and Thomas Van Rensselaer. Armstrong Archer was a delegate to the 1840 New York State Convention for Negro Suffrage. William Hodges was imprisoned in Virginia on charges of forging "free papers" for fugitive slaves; he escaped to Canada and then to Williamsburgh, where he became involve in the anti-slavery and educational reform movements.²⁹ Willis Augustus Hodges and Thomas Van Rensselaer published the abolitionist paper *The Ram's Horn* with Frederick Douglass. Willis Augustus Hodges was a delegate, with Armstrong Archer, to the 1840 New York State Convention for Negro Suffrage; he was also a delegate to the New York State Convention of People of Color, held in Troy in 1841.³⁰ Van Rensselaer was a delegate of the United Anti-Slavery Society and a founding member of the New York City Committee of Vigilance.

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**Table 1
Reference Numbers for Figure 1**

Reference Nos.	Person/Institution	Year
1	Reverend Henry Ward Beecher/ Plymouth Church	N/A
2	George W. Bergen	1856
3/4	Henry C. Bowen	1848-54/1854-71
5	Daniel Carmichael	1844
6	Samuel Cornish	1853-59
7/8	Robert H. Cousins	1848/1853-57, 1860-51, 1862-64, 1865-68
9	Reverend Samuel H. Cox	1850
10	E.S. Dudley	1848
11/12/13	R.G. Fairbanks	1854/1858/1859
14	Reverend Amos N. Freeman	1853
15	William Green, Jr.	1856-57
16/17/18	Reverend Eli N. Hall	1849-51/1851-55/1860-67
19/20	William A. Hall	1851/1853
21	James Hamlet	
22	C.S. Halstead	1840/1850
23/24/25	William Harned	1845-48/1848-51/1852-54
26	Enoch Harrington	1855
27/28/29/30	George Hogarth	1830-32/1832-33/1834- 39/1839-50
31/32	William Holmes	1853/1855
33	Robert W. Hume	
34/35/36	Isaac Hunter	1842/1849-50/1852-53, 1855-60, 1863-65, 1867- 68
37	Henrietta Johnson	1853
38	Iverson Knapp	1856
39	Reverend Samuel Longfellow	1854
40	George and Martha Mott Lord	1859
41	Miss E. Martin	1856
42	John Maxwell	1854
43	Junius Morel	
44	John E. Morse	1844
45/46	Thomas P. Nichols	1853/1856
47/48	Theodore Ovington	1855/1857
49	Croyden Sperry	1840
50	Amos P. Stanton	1856
51	Reverend R.S. Storrs	1847
52	Lewis Tappan	1855
53/54/55/56/57/58	Henry C. Thompson	1822/1823/1824/1825- 26/1829-42, 1846-47
59	Mary and James Tredwell (Treadwell)	1840
60/61	Adrien van Sinderen	1854-57/1858-63
62	P.C. Wyeth	1858
63	William J. Wilson	1853

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Weeksville, a historic 19th century African-American community, was located to the east of the Downtown Brooklyn area, in what is now Bedford Stuyvesant. Junius C. Morel was the principal of Colored School No. 2 in Weeksville. Morel wrote prolifically for African American newspapers, beginning with *The Colored American* from 1837-41; became an agent for the *North Star* in 1851, and was later a regular correspondent for the *Christian Recorder* under the pen name "Junius." He also served on the Committee of Thirteen, which was established in New York City after the Fugitive Slave Act was passed in 1850 to help people escape from slavery.³¹

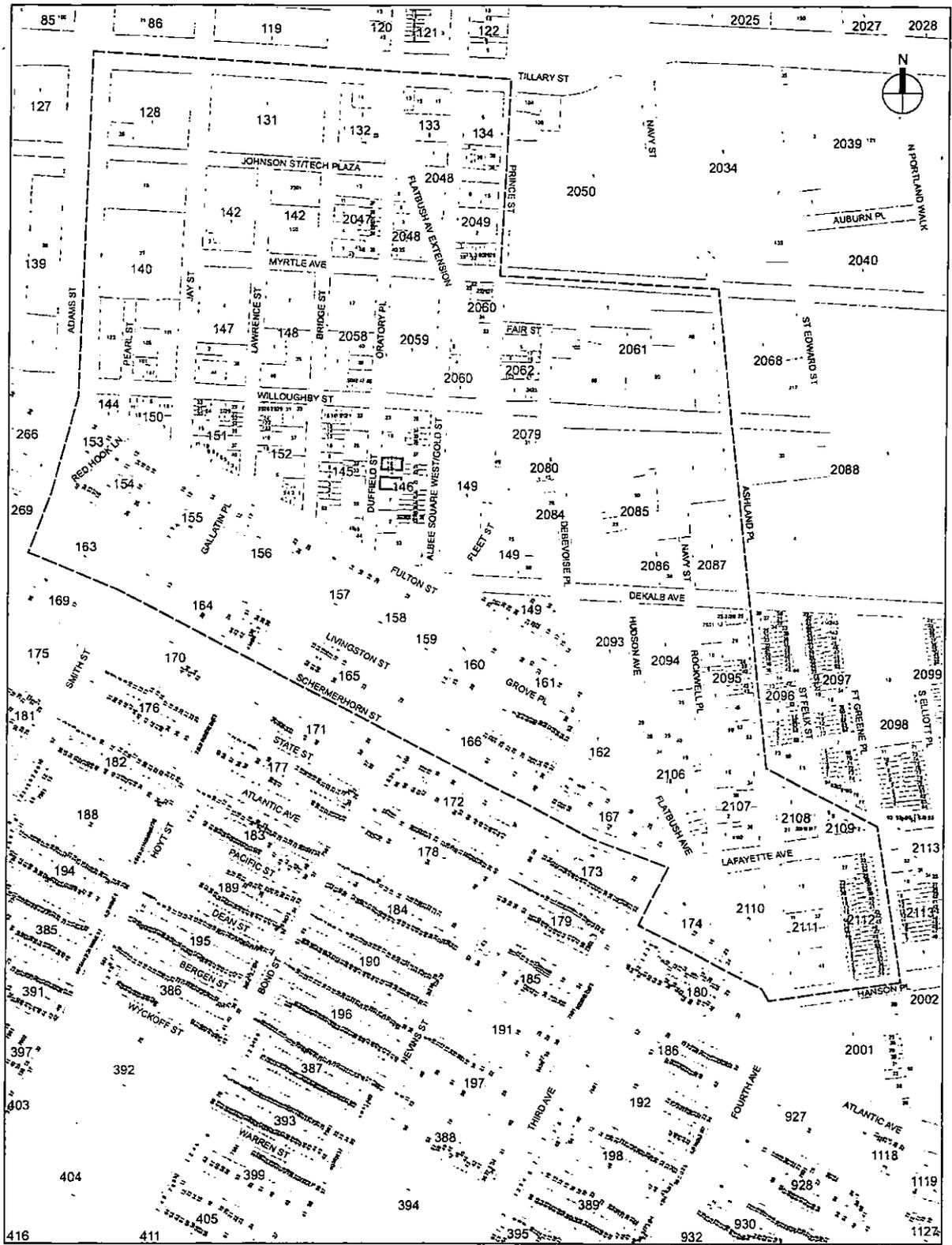
In summary, a number of individuals and organizations—particularly churches—in Downtown Brooklyn and the surrounding area were active in the abolitionist movement and in the Underground Railroad. As will be described below, however, the sensitive context in which the buildings on Duffield Street and Gold Street existed is not sufficient in itself to presume a potential connection to the Underground Railroad. Evidence particular to each building must be identified. This was the subject of the research effort; to determine whether a significant association with the Underground Railroad could be documented for any or all of the buildings on Duffield Street and Gold Street.

PROJECT BACKGROUND

The proposed Downtown Brooklyn Development project is a long-range planning strategy to create a vibrant, multi-use urban environment that serves the residents, businesses, and academic institutions of Downtown Brooklyn and its surrounding communities. This planning effort, sponsored by the New York City Department of City Planning (DCP) and the New York City Economic Development Corporation (EDC), would affect approximately 59 blocks of the Downtown Brooklyn area. Figure 2 shows the boundaries of the planning initiative and the affected block and lots.

The implementation of this development plan would reinforce Downtown Brooklyn's role as a regional central business district, build on the success of previous development efforts that have retained and attracted companies in New York, strengthen the linkages between the area's commercial core and surrounding residential neighborhoods, create a strong and diverse retail market, expand residential communities and existing academic and cultural facilities, create public amenities, and significantly add to New York City's economic base. The project seeks to integrate the various land uses found in the project area (i.e., commercial, retail, institutional, academic, residential, and public space) and introduce a unifying urban design vision for Downtown Brooklyn. The plan involves a series of zoning map and text changes, new public open spaces, pedestrian and transit improvements, urban renewal, site acquisition, street mappings and other actions intended to foster a multi-use urban environment to serve the residents, businesses, academic institutions and cultural institutions of Downtown Brooklyn and its surrounding communities. Because the project required discretionary approvals, it was required to undergo a City Environmental Quality Review (CEQR) and Uniform Land Use Review Procedure (ULURP), both of which require public review and approval.

During the public comment period on the Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) for the CEQR and ULURP for the Downtown Brooklyn plan, owners of three properties on Duffield and Gold Streets, which are proposed for City acquisition, stated that their buildings had been utilized for Underground Railroad activities. The three buildings are 227 Duffield Street (Block 146, Lot 15); 233 Duffield Street (Block 146, Lot 12); and 436 Gold Street, aka 436 Albee Square West (Block 146, Lot 51). Since the Downtown Brooklyn area was known to have been home to an



- Development Area Boundary
- ▭ Subject Properties for Underground Railroad Research
- 205 Block Numbers
- 28 Lot Numbers

Blocks and Lots in Project Area
Figure 2

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active abolitionist movement (as described above), and since no documentary evidence was provided by the property owners to substantiate their specific claims, the City of New York instructed its consultant, AKRF, Inc., to conduct a historic research to see whether any such association could be found and to include the results of the research in the Final EIS (FEIS). The FEIS, which was published in April 2004, noted that no documentable association of the 227 Duffield Street, 233 Duffield Street, and 436 Gold Street buildings with the Underground Railroad was found and that there was neither evidence to support a determination that these properties are eligible for either National Historic Landmark status nor for listing on the National Register of Historic Places in relation to the Underground Railroad.³² The FEIS further stated that the potential existence of tunnels under the buildings and any corroborating artifacts could not be ascertained without further testing, and that 1) a visual inspection of the interiors of the buildings after condemnation to ascertain the existence of other artifacts, and 2) new continuous soil borings conducted at the time of site redevelopment, would need to be undertaken at the sites. If the soil borings indicated a potential for archeologically sensitive areas, Stage 1B testing would be undertaken in the potentially sensitive areas.

As part of the public approvals, the land use plan went through a review and approval process involving the local community board, the City Planning Commission, Brooklyn Borough President, and finally, the New York City Council, which approved this long-term development plan to facilitate the continued growth of Downtown Brooklyn. However, the City Council requested that the City revisit the research conducted in the FEIS and continue further researching the claims of the property owners. A letter was presented by the property owners to the New York City Council that included, in addition to the three original properties, another four properties that were claimed to have historic connections to the Underground Railroad. A City Council landmark sub-committee hearing is expected to be scheduled to review the research, any existing corroborating evidence, and conclusions to be drawn on the potential for these sites to have Underground Railroad associations.

SUBJECT PROPERTIES

This report summarizes the expanded research effort that has been undertaken to include the following subject properties subsequent to the initial research effort conducted as part of the FEIS:

- 223 Duffield Street, Block 146, Lot 17
- 225 Duffield Street, Block 146, Lot 16
- 227 Duffield Street, Block 146, Lot 15
- 231 Duffield Street, Block 146, Lot 13
- 233 Duffield Street, Block 146, Lot 12
- 235 Duffield Street, Block 146, Lot 11
- 436 Gold Street, Block 146, Lot 51 (aka 436 Albee Square)

Figure 2 indicates the properties subject to the expanded Underground Railroad research effort, shown within the context of the Downtown Brooklyn Development project. Figure 3 presents the block and lot information for the sites.

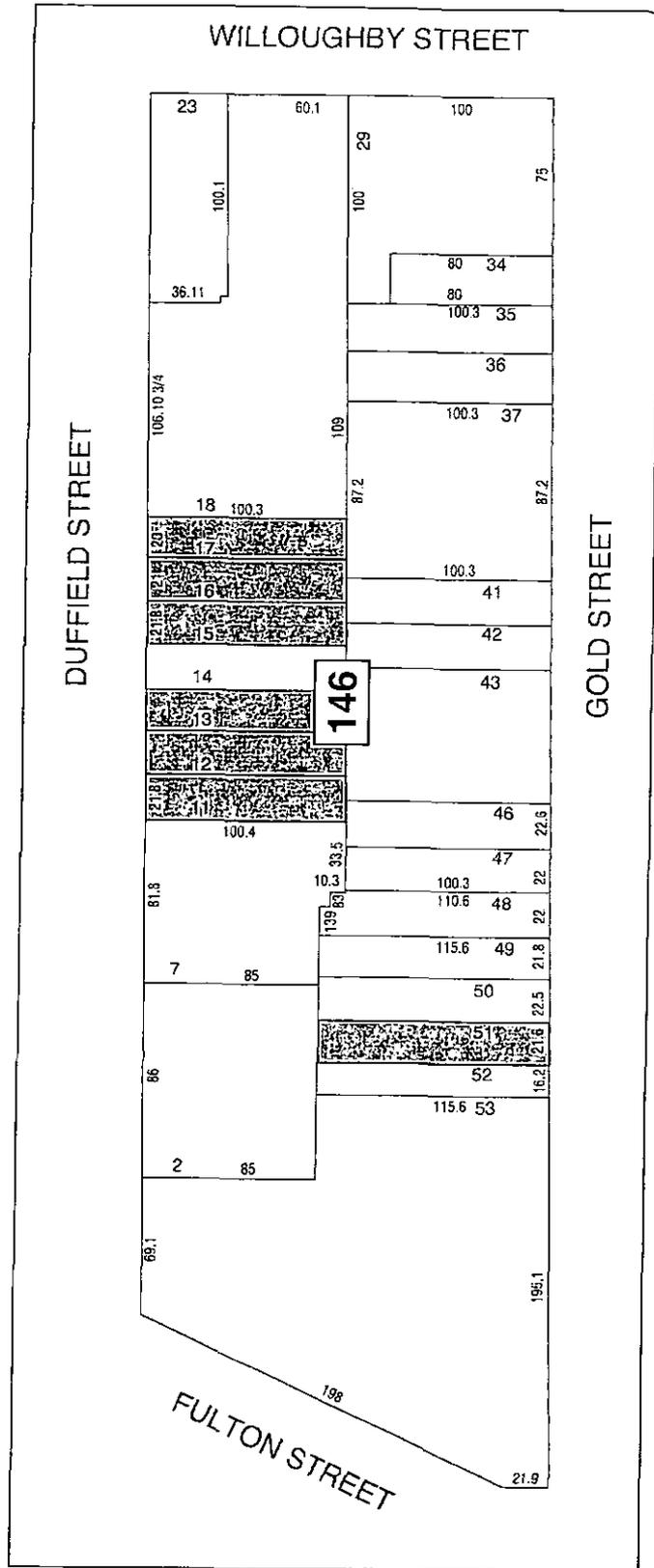
B. RESEARCH APPROACH AND SCOPE

INFORMATION PROVIDED BY PROPERTY OWNERS

As described above, the potential for the Duffield Street and Gold Street buildings to have been used for Underground Railroad activities was first raised during the public review of the Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) for the Downtown Brooklyn Development project. The owners of 227 Duffield Street, 233 Duffield Street, and 436 Albee Square (aka Gold Street) (Joy Chatel, Lewis Greenstein, and Dave Walker, respectively) gave testimony regarding this potential at a public hearing on March 24, 2004. In a memo dated June 8, 2004, the Duffield Street Association expanded the area of potential significance to include 223, 225, 231, and 235 Duffield Street (seven buildings total). A letter from Frederick Laverpool, Sr., a Brooklyn history promoter, was also received regarding the need to investigate the potential connection of the Duffield Street and Gold Street buildings to the Underground Railroad.

In individual conversations or public hearing testimony given around that time, the property owners noted that:

- There was at one time a tunnel underneath the sidewalk on Duffield Street that led between the buildings (223-235 Duffield Street) and was used to transport freedom seekers, and this tunnel may still exist;
- This tunnel is indicated in an 1898 Sanborn map, which shows a dotted line leading from building to building on Duffield Street;
- Other subcellar features in the Duffield Street buildings either connected to this tunnel or may have been used to hide freedom seekers;
- John Duffield, the owner of the property encompassing the Duffield Street buildings before subdivision and development of the land in the 1840s, was an abolitionist and might have sold his property to other abolitionists, who might have used the buildings to harbor freedom seekers;
- Thomas Edwards, the owner and builder of 233 and 235 Duffield Street and a possible member of Plymouth Church from 1859 to 1867, might have rented his buildings to people who would use them to harbor freedom seekers;
- Carl was the owner of a jewelry store in the 233 Duffield Street building in the 1980s. According to Lewis Greenstein, the owner of 233 Duffield Street, Carl had heard from his grandmother, who lived in the building, that it was used as an Underground Railroad station. Carl died in the early 1990s. Mr. Greenstein later clarified that Carl was Calvin Smith, that his jewelry store was possibly named "Joker Jewelry," and that he may have had a 10- or 12-year old son at the time of his death. Mr. Greenstein subsequently clarified that Carl Smith is the correct name, that Mr. Smith died in August 1996, what his social security number may have been, and that his son was named Christopher Smith. The social security records for the given number indicate that a Carl S. Smith was born on April 13, 1961 and died August 30, 1996 at the age of 35; and
- According to the property owners, Bishop Queen Mother Jordan, a local resident, remembers playing in the subcellar spaces as a child and hearing rumors of the buildings' Underground Railroad connection.



 Subject Properties for Underground Railroad Research



Tax Map
Figure 3

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The New York City Department of City Planning sent letters to the owners of 223-235 Duffield Street and 436 Albee Square/Gold Street on March 26 and July 22, 2004, asking for their assistance in providing any information they might have on this subject, including: the name and contact information of anyone whom they believe should be contacted for possible interviewing who might have knowledge of the potential Underground Railroad use of their buildings; information regarding any alterations to their buildings; and any historical photographs of the buildings, or historical papers/records from previous owners. Lewis Greenstein provided a spreadsheet of Brooklyn city directory information on some of the residents along the entire lengths of Duffield, Stanton, and Gold Streets (including, but not limited to, the subject properties), culled from Brooklyn city directories for 1840-1842, 1849-1852, and 1855-1857. The information relevant to the owners and residents of the subject properties was added to the Brooklyn city directory information researched for this study, as discussed below. The property owners also noted that one of the families that owned and lived at 227 Duffield Street during the period of significance—the Truesdell family—attended Zion Shiloh Baptist Church.

A site visit of 223, 227, and 233 Duffield Street was provided by the owners of 227 and 233 Duffield Street on June 9, 2004. A site visit of 223, 225, 227, 233, and 235 Duffield Street and 436 Gold Street was provided by the owners of 225, 227, and 233 Duffield Street and 436 Gold Street on August 26, 2004. The site tour provided on August 26 allowed an architectural historian, Michael Devonshire, to assess the buildings' integrity in relation to the period of significance (roughly defined as 1848—the approximate date of the buildings' construction—and 1865, the end of the Civil War). The assessment of each building is provided below under "Building Construction and Alteration."

Jason Donegan, the owner of 231 Duffield Street, submitted a written response to interview questions. The following scanned materials were submitted by the owner of 227 Duffield Street: a portion of the will of Harriet Truesdell; a portion of the deed to Harriet Truesdell of 227 Duffield Street; a portion of a deed to Francis Peck; a family tree of the Hyams/Hyman family; photographs of Hyams/Hyman family members; portions of court cases, deeds, and other records relating to the Hyams/Hyman/Chatel family; a portion of a book referencing an individual named William Truesdail; a portion of a source referencing the Bridge Street AWME church; a portion of an article referencing the Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women in Philadelphia, 1838; and photographs of post-1870 bottles uncovered at some time in the past (no date given) from the back yard of 227 Duffield Street, and photographs of other artifacts from the basement of 227 Duffield Street. The artifacts include metal objects presumed to be from the former beauty shop operated at 227 Duffield Street. The submittal from Jason Donegan and copies of the scanned material provided by the owner of 227 Duffield Street are provided in Appendix H.

Additional information was provided in interviews conducted in December 2005 and January 2006. The information provided in these interviews is discussed below under "Oral Tradition."

RESEARCH APPROACH

As described above, the subject of the research effort was to determine whether a significant association with the Underground Railroad could be documented for any or all of the buildings on Duffield Street and Gold Street. To that end, the research approach was to document the construction, ownership, and residency history of each building to the extent possible; to determine if any records exist of the owners' and residents' possible connection to abolitionist

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activities, churches, or societies; and to determine what information on the buildings' histories can be drawn from oral traditions. Multiple avenues of research were reviewed and considered.

The research effort was also the subject of a peer review. The peer review was made up of local historians and representatives of local historical societies, academics specializing in African American history and the Underground Railroad, and representatives of the New York State Freedom Trail Commission. The members of the peer review are: Leslie Alexander, Assistant Professor, Department of History, Ohio State University; Raymond Dobard, Professor, Department of Art, Howard University; Jim Driscoll, co-author of *Angels of Deliverance: The Underground Railroad in Queens, Long Island, and Beyond*; Leslie M. Harris, Associate Professor, Department of History, Emory University; Richard Hourahan, co-author of *Angels of Deliverance: The Underground Railroad in Queens, Long Island, and Beyond*; Andrew P. Jackson, Executive Director, Langston Hughes Community Library and Cultural Center, Queens Borough Public Library and member of the New York State Freedom Trail Commission; Marilyn H. Pettit, Vice President for Collections, Brooklyn Historical Society; Milton C. Sernett, Professor of African American Studies and History, Syracuse University, and former member of the New York State Freedom Trail Commission; Judith Wellman, Professor Emerita, State University of New York at Oswego, Consulting Historian, Historical New York Research Associates, and member of the New York State Freedom Trail Commission; Craig Wilder, Professor, Department of History, Dartmouth College; and A.J. Williams-Myers, Professor, Department of Black Studies, SUNY-New Paltz, and member of the New York State Freedom Trail Commission. Additionally, at the request of the property owners, the City included Cheryl LaRoche, Research Associate, Department of American Studies, University of Maryland, as a peer reviewer. The curriculum vitae of the peer review members are provided as Appendix A of this report.

The peer review members reviewed the scope of research and data collected; gave feedback on any research issues that required further data collection and/or additional resources, contacts, or research topics that should be pursued; reviewed and commented on the draft and final research report; and drafted findings on the final report. Responses to comments on the scope of research and the draft report are provided as Appendix B, and the peer reviewers' findings on the final report are provided as Appendix C.

The criteria for listing a property with a connection to the Underground Railroad on the National Register of Historic Places was also reviewed, and the Duffield Street and Gold Street properties were evaluated for their potential eligibility for such listing. The criteria for listing such properties on the National Underground Railroad Network to Freedom program or the New York State Underground Railroad Heritage Trail were also considered. The New York City Landmarks Law requires that, to be designated, a potential landmark must be at least 30 years old and must possess "a special character or special historical or aesthetic interest or value as part of the development, heritage, or cultural characteristics of the city, state, or nation."

C. CONSTRUCTION, OWNERSHIP, AND RESIDENCY HISTORY

PRE-CONSTRUCTION OWNERSHIP

As further described lot by lot below, the land on which the Duffield Street and Gold Street buildings were constructed was originally part of the estates of Samuel Fleet and John Duffield. John Duffield's property in this area was subsequently passed down to his daughters, Anna

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Prince and Susan Lawrence. These individuals were researched, as were others who owned the properties before their development, for their potential involvement in abolitionist activities, churches, or societies.

BUILDING CONSTRUCTION AND ALTERATION

Based on property deeds from the Brooklyn City Register, tax assessment records from the New York City Municipal Archives, various historical maps available at the Brooklyn Public Library, New York Public Library, and the Brooklyn City Clerk's office, and indexed online records of the New York City Department of Buildings (actual files could not be located by the Department of Buildings), all of the buildings on Duffield Street appear to have been constructed between 1846 and 1850. The building on Gold Street/Albee Square appears to have been constructed between 1855 and 1865. Sanborn maps from 1886 and 1906 appear to indicate that the 223, 225, and 227 Duffield Street buildings had 1-story front wooden extensions or porches (see Figures 4 and 5); these appear to have been removed ca. 1915-1938, when 2-story front extensions were built at 223 and 227 Duffield Street. In addition, 231 Duffield Street has a 1-story front extension that appears to date from 1950-1969. 225 Duffield Street was demolished ca. 1941 and a new 2-story structure was constructed on its site. Please see below for the construction and alteration history of each building. Historical Perspectives, Inc. conducted the research into the buildings' construction and alteration history. As described above, information on the buildings' alterations over time was supplemented by an assessment by Michael Devonshire, Jan Pokorny Architects, of the buildings' integrity in relation to the period of significance. That assessment is summarized in the description of each building below, and provided as Appendix D, along with Mr. Devonshire's resume.

The buildings on Duffield Street and Gold Street/Albee Square received their current addresses in the early 1870s; the former addresses of each building are listed below. Until 1968, Block 146 was designated Block 2077. Throughout the report, the buildings are referred to by their current addresses.

223 DUFFIELD STREET (BLOCK 146, LOT 17)

223 Duffield Street was known as 137 Duffield Street through ca. 1855, and as 181 Duffield Street through the 1860s. Lot 17 originally was part of the large estate of John Duffield. By 1829, Lot 17 (along with a number of other adjacent lots) had been acquired by Duffield's daughter, Anna Prince.³³ It appears that Anna Prince never developed the lot during the time she held it. In 1846, Anna Prince conveyed Lot 17, as well as a number of other lots on the block, to her son Christopher Prince.³⁴ Christopher Prince appears to have constructed the first house on Lot 17 soon afterwards.

Archival documents suggest that the current structure on Lot 17 may be the same building constructed ca. 1846-1848. The current structure is a 3-story building with a raised basement and a 2-story front extension, covered in siding (see Photograph 1 of Figure 6). The 1855 Perris map illustrates a wood structure on the property, set back from the street, with front and back extensions also made of wood (see Figure 7). The 1855 and 1865 New York State censuses also list the structure as a frame house (see Appendix E). The wooden front portion of the structure (possibly a porch) has since been replaced with a 2-story extension, abutting the modern sidewalk. It appears that this extension was built between 1915 and 1938, based on the Sanborn maps from those years (see Figures 8 and 9). It also appears that the existing large 1-story rear

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extension that extends almost to the rear property line was built between these years. Nineteenth-century tax records indicate that the building on the lot was two stories with a basement through the 1870s, and that it was raised to three stories in the 1880s, a description that matches the current structure's characteristics.³⁵ Department of Buildings online records (which date from ca. 1898 onward), do not indicate any new building or demolition episodes on the lot.

The foundation walls of 223 Duffield Street are constructed of random-coursed rubble stone masonry. A ventilation well is located at the rear of the cellar, the masonry of which is keyed to the foundation walls, indicating original construction. There is an early concrete-lined coal chute located at the front façade which appears to date from the early 20th century.

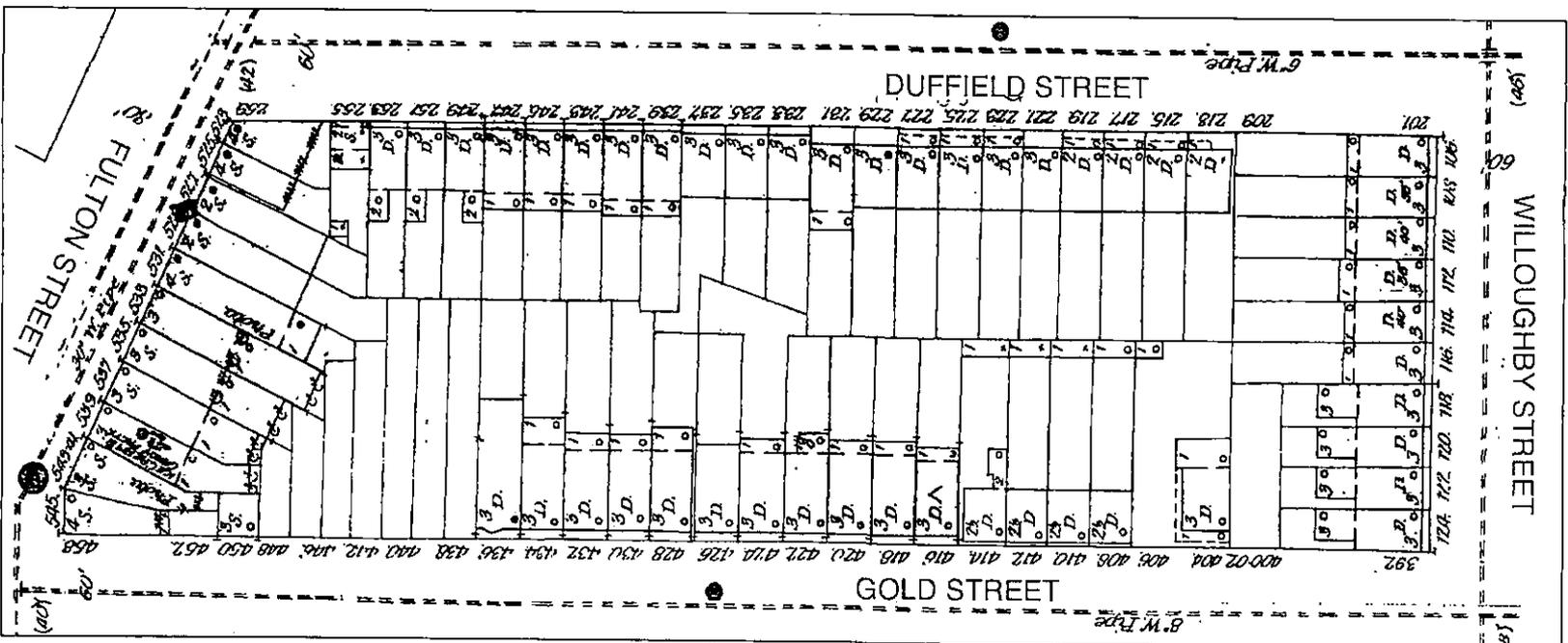
225 DUFFIELD STREET (BLOCK 146, LOT 16)

225 Duffield Street was known as 139 Duffield Street through ca. 1855, and as 183 Duffield Street through the 1860s. Like Lot 17, Lot 16 originally was part of John Duffield's estate. By 1829, the lot had been acquired by Anna Prince;³⁶ however, it appears that Anna Prince never developed the lot during the time she held it. Lot 16 was part of the large holdings conveyed by Anna Prince to her son Christopher Prince in 1846. However, Christopher Prince did not retain Lot 16 for long. In 1847, just over a year after he inherited the lot, he sold it to local mason Nathaniel Bonnel for \$800.³⁷ The relatively low price paid for the lot suggests that it was undeveloped or only minimally improved at the time of the sale. It appears that Nathaniel Bonnel built the original house on Lot 16.

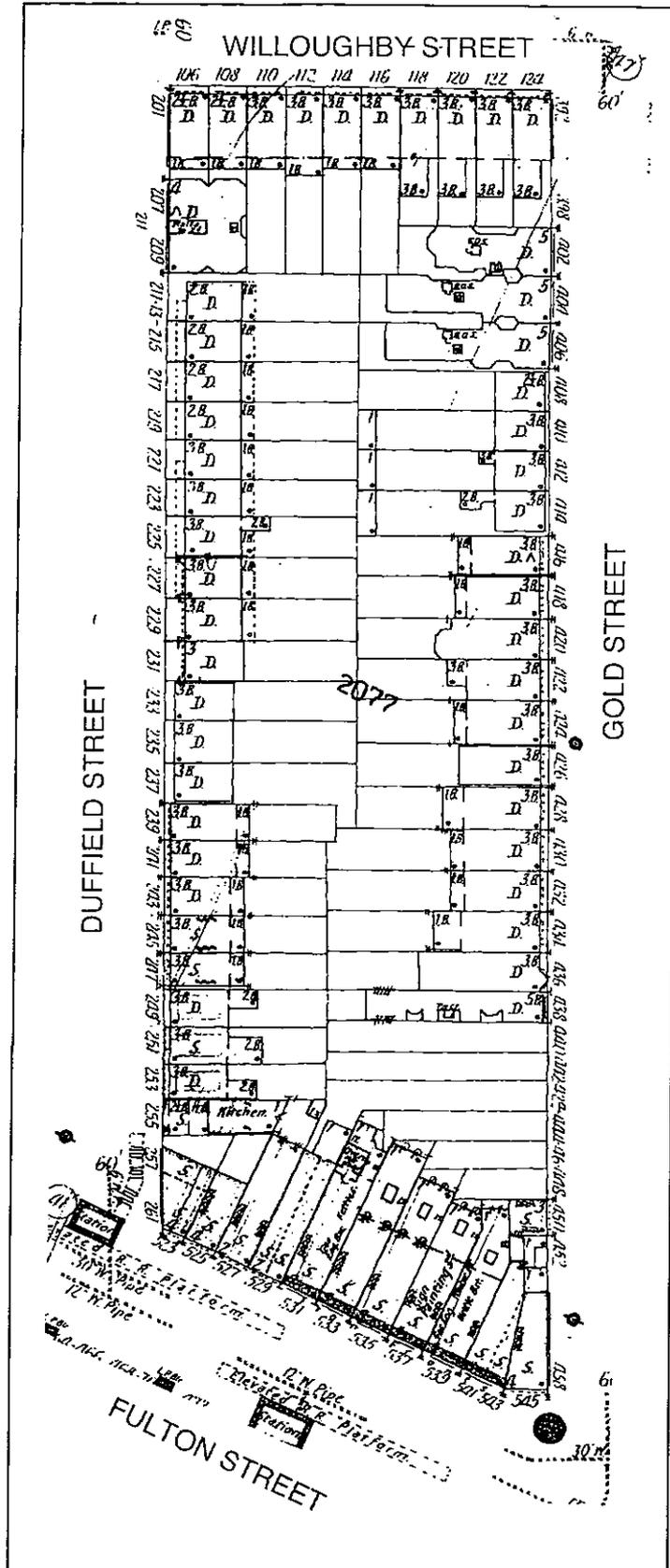
The original house on Lot 16 was presumably built ca. 1847-1850. The lot contained a two-story brick building with a basement through the 1870s, which was then raised to three stories in the 1880s.³⁸ However, the structure that currently exists on modern Lot 16, a two-story concrete building, is assumed to have been built in 1941, based on demolition and new building permits from 1941 in the indexed online records of the New York City Department of Buildings (see Photograph 2 of Figure 6). The cellar level walls of this space have been significantly altered, concealing any potential evidence of 19th century construction.

227 DUFFIELD STREET (BLOCK 146, LOT 15)

227 Duffield Street was known as 141 Duffield Street through ca. 1855 and as 185 Duffield Street through the 1860s. Lot 15 originally straddled the boundary of the estates of John Duffield (on the west) and Samuel Fleet (on the east). The lot falls mostly within the former estate of John Duffield; only a small corner at the back (east) of the lot is within the former Samuel Fleet estate. By 1829, Lot 15 (along with a number of other adjacent lots) had been acquired by John Duffield's daughter, Susan Lawrence.³⁹ It appears that Susan Lawrence never developed the lot during the time she held it. In 1845, this lot was included in a court case in which Susan Lawrence was a defendant. The decree appointed Horace Holden the receiver of Lot 15 and two other lots, and soon after it was advertised for sale in the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* because the taxes on it had not been paid.⁴⁰ The parcel continued to be advertised for sale in the paper through 1846, and in 1847, it was purchased at public auction for \$1,500 by Daniel Lord, an attorney for the firm McCalmont Brothers and Company in Manhattan, which was one of the complainants in the original suit against Lawrence.⁴¹ As described in greater detail below, in 1848 Daniel Lord sold Lot 15 to John J. Studwell, who then sold the lot the same year to Caleb Baldwin. Caleb Baldwin may have constructed the first structures on the property; when he and his wife sold the parcel to local mason Robert Bonnel in 1849, the purchase price was \$2,800, nearly three times



1886 Sanborn Map
Figure 4



1906 Sanborn Map
Figure 5



223 Duffield Street 1



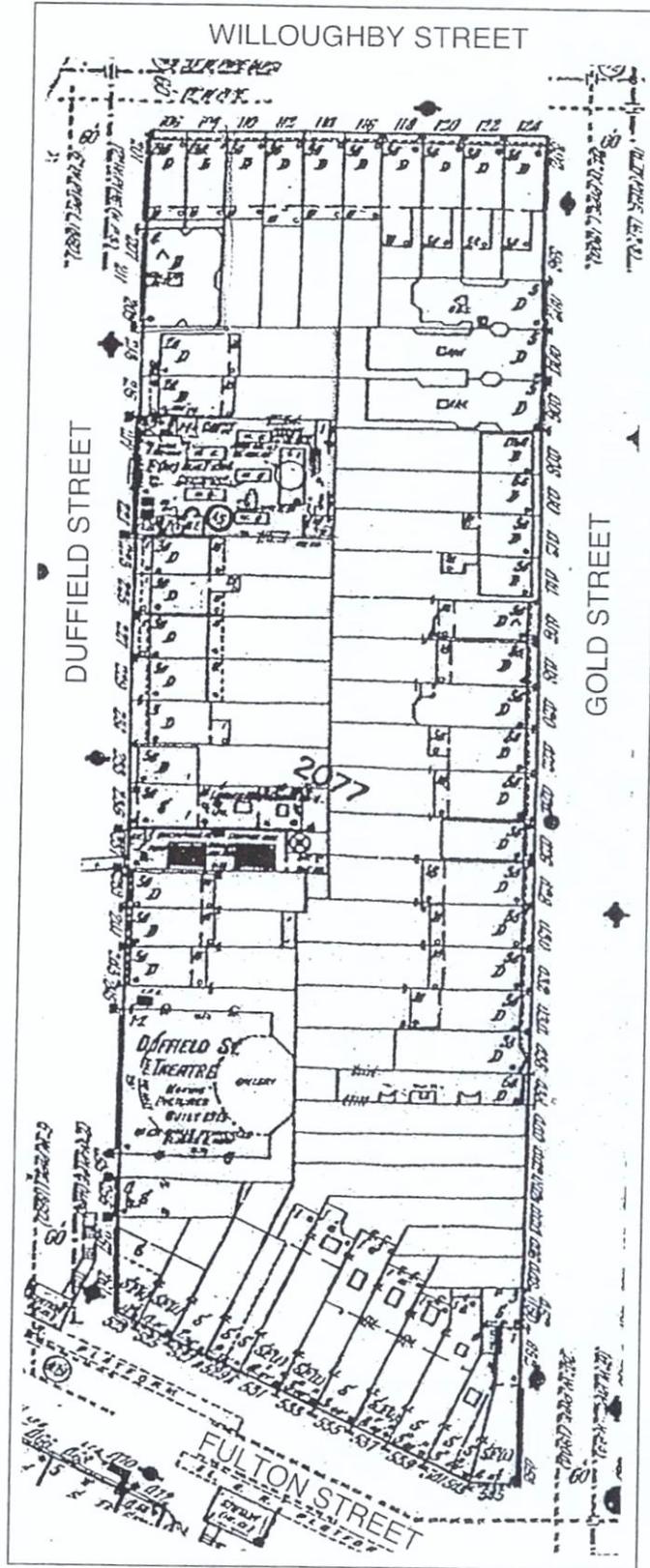
225 Duffield Street 2

Photographs of Duffield Street Buildings

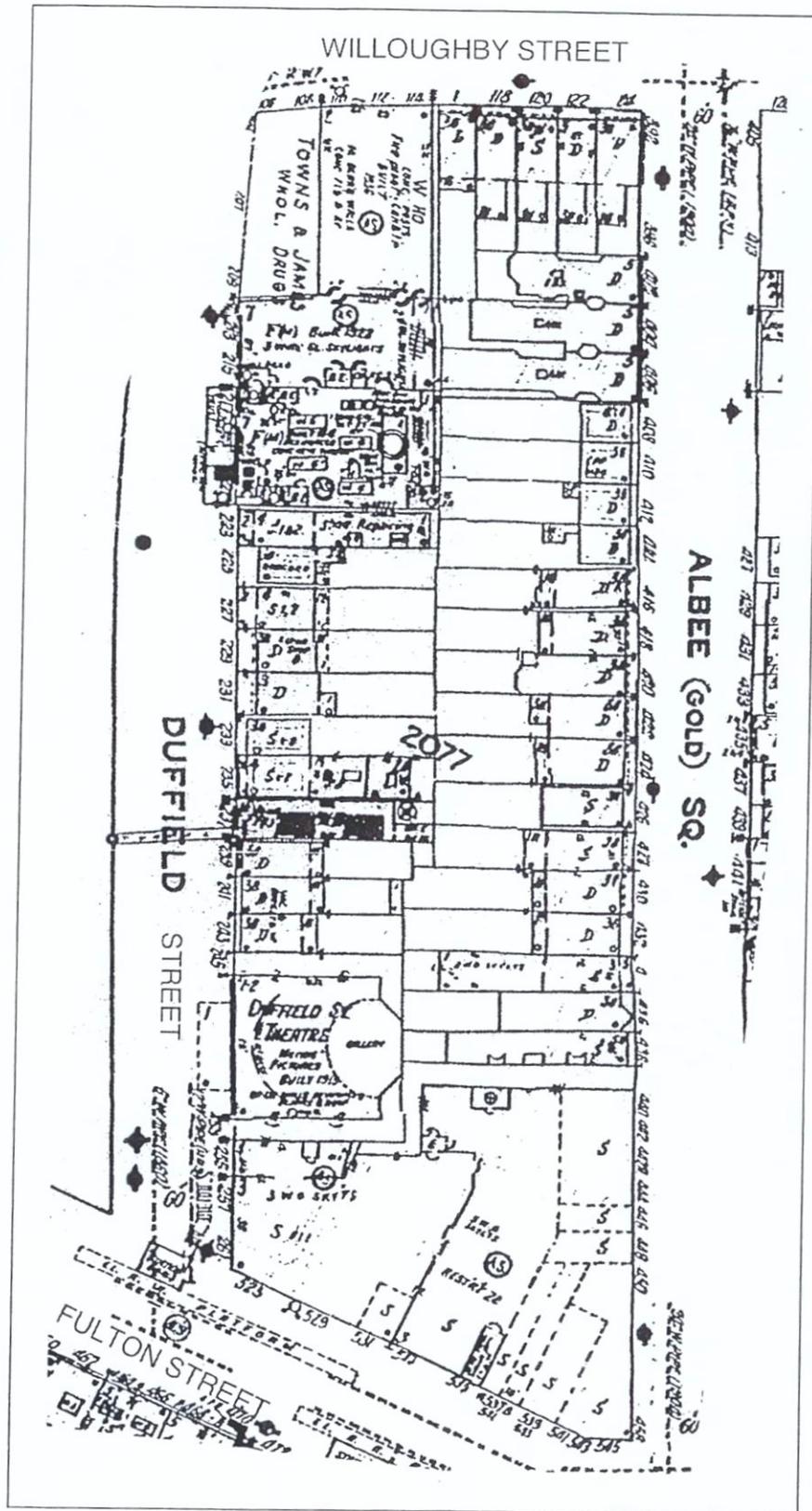
Figure 6



1855 Perris Map
Figure 7



1915 Sanborn Map
Figure 8



1938 Sanborn Map
Figure 9

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the amount Baldwin paid for the land the year before, suggesting improvements had been made to the property.⁴² In 1850, Bonnel and his wife sold Lot 15 to Harriet Truesdell for \$3,000, suggesting further improvements to the property may have occurred in the intervening year.⁴³

Archival documents suggest that the current structure on Lot 15 may be the same building constructed ca. 1848-1850. The current structure is a 3-story brick building with a raised basement and a 2-story front brick extension (see Photograph 3 of Figure 10). The 1855 Perris map illustrates a brick structure on the property, set back from the street, with front and back extensions made of wood (see Figure 7). The wooden front portion of the structure has since been replaced with a two-story brick extension, abutting the modern sidewalk. It appears that this extension was built between 1915 and 1938, based on the Sanborn maps from those years (see Figures 8 and 9). Nineteenth-century tax records indicate that the main building on the lot was three stories with a basement, a description that matches the current structure's characteristics.⁴⁴ Department of Buildings online records do not indicate any new building or demolition episodes on the lot; however, there are records of alteration permits dating from 1912, 1922, 1926, 1927, 1932, 1935, and 1936.

The basement walls of 227 Duffield Street are constructed of random-coursed rubble stone which appears to be a mixture of brownstone and schist, typical of 19th century foundation wall construction. There is a projecting ventilation well at the rear facade. The walls of the ventilation well are faced in stone similar to that of the foundation walls and are also keyed to them, indicating original construction.

231 DUFFIELD STREET (BLOCK 146, LOT 13)

231 Duffield Street was known as 145 Duffield Street through ca. 1855 and as 189 Duffield Street through the 1860s. Lot 13 originally was part of the John Duffield estate. By 1829, Lot 13 (along with other adjacent lots) had been acquired by John Duffield's daughter, Susan Lawrence.⁴⁵ It appears that Susan Lawrence never developed the lot during the time she held it. In 1845, Lot 13 was included in the court case against Susan Lawrence which is described above. The decree appointed Horace Holden the receiver of this and two other lots and soon after it was advertised for sale in the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* because the taxes on it had not been paid.⁴⁶ The parcel continued to be advertised for sale in the paper through 1846, and in 1847, Lot 13 was purchased at public auction for \$550 by Robert Dingee of Brooklyn.⁴⁷ It appears that lot remained undeveloped during the time that Robert Dingee owned it, from 1847 to 1850.⁴⁸ In 1850, Robert and Frances Dingee sold Lot 13 to John A. Ackley (also spelled Ackley) for \$800.⁴⁹ Again, the relatively low price paid for the lot suggests there were no improvements to it at the time. After purchasing Lot 13, Ackley appears to have built the first house on the property after 1850.

Archival documents suggest that the current structure on Lot 15 may be the same building constructed ca. 1850. The current structure is a 3-story brick building with a basement and a 1-story front brick extension (see Photograph 4 of Figure 10). The 1855 Perris map illustrates a brick structure on the property, set back slightly from the street (see Figure 7). Nineteenth-century tax records indicate that the building was three stories with a basement, a description that matches the current structure's characteristics.⁵⁰ Department of Buildings online records do not indicate any new building or demolition episodes on the lot; however, there is a record of an alteration permit dating from 1945. It appears that the 1-story front extension was built between 1950 and 1969, based on the Sanborn maps from those years.

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233 DUFFIELD STREET (BLOCK 146, LOT 12)

233 Duffield Street was known as 147 Duffield Street through ca. 1855 and as 191 Duffield Street through the 1860s. This lot originally straddled the boundary of the estates belonging to John Duffield (on the west) and Samuel Fleet (on the east). The lot falls mostly within the former John Duffield estate; an approximately 20-foot long triangular section at the back (east) of the lot is within the former Samuel Fleet estate. Later deeds indicate the southern boundary of the lot crossed a party wall belonging to Samuel Fleet. By 1829, the lot (along with a number of other adjacent lots) had been acquired by John Duffield's daughter, Susan Lawrence.⁵¹ It appears that Susan Lawrence never developed the lot during the time she held it. In 1845, Lot 12 was included in the court case against Susan Lawrence which is described above. The decree appointed Horace Holden the receiver of the property, who in 1847 sold it to Daniel Lord.⁵² The following year, Daniel Lord sold Lot 12 (along with Lots 11 and 10) to Thomas Edwards, a Brooklyn builder, for \$1,500.⁵³ No development appears to have occurred on the property through this time. Thomas Edwards appears to have constructed row houses on the lots soon after purchasing them; at least by 1850, a notice in the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* indicated he had built three houses on the east side of Stanton Street (a former name for Duffield Street), which appear to correspond to Lots 10, 11, and 12.⁵⁴ Edwards was also noted as owning several lots and houses on Gold Street, suggesting he may have been building houses on speculation at this time.

Archival documents suggest that the frame row house constructed on the lot ca. 1848-1850 may be the same structure currently standing on the property. The current structure is a 3-story frame building with a raised basement (see Photograph 5 of Figure 11). The 1855 Perris map illustrates a frame structure on the property, set back slightly from the street (see Figure 7). 19th century tax records indicate that the main building on the lot was two stories with a basement through the 1870s, and that it was raised to three stories in the 1880s, a description that matches the current structure's characteristics.⁵⁵ Department of Buildings online records do not indicate any new building or demolition episodes on the lot; however, there is a record of an alteration permit dating from 1922.

The foundation walls of 233 Duffield Street are of coursed rubble sandstone and appear to be original construction. The cellar area features a ventilation well at the rear which is keyed to the foundation stone, indicating contemporaneous construction. The well has been previously altered to an entry, with some brick infill, and some schist stone on the rear wall, which is not keyed to the adjacent walls. The ventilation shaft located at the front facade is concealed by newer construction. The floor of the cellar has been covered with a concrete rat slab, completed in numerous pours rather than a single construction event. There is an 8'x8' area at the front of the cellar which has not been covered with concrete. The existing condition suggests that there was a partitioned area here when the adjacent concrete was poured; however, considering that the floor was constructed in several events, it is not possible to determine when the partition was removed, its origin, or form of construction. The soil within the area is well compacted. Therefore, although this area is the anomalous feature of this cellar, and archaeological investigation is the most appropriate means of determining if this feature relates to Underground Railroad activity, the disturbed condition of the soil in this area results in questionable archaeological value.



227 Duffield Street 3



231 Duffield Street 4

Photographs of Duffield Street Buildings
Figure 10



233 Duffield Street 5



235 Duffield Street 6

Photographs of Duffield Street Buildings

Figure 11

235 DUFFIELD STREET (BLOCK 146, LOT 11)

235 Duffield Street was formerly known as 149 Duffield Street through ca. 1855 and as 193 Duffield Street through the 1860s. This lot originally straddled the boundary of the estates belonging to John Duffield (on the west) and Samuel Fleet (on the east). The lot falls mostly within the John Duffield estate; a triangular section at the back of the lot is within the former Samuel Fleet estate, and later deeds indicate the southern boundary of the lot crossed a party wall belonging to Samuel Fleet. By 1829, Lot 11 (along with a number of other adjacent lots) had been acquired by John Duffield's daughter, Susan Lawrence.⁵⁶ It appears that Susan Lawrence never developed the lot during the time she held it. In 1845, Lot 11 was included in the court case against Susan Lawrence which is described above. The decree appointed Horace Holden the receiver of the property, who in 1847 sold it to Daniel Lord.⁵⁷ The following year, Daniel Lord sold the lot (as well as modern Lots 12 and 10) to Thomas Edwards, a Brooklyn builder, for \$1,500.⁵⁸ No development appears to have occurred on the property through this time. Thomas Edwards appears to have constructed row houses on the lots soon after purchasing them. At least by 1850, a notice in the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* indicated he had built three houses on the east side of Stanton Street (a former name for Duffield Street), which seem to correspond to modern Lots 10, 11, and 12.⁵⁹ As described above, Edwards was also noted as owning several lots and houses on the Gold Street.

Archival documents suggest the row house constructed on the lot ca. 1847 may be the same structure currently standing on the property. The current structure is a 3-story building with a raised basement, faced in brick, topped by a cornice (see Photograph 6 of Figure 11). The 1855 Perris map illustrates a frame structure on the property, set back slightly from the street (see Figure 7). Nineteenth-century tax records indicate that the main building on the lot was two stories with a basement through the 1870s, and that it was raised to three stories in the 1880s, a description that matches the current structure's characteristics.⁶⁰ Department of Buildings online records do not indicate any new building or demolition episodes on the lot; however, there are records of alteration permits dating from 1922, 1926, 1927, and 1928. The building has been refaced in brick and a modest bay front, cornice, and large 2-story (with basement) rear extension extending almost to the rear property line have been added. The rear extension appears to have been added between 1904 and 1915, based on the Sanborn maps from those years.

The construction of 235 Duffield Street appears to be contemporaneous to that of 227 Duffield Street, with foundation façade walls of random coursed sandstone and schist construction; however, the party walls are of brick masonry construction. There are no significant anomalous features within the cellar.

436 GOLD STREET/ALBEE SQUARE (BLOCK 146, LOT 51)

436 Gold Street/Albee Square was known as 310 Gold Street during the 1860s. Lot 51 was originally part of the Samuel Fleet estate. Through at least the late 1850s, the lot was part of the grounds of the Fleet mansion, and was located directly north of the main house, in an area shown on the 1855 Perris map to be open, undeveloped space. An image of the Fleet estate (Figure 12) shows that the land surrounding the mansion house was extensively landscaped and the property enclosed by a fence.⁶¹ Samuel Fleet died in 1864, and in 1865 his heirs began selling off parts of the estate land, including the land that later became Lot 51. In August 1865, surveyor Silas Ludlam made a map of the Fleet holdings on Block 2077, and indicated that the land had already been divided into building lots.⁶² At some point between 1855 (when the Perris map was

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published) and 1865, it seems likely that a structure was built on Lot 51. Emeline Sackett, the daughter of Samuel Fleet, purchased Lot 51 in 1865 for \$2,500, a price that suggests the lot was already developed.⁶³ It is considered possible that the structure was built after Samuel Fleet's death in 1864 and before the surveyor's map of August 1865. Tax records, which are available beginning in 1867, note that by this year the lot contained a two and a half story house with a basement, and was valued at \$2,600.⁶⁴

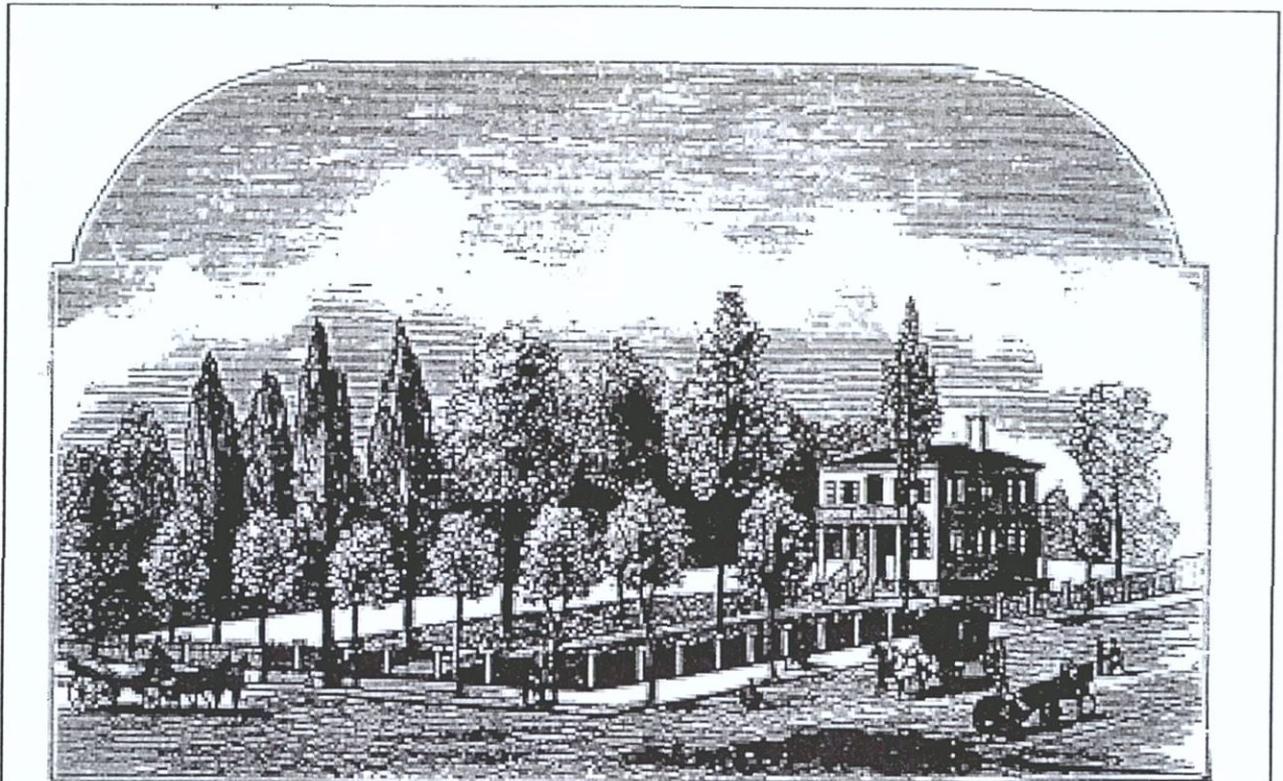
Archival documents suggest the row house constructed on the lot ca. 1855-1865 may be the same structure currently standing on the property. The current structure is a 3-story building with a raised basement and a bay front, faced in brownstone and topped by a cornice (see Photograph 7 of Figure 13). At some point, presumably in the late 19th century, it appears that the building on the lot was raised from two and a half stories to three stories, and possibly the current bay was installed on its front façade at the same time. The 1898 Hyde map shows the bay projection, whereas earlier maps do not, and the 1915 Sanborn map indicates the building is three stories high, its current height (see Figures 8 and 14). No alteration records are available in the online Department of Buildings database for this change in story height, which suggests that the change may have occurred prior to 1898, when the agency began keeping records for Brooklyn. The tax records for 1899 still indicate the building was two and a half stories high; however, it sometimes took several years to update the data in these records. Therefore, at least portions of the structure currently standing at 436 Gold Street/Albee Square appear to date to the original construction on the property, although it seems probable that there were modifications to the façade and height of the building over time. There are also records of alteration permits at the Department of Buildings online database dating from 1943, 1967, and 1987.

The cellar of 436 Gold Street is of random-coursed stone and brick masonry. The building has been significantly modified at least twice. One (rear) or possibly both the front and rear facades have been expanded, removing most traces of original construction. The existing alterations appear to date from the last quarter of the 19th century.

POTENTIAL EXISTENCE OF A TUNNEL

Photos taken of the subcellars of 223, 227, and 233 Duffield Street during the site tour provided by the owners of 227 and 233 Duffield Street on June 9, 2004 were circulated to Historical Perspectives, Inc., the Merchant's House Museum, and the Lower East Side Tenement Museum for their suggestions as to the possible date and function of the subcellar features. It was suggested that some of the subcellar features might be coal chutes, but no individual offered a definitive explanation for the features. To follow up on this suggestion, a number of publications were reviewed regarding coal heat, including: trade catalogues for coal stoves; Catherine Esther Beecher's *A Treatise on Domestic Economy*, which included some cellar floor plans showing coal bins; and Merritt Ierley's *Open House*, which shows a section drawing of a house with a coal furnace. None of the features in these publications appears to directly relate to the features observed at the Duffield Street buildings. Searches of the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* online database for contemporary references to coal chutes provided no relevant information. The Western Pennsylvania Historical Society in Pittsburgh was contacted for any help they might be able to provide on the issue of coal chutes. The Society reviewed some of their resources on the Underground Railroad in western Pennsylvania and found no references to coal chutes.

Current sewer and water main maps of the area were also obtained, as well as historical maps (Sanborn, Hyde, Perris, Dripps, Bromley, Robinson), none of which indicate a tunnel beneath

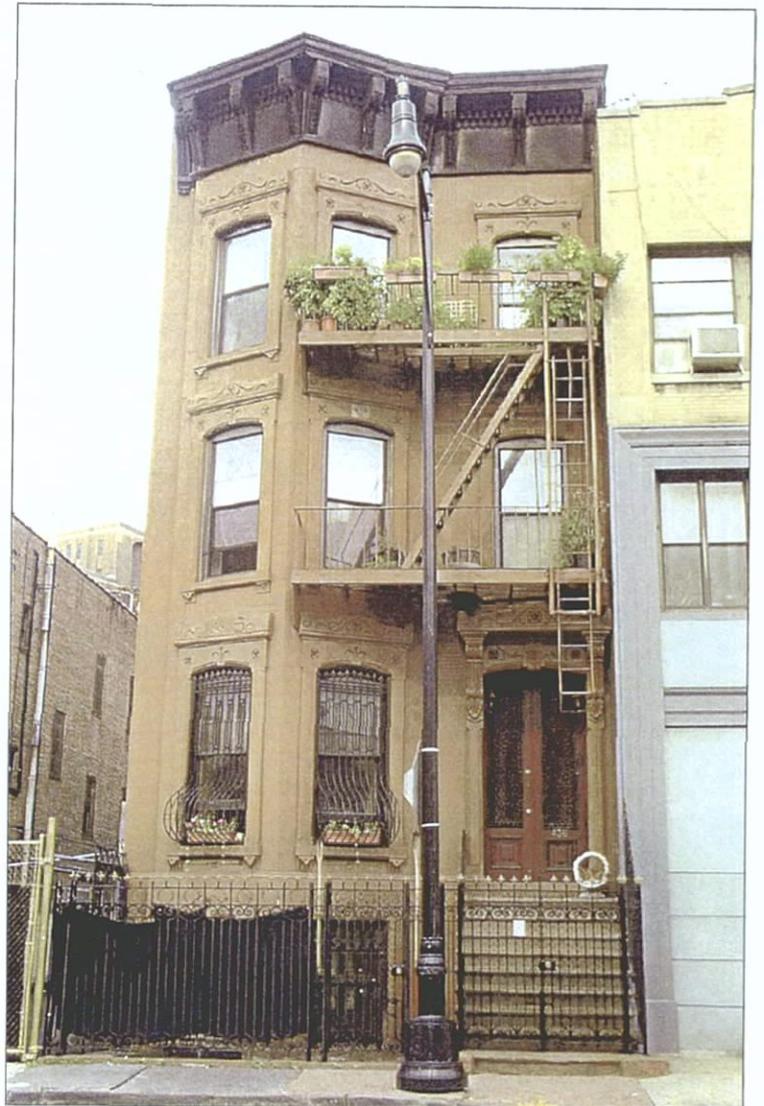


THE FLEET MANSION.
(Fulton Avenue, corner of Gold Street).

The erection by the Fleet family of a row of handsome stone-front stores on Fulton avenue, has obliterated this fine old-fashioned homestead, with its beautiful lawn and trees, which had so long formed a most attractive feature of Brooklyn's principal thoroughfare.

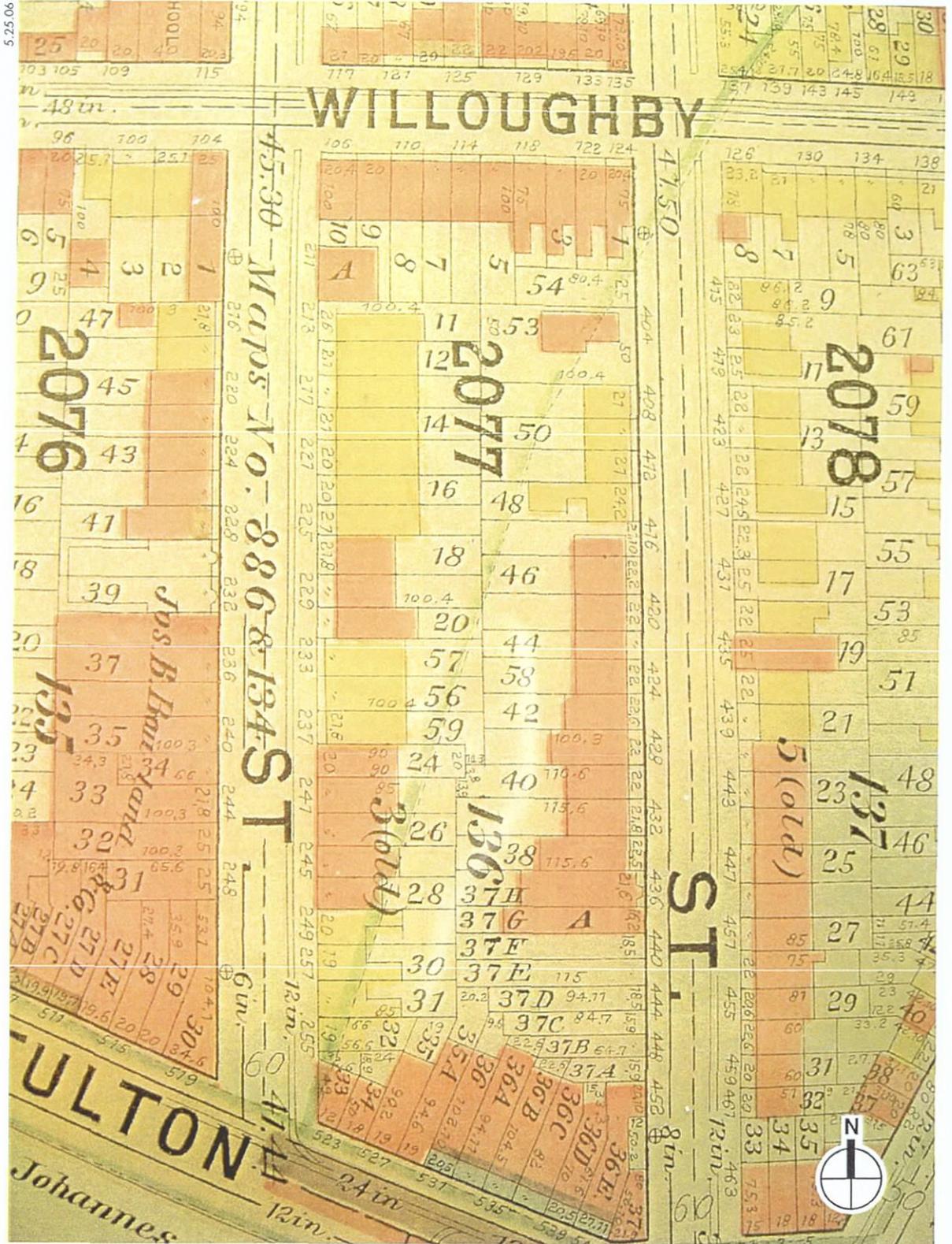
SOURCE: Stiles, *A History of the City of Brooklyn*, 1867

Illustration of Fleet Mansion
Figure 12



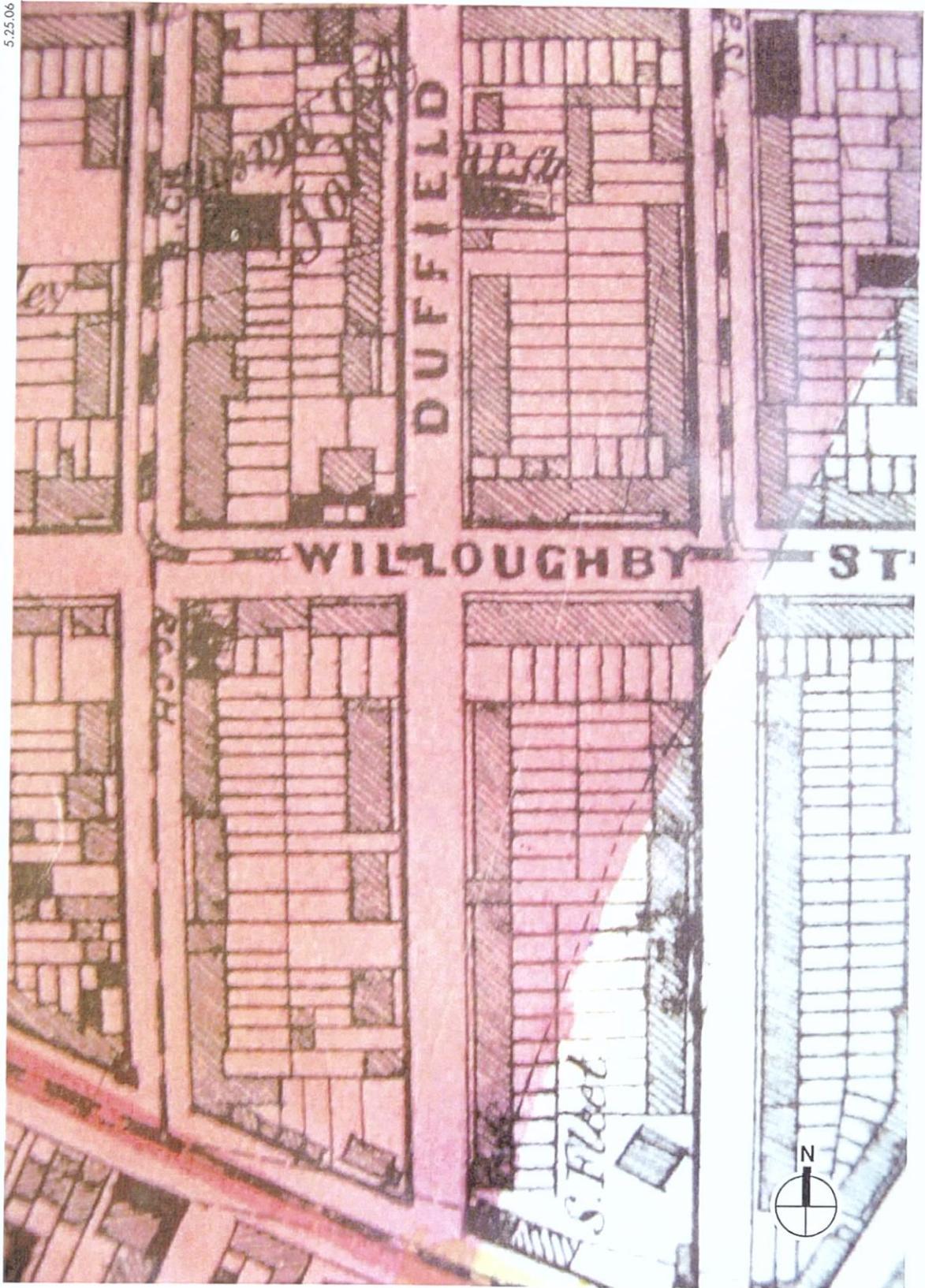
436 Gold Street 7

**Photograph of Gold Street/
Albee Square Building**
Figure 13



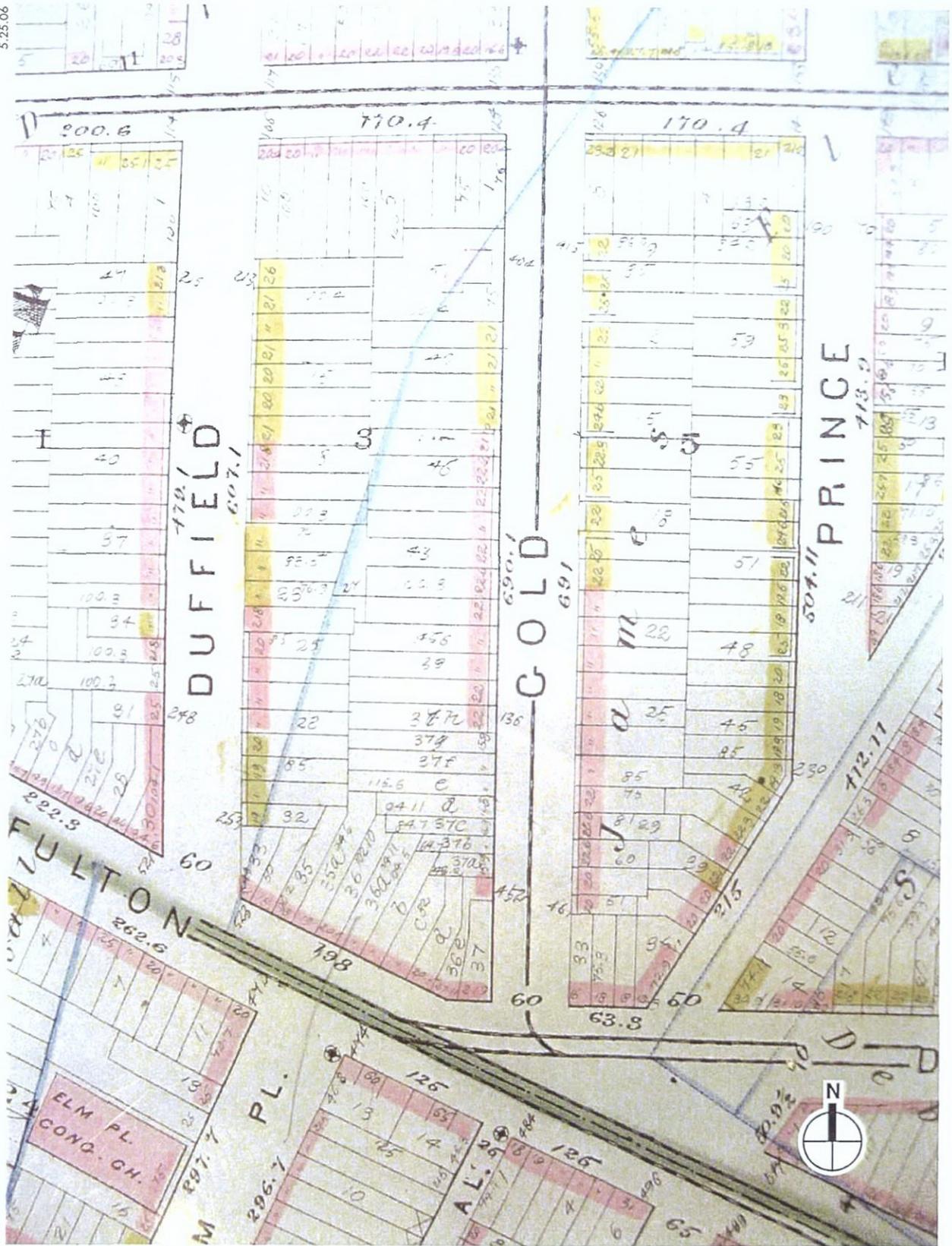
1898 Hyde Map
Figure 14

5.25.06

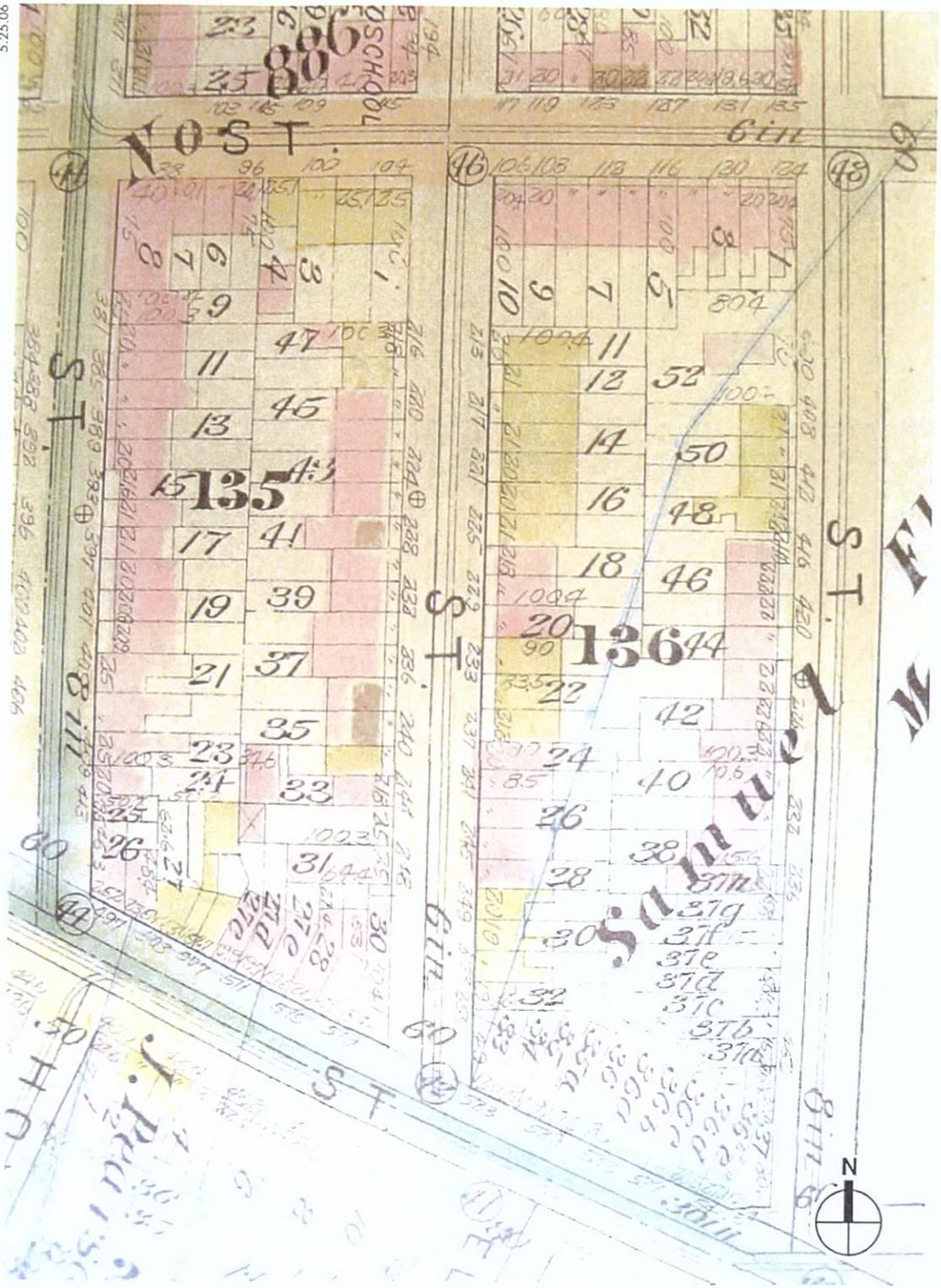


1869 Dripps Map
Figure 15

5.25.06



1880 Bromley Map
Figure 16



1886 Robinson Map
Figure 17

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the sidewalk of Duffield Street (see Figures 4, 5, 7-9, 14-17). The Sanborn maps from 1886 and 1906 seem to show that the 223, 225, and 227 Duffield Street buildings had 1-story front wooden porches, which are indicated by a dashed line (see Figures 4 and 5). It is possible that this dashed line for wooden porches is what was thought to be an indication of a tunnel on an 1898 Sanborn map (see discussion above). There does not appear to be a WPA-era map of utilities for Brooklyn. The New York City Department of Finance, which taxes sidewalk vaults, has no record of sidewalk vaults at any of the relevant properties, though one exists at least at 227 Duffield Street. The New York City Department of Transportation and the New York City Department of Design and Construction were contacted regarding any historical records they might have on the installation of sidewalks on Duffield and Gold Streets; however, neither department has any such records. The New York City Municipal Archives was also contacted for any additional information they might be able to provide on sidewalk vaults on Duffield and Gold Streets.

According to a representative of the Sanborn Map Company, dashed lines on Sanborn maps indicate open porches, which are typically wooden but can also be other materials. Two parallel dashed lines can also indicate a tunnel, but in such cases there is an arc at each end of the lines and the notation "tunnel." Dashed lines such as those shown at the front of 223-227 Duffield Street are also shown at the front of 213-219 Duffield Street, 195 Prince Street, 376 Gold Street, and 404 Gold Street on the 1886 Sanborn map (see Figure 4). Therefore, the dashed lines on the 1898 Sanborn map would appear to indicate porches at 223-227 Duffield Street, rather than a tunnel.

As described above, a second site tour, which included Michael Devonshire, an architectural historian with expertise in 19th century urban residential architecture, was conducted on August 26, 2004, to obtain independent assessments of the subcellar features and the potential existence of a tunnel underneath the sidewalk of Duffield Street. The resulting historic construction review report notes that with the exception of one "unpaved" section of flooring at 233 Duffield Street, there are no anomalous cellar or subcellar features, no communication between buildings exists at the cellar levels, and the identified features conform to general construction practices of the time period. Archaeological testing is unlikely to offer any definitive information about whether or not these structures were part of the Underground Railroad.

In addition, assuming that a tunnel was discovered, there would be no way of knowing if it served as a passageway for freedom seekers without corroborating artifacts. There are very few documented cases of tunnels used for Underground Railroad activities: these include the Milton House in Milton, Wisconsin; a hiding place below a cistern at Thaddeus Steven's house in Lancaster, Pennsylvania; and an underground "anomaly" where family tradition suggests that a tunnel connected the home and tinshop of Starr Clark, a known Underground Railroad agent in Mexico, New York.⁶⁵ A study of seventeen reputed tunnels connected with Underground Railroad sites in Ohio found no evidence to support the oral traditions relating to such tunnels.⁶⁶

BUILDING OWNERSHIP AND RESIDENCY

The Brooklyn City Register, the 1850, 1860, and 1870 federal census, the 1855 and 1865 New York State census, and 35 Brooklyn city directories from 1848-1871 were reviewed to determine the owners and residents of the buildings and their residences before and after their tenancy on Duffield and Gold Streets. In addition, various on-line genealogical websites were reviewed for potential additional information on the owners and residents, and 23 New York City directories

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from 1848-1871 were reviewed to cross-check the information on the owners and residents who conducted business in Manhattan. It does not appear that any of the owners of the buildings were African American. Except for a servant at 227 Duffield Street and a servant and her young son at 231 Duffield Street in 1855, no African American residents of these buildings pre-1865 were identified. It should be noted, however, that the race designations provided in the census and city directories were subjective and could be inconsistent or inaccurate. Ownership information is noted, as known, through the end of the 19th century; residency information is noted, as known, through 1870. The 1850, 1855, 1860, 1865, and 1870 census of the Duffield and Gold Street buildings is provided in Appendix E, and an abstract of the city directory information for the owners and residents of Duffield and Gold Streets is provided in Appendix F.

223 DUFFIELD STREET (BLOCK 146, LOT 17)

As described above, Lot 17 originally was part of the John Duffield estate. Lot 17 was acquired by John Duffield's daughter, Anna Prince, by 1829 and in 1846, Anna Prince conveyed the lot to her son Christopher Prince, who appears to have constructed the house on the lot soon afterwards. Anna Prince appears to have occupied the Duffield mansion at the northwest corner of Duffield and Fulton Streets ca. 1850-1854; the mansion is noted as having burned down on April 14, 1857.⁶⁷ Anna Prince is not listed in any Brooklyn city directories after 1854.

Christopher Prince never lived on Lot 17—he also lived on Fulton Street at the corner of Duffield Street and, later, on Willoughby Street—and it appears he rented out the property during his ownership. By 1848-1849, a resident was listed on the property: J. Ogden Smith.⁶⁸ The 1850 federal census lists the following people at this address: J. Ogden Smith, a broker, age 38, born in New York; Angeline Smith, his wife, age 32, born in New York; Edward D. Smith, their son, age 9, born in New York; Frank S. Smith, their son, age 7, born in New York; Clara F. Smith, their daughter, age 5, born in New York; Anna Smith, their daughter, age 3, born in New York; Emma Smith, their daughter, 8 months old, born in New York; and Mary Clancey, age 19, born in Ireland, whose profession is unlisted but is presumed to be a servant. The 1855 New York State census lists the following people at this address: J. Ogden, Angeline, Edward, Frank, Clara, Anna, Emma, and Frank Smith (their son, age 2, born in Kings County), and Catharine O'Brian, 38, born in Ireland, a servant, noted as a widow. The 1855 state census also indicated that J. Ogden Smith was born in Saratoga, had lived in Brooklyn for 15 years, and was a voter. City directories confirm that Smith lived on the property through 1858.⁶⁹

In 1858, Christopher Prince sold Lot 17 to Ira Perego, a Brooklyn resident who with his sons owned a gentlemen's furnishing store in Manhattan.⁷⁰ It appears that Ira Perego never lived on Lot 17. New York City and Brooklyn city directories list an Ira Perego with residences at 107 Greene (ca. 1848-1849), 197 Fourth (ca. 1849-1850), 164 Washington (ca. 1850-1867), and 22-24 Sixth Avenue (ca. 1867-1871); his son, Ira Perego, Jr., is listed in New York City and Brooklyn city directories with residences at 59 Christopher Street (ca. 1854-1856) and 20 Hanover Place (ca. 1856-1871). Ira Perego's son Alfred lived on Lot 17 from ca. 1859-1869.⁷¹ The 1860 federal census lists the following people at this address: Alfred Pergae (sp), age 23, born in New York; his wife Ann, age 21, born in New York; and Elizabeth Martin, age 20, born in Ireland, a servant. New York City directories from 1862-1864 list the home address for "Ira Perego and Sons, gents furnishing" as 181 Duffield Street; this is presumed to refer to Alfred Perego, rather than Ira Perego or Ira Perego, Jr. The 1865 New York State census lists the following people at this address: Alfred Perego, a merchant, age 28, born in New York; Annie E. Perego, his wife, age 26, born in Kings County; Joseph Perego, their son, age 5, born in Kings

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County; Fanny Perego, their daughter, age 3, born in Kings County; Eliza Cary, age 28, born in Ireland, a servant; and Jane E. Divine, age 20, born in Scotland, a servant. In 1868, Ira Perego conveyed the lot to Alfred Perego.⁷² Alfred Perego paid taxes on the lot through 1870.⁷³

Alfred Perego appears to have sold Lot 17 in 1870. Several classified advertisements appeared in the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* describing the house as a frame house with two stories, an attic, a brick basement, and under-cellar.⁷⁴ Lot 17 was sold by June 1870. The 1870 federal census, made that month, lists the following people at this address: John C. Orchard, a bank clerk, age 32, born in New York; Emma Orchard, his wife, age 30, born in New York; Mary R. Orchard, their daughter, age 7, born in New York; Thomas Orchard, 4, born in New York; and Phillip A. Orchard, age 2, born in New York; and Mary Dowd, a domestic, age 21, born in Ireland. John Orchard is listed as the owner of the property. John Orchard paid taxes on Lot 17 through 1876.⁷⁵ Lot 17 changed hands again in 1879, when Sheriff Thomas Riley (who had paid the taxes on the lot the year before) conveyed the lot to John Hennessy.⁷⁶ Hennessy owned and paid taxes on the lot through 1897.⁷⁷

225 DUFFIELD STREET (BLOCK 146, LOT 16)

As described above, Lot 16 originally was part of the John Duffield estate. Lot 16 was acquired by John Duffield's daughter, Anna Prince, by 1829 and in 1846, Anna Prince conveyed the lot to her son Christopher Prince, who sold the lot to mason Nathaniel Bonnel for \$800 in 1847. It appears that Nathaniel Bonnel built the original house on Lot 16; however, it appears that he never lived in the house, but rather rented it out to others. Nathaniel Bonnel's residence is listed in Brooklyn city directories at 16 Prince Street (ca. 1848-1853), 203 Pearl Street (ca. 1854-1857), Quincy Street near Classon Avenue (ca. 1858-1863), 167 Fort Greene Place (ca. 1863-1864), 243 Pearl Street (ca. 1864-1865), 57 Butler (ca. 1865-1866), and 3 Hanson Place (ca. 1867-1871). The first occupant that could be identified for the house on Lot 16 was George Faulkner, who lived with his family on Lot 16 from ca. 1850-1856. The 1850 federal census lists the following people at this address: George Faulkner, a broker, age 34, born in New York; Anna Faulkner, his wife, age 31, born in New York; Julia Faulkner, their daughter, age 9, born in New York; George P. Faulkner, their son, age 7, born in New York; and Frank Faulkner, their son, age 1 month, born in New York. Brooklyn city directories show that George Faulkner resided on Lot 16 through 1855-1856,⁷⁸ although he was not listed in the 1855 New York State census.⁷⁹ The 1856-1857 Brooklyn city directory also lists J. Pryor Rorke, an insurance agent, and Thomas B. Rorke, an umbrella merchant, as residing at this address. J. Pryor Rorke is also listed with a residence at this address in the 1857-1858 Brooklyn city directory. George Faulkner apparently moved to St. Felix Street near Lafayette Avenue after leaving Duffield Street; he is listed in Brooklyn city directories for 1856-1857, 1860-1864, 1865-1866, and 1867-1871 as residing at 3 St. Felix Street.

In 1858, Nathaniel and Adeline Bonnel conveyed the Lot 16 property to William H. Welch, a local jeweler, who was listed as a resident of the property from ca. 1859 through 1866.⁸⁰ Welch and his family appeared in the 1860 federal census and the 1865 New York State census. The 1860 federal census lists the following people at this address: William Walsh (sp), a jeweler, age 38, born in New York; Elizabeth Walsh, his wife, age 33, born in New York; William Walsh, their son, age 12, born in New York; Emma Walsh, their daughter, age 11, born in New York; Francis Walsh, their son, age 5, born in New York; and Margaret Delow (sp), a servant, age 38, born in Ireland. The 1865 census lists the following people at this address: William H. Welch (sp), a jeweler, age 40, born in Kings County; Elizabeth Welch, age 30, born in Kings County;

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William H. Welsh, Jr., a clerk, age 18, born in Kings County; Emma Welsh, age 16, born in Kings County; Frank Welsh, age 9, born in Kings County; and Maggie Savage, a servant, age 18, born in Kings County.

In 1866, William and Elizabeth Welch sold Lot 16 to Agnes Mapes, who with her husband Gideon, conveyed the lot in 1867 Mary C. Parker, noted as the wife of Tyler Parker.⁸¹ The 1866-1867 Brooklyn city directory lists Caroline A. Burnham, a widow, at this address. The Parkers appear to have resided on the lot from ca. 1867-1873, during which time Tyler Parker's business on Beaver Street was noted as "ales and liquors."⁸² In the 1870 federal census, however, Tyler Parker was listed as a bookkeeper. The 1870 federal census lists the following people at this address: Tyler Parker, a bookkeeper, age 41, born in New York; Mary C. Parker, his wife, age 39, born in New York; Lizzie Parker, their daughter, age 14, born in New York; George Parker, their son, age 11, born in New York; and Mary Russell, a domestic, age 19, born in Ireland. During the Parker's residence on the lot, the taxes were paid by Mary C. Parker.⁸³ In the 1869-1870 Brooklyn city directory, Peter T. Parker is also listed at this address. This is could be a misspelling of Tyler Parker, as there is no other listing for a Peter T. Parker in Brooklyn city directories from 1848-1871.

There appears to have been a dispute over the ownership of Lot 16 in the late 1870s; a court case was noted in the conveyance records in which William Welch was a plaintiff and Agnes Mapes and others (the deed does not specify names) were defendants. Tax records are missing for this lot from 1873-1875, but in 1876 Agnes Mapes is listed again as the taxpayer, suggesting that ownership of Lot 16 had reverted to her. In 1877, referee David Lynch sold the lot at public auction; it was purchased by Tyler Parker, the former owner and resident.⁸⁴ Tyler Parker sold the lot to Willett Smith in 1878.⁸⁵ Willett Smith is listed as the taxpayer for the property from 1878-1897.⁸⁶

227 DUFFIELD STREET (BLOCK 146, LOT 15)

As described above, Lot 15 originally straddled the dividing line of the John Duffield and Samuel Fleet estates. Lot 16 was acquired by John Duffield's daughter, Susan Lawrence, by 1829, was included in a court case against Susan Lawrence, and was purchased by Daniel Lord in 1847. In 1848, Daniel Lord sold Lot 15 (as well as modern Lot 14) to John J. Studwell, a Brooklyn lumber merchant, and later that same year John Studwell sold the lot to Caleb Baldwin, a Brooklyn mason. Caleb Baldwin and his wife sold the lot to local mason Robert Bonnel in 1849, by which time the property is presumed to have been developed. Caleb Baldwin may also have lived on the property briefly: two city directories for 1848-1849 list his home address only as Stanton Street, or Stanton Street near Willoughby.⁸⁷ Neither John J. Studwell, Caleb Baldwin, or Robert Bonnel are listed in Brooklyn city directories as having a residence at this address from ca. 1848-1850. In 1850, Robert Bonnel and his wife sold Lot 15 to Harriet Truesdell.

From 1850 through ca. 1863, Thomas Truesdell, a cotton broker with an office on Pearl Street in Manhattan, was listed as the occupant for the building on Lot 15.⁸⁸ The 1850 federal census lists the following people at this address: Thomas Truesdale (sp), a cotton broker, age 56, born in Connecticut; Harriet D. Truesdale, his wife, age 56, born in Rhode Island; Abby K. Truesdell, their daughter, age 19, born in Rhode Island; Julia L. Batteris, their daughter, age 24, born in Rhode Island; Harriet S. Batteris, her daughter, age 5, born in New York; Mary T. Frederickson, their daughter, age 26, born in Rhode Island; and Charles W. Frederickson, her husband, a cotton

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broker, age 28, born in Nova Scotia. The 1855 New York State census lists the following people at this address: Thomas, Harriet, and Abby K. Truesdell; Julia L. and Harriet S. Batteris; and Elizabeth Harris, a servant, noted as black, age 19, born in North Carolina. The Truesdell family is noted as having lived in Brooklyn for 17 years; Elizabeth Harris is noted as having lived in Brooklyn for two years. The 1860 federal census lists the following people at this address: Thomas, Harriet, and Abby Truesdell, Julia L. Batteris; and Ann Breckin, a servant, age 33, born in New York.

Records indicate that the Truesdells were no longer living on Lot 15 after 1863, although Thomas Truesdell continued to be listed as the owner in tax records through the remainder of the 19th century and the family appears to have held onto the property through the first decades of the twentieth century.⁸⁹ Brooklyn city directories from 1863-1870 do not include a listing for Thomas Truesdell. According to the genealogy prepared by Paul E. Truesdell, Jr., great-grandson of Thomas Truesdell, Thomas Truesdell moved to Cedar Grove, New Jersey sometime after 1863, remarried, and passed away in 1874.⁹⁰ Lot 15 did not change hands until 1921, when Matilda Truesdell, the daughter-in-law of Thomas Truesdell, conveyed the lot to Samuel Dunn.⁹¹

After the Truesdells moved from the property, it was rented to a series of occupants. Several of these renters could be traced in the archival records. Edward Robinson, a broker, lived on the lot with his family from 1864-1865.⁹² The 1865 New York State census lists the following people at this address: Edward R. Robinson, a broker, age 32, born in Vermont; Mary A. Robinson, his wife, age 32, born in Vermont; Herbert Robinson, their son, age 5, born in Vermont; Minetta Robinson, their daughter, age 6 months, born in Kings County; Mary Downs, a servant, age 22, born in England; and Julia Canis, a servant, age 19, born in Connecticut. Brooklyn city directories from 1868-1870 list a Joseph D. Williams, a clerk, at this address; the 1869-1870 city directory also lists a Frank Bernard, a clerk, and a Charles Furnell (sp), in hardware, at this address. The 1870 federal census lists the following people at this address: Charles F. Ferrald (aka Fernald), who had a hardware commission, age 32, born in Massachusetts; Jane M. Ferrald, his wife, age 35, born in England; Charles Ferrald, Jr., their son, age 7, born in New York; Eliza Haskell, age 17, born in Massachusetts; Joe D. Williams, a bookkeeper, age 35, born in New York; John Bernard, a store clerk, age 34, born in Connecticut; and Bridget O'Brien, a domestic, age 26, born in Ireland.

231 DUFFIELD STREET (BLOCK 146, LOT 13)

As described above, Lot 13 originally was part of the John Duffield estate. Lot 13 was acquired by John Duffield's daughter, Susan Lawrence, by 1829; was included in a court case against Susan Lawrence; and was purchased by Robert Dingee in 1847. It appears that Robert Dingee never lived on Lot 13. In 1850, Robert and Frances Dingee sold Lot 13 to John A. Ackeley. According to city directories, John A. Ackley (also spelled Ackeley) was an agent who worked in Manhattan and lived next door to Lot 13 on Lot 14.⁹³ After purchasing Lot 13 in 1850, Ackley appears to have built the house on the property, and then presumably rented it to others while he and his family continued to live next door. However, the identity of these renters ca. 1850-1853 could not be determined. In the 1850 federal census, his household on Lot 14 contained himself (an agent, age 49, born in Connecticut; Delia Ackeley, his wife, age 50, born in Connecticut; William B. Ackeley, a lawyer, their son, age 22, born in New York; Catherine E., their daughter, age 19, born in New York; Edward F. Ackeley, a clerk, their son, age 15, born in New York; Isabella J. Ackeley, their daughter, age 13, born in New York; Amanda F. Ackeley, their

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daughter, age 9, born in New York; and Bridget Tramar, age 26, born in Ireland, presumably a servant.

John A. Ackley died on March 6, 1853.⁹⁴ After his death, his heirs were taken to court, and as a result the Lot 13 property was sold at public auction in 1854 to settle debts. His son and the administrator of his estate, William B. Ackley, purchased the property back at the auction, paying \$2,120.⁹⁵ Although it appears that William B. Ackley never lived on Lot 13 during the time he owned it, the Brooklyn city directory for 1853-1854 lists Delia Ackley (John A. Ackley's widow and William B. Ackley's mother) as living at this address. Peter Hawes and his family appeared in the 1855 New York State census at this address, and Brooklyn city directories list a Peter A. Hawes at this address from 1854-1857. The 1855 state census list the following people at this address: Peter A. Hawes, a merchant, age 36, born in New York; Mary M. Hawes, his wife, age 28, born in New York; Gilbert R. Hawes, their son, age 6 months, born in Kings County; Sophia Hilles, a servant, noted as black, age 39, born in Massachusetts; George W. Hilles, her son, a servant, noted as black, age 9, born in Massachusetts; and Margaret Carwe, a servant, age 17, born in Ireland. Peter and Mary Hawes are noted as having lived in Brooklyn for one year; Sophie and George W. Hilles are also noted as having lived in Brooklyn for one year.

Delia Ackley is listed again at this address in Brooklyn city directories from 1857-1860;⁹⁶ however, she passed away in December 1859.⁹⁷ From 1857-1862 Hiram Swift, a music teacher, and possibly his wife Catherine also lived at this address, according to the city directories. From 1861-1862, James J. Wallace, a physician, is also listed with a residence at this address. George Remson (possibly also spelled as Remsen) and his family appear in the 1860 federal census just before the known residents of Lot 14; however, the New York City and Brooklyn city directories have no listing for a Remson/Remsen at this address and in later years he lived across Duffield Street. The 1860 federal census lists the following people just before the known residents of Lot 14: George Remson, a merchant, age 34, born in New York; Ann Remson, his wife, age 23, born in New York; Charles Winer, age 57, born in Massachusetts, presumably a boarder; Mary McGinley, a servant, age 23, born in Ireland; and Bridget Gregory, a servant, age 21, born in Ireland.

In 1862, Lot 13 was affected by another legal dispute. In a court case in which John Ryerson sued William B. Ackley and others, the property was once again offered at public auction to cover debts. The property was conveyed to John Ryerson for \$3,000.⁹⁸ It appears that for the majority of the time that John Ryerson owned the property, it was rented to others. Brooklyn city directories indicate that Robert Hunter, a sail maker with the United States Navy, lived on Lot 13 from ca. 1862-1866.⁹⁹ However, Robert Hunter is not recorded in the 1865 New York State census. The 1865 state census lists the following people at this address: Israel D. Nelson, a surveyor, age 49, born in New York; Caroline Nelson, his wife, age 35, born in New York; Jane Nelson, their daughter, age 8, born in Kings County; Joseph E. Nelson, their son, age 4, born in Kings County; Jane Nelson, their mother, age 55, born in New York; Joanna Carey, a servant, age 30, born in Ireland; Martha Purdy, a music teacher, age 55, born in England; Martha Purdy, her daughter, a music teacher, age 20, born in England; and George Gregory, a boarder and machinist, age 18, born in New York. Israel Nelson and his family appear to have left the property the following year, to be replaced by John Ryerson's son, also named John. Martha Purdy continued to be listed at the address through 1866.¹⁰⁰

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In 1866, the Lot 13 property again changed hands. John and Monica Ryerson sold the property to Samuel B. Leonard in April 1866 for \$4,500, and in October 1866, Samuel B. and Amelia Leonard conveyed the lot to Daniel E. Donovan for \$6,000, subject to a \$2,000 mortgage.¹⁰¹ Donovan was listed as the taxpayer for the lot from 1867-1870.¹⁰² Like previous owners, it appears that Daniel Donovan never lived on the Lot 13 property (deeds indicate he was a resident of Ulster County), but rather rented it out. John Donovan is listed in Brooklyn city directories with a residence at this address in 1867-1869. The 1870 federal census lists the following people at this address: William Weiss, a manufacturer of trimmings, age 30, born in Austria; Julia Weiss, his wife, age 23, born in Austria; George Weiss, their son, 10 months old, born in New York; William Spitzer, an oil dealer, age 34, born in Austria; Susannah Spitzer, his wife, age 33, born in Galacia; Clara Spitzer, their daughter, age one, born in New York; and Mimi Ghasm, a domestic, age 21, born in Ireland. William Weiss lived on the lot for another year and then left.¹⁰³

In 1871, Daniel and Mary Donovan conveyed Lot 13 to John Donovan, of Brooklyn, for \$9,000.¹⁰⁴ In 1876, John and Margaret Donovan sold the lot to Emily Albert, also of Brooklyn, for \$6,100, subject to a mortgage of \$5,000.¹⁰⁵ Emily Albert continued to hold Lot 13 and pay taxes on it through 1891, after which point she passed away.¹⁰⁶ Her heirs held the property for the rest of the 19th century.

233 DUFFIELD STREET (BLOCK 146, LOT 12)

As described above, Lot 12 originally straddled the boundary of the John Duffield and Samuel Fleet estates. Lot 12 was acquired by John Duffield's daughter, Susan Lawrence, by 1829; was included in a court case against Susan Lawrence; and was purchased by Daniel Lord in 1847. In 1848 Daniel Lord sold the lot to Thomas Edwards, a Brooklyn builder.¹⁰⁷ At least by 1850, a notice in the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* indicated Thomas Edwards had built three houses on the east side of the street, which seem to correspond to Lots 10, 11, and 12.¹⁰⁸

It appears that Thomas Edwards never lived on Lot 12; he is listed in Brooklyn city directories with residences at 255 Gold Street (ca. 1849-1859) and 99 Duffield Street (ca. 1859-1871). In several instances his lots were advertised for sale due to unpaid back taxes, and in one case he was forced to sell part of his interest in Lot 12 to another person to cover debts incurred resulting from a court case.¹⁰⁹ Thomas Edwards was able to retain at least partial ownership of the 233 Duffield Street property through his lifetime, and his descendants were listed as owners during the later 19th century. The property finally passed from the Edwards family in 1904.¹¹⁰

The first documented tenant on Lot 12 may have been William Clem, who had a hardware store on Fulton Street, and whose address in the Brooklyn city directories for 1850-1852 was "Duffield near Fulton."¹¹¹ The 1850 federal census recorded William Clem and his household after a known resident of Lot 11 and before a known resident of Lot 14, suggesting that he may have been living on Lot 13 that year. The 1850 federal census lists the household as: William Clem, a merchant, age 41, born in New York; Catharine C. Clem, his wife, age 40, born in Connecticut; William Clem, Jr., their son, a clerk, age 15, born in New York; Sarah B. Clem, their daughter, age 13, born in New York; Elizabeth F. Clem, their daughter, age 9, born in New York; Kate B. Clem, their daughter, age 8, born in New York; Mary L. Clem, their daughter, age 6, born in New York; James S. Clem, their son, age 4, born in New York; and Ellen Beatty, presumably a servant, age 19, born in Ireland. William Clem could not be identified as living on the lot in any other year.¹¹²

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According to Brooklyn city directories, the house on Lot 12 was occupied ca. 1851-1852 by Louisa Foulkes, a widow, and ca. 1851-1853 by Francis Peck, the first rector of St. Mark's Church on Fleet Street, a missionary effort "to their less fortunate brethren" of the Church of the Holy Trinity, which had opened in September 1850.¹¹³ In late 1852, Francis Peck purchased Lot 14 from John A. Ackley, and city directories and censuses place him on Lot 14 from 1853-1863.¹¹⁴ Although the 1855 New York State census and the 1860 federal census were made when Francis Peck was living on Lot 14, not Lot 12, they indicate the nature of his household during this period. In 1855 the state census lists the household as: Francis Peck, 43, his wife, 26, their two children, two Irish servants, and his brother-in-law. In 1860, the household had lost the Irish servants, but had added Thomas Carver, the new reverend for St. Mark's Church, who had begun his duties in mid-1859, after Peck had withdrawn from the rectorship earlier that year.¹¹⁵

The next resident who could be identified on Lot 12 was William or Walter O. Lewis, from ca. 1853-1861, noted variously as a telegraph clerk, a telegraph agent, or a telegrapher.¹¹⁶ The 1855 New York State census lists the people at this address as: Walter O. Lewis, a telegraph clerk, age 40, born in Connecticut; Harriet Lewis, his wife, age 28, born in Connecticut; Ellen Lewis, their daughter, age 17, born in Oswego County; Alfred Lewis, their son, age 14, born in Oswego County; Charles Lewis, their son, age 9, born in Connecticut; Zuriah Lewis, William/Walter's mother, age 68, born in Connecticut; and Mary Bergen, a servant, age 19, born in Ireland. The 1860 federal census lists the people at this address as: William, Harriet, Alfred, Charles, and Harriet Lewis (their daughter, age 4, born in New York), and Bridget Kelly, a servant, age 21, born in Ireland.

Brooklyn city directories from 1862-1864 list a Reverend John A. Crawford at this address. A Reverend John Crawford is listed in a *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* article from 1850 as having been appointed from the Madison Street Methodist Episcopal Church in New York to the Washington Street Methodist Episcopal Church (also known as the Third Street Methodist Episcopal Church) in Brooklyn. Brooklyn city directories from 1851-1853 list a Reverend John S. Crawford, as the pastor of the Third Methodist Church, and Stiles lists a Reverend John Crawford as the pastor for the Washington Street Methodist Church from 1851-1852 and as a pastor for the Grand Street Methodist Episcopal Church in 1854.¹¹⁷

From 1864-1868, the house on Lot 12 was occupied by the household of Thomas B. Jones, a bookkeeper.¹¹⁸ The 1865 New York State census lists the people at this address as: Thomas B. Jones, a bookkeeper, age 40, born in Queens County; Adeline Jones, his wife, age 40, born in New York; William Jones, their son, a clerk, age 19, born in Kings County; Frank B. Jones, their son, age 6 months, born in Kings County; Bridget Burns, a servant, age 24, born in Ireland; and Mary Clark, a servant, age 30, born in Ireland.

The last residents identified for Lot 12 appeared in the 1870 federal census but are not listed in the Brooklyn city directories at this address in 1870 or previous/subsequent years. The 1870 federal census lists the people at this address as: Edward Newell, a watchmaker, age 36, born in Pennsylvania; Sue Newell, his wife, age 30, born in Pennsylvania; Hattie Newell, their daughter, age 11, born in Delaware; Laughlin Newell, their son, age 5, born in Delaware; Edward Newell, Jr., age 10 months, born in New York; Robert Peel, a store clerk, age 30, born in Ireland; Edward Munsey, a store clerk, age 28, born in Ireland; John Valdee, a worker in a sugar store, age 33, born in Cuba; Mary Foster, age 49, born in New York; Ray Simpson, age 35, born in Pennsylvania; and Carrie Foster, age 22, born in Pennsylvania. Presumably, the six additional adults were boarders of the Newells.

235 DUFFIELD STREET (BLOCK 146, LOT 11)

As described above, Lot 11 originally straddled the boundary of the John Duffield and Samuel Fleet estates. Lot 12 was acquired by John Duffield's daughter, Susan Lawrence, by 1829; was included in a court case against Susan Lawrence; and was purchased by Daniel Lord in 1847. In 1848 Daniel Lord sold the lot to Thomas Edwards, a Brooklyn builder.¹¹⁹ As described above, at least by 1850 a notice in the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* indicated Thomas Edwards had built three houses on the east side of the street, which seem to correspond to Lots 10, 11, and 12.¹²⁰ Thomas Edwards was able to retain ownership of the 235 Duffield Street property through his lifetime; his descendants were listed as owners and paid the taxes on Lot 11 during the later 19th century.

The Lot 11 property was rented to a number of people from the time it was built, ca. 1848-1850, through the remainder of the 19th century. Census records and city directories enabled the identification of some of these residents. The earliest known resident of Lot 11 was Seth Crosby, who lived on the lot from ca. 1850-1852, and was identified variously as a hatter or working in a hat store.¹²¹ The 1850 federal census lists the following people at this address: Seth Crosby, a hatter, age 57, born in New York; Harriet Crosby, his wife, age 46, born in Connecticut; Amanda Crosby, their daughter, age 23, born in New York; and Delia Crosby, their daughter, age 18, born in New York. Brooklyn city directories from 1852-1855 note a Henry G. Nichols, an iron merchant, with a residence at this address. The Brooklyn city directory from 1854-1855 also lists Isaac W. Nevins, a sash and blind maker, with a residence at this address. In 1855, a merchant named William W. Walsh and his family lived on Lot 11. Walsh's business dealt in flour and feed, and was located nearby on Myrtle Street. Walsh was also an Alderman for the 11th Ward.¹²² The 1855 New York State census lists the following people at this address: William W. Walsh, age 34, born in New York; Catharine Walsh, his wife, age 28, born in New York; Austin M. Walsh, their son, age 4, born in Kings County; Amos Walsh, their son, age 2, born in Kings County; Mary Hammon, a servant, age 20, born in Ireland; and Margaret Fulam, a servant, age 13, born in Kings County. Edwin Walsh, a shipping agent, is listed in the 1856-1857 Brooklyn city directories at this address.

The next resident of Lot 11 also could only be identified as living on the lot for one year. Amos Greenleaf, who had a dry goods store, was listed at Lot 11 in the 1860 Brooklyn city directory¹²³ and the 1860 federal census. The 1860 federal census lists the following people at this address: Amos Greenleaf, a merchant, age 43, born in New York; Mary Greenleaf, his wife, age 41, born in New York; Sarah Greenleaf, their daughter, age 18, born in New York; and Eliza Hyde, a servant, age 21, born in Ireland. Ira Stanley, a civil engineer, was a resident of Lot 11 from 1863-1872.¹²⁴ The 1865 New York State census lists the following people at this address: Irie Stanley, a civil engineer, age 44, born in Massachusetts; Ann Stanley, his wife, age 35, born in Rhode Island; Ira Stanley, Jr., their son, a dey maker, age 18, born in Rhode Island; Charles A. Stanley, their son, age 13, born in Rhode Island; Allee M. Stanley, their son, age 11, born in Rhode Island; Clara Stanley, their daughter, age 8, born in Rhode Island; Frank Stanley, their son, age 6, born in Rhode Island; Annie Stanley, their daughter, age 3, born in Kings County; and Bridget McCormick, a servant, age 34, born in Ireland. The 1870 federal census lists the following people at this address: Ira, Ann, Charles (now listed as a bookkeeper), Abbie, Clara, Frank, and Annie Stanley; and Mary Ward, a domestic, age 30, born in Ireland.

436 GOLD STREET/ALBEE SQUARE (BLOCK 146, LOT 51)

As described above, Lot 51 was originally part of the Samuel Fleet estate. Through at least the late 1850s, the lot was part of the Fleet mansion's grounds; at some point between 1855 and 1865, it seems likely that a structure was built on Lot 51. Samuel Fleet passed away in 1864 and Emeline F. Sackett, the daughter of Samuel Fleet, acquired the lot in 1865. Emeline Sackett was married to Clarence D. Sackett, a lawyer and Alderman for the Seventh Ward. The Sacketts lived in Manhattan, at 40 Twelfth Street (ca. 1848-1854) and 142 West 25th Street (ca. 1854-1858). Clarence Sackett appears to have died sometime around 1858, as Emeline Sackett appears in the 1858-1859 Brooklyn city directory as a widow, living on Fulton opposite Elm Place, possibly in the Fleet mansion, which was built in 1819 at the corner of Fulton and Gold Streets and existed until at least 1869. An article from the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* also notes that Clarence D. Sackett built a Sackett mansion on Fulton Street near Gold Street, and the 1823 Brooklyn city directory lists him on Fulton Street, but the 1840 directory lists him at Jackson Street near Willoughby Street.¹²⁵ Emeline Sackett appears never to have lived on Lot 51 during the time she owned it, through 1877. At the time of her death in 1884, she lived in New Brunswick, New Jersey. The only person identified in the Brooklyn city directories with a residence at this address through 1870 is Theodore Curran, who is noted as living at 310 Gold Street in the 1866-1867 directory. As described above under "Building Construction and Alteration," it is considered possible that the structure was built after Samuel Fleet's death in 1864 and before the surveyor's map of August 1865. This potential seems particularly plausible given the lack of resident information in the Brooklyn city directories until 1866.

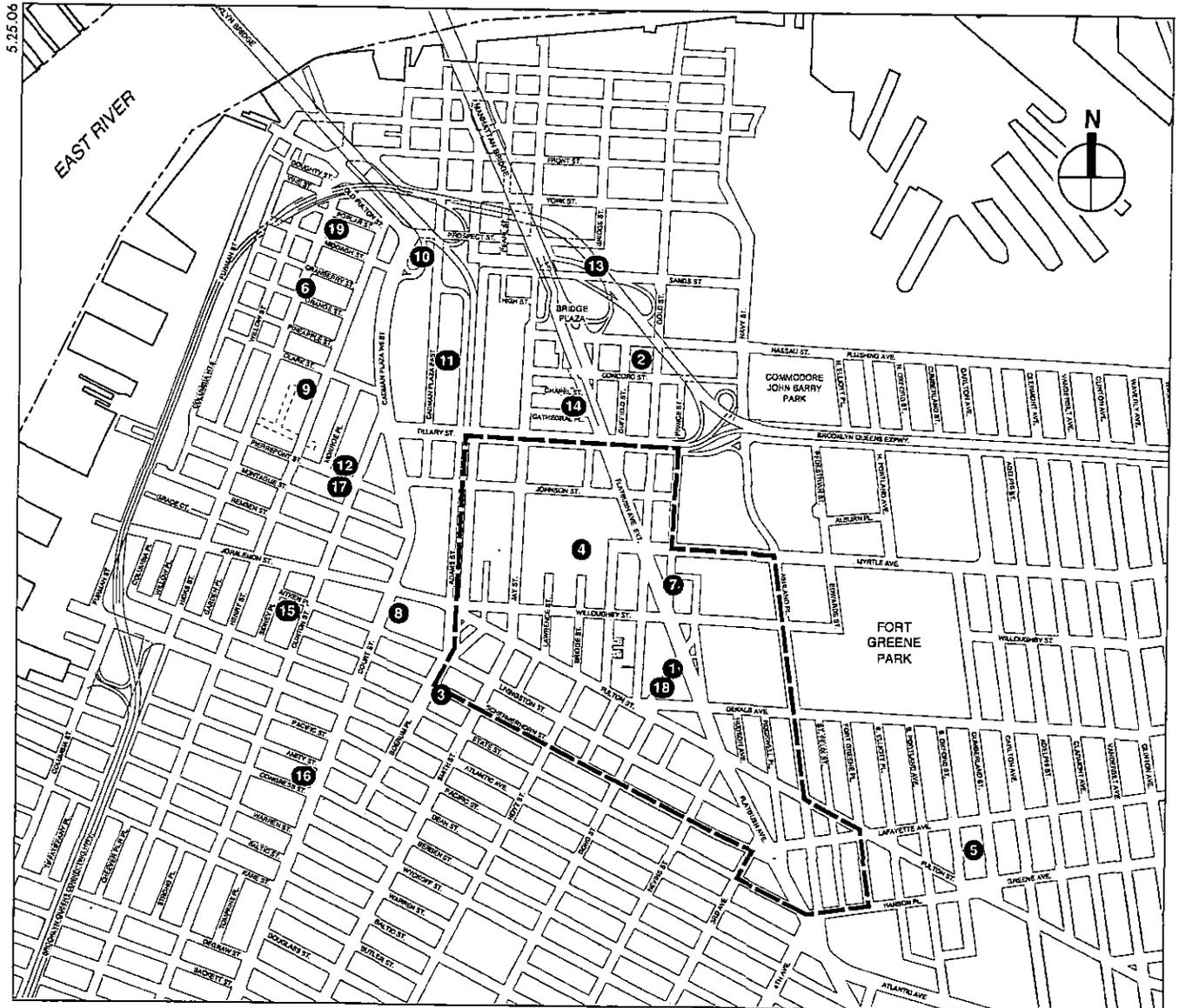
D. POTENTIAL CONNECTIONS OF THE OWNERS AND RESIDENTS

All of the names mentioned above, including the owners of the land before construction of the buildings (such as John Duffield, Susan Lawrence, Anna Prince, and Daniel Lord) were noted and formed the basis for research into potential connections of the owners and residents to abolitionist churches, societies, activities, or noted persons.

LOCAL CHURCHES

Membership lists and any other relevant information for the following churches, which were located in the surrounding area and were established pre-1865, were sought: Bridge Street AWME Church, Concord Baptist Church, First Presbyterian Church, Fleet Street Methodist Episcopal Church, Friends Meeting House, Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian Church, Pierrepont Street Baptist Church, Plymouth Church of the Pilgrims, St. Ann's Church, St. Mark's Church, Sands Street Methodist Episcopal Church, Second Reformed Dutch Church, Siloam Presbyterian Church, and the Washington Street Methodist Episcopal Church. The historic location of these buildings during the period of significance is noted on Figure 18. Figure 18 also notes the locations of the First Reformed Dutch Church, St. James Cathedral, St. Charles Borromeo Roman Catholic Church, St. Peter St. Paul Our Lady of Pilar Church, and the Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which were all founded before the Civil War. Membership lists and any other relevant information were also sought for Mother African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Zion Church and the First Colored Presbyterian Church (also known as the Shiloh Presbyterian Church), both of which were located Manhattan.

Any available information from the New York City Register, New York Public Library, Brooklyn Public Library, New-York Historical Society, New York Genealogical and



--- Development Area Boundary

 Subject Properties for Underground Railroad Research

0 1000 2000 FEET
SCALE

All Locations Approximate

- | | |
|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Former Location of Fleet Street Methodist Episcopal Church 2 Former Location of Concord Baptist Church 3 Brooklyn Friends Meeting House 4 Former Bridge Street AWME Church (Now Wunsch Hall, Polytechnic University) 5 Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian Church 6 Plymouth Church of the Pilgrims 7 Former Location of Siloam Presbyterian Church 8 First Dutch Reformed Church 9 First Presbyterian Church 10 Former Location of St. Ann's Episcopal Church | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 11 Former Location of Washington Street Methodist Episcopal Church 12 Second Reformed Church 13 Sands Street Methodist Episcopal Church 14 St. James Cathedral - Basilica 15 St. Charles Borromeo Roman Catholic Church 16 St. Peter St. Paul Our Lady of Pilar Church 17 Former Location of Pierrepont Street Baptist Church 18 Former Location of St. Marks Church 19 Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary |
|---|---|

Noted Churches in Downtown Brooklyn
Figure 18

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Biographical Society, Family History Center of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (Brooklyn), Friends Historical Library at Swarthmore College, American Baptist-Samuel Colgate Historical Library, Episcopal Diocese of Long Island, General Theological Seminary, Union Theological Seminary, genealogical websites, the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* online database of articles from 1841-1902, and the *New York Times* online database of articles from 1851-2001 was reviewed. The churches were also contacted to obtain any additional records they might have.

As described above, according to the property owner of 227 Duffield Street, Thomas and Harriet Truesdell, residents and owners of 227 Duffield Street, attended Zion Shiloh Baptist Church. The Zion Shiloh Baptist Church building was built sometime between 1855 and 1867, based on the maps from those dates. The building was located on the east side of Duffield Street between Myrtle and Willoughby Streets, and was demolished sometime between 1982 and 1995 (based on the Sanborn maps from those dates). It appears to have been constructed for a Presbyterian church, possibly the First Reformed Presbyterian Church. In 1889 it was occupied by Concord Baptist Church (see discussion below). After the Concord Baptist Church congregation left the church on Duffield Street in 1917, it was later used by the Antioch Baptist Church (ca. 1930-1950) and then by Zion Shiloh Baptist Church (ca. 1985-demolition), based on the Sanborn maps from those dates. Therefore, it does not appear that the Zion Shiloh Baptist Church dates from the period of significance, although the building in which it was located was built during that period.

As noted by peer reviewer Dr. Marilyn Pettit, there were more churches founded in the antebellum period than are listed in this report, including, for example, fifteen Methodist churches in Brooklyn between 1794 and 1858. The temper of these churches can be stated for some, but not for all, because the Protestant denominational churches were riven by congregational dissent during the so-called Second Great Awakening as, for example, the 1837 schism of the Presbyterian churches. It is well-known that the Presbyterians sorted themselves out along doctrinal lines during this decade. While imputing motive to a selected set of church membership transfers and land transactions is uncertain, it can be said that some churches came to be, if not founded precisely for that purpose, more hospitable to African Americans than other churches.

BRIDGE STREET AWME CHURCH

The Bridge Street African Wesleyan Methodist (AWME) Church was the first African American church to be established in Brooklyn. It was incorporated in 1818 as the High Street AWME Church, by individuals seceding from the Sands Street Methodist Episcopal Church (see discussion below). The congregation moved to the building at 311 Bridge Street in 1854, at which time it changed its name to the Bridge Street AWME Church. It remained at this location until 1938. The building at 311 Bridge Street was originally constructed for the First Free Congregational Church in 1846-1847; that congregation had been organized in 1841 but disbanded in 1854. According to the partial copy of a centennial program for Bridge Street AWME Church submitted by Joy Chatel, Henry C. Bowen was one of the trustees of the First Free Congregational Church. The Bridge Street AWME Church is reported to have been a station on the Underground Railroad.¹²⁶

In addition to its potential connection to the Underground Railroad, the Bridge Street AWME Church—as well as other African American churches in the Downtown Brooklyn area, and

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Shiloh Presbyterian Church and Mother AME Zion Church in Manhattan—was researched because African American churches in northern cities have been reported to be the best-organized African American institutions to aid freedom seekers. They aided freedom seekers by providing food, clothing, shelter and information, and they were sought out by those who wanted to stay and seek employment, as well as those who needed concealment and sanctuary.¹²⁷

The Reverend Richard Harvey Cain, who was a pastor of the Bridge Street AWME Church from either 1861-1865 or 1861-1863 and, possibly, the pastor of the Fleet Street Methodist Episcopal Church from 1863-1865, was involved with the African Civilization Society. Reverend Cain also was called “our black Beecher” in the *Pacific Appeal* for a speech he gave in 1863 calling on African American men to enlist in the army.¹²⁸

The following membership records were identified and reviewed relating to the Bridge Street AWME Church: a list of officers, trustees, stewards, and class leaders, 1818; a list of pastors, 1818-1918; and a list of members who moved from the original High Street AWME Church to the Bridge Street AWME Church, 1854. The church’s on-site membership records date from the early 20th century, mostly 1908-1915. No matches with the names of the owners and residents of the Duffield Street and Gold Street buildings were identified.

CONCORD BAPTIST CHURCH

Concord Baptist Church, also known as the Concord Street Baptist Church of Christ, was founded in 1847 by six members of Manhattan’s Abyssinian Baptist Church who resided in Brooklyn. The congregation of the church was African American. The church’s first building was constructed on Concord Street near Duffield Street. In 1872 the congregation moved to a building on Canton Street in Fort Greene, and then moved again in 1889 to a building on Duffield Street north of Willoughby Street (see discussion above). The congregation moved again in 1917, to Adelphi Street near Myrtle Avenue, and then in 1937 to 833 Marcy Avenue, where it remains today. It is reported that the Concord Baptist Church provided sanctuary for freedom seekers in the antebellum period.¹²⁹

No membership or other relevant records for the Concord Baptist Church have been identified. According to a representative of Concord Baptist Church, the church has no historical membership records from the relevant time period. The American Baptist-Samuel Colgate Historical Library did not have any membership records for Concord Baptist Church.

FIRST COLORED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

The First Colored Presbyterian Church in Manhattan, also known as Shiloh Presbyterian Church,¹³⁰ was established in 1822 at the corner of Frankfort and William Streets in Manhattan. Samuel Cornish was its first pastor. Theodore Wright was its second pastor; after his death in 1847, J.W.C. Pennington took up the pastorate. Under Reverend Pennington, the church changed its name to Shiloh Presbyterian Church.¹³¹ Subsequent pastors include J.A. Gloucester and Henry Highland Garnet. The congregation moved north to Prince Street at Marion Street in 1851, and built a new church in 1879 at the north side of 26th Street near Seventh Avenue. The church appears to have disbanded in 1888, and its building on 26th Street was sold ca. 1893.¹³² Although this church was located in Manhattan, it was reviewed because it has been reported as a possible refuge for freedom seekers and because of its connection to J.W.C. Pennington.¹³³ In addition to materials relating to the church, materials written by Theodore S. Wright and J.W.C. Pennington were also reviewed; these are noted in the list of sources consulted.

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The following membership records were identified and reviewed relating to Shiloh Presbyterian Church: minutes of the session (1857-1869), and a general register of members from 1844. In the 1844 list of members, Eliza Harris is noted as a member of the church. This is close to the name of "Elizabeth Harris," who was listed in the 1855 New York census as a servant at 227 Duffield Street. Elizabeth Harris was noted as being 19 years old in the census, which would make her 8 years old in 1844; she was also noted as having been in Brooklyn for two years. Therefore, it is considered unlikely that the membership listing for Elizabeth Harris is a match to the Duffield Street resident.

FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

The First Presbyterian Church was founded in 1822. Its church building stood on the current site of Plymouth Church of the Pilgrims until 1846, at which time it erected its current edifice, on Henry Street near Clark Street in Brooklyn Heights. Samuel Hanson Cox was the pastor of the church from 1837 until 1854. Although the church has not been reported to have been a station on the Underground Railroad, it was reviewed because of its connection with Samuel Hanson Cox (see discussion above). The following membership records were identified and reviewed relating to the First Presbyterian Church: church manuals from 1863, 1868, and 1875. Materials relating to or written by Samuel Hanson Cox were also reviewed; these are noted in the list of sources consulted.

Emma Smith is noted as a member who joined the church in 1874. This is the same name as "Emma Smith," the child of J. Ogden and Angeline Smith, who lived at 223 Duffield Street ca. 1848-1858. In the 1850 federal census, Emma Smith is noted as being 8 months old, which would make her 25 in 1874. Brooklyn city directories from 1848-1871 have no listing for an Emma Smith; however, the 1870 federal census notes four Emma Smiths as living in Brooklyn.

Samuel Fleet is listed as a signor of a letter to David Leavitt, dated January 30, 1839, dealing with the schism in the congregation that occurred during Reverend Cox's pastorate; he seems to have been a member of the group that withdrew from the congregation. This is the same name as "Samuel Fleet," who owned the land on which the 436 Gold Street building was ultimately developed. Brooklyn city directories only list one Samuel Fleet from 1848 until his death in 1864; therefore, it is presumed that this listing is a match.

FLEET STREET METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

The Fleet Street Methodist Episcopal Church—also known as the Fleet Street African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, and later the First African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church—was established in March 1850. The church is reported either to have originated through a disagreement of members of the Bridge Street AWME Church; or through the action of members of the Sands Street and Washington Street Methodist Episcopal Churches; or through fifteen members of an AME church relocating to Atlantic Avenue.¹³⁴ The congregation built a church at the corner of Fleet and Lafayette Streets in 1850; this structure was replaced in 1853. In 1905 the congregation moved to Bridge Street, after the second floor of the Fleet Street church collapsed; at that time, the church changed its name to the First African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church.¹³⁵ The church has been at McDonald and Tompkins Avenues since at least 1946. Although this church is not reported to have been a station on the Underground Railroad, it was researched because it is presumed to have had an African American congregation and because of its proximity to the Duffield Street and Gold Street houses during

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the period of significance. As described above, African American churches in northern cities have been reported to be the best-organized African American institutions to aid freedom seekers. In addition, the proximity of the church's original location to the Brooklyn Navy Yard is considered noteworthy. African American sailors, as a class, are reported to have been heavily involved in abolitionist activity, the smuggling of antislavery material, and the facilitation of flights from slavery. In addition, as noted above Reverend Richard Harvey Cain may have been the pastor of the Fleet Street Methodist Episcopal Church from 1863-1865.

The following membership records were identified and reviewed relating to the Fleet Street Methodist Episcopal Church: a list of trustees, the Sabbath School superintendent, and certain members, 1850; and a list of pastors, 1850-1869. No matches with the names of the owners and residents of the Duffield Street and Gold Street buildings were identified.

FRIENDS MEETING HOUSE

The Brooklyn Friends congregation first gathered in 1835, and built its first meeting house at the corner of Henry and Clark Streets. The current Friends Meeting House was constructed in 1857. The *New York State Freedom Trail Program Study* notes that by some accounts the meeting house served as an Underground Railroad station;¹³⁶ however, representatives of the Friends Historical Library at Swarthmore College and the Brooklyn Monthly Meeting have no information relating to such a possible connection.¹³⁷ Abstracts of the records of the Monthly Meeting of New York (Hicksite), 1827-1957 and the Monthly Meeting of New York (Orthodox), 1828-1957 were reviewed.

William H. Macy, Jr., a member of the New York Monthly Meeting who was born in 1854 and died in 1891, was reportedly married to Carrie E. Foster on December 12, 1876. This might be the same person as "Carrie Foster," a boarder at 233 Duffield Street in 1870. However, there are no records in the abstracts that indicate Carrie Foster was a member. There is one listing for a Carrie or Caroline Foster in the Brooklyn city directories, from 1869-1870: a dressmaker at 226 Washington.

Thomas Woodward, Jr., who was born in 1846, was reported married to Emma Smith (no date), noted as not a member. This is the same name as "Emma Smith," the child of J. Ogden and Angeline Smith, who lived at 223 Duffield Street ca. 1848-1858. Brooklyn city directories from 1848-1871 have no listing for an Emma Smith; however, the 1870 federal census notes four Emma Smiths as living in Brooklyn. No wedding notice for an Emma Smith to a Thomas Woodward, Jr. has been identified.

Henry Jacob, with his wife Elizabeth Harris, was given a certificate in 1869. They came from the Darlington Monthly Meeting (possibly of Darlington, Pennsylvania or Darlington, Ohio) and were sent to the Elba Monthly Meeting (possibly of Elba, New York or Elba, Ohio); therefore, it appears that they were members of the New York Monthly Meeting for a very brief period of time that year. This name is the same as "Elizabeth Harris," who was listed in the 1855 New York census as a servant at 227 Duffield Street. Elizabeth Harris was noted as coming from North Carolina, and having been in Brooklyn for two years. Therefore, it is considered unlikely that the membership listing for Elizabeth Harris is a match to the Duffield Street resident.

LAFAYETTE AVENUE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

The Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian Church was established in 1857 as the Park Presbyterian Church, and first met in a building at the corner of Carlton and DeKalb Avenues. In 1860 Reverend Theodore L. Cuyler became pastor of the church, and in 1862 the congregation moved to a new church at 85 South Oxford Street—where it remains—and changed its name to the Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian Church. The church has been reported to have been a station on the Underground Railroad; it was also reviewed because of its connection with Reverend Cuyler (see discussion above).

The following membership records were identified and reviewed relating to Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian Church: a list of the original (1857) members; a list of the officers of the church, 1857-1885; a list of the Sabbath School officers, 1860-1885; a list of the members of the Young People's Prayer Meeting, 1860-1867; and a schema showing the original seating chart from 1860-61. Reverend Theodore Cuyler's memoir, *Recollections of a Long Life, an Autobiography by Theodore Ledyard Cuyler*, was also reviewed.

William Bidkar Jones is noted as a member of the Young People's Prayer Meeting of the church in 1861-1862. This is the same name as "William Jones," a resident of 233 Duffield Street ca. 1864-1868. In the 1865 New York state census, William Jones is noted as being 19 years old, which would make him 15 or 16 in 1861-1862. No other name from the Jones family is noted as a member of the Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian Church in available records. In addition, this is a very common name. Between 1849 and 1870, there are between four and 34 entries per year in Brooklyn city directories for a W. or William Jones, including a William B. Jones, a merchant living at 360 Fulton in the directories from 1853-1875. Therefore, it is considered unlikely that the membership listing for William Bidkar Jones is a match to the Duffield Street resident.

Daniel M. Lord is noted as a member of the Young People's Prayer Meeting of the church in 1865-1866. This is the same name as "Daniel Lord," the attorney who owned the 227, 233, and 235 Duffield Street lots from 1847 to 1848, before they appear to have been developed. However, in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, Daniel Lord is noted as being active in the Brick Presbyterian Church in Manhattan until his death in 1868.¹³⁸ In addition, Mr. Lord does not appear to have owned or occupied any of the buildings after their development; he is listed in New York City directories from 1848-1868 as having a residence in Manhattan. Therefore, it is unlikely that this listing is a match. It is presumed that the listing could refer to a Reverend Daniel M. Lord, a Presbyterian minister of Shelter Island, who passed away in 1861.¹³⁹

Charles Lewis is noted on the schema of 1860 pew owners. This is the same name as "Charles Lewis," the child of William and Harriet Lewis, residents of 233 Duffield Street ca. 1855-1860. In the 1860 federal census, Charles Lewis is noted as being 14 years old. No other Lewis family name is noted as a member of the Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian Church in available records. As there are no other family members noted as members, and given the unlikelihood that a person 14 years of age would have been able to own a pew at the church, it is considered unlikely that the membership listing for Charles Lewis is a match to the Duffield Street residence. It is considered more likely that the pew owner was Charles Lewis—a china merchant with a residence on President Street near Henry Street, who is listed in the Brooklyn city directories for 1857-1862—or one of the several other Charles Lewis' listed in the Brooklyn city directories from 1857-1859.

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MOTHER AME ZION CHURCH

The African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Zion Church was chartered in Manhattan in 1801, and the Mother AME Zion Church was established in 1820.¹⁴⁰ Reverend James Varick was the first bishop of the church. Mother AME Zion Church is reported to have been one of the first churches in New York to be built and led by African Americans, and may have been a stop on the Underground Railroad.¹⁴¹ The church was originally located at Church and Leonard Streets in Lower Manhattan, and is now located on West 137th Street in Harlem. No membership or other relevant records for the Mother AME Zion Church have yet been identified. According to a representative of Mother AME Zion Church, the church has no historical membership records from the relevant time period.

PIERREPONT STREET BAPTIST CHURCH

The Pierrepont Street Baptist Church was organized in April 1840, and Reverend E.E.L. Taylor was its first pastor. The church building, which was constructed in 1843-1844, was located at the corner of Pierrepont and Clinton Streets. The church merged with the First Baptist Church in 1873 to form the First Baptist Church in Pierrepont Street. In 1893, the congregation moved to its current location at Schermerhorn Street and Third Avenue, and the existing building (the Baptist Temple) was constructed.¹⁴² This church is not known to have been abolitionist, nor is it reported to have been a station on the Underground Railroad. It was researched because Mary Elizabeth Truesdell, the daughter of Thomas Truesdell, was married to Charles W. Frederickson by Reverend E.E.L. Taylor in 1844.¹⁴³ A list of the pastors of the Pierrepont Street Baptist Church, 1840-1870, was reviewed; no matches with the names of the owners and residents of the Duffield Street and Gold Street buildings were identified. No other records have been identified. The American Baptist-Samuel Colgate Historical Library did not have any original records for the church.

PLYMOUTH CHURCH

Plymouth Church, now Plymouth Church of the Pilgrims, was established in 1847, and moved to its current building on Orange Street in Brooklyn Heights in 1850. The congregation of the Church of the Pilgrims was consolidated with that of Plymouth Church in 1934. The church was "a foremost center of anti-slavery sentiment between 1847 and the outbreak of the Civil War ... from its pulpit spoke such notable opponents of slavery as William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Charles Sumner, and John Greenleaf Whittier."¹⁴⁴ The first pastor of the church was Henry Ward Beecher who was, as discussed above, one of the foremost figures of the abolitionist movement. In addition, Plymouth Church is reported to have been a station on the Underground Railroad.¹⁴⁵ Henry C. Bowen, son-in-law of Lewis Tappan, founded the church, and was a resident of Willow and Hicks Streets in Brooklyn Heights.

The following membership records were identified and reviewed relating to Plymouth Church: a list of members of the church at its organization in 1847; a list of members, 1847-1867; a list of members, July 1850; lists of officers of the church, trustees of the society, officers of the Sabbath School, and the music committee, 1850; Plymouth Church's own membership ledger; and an "Abolitionists Honor Roll, 1683-1883." The Plymouth Church of the Pilgrims-Henry Ward Beecher Collection at the Brooklyn Heights Society was also reviewed, as well as other publications relating to the church.

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Peter A. and Mary Hawes are noted as members of Plymouth Church from March 1860 through February 1872. These might be the same people as "Peter A. and Mary M. Hawes," who resided at 231 Duffield Street in 1855. Peter A. Hawes is listed in the 1855-1856 Brooklyn city directory at 231 Duffield Street (then 145 Duffield Street), as a merchant with a business address at 41 Dey Street in Manhattan. In the 1858-1859, 1860-1861, and 1862-1863 directories, Peter A. Hawes is listed at Washington Avenue near Gates Avenue, with a business address at Pearl (corner of Broadway), or 320 Broadway in Manhattan. Brooklyn city directories from 1849-1871 have no other listing for a Peter or Mary Hawes; therefore, it is presumed that this listing is a match. However, the membership of Peter and Mary Hawes in Plymouth Church dates to after their residency on Duffield Street.

Two women named Mary Foster are noted as members of Plymouth Church. One joined in April 1858 and left for Elmira, New York in July 1863; the other joined in May 1868. It is possible that one of these women is the same person as "Mary Foster," who was a boarder at 233 Duffield Street in 1870. It is also possible that the second listing could be the same person as the first, if she rejoined the church. The Brooklyn city directories do not list any Mary Foster with a residence on Duffield Street; however, there are several listings for a Mary Foster (a widow, a furniture store proprietor, and a boarding house keeper) between 1855 and 1871.

Two women named Mary Clark are noted as members of Plymouth Church: Mary E. Clark, who joined in July 1849, and Mary F. Clark, who joined in July 1867. It is possible that one of these women is the same person as "Mary Clark," who was a servant at 233 Duffield Street ca. 1864-1868. However, as the Mary Clark who was a servant at 233 Duffield Street would have been approximately 14 years old in 1849, it is considered unlikely that the membership listing for Mary E. Clark is a match. In addition, this is a somewhat common name. Between 1848 and 1871, there are between one and seven entries per year in Brooklyn city directories for a Mary Clark, including several entries for a Mary A. and/or Mary E. Clark. Therefore, it is considered unlikely that the membership listing for Mary E. Clark is a match to the Duffield Street resident.

Thomas Edwards is noted as a member of Plymouth Church from 1859 to 1867. As described above, this might be the same person as "Thomas Edwards," who appears to have developed 233 and 235 Duffield Street and owned (or his heirs) the properties from 1848 through the early 20th century. Mr. Edwards does not appear to have occupied any of the buildings after their development. Brooklyn city directories list a Thomas Edwards, builder, with residences at 255 Gold Street (ca. 1849-1853 and 1855-1859), 207 Columbia Street (ca. 1851-1852), 99 Duffield Street (ca. 1860-1861 and 1864-1871), and 123 Duffield Street (ca. 1872-1875). (The Brooklyn city directory for 1846-47 lists him at 225 Gold Street, which is assumed to be a misprint.) In addition, this is a somewhat common name. Between 1849 and 1871, there are between one and four entries per year in Brooklyn city directories for a Thomas Edwards. Therefore, it is possible that the membership listing is not a match.

A Joseph L. Williams is noted as a member of Plymouth Church who joined in 1867. This is nearly the same name as "Joseph/Joe D. Williams," who is listed as residing at 227 Duffield Street ca. 1868-1870. However, this is a very common name. Between 1848 and 1871, there are between two and 15 entries per year in Brooklyn city directories for a J. or Joseph Williams, including an entry in 1870-1871 for a Joseph L. Williams at 306 Degraw Street. Therefore, it is possible that the membership listing is not a match. In addition, Joseph D. Williams resided at 227 Duffield Street after the Emancipation Proclamation and end of the Civil War.

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ST. ANN'S CHURCH

The Episcopal Church of Brooklyn was incorporated in 1787, and St. Ann's Church was incorporated in 1795.¹⁴⁶ At that time, it occupied a building at Sands and Washington Streets; a new church building was constructed on Washington Street at the corner of Prospect Street in 1825. In 1867, the congregation moved to another new building at the corner of Clinton and Livingston Streets. Holy Trinity Church closed in 1857, and by 1970 had combined with St. Ann's under the name of the Church of St. Ann and the Holy Trinity. The congregation of the Church of St. Ann and the Holy Trinity was located in the building at Clinton and Livingston Streets until ca. 1977, by which time it had relocated into Holy Trinity's former building, at Clinton and Montague Streets. Reverend Charles Pettit McIlvaine was pastor of the church from 1827 until 1833, and Benjamin Clarke Cutler was its pastor from 1833 until 1863. Although the church has not been reported to have been a station on the Underground Railroad, it was reviewed because of its connection with Reverend McIlvaine, who was an abolitionist, and because the church's congregants have been reported to be well known for their anti-slavery sentiments.¹⁴⁷

The following membership records were identified and reviewed relating to St. Ann's Episcopal Church: a list of members 1788-1845, and parish year books for 1887, 1888, and 1892. In addition, materials relating to or written by Reverend Charles Pettit McIlvaine and Reverend Benjamin C. Cutler's memoirs were reviewed, as well as other publications relating to the church; these are noted in the list of sources consulted. Union Theological Seminary and General Theological Seminary had no records for the church.

Mrs. E. Sackett is noted as a member of St. Ann's Church in 1833, who was removed as a communicant sometime before 1845. This could be the same person as "Emeline Sackett," who owned the lot for 436 Gold Street from 1865-1877. However, the New York City directories from 1848-1849, 1851-1853, 1854-1857, and 1858-1859 also have a listing for an Emeline Sackett, widow of Jesse, who lived on the Lower East Side (at 125 Delancy Street, 191 Orchard Street, and 328 Houston), and the directories from 1857-1859 have a listing for an Elizabeth M. Sackett, widow of Henry, a nurse, at 439 Eighth Avenue. Therefore, it is not certain that this listing is a match.

Mrs. H.G. Nichols is noted as a member of St. Ann's Church, joining in September 1843. This could be the wife of "Henry G. Nichols," who is noted with a residence at 235 Duffield Street from ca. 1852-1855. There is only one Henry Nichols listed in Brooklyn city directories from 1848-1871; therefore, it is probable that this membership listing is a match.

ST. MARK'S CHURCH

St. Mark's Church was organized in 1851 and incorporated in September 1851, as a missionary effort undertaken by the Church of the Holy Trinity. The church was located on Fleet Street north of Fulton Street until 1859, when it moved to a building on Lafayette Street. It moved again to an existing church building on Adelphi Street in 1865, and built a new building at that location in 1887. It was the headquarters of a mission to deaf-mutes from 1892 until ca. 1940, and the Brooklyn Protestant Guild of the Deaf (also known as St. David's Guild) was founded at the church.¹⁴⁸ Sometime between 1945 and 1949, it became the Church of St. Michael and St. Mark.¹⁴⁹ Reverend Francis Peck was its first pastor, and stayed with the church until 1859; he was succeeded by Reverend Edmund Embury and then Reverend Thomas G. Carver. This church is not known to have been abolitionist, nor is it reported to have been a station on the

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Underground Railroad. It was researched because Reverend Francis Peck is noted in Brooklyn city directories as residing at 233 Duffield Street ca. 1851-1853.

The following membership records were identified and reviewed relating to St. Mark's Church: a list of the wardens, vestrymen, and early families of the church, 1851. Union Theological Seminary and General Theological Seminary had no records for the church.

A Mr. Clem is listed as a vestrymen of the church pre-1856. This could be the same person as "William Clem," a hardware store owner, who is noted as living at 233 Duffield Street in 1850, or his son William, a clerk. There are two other listings with the last name of Clem in the Brooklyn city directories from 1854-1855 (a Frederick Clem and a John Clem); therefore, it is not certain that this listing is a match.

SANDS STREET METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

The Sands Street Methodist Episcopal Church, also known as the Sands Street Wesleyan Methodist Episcopal Church or the First Methodist Episcopal Church, was incorporated in 1794. The first building for the church was erected in 1795, on New (later Sands) Street; this building and an expansion were replaced in 1843 by a new building that was subsequently destroyed by fire in 1848. The church was rebuilt on the same site and dedicated in 1849.¹⁵⁰ This church was bought in 1889 and demolished for the Brooklyn Bridge, and the congregation moved into the Brooklyn Institute Building on Washington Street. In 1890, the congregation built a new church at the corner of Henry and Clark Streets. The congregation was composed of whites, free African Americans, and freed slaves. Between 1810 and 1817, the number of African American members increased and relations between blacks and whites grew increasingly tense, culminating when black congregation members were asked to pay \$10 per quarter for seats in segregated pews.¹⁵¹ This was compounded following the installation of Alexander McCaine, who had written pro-slavery tracts and preached such views.¹⁵² The situation led to the secession of black members of the Sands Street Methodist Episcopal Church and the establishment of the first African American church in Brooklyn, the Bridge Street AWME Church (see discussion above). The church contributed to the Freedman's Aid Society sometime between 1857 and 1884. The Sands Street Methodist Episcopal Church is not known to have contained an abolitionist congregation or participated in the Underground Railroad, though it is reported that there was an anti-slavery community within the church.

The following membership records were identified and reviewed relating to the Sands Street Methodist Episcopal Church: a list of trustees, 1794; a list of members, 1798-1883 (including officers, trustees, and class leaders); a list of presiding elders, 1787-1883; a list of pastors, 1787-1884; a list of Sunday School Missionary Society board of managers, 1847; and a list of building committee members, 1848.

Nathaniel Bonnell is noted as a trustee of the church in 1825, a class leader in 1838, a steward in 1841, and a building committee member in 1848. This could be the same person as "Nathaniel Bonnel," the owner of 225 Duffield Street from 1847 to 1858 and the apparent builder of the original building on this lot. Nathaniel Bonnel does not appear to have lived at 225 Duffield Street during the time he and his wife owned the property. The Brooklyn city directories for 1847-1870 have one listing for Nathaniel Bonnel, a mason/builder, with residences at 16 Prince Street (ca. 1848-1853), 203 Pearl Street (ca. 1854-1857), Quincy Street near Classon Avenue (ca. 1858-1863), 167 Fort Greene Place (ca. 1863-1864), 243 Pearl Street (ca. 1864-1865), 57

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Butler (ca. 1865-1866), and 3 Hanson Place (ca. 1867-1871). (In the 1866-1867 Brooklyn city directory, there is one listing for a bookkeeper named Nathaniel Bonnel, living at 151 Wyckoff.)

Ira Perego is noted as a class leader in 1852, and a trustee of the church in 1856. Ira Perego, Jr. is noted as a Male Sunday School teacher, 1842; a member of the Sunday School Missionary Society board of managers, 1847, class leader in 1852, a steward in 1859, superintendent of the Third Male Sunday School in 1862, and superintendent of the First Male Sunday School in 1866. Either of these persons could be "Ira Perego," the owner of 223 Duffield Street from 1858 to 1868. Ira Perego does not appear to have lived at 223 Duffield Street during the time owned the property. As described above, New York City and Brooklyn city directories list an Ira Perego with residences at 107 Greene (ca. 1848-1849), 197 Fourth (ca. 1849-1850), 164 Washington (ca. 1850-1867), and 22-24 Sixth Avenue (ca. 1867-1871); his son, Ira Perego, Jr., is listed in New York City and Brooklyn city directories with residences at 59 Christopher Street (ca. 1854-1856) and 20 Hanover Place (ca. 1856-1871).

Alfred Perego is noted as a Male Sunday School teacher in 1857. This could be the same person as "Alfred Perego," who lived at 223 Duffield Street from ca. 1859-1869. There are no other listings for an Alfred Perego in the New York City or Brooklyn city directories. Therefore, it is presumed that this listing is a match.

John J. Studwell is noted as a steward of the church in 1847, a building committee member in 1848, and a trustee in 1850. This could be the same person as "John J. Studwell," who owned the lot on which 227 Duffield Street was constructed before its development. There are two entries in the Brooklyn city directories for 1848-1850 for a John J. Studwell. Therefore, it is not certain whether this listing is a match.

William Walsh is noted as a Male Sunday School teacher in 1842. This could be the same person as "William W. Walsh", who lived at 235 Duffield Street in 1855. However, in the Brooklyn city directories for 1848-1871, there are between one and five entries per year for a William Walsh. Therefore, it is not certain whether this listing is a match.

SECOND REFORMED CHURCH

The Second Reformed Church, also known as the Church on the Heights or the Central Reformed Church, was established in 1837. In 1840, the congregation built a church building on Henry Street near Clark Street. In 1851, the congregation moved to a new building on Pierrepont Street near Monroe Place. The church merged with the Old First Reformed Church, now located at Carroll Street and Seventh Avenue in Park Slope, in 1931. Although the church has not been reported to have been a station on the Underground Railroad, George Washington Bethune, its pastor from 1848 until 1858, was an abolitionist.¹⁵³

No membership records relating to the Second Reformed Church/Church on the Heights have been identified. Materials relating to or written by George Washington Bethune were reviewed; these are noted in the list of sources consulted. No matches with the names of the owners and residents of the Duffield Street and Gold Street buildings were identified.

SEVENTH PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

The Seventh Presbyterian Church at 188 Broome Street, corner of Ridge Street, was established ca. 1818 and merged with the Church of the Sea and Land at Market and Henry Streets in 1934. At that time, *New York Times* article called it the oldest Presbyterian church in the city.¹⁵⁴ The

church has not been reported to have been a station on the Underground Railroad. The records of the church were on the same reel of microfilm from the Presbyterian Historical Society as those of Shiloh Presbyterian Church, and coincidentally had several member names that matched those of Duffield Street owners/residents. The membership records reviewed were a list of members and baptisms, 1818-1888.

John A. Ackley is noted as a member received into the church in December 1827. This is the same name as "John A. Ackley," who appears to have built the house at 231 Duffield Street and owned its lot from 1850-1853. There is only one listing for a John Ackley in the Brooklyn city directories from 1848 until his death in 1853; therefore, it is assumed that this listing is a match.

SILOAM PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

Siloam Presbyterian Church began as a mission in 1847 on Fulton Street by the Reverend James N. Gloucester, and was established in 1849. The congregation of the church was African American. The church was first located on Myrtle Avenue, but moved in 1850 to a building at 160 Prince Street. Reverend Amos Freeman joined the church in 1852. The wood-frame church building on Prince Street required demolition in 1891, and the church was housed in several locations before moving to 260 Jefferson Avenue in Bedford-Stuyvesant in 1910, where it remains today.¹⁵⁵ The congregation of Siloam Presbyterian Church created a fund for the Underground Railroad, and it is reported that the church provided freedom seekers with food, clothing, and refuge.¹⁵⁶

The following membership records were identified and reviewed relating to Siloam Presbyterian Church: an incomplete list of pre-1860 members; a roll of members, 1860-1899; a register of deaths, beginning in 1896; a list of pastors, 1849-1999; a register of deacons, beginning in 1849; and a list of officers, 1847-1899.

Edward Smith is noted as a member who joined the church in May 1873. This is the same name as "Edward Smith," the child of J. Ogden and Angeline Smith, who lived at 223 Duffield Street ca. 1848-1858. In the 1850 federal census, Edward Smith is noted as being 9 years old, which would make him 32 in 1873. He is not noted in the census records as being African American; however, as described above, such notations are somewhat subjective. With the exception of Anna Smith, no other Smith family name is noted as a member of the Siloam Presbyterian Church in available records. In addition, Edward Smith is a rather common name. During the period of significance, there are from four to 26 entries each year for an Edward Smith in Brooklyn city directories, including listings for a 'colored' laborer (in 1856-1857), seaman (in 1858-1859 and 1861-1862), porter (in 1863-1864), and driver (in 1868-1870). Therefore, it is considered unlikely that the membership listing for Edward Smith is a match to the Duffield Street resident.

Annie Smith is noted as a member of Siloam Presbyterian Church who passed away in 1897. This could be the same person as "Anna Smith," the child of J. Ogden and Angeline Smith, who lived at 223 Duffield Street ca. 1848-1858. In the 1850 federal census, Anna Smith is noted as being 3 years old, which would make her 50 in 1897. Anna Smith is not noted in the census records as being African American; however, such notations are somewhat subjective. With the exception of Edward Smith, no other Smith family name is noted as a member of the Siloam Presbyterian Church in available records. Brooklyn city directories from 1848-1871 have no listing for an Anna or Annie Smith. No obituaries were identified for an Anna or Annie Smith in

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the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* or *New York Times* databases that may have noted whether Smith was a maiden or married name.

Mr. Hunter, no first name given, is noted as a trustee of the church (no date given). This is the same last name as "Robert Hunter," who lived at 231 Duffield Street ca. 1862-1865. The Robert Hunter on Duffield Street is not noted in the relevant city directories as being African American; however, such notations are somewhat subjective. This is also a somewhat common name: between 1848 and 1871, there are from one to seven entries each year for a Robert Hunter, and between eight and 44 entries each year for the last name Hunter, in Brooklyn city directories. Therefore, it is considered unlikely that the membership listing is a match.

WASHINGTON STREET METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

The Washington Street Methodist Episcopal Church, also known as the Third Methodist Episcopal Church, was established in 1832 by the Sands Street Methodist Episcopal Church and was located on Washington Street between Concord and Tillary Streets. The church was demolished ca. 1891 for the Manhattan Bridge.¹⁵⁷ This church is not known to have been abolitionist, nor is it reported to have been a station on the Underground Railroad; however, it was researched because Reverend John Crawford, who is noted in Brooklyn city directories as residing at 233 Duffield Street ca. 1862-1864, is noted as a pastor of the church.

The following membership records were identified and reviewed relating to the Washington Street Methodist Episcopal Church: a list of the board of trustees, 1835; a list of pastors, 1835-1882; a partial list of debt fund contributors, 1865; and lists of consolidation committee members, class leaders, and trustees, 1882. Other than Reverend Crawford, no matches with the names of the owners and residents of the Duffield Street and Gold Street buildings were identified.

ABOLITIONIST SOCIETIES OR PROMINENT ABOLITIONISTS

For this information, a number of resources were reviewed, including, but not limited to: anti-slavery petitions in the collections of the National Archives and Records Administration; primary and secondary sources relating to numerous anti-slavery societies, including those in the collections of the New-York Historical Society, the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, and the Archives of Ontario; the journals, memoirs, and/or papers of Henry Ward Beecher, Sydney Howard Gay, the John Jay Family, Samuel J. May, Charles B. Ray, William Henry Seward, Lewis Tappan, and Thurlow Weed; contemporary local newspapers, including the *Brooklyn Evening Star*, *Williamsburgh Daily Times*, *Brooklyn Daily Union*, *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, and the *New York Times*; contemporary African American and anti-slavery newspapers, journals, and almanacs; Blassingame's *Antislavery Newspapers and Periodicals*; "Accessible Archives," a digitized collection of 19th century African American and Christian newspapers and journals; the photograph archives of the Brooklyn Public Library, New York Public Library, and New-York Historical Society; the databases of the Library of Congress and the Gilder-Lehrman Institute of American History; the National Union Catalog of Manuscripts Collections; and New York State's Historical Documents Inventory. The full listing of resources reviewed is available in the "Sources Consulted" listing at the end of this report.

The Prince Hall Masons, an African American Freemasons organization, has sometimes been linked to Underground Railroad activities. Several lodges were warranted (i.e., established) in Brooklyn by the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of the Free and Accepted Masons in Massachusetts:

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these are the Rising Sun No. 3 Lodge (1826), Stone Square No. 6 Lodge (1859), Widow's Son No. 1 Lodge (1859), and the Hiram No. 21 Lodge (1863). However, no information about the location or members of these lodges has been identified.

No marriages between the owners and residents of Duffield Street and Gold Street, or between the owners and residents of Duffield Street and Gold Street and abolitionist families of the area, are known to have occurred.

Lists were obtained of:

- American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society officers (1840-1855);
- American Anti-Slavery Society members and officers (1835, 1839, 1840, 1853);
- Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women (1837) delegates, corresponding members, and pledges made;
- Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women (1838) committee members and delegates;
- Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women (1839) members and delegates;
- Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society officers (1839);
- Brooklyn Anti-Slavery Society officers (1840);
- Donators and subscribers to the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* and the American Anti-Slavery Society (1853-1857, 1859-1860, and 1862);
- Female Anti-Slavery Society of Chatham Street Chapel members (1834);
- Ladies Anti-Slavery Society of Brooklyn, Connecticut, officers (1834);
- Ladies New York City Anti-Slavery Society members (1835), officers and managers (1836);
- Manhattan Anti-Slavery Society members (1840);
- Names on an 1839 call for a New York City Anti-Slavery Convention;
- National Convention of Colored Men (1864) delegates;
- New York Anti-Slavery Society officers (1854);
- New York Committee of Vigilance members (1824), executive committee (1824, 1844), and attendees of annual meeting (1837);
- New York Manumission Society officers (1846-1849);
- New York Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society officers (1834);
- Philadelphia Anti-Slavery Society officers (1835);
- Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society officers (1841, 1848, 1868, 1869, 1870);
- Providence Female Anti-Slavery Society members (1835);
- Providence Female Juvenile Anti-Slavery Society officers (1834);
- Rhode Island State Anti-Slavery Convention (1836) officers and delegates;
- Subscription agents for the *Colored American*, *Freedom's Journal*, *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, *New York Evangelist*, and *Northern Star and Freedman's Advocate*;
- Subscribers to the *Liberator*;
- Third Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women (1839) delegates and corresponding members;

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- United Anti-Slavery Society officers (1837);
- Signors to a call for a New York State Colored Inhabitants Convention (1840);
- Signors to a call against more slave states from the clergy of New York City (1854);
- Committee members for a Colored Convention, 1840; and
- Committees for the First National Fair in aid of the Anglo-American Newspaper.

There were several potential name matches in the various sources and lists identified with the known owners and residents of Duffield and Gold Streets. In addition, through "Accessible Archives," several newspaper or journal articles including a potential name match with an owner or resident of Duffield Street or Gold Street were identified. These are described in detail below.

A William Jones was noted as subscriber to the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* in July 1853. As the William Jones who lived at 233 Duffield Street from ca. 1864-1868 would have been approximately 7 years old in 1853, it is considered unlikely that this listing is a match. In addition, this is a very common name; Brooklyn city directories from 1848-1871 have between six and 42 entries for a William Jones (including 13 in the 1853-54 directory).

In the "Library of Congress" collection of anti-slavery petitions at the National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC, one petition against admitting Arkansas as a slave state, coming from New York State (no date), is signed by a Joseph Williams. This might be the same person as "Joseph/Joe D. Williams," who is noted as residing at 227 Duffield Street ca. 1868-1870. However, given that Joseph Williams is not an uncommon name (see discussion above), and the petition is from New York State, rather than Brooklyn in particular, it is considered unlikely that this listing is a match.

There is also a listing for a Joseph Williams, from Brooklyn, on a list of African Americans from Brooklyn who received land from Gerrit Smith in the Adirondacks in 1846-1847.¹⁵⁸ This is the same name as "Joseph/Joe D. Williams," who is noted as residing at 227 Duffield Street ca. 1868-1870. As the Joseph D. Williams who lived at 227 Duffield Street ca. 1868-1870 would have been approximately 14 years old in 1849, it is considered unlikely that this listing is a match. The Joseph D. Williams at 227 Duffield Street is not noted in the census record as being African American, but as noted, the race designations provided in the census and city directories were subjective and could be inconsistent or inaccurate. In addition, as noted above, this is a very common name.

In the *Christian Recorder*, July 28, 1866, a report from Albany, New York notes that Francis Peck, who has charge of the AME Church of Albany, made a speech at the first grand levee of the Philomaethian Lodge, No. 742 G.M.O. of Odd Fellows, on July 27, 1866 at the AME Church of Albany for the benefit of the Church. This might be the same person as "Francis Peck," the rector of St. Mark's Church on Fleet Street, who resided at 233 Duffield Street from 1851-1853 and at 229 Duffield Street from 1853-1860. However, according to a publication on St. Mark's Church by Reverend Roche, Reverend Peck resigned from the church in 1859 to take the direction of a mission on West 23rd Street in New York City.¹⁵⁹ City directories from 1866-1871 list Reverend Peck as living on 8th Street north of South 9th Street, and *New York Times* articles note him as a rector of the Calvary Protestant Episcopal Church at South 9th and 8th Streets from ca. 1862-1882, when he retired.¹⁶⁰ Given his position at Calvary Protestant Episcopal Church, it is considered unlikely that he would have charge of an AME Church in Albany at the same time.

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DANIEL LORD, JR.

The name Daniel Lord (or Daniel Lord, Jr.) was identified in a number of locations. In *The National Era*, vol. VIII, no. 393, p. 110, July 13, 1854, a call to the People of the State of New York, on the Nebraska Perfidy and Slavery Aggression, New York State Convention, To Be Held At Saratoga Springs, August 16, 1854. "The undersigned ... do invite the voters of the State to meet by their Delegates in Convention, at the village of Saratoga Springs, on Wednesday, the 16th day of August next, to consider what measures are necessary and proper- For the protection of the free States from Southern aggression and Northern treachery; For the recovery of the rights of the free States as an integral part of the Union; and For the rescue of the General Government from the control of the Slave Power." A Daniel Lord is listed as one of the members and signors of the letter. In another article in *The National Era* (vol. X, no. 492, p. 91, June 5, 1856), entitled "Popular Movements in the Free States," a Daniel Lord is noted as having made a speech at a "great indignation meeting in New York, May 30th," denouncing the perpetrator of an assault on Senator Sumner by Preston S. Brooks, as well as "others whom he regarded in the light of accessories." Henry Ward Beecher also made a speech at the event. Daniel Lord is noted in the article as a vice president of the Brooklyn Tabernacle. An 1845 letter from Lewis Tappan notes an opinion, of which Mr. Tappan disapproved, written by Mr. Lord regarding the constitution of the Ladies of the Moral Reform Society.

This might be the same person as "Daniel Lord," the attorney who owned the 227, 233, and 235 Duffield Street lots from 1847 to 1848, before they appear to have been developed. As described above, Mr. Lord does not appear to have owned or occupied any of these buildings after their development; he is listed in New York City directories from 1848-1868 as having a residence in Manhattan. In addition, his ownership of the properties was for a very brief time.

Daniel Lord was a prominent attorney and citizen of New York City. He ran for state senate in the Federal party in 1841 (apparently unsuccessfully); was a trustee of the Astor Library; represented a Confederacy defendant in the United States v. Schooner Savannah, a piracy case during the Civil War (for which he published a pamphlet in 1861 entitled "The Legal Effect of the Secession Troubles on the Commercial Relations of the Country"); signed a memorial to the Senate and House of Representatives, stating that states should have the right to regulate "the matter of slavery in their borders, including the rights secured by the constitution to the delivery of fugitives;"¹⁶¹ represented the southern section of the Methodist Episcopal Church in a suit against the northern section of the church, on a property settlement case resulting from the separation of the church on the issue of slavery;¹⁶² was a delegate to the 1852 Whig National Convention; and was against temperance laws as being prohibitory. He passed away in 1868.

TRUESDELL FAMILY

A number of listings were identified for Harriet Lee Truesdell and Thomas Truesdell, the owners and residents of 227 Duffield Street from ca. 1851-1863. Thomas Truesdell is listed as a subscriber to the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* in June 1855, April 1860, March 1862, and December 1862.¹⁶³ A Thomas Truesdell (also spelled Truesdale) of Brooklyn is also listed as a contributor to the American Anti-Slavery Society in May 1853, July 1853, July 1855, May 1856, May 1857, May 1860, and April 1862. Although the subscription listing gives his address as New York City, rather than Brooklyn, the New York City directories from 1847-1863 only list a Thomas Truesdell, cotton broker, with a business address on Pearl Street and a home address on Duffield Street in Brooklyn. Therefore, the Thomas Truesdell on the subscriber list is presumed

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to be the owner and resident of 227 Duffield Street. Thomas Truesdell was also listed as a delegate from Providence, Rhode Island to the Rhode Island Anti-Slavery Convention, which was held in Providence in February 1836.

A *Liberator* article from April 1835 describes the formation of a Female Anti-Slavery Society in Providence, of which Harriet L. Truesdell was treasurer;¹⁶⁴ the formation of this society and Ms. Truesdell's involvement as treasurer is also noted in The Devotion of These Women: Rhode Island in the Antislavery Network. In 1837, an H.L. Truesdall wrote a letter to the *Liberator*, describing the organization of the Providence Female Anti-Slavery Society in June of that year, of which Mrs. Harriet Truesdall was 'Cor. [corresponding] Secretary.'¹⁶⁵ Harriet Truesdell also was a delegate to and member of the program planning committee of the Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women, which took place in Philadelphia in May 1838. No further connections for Harriet or Thomas Truesdell have yet been identified.

Thomas Truesdell appears to have been born on July 10, 1789 in Woodstock, Connecticut and died on March 10, 1874 in Cedar Grove, New Jersey. Harriet Lee appears to have been born July 10, 1786 in Providence, Rhode Island. Harriet Lee Truesdell married Thomas Truesdell in Providence, Rhode Island on October 14, 1811 and died in Brooklyn on June 29, 1862. As noted above, several of their children and grandchildren lived with them on Duffield Street: Julia Lee Truesdell Batteris, who married Richard M. Batteris (also noted elsewhere as R.M. Batturs, Esq., or Battins) on June 26, 1844 in Brooklyn and died in New York in 1880; Harriet Lee Batteris, Julia's daughter, who was born on April 19, 1845 in Rhode Island and appears to have died in 1866 in New York (according to the family bible, the first name was Helen, birthplace was Brooklyn, and place of death was Philadelphia); Abbie Kennicutt Truesdell, who died in Montclair, New Jersey on December 24, 1889 (or 1899, according to the family bible); Mary Elizabeth Truesdell Frederickson, who married Charles W. Frederickson in May 1844 in Brooklyn and died in Brooklyn on December 26, 1896 (the family bible alternately says 1894 and 1897); and Charles W. Frederickson, Mary's husband, who died in January 1897.¹⁶⁶ None of the children resulting from the marriage of Harriet and Thomas Truesdell had any offspring who survived past early childhood. No relevant listings or further information could be found for Julia, Harriet, or Richard Batteris or Abbie Truesdell.

As noted above, Mary Truesdell was married to Charles W. Frederickson by Reverend E.E.L. Taylor in 1844. Other than a list of the pastors of the Pierrepoint Street Baptist Church, 1840-1870, no other records for the church have been identified; however, it is possible that the Truesdell family were members of the church. As described above, this church is not known to have been abolitionist, nor is it reported to have been a station on the Underground Railroad.

At the time of Mary Frederickson's death she and Charles Frederickson lived at 141 Herkimer Street in Brooklyn. According to Charles Frederickson's obituary in the *New York Times*, he was a printer before becoming a cotton broker, at one time serving on the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*. His obituary also notes that "during the Civil War he was Government Cotton Agent, and rendered the government such valuable services that President Lincoln resisted all the political pressure which had been exerted to secure his removal on account of his Democratic affiliations."¹⁶⁷

Thomas Truesdell had six siblings, including John Truesdell, who was born July 25, 1786 in Woodstock, Connecticut, and died on May 17, 1860 in East Killingly, Connecticut. In 1816, John Truesdell designed the Matthew Bowen Homestead in Woodstock, Connecticut. This house is listed on the National Register of Historic Places and was owned after Matthew Bowen's death by Henry C. Bowen. (The property passed to Colonel Matthew Bowen, Matthew Brown's

son, and his son Andrew Williams Bowen, who sold it to Henry C. Bowen, his cousin.) As described above, Henry C. Bowen founded Plymouth Church in Brooklyn Heights. Henry C. Bowen also worked for Arthur and Lewis Tappan; married Lucy Tappan, one of the daughters of Lewis Tappan; founded and edited *The Independent*; financed the establishment of the *Brooklyn Union* as a Republican newspaper, and lived on Hicks and Willow Streets in Brooklyn Heights.¹⁶⁸ Henry Bowen's sister Amelia was a corresponding member from Woodstock, Connecticut to the Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women, which was also attended by Harriet Truesdell.

In Windham County, Connecticut three adjoining villages—Pomfret, Woodstock, and Brooklyn—were the home of Bowens, Truesdells, and Bensons, as well as several prominent abolitionists. Helen Eliza Benson of Brooklyn, Connecticut married William Lloyd Garrison in 1834. William Lloyd Garrison was heavily involved with Reverend Samuel J. May—who also resided in Brooklyn, Connecticut—in the 1831-1834 struggles over Prudence Crandall's school for African American girls in Canterbury, Connecticut, which neighbors Brooklyn.¹⁶⁹ Individuals such as Reverend May and Reverend Simeon Jocelyn (of New Haven, Connecticut) were key figures in linking the activities of New England and mid-Atlantic abolitionists and their organizations, which were important to facilitating the interregional network that assisted freedom seekers and anti-slavery action. Reverends May and Jocelyn also helped tie Lewis and Arthur Tappan to national abolitionist campaigns; for instance, Reverend Jocelyn appeared with Arthur Tappan and William Lloyd Garrison at the 1831 National Negro Convention in Philadelphia.¹⁷⁰ Reverend Jocelyn also was the pastor of the First Congregational Church in Williamsburg, Brooklyn from the mid-1840s until his death in 1879.¹⁷¹

The submitted source *Amazing Women of the Civil War* references a Colonel William Truesdail, who was the Chief of Army Police for the Army of the Cumberland. The online Truesdell genealogy lists a William Truesdail who was born in 1815 in Chautauqua County, New York, and died in 1868 in Bunker Hill, Illinois, as this individual. Going back several generations, no direct connections could be established to Thomas Truesdell. Therefore, the relationship between the two individuals appears to be very distant.

PRO-SLAVERY SOCIETIES OR SOUTHERN SYMPATHIZERS

The *New York Times* and *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* online databases did not turn up any relevant information on the Democratic Vigilant Association, New York Kidnapping Club, Pine Street Club, 'slave catchers', 'blackbirders', southern sympathizers, or other similar search terms related to known pro-slavery sentiments. *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898* mentions several members of the New York Kidnapping Club, but none of the names match any of the known owners or residents of Duffield Street or Gold Street.

A Gideon Mapes, who might be the same person as "Gideon Mapes," the owner of 225 Duffield Street from 1866 through 1867, signed a petition published in the *New York Times* on December 15, 1859. The petition stated that "the undersigned, regarding with just abhorrence the crimes of John Brown and his confederates, desire to unite with our fellow-citizens of New York and vicinity in a public and formal denunciation of that and all similar outrages." There is only one listing for a Gideon Mapes in the Brooklyn city directories from 1848-1871. Therefore, it is presumed that this listing is a match. The signing of the petition and the rejection of John Brown's raid is not the same as a pro-slavery endorsement, however, and this name match is not

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considered to provide significant information in regard to potential Underground Railroad activities.

CASES OF FREEDOM SEEKERS

The index listings for Kings County court hearings, minutes, determinations, etc. at the New York City Municipal Archives for the 1830s and 1840s and through the 1860s were reviewed, but did not turn up any cases relevant to the Duffield and Gold Street buildings, residents, or owners. The New York Department of Records and Information Services (DORIS) database has court records from 1830-1857, but had no references to fugitive slave cases. The New York State Archives' trial transcripts end in 1847, before the date of construction of the Duffield and Gold Street buildings. *African American Slave Narratives: An Anthology* was reviewed and a few narratives were found which mention staying in Brooklyn and being helped by or meeting noted New York City abolitionists, but these do not include any description of people they stayed with or addresses. Also reviewed were "Documenting the American South," a website that indexes slave narratives; *Slavery and the Law*; *The Slave Catchers: Enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law*, which contains an appendix with a list of known fugitive slave cases from 1850-1860; an article entitled "The Chronicles of Kidnapping in New York: Resistance to the Fugitive Slave Law, 1834-1835" in the journal *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History*; and *Judicial Cases Concerning American Slavery and the Negro*, but found no matches with any of the known owners' or residents' names or Duffield or Gold Street. Searches of the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* online database found no relevant references to escaped or fugitive slaves. The Library of Congress has indicated that there are no unpublished slave diaries in their collection.

E. ORAL TRADITION

Oral Traditions and Beyond: A Guide to Documenting the Underground Railroad provides a helpful definition of oral tradition:

Oral tradition, sometimes called folk history or community memory, is part of traditional cultural patterns that have been passed from one generation to another. While oral traditions can be based on events that actually occurred, they can also be based on practices that have been accepted by people over time. ... Because they often convey the sentiment of a community—its wishes and dreams—oral traditions associated with the Underground Railroad reflect how the community wants people to recognize not only the actions of those in the past but also the values of present-day residents.¹⁷²

There is a fair amount of debate regarding how much faith to place in the historical accuracy of oral traditions, and how oral traditions should be weighed against other sources of information. Therefore, as discussed in *Oral Traditions and Beyond*, when evaluating an oral tradition that relates to the Underground Railroad, it is important to consider whether the story was recorded or told by someone directly involved in the Underground Railroad; whether the author was physically, mentally, and emotionally able to see and know what happened; what purpose(s) the narrator may have had in recording the story, and what audience(s) he/she was addressing; and how many years elapsed between the original event and the time the story was recorded. As much as possible, an oral tradition should be corroborated with more than one source.

POTENTIAL SOURCES OF ORAL TRADITIONS

Carlvin Smith (also referred to as Carl or Calvin), the source of one potential oral tradition relating to the historical use of 233 Duffield Street (see discussions above and below) was researched using Cole's Metropolitan Householders Directory for Brooklyn (1971-1981 and 1983-1997), and New York City telephone directories from 1971-1975 and 1985-1993. There were no listings for a person with the last name of Smith or Joker Jewelry at 233 Duffield Street in any of the directories. In 1973-1974, there was a listing for "Merchant of OYO African Jewelry" at 233 Duffield Street; however, there were no other jewelry stores noted on Duffield Street in any of the other directories. As noted above, the records for the social security number provided indicate that a Carl S. Smith was born on April 13, 1961 and died August 30, 1996 at the age of 35. Therefore, it is considered unlikely that this number is a match for a Carl/Calvin Smith who would have owned a jewelry store on Duffield Street in the 1980s. Additional information provided on Carlvin Smith in the interviews conducted in January 2006 is described below. Subsequent to the oral tradition collection interviews, letter requests to Reverend Herbert Daughtry of the House of the Lord Church and to Ali Lamont were submitted requesting additional information on Carlvin Smith and Georgia Ware, his mother. A response to these letters will be acted upon if received.

Another potential source of oral tradition was identified and contacted: Paul E. Truesdell, Jr.—the great-grandson of Thomas Truesdell and his second wife, Janet Margery Gunn—who is active in researching his family's genealogy. To Mr. Truesdell's knowledge, there are no family oral traditions regarding the Truesdell family's potential involvement in the Underground Railroad.¹⁷³

Oral tradition outreach letters were sent to the following churches on September 17, 2004: Bridge Street AWME Church, Brooklyn Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Concord Baptist Church, Old First Reform Church, First Presbyterian Church of Brooklyn, Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian Church, Mother Zion AME Church, Plymouth Church of the Pilgrims, St. Ann and the Holy Trinity Church, St. James Cathedral-Basilica, St. Charles Borromeo Roman Catholic Church, St. Peter St. Paul Our Lady of Pilar Church, and Siloam Presbyterian Church. The letters requested assistance from the pastors of the churches in reaching out to their staff and parishioners, as well as participants of any senior citizens programs the churches may operate, to inform them of this effort, as parishioners may have oral traditions relating to the potential Underground Railroad use of the Duffield Street and Gold Street properties. On the same date, the oral tradition outreach letter was also sent to the Society of Old Brooklynites, a civic society founded in 1880 to promote and commemorate Brooklyn history.

The Reverend Daniel Meeter from the Old First Reformed Church responded to the letter. Reverend Meeter stated that the congregants of his church at the time were, unfortunately, slave-holding advocates, and the Dutch Reformed Church was the last slave-holding congregation in New York. In addition, the membership of the church had changed completely over the years with its move from Downtown Brooklyn and near-closure in the 1970s. Therefore, he believed that the congregation would have no relevant oral traditions relating to the Underground Railroad and the Duffield Street and Gold Street properties. As described above, the clerk of the History Committee of the Brooklyn Monthly Meeting also responded to say that they were unaware of any oral traditions concerning Brooklyn Quakers and the Underground Railroad. The Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary responded that no one was available to

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provide information on the oral tradition request. No other responses have been received thus far from the churches.

At the suggestion of peer reviewer Andrew Jackson, oral tradition outreach letters were also sent to Brooklyn and alumni/ae chapters of African American fraternities and sororities. The letters requested assistance in reaching out to the Brooklyn-based alumni/ae of the fraternities and sororities, since alumnae who grew up in the Downtown Brooklyn area could have oral traditions relating to the potential Underground Railroad use of the Duffield Street and Gold Street properties. Letters were sent to the following chapters on October 7, 2004: Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, Alpha Mu Chapter; Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Brooklyn Alumnae Chapter; Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity, Long Island University (Brooklyn Campus) Chapter; Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity, Alpha Alpha Phi Chapter, Beta Lambda Chapter, Kappa Beta Sigma Chapter, and Long Island University (Brooklyn Campus) Chapter; Sigma Gamma Rho Sorority, Eta Nu Sigma Chapter and Kappa Epsilon Chapter; and Zeta Phi Beta Sorority, Brooklyn College Chapter and Delta Alpha Zeta Chapter. No responses have been received thus far from the fraternities or sororities. Two of the outreach letters were returned by the United States Postal Service as unable to forward; attempts to find alternate addresses for these chapters were not successful.

ORAL TRADITION COLLECTION EFFORT

The oral tradition collection effort began by searching for an oral historian who could interview the potential sources of oral tradition, make transcripts of those interviews, and determine what information, if any, should be followed up on from the interviews. Recommendations of qualified oral historians were sought from the peer reviewers, Arizona State University's Public History Program, Brooklyn Historical Society, CityLore, New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission, New-York Historical Society, the Public History and History Programs at New York University, Oral History Association, the Oral History Research Office at Columbia University, and the Society for the Preservation of Weeksville and Bedford-Stuyvesant History. An oral historian, Jennifer Scott, was selected in late September 2004. Ms. Scott was unable to set up interviews with the property owners in October 2004, and had to end her participation in the oral tradition collection effort at the end of October 2004 because of academic commitments. A second oral historian team, Kemile Jackson and Professor Philip Napoli of Brooklyn College, was selected in late November 2004. The curriculum vitae of the oral historians are provided as Appendix G of this report.

Ms. Jackson and Professor Napoli began communicating with the property owners in December 2004 to introduce themselves and set up interviews. A series of health issues initially prevented the property owners from meeting with the oral historians. Although several introductory meetings and a number of telephone calls were conducted, the property owners were reluctant to accept the professional qualifications of Ms. Jackson and Professor Napoli or participate in the oral history collection effort. Ultimately, the property owners did not commit to participation and Ms. Jackson and Professor Napoli were unable to set up any interviews, with one exception. One individual was interviewed by Kemile Jackson in February 2005. Because of academic commitments, Ms. Jackson and Professor Napoli had to conclude their participation in the oral tradition collection effort at the end of May 2005.

During Ms. Jackson and Professor Napoli's participation on the oral tradition collection effort, several individuals were suggested by the property owners or others as potential interview

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subjects, as they might have knowledge of the historical uses of the subject properties. These individuals included Bishop Queen Mother Jordan, Dr. Amos Jordan, Garland Roberts, Robert Patterson, and several others who were ultimately interviewed by Dr. Delores Walters (see discussion below). As discussed above, Bishop Queen Mother Jordan—a member of the Society of Old Brooklynites—is reported to remember playing in the subcellar spaces of the subject properties as a child and hearing rumors of the buildings' Underground Railroad connection. Garland Roberts is a member of the Society of Old Brooklynites. Ms. Jordan and Mr. Roberts declined to be interviewed or participate in the oral history collection effort. Dr. Amos Jordan declined to be interviewed due to ill health. Robert Patterson, who is working on a study of the Bridge Street AWME Church and its potential links to an African American village near the church, expressed interest in participating in a group interview with the property owners; however, because the property owners did not commit to participation in the oral history collection effort during the involvement of Ms. Jackson and Professor Napoli, this interview did not take place.

In August 2005, the decision was made by the City to re-open the oral tradition collection effort. Recommendations of qualified oral historians were sought from the peer reviewers, as well as the following organizations or institutions: African-American Genealogy Group; African American Museum of Philadelphia; American Anthropological Association; American Ethnological Society; the Center for Oral History at the University of Connecticut; the Center for Oral History and Cultural Heritage at the University of Southern Mississippi; the Center for Studies in Oral Tradition at the University of Missouri; the Center for the Study of History and Memory at Indiana University; CityLore; the Harry T. Williams Center for Oral History at Louisiana State University; Heritage New York; Howard University; the Institute for Oral History at Baylor University; Legacy Program; New York University; Oral History Association; Oral History in the Mid-Atlantic Region; the Oral History Program at California State University, Long Beach; the Oral History Program at the University of Kentucky; the Oral History Research Office at Columbia University; the Port Washington Public Library Oral History Program; the Southern Oral History Program at the University of North Carolina; and the William Still Underground Railroad Foundation. Based on this outreach, as well as the input of the property owners of 227 and 233 Duffield Street, a third oral historian—Dr. Delores Walters of the National Underground Railroad Freedom Center in Ohio—was selected in October 2005. Dr. Walters' curriculum vita is provided in Appendix G.

Dr. Delores Walters met with the property owners of 227 and 233 Duffield Street in early November 2005, to discuss the oral tradition collection effort. In late December 2005 and early January 2006, Dr. Walters conducted seven interviews. Some of the information from these interviews, as well as the interview conducted in February 2005, that is relevant to the history of the Underground Railroad in Brooklyn is provided below. Any documentary research conducted to corroborate specific points of information is also provided. As approval of the transcripts of these interviews has not been obtained, we are unable to provide a copy of the same, or the names of those individuals who were interviewed.

As discussed above, Jason Donegan, the property owner of 231 Duffield Street, also expressed interested in providing information for this report; however, he was unable to be interviewed in person by Dr. Walters. Dr. Walters submitted a list of the questions that would have been covered in an interview to Mr. Donegan in a letter dated January 9, 2006. Mr. Donegan's response to these questions, which was received in a letter dated April 14, 2006, is summarized below and provided in Appendix H.

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A log of the contacts made during the searches for oral historians and the oral tradition collection effort is provided as Appendix I.

Below is a summary of the material obtained during the oral tradition collection effort.

GENERAL HISTORY AND COMMENTARY

An overview of the Underground Railroad was provided, including the role of the northern states, the Ohio River Valley, and water courses in the escapes of freedom seekers. It was noted that while the Underground Railroad history of other parts of the country is well documented, New York City's role has been largely omitted. The opinion was noted that this is because the histories of the Underground Railroad were primarily written by white abolitionists, and that New York City was dominated by African American abolitionists. It was noted that the Underground Railroad was pervasive in New York City for African Americans, and that Underground Railroad activity increased after passage of the Fugitive Slave Law in 1850. One estimated, based on research, was that 30,000 African Americans who escaped from slavery passed through New York City, and some of them stayed in New York City and achieved sanctuary for a time.

The area from the Bridge Street AWME Church (at 309 Bridge Street) down to the Brooklyn Navy Yard and the waterfront was an African village in the 19th century. This area formed an important Underground Railroad corridor, and there were a number of property-owning abolitionists who lived in the area. Bridge Street was so named because a small wooden bridge was built from the African village to the Navy Yard. In the 19th century, free African Americans and whites crossed the water to go uptown to the churches in Manhattan. As the African American population of Brooklyn grew and prospered, they built their own churches in Brooklyn and further inland. After 1827, the churches and African American residents of Downtown Brooklyn began to migrate to central Brooklyn.

Another opinion stated was that the proximity of Downtown Brooklyn to African American and abolitionist churches, as well as businesses that could employ African Americans (the Navy Yard, a tannery located on Stanton Street, and other waterfront industries) created an environment that supported Underground Railroad activity. The opinion that Brooklyn was more of a transit point and sanctuary for freedom seekers than Manhattan, which was full of slave catchers, was also noted. The Long Island Sound provided a route from lower Manhattan into lower Brooklyn; it also presented a transit point for escapes into Connecticut. The main road going out to Long Island ran half a block past the houses on Duffield Street. Villages in what are now the neighborhoods of Crown Heights and Bedford provided sanctuaries for freedom seekers. Downtown Brooklyn and the Duffield Street area was the beginning of the Underground Railroad route. It was also stated that there were also white abolitionists that assisted in the effort, and that there is no such thing as a pacifist (meaning passive) abolitionist.

The story was related of a freedom seeker from South Carolina, named Samuel Carson, an ancestor of Sonny Carson, who joined the Navy and was buried in the Brooklyn Navy Yard. Samuel Carson's remains were later taken back to Ghana. Sonny Carson discovered the history of his ancestor, and his wife might be able to provide more information. The story of Samuel Carson suggests to the interviewee that this area of Brooklyn was a safe haven. Brooklyn had the largest African population in the country; there were wide open spaces for various activities to occur; and there were employment opportunities for African Americans. The history of James Forten was described. Forten was a Revolutionary War prisoner on the British prison ships, who

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later became a wealthy man and financed the abolitionist movement, Absolom Jones, the Bridge Street AWME Church, and the Episcopal church (no name provided). James Forten was also instrumental in setting up the anti-colonization movement.

One individual helped to fund the Weeksville project spearheaded by Willie Jones. As they began to conduct research on Weeksville, they became aware of the Underground Railroad, and began to chart the travels of freedom seekers from Downtown Brooklyn. Other recollections of area history mentioned included the Manumission Society, which was reported to be responsible for providing the first public education for manumitted Blacks in New York City; John Russworm, who edited *Freedom's Journal*; a black female spy ("Madame X") who warned George Washington that his troops were about to be attacked; and A&S (Abraham & Strauss) Department Store, as the first corporation to give bonuses to veterans after the Civil War. It was also noted that African Americans could live as free people in New York, which had abolished slavery in 1827. Elsie Richardson, Joan Maynard, Nina Garland, and Adelaide Sanford as individuals, in addition to Willie Jones, were noted as individuals who were important (in the 20th century) in inspiring and helping people to look into and preserve their history.

One individual has researched Brooklyn city directories from 1823 to 1860, to collect the names of all African Americans as far south as the Gowanus, as well as the names of everyone who lived on Duffield Street and Stanton Street. During that research, the individual found that there were no African Americans living south of Myrtle Avenue or on Bridge, Duffield, or Gold Streets, but there were African Americans living on Hoyt Street. Based on this research, it was noted that there were approximately 7,000 to 8,000 African Americans in Brooklyn in 1850, but only half that number in 1855. This information was interpreted to mean that after passage of the Fugitive Slave Law, it was necessary for African Americans to escape from New York.

Another individual examined documents at the Long Island Historical Society (which changes its name to the Brooklyn Historical Society in 1985) with Willie Jones. They reviewed ship logs which revealed that the first African Americans who landed in United States ports, including Brooklyn, came from Angola. The documents are no longer available at the Brooklyn Historical Society, and the individual doesn't know where they went. In addition, the routes of freedom seekers at St. Francis College were studied with Willie Jones. Blueprints were consulted that indicated the addresses of buildings on Duffield Street and Washington Avenue, as well as churches, that aided in escape strategies. It was noted that these documents should be in the Hall of Records. There were also reportedly records that identified an individual as an abolitionist; newspaper articles from the 1830s and 1840s of ships' arrivals, impending slave auctions, and the sales of other commodities; property deeds; and shipping manifests. The individual doesn't know where these documents are at present; however, he/she has some of the documents from the research with Willie Jones, has access to other individuals who may have more, and thought that the information might be organized by March. It was suggested that Christopher Moore should be interviewed for more information on oral traditions regarding freedom seekers being supported by the white community, and that advertisements in local newspapers for escaped slaves, as well as church records, are fertile areas for further research. It was also suggested that funding be made available to the individuals researching the connection of Duffield Street to the Underground Railroad.

The opinion was noted that the African American history of Brooklyn, including the history of the Underground Railroad, has never been truly told or documented; that historically, the city has always covered up historically significant areas; and that it doesn't matter how much is

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proved regarding the Underground Railroad significance of the subject properties, because it is being proved to people who are bent on privatizing the city, which means that nothing is significant over dollars. It was also stated that an investigation of the area has revealed that the buildings on Duffield Street and the surrounding area are historically endowed dating back to the American Revolution; however, they have been neglected, bypassed, and disavowed as far as their historical enrichment is concerned.

Corroboration with Documentary Research

Letter requests have been sent to share the database of information on African Americans from the Brooklyn city directories, and research documents that relate to the Underground Railroad. Any relevant forthcoming information will be provided as an addendum to this report.

Christopher Moore, of the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, has been contacted previously as part of this research effort. After an individual suggested that he should be contacted for information on oral traditions regarding freedom seekers being supported by the white community he was contacted again. Mr. Moore responded that he did not have any additional information to contribute about the subject properties. However, Mr. Moore noted that he has collected a substantial amount of documentation about the Underground Railroad in Brooklyn. A letter requesting information about this research was submitted to Mr. Moore, and any resulting relevant information will be included as an addendum to the final report.

According to Marilyn Pettit, peer reviewer and Vice President for Collections of the Brooklyn Historical Society, the document collection of St. Francis College was known as the Father James A. Kelly Institute for Local Historical Studies. The Kelly Institute was surveyed by the New York State Historical Documents Inventory Project in 1986-1987. The Research Libraries Information Network (RLIN) database records of that survey list the following collections: City surveyor's street opening maps (1750-1920); Kings County and City of Brooklyn records (1787-1923); Kings County Clerk mortgage foreclosures (1857-1897); Kings County old town records (1645-1920); Kings County profile maps (1892-1895), Kings County estate documents (1790-1869), Kings County Office of the Corporation Counsel, photographs (1930-1949); Williamsburg city and village records; St. Francis College archives; Brooklyn-Queens transit line unification materials (1939); and Brooklyn Fire Department records (1825-1940).

The Kelly Institute collection was later donated to Brooklyn College, the Municipal Archives, and the Brooklyn Historical Society. A set of indices to the Kelly Institute materials formerly, or still, in its collection was requested of the St. Francis College Library; however, a representative of the library has stated that they have not been able to identify any index to the Kelly Institute materials, and that the library does not appear to have any portion of the former collection still in its holdings..

Brooklyn College received the following portions of the Kelly Institute collection, ca. 1988: local history files and the Rooney, Keogh and Conklin Papers. A representative of Brooklyn College reviewed their holdings and did not identify any of the materials noted by the interviewees. The Municipal Archives received the Kings County town records portion of the collection, which includes 17th and 18th century records from the towns of Brooklyn, Bushwick, Flatbush, Flatlands, Gravesend, New Lots, New Utrecht, and Williamsburgh. The only records for the town of Brooklyn are: town meeting minutes, 1785-1823; town meeting books, 1785-1823; and court and road records, 1692-1825; therefore, none of the materials noted by the interviewees were identified.

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The Brooklyn Firefighting Collection portion of the Kelly Institute collection was donated to the Brooklyn Historical Society in 1989. These records were integrated with similar records already at the Brooklyn Historical Society, and a new inventory was created, which can be viewed on the Society's website. Before it was determined where the balance of the Kelly Institute collection was sent, AKRF examined a portion of the Society's unprocessed materials to determine whether any materials (other than the Brooklyn Firefighting Collection) from the Kelly Institute collection were transferred to the Society. No materials from the Kelly Institute collection were identified.

BRIDGE STREET AWME CHURCH

An individual went with Willie Jones to the basement of the former Bridge Street AWME Church, where they saw etchings and carvings in the wall. Willie Jones reportedly conducted research on the church in order to assist the effort to designate it as a historic landmark, after Polytechnic Institute (now Polytechnic University) purchased the building in 1968 and was planning to tear it down. Mr. Jones brought the information to the pastor of the Bridge Street AWME Church at some time in the 1970s. Willie Jones and another individual reviewed documents at St. Francis College regarding the history of the church. The documents reviewed are no longer available at St. Francis College; the individual doesn't know where they went.

The historian of the Bridge Street AWME Church has retired and moved to the West Indies. Dr. Amos Jordan, the assistant historian of the church, is almost 90 years old. Robert Patterson and another individual have been asking Dr. Jordan to give them information on the church's records. Linda Davidson, head of the church's historical committee, might also be of assistance. About five members remain from the original Bridge Street AWME Church, one who is 106 years old and is in a nursing home. This individual intends to provide more information on the members.

Corroboration with Documentary Research

The on-site membership records of the Bridge Street AWME Church date from the early 20th century, mostly 1908-1915. Any relevant forthcoming information from Linda Davidson or from interviewees regarding the church's records or original members will be provided as an addendum to this report.

OTHER LOCAL CHURCHES

The original Zion Shiloh Church reportedly was called First Baptist of Brooklyn, but the name of the church was changed under Reverend Lauten. It was also noted that the Truesdell family belonged to Zion Shiloh Church, and that this was an abolitionist church. An individual is trying to obtain records from the church. It was also noted that the Truesdells were members of the Plymouth Church congregation. One opinion was that Charles Frederickson and Thomas Truesdell's type of occupation, as cotton brokers, allowed them great cover for Underground Railroad activities as well as the ability to travel.

An individual is working at Plymouth Church to create an electronic database of its membership records, which would be used to cross-reference the Plymouth Church membership records with the Brooklyn city directory and develop a scattergram to show where Plymouth Church members lived in Brooklyn, as well as what churches the members left to join. Records up to members with a last name starting with N have been reviewed. The individual has found a lot of

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members that left Plymouth Church for other Congregational churches, AME churches, and Baptist churches, as well as two cases of members who left Plymouth Church for the Elm Street Congregational Church. The individual is also trying to identify whether any residents of Duffield Street were members of Plymouth Church; however, none have yet been found.

Willie Jones and another individual found that Berean Missionary Baptist Church, which is located approximately two blocks from Weeksville, was used as a safe house. It was stated that in order to reach Berean Missionary Baptist Church, freedom seekers had to come from the water through Duffield Street, to Myrtle Avenue and Willoughby Street, to Washington Avenue, and then on to Weeksville. After Weeksville, freedom seekers would continue north to Canada. It was suggested that Weeksville may have some records regarding the Underground Railroad and escape routes in Brooklyn.

It was stated that churches located in Downtown Brooklyn, including Siloam Presbyterian Church and the Bridge Street AWME Church, provided refuge to freedom seekers. Churches were always a safe haven for freedom seekers; where you found churches, you found Underground Railroad activity, which is why African Americans were in this area. It was also stated that the owners of the subject properties collaborated with the churches in support of freedom seekers.

One individual remembered reading about a Catholic church, named "Charity," possibly on St. Mark's Avenue or Dean Street, that was involved with the Underground Railroad. In addition, the original location of the Fleet Street Methodist Episcopal Church was considered to be significant, as it is presumed to have had an African American congregation. One individual indicated that he/she would be able to provide the names of persons connected to Siloam Presbyterian Church who could relate the oral history of that church.

Corroboration with Documentary Research

The history of the Zion Shiloh Baptist Church building is described earlier in this report. As noted above, it does not appear that the Zion Shiloh Baptist Church dates from the period of significance, although the building in which it was located was built during that period. It is possible that the noted reference is to a connection with the original congregation of the Zion Shiloh Baptist Church, which was Presbyterian, potentially the First Reformed Presbyterian Church. However, research conducted to date has not uncovered any potential church memberships for the Truesdell family, other than the marriage of Mary Truesdell and Charles Frederickson by Reverend E.E.L. Taylor, pastor of the Pierrepont Street Baptist Church. Research conducted to date has not uncovered any reference to a connection of the Truesdell family with the Plymouth Church. A letter request has been sent for documentation of such connection, and any relevant forthcoming information will be provided as an addendum to this report. In addition, any relevant forthcoming information from individuals regarding the results of outreach to the Zion Shiloh Baptist Church for membership records will be provided as an addendum to this report.

No matches with the names of the owners and residents of the Duffield Street and Gold Street buildings have been identified in the reviewed membership records relating to the Fleet Street Methodist Episcopal Church. A letter request has been sent to for the names of any persons connected to Siloam Presbyterian Church who could relate oral traditions connecting the church to owners or residents of the subject properties during the period of significance. Any relevant forthcoming information will be acted upon. The Society for the Preservation of Weeksville &

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Bedford-Stuyvesant History has been contacted previously regarding records of the Underground Railroad and escape routes in Brooklyn. Another letter request for information to the Society has been submitted, and any forthcoming relevant information will be provided as an addendum to this report.

No Elm Street Congregational Church has been identified in Brooklyn or Manhattan; however, there was at one time an Elm Place Congregational Church in Brooklyn. It was organized in 1854, and a building on Elm Place near Fulton Street was constructed in 1864. The church merged with the State Street Congregational Church in 1875 to become the Union Congregational Church. The church building burned down in 1880, and there is no record that it was replaced. There is also an Elm Street Congregational Church in Southbridge, Massachusetts; it is possible that this could be the referenced church.

There is a Catholic church named Our Lady of Charity, located at 1669 Dean Street, near Weeksville. The church earlier served an Italian parish and was established in 1903. According to the indexed online records of the New York City Department of Buildings, a new building permit for this lot was issued in 1914. Therefore, it is assumed that the current structure dates from 1914, and that the church itself post-dates the Civil War.

Berean Missionary Baptist Church was not previously researched because of its distance from the Downtown Brooklyn location of the subject properties. It is not included in the New York State Freedom Trail Program Study's list of identified Underground Railroad properties, or the National Underground Railroad Network to Freedom program. However, a letter request to the Berean Baptist Church has been sent regarding any information they might have on the church's relationship to the Underground Railroad, and any relevant followup information will be provided as an addendum to this report. The following description of the church is taken from Clarence Taylor's *The Black Churches of Brooklyn* and the website of the Society for the Preservation of Weeksville & Bedford-Stuyvesant History. The Berean Missionary Baptist Church was organized in 1851, and the original church building was constructed on Warren Street (now Prospect Place). The church was initially racially integrated, but became the second black Baptist church in Brooklyn when its white membership abandoned the church in the early 1850s. Reverend Simon Bundick, a former pastor of Concord Baptist Church, was the first African American pastor of the church. An undated booklet about the church's history entitled *The Little Church on the Hill* notes that church members supported efforts to gain voting rights for African Americans, to assist freedom seekers from the South, and to help those fleeing from the 1863 draft riots in New York City. The church was located on Prospect Place between Utica and Rochester Avenues ca. 1880; its building at this location was destroyed by fire ca. 1899-1900. The church built a new brick structure on Bergen Street between Utica and Rochester Avenues, its present location, in 1894. By 1961, a new edifice was built to accommodate the growing congregation under the leadership of Reverend Hylton L. James.

DUFFIELD FAMILY

It was noted that the Duffield family was sympathetic to the abolitionist movement.

Corroboration with Documentary Research

No potential abolitionist or Underground Railroad connections have been established for John Duffield or his daughters Susan Lawrence and Anna Prince, who owned the subject land before the subject properties were developed.

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PETER AND MARY HAWES

Jason Donegan stated in his written response that he is aware of two residents, Peter and Mary Hawes, who were abolitionists and members of Plymouth Church in Brooklyn Heights. Mr. Donegan found information on their residency through the Plymouth Church registry; he also researched the New York census. Peter Hawes' occupation was a merchant. Mr. Donegan stated that Peter Hawes had access to ships going up the eastern seaboard to Canada, and would ship escaped slaves to freedom to Canada. This was made known to Mr. Donegan through neighbors who are now deceased, and by Albert and Vera Chatel, former residents of 227 Duffield Street.

Corroboration with Documentary Research.

As noted above, Peter A. and Mary M. Hawes resided at 231 Duffield Street ca. 1854-1857, and are presumed to have been members of Plymouth Church from March 1860 to February 1872. However, their involvement with the church postdates their tenancy of 231 Duffield Street, and research conducted to date has identified no evidence of involvement with the church or abolitionist activities during their tenancy on Duffield Street.

WILLIAM HARNED

Albert Chatel told individuals about an abolitionist and Underground Railroad conductor who lived on Duffield Street, by the last name of Harden (correct spelling is Harned). It was learned later that the first name of Mr. Harden (Harned) was William. William Harned, who lived at one time on Duffield Street one block north of the subject properties, was noted as a strong abolitionist who sheltered a number of freedom seekers on their way to Canada, and freedom seekers were reportedly harbored by William Harned in the basements of houses in the area. In addition, Fred Laverpool reportedly stated at one time that during the draft riots, a big meeting of abolitionists occurred at William Harned's house that included the Tappans and Henry C. Bowen. The purpose of the meeting was to find safe havens for people fleeing Manhattan.

Corroboration with Documentary Research

William Harned's documented abolitionist and Underground Railroad associations are described earlier in this report. Since Mr. Harned moved to Delaware in 1853 and died in 1854, it is not considered possible that a meeting of abolitionists at Mr. Harned's residence occurred during the New York City draft riots of 1863.¹⁷⁴

DUFFIELD STREET BUILDINGS—GENERAL

It was noted that the construction techniques of the buildings lent themselves to providing hiding places for freedom seekers, suggesting that there was a collaboration with the builders of the properties. It was also stated that abolitionists lived in the subject properties; that it makes sense in terms of the specific details of the structure of the houses and their basements. The opinion was stated that if the buildings were built or owned and built by abolitionists and abolitionist sympathizers, they would have had certain structural aspects in mind when they built them, such as the way they built the basements, to create features that were conducive to either temporary sanctuary and or a fast escape. It was also stated that the coal bins in the subject properties could have served a different purpose, and that if people went into the cellars on Duffield Street they would be able to see quite a few things. At some point in the past, an individual went through the basements of some of the buildings on Duffield Street and saw tunnels and chains hanging on

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the walls. It was also stated that there were tunnels on Washington Avenue and on Duffield Street to aid freedom seekers in exiting the Downtown Brooklyn area, and that the tunnels on Washington Avenue still exist.

One individual noted that there is a tunnel that runs from Gold Street around the front of the welfare building and then down Duffield Street. In 2003, contractors who had reportedly excavated a section of the tunnel near 225 Duffield Street were described as afraid that they had destroyed part of the tunnel and that there would be a collapse in the sidewalk, so they put a 16-foot oil tank in the excavated area, then replaced the sidewalk. Lee Anisowicz, one of the property owners of 233 Duffield Street, was reported to have reviewed maps and found that there was a right of way for a trolley that ran down Willoughby Street.

Stone steps into the basement of 227 Duffield Street were reportedly created at some point through/from a tunnel. In the basement of 227 Duffield Street, the walls are made of flagstone except for one area where there is an arch, within which there is a large rock. One individual believes that somebody from inside the tunnel pushed the rock into the wall to create a removable access point into the tunnel. At some point after January 2004, individuals toured the basement of 227 Duffield Street to look at similarities between that building and 233 Duffield Street. Touring the basements made one individual sensitive to their Underground Railroad history. During the same tour, they went into the basement of 223 Duffield Street, where they saw an arch that led down to a shaft approximately 20 feet long and 6 feet high. At the end of the shaft were cinder blocks as well as a chain wrapped around some blocks. It was stated that the owner of 223 Duffield Street, who now lives in Florida (identified elsewhere as Avery) had been contacted. The owner is reported to have thought that the tunnel was part of the transit system, and that it was the size of a railroad tunnel. He was reportedly afraid that subway workers were going to come into his building via the tunnel, so he blocked it up with a board, chain, and cinder blocks. Avery is also reported to have said that in the back of 223 Duffield Street there was an underground tunnel that led out into a parking lot.

One individual reportedly once saw a large piece of oil cloth under the fire escape of 233 Duffield Street. Beneath the oil cloth was a series of boards that were nailed together on a hinge, and beneath the boards was a deep shaft with a steep ladder or steps. It was also noted that the basement of 231 Duffield Street has a double wall with a wide, 3'-4' chamber running the length of the building. This wall was reportedly a connection between 231 and 233 Duffield Street, and was filled with sand when the porch was added on and to close the front piece, sometime before 1954. Jackie Lamont reportedly said that Calvin Smith (see discussion below) said he saw an archway with an opening that led from 233 to 235 Duffield Street. It was noted that this connection must have been filled in with sand. A feature in the subbasement of 233 Duffield Street was uncovered that people (no names provided) have reportedly identified as a capped well.

In 1991 Fred Laverpool reportedly visited 227 Duffield Street and said that it was part of the Underground Railroad. Mr. Laverpool also reportedly talked about Thomas and Harriet Lee Truesdell, and said that abolitionists lived all up and down Duffield Street. Mr. Laverpool is also reported to have written a paper, which was submitted to the planning board, that discussed the area and the likelihood it was an Underground Railroad site. The paper laid out the criteria that an Underground Railroad site would have to meet, including proximity to African American churches, waterways, and areas where African Americans could have been employed. Another paper by Mr. Laverpool was referenced that discussed these criteria. It was noted that the

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Duffield Street area met these criteria, including its proximity to the Brooklyn Navy Yard and Plymouth Church, Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian Church; that a (sensitive) corridor that included Duffield Street, bounded by Fulton Street on the south and Nassau Street on the north, passed very close to waterways.

Another member of the community, Brother Hadari, reportedly said that a famous abolitionist had lived in 227 Duffield Street and that his wife was very active. One individual also noted that he/she knows that some of the people who lived in the subject properties were involved in the Brooklyn branch of the New York City Vigilance Committees.

Jason Donegan, a professional psychic who previously worked at the Scotch Tea Room at 233 Duffield Street and currently works at Jason's Psychic-CJ Tea Room at 231 Duffield Street, serviced many members of the African American community who knew that Duffield Street was part of the Underground Railroad. Jason Donegan also stated in his written response that it was a fact, not potential, that the subject buildings on Duffield Street have been used for the Underground Railroad. This has been passed down through the years through property owners. In Mr. Donegan's case, this was passed down through Albert and Vera Chatel (see discussion below).

Corroboration with Documentary Research

No chains, tunnels, or artifacts such as coal stoves or cauldrons were observed during the 2004 site visits of 223, 225, 227, 233, and 235 Duffield Street and 436 Gold Street. The analysis of the extant features of the buildings' basements and subbasements is described above. There is a similar "double wall" construction filled with sand beneath the Merchant's House Museum on West 4th St. This is not an uncommon building practice, usually found on the end of the "long" span of floor joists. Typical rowhouse construction has the floor joists supported by a girt and columns beneath the stair hall partition wall, generally six to eight feet from the party wall foundation on the stair side of the house. The remaining floor joist span can be up to 18 feet. Consequently the party wall opposite the stair party wall would be modified or supplemented. This was the case at the Merchant's House. The potential existence of a tunnel is described above. No information regarding the potential excavation of a tunnel in 2003 near 225 Duffield Street has yet been identified. The Martin's building, at 248 Duffield Street with additional frontage on Fulton Street, was constructed in 1890-1891, and the tunnel from 248 Duffield Street (which is noted as such on the Sanborn maps) first appears on the map from 1915.

As documented above, none of the individuals who built or developed the subject properties—Christopher Prince, Nathaniel Bonnel, Daniel Lord, John Ackley, and, potentially, Emeline Sackett—have been identified as having clear abolitionist or Underground Railroad associations.

Department of Buildings online records for 231 Duffield Street include an alteration permit dating from 1945, and it appears that the existing 1-story front extension was built between 1950 and 1969, based on the Sanborn maps from those years. However, historic Sanborn maps do not indicate that 231 Duffield Street had a porch before the existing 1-story front extension was constructed. The historic construction review of the subject properties prepared by Michael Devonshire identified an 8'x8' area at the front of the cellar (subbasement) of 233 Duffield Street which has not been covered with concrete; however, this area was not identified as a well. References for individuals who have provided such analysis of this area have been requested, and any analysis that is made available will be provided as an addendum to this report.

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Fred Laverpool's submittal to the New York City Planning Commission is provided as Appendix J. Mr. Laverpool died in September 2005, as documented through the Social Security Death Index. A number of unsuccessful attempts to contact Fred Laverpool regarding his potential information regarding the subject properties were made in August 2004. Mr. Laverpool contacted EDC in October 2004, noting his intention to apply for landmark status for the subject properties based on their age, rather than Underground Railroad involvement. At that time, Mr. Laverpool alluded to having proof of the Underground Railroad involvement of the subject properties in possession, but did not want to turn it over without compensation. Any potential contact information for Mr. Laverpool's relatives has been requested, and will be acted upon if received.

Contact information for Emory, the reported owner of 223 Duffield Street, and for Brother Hadari has been requested, to corroborate statements attributed to them, and will be acted upon if received.

ALBERT CHATEL AND JACOBS/HYAMS FAMILY

It was stated that Albert E. Chatel and the family of his first wife, Vera Jacobs Chatel, bought 227 Duffield Street in 1948 under the name of the 227 Duffield Street Corporation. Vera Jacobs Chatel was born in 1915 at 235 Duffield Street and lived at that address until her marriage to Mr. Chatel. Vera Chatel died in 1987; Albert Chatel died on October 25, 1996. Vera Chatel's parents were Hannah Hyams Jacobs and Harry Jacobs, and her maternal grandparents were John Hyams and Clara Kaiser. It was also stated that the Jacobs family shortened their name at some point from Jacobson.

At one point, the Jacobs/Hyams family reportedly owned 229, 231, 233, and 235 Duffield Street. The Hyams/Jacobs family may also have owned 225 Duffield Street. In 1894, the sheriff sold 225 Duffield Street to Marie S. Jacobson. In 1921 the guarantor of 225 Duffield Street was Hyman Realty Improvement & Construction, and the property was sold to Henry and Henrietta J. Berger. Hannah Jacobs and Vera Chatel's grandmother (Clara Kaiser) had a beauty salon at 235 Duffield Street. Hannah and Harold Jacobs lived at 235 Duffield Street from at least 1915 (when Vera Jacobs Chatel was born) until at least 1948. In 1948, Albert and Vera Chatel lived on Henry Street.

Albert Chatel is reported to have said that 227 Duffield Street had been part of the Underground Railroad. Mr. Chatel is reported to have said that there was a wall in the basement that was used to get freedom seekers out. Mr. Chatel is reported to have said that 231, 233, and 235 Duffield Street were connected; at 223 Duffield Street, the tunnel connecting the buildings led out to the street. Mr. Chatel also reportedly discussed a tunnel leading from Martin's department store across the street to a furrier on the east side of Duffield Street, which had been used for the same purpose.

Mr. Chatel is reported to have heard Underground Railroad stories of the Duffield Street block from his in-laws (mostly Harry Jacobs) and Vera Chatel's grandparents. Harry Jacobs is reported to have told Albert Chatel that people used to put lamps in the back window to show that you could come in and take refuge; if someone didn't have a lamp, they knew that that place was full. It was also reported that Mr. Chatel would often talk to Calvin Smith. It was also stated that everybody in the area knew about the different Underground Railroad activities that had occurred. Albert Chatel is reported to have said that after Duffield Street, freedom seekers would

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get onto the Jamaica Turnpike and head towards Weeksville, stopping at churches along the way.

Albert Chatel is reported to have said that just about everyone on Duffield Street was an abolitionist, and that the people that lived on the block sold to "like" people, abolitionists or people that were sympathizers. Mr. Chatel is also reported to have said that the people on the block would hire African Americans; that the families who did so were abolitionists, and therefore could have been harboring fugitives. Mr. Chatel reportedly didn't seek landmark status for his property for its Underground Railroad history, because he believed that once a property is landmarked, it belongs to the city. One of the interviewees noted that the tradition of hiring African Americans extended into the 20th century with Mr. Chatel's family.

Corroboration with Documentary Research

The birth and death dates of Vera Jacobs Chatel and Albert Chatel can be documented through the Social Security Death Index; the submitted marriage certificate of Albert and Vera Chatel also documents their age at that time. A copy of Vera Jacobs Chatel's birth certificate was also submitted, which identifies Harry Jacobs as 36 and Hannah Jacobs as 35 in 1915. Therefore, Harry Jacobs would have been born ca. 1879, and Hannah Jacobs would have been born ca. 1880. The Hyams/Hyman family tree submitted notes Hannah Jacobs' birth year as 1878. A search of the Social Security Death Index for Hannah Jacobs identified four records with a last residence in New York City. The birth and death dates of these records are: 1888/1969, 1897/1979, 1898/1982, and 1911/1994. Based on the birth date for Vera Jacobs Chatel, and the telephone directory listings through 1991 for Hannah Jacobs (see below), it is presumed that none of these records is a match. There are numerous Social Security Death Index records for a Harold Jacobs with a last residence in New York.

According to the Hyams/Hyman family tree, the maternal grandparents of Vera Jacobs Chatel were John Hyams and Clara Kaiser. John Hyams was born in 1835 in England and died in Brooklyn in 1922. Clara Kaiser was born in 1837 in Germany and died in Brooklyn in 1902.

The purchase of 227 Duffield Street in 1948 by the 227 Duffield Street Corporation is recorded at the City Register. The purchase of 235 Duffield Street in 1905 by Harry and Hannah Jacobs is also recorded at the City Register; this property was foreclosed in 1936. Hannah and Harold Jacobs are not listed individually in any other identified 20th century property conveyances of 225, 229, 231, 233, or 235 Duffield Street. No identified 20th century property conveyances of the subject properties involved an individual with the last name of Hyams or Hyman.

Brooklyn telephone directories from 1940-51 list a Hannah Jacobs, hair goods, at 235 Duffield Street; directories starting in 1955 through 1991 show a Hannah Jacobs, hair goods, at 227 Duffield. The submitted partial copies of the will of Harry and Hannah Jacobs (dated 1953) and petition of Hannah Jacobs (undated) notes their address as 227 Duffield Street. Telephone directories from 1949-51 list an Albert Chatel at 42 Henry Street; by 1955 and through 1995, Albert Chatel is listed at 227 Duffield Street. The 1930 federal census lists a Hannah and Harold Jacobs (with approximate birth dates of 1909 and 1898) living in Brooklyn; however, the 1910 and 1920 federal census do not list a Hannah or Harold Jacobs with similar birth dates. In addition, with these birth dates, Hannah would have been six and Harold would have been 17 when Vera Jacobs was born. As described above, the Hyams/Hyman family tree lists Hannah Jacobs' birth year as 1878. Therefore, it is presumed that these records are not a match. A

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Brooklyn listing for Albert Chatel could not be identified in the 1910, 1920, or 1930 federal census.

TRUESDELL FAMILY

It was noted that Harriet Lee Truesdell signed an anti-slavery petition that was sent to Congress. It was also stated that Harriet Lee Truesdell was part of the New York chapter of the women's abolitionist anti-slavery movement (society), to which Frederick Douglass spoke, and that Ms. Truesdell sent a letter to Frederick Douglass asking him to speak to the society. Harriet Lee Truesdell is also reported to have made other bookings for the society. One individual has asked the Frederick Douglass Foundation to send a copy of the letter reportedly written by Harriet Lee Truesdell.

It was stated that Harriet Lee Truesdell continued to be actively involved in abolitionist activities, and that her continuing activity led to a divorce from Thomas Truesdell. Thomas and Harriet Lee Truesdell reportedly divorced in 1863; Harriet Lee Truesdell stayed on at 227 Duffield Street, and Thomas Truesdell moved to New Jersey. It was also stated that Harriet Lee Truesdell passed on the family bible to her daughter Mary Truesdell Frederickson in 1862 because she didn't want Thomas Truesdell to have it. One individual noted that he/she hasn't read anything that specified where Harriet Lee Truesdell died. It was stated that when Mary Truesdell Frederickson sold 227 Duffield Street, she did so to an individual who was a sympathizer at the time. Thomas Truesdell was noted to have owned 227 Duffield Street from 1817 until 1921, when it was sold to Samuel A. Donald (Dunn); then Samuel Dunn sold it to Adolph (no last name provided). It was also stated that Matilda W. Truesdell was the daughter of Thomas Truesdell.

Mary Truesdell Frederickson and her husband, Charles Frederickson, reportedly lived with Harriet and Thomas Truesdell at 227 Duffield Street in 1855; however, it was noted that in 1857 there is no trace of Mr. or Mrs. Frederickson or Elizabeth Harris, a mulatto maid who had been with them for two years. Albert Chatel and others are reported to have said that Elizabeth Harris went up through the north to Canada and probably landed in Nova Scotia, since Charles Frederickson was from Nova Scotia and he was a cotton broker. It was stated that everybody knew in those days that you would hide slaves in bales of cotton, get on boats and go up north. One individual is expecting to hear from some people in Canada to provide more information about Elizabeth Harris. It was stated that Elizabeth Harris came from Edenton, North Carolina, and that Harriet Lee Truesdell's family was also from Edenton, North Carolina. One individual noted that he/she had traced Elizabeth Harris to Edenton, North Carolina by looking at census books in North Carolina with the assistance of a librarian. The book in which the information was written down couldn't be found by the individual, but the records are reportedly available online. The individual is not sure of the date of the census he/she reviewed, whether it was the 1840s or 1850s.

One individual first heard about Harriet Lee Truesdell through Albert Chatel. Mr. Chatel reportedly said that Harriet Lee Truesdell was connected to one of the Tappan girls. The individual determined that this was Julia (correct spelling Juliana) Tappan, the daughter of Lewis Tappan. It was noted that Harriet Lee Truesdell and Juliana Tappan remained friends after Philadelphia (the Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women in Philadelphia in 1838, which they both attended). Albert Chatel also reportedly said that Harriet Lee Truesdell had attended meetings with Lewis and Julia (correct spelling Juliana) Tappan. It was stated that Thomas

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Truesdell was a subscriber to the American Anti-Slavery Society, the National Anti-Slavery Society, and the New York Vigilance Committee, as well as other different groups, and that he subscribed to abolitionist magazines from 1853 to 1862.

Corroboration with Documentary Research

Documentary research conducted to date has not uncovered any connection between Harriet Truesdell and Juliana Tappan after their attendance at the 1838 Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women in Philadelphia; any connection of Harriet Truesdell with the Ladies New York City Anti-Slavery Society or any other women's anti-slavery society based in New York; or a signature by Harriet Lee Truesdell on anti-slavery petitions that were sent to Congress. The finding aid and the correspondence index of the Frederick Douglass papers at the Library of Congress have been reviewed, and no correspondence between Harriet Lee Truesdell and Frederick Douglass was identified. Any forthcoming information from individuals regarding resources to corroborate these connections (such as from the Frederick Douglass Foundation) will be provided as an addendum to this report.

The statement made regarding a divorce between Thomas and Harriet Lee Truesdell in 1863 conflicts with information provided in documentary sources. According to a *New York Times* article dated July 2, 1862, Harriet Lee Truesdell of 185 Duffield Street, wife of Thomas Truesdell, died in Brooklyn on June 29, 1862. (The family bible lists June 29, 1802, but the year is believed to be a misprint.) The partial copy of the will of Harriet Lee Truesdell that was submitted notes one of the witnesses to the will as Francis Peck. As described above, Francis Peck purchased Lot 14 in late 1852, and city directories and census place him at this address from 1853-1863.

The statements made regarding Matilda Truesdell, the length of Thomas Truesdell's ownership of 227 Duffield Street, and the sale of 227 Duffield Street by Samuel Dunn conflicts with information provided in documentary sources. According to information available at the Brooklyn City Register, Harriet Truesdell purchased the 227 Duffield Street property in 1850. 227 Duffield Street was owned by the Truesdell family until 1921, when it was sold to Samuel Dunn by Matilda W. Truesdell. Samuel A. Dunn sold the property in 1921 to Fred C. Robins and Benjamin Traktman. According to the genealogy of the Truesdell family prepared by Paul E. Truesdell, Jr., Matilda W. Truesdell was the daughter-in-law of Thomas Truesdell. She was married to Thomas Truesdell, Jr., a son of Thomas Truesdell by his second wife, Janet Margery Gunn.

The statement made regarding the residency of Mary Truesdell Frederickson and Charles Frederickson at 227 Duffield Street in 1855 cannot be corroborated by the information provided in documentary sources. The 1850 federal census lists Mary and Charles Frederickson as living at 227 Duffield Street; however, the 1855 New York State census does not. Starting in 1852 through 1861, the Brooklyn city directories have a listing for a Charles or C.W. Frederickson, broker/cotton broker, with a home address at: 4 Classon near Fulton; Putnam near Classon Avenue; and Putnam Avenue near Ormond (listing varies by year, see Appendix F). In 1896, at the time of Mary Truesdell Frederickson's death, the couple's residence was listed as 141 Herkimer Street. The 1855 federal census lists Elizabeth Harris as having lived in Brooklyn for two years (since 1853). Therefore, it is possible that Mr. and Mrs. Frederickson did not overlap with Elizabeth Harris in terms of residency at 227 Duffield Street.

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Research conducted to date has not uncovered any sources documenting a possible freedom journey to Nova Scotia by Elizabeth Harris, or the implementation of such by Mary Truesdell Frederickson or Charles Frederickson. Any relevant forthcoming information from individuals regarding the results of outreach to Canada will be provided as an addendum to this report. Various sources regarding freedom seekers who settled in Canada and the Anti-Slavery Society of Canada have been reviewed, with no connections made to the owners and residents of the subject properties. In any case, the short tenancy of Elizabeth Harris at 227 Duffield Street is not considered unusual for a servant. None of the individuals identified as servants in the 1855-1865 censuses at the subject properties were still at the same property in the subsequent census.

Research conducted to date has not uncovered any sources documenting that Elizabeth Harris came from Edenton. The North Carolina Birth Index (1800-2000) had no listings for an Elizabeth Harris born ca. 1826-1846. The 1840 and 1850 census have one record of an Elizabeth Harris living in Edenton, North Carolina; however, as the birthdate of this person is approximately 1811, it is not considered to be a match. According to the Truesdell family bible, one son of the Samuel and Abigail Lee (Harriet Lee Truesdell's grandparents), died in Edenton, North Carolina. No other connection to Edenton of the Lee or Kinnicutt families could be identified. The Truesdell family bible lists Harriet Lee Truesdell's parents, Abigail Kinnicutt Lee and William Lee, as marrying in Providence, Rhode Island.

Thomas Truesdell's subscriptions to the National Anti-Slavery Standard, contributions to the American Anti-Slavery Society, and participation in the 1836 Rhode Island Anti-Slavery Convention are described earlier in this report. However, research conducted to date has not uncovered any reference to a connection with the New York Vigilance Committee or any other group.

CARLVIN SMITH AND GEORGIA WARE

It was reported that in the mid-1970s, an African jewelry and artifacts store named "Fun Jewelry" opened in the basement of 233 Duffield Street. Over time the store changed from almost exclusively African items to jewelry, including the manufacture of jewelry that other vendors would purchase. It was reportedly learned at a later date that Calvin Smith was the name of the person creating jewelry. At some point the original person who ran the store left and Calvin Smith took over. The style of Calvin Smith's jewelry was characterized as Native American.

In 1982, the owner of 233 Duffield Street, Eleassor Lerner, reportedly threatened to evict the tenants and tear the building down. Phyllis Greenstein, the proprietor of the Scotch Tea Room, is reported to have begged the owner not to tear down the building because she knew from neighbors including the Jacobs, customers, and Calvin Smith that it had a lot of history. It was noted that the whole block talked to each other, that they were like a family. Calvin Smith is reported to have put in a bid for the building but didn't have enough money to buy it, so Phyllis Greenstein and her partner (no name provided) bought the building. Mr. Smith also reportedly said that Georgia Ware, his mother, told him he should have bought the building (in 1982), and that if the owner ever wanted to sell the building he would buy it from him.

Calvin Smith reportedly said that his mother knew the early owners of the building. It was reportedly learned that Georgia Ware's mother was African American and her father was Native American, but that she didn't know her parents. Calvin Smith was stated to have been born in Georgia; Georgia Ware came to New York without Calvin, who was left with his father in

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Georgia. Calvin Smith later moved to New York. Mr. Smith reportedly never knew his grandparents. Ms. Ware had five other children besides Mr. Smith, all with the last name of Ware. Ms. Ware reportedly died in 1997 or 1998, in Georgia, and may have been born ca. 1930, based on her age relative to Ali Lamont's age. It was stated that Ms. Ware ran the Youth in Action Brooklyn Coordinating Counsel, the Kosciusko Youth Center, and a welfare rights center for unwed mothers with Beulah Sanders. Ms. Ware may also have lived at 229 Duffield Street. Georgia Ware reportedly dated Ali Lamont and gave Mr. Lamont her birth certificate and other paperwork because she was a supporter of the Black Panthers and she was afraid she might be seized by the FBI. It was noted that Mr. Lamont hasn't found Ms. Ware's paperwork in New York and is not positive where the paperwork may be, but thinks it may be in Georgia in another home. Georgia Ware was reportedly introduced to the Scotch Tea Room by Ali Lamont, and she later became friends with Albert Chatel. Georgia Ware introduced Calvin Smith to Duffield Street. Jackie Lamont reportedly thinks that Ms. Ware might have had a storefront on the block at some time.

Calvin Smith is reported to have said that the building was very historical, which was interpreted to mean it was old. Sometime in 1980 or 1981, it was learned that Calvin Smith had an argument with his business partner because his partner had stolen artifacts from the basement of 233 Duffield Street. According to what was later told to one individual, the artifacts were proof that Calvin Smith's claim that the building was an Underground Railroad site was legitimate. It was reportedly learned from Jackie Lamont that among the stolen artifacts were a cast iron stove and at least one cauldron.

An individual reported that they were told by someone (no name provided) that they thought that Calvin Smith believed that 233 Duffield Street was a feeding place, not a hiding place. Freedom seekers would come down the tunnel to 231 Duffield Street, cross over into 233 Duffield Street to receive food, and then either return through the tunnel or leave through the back door and into the backyard.

Ali and Jackie Lamont have reportedly said that Calvin Smith graduated from Midwood High School ca. 1969-1970 and attended Wilberforce College for one year; however, according to another communication, Russell Seymour reportedly thinks Calvin Smith graduated from Old Boys High School. Jackie Lamont reportedly met Calvin Smith ca. 1971, when Calvin Smith was working at the Kosciusko Youth Center. It was stated that Calvin Smith and Jackie Lamont worked on Long Island repairing boilers for one year; then they returned to Brooklyn and became involved with Sonny Carson and the Black Panther party. Calvin Smith was reportedly involved with Sonny Carson in trying to retrieve stolen goods from the Helio Museum, an incident in which a person was killed. Mr. Smith reportedly went to prison for several years for his part in the incident, but later paid to have his records sealed so that he could work, possibly as a parole officer. Calvin Smith reportedly died in 1996. It was noted that people are researching Mr. Smith and trying to reach his brothers, sisters, and former girlfriend, Gwen Walker.

Calvin Smith reportedly said that he had evidence that 233 Duffield Street was part of the Underground Railroad, and that there were tunnels connecting the buildings on Duffield Street. Mr. Smith's comment about the Underground Railroad was reportedly misunderstood by one individual, who asked whether there were tracks in the tunnels. Calvin Smith reportedly said that he'd done extensive research of the building; he had access to the Brooklyn Historical Society and had documentation of his research, which Jackie Lamont had viewed. The

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individual noted that he/she does not have Calvin Smith's documentation, he/she does not have access to the Brooklyn Historical Society, and that the Brooklyn Historical Society has all the documentation needed to prove the Underground Railroad significance of the Duffield Street buildings.

After Mr. Smith's death, his son—Christopher Smith—and wife, possibly named Jackie, reportedly manned the jewelry shop for awhile, but eventually they couldn't pay the rent on the store and the store closed. At that time Christopher Smith was 8 or 9 years old; he is now 17 or 18. Christopher Smith reportedly came to 233 Duffield Street in July-August 2005 because he wanted to open his father's former store to sell the Native American clothing he is making. Christopher Smith came back another time and is reported to have said that Reverend Herbert A. Daughtry should be contacted, as he had a connection to Calvin Smith; either Calvin Smith or Georgia Ware had commissioned a mural in Reverend Daughtry's church (House of the Lord Church), or Calvin Smith may have done some of the artwork. Ali Lamont reportedly knows about this connection.

In 1983 or 1984, the rear of the basement floor of 233 Duffield Street is reported to have collapsed into the sub-basement; at that time, a ladder leading from the basement to the subbasement was replaced with a staircase. One individual reportedly saw a lot of items in the basement at that time, but didn't get a good look around. After Mr. Smith's death in 1996, the subbasement was taken over in exchange for unpaid back rent from 1995 and 1996, and Mr. Smith's part of the basement floor was taken in order to make repairs to a staircase that was badly rotten. At that time a lot of artifacts were reportedly viewed in the basement that an individual didn't know what to make of, as well as flue pipes that had been disconnected but were still operating to the roof.

Corroboration with Documentary Research

The statements made regarding Calvin Smith's jewelry store at 233 Duffield Street cannot be corroborated by the information provided in documentary sources. As noted above, Carl/Carlvin Smith was researched using Cole's Metropolitan Householders Directory for Brooklyn (1971-1981 and 1983-1997), and New York City telephone directories from 1971-1975 and 1985-1993. There were no listings for a person with the last name of Smith at 233 Duffield Street in any of the directories. In 1973-1974, there was a listing for "Merchant of OYO African Jewelry" at 233 Duffield Street; however, there were no other jewelry stores noted on Duffield Street in any of the other directories.

F. Lee Bailey's book *For the Defense* documents the participation of Calvin Smith in the 1973 Sonny Carson/Helio Museum case. However, the biographical information provided for Calvin Smith cannot be corroborated by other documentary sources. As noted above, the records for the social security number provided earlier indicate that a Carl S. Smith was born on April 13, 1961 and died August 30, 1996 at the age of 35. Therefore, it is considered unlikely that this number is a match for the Calvin Smith who would have owned a jewelry store on Duffield Street in the 1980s. A search of the Social Security Death Index identified no records for a Calvin Smith. A search of the Social Security Death Index for Carl Smith identified four records with a last residence in Brooklyn, New York; five records with a last residence in New York, New York; and one record with a last residence in the Bronx, New York. The birth and death dates of these records are: 1932/1969, 1911/1985, 1957/1995, and 1913/2004 for Brooklyn; 1895/1971, 1908/2001, 1920/1990, 1921/1993, and 1961/1996 for New York; and 1926/1993 for the Bronx. Based on the given graduation date of 1969-1970 from Midwood High School, Calvin Smith

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would have been born in 1951 or 1952 and would have been approximately 44 or 45 in 1996. None of the Social Security Death Index records are a match with such an individual. Searches of online genealogical websites did not turn up any other relevant information. Midwood High School and Wilberforce University were contacted regarding confirmation of Carl/Carlvin Smith's attendance. Midwood High School has responded that such records cannot be released without a date of birth and the permission of the person in question; no response has yet been received from Wilberforce University. Any potential contact information for Jackie Lamont, Gwen Walker, and Christopher Smith has been requested, and will be acted upon if received. Any relevant forthcoming information regarding the results of research into Mr. Smith and his family will be provided as an addendum to this report.

Dr. Delores Walters unsuccessfully attempted to contact Reverend Herbert A. Daughtry at the House of the Lord Church on December 28, 2005 and January 2-4, 2006, to set up an interview to discuss his knowledge of Carlvin Smith and Georgia Ware. A letter request for this information has been sent to Reverend Daughtry, and will be acted upon if received.

The biographical information provided for Georgia Ware cannot be corroborated by documentary sources. A search of the Social Security Death Index identified one record with a last residence in Georgia; one record with a last residence in Brooklyn, New York; and two records where the social security number was issued in Georgia but a last residence was not specified. The birth and death dates of these records are: 1902/1984 for Georgia; 1905/1973 for Brooklyn; and 1912/1981 and 1936/1975 for not specified. Based on the estimated birth date of 1930 and death date of 1997 or 1998, none of the Social Security Death Index records are a match with such an individual. Searches of online genealogical websites did not turn up any other relevant information. New York City telephone directories from 1975 to 1995 were also reviewed. In the 1975 directory, there is one listing for a G. Ware at 1167 Stanley Avenue. There were no listings for a G. or Georgia Ware in 1980. In the 1985 directory, there were two listings for a G. Ware, at 12 Malcom Place and 66 Moffatt. There was one listing in the 1990 and 1995 directories for a G. Ware at 261 Monroe. No current listings for the Kosciusko Youth Center or the Youth in Action Brooklyn Coordinating Counsel could be identified to request records. A letter request for information on Carlvin Smith and Georgia Ware has been sent to Ali Lamont, and any relevant forthcoming information will be provided as an addendum to this report.

The Brooklyn Historical Society was closed for renovation of its National Historic Landmark building from 1999 to 2004, with all library materials and files transferred to off-site storage; however, the Society's collections are now available to all researchers, by appointment.

F. POTENTIAL ELIGIBILITY FOR DESIGNATION

The Underground Railroad Resources in the United States Theme Study, prepared in 1998 by the National Park Service, provides criteria for evaluating a property's eligibility to be listed on the National Register of Historic Places. Properties considered for eligibility under this theme study are ones associated with some aspect of the Underground Railroad between the American Revolution and the Civil War, with an emphasis on the period between the formal organization of the abolitionist movement in 1820 and the end of the Civil War. They include the following property types:

- 'Stations' on the Underground Railroad (buildings, structures, or sites where fugitives were harbored and their use as such has been documented);

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- Properties associated with prominent persons;
- Slave rebellion sites;
- Properties associated with legal challenges to slavery;
- Properties associated with documented slave escapes;
- Properties associated with documented fugitive rescues;
- Churches associated with congregations active in the Underground Railroad;
- Maroon communities;
- Archeological sites; and
- Others.

In order to be eligible as National Historic Landmarks, the Duffield Street and Gold Street buildings would need to retain high integrity from the period of significance (between the American Revolution and the end of the Civil War) and (1) be connected with a nationally-significant event, such as a slave rescue, court case, or slave insurrection; (2) vividly represent, through a combination of extant resources possessing high integrity and solid documentation, the contribution of a particular social, political, or ideological group to the functioning of the Underground Railroad; or (3) have a significant association with a national figure of the Underground Railroad and his or her Underground Railroad activity.

In order to be eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places, the Duffield Street and Gold Street buildings would need to retain integrity from the period of significance (between the American Revolution and the end of the Civil War) and meet one or more of the National Register Criteria, as discussed below:

- Be associated with some event, or represent some broad aspect of the working of the Underground Railroad locally, statewide, or regionally. (Criterion A);
- Be associated with local 'conductors' who assisted fugitive slaves, such as leaders of local abolition societies, ministers, and free blacks (Criterion B); or
- Have yielded or may be likely to yield, information important in history or prehistory (Criterion D).

The properties must possess a documentable association with the Underground Railroad.

While some properties in New York City that are listed on the National Register of Historic Places have Underground Railroad associations and histories, no building in New York City has been determined eligible for listing on the National Register specifically because of a documented association with the Underground Railroad. In addition, no building within New York City has been designated as a New York City Landmark by the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission (LPC) solely because of a documented association with the Underground Railroad. The New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission would evaluate a property for designation in accordance with the guidelines set forth in the New York City Landmarks Law.

The National Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Program of the National Park Service also has listed criteria for inclusion in the Network to Freedom. Any element nominated to the Network to Freedom must have a verifiable association to the Underground Railroad. The association must be verified using professional methods of historical research, documentation, and interpretation. The application instructions for the Network to Freedom also note that while

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the Underground Railroad existed in the context of abolitionism and anti-slavery thought, those associations alone are not sufficient to include a site, facility, or program in the Network to Freedom. Participation in the Underground Railroad—escaping from enslavement or assisting the freedom seeker—was a violation of the federal fugitive slave acts and hence illegal. Through their acts of civil disobedience, these individuals demonstrated a higher level of commitment to the principles of freedom and self-determination. It is this level of commitment that is recognized in the Network to Freedom.¹⁷⁵

The documentation which supported the nomination of several Underground Railroad sites that have been listed on the National Register in New York State, specifically residential buildings that were part of a multiple property nomination entitled “Historic Resources Related to the Freedom Trail, Abolitionism, and African American Life in Central New York, 1820-1870,” (the Orson Ames House, the John B. and Lydia Edwards House, the Hamilton and Rhoda Littlefield House, the Edwin W. and Charlotte Clarke House, and the Asa and Caroline Wing House) included:

- Personal letters from John B. Edwards to Gerrit Smith;
- An oral tradition collected in the early 20th century and published in a paper written for the Daughters of the American Revolution in 1907;
- An oral tradition passed through a family;
- Asa Wing’s personal diary;
- Signed anti-slavery petitions published in the *Friend of Man*;
- A fugitive slave account published in the *Friend of Man*; and
- Minutes of the Oswego County Antislavery Society.

The Freedom Trail multiple property nomination used as 1-5 rating scale to separate sites that could be reliably identified as having an association with the Underground Railroad, from those that could not or required more research. The nomination recommended that only sites that received a rating of 4 or 5 should be considered sufficiently documented to warrant nomination to the National Register. (A rating of less than 4 would not eliminate a site from potential eligibility for the National Register, but such a site would require further investigation.) According to Judith Wellman, peer reviewer, most sites being nominated to the National Underground Network to Freedom Program or the Heritage Trail program are similarly rated at a 4 or 5. The Underground Railroad Heritage Trail Designation Documentation Form utilizes this rating scale for documentation of Underground Railroad or anti-slavery involvement. It is possible that such a rating scale could be used to evaluate the Duffield Street and Gold Street buildings.

The Freedom Trail rating system was as follows:

1. *Probably not involved.* Local tradition may associate this site with the Underground Railroad, but there is no other evidence linking people and events connected with this site to abolitionism, African American life, or the freedom trail.
2. *Some possibility of involvement.* An owner’s name may have appeared on a list of people who attended a county anti-slavery convention or signed an anti-slavery petition, for example, but there is no documentary evidence for long-term, consistent involvement with abolitionism and no clear evidence of association with the Underground Railroad.

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3. *Quite possibly involved.* Considerable evidence of owner's consistent, long-term commitment to abolitionism, but no positive evidence of Underground Railroad involvement.

4. *Almost certainly involved.* Considerable documentary evidence of owners' or residents' abolitionist activity, and strong local association of the site (often carried through oral tradition) with the Underground Railroad. In the case of homes of fugitives, local association and oral tradition may have been lost. Census or cemetery records that list place of birth in a southern state or Canada strongly suggests that these African Americans were born in slavery.

5. *Certainly involved.* Strong local association of the person or site (often carried through oral tradition) with the Underground Railroad, combined with primary evidence—recorded by someone directly involved—that directly links the person or site with the Underground Railroad.¹⁷⁶

INTEGRITY

The following definition of integrity is taken from the Underground Railroad Resources in the United States Theme Study.

Integrity is the ability of a property to convey its significance. The National Historic Landmark and National Register criteria recognize seven aspects that define integrity: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. For National Historic Landmark designation, a property must possess these aspects to a high degree and the property must retain the essential physical features that enable it to convey its historic significance. For National Register listing, a property must possess several, and usually most, of these aspects. To assess integrity, one must 1) define the essential physical features that must be present to a high degree for a property to represent its significance; 2) determine whether the essential physical features are apparent enough to convey the property's significance; and 3) compare the property with similar properties in the nationally significant theme.

G. CONCLUSIONS

A considerable number of resources were identified and utilized in the research effort. For information on the buildings' construction and ownership history, the following resources were consulted: property deeds from the Brooklyn City Register; tax assessment records from the New York City Municipal Archives; various historical maps available at the Brooklyn Public Library, New York Public Library, and the Brooklyn City Clerk's office; and indexed online records of the New York City Department of Buildings. Information on the buildings' alterations over time was supplemented by an assessment by Michael Devonshire, Jan Pokorny Architects, of the buildings' integrity in relation to the period of significance. For information on the potential existence of a tunnel connecting the subject properties, current sewer and water main maps and historical maps of the area were obtained (none of which indicate a tunnel); the New York City Departments of Finance, Transportation, and Design and Construction and the New York City Municipal Archives were contacted regarding any historical records they might have on sidewalks or sidewalk vaults; representatives of the Sanborn Map Company and several historical societies were consulted; and a number of publications regarding coal heat were reviewed.

The Brooklyn City Register, the 1850, 1860, and 1870 federal census, the 1855 and 1865 New York State census, and 35 Brooklyn city directories from 1848-1871 were reviewed to determine

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the owners and residents of the buildings and their residences before and after their tenancy on Duffield and Gold Streets. In addition, various on-line genealogical websites were reviewed for potential additional information on the owners and residents, and 23 New York City directories from 1848-1871 were reviewed to cross-check the information on the owners and residents who conducted business in Manhattan.

In order to determine potential abolitionist or Underground Railroad connections, histories, membership lists, and any other relevant information were sought for 16 churches located in the surrounding area that were established pre-1865. Any available information from the New York City Register, New York Public Library, Brooklyn Public Library, New-York Historical Society, New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, Family History Center of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (Brooklyn), Friends Historical Library at Swarthmore College, American Baptist-Samuel Colgate Historical Library, Episcopal Diocese of Long Island, General Theological Seminary, Union Theological Seminary, genealogical websites, the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* online database of articles from 1841-1902, and the *New York Times* online database of articles from 1851-2001 was reviewed. The churches were also contacted directly to obtain any additional records they might have.

A number of other resources were reviewed to determine any potential abolitionist or Underground Railroad connections, including, but not limited to: anti-slavery petitions in the collections of the National Archives and Records Administration; primary and secondary sources relating to numerous anti-slavery societies, including those in the collections of the New-York Historical Society, the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, and the Archives of Ontario; the journals, memoirs, and/or papers of Henry Ward Beecher, Sydney Howard Gay, the John Jay Family, Samuel J. May, Charles B. Ray, William Henry Seward, Lewis Tappan, and Thurlow Weed; contemporary local newspapers, including the *Brooklyn Evening Star*, *Williamsburgh Daily Times*, *Brooklyn Daily Union*, *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, and the *New York Times*; contemporary African American and anti-slavery newspapers, journals, and almanacs; Blassingame's *Antislavery Newspapers and Periodicals*; "Accessible Archives," a digitized collection of 19th century African American and Christian newspapers and journals; the photograph archives of the Brooklyn Public Library, New York Public Library, and New-York Historical Society; the databases of the Library of Congress and the Gilder-Lehrman Institute of American History; the National Union Catalog of Manuscripts Collections; New York State's Historical Documents Inventory; the index listings for Kings County court hearings, minutes, and determinations for the 1830s and 1840s and through the 1860s; the DORIS database of court records from 1830-1857; and various publications and website indexes dealing with slave narratives and the fugitive slave law and its enforcement.

The full listing of resources reviewed is available in the "Sources Consulted" listing at the end of this report. Any information provided by the property owners was also considered. As described above, sources of potential oral traditions—such as the current property owners, descendants of the property owners during the relevant period, church members, and local residents who might have information on the history of the buildings—were also sought out. Eight individuals, including the owners of 227 and 233 Duffield Street, were interviewed to determine the oral traditions surrounding the subject properties and their potential Underground Railroad associations. Paul E. Truesdell, Jr., the great-grandson of Thomas Truesdell, is not aware of any family oral traditions regarding the Truesdell family's potential involvement in the Underground Railroad.

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The potential for the Duffield Street and Gold Street properties to have associations with the Underground Railroad is discussed below, by property. Information regarding the potential connections of the owners and residents of the properties are summarized; the properties are assigned ratings based on the Freedom Trail rating system; and conclusions regarding their potential eligibility for listing on the National Register of Historic Places or as National Historic Landmarks are noted.

As summarized below, the information on the properties, owners, and residents identified through the research process and the oral tradition collection effort did not conclusively document the presence of Underground Railroad activity at the subject properties, although one property—227 Duffield Street—is associated with a family with well-documented abolitionist ties. It is important to note, however, that while a good faith research effort has been conducted to learn as much as possible about the subject properties and their potential Underground Railroad associations, the nature of this type of research means that more information could be unearthed in the future which could change the rankings provided below.

It is acknowledged that the city of New York, the former city and now borough of Brooklyn, and the neighborhood of Downtown Brooklyn played vital roles in the abolitionist and Underground Railroad movements. This research report has identified a need for greater education of the public about the historical significance of the Underground Railroad, and research to identify, document, and interpret sites that have a verifiable association to the Underground Railroad and New York's abolitionist history. It is anticipated that the information provided in this report could be the basis of a subsequent effort to prepare a walking tour or other interpretive guide documenting such sites in Downtown Brooklyn and the borough as a whole. Such a walking tour—ideally developed in conjunction with members of the local community, as well as institutions and individuals with relevant expertise—could incorporate on-site signage and an accompanying exhibit to highlight and commemorate the Underground Railroad in Downtown Brooklyn. The potential audience could encompass a diversity of people ranging from those who may first learn of the Underground Railroad from this experience to those with considerable knowledge about this subject.

223 DUFFIELD STREET

An Edward and Annie Smith are noted in historic records as members of Siloam Presbyterian Church (in 1873 and 1897); an Emma Smith is noted as a member of the First Presbyterian Church as of 1874; and an Emma Smith is noted married to a Thomas Woodward, Jr., who is listed in historic records, no date, as a member of the New York Monthly Meeting (although Emma Smith is listed as not a member). "Edward Smith," "Anna Smith," and "Emma Smith" are listed in census records as the children of J. Ogden and Angeline Smith, who lived at 223 Duffield Street ca. 1848-1858. As discussed above, each of these names was relatively common for this time period, so the likelihood of any of the listings being a match with the Duffield Street residents is diminished. In addition, the three individuals were young during their tenancy of 223 Duffield Street (approximately 7 to 17, 1 to 10, and 0 to 8 years of age, respectively), and therefore are considered unlikely to have been involved with abolitionist or Underground Railroad activities during that time, particularly as no records of such activity have been identified for their parents.

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Ira Perego, owner of 223 Duffield Street from 1858 until 1868, and his son Ira Jr. are noted as members of the Sands Street Methodist Episcopal Church. However, Alfred Perego, the resident and later owner of 223 Duffield Street, does not appear on any membership lists for this church or any other local church. In addition, while the Sands Street Methodist Episcopal Church was a mixed-race congregation, it is also the church from which the Bridge Street AWME Church formed after the African American members of the congregation were asked to pay dues for segregated pews. The Sands Street Methodist Episcopal Church is not known to have contained an abolitionist congregation or participated in the Underground Railroad, though it is reported that there was an anti-slavery community within the church.

None of the collected oral traditions directly relate to the owners or residents of 223 Duffield Street during the period of significance, or their heirs. The collected oral traditions do reference Duffield Street in general as being active in Underground Railroad activities, as well as the existence of a tunnel linking the buildings on Duffield Street (including 223 Duffield Street) and the use of such tunnel for the transportation and protection of freedom seekers. As noted above, the potential existence of such tunnel has not been verified by any documentary sources. The oral traditions also illustrate how the proximity of Duffield Street to African American and abolitionist churches, African American settlements, and businesses that employed African Americans created an environment that would have supported Underground Railroad activity.

This property is assigned a rating of 1 (probably not involved). Although there are potential name matches with members of Siloam Presbyterian Church, which has been reported to have supported the Underground Railroad, these are common names and therefore the likelihood of any of the listings being a match with the Duffield Street residents is diminished. In addition, given the young age of Edward, Anna, and Emma Smith during their tenancy of 223 Duffield Street, it is considered unlikely that they were involved with abolitionist or Underground Railroad activities during that time, particularly as no records of such activity have been identified for their parents. As the Sands Street Methodist Episcopal Church is not known to have contained an abolitionist congregation or participated in the Underground Railroad, no connotation is drawn from the name match of Ira Perego; in addition, his son Alfred, the resident of 223 Duffield Street, is not listed as a member of the church.

223 Duffield Street does not appear to be eligible for National Historic Landmark status, as it has not been found to be connected with a nationally-significant event or to have a significant association with a national figure of the Underground Railroad and his/her Underground Railroad activity. In addition, it does not retain high integrity from the period of significance. It appears to have been raised from two to three stories in the 1880s (based on nineteenth-century tax records); the original wood cladding has been covered or replaced with aluminum siding; the wooden extension (possibly a porch) on the front façade has been removed and replaced by a 2-story addition constructed between 1915 and 1938; and a large 1-story rear extension that extends almost to the rear property line was also built between these years.

The property does not appear to be eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places. In order to be eligible for listing on the Register, the property would need to meet one or more of the National Register criteria and retain integrity from the period of significance. The building does not retain integrity from the period of significance (see discussion above). As 223 Duffield Street and its owners and residents have not been found to have a documentable association with an Underground Railroad event or local 'conductor,' represent some broad aspect of the working of the Underground Railroad locally, statewide, or regionally; or to have

yielded or be likely to yield, information important in history or prehistory, it does not meet this threshold.

225 DUFFIELD STREET

Nathaniel Bonnell is noted as a trustee of the Sands Street Methodist Episcopal Church in 1825, a class leader in 1838, a steward in 1841, and a building committee member in 1848. This could be the same person as "Nathaniel Bonnel," the owner of 225 Duffield Street from 1847 to 1858 and the apparent builder of the original building on this lot. Nathaniel Bonnel does not appear to have lived at 225 Duffield Street during the time he and his wife owned the property. In addition, the Sands Street Methodist Episcopal Church is not known to have contained an abolitionist congregation or participated in the Underground Railroad, though it is reported that there was an anti-slavery community within the church. Therefore, no connotation is drawn from the name match of Nathaniel Bonnel.

A Gideon Mapes signed a petition published in the *New York Times* that stated that "the undersigned, regarding with just abhorrence the crimes of John Brown and his confederates, desire to unite with our fellow-citizens of New York and vicinity in a public and formal denunciation of that and all similar outrages." This might be the same person as "Gideon Mapes," the owner of 225 Duffield Street from 1866 through 1867. As there is only one listing for a Gideon Mapes in the Brooklyn city directories from 1848-1871, it is presumed that this listing is a match. However, the signing of the petition, and the rejection of John Brown's raid, is not the same as a pro-slavery endorsement, and this name match is not considered to provide significant information in regard to potential Underground Railroad activities.

None of the collected oral traditions directly relate to the owners or residents of 225 Duffield Street during the period of significance, or their heirs. The collected oral traditions do reference Duffield Street in general as being active in Underground Railroad activities, as well as the existence of a tunnel linking the buildings on Duffield Street (including 225 Duffield Street) and the use of such tunnel for the transportation and protection of freedom seekers. As noted above, the potential existence of such tunnel has not been verified by any documentary sources. The oral traditions also illustrate how the proximity of Duffield Street to African American and abolitionist churches, African American settlements, and businesses that employed African Americans created an environment that would have supported Underground Railroad activity.

This property is assigned a rating of 1 (probably not involved). As the Sands Street Methodist Episcopal Church is not known to have contained an abolitionist congregation or participated in the Underground Railroad, the potential name match of Nathaniel Bonnel is not considered to be of note. As the signing of the petition by Gideon Mapes is not the same as a pro-slavery endorsement, this name match also is not considered to provide significant information in regard to potential Underground Railroad activities.

225 Duffield Street does not appear to be eligible for National Historic Landmark status, as it is not connected with a nationally-significant event and does not have a significant association with a national figure of the Underground Railroad and his/her Underground Railroad activity. In addition, it does not retain high integrity from the period of significance. The original house on this lot was replaced ca. 1941, based on demolition and new building permits, by the current 2-story concrete structure. The cellar-level walls of the current structure have been significantly altered, concealing any potential evidence of 19th century construction.

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The property does not appear to be eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places. In order to be eligible for listing on the Register, it would need to retain integrity from the period of significance, which it does not, as the original house has been replaced by a 20th century structure. The property would also need to meet one or more of the National Register criteria. As 225 Duffield Street and its owners and residents have not been found to have a documentable association with an Underground Railroad event or local 'conductor;' represent some broad aspect of the working of the Underground Railroad locally, statewide, or regionally; or to have yielded or be likely to yield, information important in history or prehistory, it does not meet this threshold.

227 DUFFIELD STREET

Thomas and Harriet Truesdell, who lived at 227 Duffield Street from 1851 until 1863 and whose family owned the building until 1921, participated in various ways in the abolitionist movement. Thomas Truesdell, a cotton merchant, was a subscriber to the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* in 1855, 1860, and 1862; he is also listed as a contributor to the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1853, 1855, 1857, 1860, and 1862. Thomas Truesdell was also a delegate to the 1836 Rhode Island Anti-Slavery Convention in Providence. Harriet Truesdell served as treasurer for the Providence Female Anti-Slavery Society in 1835, when the organization was formed, and later as corresponding secretary for the society in 1837. As corresponding secretary, she wrote a letter to the *Liberator* in 1837 describing the organization. Harriet Truesdell also was a delegate to and member of the program planning committee of the Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women, which took place in Philadelphia in May 1838. Pennsylvania Hall, in which the convention met, was burned down by an anti-abolitionist mob.

Elizabeth Harris, noted in the 1855 census as black, lived in the household of Harriet and Thomas Truesdell, at least ca. 1855. Elizabeth Harris is noted as a servant from North Carolina. However, as noted above, the race designations provided in the census were subjective and could be inconsistent or inaccurate. An Eliza Harris is noted as a member of Shiloh Presbyterian Church in 1844. This is close to the name of "Elizabeth Harris." However, Elizabeth Harris was noted as being 19 years old in the census, which would make her 8 years old in 1844; she was also noted as having been in Brooklyn for two years. Therefore, it is considered unlikely that the membership listing for Elizabeth Harris is a match to the Duffield Street resident. There is also a listing in the records of the New York Monthly Meeting that Henry Jacob, with his wife Elizabeth Harris, was given a certificate in 1869. They came from the Darlington Monthly Meeting (possibly of Darlington, Pennsylvania or Darlington, Ohio) and were sent to the Elba Monthly Meeting (possibly of Elba, New York or Elba, Ohio); therefore, it appears that they were members of the New York Monthly Meeting for a very brief period of time that year. This name is the same as "Elizabeth Harris," who was listed in the 1855 New York census as a servant at 227 Duffield Street. However, Elizabeth Harris, the servant at 227 Duffield Street, was noted as coming from North Carolina, and having been in Brooklyn for two years. Therefore, it is considered unlikely that this listing is a match.

The name Daniel Lord, the attorney who owned the 227, 233, and 235 Duffield Street lots from 1847 to 1848 before they were developed, was identified in a number of locations, including a call to the People of the State of New York on the Nebraska Perfidy and Slavery Aggression (1854); a speech at a meeting denouncing the perpetrator of an assault on Senator Sumner by Preston S. Brooks; a memorial to the Senate and House of Representatives, stating that states should have the right to regulate the matter of slavery in their borders, including the rights

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secured by the constitution to the delivery of fugitives; and a letter from Lewis Tappan disapproving of an opinion written by Mr. Lord. He also represented a Confederacy defendant in the *United States v. Schooner Savannah*, a piracy case during the Civil War, and the southern section of the Methodist Episcopal Church in a suit against the northern section of the church, on a property settlement case resulting from the separation of the church on the issue of slavery. A Daniel M. Lord is noted as a member of the Young People's Prayer Meeting of the Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian Church in 1865-1866. However, Daniel Lord is noted as being active in the Brick Presbyterian Church in Manhattan until his death in 1868. Therefore, it is unlikely that this listing is a match. It is presumed that the listing could refer to a Reverend Daniel M. Lord, a Presbyterian minister of Shelter Island, who passed away in 1861. The various listings identified seem to present contradictory information on Daniel Lord's potential abolitionist sympathies, and therefore are not considered to be conclusive. No evidence of involvement in the Underground Railroad has been identified for Mr. Lord. In any case, Mr. Lord does not appear to have owned or occupied any of these buildings after their development; he is listed in New York City directories from 1848-1868 as having a residence in Manhattan. In addition, his ownership of the properties was for a very brief time.

One of the oral traditions collected references the Truesdell family. (The Truesdell family is also mentioned tangentially in two other interviews, but not in reference to a specific oral tradition.) The described oral tradition passed through Albert Chatel, Vera Jacobs Chatel, and Hannah and Harry Jacobs, as well as a local community member (Fred Laverpool), and notes Truesdell family participation in Underground Railroad activities. The oral tradition references Elizabeth Harris, who is listed in the 1855 New York census as an African American servant at 227 Duffield Street, as a freedom seeker who leaves Brooklyn in 1857 for Nova Scotia with the assistance of Mary Truesdell Frederickson and Charles Frederickson. The oral tradition also links Harriet Lee Truesdell to Juliana Tappan, Lewis Tappan, and William Harned, as well as to ongoing abolitionist activity while at 227 Duffield Street. As described above, certain elements of the oral tradition cannot be corroborated, or conflict, with documentary sources. In addition, the individuals and/or records that would create a linkage between the Truesdell family and the Jacobs and Chatel families as the carriers of this oral tradition have not yet been identified. It is possible that the 19th century records held by and requested of one of the interviewees may establish this linkage. As mentioned above, contact was made with Paul E. Truesdell, Jr.—the great-grandson of Thomas Truesdell and his second wife, Janet Margery Gunn—who is active in researching his family's genealogy. To Mr. Truesdell's knowledge, there are no family oral traditions related to the Truesdell family's potential involvement in the Underground Railroad.

The other collected oral traditions reference Duffield Street in general as being active in Underground Railroad activities, as well as the existence of a tunnel linking the buildings on Duffield Street (including 225 Duffield Street) and the use of such tunnel for the transportation and protection of freedom seekers. As noted above, the potential existence of such tunnel has not been verified by any documentary sources. The oral traditions also illustrate how the proximity of Duffield Street to African American and abolitionist churches, African American settlements, and businesses that employed African Americans created an environment that would have supported Underground Railroad activity.

While the Truesdell's level of involvement in abolitionism during their residence on Duffield Street is unclear in the documentary record, given their long-term commitment to abolitionism, their property was assigned a rating of 3 (quite possibly involved, considerable evidence of owner's consistent, long-term commitment to abolitionism, but no positive evidence of

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Underground Railroad involvement). There is considerable evidence of Harriet and Thomas Truesdell's consistent involvement in the abolitionist movement, but no positive, documentary source evidence has been identified of Underground Railroad involvement, including evidence to verify the oral tradition described by one interviewee. No documentary source evidence has yet been identified that Harriet Truesdell was involved in the abolitionist movement during her tenancy at 227 Duffield Street. No documentary source evidence that Mary Truesdell Frederickson or Charles Frederickson assisted Elizabeth Harris in escaping to Canada, or that Elizabeth Harris was a freedom seeker, has been identified to verify the oral tradition described. No significance is drawn from Daniel Lord's brief ownership of 227 Duffield Street before its development. This property would not merit a rating of 4 (almost certainly involved), since there is no considerable documentary evidence or strong local oral tradition of a direct association of the site to local Underground Railroad activities. As noted, there is one oral tradition that links the residents of the site to local Underground Railroad activities; however, certain elements of the oral tradition cannot be corroborated, or conflict, with documentary sources; the individuals and/or records that would create a linkage between the Truesdell family and the Jacobs and Chatel families as the carriers of this oral tradition have not yet been identified; and the other collected oral traditions do not reference this specific association.

227 Duffield Street does not appear to be eligible for National Historic Landmark status, as it has not been found to be connected with a nationally-significant event or have a significant association with a national figure of the Underground Railroad and his/her Underground Railroad activity. In addition, it does not retain high integrity from the period of significance. The wooden extension (possibly a porch) on the front façade has been removed and replaced by a 2-story brick addition constructed between 1915 and 1938, and the wooden extension on the rear façade has also been removed.

The property does not appear to be eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places. In order to be eligible for listing on the Register, it would need to retain integrity from the period of significance, which it does not (as described above). The property would also need to meet one or more of the National Register criteria. As 227 Duffield Street and its owners and residents have not been found to have a documentable association with an Underground Railroad event or local 'conductor,' represent some broad aspect of the working of the Underground Railroad locally, statewide, or regionally; or to have yielded or be likely to yield, information important in history or prehistory, it does not meet this threshold. Although Harriet Truesdell and Juliana Tappan both attended the Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women in Philadelphia, no further connection between these women could be identified, and Juliana Tappan is not known to have been involved with the Underground Railroad. In addition, Harriet Truesdell's participation in this event dates from her residency in Providence, Rhode Island, rather than on Duffield Street.

231 DUFFIELD STREET

Peter A. and Mary Hawes are noted as members of Plymouth Church from March 1860 through February 1872. These might be the same people as "Peter A. and Mary M. Hawes," who resided at 231 Duffield Street in 1855. As Brooklyn city directories from 1849-1871 have no other listing for a Peter or Mary Hawes, it is presumed that this listing is a match. As described above, the first pastor of Plymouth Church was Henry Ward Beecher, one of the foremost figures of the abolitionist movement, and the church is reported to have been a station on the Underground Railroad. However, the membership of Peter and Mary Hawes in Plymouth Church dates to after

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their residency on Duffield Street. During the time of their membership in Plymouth Church, it appears that Peter and Mary Hawes resided on Washington Avenue between Greene and Gates Avenues.

Sophia Hilles, and her son George Hilles, both noted in the 1855 census as African American, lived in the household of Peter A. and Mary Hawes, at least ca. 1855. Sophia Hilles is noted as a servant, from Massachusetts; however, as noted above, the race designations provided in the census were subjective and could be inconsistent or inaccurate. No further information about Sophia or George Hilles has been identified.

John A. Ackley is noted as a member received into Seventh Presbyterian Church in December 1827. This is the same name as "John A. Ackley," who appears to have built the house at 231 Duffield Street and owned its lot from 1850-1853. There is only one listing for a John Ackley in the Brooklyn city directories from 1848 until his death in 1853; therefore, it is assumed that this listing is a match. As discussed above, the church has not been reported to have been abolitionist or a station on the Underground Railroad. Therefore, no connotation is drawn from this name match.

A Mr. Hunter, no first name given, is noted as a trustee of Siloam Presbyterian Church. This is the same last name as "Robert Hunter," who lived at 231 Duffield Street ca. 1862-1865. The Robert Hunter on Duffield Street is not noted in Brooklyn city directories as being African American. This is also a somewhat common name: between 1848 and 1871, there are from one to seven entries each year for a Robert Hunter, and between eight and 44 entries each year for the last name Hunter, in Brooklyn city directories. Therefore, it is considered unlikely that this listing is a match.

The oral tradition collected from Jason Donegan references the Hawes family. The described oral tradition passed through Albert and Vera Jacobs Chatel, and notes the family's membership at Plymouth Church. The individuals and/or records that would create a linkage between the Hawes family and the Chatel/Jacobs family as the carriers of this oral tradition have not yet been identified. It is possible that the 19th century records held by and requested of one of the interviewees may establish this linkage.

The other collected oral traditions reference Duffield Street in general as being active in Underground Railroad activities, as well as the existence of a tunnel linking the buildings on Duffield Street (including 231 Duffield Street) and the use of such tunnel for the transportation and protection of freedom seekers. As noted above, the potential existence of such tunnel has not been verified by any documentary sources. The oral traditions also illustrate how the proximity of Duffield Street to African American and abolitionist churches, African American settlements, and businesses that employed African Americans created an environment that would have supported Underground Railroad activity.

This property is assigned a rating of 2 (some possibility of involvement, but no documentary evidence for long-term, consistent involvement with abolitionism and no clear evidence of association with the Underground Railroad). As the Seventh Presbyterian Church is not known to have been abolitionist, nor is it reported to have been a station on the Underground Railroad, no connotation is drawn from the name match of John A. Ackley. It is considered unlikely that the membership listing a Mr. Hunter at Siloam Presbyterian Church is a match with the Robert Hunter who lived on Duffield Street. Peter and Mary Hawes are presumed to have been members of Plymouth Church from March 1860 to February 1872. However, their involvement

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with the church postdates their tenancy of 231 Duffield Street; there is no evidence of involvement with the church or abolitionist activities during their tenancy on Duffield Street; and there is no documentary evidence of long-term, consistent involvement with abolitionism and no clear evidence of association with the Underground Railroad for the Hawes family. No documentary source evidence has been identified to verify the oral tradition described Jason Donegan. No significance has been derived from Sophia and George Hilles's employment in the Hawes household.

231 Duffield Street does not appear to be eligible for National Historic Landmark status, as it is not connected with a nationally-significant event and does not have a significant association with a national figure of the Underground Railroad and his/her Underground Railroad activity. In addition, it does not retain high integrity from the period of significance. A 1-story front extension was built between 1950 and 1969, and at the rear façade, a large opening has been created at the first-floor level and is enclosed by a roll-down metal grate.

The property does not appear to be eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places. In order to be eligible for listing on the Register, it would need to retain integrity from the period of significance, which it does not (see discussion above). The property would also need to meet one or more of the National Register criteria. 231 Duffield Street and its owners and residents have not been found to represent some broad aspect of the working of the Underground Railroad locally, statewide, or regionally, or to have yielded or be likely to yield, information important in history or prehistory. Although Peter and Mary Hawes appear to have been members of Plymouth Church, their involvement with the church postdates their tenancy of 231 Duffield Street; there is no evidence of involvement with the church or abolitionist activities during their tenancy on Duffield Street; and there is no documentary evidence of long-term, consistent involvement with abolitionism and no clear evidence of association with the Underground Railroad for the Hawes family. No documentary source evidence has been identified to verify the oral tradition described Jason Donegan. Therefore, 231 Duffield Street does not meet this threshold.

233 DUFFIELD STREET

William H. Macy, Jr., a member of the New York Monthly Meeting who was born in 1854 and died in 1891, was reported married to Carrie E. Foster on December 12, 1876. This might be the same person as "Carrie Foster," a boarder at 233 Duffield Street in 1870. However, there are no records in the abstracts that indicate Carrie Foster was a member of the New York Monthly Meeting. There is a listing for a Caroline Foster in the Brooklyn city directories, a dressmaker at 226 Washington, during the same year that Carrie Foster was a boarder at 233 Duffield Street; therefore, it is not certain that this listing is a match. In addition, although by some accounts the Brooklyn Friends Meeting House served as an Underground Railroad station, representatives of the Friends Historical Library at Swarthmore College and the Brooklyn Monthly Meeting have no information relating to such a possible connection.

William Bidkar Jones is noted as a member of the Young People's Prayer Meeting of Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian Church in 1861-1862. This is the same name as "William Jones," a resident of 233 Duffield Street ca. 1864-1868. In the 1865 New York state census, William Jones is noted as being 19 years old, which would make him 15 or 16 in 1861-1862. No other name from the Jones family is noted as a member of the Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian Church in available records. In addition, this is a very common name. Between 1849 and 1870, there are between

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four and 34 entries per year in Brooklyn city directories for a W. or William Jones, including a William B. Jones—a merchant living at 360 Fulton—in the directories from 1853-1875. Therefore, it is considered unlikely that the membership listing for William Bidkar Jones is a match.

Charles Lewis is noted on the schema of 1860 pew owners at Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian Church. This is the same name as "Charles Lewis," the child of William and Harriet Lewis, residents of 233 Duffield Street ca. 1855-1860. In the 1860 federal census, Charles Lewis is noted as being 14 years old. No other Lewis family name is noted as a member of the Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian Church in available records. As there are no other family members noted as members, and given the unlikelihood that a person 14 years of age would have been able to own a pew at the church, it is considered unlikely that the membership listing for Charles Lewis is a match to the Duffield Street residence. It is considered more likely that the pew owner was Charles Lewis—a china merchant with a residence on President Street near Henry Street, who is listed in the Brooklyn city directories for 1857-1862—or one of the several other Charles Lewis' listed in the Brooklyn city directories from 1857-1859.

Two women named Mary Clark are noted as members of Plymouth Church: Mary E. Clark, who joined in July 1849, and Mary F. Clark, who joined in July 1867. It is possible that one of these women is the same person as "Mary Clark," who was a servant at 233 Duffield Street ca. 1864-1868. However, the Mary Clark who was a servant at 233 Duffield Street would have been approximately 14 years old in 1849. In addition, this is a somewhat common name. Between 1848 and 1871, there are between one and seven entries per year in Brooklyn city directories for a Mary Clark, including several entries for a Mary A. and/or Mary E. Clark. Therefore, it is considered unlikely that the membership listing for Mary E. Clark or Mary F. Clark is a match.

Two women named Mary Foster are also noted as members of Plymouth Church. One joined in April 1858 and left for Elmira, New York in July 1863; the other joined in May 1868. It is possible that one of these women is the same person as "Mary Foster," who was a boarder at 233 Duffield Street in 1870. It is also possible that the second listing could be the same person as the first, if she rejoined the church. The Brooklyn city directories do not list any Mary Foster with a residence on Duffield Street; however, there are several listings for a widow, a furniture store proprietor, and a boarding house keeper between 1855 and 1871. Therefore, it is not certain that this listing is a match.

Thomas Edwards is noted as a member of Plymouth Church from 1859 to 1867. As described above, this might be the same person as "Thomas Edwards," who appears to have developed 233 and 235 Duffield Street. Mr. Edwards does not appear to have occupied 233 or 235 Duffield Street after their development. In addition, this is a somewhat common name. Between 1849 and 1871, there are between one and four entries per year in Brooklyn city directories for a Thomas Edwards. Therefore, it is not certain that the membership listing is a match.

Reverend John Crawford, who is noted in Brooklyn city directories as residing at 233 Duffield Street ca. 1862-1864, is noted as a pastor of the Washington Street Methodist Episcopal Church from ca 1851-1853. However, this church is not known to have been abolitionist, nor is it reported to have been a station on the Underground Railroad. Therefore, no connotation is drawn from this listing.

Reverend Francis Peck, who is noted in Brooklyn city directories as residing at 233 Duffield Street ca. 1851-1853, was the first pastor of St. Mark's Church. This church is not known to

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have been abolitionist, nor is it reported to have been a station on the Underground Railroad. Therefore, no connotation is drawn from this listing.

In the *Christian Recorder*, July 28, 1866, a report from Albany, New York notes that Francis Peck, who has charge of the AME Church of Albany, made a speech at the first grand levee of the Philomaethian Lodge, No. 742 G.M.O. of Odd Fellows, on July 27, 1866 at the AME Church of Albany for the benefit of the Church. This might be the same person as the "Reverend Francis Peck" of St. Mark's Church. However, as discussed above, Reverend Peck is noted as a rector of the Calvary Protestant Episcopal Church at South 9th and 8th Streets from ca. 1862-1882, when he retired. Given his position at Calvary Protestant Episcopal Church, it is considered unlikely that he would have charge of an AME Church in Albany at the same time.

A Mr. Clem is listed as a vestrymen of St. Mark's Church pre-1856. This could be the same person as "William Clem," a hardware store owner, who is noted as living at 233 Duffield Street in 1850, or his son William, a clerk. There are two other listings with the last name of Clem in the Brooklyn city directories from 1854-1855 (a Frederick Clem and a John Clem); therefore, it is not certain that this listing is a match. In addition, as discussed above, the church has not been reported to have been abolitionist or a station on the Underground Railroad.

A William Jones was noted as subscriber to the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* in July 1853. As the William Jones who lived at 233 Duffield Street from ca. 1864-1868 would have been approximately 7 years old in 1853, it is considered unlikely that this listing is a match. In addition, this is a very common name; Brooklyn city directories from 1848-1871 have between six and 42 entries for a William Jones (including 13 in the 1853-54 directory).

The name Daniel Lord, the attorney who owned the 227, 233, and 235 Duffield Street lots from 1847 to 1848 before they were developed, was identified in a number of locations (see discussion above under 227 Duffield Street). The various listings identified seem to present contradictory information on Daniel Lord's potential abolitionist sympathies, and therefore are not considered to be conclusive. No evidence of involvement in the Underground Railroad has been identified for Mr. Lord. In any case, Mr. Lord does not appear to have owned or occupied any of these buildings after their development; he is listed in New York City directories from 1848-1868 as having a residence in Manhattan. In addition, his ownership of the properties was for a very brief time.

Although Calvin Smith—a former tenant of 233 Duffield Street—and Georgia Ware were identified as carriers of oral traditions in several interviews, these oral traditions do not reference or have traceable linkages to any of the owners or residents of 233 Duffield Street during the period of significance, or their heirs. The collected oral traditions do reference Duffield Street in general as being active in Underground Railroad activities, as well as the existence of artifacts from 233 Duffield Street that may date from the period of significance, and the existence of a tunnel linking the buildings on Duffield Street (including 233 Duffield Street) and the use of such tunnel for the transportation and protection of freedom seekers. The oral traditions also illustrate how the proximity of Duffield Street to African American and abolitionist churches, African American settlements, and businesses that employed African Americans created an environment that would have supported Underground Railroad activity. As noted above, the potential existence of such tunnel has not been verified by any documentary sources. No relevant artifacts dating from the period of significance are known to currently exist at this property.

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This property is assigned a rating of 2 (some possibility of involvement, but no documentary evidence for long-term, consistent involvement with abolitionism and no clear evidence of association with the Underground Railroad). There are two potential name matches with the membership listings of Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian Church, and three potential name matches with the membership listings of Plymouth Church. However, as noted above, given that these names (William Jones, Charles Lewis, Mary Clark, Mary Foster, and Thomas Edwards) are common, it is not certain that these listings are matches, and no inferences can be drawn. The potential name match of Carrie Foster with the Brooklyn Friends Meeting House is tenuous, particularly as the listing indicates that the Ms. Foster who married William H. Macy, Jr. was not a member. The potential name match with a subscriber to the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* is considered unlikely to be a match. The name matches for Reverends John Crawford and Francis Peck and the potential name match for Mr. Clem are not considered to be of note, as the Washington Street Methodist Episcopal Church and St. Mark's Church are not known to have been abolitionist, nor are they reported to have been stations on the Underground Railroad. No significance is drawn from Daniel Lord's brief ownership of 227 Duffield Street. The property would not merit a rating of 3 because there is no considerable evidence of an owner's or resident's consistent, long-term commitment to abolitionism.

233 Duffield Street does not appear to be eligible for National Historic Landmark status, as it is not connected with a nationally-significant event and does not have a significant association with a national figure of the Underground Railroad and his/her Underground Railroad activity.

The property does not appear to be eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places in relation to the Underground Railroad. In order for the property to be eligible for listing on the Registers in relation to the Underground Railroad, it would need to retain integrity from the period of significance and meet one or more of the National Register criteria. As 233 Duffield Street and its owners and residents have not been found to have a documentable association with an Underground Railroad event or local 'conductor,' represent some broad aspect of the working of the Underground Railroad locally, statewide, or regionally; or to have yielded or be likely to yield, information important in history or prehistory, it does not meet this threshold.

235 DUFFIELD STREET

Mrs. H.G. Nichols is noted as a member of St. Ann's Church, joining in September 1843. This could be the wife of "Henry G. Nichols," who is noted with a residence at 235 Duffield Street from ca. 1852-1855. There is only one Henry Nichols listed in Brooklyn city directories from 1848-1871; therefore, it is probable that this membership listing is a match.

A William Walsh is noted as a Male Sunday School teacher of the Sands Street Methodist Episcopal Church in 1842. This could be the same person as "William W. Walsh," who lived at 235 Duffield Street in 1855. However, in the Brooklyn city directories for 1848-1871, there are between one and five entries per year for a William Walsh. Therefore, the potential name match of William Walsh is uncertain. In addition, the Sands Street Methodist Episcopal Church is not known to have contained an abolitionist congregation or participated in the Underground Railroad, though it is reported that there was an anti-slavery community within the church.

Thomas Edwards is noted as a member of Plymouth Church from 1859 to 1867. As described above, this might be the same person as "Thomas Edwards," who appears to have developed 233 and 235 Duffield Street. Mr. Edwards does not appear to have occupied 233 or 235 Duffield Street after their development. In addition, this is a somewhat common name. Between 1849 and

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1871, there are between one and four entries per year in Brooklyn city directories for a Thomas Edwards. Therefore, it is not certain that the membership listing is a match.

The name Daniel Lord, the attorney who owned the 227, 233, and 235 Duffield Street lots from 1847 to 1848 before they were developed, was identified in a number of locations (see discussion above under 227 Duffield Street). The various listings identified seem to present contradictory information on Daniel Lord's potential abolitionist sympathies, and therefore are not considered to be conclusive. No evidence of involvement in the Underground Railroad has been identified for Mr. Lord. In any case, Mr. Lord does not appear to have owned or occupied any of these buildings after their development; he is listed in New York City directories from 1848-1868 as having a residence in Manhattan. In addition, his ownership of the properties was for a very brief time.

None of the collected oral traditions directly relate to the owners or residents of 235 Duffield Street during the period of significance, or their heirs. The collected oral traditions do reference Duffield Street in general as being active in Underground Railroad activities, as well as the existence of a tunnel linking the buildings on Duffield Street (including 235 Duffield Street) and the use of such tunnel for the transportation and protection of freedom seekers. As noted above, the potential existence of such tunnel has not been verified by any documentary sources. The oral traditions also illustrate how the proximity of Duffield Street to African American and abolitionist churches, African American settlements, and businesses that employed African Americans created an environment that would have supported Underground Railroad activity.

This property is assigned a rating of 2 (some possibility of involvement, but no documentary evidence for long-term, consistent involvement with abolitionism and no clear evidence of association with the Underground Railroad). There are two potential name matches with the membership listings of Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian Church and Plymouth Church; however, as noted above, only the membership listing for Mrs. H.G. Nichols at St. Ann's Church is considered probable. In addition, as the Sands Street Methodist Episcopal Church is not known to have contained an abolitionist congregation or act as an Underground Railroad station, the potential name match of William Walsh is not considered to be of note. There is no documentary evidence of long-term, consistent involvement with abolitionism and no clear evidence of an association with the Underground Railroad for Mrs. Henry G. Nichols. No significance is drawn from Daniel Lord's brief ownership of 227 Duffield Street. The property would not merit a rating of 3 because there is no considerable evidence of an owner's or resident's consistent, long-term commitment to abolitionism.

235 Duffield Street does not appear to be eligible for National Historic Landmark status, as it is not connected with a nationally-significant event and does not have a significant association with a national figure of the Underground Railroad and his/her Underground Railroad activity. In addition, it does not retain high integrity from the period of significance. It appears to have been raised from two to three stories in the 1880s, based on nineteenth-century tax records. The building has been refaced in brick and a modest bay front, cornice, and large 2-story (with basement) rear extension extending almost to the rear property line have been added. The rear extension appears to have been added between 1904 and 1915, based on the Sanborn maps from those years.

The property does not appear to be eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places. In order to be eligible for listing on the Register, it would need to retain integrity from the period of significance, which it does not (see discussion above). The property would also

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need to meet one or more of the National Register criteria. 235 Duffield Street and its owners and residents have not been found to represent some broad aspect of the working of the Underground Railroad locally, statewide, or regionally, or to have yielded or be likely to yield, information important in history or prehistory. Although Mrs. Henry G. Nichols appears to have been a member of St. Ann's Church, there is no documentary evidence of any long-term, consistent involvement with abolitionism by her or clear evidence of an association with the Underground Railroad. Therefore, 235 Duffield Street does not meet this threshold.

436 GOLD STREET/ALBEE SQUARE

Mrs. E. Sackett is noted as a member of St. Ann's Church in 1833, who was removed as a communicant sometime before 1845. This could be the same person as "Emeline Sackett," who owned the lot for 436 Gold Street from 1865 to 1877. However, the New York City directories from 1848-1849, 1851-1853, 1854-1857, and 1858-1859 also have a listing for an Emeline Sackett, widow of Jesse, who lived on the Lower East Side (at 125 Delancy Street, 191 Orchard Street, and 328 Houston), and the directories from 1857-1859 have a listing for an Elizabeth M. Sackett, widow of Henry, a nurse, at 439 Eighth Avenue. Therefore, it is not certain that this listing is a match.

Samuel Fleet is listed as a signor of a letter to David Leavitt, dated January 30, 1839, dealing with the schism in the congregation of the First Presbyterian Church that occurred during Reverend Cox's pastorate; he seems to have been a member of the group that withdrew from the congregation. This is the same name as "Samuel Fleet," who owned the land on which the 436 Gold Street building was ultimately developed. Brooklyn city directories only list one Samuel Fleet from 1848 until his death in 1864; therefore, it is presumed that this listing is a match.

None of the collected oral traditions directly relate to the owners or residents of 436 Gold Street/Albee Square during the period of significance, or their heirs. The collected oral traditions do not reference Gold Street in general as being active in Underground Railroad activities; however, they do reference the existence of a tunnel linking the buildings on Duffield Street, which may extend onto Gold Street, and the use of such tunnel for the transportation and protection of freedom seekers. As noted above, the potential existence of such tunnel has not been verified by any documentary sources. The oral traditions also illustrate how the proximity of Duffield Street to African American and abolitionist churches, African American settlements, and businesses that employed African Americans created an environment that would have supported Underground Railroad activity.

This property is assigned a rating of 1 (probably not involved). There are two probable name matches with the membership listings of St. Ann's Church and First Presbyterian Church. However, as Mrs. E. Sackett was removed as a communicant before 1845, it is not certain that this listing is a match, and Samuel Fleet may have been a member of the group that withdrew from the congregation of First Presbyterian Church during Reverend Cox's pastorate, these listings are not considered to be significant in linking the site to abolitionism or to local Underground Railroad activities. In addition, while the price paid by Emeline Sackett in 1865 for the lot suggests it was already developed, it is considered possible that the structure was built after Samuel Fleet's death in 1864 and before the surveyor's map of August 1865. If so, the house would date to after the period of significance. In any case, neither Samuel Fleet nor Emeline Sackett lived at 436 Duffield Street after its development.

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436 Gold Street does not appear to be eligible for National Historic Landmark status, as it is not connected with a nationally-significant event and does not have a significant association with a national figure of the Underground Railroad and his/her Underground Railroad activity. In addition, it does not retain high integrity from the period of significance. At some point, presumably in the late 19th century, it appears that the building on the lot was raised from two and a half stories to three stories, and possibly the current bay was installed on its front façade at the same time.

The property does not appear to be eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places. In order to be eligible for listing on the Register, it would need to retain integrity from the period of significance, which it does not (see discussion above). The property would also need to meet one or more of the National Register criteria. As 436 Gold Street and its owners and residents have not been found to have a documentable association with an Underground Railroad event or local 'conductor,' represent some broad aspect of the working of the Underground Railroad locally, statewide, or regionally; or to have yielded or be likely to yield, information important in history or prehistory, it does not meet this threshold.

PERSONS CONSULTED

The following is a list of individuals contacted during the research effort. This list does not include the individuals contacted as potential interviewees for the oral tradition collection effort. Please note that the level of contact and information provided varies greatly, and none of the individuals should be understood as having endorsed or otherwise commented on this research effort.

- Abbott, Erik, New York Monthly Meeting
- Adams, Gillian, NYC Department of Finance
- Adeyoumon, Oloye, Legacy Program
- Albarelli, Gerry
- Ashby, Sean, Library Assistant, Brooklyn Historical Society
- Battle, Thomas, Director, Moreland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University
- Beck, Terry, Smith Library of Regional History (Part of the Lane Libraries)
- Belle, Ms., Concord Baptist Church
- Bender, Tom, New York University
- Berger Gluck, Sherna, Director, Oral History Program at California State University-Long Beach
- Bernstein, Rachel, New York University
- Betts, Mary Beth, NYC Landmarks Preservation Commission
- Bijur, Vejay, NYC Department of Environmental Protection, Records Department
- Billingsley, William, National Afro-American Museum
- Black, Michael, Clerk, History Committee, Brooklyn Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends
- Bodnar, John, Co-director of the Center for the Study of History and Memory at Indiana University
- Bonner, Claudine
- Bower, Melanie, Museum of the City of New York
- Calarco, Tom, Travels Through History
- Campbell, Madelyn, Executive Secretary, Oral History Association
- Cantwell, Anne-Marie, Professor of Sociology and Anthropology, Rutgers University
- Carpenter, Corinne
- Chice, Lisa, Brooklyn Historical Society
- Clark, Mary Marshall, Directory, Columbia University Oral History Research Office
- Coaston, Elvira Walker, Coordinator, Legacy Network, University of Cincinnati, Raymond Walters College
- Cobb, Ken, NYC Municipal Archives
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- Cook, Gloria, Brooklyn Family History Center, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints
- Cooper, Shirley, Siloam Presbyterian Church
- Cornelius, David
- Cowing, Kate, Kise Straw & Kolodner
- Dallesandro, Sylvia, Sandy Ground Historical Society
- Dallet, Nancy, Arizona State University

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- Day, Lynda, Brooklyn College Africana Studies Department
- DeForest, Vincent, National Park Service
- Densmore, Christopher, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College
- Devonshire, Michael, Jan Pokorny Associates
- Diaz, Rose, Past President, Oral History Association
- Diethorn, Karie, Chief Curator, Independence National Historic Park, National Park Service
- Dolkart, Andrew, Adjunct Associate Professor of Historic Preservation, Columbia University
- Dunbar, Betsy, American Baptist Historical Society
- Durant, Reverend Alvin, Pastor, Mother AME Zion Church
- Dyson, David, Reverend, Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian Church
- Eberhart, Franny
- Elliott, Valerie, Smith Library of Regional History
- English, Janet, Hallie Q. Brown Library, Ohio Central State University
- Eversley, Ms., Concord Baptist Church
- Felix, Stephanie
- Foley, John, Director, Center for Studies in Oral Tradition, University of Missouri-Columbia
- Foner, Eric, Columbia University, History Department
- Frazier, Eric, Boston Public Library, Rare Books and Manuscripts
- Gantt-Wright, Iantha
- Gardiner, Mary Halsey, Merchant House Museum
- Garrison, Ritchie, University of Delaware
- Gary, Tiffany
- Gasero, Russell, Archivist, Reformed Church of America
- Geismar, Joan
- Gillman, Sandra, St. Ann's and the Holy Trinity Church
- Giunta, Kimb
- Gomez, Michael, New York University
- Gorman, Bill, New York State Archives
- Green, Pam, Society for the Preservation of Weeksville and Bedford-Stuyvesant History
- Greene, Janet, Director, Library of General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen
- Grele, Ron
- Haigler, George, Siloam Presbyterian Church
- Hall, Dalila, Borough Planner, NYC Department of Transportation, Office of the Brooklyn Borough Commissioner
- Hall, Jacquelyn, Director, Southern Oral History Program, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
- Hansen, Laura, Program Officer, J.M. Kaplan Fund
- Hayes, Sharon, Old First Reformed Church
- Hazard, James, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College
- Hernandez, Doris, Public Information Officer, NYC Landmarks Preservation Commission
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- Holland, Joy, Asst. Division Chief, Brooklyn Collection, Brooklyn Public Library

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- Horowitz, Roger, Oral History Association, Mid-Atlantic Region
- Howe, Kathy, New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation
- Huth, Mary, Assistant Director, Rare Books, Special Collections & Preservation, University of Rochester Library
- Jackson, Kemile
- Jackson, Sheri, National Park Service, National Underground Network to Freedom Program
- Jaffee, Steve, Senior Historian, New-York Historical Society
- Jones, Louise, Ohio History Society Archives/Library
- Jordan, Michael, Public/Private Initiatives, NYC Office of Emergency Management
- Kattar, Rakashi, Asst. Reference Librarian, Massachusetts Historical Society
- Kelly, Jessie, President, Brooklyn Historical Society
- Knapp, Mary
- Laverpool, Fred
- Lehrer, Warren, Earsay
- Lloyd, Kenita, Museum for African Art
- Lockwood, Charles
- Logan, John, President, African-American Genealogy Group
- Long, Steve, Lower East Side Tenement Museum
- Lopez, Daisy, Deputy Director, Brooklyn Planning, New York City Department of Housing Preservation and Development
- Lutz, Catherine, President, American Ethnological Society
- Macy, Harry, New York Genealogical and Biographical Society
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- Miller, Diane, National Coordinator, National Park Service, National Underground Railroad Network to Freedom
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- Moore, Christopher, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture
- Morrison, Tara, Northeast Regional Coordinator, National Underground Railroad Network to Freedom
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- Muller, Jim, Chief Historian, Independence National Historic Park
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- Roache-Steele, Lorraine, NYC Landmarks Preservation Commission
- Rogers, Kim, President, Oral History Association
- Rolph, Dan, Historical Society of Pennsylvania
- Rosebrooks, Lois, Plymouth Church of the Pilgrims
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- Sanford, Cynthia, Curator of Collections, Brooklyn Historical Society
- Schweiger, Ron, Brooklyn Borough Historian
- Scott, Jennifer
- Serber, Mike, Gilder-Lehrman Institute of American History
- Sharpless, M. Rebecca, Director, Baylor University's Institute of Oral History
- Shellenbarger, Karin, Librarian, Western Pennsylvania Historical Society
- Shopes, Linda, Past President, Oral History Association
- Sloan, Judith, Earsay
- Smith, Andy, Assistant to the Pastor and Dr. Amos Jordan, Bridge Street Church
- Smith, Edward, New York Genealogical and Biographical Society
- Smith, Kathryn
- Snyder, Rob, Rutgers University
- Sohm, Bette, Archivist, New York Annual Conference of the United Methodist Church
- Sorozan, Meredith Paine, Reference Librarian, Rhode Island Historical Society
- Starr, Sarah, Reference Desk, Western Reserve Historical Society
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- Stowe, Noel, Arizona State University
- Stuart, Miss, Mother AME Zion Church
- Sutphin, Amanda, NYC Landmarks Preservation Commission
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- Tobol, Amy
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- Wist, Ronda, Executive Director, NYC Landmarks Preservation Commission
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- ¹⁷⁶ Sernett, Milton C., et. al. Draft Multiple Property Nomination, Historic Resources Related to the Freedom Trail, Abolitionism, and African American Life in Central New York, 1820-1870.

Appendix A

Peer Review Members' Curriculum Vitae

- Leslie Alexander
- Raymond Dobard
- James Driscoll
- Leslie M. Harris
- Richard Hourahan*
- Andrew P. Jackson
- Cheryl J. LaRoche
- Marilyn H. Pettit
- Milton C. Sernett
- Judith Wellman
- Craig S. Wilder
- A.J. Williams-Myers

* To be included when available.

LESLIE M. ALEXANDER

EDUCATION:

- B.A.** 1992, History with honors, Stanford University
Fields of Study: African American Studies, American History, African History
Honors Thesis: "Narratives of the Middle Passage: Slaves' and Slavers' Accounts"
- M.A.** 1997, History, Cornell University
- Ph.D.** 2001, History, Cornell University
Majors: African American History, Early American History; Minors: Latin American History, Women's History
Dissertation: "'Onward Forever:' Black Political Activism and Community Development in New York City, 1784-1860"

TEACHING FIELDS:

Undergraduate: American Civilization Survey to 1877; African American History to 1877; Free Blacks in Antebellum America; Black Women in Slavery and Freedom; Black Political and Intellectual Thought, Introduction to Historical Methods

Graduate: 19th Century Black Political Thought; Historiography of Slavery; African American Research Methods, African Americans in the Colonial and Antebellum Eras

TEACHING EXPERIENCE:

Assistant Professor, Dept. of History, The Ohio State University, 2001-Present
Lecturer, Dept. of History, The Ohio State University, 1999-2001
Teaching Assistant, Cornell University, 1994-1999

PUBLICATIONS:

Books:

Onward Forever: Black Political Activism and Community Development in New York City, 1784-1861. Forthcoming, under contract with University of Illinois Press.

Edited Books:

Co-editor, *Encyclopedia of African American History.* Forthcoming from ABC-Clio, 2007.

Co-editor, *We Shall Independent Be: African American Place Making and the Struggle to Claim Space in the United States*. Forthcoming from University of Colorado Press, 2007.

Articles/Book Chapters:

“The Challenge of Race: Rethinking the Position of Black Women in the Field of Women’s History.” *Journal of Women’s History*, volume 19, no. 4.

“The New York City Draft Riot of 1863,” in *The Encyclopedia of American Race Riots*, eds. James Upton and Walter Rucker. Forthcoming, Greenwood Press, 2006.

Leslie M. Alexander, “Seneca Village,” in *Slavery in New York*, eds. Ira Berlin and Leslie Harris (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2005).

Encyclopedia entries:

“Samuel Cornish,” “George Downing,” “Charles Ray,” “Charles Reason,” “Patrick Reason,” “John Russwurm,” “Peter Williams, Jr.,” “Peter Williams, Sr.,” and “William Hamilton,” in *The Encyclopedia of Emancipation and Abolition in the Trans-Atlantic World*, edited by Dr. Junius Rodriguez. Forthcoming, M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 2007.

Book Reviews:

Review of Jane Rhodes’ *Mary Ann Shadd Cary: The Black Press and Protest in the Nineteenth Century*, *Journal of Women’s History*

Review of Patrick Rael’s *Black Identity and Black Protest in the Antebellum North*, *Journal of Nineteenth Century History*

AWARDS AND DISTINCTIONS:

Sphinx and Mortar Board Teaching Award	2005
Ford Foundation Post Doctoral Fellowship	2002
Ford Foundation Dissertation Fellowship	1998
Anonymous Donor Fellowship Recipient, Cornell University	1994-1997
Sage Fellowship Recipient, Cornell University	1992
Future Faculty Incentives Award, Stanford University	1992
Ford/Mellon Minority Research Program Fellow, Cornell University	1990

PROFESSIONAL PRESENTATIONS:

Invited Presentations:

“African American Material Culture in Colonial New York,” The Ohio State University, November 9, 2005.

Keynote Address for Omega Psi Phi Fraternity, Inc. Black Women’s Appreciation Forum, The Ohio State University, November 14, 2005.

Keynote Address for African American Undergraduate Recruitment Day, The Ohio State University, October 8, 2005.

"Religious Reform and Social Change in 19th Century America" for History WORKS. Ohio Historical Society, April 30, 2005.

Invited Speaker on Women's History Month, on radio station WOSU. Columbus, Ohio, March 2005.

Invited Speaker, "Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s Legacy in the 21st Century." Frank Hale Black Cultural Center, The Ohio State University, January 17, 2005.

Invited Speaker for the Maximus Honors Program. The Ohio State University, February 27, 2004.

Invited Speaker/Instructor on "Free Blacks in Antebellum America" for History Works. Ohio Historical Society, February 21, 2004.

Invited Speaker on Civil Rights and Activism for Black History Month. The Ohio State University, Hale Black Cultural Center, February, 21, 2004.

Invited Speaker on the Meaning and Future of Black History, on radio station WOSU. Columbus, Ohio, February 2002.

Keynote Speaker for the Chimes Junior Class Honor Society. The Ohio State University, May 2001.

Consulting:

Consultant, Brooklyn Underground Railroad Project. AKRF, Inc, New York, New York, September 2004-Present.

Consultant, African Burial Ground Memorial Project. National Parks Service Working Session, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, November 5-6, 2004.

Faculty Host, "A Tour of Black New York," for the Honors Program at Ohio State University, May 13-16, 2004.

Chair/Commentaries:

Roundtable Participant, "Author Meets Critics: Leslie Harris, In the Shadow of Slavery: African Americans in New York City, 1626-1863." Social Science History Association, Chicago, Illinois, November 18-20, 2004.

Commentator, "Cultural Landscapes of Resistance and Self-Definition for the Race in Urban America." American Studies Association, Atlanta, Georgia, November 11-14, 2004.

"Africana Studies: Past, Present and Future." African Heritage Studies Association, Roanoke, Virginia, October 7-10, 2004.

Moderator, "Cultural Studies," Conference of Ford Foundation Fellows, San Juan, Puerto Rico, October 16-19, 2003.

Invited Speaker for Maximus Honors Program, "Black Activism During the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812." The Ohio State University, February 2002.

Invited Speaker for the Fireside Chat series, "A Forgotten Black Community: Seneca Village and the Creation of Central Park." The Ohio State University, January 2002.

Moderator on Roundtable at the State of the Black World Conference, "Education and Culture." Atlanta, Georgia, December 2001.

Moderator, "Africana Ethics in the Curriculum," African Heritage Studies Association Conference, Columbus, Ohio, March, 1996.

Conference Papers:

"Africana Studies and African American History." African Heritage Studies Association, Ithaca, New York, October 20-23, 2005.

"Africana Studies and the Future of the Field." National Council for Black Studies, Atlanta, Georgia, March 11-14, 2005.

"'Awake and Slumber No More:' African American Women's Activism in New York City, 1802-1855." American Historical Association, Seattle, Washington, January 6-9, 2005.

"To Leave the House of Bondage?: The Influence of the Haitian Revolution on African American Consciousness in New York City in the Age of Emancipation." Association of Caribbean Historians, Port-au-Prince, Haiti, April 27-30, 2004. (Paper accepted, conference cancelled due to political instability.) Presented instead for the Early American Seminar Series, The Ohio State University, April 9, 2004.

"'Our Patriotism Is Now Put To The Test:' Black New Yorkers' Responses to the War of 1812." American Historical Association, Washington, DC, January 6-10, 2004. (Paper was accepted, but panel was cancelled).

"'We Cast the Mind to Africa:' Memory, Identity and Politics in Nineteenth Century Black New York." Literary Manifestations of the African Diaspora, Cape Coast, Ghana, November 10-14, 2003.

"To Leave the House of Bondage?: The Influence of the Haitian Revolution on African American Consciousness in New York City in the Age of Emancipation." Association for the Study of the Worldwide African Diaspora, Evanston, Illinois, October 2-4, 2003

"'Of What Use Are Processions?:' Black Culture and Consciousness in the Age of Emancipation." Association for the Study of African American Life and History, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, September 23-26, 2003.

"Seneca Village: A Forgotten Symbol of New York City's Free Black Community." American Studies Association, Houston, Texas, November 2002.

"The Past, Present and Future of Africana Studies." African Heritage Studies Association, Detroit, Michigan, April 2002.

"Africa's Children: Moral Uplift, Emigration and Nation Building in Early National New York City, 1784-1827." Conference on New York City History, Gotham Center, October, 2001.

"The Sankofa Plan: The Past, Present and Future of Africana Studies." African Heritage Studies Association Conference, Ithaca, New York, October, 1999.

Museum Exhibition: "We Will Not Be Moved: Commemorating the Legacy of Student Protest at Cornell University. 30th Anniversary of the Willard Straight Hall Takeover, Willard Straight Hall Exhibit. Cornell University, April 1999.

" 'We Will Independent Be': African American Activism and Community Development in New York City, 1784-1860." Organization for American Historians Conference, Toronto, Canada, April, 1999.

"Community, Identity, and Contestation: Emancipation Celebrations in New York in 1827." American Historical Association Conference, Washington, D.C., January, 1999.

" 'We Will Independent Be': African American Activism and Community in New York City, 1808-1860." New York Conference on State and Local History, Buffalo, New York, June, 1998.

" 'Men and Women Who Would Be Free:' African American Political Activism and Community Development in New York City, 1792-1860." Graduate History Association Conference, Cornell University, November 1997.

"Importance of Black Solidarity," Black Solidarity Conference, Cornell University, November, 1995

"The Importance of Graduate Study," African, Latino, Asian, Native American Association Conference, Binghamton, New York, October, 1995

"Community Under Enslavement," African Heritage Studies Association Conference, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, April 1995

"Minorities and the Experience of Graduate Study," African, Latino, Asian, Native American Association Conference, Syracuse, New York, October, 1994

"An Historiographic Analysis of Resistance to Enslavement," African Heritage Studies Association Conference, Chicago, Illinois, April 1994.

MEMBERSHIPS:

American Historical Association
Organization of American Historians
Association for the Study of African American Life and History
African Heritage Studies Association

Executive Board Member, 1999-Present
American Studies Association
National Council for Black Studies

Raymond G. Dobard, Phd.

You are at: [CAS](#) > Department of Art > Faculty Pages > Raymond Dobard

**Mission, Program
& Admissions**

Raymond Dobard, PhD.

Professor (FT), Art History & Painting

History

Office Room: # (LVC Building)

Office Phone: (202) 806-

Faculty & Staff

E-Mail Address:

**Courses & Degree
Information**

Area of Expertise: Quiltmaking, Art History, Watercolor, Painting
Courses:

News & Events

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Online Courses

**The College of
Arts & Sciences**

Arts@Howard

**Howard
University Home**

Raymond G. Dobard, a native of New Orleans, Louisiana, received his Bachelor of Arts degree in Fine Arts from Xavier University of Louisiana in 1970. From the Johns Hopkins University Dobard received his Master of Arts (1973) and Doctor of Philosophy (1975) in the History of Art degrees. Since 1975, Dr. Dobard has been affiliated with Howard University where he is currently Professor of Art in the College of Arts and Sciences. While in graduate studies he was the recipient of several fellowships from such granting organizations as The Johns Hopkins University, The John Hay Whitney Foundation and the Leopold Schepp Foundation. In 1986 he was awarded the first Thomas Mann Fellowship as Artist-in Residence for the city of Lubeck, Germany.

Since 1986, Dr. Dobard's research has included the history and techniques of quilt-making. Beginning in 1989, he has demonstrated quilting techniques at the Renwick Gallery, the National Museum of American Art, the Smithsonian Ripley Center, the Smithsonian Anacostia Museum and the Alexandria Black History Resource Center. He has participated in quilt forums, presented papers at quilt study symposia, served as curator of several quilt exhibits, has published and has lectured on the topic of "American Quilts and the African American Tradition." His own quilts have appeared in numerous exhibits including the Woodlawn Plantation Quilts of Merit Show, The Sumner Museum exhibition of American Crafts, The 2 *Uncommon Beauty in Common Objects Show*, the *American Craft National Show*, the *Man Made: African-American Men and Quilting Traditions show*, the *Stop Asking/We Exist: 25 African-American Craft Artists show*, the Virginia Quilt Museum's *Celestial Treasures show* and *Renaissance Men: Male Quilters*, Denver Colorado.

Dr. Dobard and his quilts have been featured in magazines such as *Lady's Circle Patchwork Magazine*, *Quilt Magazine*, *American Craft and Quilters Newsletter Magazine*. Dr. Dobard served as a founding member of the Board of Directors of the Virginia Quilt Museum, serving from 1993 to 1996. He served on the advisory boards of the Washington, D. C. *Textile Museum [1993-96]* and the *International Quilt Study Center at the University of Nebraska, Lincoln [1997-98]*.

Along with Jacqueline L. Tobin of Denver, Colorado, Dr. Dobard is co-author of the book, *Hidden In Plain View: The Secret Story of Quilts And The Underground Railroad*, published by Doubleday in January of 1999. Dr. Dobard is a contributing editor to the anthology of African American writings entitled *A Howard Reader: An Intellectual And Cultural Quilt of The African American Experience*, published by Houghton Mifflin in 1997. In addition, Professor Dobard has published in the *International Journal of African American Art [1994 Hampton University Press]* and in the *Illinois State Museum's Symposium papers, Connecting Stitches: Quilts in Illinois Life [1995]*. He has contributed to the Washington DC *Antique Show catalogue* and has written the introduction to *Cuesta Benberry's A Piece of My Soul*

[University of 3 Arkansas Press, 2000}

In addition to his work with quilts, Professor Dobard is accomplished in needlepoint, crochet and embroidery. He is also an exhibiting watercolor painter and photographer whose photos are published in *Hidden in Plain View*. His research on quilts, codes and the Underground Railroad continues with an eye towards another book entitled *By Way of Sanduský*. Not limited to historical subjects, Dr. Dobard is currently writing a children's book, based upon his relationship with his Aunt Freda [the late Alfreda Ruiz Gilyot].

PATTERNING FREEDOM: Quilt Patterns and the Underground Railroad By Raymond G. Dobard, Ph. D.

Prior to the publication of the book *Hidden in Plain View: A Secret Story of Quilts and the Underground Railroad*, folklore was the primary source of stories linking quilts to the freedom movement in 19th century America.. Now, thanks to the scholarship of Jacqueline L Tobin and Raymond G Dobard, we are able to trace an African system of visual communication from the Secret Societies in Africa to the enslaved African and free Black populations living in Ante-bellum America.

Experience plantations as places of bondage as well as of learning. Learn how African traditions and African American innovations were handed down from one generation to the next. Discover the importance of the oral tradition and realize how essential it was for "mapping" paths to freedom. See how particular quilt patterns served an oral tradition as mnemonic devices. Learn how the system worked and how you can date old quilts through the fabrics used. Enjoy crafting instructional patterns during this lecture-workshop conducted by quilter, co-author Dr. Raymond G Dobard a Professor of Art-- History of Art at Howard University.

RAYMOND G DOBARD, PH.D.....Recent Activities

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

EXHIBITIONS:

Man Made: African-American Men and Quilting Traditions: Smithsonian Anacostia Museum, from January 18, 1998 through September, 1999.

Celestial Treasures: Quilt Show, Virginia Quilt Museum, Harrisonburg, Virginia, September 1998 through February 1999.

Stop Asking/ We Exist: 25 Contemporary African American Craft Artists. The Society For Contemporary Crafts, Pittsburgh, Penn., November, 1998, Joyce Scott, Guest Curator. Show travels to the American Craft Museum in New York [May 15, 1999] New Bedford, Mass. 2000.

LECTURES:

Jan. 30, 1999. The International Network to Freedom Association Symposium. Memphis, Tennessee.. "The Writing of *Hidden in Plain View: Underground Railroad Connections*"

Feb. 6, 1999 Yawa Book Store, Washington, D.C. "Researching the Code for *Hidden in Plain View*." Book Signing followed.

Feb. 12, 1999. Vertigo Books, Washington D.C., "The Writing of *Hidden in*

Plain View." Book Signing followed.

March 11, 1999, New Carrollton Library, " On Hidden in Plain View,"lecture followed by Book Signing.

March 20, 1999 Common Threads: Creating a Cloth for Empowerment. Symposium, Smithsonian Ripley Center, Washington, D.C., Panelist, "The Story of Hidden in Plain View."

April 24, 1999 The Textile Museum, Washington D.C. "Hidden in Plain View: Quilts as a means of Communication."

May 15,1999. Barnes and Noble of Annapolis Maryland. Lecture on Hidden in Plain View and Book Signing.

May 28-30, 1999 Gullah Festival, Beaufort, So. Carolina. Panelist. "Quilts and the Underground Railroad: Gullah Connections." also Workshop on Quiltmaking conducted.

June 3, 1999. U.S. Department of Education, Cultural Fair, Washington, D.C., "Researching Hidden in Plain View". Also Quiltmaking Workshop conducted

June 10, 1999. Second Kentucky Underground Railroad Symposium: Weaving a Network of Freedom. Keynote address; "Codes and the Underground Railroad: Quilting Paths to Freedom."

June 11, 1999. Civil War Freedom Weekend: Celebrating Emancipation & the 135th Anniversary of the Battle of Fort Stevens. National Park Service at Rock Creek Park sponsors. Washington, DC

June 19, 1999. *Sandy Ground* Historical Society. Staten Island, New York. "Quilts and the Underground Railroad."

October 23, 1999. Riverside Baptist Church Center "Hidden in Plain View: Some new Findings."New York, New York.

November 13, 1999. The Gathering: Underground Railroad Symposium. New Bedford, Dartmouth. " Quiltmaking and the African American Community

RESEARCH:

Aug. 1998, Research trip to Charleston, So Carolina, Beaufort, St. Helena Island and Savannah, Georgia. Final considerations for Hidden in Plain View.

African American Quilts and the Underground Railroad: Codes and a Visual Vernacular: ongoing research

Quiltmaking, Rituals and the Art of Romare Bearden: ongoing research

INTERVIEWS:

Nov, 1998 Oprah Winfrey Show: In the Spirit; interview regarding my quiltmaking, quilt history and the Underground Railroad.

Jan.6, 1999 NBC Nightly News: interview regarding Hidden in Plain View.

Jan 18, 1999 Oprah Winfrey Show rerun of interview.

Feb. 8, 1999 .Today In New York, WNBC-TV, interview regarding Hidden in Plain View

Feb. 26, 1999 Urban Update, WHDH-TV Ch-7, NBC affiliate. Interview regarding Hidden in Plain View.

Feb 28, 1999 Picture This America: African American Special syndicated show ABC-TV.

May 3, 1999. Ann-on-Line. interview with Ann Devlin sponsored by Barnes and Noble. See annonline.com

ABC Weekend News, June 19th, 1999

C-Span Book Tv. August 1st 1999

CITED IN:

USA Today , Jan 19, 1999

Newsweek Magazine, Jan. 25, 1999

The Denver Post, Jan. 26, 1999

Time Magazine For Kids, Feb.5, 1999

Time Magazine For Kids, Feb. 12, 1999

Essence Magazine, Feb. 1999

Howard Magazine, Winter, 1999

The Washington Post: Home [insert], Feb. 18. 1999

Detroit Free Press, Feb 21, 1999

The Chicago Tribune: Home [section], Feb. 28, 1999

The State Newspaper [So. Carolina], March, 1999

The New York Times Book Review, May 9, 1999

Blanket Statements, Newsletter of the American Quilt Study Group, Issue 56, Spring 1999

National Geographic Magazine, November issue 1999

Boston Globe, November 11, 1999

New Bedford , Sunday Standard Times, November 14,1999

MEMBERSHIP IN NATIONAL AND PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS:

Member, National Quilt Study Group

Member, Board of Directors of the International Center for Quilt Study, the University of Nebraska, Lincoln.

Member, Advisory Council, The Textile Museum, Washington, D.C.

PUBLICATIONS:

Hidden In Plain View: A Secret Story of Quilts And The Underground Railroad

Published Jan. 19, 1999 by Doubleday

The Department of Art, Division of Arts & Sciences, Howard University, 2455 6th Street, NW Washington, DC 20059. Telephone: (202) 806-7047 and Fax: (202) 806-9258. Email: visualarts@howard.edu

Note: The faculty reserves the right to withhold artwork done for course work for purpose of exhibition.

James Driscoll

Resume

Education:

St. John's University - B.A.

Hunter College – M.A.

Teaching:

Twenty-five years as a social studies teacher in the New York City Public School System
The last ten at William Cullen Bryant High School in Astoria. Now retired.

Association with the Queens Historical Society:

Member of the Board of Trustees for over twelve years

Vice President of History – 1998 to 2005

President since 2005

Chairman of the Underground Railroad Research Committee since 1998

Other organizations:

Vice President of the Voelker-Orth Museum in Flushing

Publications:

Co-authored the following:

Angels of Deliverance: The Story of the Underground Railroad in Queens, Long Island and Beyond

The Road to Freedom: The Underground Railroad in New York State (a book for eighth graders)

The Friends of Freedom: The Underground Railroad in Queens and on Long Island

All of the above were published by the Society and financed by grants from the New York Department of Recreation, Parks and Historic Preservation.

Other publications:

Article:

“Samuel Parsons: A Long Island Quaker and the Anti-Slavery Struggle” was published in the *Journal of Afro-American History and Genealogy* in the fall of 2003.

Other books:

Flushing: 1830-1930 was recently published by Arcadia Press.

Exhibits curated:

“Angels of Deliverance” was shown at the Society in 2000 and later shown at Suny-Old Westbury and the African-American Museum in Hempstead.

Leslie M. Harris

**History Department, Bowden Hall
Emory University
Atlanta, GA 30322
Email: LHARR04@EMORY.EDU
Phone: 404-727-5130**

Education

1995: Stanford University: Ph.D., American History. Secondary Field: African History. Tertiary Field: Humanities. Dissertation: "Creating the African-American Working Class: Black and White Workers, Abolitionists and Reformers in New York City, 1785-1863." Adviser: George Fredrickson.

1993: Stanford University: M.A., American History.

1988: Columbia University: B.A., American History Major, Literature Minor.

**Postgraduate
Appointments:**

Fall 2004-2006: Chair, Department of African-American Studies, Emory University

Fall 2003: Associate Chair, African American Studies; Joint Appointment, Associate Professor, History and African American Studies Departments, Emory University

Fall 2001: Associate Professor, History Department, Emory University

1995-2001: Assistant Professor, History Department, Emory University.

1998-99: Ford Foundation Postdoctoral Fellow, Columbia University, New York.

1998-99: Independent Scholar-in-Residence, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library.

Fall 1994-Fall 1995: Postdoctoral Fellow, University of Maryland at College Park.

**Teaching and
Research
Interests**

Nineteenth-Century United States History, African-American History, United States Labor History, History of Women, Gender and Sexuality, History of Race and Ethnicity, Southern History, History of the Atlantic World.

**Grants and
Awards**

- 2004: Columbia College Alumna Achievement Award
- 2001-02: Emory University Research Council Award
- 1998-99: Ford Foundation Postdoctoral Fellowship for Minorities.
- 1998-99: Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture Scholars-in-Residence Postdoctoral Award (declined)
- Summers 1996-2000: Emory College Faculty Development Award.
- 1996: Emory University President's Commission on the Status of Minorities Travel Grant for Conference Presentations.
- 1994-1995: Postdoctoral Fellow, University of Maryland, College Park.
- Summer, 1994: Dorothy Danforth Compton Fellowship.
- 1994: American Historical Association Littleton-Griswold Grant for Research in American Legal History.
- 1993-94: Stanford University James Birdsall Weter Grant.
- 1992-93: Mellon Dissertation Grant.
- 1991-92: Stanford Humanities Center Graduate Fellow.
- 1990-92: Stanford Graduate Fellowship.
- 1988-90: Mellon Fellowship in the Humanities.
- 1988: Columbia College Kluge Research Grant.
- 1984: Columbia College John Jay Scholar.
- Book**
- In the Shadow of Slavery: African Americans in New York City, 1626-1863.
University of Chicago Press, 2003.
Awards: Honorable Mention, 2003 Frederick Douglass Prize, Gilder Lehrman Center.
2003 Wesley-Logan Prize for African Diaspora History, American Historical Association and Association for the Study of African-American Life and History
- Book Project**
- "Enchained Masculinity: African-American Men of the Slave South"

Articles, Manuscript
and Published

"Slavery, Emancipation and Class Formation in New York City, 1626-1827,"
Journal of Urban History, forthcoming May 2004.

"From Abolitionist Amalgamators to 'Rulers of the Five Points': the Discourse of
Interracial Sex and Reform in Antebellum New York City," in Martha Hodes,
ed., Sex, Love, Race: Crossing Boundaries in North American History (New
York University Press, 1999), 191-212.

"African Americans," in Microsoft Encarta Encyclopedia, 1998.

Chapter Four, "A Limited Freedom: Free Blacks Before the Civil War," in A
History of the African American People, eds. James Oliver Horton and Lois E.
Horton (London: Salamander Books, 1995), 62-73.

Book Reviews

Digital Schomburg Images of African Americans from the Nineteenth Century
http://digital.nypl.org/schomburg/images_aa19/. In
Journal of American History, September 2002.

Maria Diedrich, Love Across Color Lines: Otilie Assing and Frederick
Douglass, Journal of the Early Republic, Fall 2000.

"Civil Rights Unionism: Michael Keith Honey, Black Workers Remember: An
Oral History of Segregation, Unionism, and the Freedom Struggle, in Southern
Changes, Summer 2000.

Ronald Bayor, Race and the Making of Twentieth Century Atlanta, in Journal of
Mississippi History, Summer 1998.

Gary Collison, Shadrach Minkins: From Fugitive Slave to Citizen, and Graham
Hodges, Slavery and Freedom in the Rural North: African Americans in
Monmouth County, New Jersey, 1665-1865, in Journal of the Early Republic,
Fall 1997.

Winthrop Jordan, Tumult and Silence at Second Creek, in Labor History, Winter
1994.

Papers
Presented

October 2003: "Black Women in Defense of Themselves: Rape, Domestic
Violence and the Courts during New York's Emancipation Era, 1799-1827,"
American Studies Association, Hartford, Ct.

August 2003: "Courtship and Masculinity in the Antebellum Deep South Slave
Community," American Historical Association—Pacific Coast Branch,

Honolulu, HI.

July 2003: In the Shadow of Slavery, Columbia University Alumni Club of Atlanta, Atlanta, Georgia

July 2003: In the Shadow of Slavery, Sweet Java Brown Coffee House, Atlanta, Georgia.

May 2003: "Free But Unequal: The Limits of Emancipation in New York City," History Department, University of the Western Cape, Cape Town, South Africa.

May 2003: "Dutch Slavery in Seventeenth-Century New Amsterdam," History Department, University of Cape Town, Cape Town, South Africa.

May 2003: "Researching and Writing about Antebellum Black Communities," Society for the Preservation of Weeksville, Brooklyn Public Library, Brooklyn, New York

February 2003: "Slavery and Freedom in Antebellum New York City," African-Americans in the Diaspora, St. Michael's College, Burlington, Vt.

November, 2001: "Slavery, Emancipation and Class Formation in New York City, 1626-1827," at "White Supremacy/Black Liberation: A Conference in Honor of George Fredrickson," Stanford University, Stanford, Ca.

August 2001: "Enchained Masculinity: African American Men of the Slave South," American Historical Association—Pacific Coast Branch, Vancouver, British Columbia.

October, 2000: "Emancipation, Interracial Sex, and Citizenship in Early National New York City, 1785-1827," American Studies Association Annual Conference, Detroit, Mich.

April, 2000: Discussant, "Mapping the 'Discipline'/Disciplining the Map: The Topography of American Studies," Emory University.

April, 2000: Comment on conference panel "African-Descended People and the Public Sphere in the Nineteenth-Century United States," Organization of American Historians Conference, St. Louis, Mo.

October, 1999: "Free But Not Equal: The Limits of Emancipation in New York City," African-American Studies Faculty Workshop, Emory University.

April, 1999: "Emancipation, Interracial Sex, and Black Citizenship in Early National New York City, 1785-1827," Organization of American Historians

Conference, Toronto, Canada.

March, 1999: "The Long Shadow of Southern Slavery: Radical Abolitionists and Black Political Activism against Slavery in New York City, 1830-1840," Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York, NY.

February, 1999: "Creating the African-American Working Class in New York City, 1626-1863," Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York, NY.

November, 1998: "Defining Black Freedom During New York's Emancipation Era, 1799-1827," Wesleyan University, Middletown, CT.

October, 1997: "Pressing Forward to Greater Perfection, Part II: Abolitionist-Reformers and Black Workers after 1840," Atlanta Seminar on the Comparative History of Labor, Industry, Technology, and Society, Atlanta, GA.

January, 1997: "Rulers of the Five Points: Interracial Sex and Class in Antebellum New York City," American Historical Association, New York, NY.

December, 1996: "Creating the African-American Working Class in New York City," History Department and African-American Studies Program, Princeton University, Princeton, N.J.

March, 1996: "Emancipation, Race and Class in New York City, 1785-1827," Organization of American Historians Conference, Chicago, IL.

September, 1995: "Creating the African-American Working Class in Antebellum New York City: The Case of the Association for the Benefit of Colored Orphans," Emory University African-American Studies Program and the Spelman College Women's Resource and Research Center Brown Bag Lecture.

April, 1995: "Slavery, Emancipation, and the Racialization of New York's Working Class, 1785-1827," The Washington Seminar on American History and Culture, Washington, D.C.

February, 1995: "Creating the African American Working Class in Antebellum New York City," University of Maryland, College Park, History Department Lecture Series.

October, 1993: "Quaker Reformers and Black Workers in New York City: The Case of the Association for the Benefit of Colored Orphans, 1836-1863," The Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History Conference, Baltimore, MD.

April, 1992: "New Trends in Twentieth Century African-American History,"

Teaching Diversity in High Schools Conference, sponsored by the Center for Educational Research, Stanford University, Stanford, CA.

April, 1992: "The Black Manual Labor School Project and the Development of a Black Labor Ideology, 1830-1855," Reworking American Labor History: Race, Gender, and Class Conference, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, WI.

Research

January 2000: Book manuscript research (slavery and masculinity) at the Newberry Library, Chicago, Ill.

Fall 1998-Summer 1999: Book manuscript research (New York City blacks) at the New-York Historical Society; the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York, N.Y.; The American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.; New York Public Library, New York, N.Y.; Columbia University Library, New York, N.Y.

Fall 1994-Summer 1995: Book manuscript research at the New-York Historical Society, New York, N.Y.; the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; the Quaker Archives, Haverford and Swarthmore, Penn.; the New York State Archives, Albany, N.Y.; the Municipal Archives, New York, N.Y.; New York Public Library, New York, N.Y.

Summer 1992, January-June 1993: Dissertation research at the New-York Historical Society, New York, N.Y.; the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; the Municipal Archives, New York, N.Y.; the Amistad Research Center, New Orleans, La.; Columbia University Rare Books and Manuscripts Collection, New York, N.Y.; Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York, N.Y.; New York Public Library, New York, N.Y.

Winter, 1989-Summer 1990: John Irvine Research Intern at the Martin Luther King, Jr., Papers Project, Stanford University. Advisers: Professor Clayborne Carson, Archivist Susan Carson, Professor Stewart Burns.

Teaching

Fall 1995-Fall 1999: Undergraduate Courses Developed: African-American History to 1877; Race, Gender, Class and the Radical Abolitionists; The Free Black Community in the Antebellum United States; African-American Freedom Struggles from the 19th Century to the Present; Slavery in United States History and Culture; The African Background to Atlantic Culture (with Professor Kristin Mann).

Graduate Courses developed: Topics in African-American History to 1877; Seminar in the Comparative History of Labor, Industry, Technology and Society (with Professors Ian Fletcher and Michael Allen); Race, Gender and Sexuality in U.S. History (with Professor Mary Odem).

Summers 1996, 1998: Led two-day workshop entitled "Race, Gender, Class and African-American History," Mellon Summer Institute for Minority Undergraduates, Emory University.

Fall 1995-Fall 2002: Member of fifteen dissertation prospectus defense committees; member of five dissertation committees.

1990-1992: Teaching Assistant, Stanford University History Department: 19th-Century United States History; United States Women's History; The American South, 1815-1900.

Teaching Assistant, Stanford University English Department: American Literature and Culture to 1855.

Consultantships

June 1999: Lecturer, The Scholarly Journey Series, Columbia University Graduate School of Arts and Sciences Summer Research Program for Students from Historically Underrepresented Groups

1998-present: Advisory Board Member, Seneca Village Project, New York City.

1997-98: Manuscript Reviewer, Bedford Books.

1997: Manuscript Reviewer, University of California Press.

Spring 1996: Consultant-facilitator at Spelman College's Mellon Faculty Workshop on Diversity in the Classroom. Topic "Class in the Classroom: Historical Approaches and Pedagogical Challenges to the Study of Class and Racial Diversity in the United States."

Department Service

Fall 1999: Member, Emory History Department Colloquium Committee.

1997-1998: Member, Advisory Committee, Emory History Department.

Spring 1996-1998: Member, Undergraduate Program Committee, Emory History Department.

1995-1998: Member, Minority Recruitment Committee, Emory History Department.

1992-93: Coordinator of the Stanford History Department Teaching Workshops for new teaching assistants and graduate student instructors.

Fall 1991: Co-Leader of the Stanford Center for Teaching and Learning Workshop for new teaching assistants in the Stanford History Department.

1990-91: Co-Chair of the Stanford History Department Graduate Student Association.

Fall 1990: Co-Leader of the Stanford Center for Teaching and Learning Workshop for new teaching assistants in the Stanford History Department.

**University
Service**

1997-1998: Chair, Emory College Affirmative Action Committee

1996-1997: Member, Emory College Affirmative Action Committee

1996-1998: Board Member, Emory Women's Center.

1996-1998: Emory College Curriculum Committee

1995-1997: Faculty Representative, President's Commission on Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Life at Emory University. Subcommittee: Gay Studies Curriculum.

**Conference
Service**

October 2002: Co-Convener, "Lynching and Racial Violence in the United States," Emory University, Atlanta, Ga.

November 2001: Co-Convener, "White Supremacy/Black Liberation: A Conference in Honor of George Fredrickson," Stanford University, Stanford, Ca.

October 1997: Panel Chair, "Going Public Beyond the Territory: African-Americans in Europe," 1997 American Studies Association Annual Convention, Washington, D.C.

**Professional
Memberships**

Organization of American Historians, American Historical Association, American Studies Association, Southern Historical Association, American Association of University Professors, Coordinating Committee on Women in the Historical Profession.

Andrew P. Jackson (Sekou Molefi Baako)
25-14 97th Street East Elmhurst, New York 11369
(718) 397-9261 (Home) (718) 651-1100 ext. 210 (Office)
andrew.p.jackson@queenslibrary.org

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

1980-Present Executive Director
Langston Hughes Community Library and Cultural Center
Queens Borough Public Library
100-01 Northern Boulevard Corona, New York 11368

- *Overall administration, budgeting and management of library center.
- *Staff supervision and evaluation (10FT,3PT).
- *Cultural arts administrator.
- *Team building and strategic planning for quality customer service.
- *Develop and administer library and cultural arts budgets.
- *Plan independent film festivals, musical concerts, artist exhibitions and receptions, literary and poetry readings/discussions, panels and four annual cultural celebrations.
- *Proposal writing, grant preparation, fundraising, program reports.
- *Community outreach and public relations.
- *Advisor on library projects.
- *Documentation of library center's history.
- *Library conference presentations.
- *Testify at budget hearings.
- *Network with other libraries, arts and cultural institutions and community based organizations.
- *Created, organized and implemented four annual cultural celebrations.
- *Liaison to founding Board of Directors.

Fall 2001-Present Adjunct Lecturer York College (CUNY)

EDUCATION

- Master of Library Science**
Graduate School of Library and Information Studies
Queens College (CUNY) Queens, New York Graduated: 1996
- Bachelor of Science - Business Administration**
York College (CUNY) Queens, New York Graduated: 1990 Dean's List - 1990

CERTIFICATION

- Public Librarian's Professional Certificate - #18037 1996
The University of the State of New York Education Department

References available upon request

1986-Present Lecturer – Motivational Speaker.

Promote reading and librarianship.

Class visits, career days, read-ins and poetry readings.

Lecture topics: "Diversity in the Work Place". "Strive for Excellence!"

Africana History and Cultural Topics:

"Ancient African Empires"

"African Values"

"From Africa to America"

"The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade"

"The Harlem Renaissance"

"Martin, Malcolm and Human Rights Struggle"

"The Life and Works of Langston Hughes",

"Kwanzaa: A Seven Day African American Cultural Celebration"

"In the Tradition: The Legacy of Culture Messengers from Langston Hughes
to Tupac Shaku

Perform Libation Ceremonies.

CONSULTANT

March 2000. Evaluated the *Mollie Huston Lee Rare Book and Reference Collection*

Richard B. Harrison Library, Wake County Public Libraries Raleigh, NC.

Recommended improvements for collection development, preservation and outreach.

National Office

2004-2006 President, Black Caucus, American Library Association, Inc. (BCALA)

2002-2004 Vice-President/President Elect, Chairperson Program Committee, BCALA

National Memberships:

American Library Association, Inc.

ALA Diversity Council

ALA Annual Martin Luther King, Jr. Celebration Planning Committee

Public Library Association

New York Black Librarians Caucus

MILITARY SERVICE

1964-1968 United States Air Force Staff Sergeant (E-5)

Honorable Discharge.

Bronze Star Medal Vietnam, 1967

First Term Airman of the Year, Nha Trang Airbase, Vietnam, 1967.

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS

Vice President/President-Elect, Program Committee Chairperson
Black Caucus of the American Library Association 2002-2004
Member - Spectrum Leadership Institute IV-American Library Association
Member - Children's Defense Fund Langston Hughes Library National Advisory Board
Member - American Library Association
Member - Public Library Association of the American Library Association
Member - Library and Management Association of the American Library Association
Member - Executive Board, Black Caucus of the American Library Association 1998-
Member - New York Library Association
Member - New York Black Librarian's Caucus 1992
Member - New York State Freedom Trail Commission 1999-

COMMUNITY AFFILIATIONS

Facilitator and Panelist - Queens Council on the Arts, Bronx Arts Councils.
2003- Member, Technical Advisory Committee-North Corona Transportation Study
2001- Member, Alumni Board, Graduate School of Library Studies
Queens College (CUNY)
2000- Member, Board of Trustees, The Renaissance Charter School
1999- Member, Poet Laureate of Queens Selection Committee
1999- Member, Board for the Education of People of African Ancestry
1998- Member, Board of Directors, Corona-East Elmhurst Chapter, Dollars for Scholars
1998- Member, Community Advisory Board Louis Armstrong House & Archives
1997 Treasurer, York College Community Advisory Council
1997 - Present Queens Borough President's African American Heritage Planning
Committee 1997-99 Co-Chairperson, 2000-2002 Chairperson
1990-1996 Co-Chair, Community Advisory Board - Otis Bantum Correctional Center
1990-1993;1995-1997 Board of Directors - York College Alumni, Inc.
1989- Present Member, Board of Directors, Queens Public Television
1987-1990 Treasurer, Northern Boulevard Merchant's Association
1983-1997 Member, Community Advisory Board - Elmhurst Hospital Center
Chairperson, 1987-1989
Life Member NAACP - Corona-East Elmhurst Branch

ARTICLES AND PUBLICATIONS

LITERARY

African American Almanac. Ninth Edition. Foreward. The Gale Group, January 2003.

Jackson, Andrew P. "Don't Take it For Granted!" Library Action Committee Newsletter, November, 2001.

Jackson, Andrew P. Queens Notes A Work in Progress. Facts about the forgotten borough, Queens, New York. December 2001

Josey, E.J., Marva L. DeLoach. Handbook of Black Librarianship Second Edition "Library Services to Black Americans". Part VI African Americans and the Knowledge Profession. Pages 455-465. July, 2000.

BCALA. Proceedings of the Third National Conference of the Black Caucus of the American Library Association. "In Our Opinion: The Concept of Black Librarianship" Written with Gladys Smiley Bell. July, 1999.

Queens Borough Public Library. Queens New York: Towards Documenting A Cultural Identity. An Annotated Biography. Graduate Research Project, Queens College Graduate School of Library Studies, January, 1997. Printed / distributed to 62 branches.

BCALA. Proceedings of the Second National Conference of the Black Caucus of the American Library Association. "The Twenty-Five Year History of the Langston Hughes Community Library and Cultural Center". November, 1995.

New York State Department of Education. The Bookmark. "A Multi-Edged Sword Fighting Illiteracy, The Langston Hughes Community Library and Cultural Center". Summer, 1985

MEDIA AND ARTICLES

Newsletter of the Black Caucus, American Library Association. "Beautiful Toronto-A Place To See!" Vol. 32, No. August 1, 2003.

Newsletter of the Black Caucus, American Library Association. "BCALA Affiliates Meet at 5th National Conference of African American Librarians." Vol. 31 No 2/3 October/December 2002.

Newsletter of the Black Caucus, American Library Association. "Closing Remarks for the Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Celebration, ALA Mid-Winter Meeting" January 27, 2002. Vol. 31, No. 6, June 2003.

Power of the Word "The Future Springs From the Past" Vol. 1, Issue 3, June-July 2001

Queens Courier "Why Black History Month?" Vol. 6 No. 21, February 10-16, 1999

News for Staff - Queens Library. "Langston Hughes Update..." Vol. 23, No 11, July 2, 1998.

News for Staff - Queens Library. "Open Mic Night at Langston Hughes" Vol. 23, No. 10, June 2, 1998

New York Page. "Change and Transition". June, 1998.

Board for the Education of People of African Ancestry, John Henrik Clarke House. In Defense of Our Children. "The Education of the African Child. Who Is In The Village, What Are Their Responsibilities?" July, 1997.

Keywords The Student Association Newsletter Queens College Graduate School of Library Studies "The Purpose of Black History Month". Vol. 1, No. 1 February, 1996.

New York Voice. "My Thoughts for Black History Month '97". February, 1997.

New York Page. "My Thoughts for Black History Month '97". February, 1997.

Queens Borough Public Library. Queens Library "A Branch Grows... The Langston Hughes Community Library and Cultural Center". July, 1992.

Pandora's Box. York College (CUNY) "A Plea for *Real* Black History". Feb. 19, 1988.

Spirit Magazine. York College (CUNY) "Truth, Justice and The American Way". Feb-Mar 1988.

Pandora's Box. York College (CUNY) "Black Americans Omitted from History". Apr. 10, 1986.

Curriculum Vitae

Cheryl Janifer LaRoche, Ph. D.

5333 Strathmore Avenue
Kensington, MD 20895
301-946-4471
claroche@umd.edu

ACADEMIC PREPARATION

- Ph.D. 2004 American Studies, The University of Maryland, College Park
Concentration in Archaeology and African American History
Dissertation: "On The Edge of Freedom: Free Black Communities, Archaeology, and the Underground Railroad" analyzes African American participation in the Underground Railroad through maps, the black church, cultural landscapes, and the "geography of resistance." Director: Paul Shackel
- M.A. 1994 State University of New York, Fashion Institute of Technology
Museum Studies, Objects Conservation
Thesis: "Glass Beads Excavated from The African Burial Ground, New York City: Conservation, Analysis and Interpretation." Director: Gary McGowan
- B.A. 1982 State University of New York, Buffalo, Psychology and Art

AWARDS, GRANTS AND FELLOWSHIPS

- 2004 Carl Bode Dissertation Prize, Department of American Studies, University of Maryland, co-winner
- 2004 Study Abroad Program, Salvador da Bahia and Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. History Department, University of Maryland
- 2001-2004 Ford Foundation Pre-doctoral Fellowship for Minorities, National Academy of Sciences, National Research Council
- 2000-2001 Monticello Scholar, Women in Archaeology Program, Center for American Archaeology, Kampsville, IL
- 2000 Research and Travel Grant, Committee on Africa in the Americas, University of Maryland, College Park, MD
- 1999-2001 Doctoral Fellowship, University of Maryland, Department of American Studies

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

- Fall 2005 Adjunct Faculty, History Department, Georgetown University. Taught HIST 293, Black History Through Black Culture

2004-2005 Adjunct Faculty, History and African American Studies, University of Maryland University College. Developed and taught HIST 460, "African American Life: 1500 to 1865." Also certified to teach on-line

Other relevant employment

2005 Historical and archaeological consultant, Museum of African American History and Center for Culture and Environmental History, University of Massachusetts Boston. Collaborating on research design for the African Meeting House data recovery proposal and archaeological interpretation of cultural materials.

2004-2006 Research Associate, Department of American Studies, University of Maryland

2004-2005 Peer Reviewer, AKRF, Inc. Environmental and Planning Consultants, New York City. Reviewed Scope of Research, Comments and Responses to Draft Research Report for potential Underground Railroad site in Brooklyn, NY

2004 Advisor-African Burial Ground Memorial, Conservation/Landscape/Engineering, African Burial Ground Technical Assistance Project, National Park Service

2004 Historical Consultant, Joseph Holston Underground Railroad Art Project, University of Maryland University College

2002 Historical Consultant, United States National Forest, Shawnee National Forest Service. Wrote UGRR Network to Freedom Application for Miller Grove Site

1993-1999 Archaeological Conservator, John Milner Associates
Conserved artifacts from the African Burial Ground and Five Points Projects. Assisted in the assessment, packing and transportation of the human skeletal remains to Howard University, Washington, D.C.

1997-1999 Archaeological Conservator, Cultural Preservation and Restoration
Assessed, stabilized and conserved sculpted faces from a possible Underground Railroad site, Syracuse, NY

1995-1998 Bead consultant, *Henrietta Marie* Slave Ship Project, Key West, FL

PUBLICATIONS

"The Archaeology of Black Americans in Recent Times" (Co-author). *Annual Review of Anthropology*. Vol. 34. In final review

"The Conservation Report for the African Burial Ground Project and the 290 Broadway Block." In review. John Milner Associates for Edwards and Kelcey Engineers, Inc.; the General Services Administration, and Howard University

"William Paul Quinn, 4th Bishop of the AME Church." Biographical entry, in review. *African American National Biography*, Harvard University (co-author)

- 2005 "Heritage, Archaeology, and African-American History" *The SAA Archaeological Record*, 5(2)
- 2005 "Heritage, Archaeology, and African-American History," Seminar Paper, "The Public Meaning of Archaeological Heritage" A Seminar in Archaeology and Interpretation. Center for Heritage Studies, University of Maryland. <http://www.heritage.umd.edu/CHRSWeb/nps/training/laroche.htm>
- 2001 "Material Culture": Conservation and Analysis of Textiles Recovered from Five Points. (Co-author with Gary McGowan) *Journal of the Society for Historical Archaeology*, 35(3): 65-75
- 2000 *Tales of Five Points: Working-Class Life in Nineteenth-Century New York. Volume V Conservation of Materials from The Courthouse Block.* (Co-author) John Milner Assoc., Inc. for Edwards and Kelcey Engineers, Inc. and the GSA
- 2000 *Tales of Five Points: Working-Class Life in Nineteenth-Century New York. Volume II An Interpretive Approach to Understanding Working-Class Life.* (Contributor) John Milner Associates, Inc. for Edwards and Kelcey Engineers, Inc. and the General Services Administration
- 1996 "Seizing Intellectual Power: The Dialogue at the New York African Burial Ground" (Co-author with Michael Blakey) *Journal of the Society for Historical Archaeology*, 31(3): 84-106
- 1995 The Ethical Dilemma Facing Conservation: Care and Treatment of Human Skeletal Remains and Mortuary Objects, (Co-author with Gary McGowan) *Journal of the American Institute for Conservation*, 35, June
- 1995 "Beads from the African Burial Ground: A Preliminary Assessment." *Beads: Journal of the Society of Bead Researchers*, 6, 3-20

PROFESSIONAL PRESENTATIONS

- 2005 Session Chair, Tourism, Representation and Heritage Sites. "Touring the Painful Past: Archaeology, Tourism, and African-American Heritage" Society for Applied Anthropology Annual Meeting, Santa Fe, April 5-9
- 2005 "The African Burial Ground in the Age of Revolution: A Landscape in Transition." Society for Historical Archaeology Annual Meeting, York, UK
- 2004 "Archaeology and African American History" Public Meaning of Archaeological Heritage Seminar for the National Park Service, Univ. of Maryland, Oct. 28-29
- 2004 "Notes Toward a Chronological Biography of William Paul Quinn, 4th Bishop of the AME Church, Annual meeting, Afro-American Historical & Genealogical Society, Inc. (co-author)
- 2004 "Archaeology, the Free Black Community and the Underground Railroad" Society for Historical Archaeology Annual Meeting, St. Louis, Jan. 7-11

- 2003 "Northern Plantations: An Archaeological and Historical Overview"
2003 Annual Conference of Ford Fellows, San Juan, Puerto Rico, Oct. 17-18
- 2003 "Archaeology, Public Engagement, and the Black Community" Chesapeake
American Studies Association Annual Meeting. University of Maryland
- 2003 "Plantations in the North" National Public Radio, All Things Considered with
Bob Edwards, March 10
- 2003 Session Chair and Presenter. Northern Plantations Symposium. Society for
Historical Archaeology, Providence, RI. Jan. 14-19
- 2002 Keynote Speaker. "The Geography of Resistance: Archaeology and the
Underground Railroad" Council for Northeast Historical Archaeology Annual
Meeting. Wilmington, DE. Oct. 18-20
- 2002 "From Slave Ship to Cemeteries to the Underground Railroad: Archaeology,
Public History, and the African American Experience." Academic Exchange
Sessions, Conference of Ford Fellows, Albuquerque, NM, Oct. 3-5
- 2002 "Sites of History, Sites of Memory, Sites of Hope: Preservation and the African-
American Historical Landscape." Association of African American Museums
(AAAM) Annual Meeting, August 22
- 2000 "From Slave Ships to Cemeteries: Archaeology as an Alternative Path to
History." The Joint Consortium for the Study of Slavery and Freedom. Graduate
Student Forum, New Work on Slavery. University of Maryland, George
Washington University, and Georgetown University, December
- 2001 "History, Tourism, Commemoration, and Archaeology." Public Spaces/Hidden
Voices: Issues of Heritage, Cultural and Culinary Tourism. Material
Culture/Visual Culture Working Group, University of Maryland, December
- 2001 "Alternative Paths to History: Archaeology and the Material Record." The
Association for the Study of African American Life and History, Annual
Meeting, Washington, D.C., Sept. 26-30
- 2001 Discussant, "Archaeology in the 'Glory Land': Excavation of African American
Sites North of the Ohio River." Society for American Archaeology Annual
Meeting, New Orleans, LA, April 18-22
- 2001 "Rebels, Runaways and Researchers," Lecture to accompany the unveiling of
"the faces." ALANA Cultural Center, Colgate University, Hamilton, NY
- 2000 "Women and the Underground Railroad," American Studies Association Annual
Meeting, Detroit, Mi., Oct. 11-15
- 2000 Session Co-chair and Presenter, Society for Historical Archaeology Annual
Meeting. "The Underground Railroad and African-Canadian Archaeological
Sites," Quebec City

- 1999 "Artifacts from African Burial Ground and other Northeastern Archaeological Sites." Lecturer and Panel Discussant. Acadia University; Black Loyalist Heritage Society; Nova Scotia Archaeological Society, Nova Scotia, Canada
- 1998 Session Chair, "The Archaeology of the Middle Passage: The Wreck of *The Henrietta Marie* as an Episode in the History of the African Diaspora." Society for Historical Archaeology Annual Meeting, Atlanta, GA
- 1998 "Keepers of the Culture: Women's Role in the Preparation of the Dead" (Co-author), Society for Historical Archaeology Annual Meeting, Atlanta, GA
- 1998 Politics, Ethics, and Archaeology," Guest lecturer, Department of Anthropology, State University of New York, Binghamton, NY
- 1998 "Beads and the African Diaspora: Three Selected Sites." Sankofa Bird Project Lecture Series, San Diego, CA
- 1995-1998 Lecture to conservation interns, "Conserve a Legacy Program: American Art from Historically Black Colleges and Universities," Williamstown Restoration program, for the Studio Museum in Harlem, NYC
- 1997 "Beads from the African Burial Ground" The Louis H. Blumengarten Lecture in Urban Archaeology; Archaeological Institute of America; NY State Archaeological Assoc., and Program in Anthropology, CUNY
- 1997 "Before Central Park: The Life and Death of Seneca Village." Lecture to accompany exhibition, New York Historical Society, NY
- 1997 "Seizing Intellectual Power: The Dialogue at Foley Square." Society for Historical Archaeology Annual Meeting, Cincinnati, OH
- 1996 "Material Culture: An Analysis of Recovered Rags and Textiles from the Needle Trades at Five Points (Co-author), Annual Meeting, Society for Historical Archaeology, Cincinnati, Ohio
- 1996 "Archaeological Textiles from Five Points" Textile Conservation Group, NYC
- 1996 "Ethical Problems in Conservation" Guest Lecturer, New York University, Institute of Fine Art, NYC
- 1996 "Conserving Artifacts from the African Burial Ground," New York Unearthed, the Urban Archaeology Center of the South Street Seaport Museum, NYC
- 1996 "The Ethical Dilemma: Conservation and the Care and Treatment of Human Skeletal Remains," University of Delaware/Winterthur, Guest Lecturer, Students' Choice Series
- 1996 "Maps, the Collect Pond and the African Burial Ground," What Became of Pot Bakers Hill Lecture Series, New York Historical Society, NYC

- 1996 "Stringing It All Together: Beads in the Archaeological Record" The African Impact on the Material Culture of the Americas, Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, Winston-Salem, North Carolina
- 1996 *Slavery's Buried Past*. The New Explorers Series, Public Broadcasting System
- 1996 "Understanding a Woman through Archaeology: Burial 340"—Women In and Through Archaeology lecture series, Public Forum, Professional Archaeologists of New York City
- 1995 "Conservation of Artifacts from an Antebellum Cemetery, First African Baptist Church, Philadelphia, PA" (Co-author). Society for Historical Archaeology Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C.
- 1995 "Conservation of Artifacts from the African Burial Ground" Hamilton Grange Preservation Society, New York
- 1995 "Maps, Collect Pond, and the African Burial Ground" Lecture to accompany exhibit, New York Historical Society
- 1995 "The Ethical Dilemma: Care and Treatment of Human Skeletal Remains" (Co-author). General Session, Annual Meeting, American Institute for Conservation, St. Paul, MN
- 1995 "The Microscope as an Aid to Archeological Conservation." New York Microscopical Society, NYC

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

American Anthropological Association (AAA)
 Afro-American Historical & Genealogical Society, Inc. (AAHGS)
 American Studies Association (ASA)
 Association for the Study of African American Life and History (ASALH)
 Chesapeake American Studies Association (CHASA)
 Council for Northeast Historical Archaeology (CNHEA)
 Organization of American Historians (OAH)
 Society for Applied Anthropology (SFAA)
 Society for Historical Archaeology (SHA)

SERVICE

- 2002-present Tolson's Chapel Advisory Board, Save Historic Antietam Foundation, Inc., Sharpsburg, MD
- 1998-present Advisory Board Member, Seneca Village Project, New York Historical Society, New York
- 2003 Co-Planned and hosted, "A Tribute to Trailblazers: A Reception to Honor American Studies' Alumni of Color." University of Maryland, March 18

- 2000-2001 Consultant to the Catocin Center for Research Studies, Steering Committee,
Frederic Historic Sites Consortium, Frederick, MD
- 1998-1999 Advisory Board, "Human Remains: Conservation, Retrieval and Analysis"
Conference, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, VA, Nov. 7-11

Cheryl Janifer LaRoche

University of Maryland

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Kensington, MD 20895
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Department of American Studies
1102 Holzapfel Hall
College Park, MD 20742
301-405-1354/301-314-9453 (F)

ACADEMIC PREPARATION

- Ph.D. 2004 American Studies, The University of Maryland, College Park
Concentration in Archaeology and African American History
Dissertation: "On The Edge of Freedom: Free Black Communities, Archaeology, and the Underground Railroad" analyzes African American participation in the Underground Railroad through maps, the black church, cultural landscapes, and the "geography of resistance." Director: Paul Shackel
- M.A. 1994 State University of New York, Fashion Institute of Technology
Museum Studies, Objects Conservation
Thesis: "Glass Beads Excavated from The African Burial Ground, New York City: Conservation, Analysis and Interpretation." Director: Gary McGowan
- B.A. 1982 State University of New York, Buffalo, Psychology and Art

AWARDS, GRANTS AND FELLOWSHIPS

- 2004 Finalist, Ralph Henry Gabriel Dissertation Prize, American Studies Association, decision pending.
- 2004 Carl Bode Dissertation Prize, Department of American Studies, University of Maryland, co-winner.
- 2004 Study Abroad Program, Salvador da Bahia and Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. History Department, University of Maryland
- 2003 Best Student Paper Prize, "Archaeology, Public Engagement, and the Black Community." Chesapeake American Studies Association Annual Meeting. University of Maryland, April 5-6, co-winner.
- 2001-2004 Ford Foundation Pre-doctoral Fellowship for Minorities, National Academy of Sciences, National Research Council.
- 2000-2001 Monticello Scholar, Women in Archaeology Program, Center for American Archaeology, Kampsville, IL.
- 2000 Research and Travel Grant, Committee on Africa in the Americas, University of Maryland, College Park, MD.
- 1999-2001 Doctoral Fellowship, University of Maryland, Department of American Studies.

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

- 2004 Research Associate, Department of American Studies, University of Maryland
- 2002 Historical Consultant—United States National Forest, Shawnee National Forest Service. Wrote UGRR Network to Freedom Application for Miller Grove Site
- 1993-1999 John Milner Associates—Archaeological Conservator
Conserved artifacts from the African Burial Ground and Five Points Projects. Assisted in the assessment, packing and transportation of the human skeletal remains to Howard University, Washington, D.C.
- 1997-1999 Cultural Preservation and Restoration—Archaeological Conservator
Assessed, stabilized and conserved sculpted faces from a possible Underground Railroad site, Syracuse, NY.
- 1995-1998 Bead Research Institute
Bead consultant—*Henrietta Marie* Slave Ship Project, Key West, FL.

PUBLICATIONS

- “The Conservation Report for the African Burial Ground Project and the 290 Broadway Block.” In review. John Milner Associates for Edwards and Kelcey Engineers, Inc. and the General Services Administration.
- 2001 “Material Culture”: Conservation and Analysis of Textiles Recovered from Five Points. (Co-author with Gary McGowan) *Journal of the Society for Historical Archaeology*, 35(3): 65-75.
- 2000 *Tales of Five Points: Working-Class Life in Nineteenth-Century New York. Volume V Conservation of Materials from The Courthouse Block (Block 160).* Co-author, John Milner Assoc., Inc. for Edwards and Kelcey Engineers, Inc. and the General Services Administration.
- 2000 *Tales of Five Points: Working-Class Life in Nineteenth-Century New York. Volume II An Interpretive Approach to Understanding Working-Class Life.* (Contributor) John Milner Associates, Inc. for Edwards and Kelcey Engineers, Inc. and the General Services Administration.
- 1996 “Seizing Intellectual Power: The Dialogue at the New York African Burial Ground” (Co-author with Michael Blakey) *Journal of the Society for Historical Archaeology*, 31(3): 84-106.
- 1995 The Ethical Dilemma Facing Conservation: Care and Treatment of Human Skeletal Remains and Mortuary Objects, (Co-author with Gary McGowan) *Journal of the American Institute for Conservation*, 35, June.

- 1995 "Beads from the African Burial Ground: A Preliminary Assessment." *Beads: Journal of the Society of Bead Researchers*, 6, 3-20.

PROFESSIONAL PRESENTATIONS

- 2004 "Archaeology, the Free Black Community and the Underground Railroad" Society for Historical Archaeology Annual Meeting, St. Louis, Jan 7-11.
- 2003 "Northern Plantations: An Archaeological and Historical Overview" 2003 Annual Conference of Ford Fellows, San Juan, Puerto Rico, Oct. 17-18.
- 2003 "Archaeology, Public Engagement, and the Black Community" Chesapeake American Studies Association Annual Meeting. University of Maryland.
- 2003 "Plantations in the North" National Public Radio, *All Things Considered* with Bob Edwards, March 10.
- 2003 Session Chair and Presenter. Northern Plantations Symposium. Society for Historical Archaeology, Providence, RI. Jan. 14-19.
- 2002 Keynote Speaker. "The Geography of Resistance: Archaeology and the Underground Railroad" Council for Northeast Historical Archaeology Annual Meeting. Wilmington, DE. Oct. 18-20.
- 2002 "From Slave Ship to Cemeteries to the Underground Railroad: Archaeology, Public History, and the African American Experience." Academic Exchange Sessions, Conference of Ford Fellows, Albuquerque, NM, Oct 3-5.
- 2002 "Sites of History, Sites of Memory, Sites of Hope: Preservation and the African-American Historical Landscape." Association of African American Museums (AAAM) Annual Meeting, August 22.
- 2000 "From Slave Ships to Cemeteries: Archaeology as an Alternative Path to History." The Joint Consortium for the Study of Slavery and Freedom. Graduate Student Forum, New Work on Slavery. University of Maryland, George Washington University, and Georgetown University, December.
- 2001 "History, Tourism, Commemoration, and Archaeology." Public Spaces/Hidden Voices: Issues of Heritage, Cultural and Culinary Tourism. *Material Culture/Visual Culture Working Group*, University of Maryland, December.
- 2001 "Alternative Paths to History: Archaeology and the Material Record." The Association for the Study of African American Life and History, Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C., September 26-30.
- 2001 Discussant, "Archaeology in the 'Glory Land': Excavation of African American Sites North of the Ohio River." Society for American Archaeology Annual Meeting, New Orleans, LA, April 18-22.
- 2001 "Rebels, Runaways and Researchers," Lecture to accompany the unveiling of "the faces." ALANA Cultural Center, Colgate University, Hamilton, NY.

- 2000 "Women and the Underground Railroad," American Studies Association Annual Meeting, Detroit, Mi., October 11-15.
- 2000 Session Co-chair and Presenter, Society for Historical Archaeology Annual Meeting. "The Underground Railroad and African-Canadian Archaeological Sites," Quebec City.
- 1999 "Artifacts from African Burial Ground and other Northeastern Archaeological Sites." Lecturer and Panel Discussant. Acadia University; Black Loyalist Heritage Society; Nova Scotia Archaeological Society, Nova Scotia, Canada.
- 1998 Session Chair, "The Archaeology of the Middle Passage: The Wreck of *The Henrietta Marie* as an Episode in the History of the African Diaspora." Society for Historical Archaeology Annual Meeting, Atlanta, GA
- 1998 "Keepers of the Culture: Women's Role in the Preparation of the Dead" (Co-author), Society for Historical Archaeology Annual Meeting, Atlanta, GA.
- 1998 Politics, Ethics, and Archaeology," Guest lecturer, Department of Anthropology, State University of New York, Binghamton, NY.
- 1998 "Beads and the African Diaspora: Three Selected Sites." Sankofa Bird Project Lecture Series, San Diego, CA.
- 1995-1998 Lecture to conservation interns, "Conserve a Legacy Program: American Art from Historically Black Colleges and Universities," Williamstown Restoration program, for the Studio Museum in Harlem, NYC.
- 1997 "Beads from the African Burial Ground" The Louis H. Blumengarten Lecture in Urban Archaeology; Archaeological Institute of America; NY State Archaeological Assoc., and Program in Anthropology, CUNY.
- 1997 "Before Central Park: The Life and Death of Seneca Village." Lecture to accompany exhibition, New York Historical Society, NY.
- 1997 "Seizing Intellectual Power: The Dialogue at Foley Square." Society for Historical Archaeology Annual Meeting, Cincinnati, OH.

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

Society for Historical Archaeology (SHA)
 Organization of American Historians (OAH).
 American Studies Association (ASA)
 Chesapeake American Studies Association (CHASA)
 American Institute for Conservation (AIC)
 Association for the Study of African American Life and History (ASALH)
 Council for Northeast Historical Archaeology (CNHEA)

SERVICE AND ACTIVITIES

- 2003 Co-Planned and hosted, "A Tribute to Trailblazers: A Reception to Honor American Studies' Alumni of Color." University of Maryland, March 18.
- 2003 Tolson's Chapel Advisory Board, Sharpsburg, MD.
- 2001 Consultant to the Catoctin Center for Research Studies, Steering Committee, Frederic Historic Sites Consortium, Frederick, Md.
- 1998-2000 Advisory Board Member, Seneca Village Project, New York Historical Society, New York
- 1998-1999 Advisory Board, "Human Remains: Conservation, Retrieval and Analysis" Conference, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, VA, Nov. 7-11.

REFERENCES

- Ira Berlin, Distinguished Professor of History
History Department, Frances Scott Key Hall,
University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742
iberlin@umail.umd.edu (301) 405-4266
- Mark P. Leone, Professor of Anthropology
Department of Anthropology, Woods Hall,
University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742
MLEONE@ANTH.UMD.EDU (301) 405-8767
- Paul A. Shackel, Professor of Anthropology
Anthropology Department, Woods Hall
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VITA

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Professional experience

- July, 2004 - Vice-President for Collections, Brooklyn Historical Society,
Brooklyn, NY
- September, 2003 - Adjunct Asst. Prof., Pratt Institute Library School (Brooklyn and
Manhattan)
- November, 1999 – July, 2004 Columbia University, Director, University Archives-Columbiana Library
- November, 2000 to Fall, 2004 Columbia University GSAS Adjunct Asst. Prof., G4008/Archival
Management; G4004/Archival internship
- December, 1996 – October, 1999 St. John's University, New York City
University Archivist and Director of Records Management; Adjunct Asst.
Professor, Division of Library and Information Science (Graduate School of
Arts and Science)
- August, 1993 - December, 1996 University of Maryland, College Park
Assistant Professor, College of Library and Information Services
Coordinator, HILS Program in History and Library Science
- June-December, 1996
- July, 1988 - August, 1993 New York University Department of History
Codirector, Program in Archival Management, Historical Editing,
and Historical Society Administration
Adjunct Assistant Professor
New York University, Bobst Library: Acting Director, University
Archives
- 1991 - 1993
- 1982 - 1988 New York University Department of History
Assistant Director, Program in Archival Management, Historical
Editing, and Historical Society Administration

Education

- February, 1991 New York University, Ph.D., U.S. history
June, 1980 New York University, M.A., U.S. history
June, 1980 Certificate, Archival Management, Historical Editing, and Historical
Society Administration, New York University and State of New York
- 1980 - 82 New York University, Department of History, graduate teaching
assistant
- 1978 Summer Latin/Greek Institute, City University Graduate School,
New York City
B.A., University of Texas, Austin

Honors

1998 Arline Custer Publication Award, MARAC (Mid-Atlantic Regional Archives Conference) for New York University and the City, published 1997
1987-88 Charlotte W. Newcombe Dissertation Fellow, Woodrow Wilson Foundation
1979-80 Bayrd Still Fellowship for graduate study, History Department, New York University

Languages

Spanish; read Latin, French, some Italian

Publications

Books and book chapters

New York University and the City, an illustrated history, 1831-1996, Rutgers University Press, 1997
(with Thomas J. Frusciano)

"Liberty and Literacy: Libraries, Books, and Emancipation for African-American Females in New York City, 1799-1826," in Civil Rights, Libraries, & Black Librarianship, Mark Tucker, ed., August, 1998, University of Illinois Press

Dissertation: "Women, Sunday Schools, and Politics: Early National New York City, 1797-1827," 1991

Current research:

Book project, "Gotham's Women, 1789-1830"

Articles and reviews

"Columbia University at 250," Metropolitan Archivist 9:2 (Summer, 2004), 11-13.

"Columbia, Celebrating 250th Anniversary, Expands Physical Science Archives," AIP History Newsletter XXXV/2 (Fall, 2003), 5.

"Slavery, Abolition, and Columbia University," Journal of Archival Organization I (4), 2003, 77-89.

Review of We the People; Voices and Images of the New Nation by Alfred F. Young and Terry J. Fife, with Mary Janzen, published 1993), American Archivist 57 (Summer, 1994), 579-581.

"In re: the Master of Archival Studies," in Professing Archives, Newsletter of the SAA Archival Educators Roundtable, Summer 1993, 4-6.

"Archivists, History, and Employment in the '90's," OAH Newsletter, February, 1992

Seaport Magazine, 1991, review of Workers in the Metropolis: Class, Ethnicity, and Youth in Antebellum New York City by Richard B. Stott, published 1990

Other publications

1999 and 2001 illustrated calendars, St. John's University

1998 illustrated calendar, Old Stone House at Gowanus, (Brooklyn, NY)

Guide to Electronic Resources in History, St. John's University Libraries (with Bill Keogan) 1999

"PROCESSING AN ARCHIVAL COLLECTION: INSTRUCTIONS AND GUIDELINES FOR THE NEW YORK UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES, 4th revision, September 1992; used at NYU, University of Maryland/College of Library and Information Services, St. John's University, Columbia University, Pratt Institute School of Library and Information Studies, and other institutions.

Brief illustrated features for St. John's University Alumni Quarterly's "Fifty Years Ago," 1998-99

Inventory to the Derrick Bell Papers, funded by New York State Documentary Heritage Program (for NYU)

"README" files on using primary resources, in University of Maryland Diversity Database, 1994-95.

"Henry Mitchell MacCracken," (N.Y.U. Chancellor, 1891-1910), American National Biography, Oxford University Press; submitted 1993.

Pilot Project Report on departmental records and records management, NYU Archives, Bobst Library, New York University, 1992, (co-written)

Recent talks and professional papers:

For Society for Historians of the Early American Republic, July 19-21, 2001, Baltimore: "Female Evangelicals and Institution Building in Early National New York City," for panel on "American Evangelicals: Constructing A New Civil Society"

For Gotham History Conference, October 5-6, 2001, Gotham Center for New York City History, City University Graduate Center; panel discussion with Diane Ravitch and Schools' Chancellor Harold Levy on "Cycles of Reform: New York City's Public School System In Historical Perspective."/ <http://www.gothamcenter.org/>
(CANCELLED)

Gotham History Conference, October 5-6, 2001, Gotham Center for New York City History, City University Graduate Center; panel discussion on the Old Stone House at Gowanus, Brooklyn

"Women's Reading Cultures: Constructing Class, Race and Gender in 19th Century America," paper for panel at SHARP 2000/Johannes Gutenberg 600th Anniversary (Society for the History of Authorship, Reading, and Publishing), Mainz, Germany, July 3-8, 2000

"Craft Apprentices, Farm Laborers, and Serving Girls: Apprenticing Asylum Orphans, 1806-1830," for New York State History Conference, June 10-12, 2000, Hartwick College, Oneonta, NY.

"St. Vincent Comes to Brooklyn: St. John's University, 1870-1955," to St. John's University Library Faculty Forum, March, 1999

"On being a historian and an archivist," MARAC Fall Conference, November, 1998

"Crossing Over to Brooklyn: the unity of women's networks, 1800-1830" for "Brooklyn, U.S.A., A City Apart," conference at Long Island University, Brooklyn, October 21-23, 1998

"Ticket to Ride: the Internet as Matrix for Instruction," British Society of Archivists conference, September, 1997, London)

Chair, "The Management of Digital Collections," panel session, Society of Southwest Archivists, May 29-31, 1997, Galveston, Texas

"Laboring Children: American Orphans, Orphan Asylums, and Apprentices, 1789-1850: Problems and Strategies," Washington Women Historians Works-in-Progress Conference, April 20, 1996

Chair, conference session on the World Wide Web at MARAC (Mid-Atlantic Regional Archives Conference), Wilmington, Del.

"Scholarly African American Resources On-Line," Annual Conference, National Association of African-American Studies, February 14-18, 1995, Virginia State University, Petersburg, Virginia

"Invisible Women: Evidence from the Records of Female Associations in Nineteenth Century New York City," for "Cherchez les Femmes: New Methods for Old Records," session at MARAC (Mid-Atlantic Regional Archives Conference), Richmond, Virginia, October, 1994.

"The Boundaries Between Religion and the World:" Scotswomen and Female Benevolence in New York City, 1789-1815," for "Scotland and the Americas, 1600-1800," Eighteenth-Century Scottish Studies Society, John Carter Brown Library, Brown University, June 8-11, 1994.

"The Education of Women Archivists in a History Department," Fifth International Interdisciplinary Congress on Women, San José, Costa Rica, February, 1993

"Who are we educating?" session comment for Society of American Archivists annual conference, 1992, Montreal, Canada
(Additional papers and comments were done prior to 1992)

Recent grants and applications

December 1, 2003: application to the New York State Documentary Heritage Program for arrangement and description of records of Columbia's Double Discovery Program, 1965-1995 (mentoring program for minority high school students) and policy records of the Office of the Provost of the University. (Granted July, 2004)

September, 2003: application to Gilder-Lehrman Foundation for support of the Revolutionary War Heritage Trail in Northern Manhattan and the Bronx.

July 1, 2003: application to the National Endowment for the Humanities for digitizing a portion of the photo collection, including some salt prints from c. 1845. (asked to re-submit)

May, 2001: application to the American Institute of Physics for funding for the arrangement and description of the Records of the Department of Physics, 1900-1985, 52.5 linear feet, and Papers of Chien-Shiung Wu, 1946-85, ten linear feet. (Grant awarded, October, 2002)

April, 2002: received confirmation that the King's College Room has been admitted to the list of New York State Revolutionary War Heritage Trail sites in the area known as "upper Broadway." The Heritage New York Program, a state agency that reports directly to Governor Pataki, will support the creation of street-level signs directing tourists and other visitors to these sites, which in "Upper Broadway" include the Battle of Harlem Heights, Fort Washington, and St. Nicholas Park. The "upper Broadway" sites have CRISP status only (Collaborative Regional Interpretive Signage Project), but will benefit from not only signage, but from a shared brochure that links a number of the upper Manhattan sites together. Further Heritage Trail funding for more complex projects will be available in subsequent years. **December, 2003: signage and brochure under development.**

July, 2002: Funding received from New York State Documentary Heritage Program (\$8900) for arrangement and description of the records of Morningside Area Alliance, Inc., 1947-1975, the public/private entity that developed public housing for West Harlem; **completed June, 2003.**

September-October, 2001: Participated in Oral History Research Office's 9/11/01 Project

Administrator as of November, 1999 of 1999-2000 NHPRC grant received by the Columbia University Archives

University of Maryland Libraries/National Agricultural Library grant to arrange and describe NAL's historical collection; grant operative as of October, 1996; principal investigator was Marietta Plank, director of Technical Services, UMCP Libraries. Four graduate assistantships for two to three years for students in College of Library and Information Services

Ford Foundation seminar participant, "Globalization, Gender, and Culture," University of Maryland, Spring, 1996
University of Maryland Diversity Grant for African-American course, Summer 1994

Other professional activities:

Spring, 2004: Co-curated 250th exhibit for Low Rotunda exhibition (with Sarah E. Weiner). Also: various committees and offices, Society of American Archivists and regional/local professional associations, 1978 – present. Elected to Steering Committee of Women Archivists Roundtable of SAA, September, 2001. Listed on New York State Archives list of consultants for DHP and Local Government Records grants.

Archival consultant to Apollo Theatre (2003-present), Malcolm X Project at Columbia University (2002 – present), Weeksville in Brooklyn (2003-present), Brooklyn Historical Society (1999-2000), Carnegie Hall Archives (1986-92), New York City Technical College (Brooklyn), Archives Center for Puerto Rican Studies at Hunter College, New York City Municipal Archives, Newark Museum, New York City Transit Authority Museum and Archives.

Grant reviewer for NEH (National Endowment for the Humanities) and NHPRC (National Historical Publications and Records Commission)

Trustee, Old Stone House at Gowanus (Battle of Brooklyn site), Park Slope, Brooklyn; Advisory Board, New York City Transit Museum, Brooklyn; Member, Alliance for a Revolutionary Heritage Trail in Northern Manhattan and the Bronx.

Member, Columbia 250th Steering Committee, Exhibits Committee, Publications Committee

Professional affiliations

Society of American Archivists (since 1982)

Mid-Atlantic Regional Archives Conference (MARAC) (since 1978)

Organization of American Historians

Society for Historians of the Early American Republic (SHEAR)

Columbia University Seminar on the City
Archivists Round Table of Metropolitan New York
New-York Historical Society
Brooklyn Historical Society

Courses taught at Columbia University, Pratt Institute, St. John's University/Queens, NY, Univ. Maryland at College Park, New York University

Archives: basic, advanced, African-American resources, readings and research in archives, archival automation (all colloquia or seminars); directed/supervised archival internships

History: U.S. survey, history of archives and libraries in Western world (lecture courses)

Workshops: arrangement and description, RLIN, historical photographs

Course development: using and preserving historical photographs; records management; preservation; historical editing; local and community history; oral history; research methodology for history majors

CURRICULUM VITAE
2004

Milton C. Sernett

Professor of African American Studies
Professor of History
Adjunct Professor of Religion
Syracuse University

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- HOME 5300 Ridge Rd., Cazenovia, New York 13035
Ph. 315-655-4166
Fax 315-655-3126
- EDUCATION Ph. D. 1972 (History) University of Delaware
M. A. 1969 (History) University of Delaware
M. Div. 1968 Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Missouri
B. A. 1964 Concordia Sr. College, Ft. Wayne, Indiana
- EMPLOYMENT Syracuse University
Professor 1990
Adjunct Professor, Dept. of Religion 1980
Associate Professor 1979
Tenured, May 1979
Assistant Professor 1975
- Fulbright Sr. Scholar, Freie Universität Berlin, Germany
John F. Kennedy-Institute für Nordamerikastudien
Abteilung für Geschichte, 1994-95
Christ Seminary/SEMINEX, St. Louis, Mo. Summer 1977
Concordia Seminary, Springfield, Illinois 1972-75
Wilmington College, Wilmington, Delaware 1971-72
Brandywine Jr. College, Brandywine, Pa. 1971-72
University of Delaware 1970-71
- COURSES African American Religious History
African American History to 1865
The Underground Railroad (also in Internet Online version)
Slavery & Abolition
African Religions: An Introduction
Religion and the American South
Harriet Tubman & the American Memory
Others in American Social and Religious History

PUBLICATIONS

I. Books

Current Book Project: 1. Harriet Tubman: The Forging of an American Icon

NORTH STAR COUNTRY: Upstate New York and the Crusade for African American Freedom. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2002. Now in second printing.

AFRICAN AMERICAN RELIGIOUS HISTORY: A DOCUMENTARY WITNESS. Second, revised edition. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1999. vi + 588 pp.

BOUND FOR THE PROMISED LAND: African American Religion and the Great Migration. Durham & London: Duke University Press, 1997. x + 345 pp.

ABOLITION'S AXE: Beriah Green, Oneida Institute, and the Black Freedom Struggle. Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1986. vx + 199 pp. Paperback edition with new preface, forthcoming 2004.

AFRO-AMERICAN RELIGIOUS HISTORY: A Documentary Witness. Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1985. 497 pp. + index. [Selected as 1985-86 Choice Outstanding Academic Book]

AFRO-AMERICAN RELIGIOUS HISTORY: Documents and Interpretations. Syracuse: Syracuse University, 1981. Anthology of readings supported in part by a grant from the Andrew E. Mellon Foundation. 424 pp.

BLACK RELIGION AND AMERICAN EVANGELICALISM: White Protestants; Plantation Missions, and the Flowering of Negro Christianity, 1787-1865. Foreword by Marty E. Marty. Metuchen, N. J.: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1975. xvi + 320 pp.

II. Articles, Essays, Book Chapters

"Abolition," "Beriah Green," "Gerrit Smith," "New York Central College," and "Oneida Institute," for **The Encyclopedia of New York State**, Syracuse University Press, forthcoming 2005.

"New Yorkers in the Reconstruction Era," sidebar for my essay on abolitionism for The Encyclopedia of New York State, forthcoming 2005.

"Reading Freedom's Memory Book: Reflections on Recovering the Story of the Underground Railroad in New York State," chapter for book on The Underground Railroad: History & Memory, edited by David W. Blight, to be published by the Smithsonian Press for the National Underground Freedom Center, Cincinnati, O. in 2004

Introductory essay, Gerrit Smith Digital Project, 2002

"African American Religions," for **Encyclopedia of the United States in the Nineteenth Century** (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2001).

"Underground Railroad," for **Encyclopedia of the United States in the Nineteenth Century** (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2001).

"African American Religion," for **The Oxford Companion to United States History** (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001). P. 11.

"On Freedom's Trail: Researching the Underground Railroad in New York State," for **Afro-Americans in New York Life and History** 25, 1 (January 2001): 7-32.

"Re-readings: The Great Migration and the Bible," in **African Americans and the Bible**, edited by Vincent L. Wimbush. New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, Inc., 2000. Pp. 448-63.

"Foreword." **Intimate Circles of Activism: Abolitionists of Central New York: 1830-1870**. Catalog of an Exhibition Curated by Bonnie Ryan. Syracuse University Library. Summer 1999. v.

"The Expatriate Option: Some blacks, like George Liele, had to emigrate to live and minister freely." **Christian History** VIII, 2 (May 1999), 32-33.

Entries on William G. Allen, William H. Allen, Andrew Bryan, Lott Cary, John Anderson Collins, George W. Gale, Henry Highland Garnet, David George, Beriah Green, John Jasper, George Liele, Jermain Wesley Loguen, Thomas Paul, Stephen Gill Spottswood, Alvan Stewart, and Samuel Ringgold Ward. **American National Biography**. 24 vols. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

"Richard Allen." Entry in **Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart**. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998. IV: 447.

"A.M.E. Church," "Black Theology," and "King, M. L." Entries in **The Harper Collins Dictionary of Religion**. Edited by Jonathan Z. Smith and William Scott Green. San Francisco: Harper, 1995. Pp. 23; 117-18; and 626-27.

Keynote Essay on "Religion", **The Encyclopedia of African-American Culture and History**. Edited by Jack Salzman, David Lionel Smith, and Cornel West. New York: Macmillan, 1995. Pp. 2298-2310.

"Sojourner Truth," in **The Concise Encyclopedia of Preaching**. Edited by Richard Lischer and William H. Willimon. Louisville, Kt.: Westminster & John Knox Press, 1995. Pp.

"On Freedom's Threshold: The African American Presence in Central New York, 1760-1940." **Afro-Americans in New York Life and History** 19, 1 (January 1995): 43-91.

"Widening the Circle: The Pro-Life Appeal to the Abolitionist Legacy." In **When Life and Choice Collide: Essays on Rhetoric and Abortion**. Ed. by David Mall. Libertyville, IL.: Kairos, Press, 1994. Pp. 159-89.

"Resources for Research: Part 1." **Newsletter, Pan African Studies at Syracuse University**. Number 3 (Fall, 1993): 15-18.

"Black Religion and the Question of Evangelical Identity." In **The Variety of American Evangelicalism**. Ed. by Donald W. Dayton and Robert K. Johnston. Knoxville: Univ. of Tenn. Press, 1991. Pp. 135-47.

"On Freedom's Threshold: The African American Presence in Central New York, 1760-1940." In **The African American Presence in New York State: Four Regional History Surveys**, ed. by Monroe Fordham (Albany, N. Y.: The New York African American Institute, 1989): 51-78.

"Slave Preachers." In **Dictionary of Afro-American Slavery**. Edited by John David Smith and Randall M. Miller. Westport, Ct.: Greenwood Press, 1988. Pp. 582-86.

"When Chicago was Canaan." **Newsletter of the Afro-American Religious History Group of the American Academy of Religion**. Part 1, Vol. 13, No. 1 (Fall 1988): 7-13. Part 2, Vol. 13, No. 2 (Spring

1989): 6-12.

"Response to 'Lutheran Revivalism: A Request for a Reappraisal'." **Essays and Reports, 1986: The Lutheran Historical Conference**. Vol. XII (1988). Pp. 118-21.

"A Citizen of 'No Mean City': Jermain W. Loguen and the Antislavery Reputation of Syracuse." **Syracuse University Library Associates Courier**. Vol. XXII, 2 (Fall 1987):33-55.

"Common Cause: The Antislavery Alliance of Gerrit Smith and Beriah Green." **Syracuse University Library Associates Courier**. Vol. XXI, No. 2 (Fall 1986): 55-76

"First Honor: Oneida Institute's Role in the Fight Against American Racism and Slavery." **New York History**. Vol. LXVI, No. 2 (April 1985): 101-22.

"The Efficacy of Religious Participation in the National Debates over Abolitionism and Abortion." **Religion in Life**. Vol. 64, No. 2 (April 1984): 205-20.

"Lutheran Abolitionism in New York State: A Problem in Historical Explication." In **Essays and Reports: The Lutheran Historical Conference, 1982**. Volume X (1984). St. Louis, Mo.: Concordia Historical Institute, 1984. Pp. 16-37.

"A Beriah Green Bibliography." **Newsletter of the Afro-American Religious History Group of the American Academy of Religion**. Vol. 8, No. 1 (Fall 1983): 7-13.

"Confession of a Man of Principle." **Newsletter of the Afro-American Religious History Group of the American Academy of Religion**. Vol. 7, No. 1 (Fall 1982): 7-8.

"A Question of Earnestness: American Lutheran Missions and Theological Education in Alabama's 'Black Belt'." In **Essays and Reports: The Lutheran Historical Conference, 1980**. Volume IX (1982). St. Louis, Mo.: Concordia Historical Institute, 1982. Pp. 80-117.

Geographic Considerations in Afro-American Religious History: Past Performance, Present Problems, and Future Hopes. Number 69, Discussion Paper Series, Department of Geography, Syracuse University, 1981. 29 pp.

American Culture: Art, Literature, and Religion. Co-authored with Charles Watson. Syracuse University. Humanities Cluster Manual, 1981. 19 pp.

"The Rights of Personhood: The Dred Scott Case and the Question of Abortion." **Religion in Life**. Vol. XLIX, No. 4 (Winter 1980): 461-76.

"Welcoming the 'Evangelicals'--A Call to End One-Upmanship." **Currents in Theology and Missions**. Vol. 6, No. 3 (June 1979): 154-58.

"Believers as Behavers: Religion and Group Identity." In **Introduction to the Study of Religion**. Edited by T. William Hall. New York: Harper & Row, 1978. Pp. 217-30.

"Freed to Serve: Past Time, Present Place, Future Hopes." **Proceedings of the Inaugural Assembly, East Coast Synod, Association of Evangelical Lutheran Churches, November 12-13, 1978**. Pp. x-xiii. Keynote address.

"Insiders and Outsiders: Interpretations of the Black Church Independence Movement." **Review of Afro-American Issues and Culture**. Vol. 1, No. 1 (Fall 1978): 12-31.

"Boll Weevils, Baptists, and Black Religion: The Southern Exposure." In **Archives and History: Minutes and Reports of the 14th Archivists' and Historian's Conference**. St. Louis, Mo.: Concordia Historical Institute, 1977. Pp. 77-87.

"Mapping Freedom's Frontiers: Notes Toward an Historical Geography of Nineteenth Century African Methodism." **Proceedings of the New York State Conference on Black Studies, December 1-2, 1976**. Syracuse New York. Pp. 58-63.

"Images of Black Religion: An Historical Kaleidoscope." **The Springfielder**. Vol. XXXVII, No. 1 (June 1973): 1-7.

"The Death with Dignity Debate: Why We Care." **The Springfielder**. Vol. XXXVII, No. 4 (March 1975): 265-77.

"Behold the American Cleric: The Protestant Minister as 'Pattern Man,' 1850-1900." In **Winterthur Portfolio 8**. Edited by Ian M. G. Quimby. Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia for the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1973. Pp. 1-18.

III. Book Reviews

(Selected since 1981)

African Americans in Pennsylvania: Shifting Historical Perspectives, edited by Joe William Trotter, Jr., and Eric Ledell Smith, for The Journal of Southern History (forthcoming).

Parker Pillsbury: Radical Abolitionist, Male Feminist, by Stacey M. Robertson, for The Journal of Southern History 67, 4 (November 2001): 846-47.

Slave Missions and the Black Church in the Antebellum South, by Janet Duitsman Cornelius, for The Journal of American History 87, 1(June 2000): 219.

The Sacred Flame of Love: Methodism and Society in Nineteenth-Century Georgia, by Christopher H. Owen, for The Journal of American History (March 1999): 1588.

Songs of Zion: The African Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States and South Africa, by James T. Campbell, for Church History 66, 1 (March 1997): 159-60.

Native American Religion and Black Protestantism. *Modern American Protestantism and Its World* 9, edited with an Introduction by Martin E. Marty, for Church History 65, 2 (June 1996): 326-27.

We'll Understand It Better By and By: Pioneering African American Gospel Composers, edited by Bernice Johnson Reagon, for Church History 64, 4 (December 1995): 734-36.

Black Itinerants of the Gospel: The Narratives of John Jea and George White, edited with an Introduction by Graham Russell Hodges, for Church History 64, 3 (September 1995): 500-02.

Religion in South Carolina, edited by Charles H. Lippy, for Church History 64, 3 (September 1995): 529-30,

Sojourner Truth: Slave, Prophet, Legend by Carleton Mabee with Susan Mabee Newhouse, for African Americans in New York Life and History 19, 2 (July 1995): 81-83.

The History of Black Catholics in the United States by Cyprian Davis, for Church History 62,2 (June 1993): 313-14.

Protest and Praise: Sacred Music of Black Religion by Jon Michael Spencer, for Church History 62, 1 (March 1993): 134-35.

An African-American Exodus: The Segregation of Southern Churches by Katharine L. Dvorak, for Church History 62, 1 (March 1993): 137-38.

Joshua Leavitt: Evangelical Abolitionist by Hugh Davis, for Church History 62, 1 (March 1993): 137-38.

Give Me This Mountain: Life History and Selected Sermons of Reverend C. L. Franklin, edited by Jeff Todd Titon, for Church History 60, 4 (December 1991): 578-79.

Liberating Visions: Human Fulfillment and Social Justice in African-American Thought by Robert Michael Franklin, for Journal of Church and State 33, 2 (Spring 1991): 360-61.

Abolitionist, Actuary, Atheist: Elizur Wright and the Reform Impulse by Lawrence B. Goodheart, for The Historian 53, 2 (Winter 1991):366-67.

The Mark of a Man: Peter Spencer and the African Union Methodist Tradition by Lewis V. Baldwin, for Critical Review of Books and Religion: Annual Supplement to JAAR/JBL

Uplifting the Race: The Black Minister in the New South, 1865-1902 by Edward Wheeler, for Church History 57, 2 (June 1988): 248-49.

Crusade Against Slavery: Friends, Foes, and Reforms by Louis Filler, for Church History 57, 1 (March 1988): 103-04.

All We Want is Make Us Free: La Amistad and the Reform Abolitionists by B. Edmon Martin, or Church History 56, 3 (September 1987): 411.

Freedom's Despots: The Critique of Abolition by Robert J. Loewenberg, for The Journal of Southern History 54, 1 (February 1988): 114-15.

Black Americans and the Missionary Movement in Africa by Sylvia M. Jacobs, for Journal of American Ethnic History 5, 2 (Spring 1986): 11-12.

Down by the Riverside: A South Carolina Slave Community by Charles Joyner, for Religious Studies Review 12, 2 (April 1986):183.

Oppression: A Socio-History of Black-White Relations in America by Jonathan H. Turner, Royce Singleton, Jr. and David Musick, for New York History LXV, 4 (October 1984):400-401.

There is A River by Vincent Harding, for Cross Currents XXXIII, 3 (Fall 1983): 380-82.

Mainline Churches and the Evangelicals by Richard G. Hutcheson, Jr., for Currents in Theology and Mission 10, 1 (February 1983):57-58.

The Holiness Revival of the Nineteenth Century by Melvin E. Dieter, for Currents in Theology and Mission 9, 2 (April 1982):122-23.

Prayers for Dark People by W. E. B. Du Bois, for Church History 51, 4 (December 1982):498.

Revivalism and Social Reform by Timothy Smith, for Currents in Theology and Mission 9, 3 (June 1982): 184-85

The Fatherhood of God and the Victorian Family by Janet F. Fishburn, for Currents in Theology and Mission 9, 6 (December 1982):380.

Southern Evangelicals and the Social Order, 1800-1860 by Anne C. Loveland, for Church History 51, 3 (September 1982):357-58.

IV. Commissioned Papers and Research Projects

2003 Wrote cultural context portion of National Park Service study statement on Harriet Tubman

2001 Wrote Narrative Statement of Historic Context, Onondaga County Freedom Trail, 50 pp.

1999-2000 Wrote Narrative Statement of Historic Context, together with Prof. Judith Wellman, for Multiple Site Nomination, Underground Railroad in Central New York, National Parks Service.

1998-99 Workshop on Researching the Underground Railroad in Central New York, Documentary Heritage Program, New York State

1997- Essay on the Migration period for the African Americans and the Bible Project of the Lilly Foundation

1994-95 An African American European Collections List, as Senior Fulbright Scholar, Freie Universität, Berlin, for the Collegium for African American Research

1987 History of the African American Presence in Central New York. For the African American Institute, Albany, New York

1986 Critical outside review of exhibit script, "Climbing Jacob's Ladder: The Development of Urban Black Churches in the Eastern United States, 1750-1900." For the Anacostia Neighborhood Museum, Smithsonian Institution.

1984 "Afro-Americans and Lutheran Higher Education: A History" for the Lutheran Education Association of North America. Background study for Richard Solberg's **Lutheran Higher Education in North America** (Augsburg, 1985). 56 pp.

1983 "Voluntary Christian Schools and the New Lutheran Church: Charting Present Trends and Future Needs" for the Task Force on Church and Society for the New Lutheran Church. 17 pp.

1978 "Christian Missions and Geopolitics: The South West African (Namibian) Entanglement, 1800-1960" for the Division for Mission of the Lutheran Church in North America. 30 pp.

PRESENTATIONS (selected since 1979)

2003, November 5, "North Star Country: Upstate New York and the Crusade for African American Freedom," in the "American Freedoms" series, Amistad Celebration, Buffalo State University, Buffalo, NY

2003, October 22, "An Abolitionist Parable: The Outing of President Henry Richards," Auburn Theological Seminary Reunion, Willard Chapel, Auburn, NY

2003, October 19, "Harriet Tubman and the American Memory," Onondaga Historical Association, Syracuse, NY

2003, October 16, "North Star Shining: New York State's Freedom Trail," Oneida Public Library, Oneida, NY

2003, September 25, "On Freedom's Threshold: The Underground Railroad in Western New York," Canisius College, Buffalo, NY

2003, September 21, "North Star Shining: New York State's Freedom Trail," Frontenac Historical Society, Union Springs, NY

2003, August 13, "North Star Shining: New York State's Freedom Trail," Spafford Area Historical Society, Borodino, NY

2003, August 11, "Tracking the Underground Railroad in North Star Country," Oneida County Historical Society, Utica, NY

2003, June 26, "Harriet Tubman: The Forging of an American Icon," Essex County Historical Society, Elizabethtown, NY

2003, April 14, "Grounding the Freedom Struggle in Upstate New York," Association of Public Historians of New York State, Ithaca, NY

2003, March 22, "Harriet Tubman in the American Memory," National Women's Hall of Fame, Seneca Falls, NY

2003, February 27, "Tracking 'Freedom's Trail in New York State: Reflections on Those Mystery Faces,'" Smithsonian National Museum of American History in collaboration with the National Underground Railroad Freedom Center," Washington, D.C.

2003, February 20, "North Star Country: Upstate New York and the African American Freedom Struggle," Chemung County Historical Society, Elmira, NY

2003, February 14, "Upstate New York & the 'Second American Revolution,'" Rotary Society, Syracuse, NY

2003, January 26 and February 2, "Hold to that Bright Shining Star: Tracking the Underground Railroad in North Star Country," University Methodist Church, Syracuse, NY

2002, October 29, "North Star Country: Educational Possibilities for Teachers in the Social Studies," Central New York Council for the Social Studies Convention, Syracuse, NY

2002, October 21, "Abolitionism and Reform in Upstate New York," Cicero Historical Society, Cicero, NY

2002, October 17, "North Star Country: The Underground Railroad in New York," The New York State Historical Association and The Cooperstown Graduate Program, Cooperstown, NY

2002, October 12, Slide presentation on North Star Country book, Part II, Faith Lutheran Church, Cicero, NY

2002, October 6, Slide presentation on North Star Country book, Part I, Faith Lutheran Church, Cicero, NY

2002, October 6, Presentation on "Uncovering the Freedom Trail," with Judith Wellman, et. alii. Plymouth Congregational Church, Syracuse, NY

2002, July 13, "North Star Country" presentation, Cazenovia Counterpoint Writer's Corner, sponsored by Society for New Music and Poets and Writers, Inc., Cazenovia, NY

2002, June 14, "Freedom's Crusade in the Burned-Over District," New York State Archives Conference, Ithaca, NY

2002, June 3, Slide Presentation on North Star Country book, sponsored by the Cayuga Museum and held at the Harriet Tubman Home, Auburn, NY

2002, February 19, Book signing and Lecture on North Star Country book, Onondaga Historical Association, Syracuse, NY

2002, January 30, Presentation on North Star Country book, WCNY TV/24, Syracuse, NY

2001, November 8. "North Star Country: The Antislavery Transformation of New York State's 'Burned-over District'." Geneva Historical Society, Geneva, New York.

2001, July 29. "North Star Shining: Tracking the Underground Railroad in Upstate New York." JOHN BROWN LIVES! Project, Westport, New York.

2001, July 26. "North Star Shining: Tracking the Underground Railroad in Upstate New York." Adirondack Museum, Blue Mountain Lake, New York.

2001, April 15. "North Star Country: The Antislavery Transformation of New York's 'Burned-over District'." New City Library, New City, New York.

2001, February 25. "Harriet Tubman and the American Memory." Bethel Community Church of God in Christ, Camillus, New York.

2000, May 9. "The Underground Railroad in Central New York." Smithfield Community Center, Peterboro, New York.

2000, February 16. "North Star Shining: Tracking the Underground Railroad in Upstate New York." Onondaga Historical Association, Syracuse, New York.

1999, December 3. Invited to address the Pew Fellows and Faculty at the Northeast Regional Faculty Conference on Religion and American History, Pew Program in Religion and American History, Yale University. The seminar featured my book **Bound for the Promised Land: African American Religion and the Great Migration**. New Haven, Conn.

1999, June 12. "'Be Jubilant My Feet': Researching the Freedom Trail in North Star Country." Keynote Address, Conference on New York State History, Hartwick College, Oneonta, New York.

1999, February 28. "African American Religion and the Great Migration: An Illustrated Lecture." Bethel Community Church of God in Christ, Syracuse, New York.

1999, February 21. "Bound for the Promised: African American Religion and the Great Migration." Albany Institute of History & Art, Albany, New York.

1998, October 1. "All the Bells were Ringing: The Jerry Rescue as a Theological Problem." Onondaga Historical Association, Syracuse, New York

1998, June 11. "This Fertile Ground: New Religions, Abolitionism, and Social Reform in Upstate New York before the Civil War." Southeast Museum, Brewster, New York

1998, April 25. "Approaches to the Study of the Underground Railroad." Conference on Researching the Freedom trail in Central New York, Oswego, New York.

1998, February 26. "This Fertile Ground: New Religions, Abolitionism, and Social Reform in Upstate New York Before the Civil War." for the Speakers in the Humanities series, Penn South Program for Seniors, New York, New York.

1998, February 8. "The Underground Railroad in Syracuse." Bethel Community Church of God in Christ, Syracuse, New York.

1998, January 24. "Involving Students in the Freedom Trail Project." New York State Freedom Trail Program, New York, New York.

1997, October 28. "This Fertile Ground: New Religions, Abolitionism, and Social Reform in Upstate New York before the Civil War." Oswego County Historical Society and Dept. of History, State University of New York, Oswego, New York

1996, September 29. "This Fertile Ground: New Religions, Abolitionism, and Social Reform in Upstate New York before the Civil War." Little Falls Public Library, Little Falls, New York.

1996, June 23. "This Fertile Ground: New Religions, Abolitionism, and Social Reform in Upstate New York before the Civil War." Madison County Historical Society, Oneida, New York. For the Speakers in the Humanities series of the New York Council for the Humanities.

1995, November 9. Panelist and presenter, Workshop: Transatlantic Passages: The Internationalization of African American Studies and Identifying African American Materials in Europe, American Studies Association, Pittsburgh, PA.

1995, October 17. "And the Wall Came Down: The Flowering of African American Studies in Europe." Inaugural Lecture, 1995-96 Department of African American Studies Annual Colloquium Series, Syracuse University.

1995, May 31. "The Crucible of the Millennium: Anti-Slavery and Social Reform in America's Burned-over District." John F. Kennedy -Institut für Nordamerikastudien, Freie Universität, Berlin, Germany.

1995, May 12. "An Outline of African American Religious History." Universidad de La Laguna, La Laguna, Tenerife, Spain.

1995, May 12. "Flight to Freedom: The Underground Railroad in Myth and History." Universidad de La Laguna, La Laguna, Tenerife, Spain.

1995, May 10. "North Star Country: Anti-Slavery and Social Reform in Upstate New York." Universidad de La Laguna, La Laguna, Tenerife, Spain.

1995, May 8. "Abolitionism and Social Reform in Antebellum America: A Case Study." Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, Ciudad Real, Spain.

1995, May 2. "African American Religion: Slavery, Emancipation, Exodus--the Visual Record." Palacký University, Olomouc, Czech Republic.

1995, March 22. "Holy Warriors: Abolitionists and the Crusade against Slavery in the Burned-Over

District." The University of Utrecht, Utrecht, The Netherlands.

1995, March 20. "African American Religious History: The Visual Record from Slavery to the Great Migration." The University of Utrecht, Utrecht, The Netherlands.

1995, February 18. "The African-American-Texts-in-Europe Catalog Project: Laying the Foundations." at "Transatlantic Passages" Conference, Puerto de la Cruz, Tenerife, Canary Islands, Spain.

1995, February 16-17. Chairperson, Sessions on "Religion" at "Transatlantic Passages" Conference, Puerto de la Cruz, Tenerife, Canary Islands, Spain. Introductory remarks.

1995, February 7. "African American Religious History: The Visual Record." Amerika Haus, Hamburg, Germany.

1995, February 6. "Threshold of Freedom: The Underground Railroad." Kiel, Germany.

1995, February 6. "African American Religious History: The Visual Record." Kennedy House, Kiel, Germany.

1995, January 30. "African American Religion from Emancipation to Exodus: A Kaleidoscope of Images." Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, Universität Dortmund, Germany.

1995, January 26. "Abolitionism and Social Reform." Amerika Haus, Leipzig, Germany.

1995, January 19. "Revivalism, Reform, and the Abolitionist Crusade in 19th Century America: An Illustrated Slide Lecture." Amerika-Institut, Ludwig Maximilians Universität, München, Germany.

1994, December 12. "Revivalism, Reform, and Abolition in America: An Illustrated Slide Lecture." Ruprecht-Karls-Universität, Heidelberg, Germany.

1994, December 1. "Revivalism, Abolition and Social Reform in Antebellum America." Universität zu Köln, Köln, Germany.

1994, November 30. "Religious Values, Education, and the Public Realm in America." Freiherr v. Stein Gymnasium, Münster, Germany.

1994, November 29. "The Second Emancipation: Afro-Americans and the Great Migration." Universität Bremen, Bremen, Germany.

1994, November 28. "The Second Exodus: African American Religion and the Great Migration." Ruhr-Universität, Bochum, Germany.

1993, October 2. "One Rung Higher: Transplanting African American Churches from South to North." Symposium, Climbing Jacob's Ladder: The Rise of Black Churches in Eastern American Cities, 1740-1877, The Museums at Stony Brook, Stony Brook, New York.

1993, April 30. "The Underground Railroad in Upstate New York." Student Cultural Diversity Committee Forum, Syracuse University, Syracuse.

1993, March 24. "Beyond the Promised Land: African American Religion and the Great Migration." Eduardo Mondlane African Studies Seminar Series, Syracuse University.

1992, September 26. "Our Wandering Zion: African American Churches, the Great Migration, and Institutional Transformation." Northeastern Seminar on Black Religion, Amherst College, Amherst, New

York.

1992, September 10. "Religion and Reform in the Burned-over District." Keynote, Charles G. Finney Bicentennial Festival, Adams, New York.

1992, April 24. "Black Baptists through the Generations." Panel presentation, Eastern International Region Annual Meeting, American Academy of Religion, University of Rochester, Rochester, New York.

1991, September 20. "If This Be the Place: Upstate New York and African-American Settlement." Utica College of Syracuse University, Utica, New York.

1990, December 29. Comment: "Religion and 19th Century African-American Women" session at The American Society of Church History, 149th Meeting, New York City.

1990, October 22. "On Freedom's Threshold: African American History in the Burned-Over District." Central New York Council for the Social Studies, Syracuse, New York.

1989, September 19. "Abolitionist Activism: The African American/Euro-American Partnership in Upstate New York." Federation of Historical Services, College of St. Rose, Albany, New York.

1989, April 11. "African American Religion and the Great Migration." The Liberal Arts Lecture Series, Wright State University, Dayton, Ohio.

1989, April 10. "African American Religious History: The Visual Record." Wright State University, Dayton, Ohio.

1989, March 18. "Stories Told and Untold: Researching the Afro-American Past in Central New York." Dewitt Historical Society, Ithaca, New York.

1989, March 5, 12, 17. "Religion, Reform and Abolitionism in the 'Burned-over District.'" Three-part series, Faith Lutheran Church, Cicero, New York.

1989, February 8. "When Chicago Was Canaan: The Religious Impact of the Great Migration." W. E. B. Du Bois Institute, Harvard University.

1989, October 29. Respondent to Making of the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940-60 by Arnold Hirsch. W. E. B. Du Bois Institute, Harvard University.

1988, October 26. "If not Moses, then Joshua: African Methodism and the Great Migration of 1916-1918." W. E. B. Du Bois Institute, Harvard University.

1988, October 20. "'A Citizen of No Mean City'" Jermain Loguen and the 'Jerry Rescue' of 1851." Onondaga Historical Association, Syracuse, N. Y.

1988, October 13. "Freedom's Threshold: Afro-American History and Life in Central New York, 1780-1925." Albany Institute of History & Art, Albany, N.Y.

1988, September 11. "The Whitesboro Experiment: Oneida Institute, Beriah Green, and the Abolitionist Struggle in Central New York." E. Prentiss Bailey Lecture. Oneida County Historical Society, Utica, New York

1988, April 25. "They Cut the Cord of Caste: Beriah Green and Oneida Institute." Chemung County Historical Society, Elmira, New York

1987, December 5. "Afro-American Religion and the Question of Evangelical Identity." American Academy of Religion, Boston.

1987, March 29. "Namibia, Lutherans, and the Freedom Struggle in South Africa." Good Shepherd Lutheran Church, Fayetteville, N. Y.

1987, February 11. "Been in the Storm so Long: A Visual Record of Afro-American Religious History." Concordia College, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

1987, January 22. "Oneida Institute's Role in the Fight against American Racism and Slavery." American History Seminar, Syracuse University.

1986, June 7. "No Bronze Tablets or Granite Markers for Us." Endnote Address, East Coast Synod Convention, Long Island, New York.

1986, April 26. "Education and Abolition in the Burned Over District." African American Studies Colloquium, Syracuse University.

1984, December 7. "On Liberty's Ground: The Transformation of the Black Religious Landscape in Tennessee, 1860-1890." American Academy of Religion, Chicago.

1984, March 25. "Religion and Public Policy: The Abolition and Anti-abortion Movements." Good Shepherd Lutheran Church, Fayetteville, N.Y.

1984, March 21. "The Namibian Question: An Illustrated Lecture." Afro-American Studies Colloquium, Syracuse University.

1983, November 10. "History of the Ku Klux Klan: A Legacy of Hate." Hendricks Chapel, Syracuse University.

1983, April 23. "Afro-Americans at Oneida Institute." Northeast Seminar on Black Religion, Harvard Divinity School

1982, November 4. "Lutherans and Abolitionism in New York State--Pluralistic Tensions" at Lutheran Historical Conference, St. Louis.

1980, November. "Geographic Considerations in Afro-American Religious History: Past Performance, Present Problems, and Future Hopes." American Academy of Religion, Dallas.

1980, October. "American Lutheran Missions and Theological Education in Alabama's 'Black Belt'." Lutheran Historical Conference, Columbus, Ohio.

1979, November. "Public Ethics by Similitude: An Essay on the Use of the Dred Scott/Black Freedom Struggle Analogy in the Debate on the Humanity and Constitutional Rights of Fetal Life." American Academy of Religion, New York City.

1979, April. "Good-by to that Ol' Slavery Church: The Religious Reconstruction of Tennessee." Northeast Seminar on Black Religion, Harvard Divinity School.

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

Christian History editorial advisory board member, 2001-

Reviewer of Julia Harmon essay for collection edited by Darlene Clark Hine, Michigan State 2003

Outside Reviewer of Faculty Member, Indiana University (Bloomington) 2003
 Member of Advisory Board, Underground Railroad Exhibit, Onondaga Historical Association, Syracuse, New York, 2001-03.
 Reviewer, "Just Over the Line Exhibit" on the Underground Railroad, Chester County Historical Society, West Chester, Pennsylvania, 2003.
 Humanities Professor and Advisor, "Journey to the North: New York Freedom's Trail" project, , New York State Historical Association, Cooperstown, New York, 2001-02
 Member and Vice Chairperson, New York State Freedom Trail Commission, 1999-03
 Member, Working Group on "Religion, Immigration and Civic Life," Social Science Research Council, New York City. 1999
 Consultant, Production School for the "This Far by Faith" series, Blackside, Inc., Film and Television Productions, Boston. 1999-2000
 Associate Editor, Encyclopedia of New York State, 1999-2002
 Advisory Committee, New York State Freedom Trail Program Study, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, 1998-99
 Committee to Interview Fulbright Candidates, Berlin, Germany, 1994-95
 The CAAR Electronic Scholarly Initiatives Committee, 1994-95
 Co-chair, Afro-American Religious History Group, American Academy of Religion, 1988-1991
 Steering Committee, Afro-American Religious History Group, American Academy of Religion, 1986-91
 Reviewer, Proposals for 1989 Symposium on African American History in New York State, Chemung County Historical Society
 W. E. B. Du Bois Institute Working Group on Religion and Politics, Harvard University, 1987-91
 Panel on African American History in New York State, African American Institute, Albany, New York, 1987-89
 Evaluator of book manuscripts for University of North Carolina Press, Greenwood Press, Mercer University Press, Syracuse University Press, Univ. of Tennessee Press, Louisiana State University Press, Duke University Press, and The Lutheran Historical Conference
 Evaluator of journal manuscripts for Church History , Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, Christian History, and The North Star.
 Board of Directors, Lutheran Historical Conference, 1980-86
 Historian/Archivist, East Coast Synod, Association of Evangelical Lutheran Churches, 1976-1983
 Commission on Research and Publications, Lutheran Historical Conference, 1980-86
 External Reviewer for Tenure and Promotion Cases at other Universities and Colleges
 Advisory Board, African Americans and the Bible Project, Lilly Foundation & Union Theological Seminary

AWARDS, GRANTS, SPONSORED RESEARCH

Research grant, Onondaga Country Freedom Trail (with Judith Wellman)
 Vision Fund grant, Syracuse Univ., Underground Railroad Course, 2001
 Multiple Site Nomination grant, Underground Railroad, National Parks Service (with Judith Wellman, etc.), 1999
 Workshop on the Underground Railroad, Documentary Heritage Program (with Judith Wellman), 1998
 Senior Fulbright Scholar, John F. Kennedy Institut, Freie Universität, Berlin, 1994-95
 Research Associate, W. E. B. Du Bois Institute, Harvard University, 1988-89
 American Philosophical Society Grant, 1988-89
 National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Fellowship, 1988
 Faculty Senate Research Grant, 1987
 African American Institute Grant, Albany, New York, 1987-88
 Lutheran Educational Conference of North America Grant, 1984
 Faculty Senate Research Grant, Summer 1979
 N.D.E.A. Fellowship, 1968-72

SERVICE AT SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY (PARTIAL ACTIVITIES)

Department

Interim Associate Chair, Department
 Interim Editor, Pan-African Studies Newsletter
 Chair, Graduate Committee
 African American Fellowship Coordinator
 Tenure and Promotion Committees
 Curriculum Committee
 Search Committees
 Chair, Committee on Review of Department Chair
 Exhibit Organizer, "Issues and Images: Afro-Americana in Upstate New York,"
 Bird Library, for Black History Month.
 Department Representative, "Graduates and Professional Day," Hampton University
 Promotions Committee Chair, 1987-88
 Reviewed Enrollment Patterns for Department Development Plan
 Taught Course for African American Fellowship Recipients

College & University

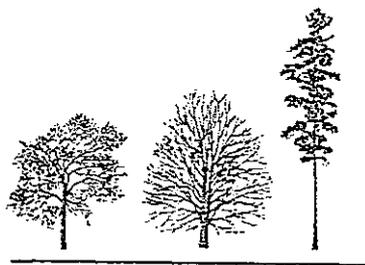
Freshman Advisor
 Instructor, Freshmen Forum
 Academic Affairs Committee
 Admissions Committee
 Tenure and Promotions Committee
 Graduate Committee
 Humanities Seminar
 Search Committee for Director of Humanities Ph. D. Program
 American Studies Committee
 R.O.T.C. Scholarship Committee
 Program Committee, Department of Religion
 College Committee on Student Standards
 Member of M. A. and Ph. D. Committees, Departments of History, Religion, and Social Sciences
 Hendricks Chapel Board
 Academic Affairs Administrative Council
 Parking Committee
 Lutheran Campus Ministry Board, Syracuse University
 Program Committee, Board of Graduate Studies
 Board of Graduate Studies

SERVICE TO COMMUNITY

Academic Consultant, Geneva Historical Society (Geneva, N. Y.)
 Advisory Board, New York State Freedom Trail Commission
 Board of Directors, East Coast Synod, Association of Evangelical Lutheran Churches
 Adjunct Member, Board of Directors, Gettysburg Lutheran Seminary
 Board of Directors, Lutheran Historical Conference
 Council of Lutheran Theological Education in the Northeast
 New York State External High School Diploma Program, Syracuse Assessment Specialist
 Adult Education Classes, Faith Lutheran Church, Cicero
 Exhibit Advisory Committee, Syracuse Urban League
 New York Freedom Trail Commission

John Brown Lives! Advisory Board
Humanities Professor, New York State Freedom Trail Exhibit, New York State Historical Society

Judith Wellman, Ph.D.
Consulting Historian



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York Research Associates

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Fulton, New York 13069-4723
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I. Education

- 1974 Ph.D. University of Virginia, U.S. History
1965 B.A. University of Denver, History and Secondary Education (dual degree)
- 2000-04 Online Teaching Workshops, SUNY Learning Network
1978 NEH Social History Workshop, Brandeis University
1976 Quantitative History Workshop-Newberry Library
1974 Archival Workshop, Ohio Historical Society

II. Employment

- 2000-present Principal Investigator, Historical New York Research Associates, a research and consulting business specializing in local and community history, women's history, underground railroad/African American history, and historic preservation.
- 2000-present Adjunct Professor, SUNY Learning Network (online university), teaching two courses: Doing History Locally and Historic Preservation and Heritage Tourism
- 1972-2000 Professor, History Department, State University of New York at Oswego, teaching general U.S. history, women's history, state and local history, teaching methods, and historical methods. I was curator of Special Collections with responsibility for local history manuscripts, photographs, and oral histories. I helped organize and coordinate our Museum Studies Program and Women's Studies program. My research interests focused on reform movements, social history, and vernacular architecture in the nineteenth century.
- 1982 Historian, Women's Rights National Historical Park, Seneca Falls, New York, responsible for organizing historical interpretation for this national park during its opening year.

Statement on Professional Work

For more than thirty years, I have been active as a scholar and teacher in U.S. history, focusing on women's history, local and community history, the history of the underground railroad, historical methodology, and historic preservation.

From 1972-1994, I also worked as archivist and co-coordinator of Special Collections, where I had responsibility for our local history collection, including manuscripts, photographs, and oral history tapes.

I have been actively involved not only with traditional classroom situations but also with setting up new programs (including internships in museums, archives, and historic preservation). I helped set up both our Museum Studies Program and our Women's Studies Minor Program, and I have coordinated each of these.

Throughout my professional career, I have been a consulting history, working with the National Park Service, the New York State Office of Historic Preservation, Arts and Culture, the Preservation League of New York State, the New York Council for the Humanities, the Documentary Heritage Program of the New York State Archives, the National Underground Railroad Freedom Trail Center, film directors (including Ken Burns in *Not for Ourselves Alone*) and many local and regional historical, genealogical, preservation, and tourism groups.

In 2000, I organized a full-time consulting business called Historical New York Research Associates. Recent Projects have included helping women's history scholars use the Mary Baker Eddy papers (for the Mary Baker Eddy Library), co-authoring a booklet called *Oral Traditions and Beyond* (for the National Park Service's National Network to Freedom Program), conducting a cultural resource survey of sites relating to the Underground Railroad in central New York (for the Preservation Association of Central New York), and writing a National Register nomination at the national level of significance for Weeksville, a nineteenth century African American community in Brooklyn (for the Society for the Preservation of Weeksville and Bedford-Stuyvesant History). (For a more complete list, see public history projects section of this vita.)

I currently teach two online course through the SUNY Learning Network: "Doing History Locally" and "Historic Preservation and Heritage Tourism."

I serve on several boards, including the New York State Local History Advisory Board, the Matilda Joslyn Gage Foundation Board, the Heritage Foundation of Oswego Board, and the review board for the Preserve New York Grant Program, administered by the Preservation League of New York State and the New York Council on the Arts. I am listed as a consultant for cultural resource surveys by the Preservation League of New York State.

III. Publications

My research has centered on women's history, community history, the built environment, and the history of antebellum reform movements, especially women's rights, abolitionism, the underground railroad, and African American life.

A. Books

- 2004 *The Road to Seneca Falls: Elizabeth Cady Stanton and the First Woman's Rights Convention*. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2004.
- 2000 *Grassroots Reform in the Burned-over District of Upstate New York: Religion, Abolitionism and Democracy*. New York: Garland Press, 2000.
- 1976 *Landmarks of Oswego County*, Editor. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1988. Winner of the John Ben Snow award for the best book published in New York State history by Syracuse University Press that year.

B. Articles

- 2003 "Mary Baker Eddy, Lifelong Writer," *The Magazine of the Mary Baker Eddy Library for the Betterment of Humanity* 3:2 (Fall 2003), 3-11.
- "True Stories: Following the Freedom Trail in Oswego County," *New York Archives* (Winter 2003), 13-15.
- "The Women's Movement in New York State," "The Underground Railroad," "Oswego County," "Oswego City," "Fulton," entries for *Encyclopedia of New York State*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2004.
- 2002 "It's a Wide Community Indeed: Alliances and Issues in Creating Women's Rights National Historical Park, Seneca Falls, New York." Gail Dubrow and Jennifer Goodman, eds. *Restoring Women's History Through Historic Preservation*. Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002.
- "The Underground Railroad and Historic Preservation: Historical Importance vs. Architectural Integrity?" *The Public Historian* 24:1 (Winter 2002), 11-29.
- 2001 "Larry Gara's *Legend of the Underground Railroad: A New Look*." *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History*. 25:1 (January 2001), 33-55.
- 1998 "This Side of the Border: Fugitives from Slavery in Three Central New York Communities." *New York History* 79:4 (October 1998). Winner of the Kerr award for the best article in *New York History*.
- "Thomas and Mary Ann M'Clintock," *American National Biography*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998. With Christopher Densmore.
- "Daniel Cady," *American National Biography*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- "You Are a Historical Detective: The Seneca Falls Women's Rights Convention: A Teaching-Learning Kit for Upper Elementary

- Grade Children." Eastern National Parks Commission, 1998.
- 1991 "The Seneca Falls Women's Rights Convention: A Study of Social Networks," *Journal of Women's History*, 3:1 (Spring 1991).
- 1990 "Elizabeth Cady Stanton," in *The Heath Anthology of American Literature*, Vol. I, ed. by Paul Lauter (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath, 1990), 1893-1895.
- 1989 "Crossing Over Cross: Whitney Cross and *The Burned-over District* as Social History," *Reviews in American History* (March 1989), 159-74.
- 1988 "Women's Rights, Republicanism, and Revolutionary Rhetoric in Antebellum New York State," *New York History* (July 1988). Won a prize for the bicentennial issue.
- 1987 "Teaching Public History: SUNY, Oswego, as a Case Study." *The Public Historian* (Summer 1987).
- 1984 "Making Connections: Women, Men, and Local History." *New York Network News* 7:2 (September 1984).
- 1981 "Carving a Statue from a Cloud: The Local Historian in the Community." *New York Network News* (June 1981).
- 1980 "Women and Radical Reform in Antebellum Upstate New York." In Mabel Deutrich, ed., *Clio Was A Woman*. Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1980.
- "Quantity = Quality? Some Perspectives on Quantitative Psychohistory." In Paul Monaco, ed., *Quantification and Psychology: Toward a 'New' History*. Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1980.
- 1979 "Daughters of Eve, Daughters of Clio: Some Thoughts on Women's History, Women Historians, and Women's Rights." *Newsletter*, Upstate New York Women's History Group, Summer 1979.
- 1978 "Comment on Rudolph Binion, 'Doing Psychohistory.'" *Journal of Psychohistory* 5:3 (Winter 1978).
- "Simple Descriptive Statistics for Social and Community History." In Wayne Smith, Steve Schoenherr, and Judith Wellman, "New Approaches to Teaching Local History." *Newberry Papers in Family and Community History*. January 1978.
- "Some Thoughts on the Psychohistorical Study of Women." *Psychohistory Review* (December 1978).
- 1975 "Culture and Character: Some Perspectives from Psychological Anthropology for Psychohistorians." *Psychohistory Review* (December 1975).
- 1973 "'Bound by Duty': Abolitionists in Mexico, New York." *Journal, Oswego County Historical Society* (January 1973), 1-31.

I have also published many book and exhibit reviews in scholarly journals, including the *American Historical Review*, the *Journal of the Early Republic*, *The Public Historian*, the *OAH Newsletter*, the *Journal of Agricultural History*, *Locus*, and the *Journal of Southern History*.

C. Professional Papers and Talks, 1991-present

- 2004 Women's Rights National Historical Park, Grand Opening of the M'Clintock House, June 2004.
- "Documenting the Underground Railroad in New York State." New York State Archives Conference. June 2004.
- 2003 Smithsonian Institution. "Documenting the Freedom Trail: Oral Traditions and Beyond." Washington, D.C. February 2003.
- Keynote Speaker, Statewide Underground Railroad Conference, Albany, New York. "The Underground Railroad in New York State: Movement and Context." February 2003.
- Westchester County Historical Society. "The Seneca Falls Woman's Rights Convention: Who Came and Why?" March 2003.
- George Wright Society (National Park Service). "Underground Railroad: Coalitions, Past and Present." San Diego, California, April 2003.
- Chemung County Historical Society. "Following the Freedom Trail in Central New York: Chemung County and Beyond." Sponsored by the New York Council for the Humanities. April 2003.
- Westchester County Historical Society. "Following the Freedom Trail: Myth and Reality." May 2003.
- Annual Meeting of the Christian Science Mother Church. "Roadmaps into the Mary Baker Eddy Library's Collections: Women's History." Berlin, Germany, and Boston, Massachusetts, June 2003.
- Teachers' Institute, Teaching American History Grant, New York State Historical Association. "The African American Experience: Underground Railroad and Civil War." Cooperstown, New York, July 2003.
- Preservation Association of Central New York, Syracuse, New York. A series of talks to local churches and civic groups on "Uncovering the Freedom Trail in Syracuse and Onondaga County," a project sponsored by the Preservation Association of Central New York. Groups included People's AME Zion Church, Syracuse; Friends' Meeting, Syracuse; Plymouth Congregational Church, Syracuse; Thompson AME Zion, Auburn; Thomas AME Zion, Watertown; Skaneateles Historical Society, Skaneateles; Spafford Historical Society, Spafford; Sunrise Rotary, Fayetteville.
- 2002 Central New York Social Studies Council. "Following the Freedom Trail: Underground Railroad in Central New York. A Lesson with Documents." July 2002.
- 2001 Central New York Social Studies Council. "Following the Freedom Trail in Central New York." October 2001.

- 2000 "Seneca Falls and the Women's Rights Movement." Oneida Community, May 2000. Sponsored by the New York Council for the Humanities.
- Cornell University. Preservation and Planning Department. "The Underground Railroad and Heritage Tourism." October 2000.
- 1999 "Documenting the Underground Railroad in Central New York," Organization of American Historians, Toronto, Ontario, April 1999.
- Berkshire Conference on Women's History. "Bridging Women's History and Public History: From the Classroom to the Community." With Vivien Rose, Historian, Women's Rights National Historical Park., June, 1999.
- Women's Rights National Historical Park, Seneca Falls, New York. "Women and Race in the Nineteenth Century Women's Rights Movement." July 1999.
- 1998 National Council on Public History, Austin, Texas. "Women's History and the Public: The Origins of Women's Rights National Historical Park." April 1998.
- Texas Women's University, Denton, Texas. "The Seneca Falls Women's Rights Convention: History Happens Locally." October 1998.
- 1997 Conference on Women and Historic Preservation, Arizona State University "'Hooray! We've Got Our National Park!' Creating Women's Rights National History Park, Seneca Falls, New York, 1978-1982." April 1997.
- "Teaching Women's History in High School." Central New York Social Studies Council. May 1997.
- 1996 Workshop on Long-Range Planning, Women's Rights National Historical Park, Seneca Falls, New York. "Women's Rights National Historical Park: Some Thoughts for the Future." May 1996.
- Parks Canada, Ottawa. "Interpreting Women's History at Historic Sites: Don't Just 'Add Women and Stir,'" November 1996.
- 1993 "'Pretty Content to Remain': African Americans and the Underground Railroad in Oswego, New York, 1850-1855." H. Lee White Maritime Museum, Oswego, New York.
- State University of New York at Binghamton. "Social History and Women's History: Seneca Falls as a Case Study." November 1993.
- "Abolitionists in Upstate New York," with the Central New York Municipal Historians, 1993.
- 1991 Chemung County Historical Society, Elmira, New York. "African Americans in Oswego, Seneca Falls, and Waterloo, New York in the 1850s," Conference on African Americans in New York State, October 1991.

IV. Public History Projects

- 2003-04 "Using the Mary Baker Eddy Library Collections for Writing Women's History." A white paper and presentation at the annual meeting of the Christian Scientists, June, 2003.
- Assistance with development and review of Fellowship program for Mary Baker Eddy Library, October 2003-April 2004.
- Weeksville Society. Historic Context Statement and National Register National Register nomination at the national level of significance for four houses in Brooklyn, New York, representing the nineteenth century African American community of Weeksville, 2003-04.
- Oral Traditions and Beyond: A Guide to Documenting the Underground Railroad.*
Co-author, with Mary Edmond and Dianne Swann-Wright, for the National Park Service's National Underground Railroad National Network to Freedom program, 2004.
- Bibliography of Anti-slavery Newspapers. National Underground Railroad Freedom Trail Center, Cincinnati, Ohio, 2003.
- 2001-02 "Uncovering the Freedom Trail in Syracuse and Onondaga County." A cultural resources survey sponsored by the Preservation Association of Central New York. Funded by Preserve New York through the Preservation League of New York State and the New York State Council on the Arts. (www.pacny.net/freedom_trail)
- 2000 "Nominating Underground Railroad Sites to the National Register of Historic Places," Charette on the Underground Railroad sponsored by the National Park Service, Mt. Pleasant, S.C., January 2000.
- Co-author with Milton Sernett, Multiple Property Resource Nomination for Underground Railroad Sites in Central New York. Funded by the Preservation League of New York State. Fall 2000
- Consultant, National Park Service, "Using Oral History to Document the Underground Railroad." August 2000.
- Author or co-author, eleven National Register nominations relating to the Freedom Trail in Central New York. All of these have been accepted by the National Register of Historic Places.
- Consultant and "talking head," "Secret Passages," History Channel program.
- 1998 150th anniversary of the Seneca Falls women's rights convention. Participated in a panel at Seneca Falls, July 17, 1998, on the life of Elizabeth Cady Stanton. This presentation was subsequently aired several times on C-Span.
- Hillary Rodham Clinton. Consultant for speech at Seneca Falls, July 1998.
- Appeared on an hour-long award-winning program on Seneca Falls for Dallas

public radio.

Appeared on Weekend Edition of All Things Considered, July 11, 1998.

Keynote Speaker, Texas Women's University, Denton, Texas, October 1998.

"Seneca Reflections," Voice-over for video on Seneca Falls prepared by the Mary Baker Eddy Library.

The Underground Railroad in Oswego County: A Model Research Project. Funded by the National Park Service, I worked closely with five historical groups in Oswego County to produce two workshops, a research guide, a website (www.oswego.edu/Acad_Dept/a_and_s/history/ugrr/contents.html), resource notebooks for local libraries, and a survey of underground railroad sites in Oswego County.

Documenting the Underground Railroad in Upstate New York. A workshop and plan to survey sources relating to the underground railroad in New York State. Coordinated by myself and Milton Sernett, African American Studies Department, Syracuse University. Funded by the Documentary Heritage Program of the State Archives and Records Service.

Local History and Public Radio. With WRVO, our local public radio station, I helped write and produce a series of three-minute radio spots on local history. Funded by the New York State Council on the Arts through Oswego County Arts and Culture.

National Women's History Museum. Planning workshop. Washington, D.C., October 1998.

1997 Seminar on Public History. Taught with Vivien Rose, Historian, Women's Rights National Historical Park, Seneca Falls. Projects related to the Seneca Falls women's rights convention.

"Textile Workers in the Oswego River Valley." A cooperative oral history project involving SUNY, Oswego, and the Fulton and Oswego County Historical Societies.

Oswego County Historical Society. Consultant on Oswego County history exhibit.

1986 "Parks and Monuments of Oswego, New York." A cooperative research project between SUNY, Oswego, and the City of Oswego.

Oswego County Historical Society. Consultant on curriculum unit for elementary schools on women in Oswego County.

1984-5 Elizabeth Cady Stanton-Susan B. Anthony Papers. Consultant on NHPRC project to edit Stanton-Anthony papers.

1983-4 History Departments, SUNY at Cortland and at Plattsburgh. Evaluation of departments and consultant on long-range planning.

- 1983 Oswego County Historical Society. Research consultant, exhibit on Oswego County's history. Funded by New York State Council on the Arts.
- 1982 Park Historian, Women's Rights National Historical Park, Seneca Falls, N.Y. I coordinated the interpretive program (including tours and exhibits) and supervised Park Rangers.
- 1981-2 Elizabeth Cady Stanton Papers. Organized, with Corinne Guntzel, writings of Elizabeth Cady Stanton during the years she was in Seneca Falls (1847-61). Funded by the National Park Service.
- 1980 Seneca Falls Historical Society. Consultant to develop a long-range plan. Funded by NEH.
- 1979 Seneca Falls Women's History Conference. I worked with the Regional Conference of Historical Agencies to plan a conference on women's history at Seneca Falls, New York. Designed for 100 local historians and interested citizens, it attracted 400 people.
- 1978 Community History Conference. Member of board to plan a state-wide conference on community history, held in New York City, involving historians, archivists, historic preservationists, and museum people. Funded by the New York State Council on the Humanities.
- 1977 Survey and exhibit on historic architecture in Oswego County. This included a survey, which I supervised, of 2000 buildings in Oswego County, and a travelling exhibit prepared by Tyler Art Gallery, SUNY, Oswego, based on this survey. Funded by New York State Council on the Arts.
- 1976 Two slide-tape shows on Oswego County, New York, based on nineteenth century images and interviews with local residents, prepared for the Seaway Trail Commission in New York State.
- New York State Studies Group. Founder and editor of Newsletter.
- 1970s Consultant, Museum Assessment Program, New York State Council on the Arts

V. Professional Organizations

- 1976 Organized the New York State Studies Group.
- 1982-3 Chair, Committee on the Status of Women for the Organization of American Historians.
- 2001-03 Chair, Consulting Historians' Committee for National Council for Public History
- 2003 Awards Committee, National Council for Public History
- 2002-04 New York State Historians Advisory Committee, State Department of Education
- 2001-04 Board, Heritage Foundation of Oswego
- 2000-04 Board, Matilda Joslyn Gage Foundation, Fayetteville, New York
- 2002-04 Chair, House Committee, Matilda Joslyn Gage Foundation

I have also served on the
 Governor's Committee on Archives in New York State
 Executive Committee of the Social Science History Association

Berkshire Conference of Women Historians
Society for the History of the Early American Republic.
Board, New York State Women's History Museum and Leadership Center

I am also a member of:

American Association for State and Local History
American Historical Association
Organization of American Historians
National Trust for Historic Preservation
National Council on Public History
New York State Historical Association
Preservation League of New York State
Vernacular Architecture Forum
Many local historical societies and historic preservation groups.

CRAIG STEVEN WILDER

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EDUCATION:

Doctor of Philosophy: (October 1994) Columbia University, Department of History, Fayerweather Hall, New York, New York 10027. Dissertation: "A Covenant With Color: *Race* and the History of Brooklyn, New York."

Master of Philosophy: (October 1993) Columbia University, Department of History.

Master of Arts: (May 1989) Columbia University, Department of History. Thesis: "Before Montgomery's Bus Boycott: Black Lawyers, Urbanization, and the Assault on Jim Crow in Alabama, 1890-1950."

Bachelor of Arts: (May 1987) Fordham University, Department of History, (Rose Hill) Bronx, New York 10458.

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

Professor: Department of History, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire 03755. (July 2002-present)

Associate Professor: Department of History, Williams College, Williamstown, Massachusetts 01267. (July 2001- June 2002)

Chair: African-American Studies Program, Williams College. (July 1999-July 2001) Responsible for administrative, curricular, programmatic, advisory, and faculty recruitment decisions.

Assistant Professor: Department of History, Williams College. (July 1995- June 2001)

Chair: Department of Urban Studies, Long Island University, The Brooklyn Campus, Brooklyn, New York 11201.

Assistant Professor: Department of History, Long Island University, The Brooklyn Campus. (September 1991-August 1995)

CRAIG STEVEN WILDER

FELLOWSHIPS AND AWARDS:

Recipient: University Medal for Excellence, Columbia University in the City of New York. This award is bestowed each year during commencement to one graduate of any of Columbia's colleges or professional schools for excellence in scholarship, public service, or teaching. The 2004 commencement celebrated the 50th anniversary of *Brown v. Board*, the 75th anniversary of the Medal for Excellence, and the 250th anniversary of Columbia University. (May 19, 2004)

Recipient: Honorary Master of Arts degree, Dartmouth College. Awarded by the Board of Trustees to faculty who achieve the rank of full professor. (May 7, 2004)

Historian-in-Residence: New-York Historical Society and Queens College, CUNY, NEH Institute, New York, New York. (July 2003, July 2004).

Honoree: Brooklyn Borough President's celebration of Black History Month. Proclamation and Citation for distinguished contributions to the history of Brooklyn and to its African-American communities. (February 2001)

Centennial Historian: One of a group of historians honored at the New-York Historical Society for contributions to New York history. Selected by the Centennial Committee, Office of the Mayor, New York City. (1999)

Rosenwald Fellow: Manuscript and archival research grant from the Library and Archive, New-York Historical Society, 2 West 77 Street, New York, New York 10024. (June 1999)

Participant: "The Built Environment of the American Metropolis: Public and Private Realms, 1900-2000," National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Institute, Institute for the Humanities, University of Illinois at Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, 60607-7040 (June-July 1999)

Honoree: Higher Educational Opportunity Program (LIU—Brooklyn) award for continued "valuable and devoted service" to the program and its students. (February 1999)

Ford Scholar-in-Residence: Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library, 515 Malcolm X Boulevard, New York, New York 10037-1801. (1998- 1999)

CRAIG STEVEN WILDER

IAC Fellow: Institute of American Cultures and the Center for African American Studies, University of California at Los Angeles, Los Angeles, California 90095. (1998-1999)

Dr. Archibald F. Glover Award for "outstanding service and commitment" to the effort to collect and distribute the history of African-Americans in New York City. Given by the Society for the Preservation of Weeksville and Bedford-Stuyvesant History. 25 February 1996.

Teacher of the Year. First ever recipient of this award given by the Student Government Association, Long Island University, Brooklyn Campus. May 1993.

President's Fellow: Department of History, Columbia University, 1988-1991.

BOOKS:

Craig Steven Wilder, "*The High*": *The Decline and Rise of the Nation's Model Public High School* (current book project).

Craig Steven Wilder, *In the Company of Black Men: The African Influence on African-American Culture in New York City* (New York: New York University Press, 2001).

Craig Steven Wilder, *A Covenant with Color: Race & Social Power in Brooklyn* (New York: Columbia University Press, History of Urban Life Series, 2000).

ARTICLES AND ESSAYS:

Craig Steven Wilder, "Black Life in Freedom: Civic Society," in Ira Berlin and Leslie M. Harris, eds., *Enslaved City: Slavery, Resistance, and Abolition in New York City, 1623 to 1865* (New York: N-Y HS and the New Press, forthcoming).

Craig Steven Wilder, "Of Mr. W. E. B. DuBois and Others: *The Souls of Black Folk* and the Moral Obligations of Intellectualism," *The A. M. E. Church Review* (April-June 2003).

Craig Steven Wilder, "'The Guardian Angel of Africa': A Financial History of the New York African Society for Mutual Relief, 1808-1945," *Afro-*

CRAIG STEVEN WILDER

Americans in New York Life and History (July 2002).

Craig Steven Wilder, "New York: Civic, Literary, and Mutual Aid Associations," essay with signature line, in Nina Mjagkij, et. al., eds., *Encyclopedia of African American Associations* (New York: Garland, 2000).

Craig Steven Wilder, "The Rise and Influence of the New York African Society for Mutual Relief, 1808-1865," *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History* (July 1998).

Craig Steven Wilder, "New York African Society for Mutual Relief (1808-1945)," essay with signature line, in Kenneth T. Jackson, ed., *The Encyclopedia of New York City* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).

EDITORIAL CONTRIBUTIONS:

Craig Steven Wilder, cont., to Howard Dodson, Roberta Yancy, Christopher Moore, eds., *The Black New Yorkers: A Chronological History* (A Schomburg Center Publication; New York: Wiley, 1999).

Craig Steven Wilder, reader and advisor, John Manbeck and Kenneth T. Jackson, *The Neighborhoods of Brooklyn* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

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Professor
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A.	<u>Degree</u>	<u>Date Rec'd</u>	<u>Inst. & Locat'n</u>	<u>Major Field</u>
	B.A.	1962	Wagner College Staten Is., N.Y.	History
	M.A.	1971	University of CA Los Angeles, CA	African History
	Ph.D.	1978	University of CA Los Angeles, CA	African History

B. Ph.D. Thesis: "The Nsenga of Central Africa: Political and Economic Aspects of clan History, 1700 to the Late Nineteenth Century." A micro-study of the social and Economic history of clans in the Republic of Zambia and the Peoples Republic of Mozambique.

C. Work Experience:

1962 - 1963	Mobilization for Youth, New York City	Work Group Leader
1963 - 1964	All Saints School, US Virgin Islands	History/Spanish teacher
1964 - 1965	College of the Virgin Islands	Hd. Resident/Activities
1965 - 1966	New York City Youth Board	Street Club Worker
1966 - 1968	United States Peace Corps/Africa	Health Worker in Malawi
1972 year	Cal. State U. at Long Beach	Lecturer in Black Studies
1974 - 1975	Pasadena City College, CA.	Instr. in Afro-Am Studies
1975 - 1976	University of Calif-Riverside	Lecturer, African History
1976 - 1979	Carleton College, Northfield, Min.	As't Prof., African History
1979 - 1983	SUNY-New Paltz	Assoc. Prof. Black Studies
1983 - Fall	Sabbatical Leave/SUNY-New Paltz	
1984 - 1986	SUNY-New Paltz	Assoc. Prof. Black Studies
1986 - 1987	NYAAl, SUNY-Central in Albany	Director of Programs
1987 - 1989	SUNY-New Paltz	Assoc. Prof. Black Studies
1990 - 1991	NYAAl, SUNY-Central in Albany	Executive Director
1992 - 1995	SUNY-New Paltz	Assoc. Prof. Black Studies
1995 -	SUNY-New Paltz	Promoted to Full Prof.
1996 - Spring	Sabbatical Leave/SUNY-New Paltz	
1996 - 2002	SUNY-New Paltz	Full Prof. Black Studies
2002 - 2003	SUNY-New Paltz	Chair, Black Studies
2004 - Spring	Sabbatical Leave/SUNY-New Paltz	

D. Project Historian:

1. Historian, "The Underground Railroad Experience" at City University of City of New York
2. Historian, Interpretive Center for the African Burial Ground in Lower Manhattan
3. Member, New York Commission on the Underground Railroad

E. Among his Publications:

"Positioning and Imaging Caesar: From Margin to Center in the Historiography of Colonial New York City," *Journal of Afro-Americans in New York Life and History*, Vol. 28, No. 2, (July 2004): 51-75.

On The Morning Tide African Americans, History and Methodology in the Ebb and Flow of Hudson River Society (Africa World Press: Trenton, 2003).

"The Underground Railroad in the Hudson River Valley: A Succinct Historical Composite," *Journal of Afro-Americans in New York Life and History*, Vol. 27, No. 1 (January 2003): 55-73.

African Dreams To Tell Their Story of Old New York A Historical Novel (Kingston, New York, 2002).

"Re-Examining Slavery in New York," *New York Archives*, 1, 3 (Winter 2002): 15-18.

"'Weep Not, Child': The Plight of African Americans in Antebellum New York City," *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History* (July 1998).

"Slavery, Rebellion, and Revolution in the Americas: An Historiographical Scenario on the Genovese, et al. Theses," *The Journal of Black Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 4 (March 1996): 381-400.

A. J. Williams-Myers, et al., "United States: African Americans," in Lyn Miller-Lachman, *Global Voices, Global Visions A Core Collection of Multicultural Books* (New Providence, N.J.: RR. Bowker, 1995): 3-99.

Destructive Impulses: An Examination of An American Secret in Race Relations – White Violence (University Press of America, 1995).

Long Hammering The Forging of An African American Presence in the Hudson River Valley to The Early Twentieth Century (Africa World Press: Trenton, New Jersey, 1994).

Appendix B

Response to Peer Review Comments

Peer Review: Comments on Scope of Research

Comment 1: Look at sources of historic images of Brooklyn – Brian Merlis’s books – as well as the personal photo collections of community elders and the people who live in the area. A woman named Julie Moody-Lewis of the Sandy Ground Historical Society has boxes of photograph of early New York. There are also some photos of the area in a collection of Walt Whitman’s works in Brooklyn. (Dobard, Wellman)

Response: As noted in our conference call, we have reviewed the photograph collections of the New York Public Library, Brooklyn Historical Society, and the Museum of the City of New York. We have reviewed Brian Merlis’s books and found no photographs relating to the Duffield and Gold Street buildings. We are looking into the photograph collections of other institutions and reviewing the Walt Whitman book. At the Sandy Ground Historical Society’s request, we have submitted a written request for access to their photograph collections. We will attempt to find other people in the area with photo collections dating from the period of significance.

Comment 2: Look into Arthur and Lewis Tappan, who had a house at Henry and Pierrepont Streets, given their proximity to the target sites. Lewis Tappan was an abolitionist, known funder of and participant in the Underground Railroad (cited in Still, C. Ray and many other sources). The papers of Lewis Tappan are located at New York Public Library-Humanities (Microfilm, 7 reels, Call No. Z-2724). (Sernett, Hourahan, Driscoll)

Response: We are looking into the Tappan Papers.

Comment 3: Look into the First Presbyterian Church on Henry Street, which has stood in its present location since 1846, whose pastor in the 1860’s was a well-known abolitionist and a founder of Union Theological Seminary (Samuel Hanson Cox), and with which J.W.C. Pennington was involved; St. Ann’s Episcopal Church, which had rectors and congregants who were famous in their generation for anti-slavery sentiments; and the Dutch Reformed Church, which stood where the Municipal Building now stands. (Pettit, Hourahan, Driscoll)

Response: We are looking into these churches.

Comment 4: Look further into the Truesdell family. (Hourahan)

Comments on Scope of Research

Response: We have been looking into any available information on the Truesdell family and their potential connections to local churches, abolitionist societies, or known abolitionists. No connections have yet been identified; however, we will pursue any leads on the family as we continue our research.

Comment 5: Look at the Gerritt Smith Papers at Syracuse University. (Alexander, Wellman)

Response: We are looking into the Smith Papers, which are now available on microfilm through the New York Public Library.

Comment 6: Focusing on people is most likely to yield useful leads. (Sernett)

Response: Comment noted.

Comment 7: The search for a tunnel—assuming that one exists—will not be very productive; even if a tunnel were discovered, there is no way of knowing if it served as a passageway for freedom seekers. (Sernett) There are only two documented tunnel cases ever found—the Milton House in Wisconsin (see www.miltonhouse.org) and an underground hiding place connected to the Thaddeus Steven's house in Lancaster, Pennsylvania (as reported in "Digging into a Historic Rivalry," *Smithsonian Magazine*, February 2004). Using magnetometers, geologists have discovered an underground "anomaly" exactly where family tradition suggests that a tunnel connected the home and tinshop of Starr Clark, a known Underground Railroad agent in Mexico, New York. A study of seventeen reputed tunnels connected with Underground Railroad sites in Ohio, however, found no evidence to support the oral traditions. (Byron D. Fruehling and Robert H. Smith, "Subterranean Hideaways of the Underground Railroad in Ohio: An Architectural, Archaeological and Historical Critique of Local Traditions," *Ohio History* 102 (Sum-Aug 1993): 98-117). (Wellman)

Response: Comment noted. As discussed in our conference call, the City has retained an architectural historian to assess the buildings' interiors, for a professional judgment as to when such spaces were likely built and what they were used for, as well as whether any physical evidence of their potential use for Underground Railroad activities may exist. The architectural historian toured the Duffield Street and Gold Street buildings on Thursday, August 26 and will be submitting a report for review soon.

Comment 8: Check the database that Jim McGowan created from the names in William Still's classic history of the Underground Railroad. A digitized and searchable version of Still is at <http://www.quinnipiac.edu/other/ABL/etext/ugrr/ugrrmain.html>. (Sernett, Wellman)

Response: We are reviewing this resource.

Comment 9: Contact Nan Rothschild, Diana Wall, and Ann-Marie Cantwell regarding any materials or assistance they might be able to provide. (Harris)

Response: We have contacted these individuals and hope to be in touch with them soon.

Comment 10: Look into the Sydney Howard Gay papers at Columbia University. Gay was an officer in the American Anti-Slavery and was the editor of the organization's newspaper, the Anti-Slavery Standard, for many years. A very important collection and its many letters are indexed in the guide to the collection. A look through the index is well worth it. There are also Sidney Howard Gay Papers at the 42nd Street Library. They are more of a business nature and may contain list of Society members and subscribers to the Standard. The Standard in on microfilm at the 42nd Street library and the Schomberg and it frequently printed lists of people who subscribed to the newspaper or donated to the society. You might want to check the issues for the period the houses were first built up to the Civil War. (Wellman, Driscoll, Alexander)

Response: We have reviewed the Sydney Howard Gay papers and found no matches with the names of the known owners/residents of Duffield Street and Gold Street. We have reviewed the National Anti-Slavery Standard but will continue to review additional issues ca. 1848.

Comment 11: Check the anti-slavery organizations (American Anti-Slavery Society, American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society) for the names of the residents of the properties, who may have been affiliated with the abolitionist churches researched thus far. (Alexander)

Response: We will research available membership records for these organizations for the names of the owners/residents of Duffield Street and Gold Street.

Comment 12: Look into Henry Ward Beecher's papers at the Brooklyn Historical Society (Slave auction of Sarah on June 1, 1856 and Sally Maria Diggs, "Pinky" (aka Rose Ward) in Feb., 1860 in Section 6, Box 9, Folders 9-14). Lois Rosebrooks, Plymouth Church's historian, says they do have Beecher papers, although they need to be catalogued. (Driscoll, Hourahan, Wellman)

Response: AKRF obtained access to the Beecher papers at Brooklyn Historical Society's warehouse on Tuesday, August 24. We contacted Lois Rosebrooks, historian of Plymouth Church of the Pilgrims, but unfortunately she cannot access the Church's records/papers on Beecher.

Comment 13: The bibliography should reference Craig Wilder's work, and you should try to reach him again (Alexander, Harris).

Comments on Scope of Research

Response: We will add Craig Wilder's work to the bibliography and attempted to reach him again on Thursday, August 26.

Comment 14: Contact Tom Calarco, a persistent URR researcher who has done excellent work and published several books. (Sernett)

Response: We spoke with Tom Calarco on Tuesday, August 24. He suggested checking the African American journals of the period; reviewing his books, *The Underground Railroad Conductor* and *The Underground Railroad in the Adirondack Region*; reviewing Charles Ray's biography; reviewing Willis Augustus Hodges' biography; reviewing the records of Plymouth Church; and contacting Graham Hodges at Colgate University and Fergus Bordevitch. He will be providing contact information for Mr. Hodges and Mr. Bordevitch. We will follow up on his suggestions.

Comment 15: Look into clergymen and accounts of their lives: specifically George Washington Bethune (Dutch Reformed Church), Samuel Hanson Cox (First Presbyterian Church), Robert McCarty, and Charles P. McIlvaine (St. Ann's Episcopal Church). (Pettit)

Response: We are looking into these individuals.

Comment 16: Contact Dr. Robert J. Swan (a teacher at Midwood High School and an expert on Brooklyn's African American history) regarding his research into African American history in New York City (718.789.7348, RobtJSwan@cs.com). Bob was director of research for the initial conceptualization of the Weeksville Society. (Driscoll, Pettit)

Response: We spoke with Dr. Swan on Wednesday, August 25. He said that Gold Street was popular for the African American community after 1847—the Colored School moved to Raymond and Willoughby Streets around that time—and that the Downtown Brooklyn area was important for possible Underground Railroad activities. He suggested looking into Evan M. Johnson, a sponsor of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and going through Clarence Taylor's book *Black Churches of Brooklyn*. He said he'd had no luck researching the Concord Baptist Church, which seems consistent with our queries to the Church regarding membership records. He did done some demographic research up to the 1850s, but it was done a long time ago and he'd have to dig it up; we will be calling him back after he's had a chance to go through his files. He also mentioned in passing Peter Williams, the first Protestant Episcopal minister in New York City, and George and Isaiah DeGrasse (Isaiah trained for the Protestant Episcopal ministry).

Comment 17: Look into the Calvin Smith's grandmother and Bishop Queen Mother Jordan to see what develops. What is Bishop Queen Mother Jordan's role in clarifying the Underground Railroad presence of one or more of these properties? (Williams-Myers, Jackson) It is crucial to follow-up on the oral testimonies that have been received. (Alexander)

Response: We have been trying to reach Bishop Queen Mother Jordan through the Society of Old Brooklynites. We were told that Ms. Jordan is quite ill and in the hospital. However, most recently, Bishop Queen Mother Jordan and Garland Roberts, both members of the Society, have come forth with their willingness to provide their knowledge of the sites; we are trying to determine the most appropriate mechanism for formally recording these oral recollections. We are looking into taxation records to attempt to find information on Calvin Smith and his business on Duffield Street. To date, we have used the *Cole's Metropolitan Householders Directory: Brooklyn 1971-1981 and 1983-1997*, and New York City telephone directories from 1971-1975 and 1985-1993. There are no listings for a person with the last name of Smith at 233 Duffield Street during any of these years. In 1973-1974, there was a "Merchant of OYO African Jewelry" listed at 233 Duffield Street; however, there are no other jewelry stores noted on Duffield Street during any other years. We will attempt to follow up on this information.

Comment 18: Fill out information on John Duffield and his potential to be an abolitionist. (Wellman, Williams-Myers) What is the source of this and where might it lead? Was he a member of Plymouth Church or Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian Church? What was his profession, and might he have any connections to Manhattan? (Williams-Myers) The activities of John Duffield and his family should be investigated and the names of the entire Duffield/Prince family should be checked in a number of places including the American Anti-Slavery Society, and the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. (Alexander)

Response: We are looking into John Duffield's and the Prince family for potential connections.

Comment 19: Clarify where the Hilles family (Sophia and George) are from. (Wellman)

Response: Based on the 1855 New York state census record, the handwriting of which is difficult to interpret, Sophia and George Hilles appear to be from Massachusetts.

Comment 20: Are there any Edwards' descendants who might be of help since the properties were retained "through the early 20th century"? (Williams-Myers)

Response: We have been looking into any available information on Thomas Edwards and his potential connections. We will pursue any leads on his descendants as we continue our research.

Comments on Scope of Research

Comment 21: What were Edwards' religious/political connections before membership in Plymouth? (Williams-Myers)

Response: We have been looking into any additional potential connections of Thomas Edwards with local churches, abolitionist societies, or known abolitionists. No connections have yet been identified; however, we will pursue any leads as we continue our research.

Comment 22: Three parishioners from Plymouth (2) and Lafayette (1) resided at Edwards' 233 Duffield Street building. Maybe there are connections among the four or just a coincidence? (Williams-Myers)

Response: We have been looking into any potential connections between the owners and residents and local churches, abolitionist societies, or known abolitionists. No connections among the residents and owner of 233 Duffield Street have yet been identified; however, we will pursue any leads as we continue our research.

Comment 23: Unless there are multiple people named Thomas Edwards and Peter and Mary Hawes, Thomas Edwards and the Hawes family, who both resided on Duffield Street, were the same members of the Plymouth Church. Suggest that city directories and census materials for the city of Brooklyn be examined for this period. Repeat the search for the potential members of the Lafayette Presbyterian Church and the Siloam Presbyterian Church. (Alexander)

Response: We will research the city directories, census data, and church membership records to determine whether there were people with the same names as the residents on the subject sites.

Comment 24: Extend your search more than a mile from the sites. Look at population movement patterns in the surrounding area, where people would have come from. (Dobard)

Response: We will include information on the demographics patterns of the Downtown Brooklyn area during the mid-19th century in the draft research report.

Comment 25: What was the age range of the Young People's Prayer Meeting? And did the 233 Duffield Street building get purchased from Thomas Edwards for that year (1847-1848)? (Williams-Myers)

Response: We are not able to determine the age range of the Young People's Prayer Meeting from the available records. From the deed record research, it appears that Thomas Edwards purchased the 233 Duffield Street lot in 1848 and constructed a building on it soon thereafter.

Comment 26: All four names listed as having been members of Siloam Presbyterian Church, are indicated on the New York City censuses or city directories as not being African Americans. It's possible that African Americans of a light complexion were recorded as "white." (Williams-Myers)

Response: Comment noted.

Comment 27: Look for any possible connections to Charles Ray, in such sources as in Charlotte Augusta Ray, *Sketch of the Life of Rev. Charles B. Ray* (New York, 1887). (Alexander, Williams-Myers)

Response: We have reviewed this resource and found no name matches with the known owners/residents of Duffield Street and Gold Street.

Comment 28: If a tunnel existed, could it have been used for criminal purposes, other than for coal and/or vault, as existed for tunnels beneath buildings in New York City's Five Points neighborhood? (Williams-Myers)

Response: No information has been identified to date that indicates the existence of a tunnel under the buildings, and no statements have been made regarding the possible criminal use of such a tunnel.

Comment 29: Look at Benjamin Quarles, *Black Abolitionists* (Oxford, 1969). (Alexander, Williams-Myers)

Response: We are looking into this resource.

Comment 30: Look into papers such as Anglo African, Christian Union, The Independent North Star and Frederick Douglass' Paper. (Alexander)

Response: We will look into these sources.

Comment 31: Look at Charles L. Blockson, *The Underground Railroad First-Person Narratives of Escapes to Freedom in the North* (Prentice Hall Press: New York, 1987). (Williams-Myers)

Response: We are looking into this resource.

Comment 32: Check records of Mother Zion (AMEZ) Church and those of the First Colored Presbyterian Church, both at the time were in lower Manhattan. In a New York Times article by Sandee Brawarsky, "Safe Havens on the Freedom Line," (January 19, 2001), it is stated that Mother Zion and First Colored were aligned with the Report's list of Brooklyn churches but as well draws in the 1694 Friends Meeting House in Queens. (Williams-Myers)

Response: We are looking into these churches.

Comments on Scope of Research

Comment 33: Check memoirs/biographies of local ministers (including Manhattan) who knew Brooklyn during the time period. For example, J.W.C. Pennington (1807-1870), *The Fugitive Blacksmith* and Wilson J. Moses, *Alexander Crummell: A Study in Civilization and Discontent* (Oxford, 1988). (Williams-Myers)

Response: We are looking into these resources.

Comment 34: For potential first-person accounts, check into Dr. Susan Smith McKinney Steward: Floris Cash, *Black Women of Brooklyn*, Exhibit Catalog, New York Brooklyn Historical Society (1985); "Long Island's African American Women," in *Exploring African American History: Long Island and Beyond* (1991, 1995), Natalie A. Naylor, editor, Long Island Studies Institute, Hofstra University; and records of the Home for Colored Aged in Weeksville, if accessible. (Williams-Myers)

Response: We have reviewed Natalie Naylor's works and found no name matches with the known owners/residents of Duffield Street and Gold Street. Marilyn Pettit of the Brooklyn Historical Society is checking into the potential accessibility of the exhibit catalog. We are looking into the accessibility of records of the Home for Colored Aged.

Comment 35: Look into Wilbur Siebert manuscripts at the Ohio Historical Society on microfilm, available on interlibrary loan, organized by state and then by county. New York State's section comprises two reels. (Wellman)

Response: We are looking into this resource.

Comment 36: If the Duffield Street houses were documented at level 4 or 5, they could be nominated to: the National Register, the Heritage New York Underground Railroad Trail, or the National Underground Railroad Network to Freedom. (Wellman)

Response: Comment noted.

Comment 37: Refer to the Brooklyn Star, which was known as the Long Island Star in its earlier years. It was a more anti-slavery paper and can be found on microfilm at the Brooklyn Public Library. There are other early Brooklyn newspapers on microfilm there. The Brooklyn Star wrote a favorable editorial about Isaac Hunter, former slave from North Carolina living and working on Orange Street and Fulton Street; also published in 1840s his account of acquiring freedom. Also look into the Williamsburg Times. (Driscoll, Hourahan)

Response: We are looking into these resources.

Comment 38: Look into William Jay, Esq. (abolitionist and legal defender of free and fugitive slave blacks); Boxes 38, 39 and 40 in the John Jay Papers in the Rare Book and Manuscript Library of Columbia University contain his correspondence from 1833-1858. There are also some papers in the collection of William's son John Jay, who also defended fugitive slaves in New York City courts. (Driscoll, Hourahan)

Response: We are looking into these resources.

Comment 39: According to a bibliography that was produced by the Weeksville Society in the 1970s, there was a microfilmed version of the minutes of the Bridge Street Church directors and they were located at the New York Technical College. The school's library confirmed that they did at one time exist but somehow they were misplaced. They were probably professionally produced so there might be other copies around. It would be great if these could be uncovered. If not it is important that the Bridge Street Church be involved. They may have original minutes that some one could look at. We know that at least one of the church's members, R. Cousins, provided sanctuary for a fugitive, Thomas Jones, around 1850. Cousins lived on Jay Street, not too far from our sites. (Driscoll, Hourahan)

Response: We will look into this resource. Bridge Street Church has been contacted, and their membership records have been reviewed; however, we will be in touch with the church again regarding minutes of the church directors.

Comment 40: I and Brooklyn Historical Society support the idea of memorializing the anti-slavery activities that emerged from the various black and white churches, anti-slavery societies, and schools. It could be an important way to show that a network of black homes, churches, and schools, and a series of anti-slavery white churches and activities, existed before the Civil War. Naming anti-slavery activities as a component of society and culture in this period, and fixing the locales that we actually know about could be more important than trying endlessly to chase down ephemeral suppositions about particular houses. (Pettit)

Response: Comment noted.

Comment 41: For Brooklyn to have been important as an Underground Railroad stop or station, the escapees would have had to arrive by water. May I suggest that stopping in Brooklyn might have been an unnecessary step, a slowing of the process, appropriate for someone who might be ill or elderly, but not for someone worried and eager to get away. We know that unauthorized immigrants did jump ship in the harbor and swim to Brooklyn during the great Irish and German immigrations of the 1840's, so such would not have been utterly impossible or even improbable, just difficult. (Pettit)

Comments on Scope of Research

Response: Comment noted. The draft research report will give some background on the primary routes used by freedom seekers.

Comment 42: Look at the records of the churches regarding how many times the sextant should ring the church bell. Church bells could sometimes have been used to signal Underground Railroad messages. (Dobard)

Response: We will look into this issue; however, additional information on how messages were conveyed, and where such cases have been documented, will assist in this effort.

Comment 43: Expand your search for oral histories relating to the sites by making personal visits to the ministers of local churches and requesting to speak to congregations at Sunday services; placing ads in the local Brooklyn and major New York newspapers; requesting local Community Planning Boards of Downtown Brooklyn place you on their meeting agendas; and sending letters requesting oral history verification to the Brooklyn chapters of African American sororities and fraternities, social and civic groups. (Jackson)

Response: We are working to determine the best approach to conduct an oral history collection effort. We will also follow-up on leads and contacts already identified specific to our sites, including the Society of Old Brooklynites, and will contact churches in the surrounding area to enquire about any oral history that the ministers, staff, and congregation may have.

**Peer Review: Comments on Draft Research Report
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COMMENTS ON DRAFT RESEARCH REPORT

Comment 1: Add Charles Ray to the discussion in the last paragraph of Section A. He was an ardent abolitionist, conductor on the Underground Railroad, and is known to have participated in smuggling fugitives in Brooklyn. (Alexander)

Response: A description of Charles Ray will be added to this discussion. *Sketch of the Life of the Reverend Charles B. Ray*, by Charlotte Augusta Burrough Ray, was reviewed, but no information relating to the owners or residents of Duffield Street or Gold Street was identified.

Comment 2: As you know, Henry Ward Beecher is an overarching name in the abolitionist movement. His mere presence and the location of his church in the area along with membership in his church should carry much weight. Beecher, in combination with Theodore Cuyler and Samuel Hanson Cox and the connections to Lewis Tappan and J.W.C. Pennington, known Underground Railroad supporters, require close scrutiny. (LaRoche)

Response: The Plymouth Church of the Pilgrims-Henry Ward Beecher Collection of the Brooklyn Historical Society; *Recollections of a Long Life, an Autobiography by Theodore Ledyard Cuyler*; *Correspondence between the Rev. Samuel H. Cox, D. D., of Brooklyn, L. I. and Frederick Douglass, a fugitive slave*; *Interviews: memorable and useful; from diary and memory reproduced (by Samuel Hanson Cox)*; the Papers of Lewis Tappan, 1809-1903; and *The Fugitive Blacksmith; Or, Events in the History of James W.C. Pennington*, among other publications, have been reviewed. No relevant references to Duffield Street or Gold Street or the owners or residents of Duffield Street or Gold Street have been identified.

Comment 3: The sections that need the most attention are Sections D and E. Carefully follow up on the suggestions offered in the peer review. (Alexander)

Response: We are following up on the suggestions offered in the peer review to fill out the information provided in Sections D and E.

Comment 4: I am pleased to see that Bishop Queen Mother Jordan and Garland Roberts are willing to come forward and provide their information. I encourage you to

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continue with your efforts to develop a strategy plan for the collection of oral testimony data. (Alexander)

You might consider collecting oral histories from the elder population of these churches. Ask nearby residents if they've heard any accounts. (Dobard)

Documenting subaltern movements by nature places greater importance on the oral traditions of the impacted and involved communities. As Andrew P. Jackson noted in his responses, it is critical to find and document the lore about these properties. The property owners, residents, and community members who have come forward will likely provide the most significant and compelling testimony about the individual significance of each of these properties. There are ways of making credible value judgments about these collected stories and memories. (Wilder)

In each instance, the person currently retelling the story of the Underground Railroad should be carefully questioned in order to understand the lineage of the story. If property owners or former owners do not respond to the query letters sent, persistent follow up should occur. Are there any eye witnesses, former owners, or persons responsible for alterations who can report how the spaces appeared before alterations? (LaRoche)

Although I understand how difficult it is to validate oral history, I reiterate my suggestions and can only hope that through the contacts with the church membership, elected officials-who should welcome a role in this historic quest, and other community and civic based organizations such as the community planning boards and active black sororities and fraternities may, through their members and families have some worthwhile jewel of information that may shed light on this quest. I will send you contact information for the Brooklyn Chapters of Delta Sigma Theta Sorority and National Association of University Women as soon as I receive it. This may be valuable as members may be involved in local and oral history projects as part of their community service ethic and mission. (Jackson)

Response: As noted in our e-mail message of September 17, we circulated letters to the reverends of the following churches and to the Society of Old Brooklynites, to begin the outreach effort for oral histories relating to the Duffield and Gold Street buildings and their historical uses. We have just brought an oral historian on board who will start scheduling interviews with Bishop Queen Mother Jordan, Garland Roberts, and any other identified community members. The churches contacted for potential oral histories are: Bridge Street AME Church, Brooklyn Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Concord Baptist Church, Old First Reform Church, First Presbyterian Church of Brooklyn, Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian Church, Mother Zion AME Church, Plymouth Church of the Pilgrims, St. Ann and the Holy Trinity Church, St. James Cathedral-Basilica, St. Charles Borromeo Roman Catholic Church, St. Peter St. Paul Our Lady of Pilar Church, and Siloam Presbyterian Church. In addition, we will be sending letters

to Brooklyn chapters of African American fraternities and sororities as recommended through the peer review. The major alterations to the Duffield Street and Gold Street buildings (i.e. front and back extensions) occurred in the first half of the 20th century; no eye witnesses or persons responsible for the alterations have been identified, and no records of the alterations have been found at the New York City Department of Buildings.

Comment 5: Columbia University has an oral history project. Perhaps someone there could provide useful information on how to make best use of the oral histories you will be gathering: Additionally, historians of Africa have in general made much better use of oral histories than US historians. Perhaps contacting someone like Michael Gomez of New York University's history department, or Marcia Wright at Columbia, might point you to some useful ways of thinking about oral histories. You wouldn't want to dismiss the oral history tradition about these buildings out of hand, but I agree that further authentication of the oral tradition, if possible, would be useful. (Harris)

Response: We contacted Professors Gomez and Wright for suggestions on using oral tradition. They in turn referred us to Mary Marshall Clark, Director of the Columbia University Oral History Research Project, who is away until October 4, and Professor Thomas Bender of NYU. Professor Bender referred us to Professor Paul Mattingly, Director of NYU's Public History Program. We have contacted, but not yet reached, Professor Mattingly.

Comment 6: It may be a premature to predict that these sites will be given a Level 2 rating. From the suggestions provided in the response to the scope of research, it seems clear that there is still a fair amount of research to be completed. (Alexander)

I would definitely put the Hawes/Hilles household (231 Duffield) at a level three because of the Hawes connection with Plymouth Church and the Hilles family as African American. Similarly, I would put the Truesdale/Harris household (227 Duffield) at level three because of Elizabeth Harris's birthplace in North Carolina and Thomas Truesdale's subscription to the National Anti-Slavery Standard. I was not sure about which households several other members of abolitionist churches belonged to. The Truesdales and Hawes families (especially the Truesdales) deserve further work. Level 3 fits people who have some connection with abolitionism, even if there is no documented connection as yet with the Underground Railroad. Membership in abolitionist societies and churches and subscription to abolitionist newspapers would count as abolitionist connections. I would distinguish between the buildings in terms of their relative involvement in abolitionism and the UGRR. (Wellman)

I agree with Dr. Wellman's assessment that the sites seem to be about a level 3; there is reason to believe that the story is likely true, it is established by an oral tradition, and there is evidence that ties residents to abolitionist institutions. (Wilder)

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I agree with your tentative conclusion that none of the sites would merit more than a 2 on the Wellman scale. Some of them would deserve no more than a ranking of 1. Historians cannot prove a negative, so we cannot say, based on the available evidence, that none of the sites were Underground Railroad connected. I agree with the practice of giving serious consideration only to properties deserving of a 4 or 5 on the Wellman scale. (Sernett)

It cannot be shown that the noted properties and houses were directly connected to the Underground Railroad. But note my earlier comments on the desirability of marking sites in Brooklyn Village and King's County related to slavery, slave markets, the anti-slavery cause, and militant abolitionism. Any or all of the noted houses could very well have been connected to abolitionists and anti-slavery activities without ever having been "stations" on the Underground Railroad, but the connections are sufficiently tenuous that the properties do not fall under formal site-marking requirements for the Underground Railroad. (Pettit)

With regard to the updates research on reviewing the properties, any associations between the owners, renters or owners of the Duffield Street and Gold Street properties with abolitionist organizations or activities, or any identifiable connection or involvement with Underground Railroad activities, each step of your research so far still leaves us with uncertainty as we may well determine no such pure link exists. This will bare final fruition with the receipt of the open items and results of the research to come, mentioned in various areas of this report. As the research continues on the properties, homeowners, families, church and abolitionist connections, and any documentable oral history that is presented on the personalities or properties in question, we get closer and closer to the end of this project. Although we this may not prove satisfactory for National Historic Landmark, National Registry of Historic Places or New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission recognition, you are doing a tremendous and noteworthy job thus far. I look for further results in our quest for documentation with piqued curiosity. (Jackson)

Given what is in the "Research Report," which is a more detailed sketch of the earlier "Underground Railroad Scope of Research," I would on the one hand concur with the report's conclusion, but on the other hand I am not totally, as of yet, convinced of no Underground Railroad connection. First, I would concur because there is an absence of documentation and oral material to corroborate "owners of three properties on Duffield and Gold Streets...that their buildings had been utilized for Underground Railroad activities." Without such corroborative evidence the said buildings would clearly failed the criteria for potential eligibility for designation to the National Register of Historic Places, as a New York City Landmark, and as historic sites listed under the New York Underground Heritage Trail program. Second, my hesitancy for not being totally convinced of no connection with the Underground Railroad has to do with some interesting insights raised in the report [see comments below]. (Williams-Myers)

Eligibility for the Network to Freedom or the National Register would be the ultimate outcome of a successful project. The Duffield Street and Gold Street buildings, however, are in a pre-verifiable stage and therefore in a sensitive and critical stage. Obviously the buildings cannot be eligible for nominations at the present time because further research is required to establish connections to abolitionists and the Underground Railroad. The buildings will most likely qualify due to the abolitionist associations with prominent persons, affiliations with abolitionist churches and potential routes. The various associations thus far uncovered by your thorough research clearly point to the Duffield Street and Gold Street houses potential associations with the Underground Railroad. No where is "long-term, consistent involvement with abolitionism" as stated in the conclusion of your report, a criteria for Underground Railroad activity and should not be used in association with this research. Neither the National Park Service nor the National Register use this phrase. In fact, each lists among the criteria, a single significant event. (LaRoche)

Response:

The draft final report will reflect these comments and any additional information that is uncovered relating to the Truesdells and Hawes families or other residents. Although there is evidence that some owners/residents participated in or supported abolitionist activities, no direct evidence has yet been found of Underground Railroad activity. The draft final report will provide specific rankings by property.

The Multiple Property Nomination for Historic Resources Related to the Freedom Trail, Abolitionism, and African American Life in Central New York, 1820-1870 created a rating scale (1-5 points) to separate sites that are reliably identified and are considered well-documented enough for a National Register nomination from those that need more research. A level 3 site was listed as a site with considerable evidence of an owner's consistent, long-term commitment to abolitionism but no positive evidence of Underground Railroad involvement. The requirements for National Register nomination provided in the Underground Railroad Resources in the United States Theme Study, United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1998, state that in order to be eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places, a properties would need to retain integrity from the period of significance (between the American Revolution and the end of the Civil War) and meet one or more of the National Register Criteria: be associated with some event, or represent some broad aspect of the working of the Underground Railroad locally, statewide, or regionally. The property must possess a documentable association with the Underground Railroad (Criterion A); be associated with important players locally, regionally, or statewide in the Underground Railroad (Criterion B); or resources examined and evaluated in terms of a specific research design, and used in conjunction with other types of sources, which can lead to a broader understanding of the Underground Railroad. (Criterion D). Both the multiple property nomination's rating scale and the NPS theme study will be considered in the conclusions of the draft final report. The goal of the research effort is to provide a thorough analysis in order to make a reasonable conclusion as to whether or not any of the Duffield Street and Gold Street buildings had a significant association with the Underground Railroad.

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Comment 7: Given the scant physical evidence and the changes made on the properties, I believe that any links to the Underground Railroad will emerge from your investigation of the nearby (meaning within a 5-mile radius) churches. I propose two possible routes for fugitives and their helpers; this is conjecture on my part as of this reading [see the attached maps]. Given what we know about the "tracking" of the Underground Railroad, the importance of churches and the physical location of the Duffield Street and Gold Street properties, it appears probable that the properties were involved in Underground Railroad activity. Was not the Reverend James W.C. Pennington, a former slave, a member of one of these churches? I would suggest focusing on the churches and any records that are extant from the mid-19th century and earlier. (Dobard)

Response: Pennington was involved with the Shiloh Presbyterian Church in Manhattan; however, he lived in Brooklyn and may also have been involved with the First Presbyterian Church on Henry Street in Brooklyn. As directed, we are working to fill out the information on churches in the surrounding area and their members. A five mile radius surrounding the Duffield Street block encompasses the area as far south as Midwood and Dyker Heights, as far north and east as Queens, and as far west as Manhattan. The draft final report will provide information on the context of the Duffield Street and Gold Street buildings; however, the research effort is to determine the potential for any of the Duffield Street or Gold Street buildings to have Underground Railroad connections, rather than to create a history of the Underground Railroad in what is now New York City.

Comment 8: Understanding the role of the Duffield Street houses and their owners or inhabitants may well lay in their location in the midst of several abolitionist churches and their proximity to these known Underground Railroad locations. What role did free blacks play? What were the mechanics of the Underground Railroad in Brooklyn? What were the routes into and out of Brooklyn? Potential information could be obtained from these historical societies and other sources. (LaRoche)

Response: According to *The Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom* (Wilbur H. Siebert), New York City was the "entrepot for a line of travel by way of Albany, Syracuse, and Rochester to Canada, and for another line diverging at Albany, and extending by the way of Troy to the New England states and Canada." Exact routes into and out of Brooklyn and the mechanics of the Underground Railroad in Brooklyn are unclear, although it is clear that churches were a focal point of Underground Railroad activity. Plymouth Church is referenced in *Sketch in the Life of Charles B. Ray* as a location where Charles Ray dropped off fugitive slaves, and Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian Church is referenced in Theodore Cuyler's memoir, in which he mentions that on a few occasions when frequently-used Underground Railroad stations were under surveillance, fugitive

slaves were brought to the church and hidden under the sanctuary. Free blacks, such as James W.C. Pennington and Charles B. Ray, have been listed as notable conductors; others may have participated in Underground Railroad activities through their churches.

Comment 9: The overall research approach is fairly comprehensive. The potential connections of the Black churches to the Duffield Street buildings and to the known abolitionists are important components of the research. Because of the lack of substantial records for the African-American churches, the Bridge Street African Wesleyan Methodist Episcopal Church, the Concord Baptist Church, the AMEZ and Colored Presbyterian Churches, alternative sources will be necessary to ascertain who the congregants were and what role the churches may have played. Original deeds for church properties often list trustees and should be consulted; church programs may also contain historical accounts; and former pastors and life long members may also have information. Were there any benevolent societies that may have kept records? (LaRoche)

Response: We will look into the accessibility of original deeds for those church properties where historical membership records were not obtained. The reverends of the Bridge Street AWME Church, the Concord Baptist Church, and the Mother Zion AME Church were contacted regarding the outreach for oral traditions relating to the Duffield Street and Gold Street buildings. This outreach is intended to solicit the involvement of members or reverends (present or former) who have any knowledge of the potential Underground Railroad connections of the Duffield Street and Gold Street buildings. We will look into possible benevolent societies.

Comment 10: The reading of the overall history of the Underground Railroad is a fitting introduction to this process and worthy of clarification as it connects our project into the whole picture of the Underground Railroad in the United States, and in our case connects both Brooklyn and New York City as two sites of stations out of the numerous ones within New York State freedom seekers used during their flight from southern states north into Canada. For those unfamiliar with the Underground Railroad presence in our state or city, this is valuable and hopefully refreshing information. (Jackson)

Response: Comment noted.

Comment 11: The microfilm of the National Anti-Slavery Standard from 1853-56 includes Thomas Truesdell on the list of subscribers at least 3 times during that period. Someone should check the complete run of the newspaper matching the years Truesdell lived on Duffield Street. (Driscoll)

Response: The complete run of the National Anti-Slavery Standard available at New York Public Library (1840-1870) was reviewed. Thomas Truesdell was identified as a

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subscriber to the Standard or contributor to the American Anti-Slavery Society on the following dates: May 1853, July 1853, June 1855, July 1855, May 1857, April 1860, May 1860, March 1862, April 1862, and December 1862. A William Jones was noted as subscriber to the Standard in July 1853. As the William Jones who lived at 233 Duffield Street from ca. 1864-1868 would have been approximately 7 years old in 1853, it is considered unlikely that this is a match. In addition, the 1853-54 Brooklyn city directory has 13 listings for William Jones; it is possible that one of these individuals was the subscriber to the Standard. This information will be reflected in the draft final report.

Comment 12: Harriet Truesdell was a militant abolitionist. She was a member of the program planning committee of the famous Women's Anti-Slavery Convention that took place in Philadelphia in May 1838. Other women who were members of the program planning committee alongside Harriet Truesdell were Juliana A. Tappan, Maria W. Chapman, Sarah M. Douglass and Angelina Grimke Weld. With the exception of Ms. Tappan and Ms. Truesdell the literature on the Underground Railroad and abolition is replete with references to these women. (Hourahan)

Jim Driscoll's discovery that Harriet Truesdale was active in Rhode Island is especially interesting. Deborah van Broeckoeven has a book on Rhode Island women and antislavery, including antislavery petitioning, and she might well have more information on Harriet Truesdale. I wonder whether the Truesdales were Baptists (or even Seventh Day Baptists). Deborah is now archivist at the Baptist Historical Society in Philadelphia, so I am sure she would be easy to reach. The Seventh Day Baptists also have an archive in Milton, Wisconsin, I think. (Wellman)

Response: We are looking into records of the Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women in Philadelphia as well as the potential Baptist connections of the Truesdell family (through the American Baptist Historical Society). Deborah Bingham Van Broekhoven's book *The Devotion of these Women: Rhode Island in the Anti-Slavery Network* referenced Harriet Truesdell as the treasurer of the Providence Ladies Anti-Slavery Society, ca. 1834; we are looking into this organization as well. This information will be reflected in the draft final report.

Comment 13: Thomas Truesdell's brother built Henry C. Bowen's house in Woodstock, CT, which is listed on the National Register. Henry C. Bowen founded Plymouth Church in Brooklyn Heights, worked four years for Arthur and Lewis Tappan, married the daughter of Lewis Tappan, founded and edited *The Independent*; financed the establishment of the Brooklyn Union as a Republican newspaper, the Brooklyn Eagle; and lived on Hicks Street in Brooklyn Heights. Henry Bowen's sister Amelia was a corresponding member for Woodstock, CT for the

Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women attended by Harriet Truesdell. (Hourahan)

Response: To clarify, Henry C. Bowen's house, "Roseland Cottage," in Woodstock, CT appears to have been designed in 1846 by Joseph Collins Wells; however, the Matthew Bowen Homestead (also in Woodstock, CT and listed on the National Register of Historic Places) was designed by John Truesdell, Thomas Truesdell's brother, in 1816. After Matthew Bowen's death, the property passed to his son, Colonel Matthew Bowen and his son Andrew Williams Bowen, who sold it to Henry C. Bowen, his cousin. The information about the connection of these two families will be reflected in the draft final report.

Comment 14: In Windham County, CT three adjoining villages (Pomfret, Woodstock and Brooklyn) were the home of Bowens, Truesdells, and Bensons. Perhaps the two most famous residents of Brooklyn were Helen Eliza Benson (who married William Lloyd Garrison on September 4, 1834) and the Unitarian Reverend Samuel J. May, who was famous for his participation in the Jerry Rescue and his participation in the Underground Railroad. (Hourahan)

Response: The draft final report will reflect that Thomas Truesdell came from an area of Connecticut that was active in abolitionism.

Comment 15: Thomas Truesdell and family piqued my interest. Both he and his son-in-law, Charles W. Frederickson, were cotton brokers, and perhaps shared the office on Pearl Street in New York City. Thomas was born in Connecticut and lived for a time in Rhode Island, and his wife and some of their children were born there: two states in the hotbed of New England abolitionism and high commercial activity with the cotton-growing South. As of April 1860 Thomas Truesdell was listed as a subscriber to the National Anti-Slavery Standard but had a Manhattan address (his office?) rather than this home in Brooklyn at 237 Duffield Street. Thomas' Manhattan address of Pearl Street was in or adjacent to Five Points. That community is said to have been an ideal place for Underground Railroad activity. Before the war it was teeming with a diversity of colors: black, white and shades in between. Was Thomas and his family abolitionists? His subscription raises a red flag. Could the cotton brokership have been the cover for UGRR activities? Also, a "Elizabeth Harris, a servant noted as black, age 19, born in North Carolina" is recorded in the 1855 New York State census as a resident at 227 Duffield Street with the Truesdells. Why a black servant when the trend appeared to have been with Irish females? Was Elizabeth somehow there through a cotton broker/Underground Railroad connection? Were the Truesdells fair-skinned African Americans? It is interesting that the son-in-law, Charles, was born in Nova Scotia, a region where Blacks settled after the Revolutionary War. (Williams-Myers)

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Response: Based on the information received thus far, it appears that Thomas and Harriet Truesdell were involved in abolitionist organizations. It is possible that they were fair-skinned African Americans, but not certain; no other evidence has been found to date to indicate that they were. According to Charles Frederickson's obituary in the New York Times, he was a government cotton agent during the Civil War "... and rendered the government such valuable services that President Lincoln resisted all the political pressure which had been exerted to secure his removal on account of his Democratic affiliations."

Comment 16: The properties at 227 and 233 and 235 Duffield Street appear to have several potential connections to abolitionists and possibly to the Underground Railroad.

- Thomas Truesdell requires further research.
- More research is required to understand John Duffield and Thomas Edwards and their abolitionist connections.
- Daniel Lord requires further research.
- Frances Peck raised a flag for me. Based on Figure 1, "Noted Churches in Downtown Brooklyn," Fleet Street is closest to the site and would have been the most convenient area to use for emergencies. What is known about The St. Mark's Church on Fleet Street or the Church of the Holy Trinity and its opening in 1850, the year of passage of the Fugitive Slave Law?
- The occupation of telegraph clerk of William O. Lewis, the subsequent resident on Lot 12 also should be considered for its potential use by UGRR operators.
- What were the familial connections? Antislavery families often intermarried. (LaRoche)

Response: As noted above, additional information has been identified since issuance of the draft research report regarding Harriet and Thomas Truesdell, and additional sources are being investigated. John Duffield has been investigated in the same sources as the names of the owners and residents of Duffield and Gold Streets, and no potential connections to prominent abolitionists, abolitionist societies, abolitionist churches, or Underground Railroad activities have been identified. No potential connections to prominent abolitionists, abolitionist societies, abolitionist churches, or Underground Railroad activities have been identified for either of his daughters, Anna Prince and Susan Lawrence, or his grandson Christopher Prince.

A Thomas Edwards is noted as a member of Plymouth Church from 1859 to 1867; however, for each of those years there are between one and four listings for Thomas Edwards in the Brooklyn city directory. It is possible that one of these individuals was the member of Plymouth Church. No potential connections to prominent abolitionists, abolitionist societies, or Underground Railroad activities have been identified for Thomas Edwards. No additional information has been identified since the issuance of the draft research report for

Daniel Lord. There are no listings for Daniel Lord in Brooklyn city directories from 1848-1870. We are looking into New York City city directories and genealogical websites to fill out the information on Daniel Lord.

As described in Stiles' *A History of the City of Brooklyn*, St. Mark's Church was a missionary effort undertaken by the Church of the Holy Trinity, established as a free church and sustained chiefly by the parish of Holy Trinity. The missionary effort was to the deaf and mute. The financial support of Holy Trinity was withdrawn in 1856, and the church began renting its pews for income. General Theological Seminary and the Episcopal Diocese have been contacted regarding any additional information they might have on the establishment and operations of the church. The profession of a telegraph agent would provide opportunities for communications; however, no potential connections to prominent abolitionists, abolitionist societies, abolitionist churches, or Underground Railroad activities have been identified for William Lewis. No marriages between the owners and residents of Duffield Street and Gold Street, or between the owners and residents of Duffield Street and Gold Street and abolitionist families of the area, are known to have occurred.

Comment 17: Probably all scholarly books about the abolitionist movement and the Underground Railroad detail the activities of Arthur and Lewis Tappan, who lived at 68 Pierrepont Street in Brooklyn Heights: founders of anti-slavery societies, funders of *The Colored American* and the Underground Railroad, defenders of the Amistad slaves, etc. (Hourahan)

Response: The draft final report will include additional description of the Tappan brothers and their abolitionist and Underground Railroad activities. The papers of Lewis Tappan were reviewed on microfilm at the New York Public Library. None of the names of the owners and residents of Duffield and Gold Streets appeared in the papers.

Comment 18: I did not pick up a church connection for the Truesdale family. Did you find one? (Wellman)

Response: As noted by Jim Driscoll and Richard Hourahan, Mary Truesdell, the daughter of Thomas Truesdell, was married by Reverend E.E.L. Taylor. According to Henry Stiles' *A History of the City of Brooklyn* (1870), Reverend Taylor was affiliated with the Pierrepont Street Baptist Church. According to Joy Chatel, owner of 227 Duffield Street, the name of the church Thomas and Harriet Truesdell attended was Zion Shiloh Baptist Church, also known as Antioch Baptist Church, located on Duffield Street; Reverend Lofton was the pastor.

The Zion Shiloh Baptist Church/Antioch Baptist Church building was located on the east side of Duffield Street between Myrtle and Willoughby Streets, and was demolished sometime between 1982 and 1995 (based on the Sanborn maps from those dates). The building was built sometime on or before 1889; we are reviewing historic maps to clarify the date of construction. According to *Black*

Churches and Brooklyn, a catalog from a 1984 exhibit at the Long Island Historical Society (now Brooklyn Historical Society), the Concord Baptist Church was founded in 1847 by six members of Manhattan's Abyssinian Baptist Church who resided in Brooklyn. Its first building stood at Concord Street near Duffield Street. In 1872 the congregation moved to a building on Canton Street in Fort Greene, and then moved again in 1889 to the building on Duffield Street (noted above). The congregation moved again in 1917, to Adelphi Street near Myrtle Avenue, and then in 1937 to 833 Marcy Avenue, where it remains today. After the Concord Baptist Church congregation left the Duffield Street church in 1917, it was later used by the Antioch Baptist Church (ca. 1938-1950) and then by Zion Shiloh Baptist Church (ca. 1985-demolition), based on the Sanborn maps from those dates. We were not able to find membership records for Concord Baptist Church from the period of significance. No publications relating to the church are available at New York Public Library, Brooklyn Public Library, New-York Historical Society, or the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society. A representative of the church confirmed that their records do not go far back enough to be relevant.

We are seeking to determine whether a connection to either the Concord Baptist Church or the Pierrepont Street Baptist Church can be established for the Truesdell family. We are working with the American Baptist Historical Society on this research.

Comment 19: The reference to the cost of 225 Duffield Street (\$800) states that this was a "low" price but cited no source as a basis for comparison. This price may not have been low for the period, so should be perhaps compared to historic currency rates. In addition, the frequent changes of ownership among people who afterward did not build on various properties suggest that these properties often were, like many others, speculative ventures, sited as they were near the principal thoroughfare from Flatbush to Brooklyn and the ferry landing. (Pettit)

Response: The discussion of the ownership history for 227 Duffield Street provides some comparison to the cost of 225 Duffield Street in 1847. The 227 Duffield Street parcel was purchased at public auction for \$1,500 in 1847 and was sold in 1849 for \$2,800, suggesting that the 1847 prices of \$1,500 for 227 Duffield Street and \$800 for 225 Duffield Street were for undeveloped land.

Comment 20: The map of noted churches in Downtown Brooklyn omits the Sands Street Methodist Church, which was the parent church for black members who withdrew in 1818 to form the Bridge Street AME Church. St. James Cathedral, the oldest Roman Catholic Church in Brooklyn, St. Charles Borromeo on Sidney Place, Sts. Peter and Paul on Congress at Court Street, or another Catholic church in the North Heights, all founded before the Civil War, should be noted on this map. Plymouth Church and the Church of the Pilgrims were

two separate churches prior to their merger, as were St. Ann's Church and Holy Trinity Church. (Pettit)

Response: The map of noted churches in the draft final report will reflect this information.

Comment 21: I have spent a considerable amount of time verifying the data you provided regarding residents of the seven properties. In spite of a few inconsequential items I was able to confirm them and commend you for your accuracy. However, what is very troubling is the paucity of data provided, that is: 436 Gold Street: no residents provided for the period prior to the Civil War; 223 Duffield Street: residents provided for 12 of 14 years prior to the Civil War; 225 Duffield Street: residents provided for 7 of 16 years prior to the Civil War; 227 Duffield Street, residents provided for 10 of 13 years prior to the Civil War; 231 Duffield Street, residents provided for 3 of 13 years prior to the Civil War; 233 Duffield Street, residents provided for 7 of 14 years prior to the Civil War; 235 Duffield Street, residents provided for 2 of 13 years prior to the Civil War. In other words, data provided for only two structures enumerated over 50 percent occupancy rates. Since the data provided and confirmed for 227 Duffield Street had residents from Connecticut, accounted for 10 of 13 years of occupancy prior to the Civil War, and had an African American from North Carolina in the household this has been the exclusive focus of my research. You can see that the yield on research effort and approach was fairly good. Your draft also indicates that oral tradition originally submitted as testimony cited only three structures for Underground Railroad activity-227 Duffield being amongst them. However, what is extremely troubling is why-given the availability of City Directories-more residents have not been discovered. There is no alternative to taking each directory and searching each entry for a match with your buildings as well as taking the names you have and looking in the Brooklyn addresses for their location in each year. This is tedious and not foolproof but it improved the quality and quantity of the data on the whole. Also, for all the people who are merchants and brokers check the NYC directories. They sometimes give not only the business address but the home address, even if this is not Manhattan. (Hourahan)

Response: The existing list of names of owners and residents was developed by taking the information found in deeds, tax records, and census records, and then searching the city directories forward and backward in time until we bracketed each individual's occupation of the properties. As recommended, we have taken each directory and searching each entry for a match with the Duffield Street and Gold Street buildings, as well as taking the names we have and looking for their location in each year. Several additional names of residents were found for the properties; these are being investigated using the same sources used for the existing list of names. We are also looking for the brokers and merchants in the New York City city directories to fill out the information on the owners and residents identified as merchants or brokers.

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Comment 22: How are you pursuing Elizabeth Harris? Since she is not listed in the 1860 census in the Truesdell household, check the census to see if she is in any other household. If you had more time I would check North Carolina census for fugitive slaves who would be the same age. However, slaveowners consistently underreported runaways for two reasons: it was an admission of the problem and the fugitive sometimes returned voluntarily and the publicity associated with his/her roving tendencies would lower the market value of the slave. (Hourahan)

As the only African American residents identified for these houses, Elizabeth Harris, born in North Carolina, and Sophia Hilles and her son George, born in Massachusetts, are obviously of particular interest. (Wellman)

Response: We are pursuing Elizabeth Harris through the Brooklyn city directories before and after her residency at 227 Duffield Street; through Ancestry.com and other genealogical websites, and through the research that continues involving all of the names of owners and residents of Duffield Street and Gold Street.

Comment 23: Rev. Peck's occupation is PE minister. With a few probes I found references to him as being the rector of an Episcopal mission on Fleet Street for most of the 1850s. It was a free church until it had financial problems in the mid-1850s. It probably was an outreach to poor people. (Hourahan)

Francis Peck, "the first rector of St. Mark's Church on Fleet Street, a missionary effort of the Church of the Holy Trinity," and his successor, Thomas Carver, stand out. First, the missionary work was to whom and/or what community? The church was not Catholic since Peck was married. But was the church Methodist, Baptist, etc.? Francis Peck's dates of 1853-1860 at the mission coincide with abolitionist/Underground Railroad activities. Did St. Mark's interact with other churches, black or white, such as those connected with Henry Ward Beecher and Theodore Cuyler? It would be interesting to see whether the Francis Peck who was in charge of the AME Church in Albany was the Francis Peck of Lot 12 at 233 Duffield Street. And who is to say that a white minister could not have held the post at the AME Church if of the same Protestant denomination? And if the same Francis Peck of 233 Duffield Street, and if the AME Church was the Hamilton-Israel, was he involved in that church's Albany UGRR activities? (Williams-Myers)

A little-known repository of New York City records is the General Theological Seminary in the Chelsea district of Manhattan. It has church records of the nineteenth century and perhaps earlier that might produce some possible break through. (Williams-Myers)

Response: As noted in the draft research report, Reverend Francis Peck was the first rector of St. Mark's Church on Fleet Street, a missionary effort of the Church of the Holy Trinity, which had opened in September 1850. Reverend Peck withdrew from the rectorship of St. Mark's Church in 1859. A Reverend Francis Peck,

possibly the same person, was a rector of the Calvary Protestant Episcopal Church at South 9th and 8th Streets, Brooklyn, from ca. 1862-1882; therefore, it is unlikely that if this is the same Reverend Peck, he would have been in charge of the AME Church in Albany in 1866. We are checking with the Episcopal diocese, General Theological Seminary, and St. Ann and the Holy Trinity Episcopal Church to see what information they might have on the purpose and history of St. Mark's Church.

Comment 24: Subaltern movements and events can often be substantiated and tested by placing their specific features against broader regional and national patterns. Do the physical and social histories of the Duffield and Gold properties share patterns with known Underground Railroad sites in other cities and regions. Is there a template, however crude, for locating the peculiar features of such clandestine actions and do the subject sites fit that template? Philadelphia, Boston, other cities in New York State, and many Mid-Western cities can provide valuable points of comparison if there are physical, sociological, or institutional similarities in the organization and execution of urban Underground Railroad involvement. (Wilder)

Response: We are not aware of any template for locating the features of Underground Railroad actions. We are seeking suggestions from the peer reviewers regarding sources to consult that specifically address this issue.

Comment 25: Clearly, the general claims about the Duffield and Gold Street properties have not been invented to evade the recent plans and decisions that have brought the buildings under scrutiny; however, it is also true that not all of the individual properties have equal historical claims. The belief that some of the Duffield Street buildings and a tunnel identified on an 1896 Sanborn map, and possibly still in existence, were used to harbor freedom seekers appears to go back at least several decades. While the legend of the Underground Railroad encourages speculation about hidden rooms and spaces, the age of the Duffield Street claims suggest that they deserve the attention that they are receiving. (Wilder)

Response: Comment noted.

Comment 26: The physical location of the properties is also relevant. The most direct route between two points was not necessarily the deciding factor in determining the course of flight from slavery or the placement of assistance for fugitives from bondage. The freedom journeys of Henry Highland Garnet, Samuel Ringgold Ward, JWC Pennington, Harriet Jacobs, and Frederick Douglass all establish that NYC and Brooklyn remained important although troublesome sites. It is important to note that black and white Brooklynites were also known to harbor freedom seekers and white and black abolitionists under attack or threat. Lydia Maria Child, Henry Ward Beecher, and the Tappan brothers document the City

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of Churches' contribution to protecting freedom seekers and their allies. The Duffield and Gold Street properties are in close proximity to the known points of extralegal anti-slavery action. (Wilder)

The known Underground Railroad activity around the project area as cited in the report is an important research component. Abolitionist activity can generally be found within a three or four mile radius of a site. Three churches are in close proximity to the site, the Fleet Street Methodist Episcopal Church, the Siloam Presbyterian Church and, the Bridge Street AWME Church. It is important to note that two of the three were African American churches and could well have been used as areas of refuge. (LaRoche)

Response: The draft final report will describe in more detail the sensitive context in which the Duffield Street and Gold Street properties were located. Siloam Presbyterian Church and the Bridge Street AWME Church are both noted as being active in Underground Railroad activities; no such information has been identified for the Fleet Street Methodist Episcopal Church. A three mile radius surrounding the Duffield Street block encompasses the area as far south as Greenwood Cemetery, as far east as Bushwick, as far north as Greenpoint, and as far west as Manhattan. The draft final report will provide information on the context of the Duffield Street and Gold Street buildings; however, the research effort is to determine the potential for any of the Duffield Street or Gold Street buildings to have Underground Railroad connections, rather than to create a history of the Underground Railroad in what is now New York City.

Comment 27: Are the dashed lines shown on maps the standard convention for indicating wooden porches during this time period? Did houses other than 223, 225, and 227 Duffield Street have wooden porches? If so, how were they indicated? If the sub-cellar features that are beneath 223, 227, and 233 Duffield Street were coal chutes, should these features [have] been more prevalent and represented with greater frequency in other buildings from the time period? Since the features observed at the Duffield Street buildings do not appear to directly relate to drawings and descriptions from the time period, further research is required to determine the possible function of these subterranean spaces. (LaRoche)

Response: According to a representative of the Sanborn Map Company, dashed lines on Sanborn maps indicate open porches, which are typically wooden but can also be other materials. (Please see the attached 1886 Sanborn map and legend.) Two parallel dashed lines can also indicate a tunnel, but in such cases there is an arc at each end of the lines and the notation "tunnel." Dashed lines such as those shown at the front of 223-227 Duffield Street are also shown at the front of 213-219 Duffield Street, 195 Prince Street, 376 Gold Street, and 404 Gold Street on the 1886 Sanborn map. The historic construction review report notes that with the exception of one "unpaved" section of flooring on Duffield St., there are no anomalous cellar or subcellar features, no communication between buildings

exists at the cellar levels, and the identified features conform to general construction practices of the time period. As noted below, as archaeological testing is unlikely to offer any definitive information about whether or not these structures were part of the Underground Railroad, the City cannot justify taking the extraordinary step of conducting field testing on property that is privately-owned.

Comment 28: Connecting the known residents of the properties to anti-slavery and abolitionist institutions has provided additional circumstantial and contextual evidence for a possible Underground Railroad connection. The search of church records and rolls generated a number of plausible ties between residents and active abolitionist institutions, although there is concern about contradictory information in some of the documents. Church records are typically more reliable than public documents as they tend to be produced through relationships rather than encounters. The difficulty is, as Professor A.J. Williams-Myers has argued, sifting and weighing the more subjective elements of documents like the census and city directories in deciding or excluding matches. Color designations were especially subjective and inconsistent. An individual's race could be recorded differently within a survey and the chances for inaccuracies and contradictions increase between surveys. Nonetheless, AKRF's research has produced multiple plausible connections and largely eliminates the possibility of coincidence when we look at the whole rather than the parts. (Wilder)

Response: The subjectivity of color designations in the census and city directories will be described in the draft final report. In addition, Brooklyn city directories are also being reviewed to determine whether there were other people in Brooklyn during the relevant period with the same names as the residents of the Duffield Street and Gold Street properties.

Comment 29: You might want to think about writing up a paragraph or two about how historians weigh oral history when attempting to sort out myth from fact in the romance about the Underground Railroad. Oral traditions have their own internal patterns of evolution and tend to suffer from their own contextual biases. (Sernett)

Response: The draft final report will include a discussion of weighing oral history against other sources of information.

Comment 30: On page 5, change to "Milton C. Sernett, Professor of African American Studies and History, Syracuse University and former member of the New York State Freedom Trail Commission. Page 44, change my affiliation to "Professor of African American Studies and History, Syracuse University." (Sernett)

Response: The draft final report will reflect these edits.

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Comment 31: On page 1, paragraph 2—slave holders could always hire slave catchers. What the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 did was make it possible for the federal government to assist these slave catchers. Now, federal marshals could be used to capture accused fugitives. Basic terms of the Fugitive Slave Act were: Federal marshals must assist slave-catchers; Helpers could be fined \$1000 for each person they helped and could be jailed for 6 months; Accused people could not testify; U.S. Commissioners who ruled for the pursuers would be paid \$10; U.S. Commissioners who ruled for freedom seekers would be paid \$5. (Wellman)

Response: The draft final report will include this additional information on the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850.

Response: Some people also came from Kentucky and Tennessee through Buffalo. Omit the route from Virginia across Ohio. The route through New York City would have been very direct, coming from east coast ports North, so I would omit “although this would neither have been...” (Wellman)

Response: The draft final report will reflect these edits.

Comment 32: The first Vigilance Committee was formed in New York City as the Friends of Human Rights in November 1835. The New York Committee of Vigilance was formed in 1837 and published its first annual report that year (*The First Annual Report of the New York Committee of Vigilance, for the Year 1837* (New York: Piercy & Reed, 1837). Other vigilance committees were formed throughout NYS in the late 1830s. They revived after passage of the Fugitive Slave Act. (Wellman)

Response: The First Annual Report of the New York Committee of Vigilance (1837) was reviewed and included in the list of sources consulted for the draft research report. The report did not include any mention of the owners and residents of Duffield Street and Gold Street. The draft final report will include the additional information about vigilance committees.

Comment 33: Page 2: I would add Siloam Presbyterian Church, started in 1849 on lower Fulton Street, moved to 160 Prince Street in 1852. One pastor, Rev. James N. Gloucester, had close ties with John Brown, and another, Rev. Amos N. Freeman, was involved in the rescue of Maria Weems. Also add Rev. James N. Gloucester and Rev. Amos N. Freeman here. (Wellman)

Response: The draft final report will reflect these edits.

Comment 34: I note on comment 26, p. 7 of your peer review, a reference to Siloam Church and four people having been members of it. Were these four people associated with Duffield Street? Siloam Church was an African American church, so

whether or not these members were listed in the census as African American, I would suspect that they were. Siloam Church was also associated with Underground Railroad activities. William Still, pp. 177-187, tells the story of Maria Weems, who escaped from slavery dressed as a young man. Note that she came through Brooklyn and stayed with the family of Rev. A.N. Freeman, who was pastor of Siloam Church. Rev. James Gloucester was also affiliated with Siloam Church. He and his wife befriended John Brown, so we suspect that Siloam church was a nest of abolitionists and probably Underground Railroad activists. Certainly is interesting that so many Siloam Church names turn up in the Duffield Street houses. (Wellman)

Annie Smith, Edward Smith, Mr. Hunter, and E.M. Robinson, are all listed in censuses as white but had memberships in Siloam Presbyterian Church, predominantly black. One is cautioned in terms of the census-taker's use of color to describe the "race" of an individual. If one uses the Five Points community as an example, people were so mixed that those who called themselves black were as white if not more so than some who labeled themselves white. New York City in the nineteenth century had one of the highest ratios of mulatto to black in the country. Much of the mixing was between Irish and African Americans. For those not aware of this, I recommend my article listed in the Vita: "The Plight of African Americans in Antebellum New York City." Why would the four have gone to Siloam if not black or married to one. (Williams-Myers)

Response: The four people noted as possible members of Siloam Presbyterian Church (Annie and Edward Smith, Mr. Hunter, and E.M. Robinson) are close name matches with residents of Duffield Street. As noted above, we are reviewing the Brooklyn city directories to determine whether there were other people in Brooklyn during the relevant period with the same names as the residents of the Duffield Street and Gold Street properties, and the draft final report will describe the subjectivity of color designations in the census and city directories.

Comment 35: On page 5, last paragraph—the official name of the National Park Service program is "National Underground Railroad Network to Freedom." (Wellman)

Response: The draft final report will reflect this edit.

Comment 36: Linda Shopes, at the Pennsylvania Historical Society, is a wonderful resource for names of people who might be good interviewers (past president of the Oral History Association, on the board of the National Council for Public History. Anna French (asrebos@aol.com, 718-465-1139), former administrative assistant at Weeksville, would be a good facilitator. The new Smithsonian Folklife & Oral History Interviewing Guide is available at www.folklife.si.edu. (Wellman)

Response: Linda Shopes was contacted for recommendations of oral historians. She recommended contacting the Columbia University Oral History Research Program, which we have done, and Stephanie Felix as a potential oral historian.

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Stephanie Felix has just accepted another position and will not be able to assist in the oral history outreach effort. Anna French may be called upon depending on as a facilitator if warranted, based on the oral historian who is chosen. The Smithsonian guide will be given to the oral historian who is chosen, for review.

Comment 37: For more on the issue of integrity and National Register listing, see: Wellman, "The Underground Railroad and Historic Preservation: Historical Importance vs. Architectural Integrity?" *The Public Historian* 24:1 (Winter 2002), 11-29. (Wellman)

Response: We have reviewed this article and the response by Carol Shull.

Comment 38: In general, I agree with your identification of the names you found in church records and the way they connect (or don't) with those who lived in these houses. (Wellman)

Response: Comment noted.

Comment 39: I note on comment 39 [of the peer reviewer comments on the scope of research] that at least one member of the Bridge St. Church, R. Cousins, provided sanctuary for a fugitive, Thomas Jones. Interesting that the Bridge St. Church is called Bridge St. Wesleyan Church; I don't know when it took that name. The Wesleyan Methodists—many of whose congregations included both European Americans and African Americans—were formed in 1843 as an explicitly antislavery church. Their newspaper, *Zion's Watchman*, contains much information about Underground Railroad activities. If the Bridge St. Wesleyan Church was part of that group before the Civil War, that paper might contain relevant information about it. Their minister, R.H. Cain, appears often in the AME newspaper, *The Christian Recorder*, online and searchable through Accessible Archives. (Wellman)

Response: R.H. Cain was researched through Accessible Archives, with no relevant results to Duffield Street or Gold Street. The *Zion's Watchman* newspaper is not available locally, but we are investigating its availability at other repositories.

Comment 40: It would be worth putting the names of all the churches and ministers into the Accessible Archives database, which contains *The Christian Recorder*, *North Star*, *Colored American*, etc. The search would be relatively quick. (Wellman)

Response: The names of the churches and ministers identified by peer reviewers and/or noted in the draft research report were searched in the Accessible Archives database. Although a number of articles were identified, none of them were relevant to the Duffield Street and Gold Street buildings and their owners and residents.

Comment 41: I did not see any mention of Female Antislavery Societies. Were they checked? If not, the membership roles should be searched for the wives, daughters, or sisters of abolitionists. (LaRoche)

Response: Potential connections to the Ladies' New York City Anti-Slavery Society will be investigated.

Comment 42: Also, the Prince Hall Masons were an important African American organization associated with the Underground Railroad and should be checked to the extent possible. Were the known ministers also Masons? (LaRoche)

Response: Potential connections to the Prince Hall Masons will be investigated.

Comment 43: Pennington should be added to the list of abolitionists. (LaRoche)

Response: Reverend J.W.C. Pennington is listed on page 2 of the draft research report as an escaped slave and abolitionist associated with Lewis Tappan and Samuel Hanson Cox. His autobiography, *The Fugitive Blacksmith; Or, Events in the History of James W.C. Pennington*, was reviewed, and no relevant references to the owners and residents of Duffield Street and Gold Street were identified.

Comment 44: Documenting the American South should be added to the resource list. North American Slave Narratives, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/index.html>; The Church in the Southern Black Community, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/church/>. (LaRoche)

Response: Documenting the American South/North American Slave Narratives is on page 34 of the draft research report, list of sources consulted. We will review the Church in the Southern Black Community website.

Comment 45: I have never found records for the Home for the Aged, and it was not started until the 1870s, past our period. (Wellman)

Response: *Complaint to the Lord: Historical Perspectives on the African American Elderly* by Leslie James Pollard mentions the founding of the Home for the Aged in New York City in 1862 and the Brooklyn Home for the Aged in 1890. As noted by the peer reviewer, it appears that this institution was established past the period of significance for this research study.

Comment 46: There are three adjoining houses on Willow Street with a New York City Landmarks plaque on the façade of the central one – it states that there is a tunnel running under the sidewalk and is lighted by a glass plaver. It is very interesting. I know the protector of the fugitive slave James W.C. Pennington – Adrian Van Sinderen – while living on Willow Street did not live in any of these houses; likewise Henry Ward Beecher and Charles S. Sperry (Secretary of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society) both lived on this street – although

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not in these houses. The Tappans lived two blocks away and their house was protected from mobs of antiabolitionists by a detachment from the Brooklyn Navy Yard and in the words of Lydia Maria Childs (editor of an abolitionist newspaper) when she was staying in Brooklyn, "Private assassins are lurking at the corners of streets to stab Arthur Tappan. 'Tis like the times of the French Revolution when no man dared to trust his neighbor." (Hourahan)

Response: According to the New York Community Trust plaque on 157 Willow Street, the buildings at 155-159 Willow Street date to before 1830, and there is an underground tunnel, lit by a skylight in the paving near the gate to No. 157, that leads from No. 159 to a post-Civil War stable. It's reasonable to assume that the tunnel would not have been constructed until the stable was, and thus the feature is not significant for our time period; however, the tunnel may have predated the stable and led to a different structure or outlet. The New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission is not aware of any Underground Railroad connection to these houses.

Comment 47: Section A and Section B are well researched and offer the necessary information. Section C is impeccably researched and successfully provides a clear picture of the patterns of sale, ownership and history. (Alexander)

AKRF is to be congratulated on their thoroughness in researching the Duffield Street and Gold Street properties and their possible link to the Underground Railroad. Your bibliography stands not only as a testament to your diligence but also as a guide for future researches. (Dobard)

The draft report follows up on the thoroughness of your original research plan. (Harris)

The draft report is impressively detailed and thorough in terms of tracking down and examining sources of information on the properties. (Pettit)

I have read the final report and the preliminary discussions, and I am comfortable with the scope, direction, and execution of the historical survey. AKRF has been particularly thorough in fulfilling its commitment to objectively pursue these claims. (Wilder)

Though your extensive labors have not produced evidence to substantiate that any of the properties in question are Underground Railroad connected, the design and execution of your research plan is a model of its kind. You have explored multiple primary resources, made use of a wide variety of public records, and satisfied this Underground Railroad enthusiast that all of the best and most relevant secondary publications have been consulted. (Sernett)

As with the first set of materials, I am very impressed at the thoroughness of the research done by AKRF, Inc. and the depth of the search for validating documentation of the Underground Railroad association of the Duffield and Gold Street properties to a Brooklyn association with New York's Underground Railroad. As I read through this report, my curiosity continues to be piqued in

learning more and more of the inhabitants of these properties, their connection to Underground Railroad activities and any involvement that will help us determine eligibility for permanent recognition of the properties. Although still vague, this is most interesting and solid information on early Downtown Brooklyn history if nothing else. With each house and block, person and family, we have been witness to a snapshot in time that might not have been possible without this project. To realize that although several of the original properties built between 1855-1865 may be the same structures we are discussing and researching in 2004 is in itself a wonderful adventure. (Jackson)

Response: Comment noted.

COMMENTS ON HISTORIC CONSTRUCTION REVIEW REPORT

Comment 48: The report seems to answer all of the open questions regarding the questionable areas in some of the properties which now are identified as coal chutes or ventilation bays and not passageways. Unfortunately, with so much renovation taken place on some of the properties in question, it appears that even archeological digs may not provide conclusive evidence, findings or supporting information to definitely say whether these properties were or were not part of the Underground Railroad in Downtown Brooklyn. (Jackson)

Response: Comment noted.

Comment 49: The architectural historian's site report was thorough and well-said. (Pettit)

Response: Comment noted.

Comment 50: The architectural report does carefully address several issues that were unclear; however, it does not help me make a final determination. The major problem is that we are seeking physical evidence for clandestine actions. Subaltern movements are often discovered through oral traditions and it is appropriate to give greater weight to such stories when they meet the conditions that I suggested in my response to the draft. It is also likely that these stories acquired a focus on specific architectural features of the houses as those features lost their functional purpose and as new generations of residents came to view them as anomalies. Judith Wellman rightly noted that hiding places and other secret spaces appear far more frequently in the legend of the Underground Railroad than its history can substantiate. (I will return to my earlier example. For the late nineteenth and early twentieth century members, the New York African Society for Mutual Relief's role in the Underground Railroad rested on claims that there was a hidden door in the floor of the original meeting hall. It is a fact that members of the NYASMR played a significant role in assisting freedom seekers. However, for later members the drama of the physical and visual helped preserve that key truth.) The absence of physical evidence may tell us

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more about the evolution of the stories about the Duffield and Gold properties than the veracity of those stories' core claims. (Wilder)

Response: Comment noted.

Comment 51: The Greek Revival era trim and layout mentioned suggests a construction period of the first half of the nineteenth century, consistent with the temporal range associated with Underground Railroad and abolitionist activities. Likewise, the foundation wall construction consisting of a mixture of brownstone and schist referenced in Section 2.4 also indicates typical nineteenth century construction consistent with the time period. The report further states in Section 2.5 that the ventilation wells indicate original construction. These elements situate the construction of the Duffield Street and Gold Street houses within the first half to mid nineteenth century, before the Civil War, during the era of Underground Railroad and abolitionist activities. (LaRoche)

Response: Comment noted.

Comment 52: I concur with Section 3.0 of the report pertaining to the cellar floor at No. 233, Duffield Street. The investigator indicates that the 8' x 8' area of compacted soil is a significant anomalous feature that requires archaeological investigation. Archaeological investigation may reveal artifacts from the period and may clarify questions pertaining to dating, construction, and architectural anomalies. Archaeological investigative sampling or removals in sensitive areas may be an appropriate strategy for the cellar level at No. 225 Duffield Street which Section 2.3 indicates has been significantly altered and may, therefore conceal evidence of potential data. Data derived from archaeological investigations, when taken together with other forms of evidence, may contribute to a comprehensive understanding of how the houses were used to facilitate escape through the Underground Railroad. (LaRoche)

Response: Comment noted. As archaeological testing is unlikely to offer any definitive information about whether or not these structures were part of the Underground Railroad, the City cannot justify taking the extraordinary step of conducting field testing on property that is privately-owned. It also appears that further investigation at 225 Duffield Street would require some level of demolition of what is a privately-owned structure.

Comment 53: Three areas of the report require further research. 1: Section 2.2 of The Historic Construction Review indicates that the "concrete lined coal chute" at the front facade appears to date from the early 20th century. The use of the term "appears" is speculative, and indicates unfamiliarity with this type of feature. Further research pertaining to dating and understanding this feature is required. Does the feature represent typical coal chute construction? When did this type

of coal chute construction begin, and when did it come into use in Brooklyn? 2: In Section 3.0, the investigator states that "if there had been more compelling features or anomalies which existed, they have been removed in subsequent alterations, otherwise, any participation of these buildings in the Underground Railroad system, took place only on ancillary spaces, rather than in unique cellar or sub-cellar spaces." Relationships among the cellar, the sub-cellar, and the living spaces have not been established. Sections of the houses themselves may well have been the primary areas of refuge and should not be termed ancillary. Therefore, further research is required to ascertain whether or not there is an association between the homes and their owners, and the Underground Railroad movement. 3. In the Addenda in Section 4.0, the investigator's response to the final query pertaining to "passageways" must be approached with an understanding of the mechanisms of the Underground Railroad. The investigator indicates that the shafts at the rear of the foundation walls were ventilation bays, which "served not only for ventilation, but as a means for conveying goods to the basement or cellar levels from the street." These "goods" may well have been human beings. Within the Underground Railroad system, it is precisely this type of architectural feature that could lend itself to secondary, inconspicuous, adaptive reuse that was prevalent throughout the Underground Railroad movement and accounts for much of its success—architectural features easily explained away in threatening moments or dangerous situations while consistently available for clandestine use. (LaRoche)

Response:

The preparer of the historic construction review report will revise the report to clarify the language regarding the feature at the front façade of 223 Duffield Street. As noted, further research is required to ascertain whether or not there is a significant association between the homes and their owners, and the Underground Railroad movement; this is the scope of the research report being prepared by AKRF. The historic construction review was to clarify the dates of cellar and subcellar features, both anomalous and non-anomalous, to determine whether they would have been in existence during the period of significance.

**Peer Review: Follow-Up Comments on
Draft Research Report
and Historic Construction Review Report**

COMMENTS ON DRAFT RESEARCH REPORT

Comment 1: (Response to Comment 2) I think Cheryl LaRoche makes an important point about Henry Ward Beecher and I am concerned that his involvement is being too quickly dismissed. I agree with her that his mere presence in the area was tremendously powerful, and it is my understanding from previous reports that there is a possibility that residents of Duffield Street or Gold Street were members of his church. You mention in your response that none of the publications mentioned Duffield or Gold Streets specifically, but the question still remains, were any of the residents of these homes members of his church? These connections need to be carefully researched, because Beecher was not only an ardent abolitionist, but was particularly active in the Underground Railroad. If any of the residents were members of his church, it increases the likelihood that they did not simply have abolitionist leanings, but may also have been supportive of harboring fugitives themselves. This is especially important because, as LaRoche notes, Beecher was connected to many other Underground Railroad activists including Charles Ray, the Tappan brothers, and JWC Pennington. (Alexander)

Response: The draft final report will include more information regarding Henry Ward Beecher. Peter A. and Mary Hawes, Mary Foster, and Thomas Edwards are names of Plymouth Church members that match the names of owners/residents of the Duffield and Gold Street buildings; we are searching for any additional information about these individuals.

Comment 2: (Response to Comment 4) As I have indicated in the past (and it appears my colleagues agree), the importance of the oral interviews cannot be overestimated. Wilder, LaRoche and Jackson all made tremendously important points here, and I look forward to hearing the outcome of these interviews. (Alexander)

Response: Comment noted. We are in the process of identifying another oral tradition interviewer following the loss of Jennifer Scott, and hope to get a new interviewer on board as soon as possible.

**Follow-Up to 10/7/04 Comments on Draft Research Report
and Historic Construction Review Report**

Comment 3: (Responses to Comment 6) I agree that the Hawes/Hilles and the Truesdale/Harris households definitely raise the two sites to a level three. The research pertaining to Harriet Truesdale is particularly compelling. (LaRoche)

Both Wellman and Wilder make an important suggestion in this section about the possibility of distinguishing between the various buildings and their occupants in order to provide a clearer understanding of possible Underground Railroad activity. (Alexander)

Response: The draft final report will reflect the comments regarding the rating of the sites, as well as any additional information that is uncovered relating to the Truesdells and Hawes families or other residents. The draft final report will provide specific rankings by property.

On that same note, AKRF recently identified and made contact with a great-grandson of Thomas Truesdell, who is active in researching his family's genealogy. To his knowledge, there are no family oral traditions regarding the Truesdell family's potential involvement in the Underground Railroad.

Comment 4: (Response to Comment 7) I think we all understand that this is not intended to be, nor could it be a history of the Underground Railroad in what is now New York City. As I understand the role of AKRF, Inc. it is to ascertain the probability of Underground Railroad connections for the houses on Duffield and Gold Streets. To attempt to remove these houses from the larger contexts of the surrounding networks in which they may have operated, however, is to misunderstand the nature of Underground Railroad research. Responses of Pettit and Jackson in Comment 6 are relevant here. As Dobard has shown in his map, connecting potential routes around Duffield Street to various sites associated with the Underground Railroad is a necessary step that places the site in broader local and regional context. See Jackson, Comment 10. (LaRoche)

Response: The context of the Duffield Street and Gold Street houses will be described in greater detail in the draft final report. The research effort is focused on whether any of the Duffield Street and Gold Street buildings have a significant association with the Underground Railroad, which is the question the City Council subcommittee will ultimately consider.

Comment 5: (Response to Comment 12) Harriet Truesdell is in the midst of several of the nation's most important antislavery women, Maria Chapman, Angelina Grimke Weld, and Sarah Douglass. Who is Juliana Tappan? (LaRoche)

Response: Juliana Tappan is the daughter of Lewis Tappan. She will be referenced in the draft final report.

Comment 6: (Response to Comments 11-13) I think that the most tangible connection between these residences and the Underground Railroad may come through

persistent investigation of the Truesdell and Hawes families. The fact that Thomas Truesdell and Harriet Truesdell have been identified as supporters of anti-slavery organizations is particularly important, since it means that they interacted with other known supporters of the Underground Railroad like the Tappans, Welds and Grimkes. These facts, together with a more comprehensive investigation of the Tappans (as Comment 17 suggested), may help illuminate what the relationship between these various individuals may have been. (Alexander)

Response: Among other sources, the Lewis Tappan Papers of the Oberlin College Library (on microfilm) were reviewed for any potential connection of the Tappans to the owners/residents of Duffield and Gold Streets. No references to the Truesdells, Hawes, or other owners/residents were identified in these papers. We are continuing to research any potential connections of the owners and residents to abolitionists and anti-slavery organizations.

As noted above, AKRF recently made contact with a great-grandson of Thomas Truesdell, who is active in researching his family's genealogy. To his knowledge, there are no family oral traditions regarding the Truesdell or the Truesdell family's potential involvement in the Underground Railroad.

Comment 7: (Response to Comment 21) Hourahan has done an excellent job of showing the gaps that exist in our knowledge about who lived in these residences at various times. I am pleased to see that you are following up on the suggestion to investigate these people using the tools we have already suggested. (Alexander)

Response: As a result of the additional city directory research, 14 new names of Duffield/Gold street residents were identified. These are being researched using the same sources used to date.

Comment 8: (Responses to Comment 24) I think Wilder's suggestion here is tremendously important, and reflects some of the concerns that Comments 7 and 8 were attempting to address. Although it is true that you are not trying to create a comprehensive understanding of the Underground Railroad, the point these comments are trying to establish is that there may have been an entire network of activity of which the Duffield/Gold Street locations were a part. The idea of looking at these residences in terms of the larger movement in Brooklyn may offer additional insight in whether these buildings could have been likely areas for clandestine activity. Although you are right that there may not be an actual "template" for understanding UGRR activity, if we can create a visual reproduction of where buildings and activists were located in these areas (for example within a 5 mile radius), we might be able to gain a better sense of how these buildings could have fit into the larger scheme of fugitive smuggling. I think this is the point that Comment 26 is also attempting to make. (Alexander)

**Follow-Up to 10/7/04 Comments on Draft Research Report
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Wilder asks if there is a template for locating the peculiar features of clandestine actions and do the subject sites fit that template. I have recently completed a dissertation (May 2004) documenting five Underground Railroad sites in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. After researching approximately ten sites, I did develop a template. Although I focused on five Midwestern rural sites, Duffield Street does conform to five of the eight criteria. The two areas in which Duffield Street does not conform to the template were specific to the rural versus urban nature of the dissertation sites. One criterion, No. 6 below has not been addressed by this current research. The following criteria from the dissertation are reordered and reworded to reflect the urban nature of the site and relevancy to Duffield Street:

1. The presence of one or more black churches. A free black church, usually AME or Baptist, was the central institution, often doubling as the community school (within the black community).
2. Black churches or African American communities are often in proximity to larger, better known white abolitionist centers. Abolitionist/Underground Railroad activity was generally within a two to three mile radius, with identified Underground Railroad routes in the vicinity.
3. Strong family connections and intermarriages of families, particularly within the African American and antislavery communities, which should be evident from census data, lot and deed research.
4. Suspected or confirmed Underground Railroad activities, with nearby routes, safe houses, (lookout points, caves) or landscape features thought to have been used by runaways. (In urban contexts, I would add architectural features and the built environment.)
5. Frequently, Underground Railroad sites were near or had access to waterways.
6. There is generally a community/family cemetery often containing USCT graves of soldiers who fought in the Civil War. (This particular element is focused on the black community and to my knowledge, has not been explored. Generally, participation in Civil War by both blacks and whites was one component of the antislavery strategy.) (LaRoche)

Response:

As recommended, we are creating a map noting the location of buildings and individuals in Downtown Brooklyn who were involved with the Underground Railroad or were prominent abolitionists, in order to better portray the sensitive environment in which the Duffield Street and Gold Street owners and residents lived. This environment will also be described in greater detail in the draft final report. We hope this will lead to academic research that may better define the Underground Railroad history of the region. The creation of such a history will be a very extensive research undertaking far beyond the scope of the current study, which is focused on the Duffield Street and Gold Street buildings. The ultimate issue for the City Council subcommittee, and therefore the question posed for this research study, is whether any of these particular buildings have a

significant association with the Underground Railroad. No family connections or intermarriages with African American or abolitionist families have been identified for the owners and residents of Duffield and Gold Streets.

COMMENTS ON HISTORIC CONSTRUCTION REVIEW REPORT

Comment 9: (Response to Comments 52 and 53) I think LaRoche makes a series of very important points in these comments. While I understand that an archaeological dig may not be feasible, I do think we need to recognize that such an investigation might reveal evidence that is not immediately apparent to us. All the more reason why Wilder's comment in #50 is so accurate; that we are attempting to verify clandestine activities with physical evidence and, thus, are in a unique quandary. Although it is true that we have been most interested in the question of whether or not a tunnel existed, we should also consider some of the other possibilities that LaRoche has suggested, namely the cellar, sub-cellar and living spaces, as well as the "shafts" that were used for transporting "goods." (Alexander)

Response: It is possible that the Duffield Street and Gold Street buildings' cellars, sub-cellars, or living spaces were utilized for Underground Railroad activities; however, no corroborating/authenticating artifacts from the living spaces of the houses have yet been identified. Based on the historic construction report, it does not appear that there are tunnels between or other unique features/spaces in the buildings that could have been constructed for a clandestine purpose.

Comment 10: I have explored the basements with several archaeologists. I have yet to address the subsurface anomalies because I have communicated with one key expert. (LaRoche)

Response: We look forward to receiving any information that may supplement the information contained in the historic construction report.

**Peer Review: Comments on
Draft Final Research Report**

GENERAL COMMENTS

Comment 1: The report looks very good, and I am impressed with the efforts made by AKRF to provide extensive analysis of the properties, and their owners and occupants. Over the past months, my colleagues have raised a series of important issues, and for the most part, you have responded and addressed these questions very well. The volume of material you present reflects the fact that you have done a superb job of investigating the documents and sources we have suggested, and you have compiled an impressive array of information on these buildings and residents. Perhaps the most compelling issue that has emerged from this project, as the oral interview and my colleagues have stressed, is that there is a powerful need to explore the influence and extent of the Underground Railroad both in Brooklyn and along the eastern seaboard in general. As we have indicated throughout this process, it is certainly true that you are not trying to create a comprehensive understanding of the Underground Railroad, but we cannot ignore that there was an entire network of activity that circulated near the Duffield/Gold Street properties. You have done an excellent job of providing maps and other documents identifying various churches and organizations in the area in relations to the Duffield/Gold properties. Despite this fact, we have obviously been unable to locate the “smoking gun” evidence that would prove the connection between residents in these properties, and Underground Railroad activity. Unfortunately, due to the clandestine nature of the Underground Railroad, efforts to recreate these activities are stymied by secrecy and omission. ... In the final analysis, I feel convinced that the research team has done everything we can to explore potential connections. We have been uniquely challenged with the task of finding irrefutable evidence of the UGRR, an organization that by its very nature operated clandestinely and was shrouded in secrecy. Regardless, AKRF has done an excellent job of pursuing all of the avenues we have introduced, and has presented that material extremely well. (Alexander)

AKRF, Inc. is to be congratulated on their efforts to be thorough in researching the Duffield Street and Gold Street properties and any possible links to Underground Railroad activity. Your Bibliography still stands as a testament to your diligence and a research source for scholars of Brooklyn history and the history of the Underground Railroad. The physical evidence is scant and

compromised by alterations made on the properties. This, in conjunction with the lack of written evidence, bolsters the importance of collecting and corroborating oral histories. Understandably, the majority of the research report centers on the physical properties on Duffield and Gold Streets, their current condition, their probable pre-civil war design, and the people associated with the dwellings during the period under investigation. Examining extant structures for architectural clues indicating UGRR [Underground Railroad] is important. In this your research is exhaustive and merits praise. However, not all indications will necessarily take the form of hidden rooms, cellars and tunnels. Freedom seekers taking refuge in an African American community need not have been confined to places out of sight. Moreover, given the covert nature of Underground Railroad operations, oral transmission of information is logical and probable. This calls into question efforts favoring the probe of written documents and published records. I appreciate the wealth of information gathered, from the search for names in census records (Appendix E) to the impressive tracking of names in the Abstracts of Brooklyn and New York City Directories 1848-1871 (Appendix F). (Dobard) I remain impressed by the thoroughness of AKRF's research, and I still see the bibliography as extremely helpful to those of us who are seeking knowledge about the Underground Railroad. AKRF has certainly examined the extant structures, looking for architectural clues that indicate possible Underground Railroad activity. Furthermore, the company's exploration of the mid to late 19th century Census, as well as the Abstract of Brooklyn and New York City Directories 1848-71, exemplifies dedication to locating people linked to the Duffield and Gold Street houses. I found the histories of the churches surrounding the houses to be informative and thought provoking. These histories strengthened my belief that several churches were involved in Underground Railroad operations. (Dobard)

The June 2005 research report by AKRF, Inc., is commendable. AKRF followed up in a thorough fashion the numerous leads that I and other members of the Peer Review team gave to them throughout the review process. (Harris)

As I've read each draft throughout the course of this research project, I've been impressed at the thoroughness of the work by AKRF and the consultants involved. I believe the results are as close to accurate as can be and do not see any areas not thoroughly investigated. As much as I was looking forward to some new historical facts and history being uncovered with relation to the Underground Railroad in Brooklyn, we are still left with possibilities but nothing finite or tangible to support the claims. I see no incomplete areas or recommendations made by the peer reviewers that were not followed up and would agree further investigation would not change the inconclusive results found thus far. I am satisfied every effort was made and every source reviewed and attempted to produce the existing results. I am also convinced that at this point, even expensive archeological digs on the property sites are not warranted based on the results found thus far. (Jackson)

You are to be commended for the thorough research for the "Research Report on the Potential Underground Railroad Associations of the Duffield Street and Gold Street Properties." Researching and authenticating undocumented Underground Railroad sites are most challenging undertakings. Considering this

project began with a few unsubstantiated stories, the local findings about abolitionist connections and associations, and Underground Railroad activities are quite remarkable. (LaRoche)

The draft report appears thoroughly researched, well-considered, and accepting of suggestions from a broad selection of qualified peer reviewers. It is duly noted that attempts to obtain oral histories of property-owners and descendants have consumed much time and energy, having already delayed this report since September/October 2004, with little change in the outcome. The qualifiers for a station on the Underground Railroad, and/or close and constant connections to the Underground Railroad, are clearly stated, and these properties do not meet those criteria. Other clear and constant connections to slavery and manumission, the anti-slavery movement, militant abolitionism, the commerce of the cotton trade, and the role of schools, churches, and citizens in addressing racism and enslavement are all, as I have previously stated, abundant within the boundaries of the old 1816 Village and 1832 City of Brooklyn, and an abiding public awareness of that historical past would be an investment in our future. The ghostly congeries of events witnessed by our streets and sidewalks and buildings are well worth the effort to clothe them in signage, brochures, walking tours, bus tours, exhibits, and all other means by which the hidden past is presented to a current and somewhat distant public, and Brooklyn Historical Society is eager to participate in productive and celebratory ventures that mark our collective past. (Pettit)

As demonstrated in this report, your research plan has been first rate in both design and execution. You have consulted wisely and extensively, explored all reasonable possibilities for evidence, involved the community where possible, and demonstrated a strong command of the primary and secondary literature. I was especially pleased with the way in which you welcomed advice from your consortium of peer reviewers and followed up on our advice and suggestions. (Sernett)

Congratulations to you and AKRF on a very thorough, careful, and clear job of research and writing. You have covered virtually every source that any of us have suggested, and you have synthesized this huge amount of information in a coherent and readable fashion. This is not an easy task, and you have done it well. ... It has been a pleasure to work with AKRF on this project. I have appreciated your professionalism, your thoughtful consideration of the evidence, and your dogged determination to get to the bottom of this puzzle—if a bottom is to be found. Many thanks for this opportunity. All my best wishes for a satisfactory resolution to an exceedingly difficult problem. (Wellman)

I am pleased to see the final draft of "Downtown Brooklyn Development: Research Report on the Potential Underground Railroad Associations of the Duffield Street and Gold Street Properties (AKRF, June 20, 2005)." ... The core issue is the Duffield Street and Gold Street properties' relationship to the Underground Railroad, and AKRF has provided an especially thorough investigation of the physical and documentary evidence. The report methodically tills the historical record for ties between these sites (and their residents) and the personnel and institutions that the Brooklyn stations of the

Underground Railroad are known to have comprised. The report also provides a rather complete construction and architectural analysis of the sites, particularly the basements/cellars that are detailed in the oral traditions about the Underground Railroad in Brooklyn. This investigation is, in large part, a product of the oral traditions around these properties and this area that link the known history of an active abolitionist and Underground Railroad community to the more cloudy history of the physical and spatial expressions and locations of those political and social movements. As I noted in an earlier response, these general claims have clearly not been invented to evade the recent planning decisions and redevelopment proposals as they have been in circulation for generations. ... AKRF has done an excellent job of uncovering and analyzing the documentary and physical evidence. The report reflects its high-level professional culture. However, the absence of interviews and investigations into the oral traditions allows for lingering doubts about the accuracy of any conclusions. (Wilder)

Response: Comment noted.

FOLLOW-UP RESEARCH SUGGESTIONS

Comment 2: There are obviously a few areas that might have yielded alternative conclusions if the sources were available. 1. As Richard Hourahan pointed out, there are still some gaps in our information about the identities of the occupants of these buildings at various points. However, it seems clear that since Hourahan's comment, AKRF has done everything possible to review existing records to locate this information. 2. As Cheryl LaRoche, myself, and others have suggested from the beginning, the relationship between the Truesdell family and the abolitionist movement is particularly significant. We have identified critical evidence connecting them to abolitionist activity, yet unfortunately, there does not currently appear to be any additional information on this issue. It is still striking that Harriet Truesdell moved in circles that including the Tappans among others because it is widely accepted that Truesdell's associates were active in the Underground Railroad (UGRR). Again, however, due to the secretive nature of the UGRR, any further information is elusive. Ultimately it is clear that AKRF has done everything possible to follow up on our suggestions and attempt to identify any possible connections between the Truesdells, the Tappans or any others. 3. The other issue of interest from the beginning of this study has been the possibility of a tunnel existing between these buildings. However, the architectural report did not yield any additional information, and apparently archaeological investigation is not feasible. I was pleased to see that Cheryl LaRoche visited the site, but apparently her visits didn't yield anything else? Do we have an update on that? (Alexander)

Response: Dr. LaRoche's comments on her October 2004 site visit are provided and responded to below as Comment 13. Michael Devonshire's historic construction review report noted that with the exception of one "unpaved" section of flooring

on Duffield Street, there are no anomalous cellar or subcellar features, no communication between the subject properties exists at the cellar levels, and the identified features conform to general construction practices of the time period.

Comment 3: You do include William Harned in the actual report itself (on page #3) which is good. However, you [do not] include him in a list of individuals and sites with anti-slavery connections most of which are pinpointed on a map called Figure #1. I think the Harned residence should be included on this map since it was on Duffield Street, on the next block north, near the south end of the block, on the same side of the street as the Tuesdell house, and quite close to the Truesdell house. We had a phone conversation some time ago and you told me it was on the next block. We know that the house is no longer there, but his living so close to the houses in question is very significant. It is probably the most significant information found so far, other than the information about the Truesdells. Also, the report does say that Harned was the treasurer of the NY State Vigilance Committee, but this organization should be defined in the report as a very active UGRR organization. You list the source of information as an e-mail from Jim Driscoll. I am pleased to be cited in such an important document, however you should also included the sources of information that I gave you documenting Harned's involvement in the UGRR. One of the Harned stories can be found in the Blassingame's Slave Narratives. Although that story only tells of his efforts to raise money to purchase the freedom of a slave. Another was an item in the Anti-Slavery Standard. This was a letter written by Harned in which he defends the Committee's role in assisting a runaway. It appeared on April 12, 1849. Also, another story appears in Pennington's Fugitive Blacksmith. The version I am referring to can be found on the Documents of the South Website. It is on Page VIII. I also sent you an obituary article which stated that he was a member of Beecher's congregation. I think that some or all these references need to be included in the footnote. If you need help tracking down these references I will be glad to help. Even if this information does not change the final conclusion of the report, it is important and should be included in a more detailed form. (Driscoll)

Response: We will add William Harned's residence to Figure 1. The final research report will note that the New York State Vigilance Committee was a very active Underground Railroad organization. We will reference the sources you mention documenting William Harned's involvement in the Underground Railroad.

Comment 4: Your report evidences considerable effort and research discipline to discover "whether these properties had potential connections to the Underground Railroad." Your research method was appropriate for the historical topic and rigorous in its execution. Consequently at the risk of appearing to be carping over what on the surface may seem to some as small details I think you deserve and will appreciate comments which will help to improve your final report.

These critical comments are of two types: Research Emphasis and Data Omission. *Research Emphasis*: The research effort on historical documentation was focused primarily on anti-slavery activity and not on the Underground Railroad. Recognizing the paucity of readily available sources for the latter, a strong but not perfect correlation between abolitionist and Underground Railroad activity and perhaps budgetary and time constraints for travel, nonetheless I think that the examination of archival material in Canada is warranted (e.g. Fred Landon Papers, Canadian Anti-Slavery Society documents). After all, Canada played a historically significant role in the Underground Railroad. When the researchers discovered anti-slavery data about the Truesdells I think that more emphasis should have been placed on researching these two Baptists connection (if any) to the Baptist Anti-Slavery movement. The holdings of the American Baptist Historical Society should be examined. *Data Omission*: The last sentence of page 1 states: "The freedom journeys of Henry Highland Garnet, Samuel Ringgold Ward, James William Charles (J.W.C.) Pennington, Harriet Jacobs, and Frederick Douglass establish that New York City and Brooklyn were important sites of Underground Railroad assistance." However, in Figure 1, Sensitive Context Map, you neglect to record either Ward's residence on High Street or the residence of Pennington's protector (Adrien Van Sinderen) on Willow Street. (From Pennington's articles in the *Colored American* and the assertions of the historian Richard Blackett one can draw the inference that Pennington was also a member of Van Sinderen's household). In *Harriet Jacobs: A Life* Professor Jean Fagan Yellin identifies the home in Brooklyn where Ms. Jacobs slave daughter resides. It too is omitted from Figure 1 (corner of Schermerhorn St. and Smith St.). In her narrative, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*, Harriet Jacobs describes her search for her daughter Louisa and her encounter with her on Myrtle Avenue in Brooklyn. On page 2 the report states that Arthur and Lewis Tappan lived in Downtown Brooklyn but Figure 1, Sensitive Context Map, does not indicate their residence at the corner of Pierrepont St. and Henry Street. On page 2 the report describes the abolitionist activities of Henry Ward Beecher, first pastor of Plymouth Church. I may have missed it, but the report does not mention the founding of Plymouth Church by Henry C. Bowen—son-in-law of Lewis Tappan—and a resident of Willow Street in Brooklyn Heights. While the report indicates that the Lewis Tappan Papers on microfilm at the New York Public Library were reviewed it does not include Tappan's comments about Bowen seeking out Beecher for Plymouth Church, nor his anti-slavery activities. (I realize that there are 70 microfilm reels; on the other hand Lewis Tappan's handwriting although small is excellent!). The report I believe only mentions Bowen in connection with Thomas Truesdell of 229 Duffield Street. Other locations not identified on Figure 1 are the residences of Lydia Maria Child (Pierrepont Street), editor of the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, Martha Mott Lord (Joralemon St.), daughter of the abolitionist and Underground Railroad operative Lucretia Mott, Rev. Eli Hall (High Street), abolitionist, George

Hogarth (Navy Street) abolitionist and associate of Samuel Ringgold Ward, Isaac Hunter (Orange Street), fugitive slave, Croyden Sperry (Willow Street) officer of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, Reverend Samuel Cornish (Smith Street), founder of the *Colored American*, member of the New York Vigilance Committee, and officer of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and Duffield Street resident, William Harned (member of New York Vigilance Committee, officer of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society) and close associate of Lewis Tappan. (Hourahan)

Response: Given that no connections to Canada or the Canadian Anti-Slavery Society have yet been identified for the owners and residents of the subject properties, we will not be pursuing this new line of inquiry. We will examine the holdings of the American Baptist Historical Society at Valley Forge, PA. We have already consulted with the director of the ABHS's American Baptist-Samuel Colgate Historical Library regarding Baptist records, and there were no original records for the Pierrepont Street Baptist Church or Concord Baptist Church in that collection. We will revise Figure 1 to include the individuals noted, in order to provide additional information on the context of the Duffield Street and Gold Street properties. We hope this will lead to academic research that may better define the Underground Railroad history of the region. However, the creation of such a history will be a very extensive research undertaking far beyond the scope of the current study, which is focused on the potential associations of the Duffield Street and Gold Street properties.

Comment 5: Within the development area stood two black churches with known associations to the Underground Railroad, Siloam Presbyterian and Bridge Street AWME Church. It is clear from their association in the American Foreign Anti-Slavery Society that William T. Dixon of Concord Baptist Church and Rev. A.N. Freeman of Siloam Presbyterian Church would have known one another. The churches were in walking distance from one another and were associated with the Underground Railroad. Siloam and Bridge Street were in close proximity as well. The report shed little light on the Underground Railroad activity of these churches. The Underground Railroad is as much about routes and pathways as it is about houses and individuals and Duffield Street appears to fall within a route. Although the Seventh Presbyterian Church and the Sands Street Church were not known as abolitionist churches, I think it is a mistake to reject them out of hand as "not known to have contained an abolitionist congregation or participated in the Underground Railroad." This type of statement is presented as a conclusion that precludes further research as a viable option. Likewise, looking for evidence in court cases and finding none is not evidence of a lack of Underground Railroad activity. It may be merely evidence of not being apprehended or compromised because of Underground Railroad activity. Among the residents or owners of the houses on Duffield Street can be found direct contact or associations with Henry Ward Beecher, the Tappan Brothers,

distant family associations with William Lloyd Garrison. The work of Harriet Truesdell and her association with Juliana Tappan and her familial relationships place her solidly within the anti-slavery inner sanctum. Within anti-slavery circles, tangential relationships take on significance. Harriet Truesdell's association with Juliana Tappan should be measured more carefully. They and their work can be considered to have national significance. A circle of relationships leading to very active Underground Railroad workers may be indicated by these women. (LaRoche)

Response: The draft final research report describes all that has been identified by the research effort, which included direct correspondence with both churches, regarding the Underground Railroad activity of the Bridge Street AWME and Siloam Presbyterian Churches. The information provided regarding the Seventh Presbyterian Church and the Sands Street Church does not preclude further research into the potential abolitionist or Underground Railroad connections of these churches.

Comment 6: You might consider adding the latest and most comprehensive (and best, I think) history of the URR to your bibliography—the book by Fergus Bordewich, *Bound for Canaan: The Underground Railroad and the War for the Soul of America* (New York: HarperCollins, 2005). (Sernett)

Response: We will review this book and include it in the bibliography for the final research report.

Comment 7: Two major sources have not been covered: The first is the collection of antislavery petitions sent to Congress. Because this is organized by the subject of the petition, rather than geographically by place of origin, finding specific petitions (with specific names) is probably not a realistic possibility, given time constraints for this project. While these petitions may have reinforced what you already know about the abolitionist connections of residents of these houses (particularly the Truesdells), they most likely would not have given you any particular information about Underground Railroad activities. (Wellman)

Response: We did review the following collections of antislavery petitions: Antislavery Petitions in the Library of Congress Collection (Record Group 233, Records of the United States House of Representatives. Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration); the Collection of Petitions Addressed to President Lincoln by Antislavery Societies, 1862-1864 (College Park, MD: National Archives at College Park); "Petitions and Memorials," for the 15th Congress through the 39th Congress (1817-1876) (Record Group 233, Records of the United States House of Representatives. Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration); and Tabled Petitions in the Library of Congress Collection (Record Group 233, Records of the United States House of Representatives. Washington, DC: National Archives and Records

Administration). In these collections, one petition was found against admitting Arkansas as a slave state, coming from New York State (no date), signed by a Joseph Williams. As noted on page 36 of the draft final research report, this might be the same person as "Joseph/Joe D. Williams," who is noted as residing at 227 Duffield Street ca. 1868-1870. However, given that Joseph Williams is not an uncommon name, and the petition is from New York State, rather than Brooklyn in particular, it was considered unlikely that this listing is a match.

Comment 8: I am both puzzled and disturbed with the October 14, 2004 log entry between Fred Laverpool and Katherine Collignon where Mr. Laverpool was reluctant to share "proof of a UGRR involvement" of the properties in his possession without compensation. The log shows no follow-up to this indicating he in fact did have such proof or that compensation was considered by AKRF. Exactly what was he asking for? As the representative of the Brooklyn Historical Society, why is this the first time we are hearing about this? I seem to remember that earlier comments indicated BHS records were unavailable as they were in storage. I'm also concerned that any "proof" Mr. Laverpool may have, was never included in this study, and why has he waited until now to make this statement. It would seem that his role with the BHS this was part of his professional responsibility to ensure this evidence of Brooklyn history and especially Underground Railroad activity is recorded and used to assist in the factual recording of this investigation. I question his motives, as it seems he should have used this "proof" to leverage the his point with the city and validate the resident's claim that their properties or some or one of the properties was indeed used as a site on the Underground Railroad Brooklyn route. (Jackson)

Response: To clarify, Fred Laverpool is not a representative of the Brooklyn Historical Society; he is an independent historian. As noted on page 6 of the draft final research report, Mr. Laverpool submitted a letter to the City regarding the need to investigate the potential connections of the Duffield Street and Gold Street buildings; no information regarding the potential connections of the properties was submitted at that time. AKRF made a number of attempts to contact Fred Laverpool in August 2004, but was unsuccessful. We will make another attempt to contact him. If Mr. Laverpool provides any information regarding the subject properties, this will be included in the final research report.

Comment 9: The report points out the narrative, documentary, and physical ties between this neighborhood and the abolitionist movement and Underground Railroad. I would add that the presence of families and persons who linked abolitionists in New England and the Mid-Atlantic and the healthy population of black sailors and seamen in the area add to the historical richness of this section and underscore the need to be thorough and open. Page S-17: The Sands Street Church congregation deeply divided over the pro-slavery sympathies of its minister. The exodus of black Methodist from Sands Street to their own (anti-

slavery) church led to further division at the former, divisions that went unresolved for some time and reflected the tensions that tormented white Methodism throughout the antebellum era. Therefore, there was an anti-slavery community within the Sands Street Church although I would agree that the church itself was not a significant institutional player in abolitionism. Page 2: Charles B. Ray was driven off the Wesleyan campus by pro-slavery students and came to New York City to continue his studies for the ministry. His plight was documented in the *Liberator* and he maintained deep connections to the New England abolitionists, interregional connections that would later impact his ability to operate within the abolitionist movement. (See comments below.) Amos N. Freeman's wife—I have her name in my office if you need—was a major figure among the black women's association that advised and assisted the Colored Orphan Asylum in New York City with its Quaker and abolitionist governing board. Page 3: William Augustus Hodges should be Willis Augustus Hodges. William, his older brother, escaped from a Virginia jail where he was imprisoned on charges of forging "free papers" for fugitive slaves. He went to Canada and then to Williamsburgh. Willis arrived with his family shortly after when the persecution of the family over the escape and following the Turner revolt became unbearable. Both were leaders in the Williamsburgh community but Willis Hodges wrote the autobiographical pieces that became the book, *Free Man of Color*. Page 26: The Fleet Street AMEZ Church is described as "not known to be abolitionist, nor is it reported to have been a station on the Underground Railroad." I think that this is misleading. Fleet sat at the near edge of the Navy Yard area and served that community. While it was always the poor cousin of Bridge Street, it was nonetheless a religious and political community with clear antislavery leanings. The Navy Yard area housed a significant number of black sailors, many of whom were born in the Caribbean, Canada, and Africa, and who, as a class, are known to have been heavily involved in abolitionist activity, the smuggling of antislavery material, and the facilitation of flights from slavery. For instance, black sailors and crewmen were overrepresented among the men from the New York City who joined the black regiments that served in the Civil War. Page 38-9: The description of the Truesdell family's connections to abolitionism is thorough and crisp. I would add that Samuel J. May (also mentioned earlier), the Unitarian minister from Brooklyn, Connecticut, was a key figure in linking the activities of the New England and Mid-Atlantic abolitionists and their organizations. The Reverend Simeon Jocelyn of New Haven did similar service. Arthur Tappan was a New Haven resident and a New York businessman. May and Jocelyn helped tie the Tappans to national abolitionist campaigns. For instance, the Jocelyn appeared with Arthur Tappan and William Lloyd Garrison at the 1831 National Negro Convention in Philadelphia. Garrison, Helen Eliza Bensons' husband, was also heavily involved with Rev. May in the 1831-1834 struggles over Prudence Crandall's school for colored girls in Canterbury, CT, which neighbors Brooklyn. Thus, another aspect of the Truesdell family's connection to

abolitionism is their broader ties to prominent figures in the national anti-slavery campaign. These kinds of ties were particularly important to facilitating the interregional network that assisted freedom seekers and other anti-slavery action. (Wilder)

Response: We will clarify the discussion in the final research report in regard to the Sands Street and Fleet Street Methodist Episcopal Churches, and add to the descriptions of the connections of the individuals mentioned above.

Comment 10: You tell the story of R.H. Cousins helping fugitive T. Jones. Jones says in his autobiography that he had helped his wife the previous year. Cousins lived on Jay Street, not too far from the houses on Duffield Street. I think it would be a good idea to put his home on the map. (Fig. 1) Also, I came across another Harned story in my files. There was a letter in the Jay papers at Columbia from *James Pennington to H. Greeley and W. Harned* telling how Pennington's wife brought the Lemon slaves to Hartford in 1852 and that the friends who were protecting them would need more funding. Eventually they made it to Canada. Mr. and Mrs. Lemon had brought their slaves to a Manhattan hotel while on a trip. Anti-slavery people found out about it and brought a case to court and the judge ordered the slaves set free. Afraid that they would be reversed on appeal, the Vigilance Committee hurried them to Canada. John Jay (the grandson) was one of the lawyers who fought for their freedom. (Driscoll)

Response: We will add R.H. Cousins' residence to Figure 1, and add this story to the Harned description in the final research report.

ORAL TRADITION OUTREACH EFFORT

Comment 11: The most disappointing aspect of this study has been the conflict and delays plaguing the collection of oral interviews. As I have indicated in the past (and it appears my colleagues agree), the importance of the oral interviews cannot be overestimated. Cheryl LaRoche, Craig Wilder, Andrew Jackson, myself, and others, have insisted since early in this investigation that oral interviews were a critical aspect of verifying the legitimacy of these claims. Although the report states that oral interviews must be approached with caution, such information combined with documentary evidence can be extremely useful, and oral testimony appears to be routinely accepted by the Freedom Trail and the National Park Service. I was saddened to see that efforts to secure these interviews were not successful, and I was particularly troubled to see that Bishop Queen Mother Jordan (who apparently had most of the information in this regard), and Garland Roberts were not able to participate. According to the documents, it seems that property owners were reluctant to accept the credentials of the interview team, and that they were also beleaguered by health problems. Regardless of the reasons, it is unfortunate that these interviews did

not take place. However, after carefully reviewing the documents, particularly the collection effort contact log, it is clear to me that AKRF has done everything possible to follow our recommendations and conduct oral interviews. (Alexander)

I simply wonder if names associated with UGRR activity might not be protected by secrecy and accessed primarily via oral histories. The oral interview of Mr. Richard Green leaves me wondering how much information has yet to surface regarding the Duffield houses. Can the sources he mentions be consulted? Is it possible to gather interviews from elders who once lived in the Duffield community? Here is where present day Brooklyn African American churches enter the search. Elderly congregants may well have heard stories and the names of people who were involved in UGRR operations. They may still prove to be living volumes, complementing Census Data and informing Abstracted Directories. Community involvement is essential. Perhaps revisiting the churches and commissioning members to gather stories for you would prove beneficial to all as well as to perceived integrity of the project. What appears to be needed is the "Insider's" perspective. Silence on the issue of UGRR activity is a continuation of resistance. Trust and confidence forge keys to unlocking minds. The Insider's perspective enables a clear view. I believe this is needed. It is unfortunate that someone like Queen Mother Jordan declined to be interviewed. Given what I read in your report, Queen Mother Jordan is an Insider whose gaze is probing. She is also connected to the church. AKRF's report recognizes the importance of the churches near the Duffield and Gold Street houses, particularly the African American churches [pages 23 through 34]. In addition to providing information concerning the history, the congregation make up, the names of prominent members, pastors {such as Rev. Pennington} and reported Underground Railroad links, the company could seek interviews from descendants of the early members. After all AKRF's hard work, a paradox exists; revelation may come via destruction. Should the houses be demolished one section at a time, the walls and the buried foundations might give up their secrets when exposed. Please keep in mind that Underground Railroad material cultural is often hard if not impossible to find. We must listen to the oral remembrances, to the recollections of elders and their stories. ... I feel that the link connecting the churches, the properties and the Underground Railroad will surface as more oral histories are completed. Unfortunately, the report has only one interview: with Mr. Green. I would like to see more. Reading your log of interview attempts, I realized the difficulty and the frustration AKRF's representatives experienced. I am fully aware of the hesitancy and the silence that greets non-community people when they try to obtain information. One possible way to work through this impass is to engage local community members as researchers. Please note that these are suggestions. I sincerely hope understanding will prevail during the City's hearing of your project. (Dobard)

I know you have made tremendous efforts to conduct oral histories. However, since their absence is a great loss, maybe one more effort is called for. Hopefully, an ultimatum would convince the people who say they have information to cooperate. (Driscoll)

I am disappointed that the oral histories could not be completed. But I do not think this is the fault of AKRF, Inc. Academic schedules prevented the first oral historian, Jennifer Scott, from completing the oral histories. The second group of oral historians, Kernile Jackson and Philip Napoli, were initially prevented, understandably, from completing the interviews by the illnesses of the resident interviewees. More disturbing is that the resident interviewees, once recovered from their illnesses, seemed reluctant to work with the oral historians. Their objections to the oral historians—that they did not appear to have experience with Underground Railroad history—were not really relevant to the process, in my opinion. Further, I doubt that most historians who are experienced in URR history would also be experienced in oral history techniques; nor would most oral historians have URR expertise. What was needed was an experienced interviewer who could obtain their stories in an unbiased manner. Had these stories been gathered, they might have been useful to the overall report. But without access to them in a fuller manner than their mention in the present report, they are irrelevant. (Harris)

One final comment, Appendix H, Oral Tradition Collection Contact Effort Log does demonstrate effort. I think that you should contact the American Anthropological Association and the American Ethnological Society for assistance. These two professional societies have access to the finest interviewers and their memberships will afford you with individuals with the experience which best matches the needs of this crucial aspect of your research project. (Hourahan)

It is most unfortunate the oral history project produced no more than one interview from the persons we have been anxiously awaiting to hear from and that one interview with Richard Green is not from the primary people of the community in question. Reviewing the records of conversations between the oral history interviewers and the prospective interviewees was constantly and unavoidably delayed by health conditions, insecurities on the part of the interviewees and to a great degree reluctance based on their evaluation of the qualifications of Mr. Napoli and Ms Jackson. The bottom line is we never heard any of the oral history we hoped would surface from anyone in the immediate community. (Jackson)

I am not troubled by the failure of the oral history component to materialize any stronger than it did. Early on I thought that this was not likely to yield much. The oral history trail seemed to be to be faint indeed. (Sernett)

Two major sources have not been covered ... The second source is the oral history collection. You have thoroughly documented your efforts to conduct relevant interviews, and the process seems to have bogged down, for reasons not under your control. Sometimes this happens. These oral interviews would still be important to document. In general, I have found that oral traditions are very useful in identifying potential Underground Railroad sites. They point us in the right direction and suggest places we might study further, as they have done in this case. They may also contain information about what a site looked like before key changes. (Wellman)

In our earlier exchanges, several of AKRF's historical advisors strongly urged an investigation of the oral traditions—the medium of subaltern movements like the Underground Railroad—and defended the integrity of such source material when investigated under specific guidelines. Subaltern political and social movements—like the Underground Railroad—are most likely to be uncovered through oral sources and traditions. AKRF has made an extraordinary effort to collect this material; however, the results have been quite disappointing, not for any fault of AKRF. In fact, the report expresses the consultants' frustration with the negligible progress collecting and investigating these oral traditions. The problem is the very real culture of mistrust and suspicion that surrounds many of the interactions between African American communities defending their own histories and experiences and government agencies and their arms with a long history of disrespecting and ignoring the historical, cultural, and emotional meaning of physical places and spatial relations in communities of color. To be blunt, the very fact that the decision to explore the historical claims of these communities generally comes only when they stand in the path of a greater urban plan does and will continue to breed suspicion and reservation. I therefore respond with the caveat that there is a significant body of material that has not been collected and that would likely impact our determinations and deliberations as we advised and reviewed the research into these sites. (Wilder)

Response:

During the oral history outreach effort, we contacted 15 churches to ask for their assistance in reaching out to their congregations, particularly to elderly members. We asked that information about our research be communicated to the congregation and to any senior programs that the churches may operate. This effort resulted in no leads. All relevant suggestions, including those provided by the peer reviewers, were researched for finding suitable oral historians. Once the oral historians were chosen, numerous attempts were made over a nine month time period to solicit oral histories from the property owners and other potential sources of oral tradition, constituting a good faith effort. However, the decision has been made to select another oral historian and try again to solicit these oral histories in the interest of making the final research report as comprehensive as possible.

Regarding follow-up to Richard Green's interview: the draft final research report describes that no connections of the subject property owners and residents to Frederick Douglass, David Ruggles, or J.W.C. Pennington have yet been found; neither has any information been found indicating that John Duffield or his daughters were sympathetic to the abolitionist movement. We reviewed Clarence Taylor's *Black Churches of Brooklyn*: The churches Mr. Green could be referring to in the interview are the Concord Baptist Church, formerly located on Concord Street near Duffield and Gold Streets, and the Bridge Street AWME Church, which was located in the former First Free Congregational Church building, both of which were researched and included in the draft final research report.

ASSESSMENTS OF CONCLUSIONS/RATINGS

Comment 12: Regarding the conclusions, it seems that the designations are appropriate. The report offers clear and compelling explanations for the selections of the various designations, and they seem consistent with the criteria established by the National Park Service and the Freedom Trail. Obviously the only residence that would rank high on the Freedom Trail rating system is 227 Duffield, which was occupied by the Truesdells. However, as indicated above, lacking any additional supplementary material, or corroborating oral interviews, it seems fully appropriate to assign that residence a level 3 rating. (Alexander)

I concur with AKRF, Inc.'s judgment that most of the properties at Duffield and Gold Streets in Brooklyn were "probably not involved" or "some possibility of involvement" with Underground Railroad activities. Residents of the buildings do not appear to have been active in the antislavery movement, for the most part. Even the residents of 227 Duffield Street (rated "quite possibly involved") appear to have participated in antislavery activities after living at that address. I am also swayed by the report of the architectural historian that the cellars do not appear to have been linked to form a tunnel for runaways. (Harris)

After reading the latest draft of the report, after all this time, there is still no conclusive evidence that positively validates either of the seven properties were in fact involved or that their residents were involved in the Underground Railroad in Brooklyn. Based on the findings, of the seven properties, only 1 is considered "quite possible," 3 have "some possibility" and 3 were "probably not involved." A review of the superficial archeological findings do not indicate that any of the physical structures, connections between houses or the physical features served as a refuge sites or connections between houses for use by URR passengers. Again, there are no concrete factual findings to validate the claim that the homes were used as stations on the Underground Railroad Brooklyn route. Although there is proof that persons and area churches were involved or may have been both sympathetic to the Underground Railroad movement of the time in Brooklyn and participated in the Underground Railroad movement there is still no proof that the seven residences in question were a part of the Underground Railroad Brooklyn movement. (Jackson)

Based on the information gathered thus far, I believe 227 Duffield Street should be rated a 3 moving toward a 4. There is "strong local association of the site that is carried through oral tradition." Because of this component of criteria 4, the oral tradition must be recorded and completed for the project before any conclusions are reached. I believe your rating for 233 Duffield should also be a 3. I found your dismissal of potential name matches with the membership listings with the Plymouth Church unconvincing. For such an important question, I would expect something more rigorous than the names are too common to distinguish the residents. Henry Ward Beecher's overarching presence at the church requires careful consideration for any names associated with the church. I concur with your ratings for the remaining structures. (LaRoche)

I agree with the conclusions the report articulates with respect to the individual properties. I do not think that there is sufficient evidence to warrant rating them higher than you did. I have taught courses on the Underground Railroad now for nearly a decade. I tell students that the topic is an important one and deserving of the application of the historical method and rules of evidence in the best fashion possible. Only then will we truly honor those who sought freedom and those who aided them. (Sernett)

Except for the Truesdell family (and perhaps the Hawes family), I agree generally with your overall assessment of the relative significance of each of these houses, in terms of the involvement of the residents in the historic period with abolitionist and Underground Railroad activities. I would put your conclusion about the Truesdell family (and perhaps the Hawes family) in a somewhat more positive light. An assessment of "3" for the Truesdell family at 227 Duffield Street (with a consistent, long-term commitment to abolitionism but no positive evidence of Underground Railroad activity) and "2" for the Hawes family at 231 Duffield Street may well be appropriate. But I would definitely not agree with your assessment that there was "no significance" to the Truesdell and Hawes families hiring African American servants. Choosing whether to employ an African American, Irish, or native-born household servant may or may not have been a political act, but, in the absence of evidence to the contrary (e.g. an overwhelming need for labor, which might make color of less consequence), I think it makes sense to assume that choosing to hire an African American was a conscious and deliberate act with political overtones. This would be especially true in the case of Thomas and Harriet Truesdell, who hired Elizabeth Harris, who listed her birthplace in the 1855 census as North Carolina. While we do not have accurate statistics (and probably never will) for what proportion of African Americans born in a slave state and living in a free state before the Civil War were born free, legally manumitted, or remained legally enslaved and left on the Underground Railroad, I think we must keep in mind the strong possibility that they were freedom seekers (fugitive slaves) rather than freed people. While race designations in the census (like every other census notation) are not infallible, the supposition is most certainly that Elizabeth Harris, nineteen years old and a resident of Brooklyn for two years, was African American. Furthermore, my educated guess would be that she was more likely than not to have been a freedom seeker. The fact that the Truesdell and Hawes families hired African Americans certainly lends confirmation to their continued antislavery sympathies. In the case of the Truesdell family, however, it is a clue, however small, that perhaps they were also involved in Underground Railroad activities and that Elizabeth Harris herself may have been a freedom seeker. The other factor that does not come through in treating these families individually is the collective nature of the problem. As you have shown in your map and also in your general discussions, abolitionism and the Underground Railroad were, by their nature, collective endeavors. I wonder whether it is accidental that the Truesdell and Hawes families—the only two families in this area to hire African Americans and to have some documented collection with abolitionism—lived near each other? (I note that the house numbers skip from 227 Duffield, the Truesdell house, to 231 Duffield, the Hawes house, and there seems to be a house missing between these two dwellings. Was any work done to find out

who lived at 229 Duffield?) Add to this the presence of William Harned, treasurer of the New York State Vigilance Committee and a known Underground Railroad activist, a few houses away. (I did not locate his house on your otherwise fine map.) From this perspective, the neighborhood might look like a hotbed of abolitionism. The presence of Harriet Truesdell at 227 Duffield Street is also noteworthy. While in Rhode Island in the 1830s, she was extremely active in the Providence Female Anti-Slavery Society, serving as treasurer in 1835 (the year it was formed) and as corresponding secretary in 1837, when she wrote a letter to the *Liberator* about the organization. She was also a delegate to and a member of the program planning committee of the Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women in Philadelphia in 1838. Did the research team have any luck in tracking down further information about Harriet Truesdell through Deborah Von Broeckhoeven? Another possible source (which I did not think of until just now) would be the work of Anne Boylan, whose database include both African American and European American women who worked in organizations in New York (Anne M. Boylan, *The Origins of Women's Activism: New York and Boston, 1797-1840*, University of North Carolina Press, 2002). Thomas Truesdell's actions as delegate to the 1836 Rhode Island Anti-Slavery Convention, followed by his continued contributions to the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1853, 1855, 1856, 1860, and 1862 and his subscriptions to the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* in 1855, 1860, and 1862 do suggest, as you indicate, his "long-term commitment to abolitionism." You conclude that "there is no evidence that Harriet Truesdell was involved in the abolitionist movement during her tenancy at 227 Duffield Street, and Thomas Truesdell's support of abolitionism while at 227 Duffield Street was of a passive nature." This depends on whether or not continued membership in a group as radical as the American Anti-Slavery Society, with continued subscriptions to their newspaper, would be considered passive. While Harriet Truesdell did not show up in any of the surveyed records as working openly in anti-slavery activities in Brooklyn, this early and extremely active commitment to women's antislavery activism suggests that her abolitionism was a powerful force in her life. The Hawes family were members of Plymouth Church, a noted abolitionist church, whose pastor, Henry Ward Beecher once auctioned off a young slave woman from the pulpit to illustrate the horrors of slavery, As you point out, their memberships (March 1860-February 1872) date from after their residency on Duffield Street. Many people attended church for a long time before joining, however. Whether this was true for the Hawes family or not, we do not know. Supposedly, they joined this church in part because of its abolitionist commitment (which would also signify their own). To summarize, I think that your research is superb, your synthesis is clear and readable, and your conclusions generally sound. I think that your ratings for the individual families and houses are also generally appropriate, but I would write the summaries for the Truesdell and Hawes families in a more positive tone, recognizing that, especially for the Truesdell family, their abolitionist credentials are thoroughly sound and, because of their employment of Elizabeth Harris (a possible freedom seeker herself), Harriet and Thomas Truesdell and Elizabeth Harris may be possible Underground Railroad participants. Evidence in these cases, as we all know to our frustration, is not easy to find. In spite of extraordinary efforts, you

have found direct evidence of abolitionist connections only for the Truesdell and Hawes families. Indirect evidence, however, especially for the Truesdell family, keeps open the possibility of their participation in the Underground Railroad. (Wellman)

The report's conclusions that there are no reasonable connection between 223 Duffield, 436 Gold, and the Underground Railroad and ratings at level 1 seem judicious given what has been uncovered and documented. I am less comfortable with the decision to assign the 225 Duffield Street property a 1 rating. That conclusion depends too heavily upon, a nineteenth century owner, Gideon Mapes' signature on a petition that condemned John Brown's raid at Harper's Ferry and, an earlier owner, Nathaniel Bonnell's membership in the Sands Street Church, which is described as not having "contained an abolitionist congregation or participated in the Underground Railroad." Mapes' signature does not establish "anti-abolitionist" sentiments; it establishes pacifist and Unionist sensibilities that were common even in the heated years preceding the Civil War and even among those who opposed slavery. The petition, published in the New York Times late in 1859, is rather brief and the list of names particularly long. I would warn against the conclusion that signing such a petition was a pro-slavery or "anti-abolitionist" act, although I know nothing of Mapes' politics. The shock that followed Brown's raid brought many such condemnations and retreats. For instance, the Reverend Henry Ward Beecher publicly rebuked and distanced himself from John Brown's violence while embracing his moral outrage. The report also reads too much into Bonnell's membership at the Sands Street Church. White Methodist churches were divided over and tormented by the issue of slavery and often had congregations composed of anti- and pro-slavery families and individuals. The evidence for 225 Duffield therefore does not definitively establish that the claims are unlikely; it simply fails to prove those claims. The 227 Duffield rating of 3 is quite in line with the evidence as collected and processed by AKRF. In fact, this property has the strongest potential ties to the Underground Railroad of the subject sites. The level 2 ratings assigned to 231, 233, and 235 Duffield are consistent with the facts as compiled. (Wilder)

Response: Per the question about 229 Duffield Street: this building was not researched because it no claims of potential connections to the Underground Railroad were made for this building. As noted in the response to Comment 3 above, we will be adding William Harned's former residence (no longer extant) to Figure 1. Deborah Van Broekhoven's *Rhode Island in the Anti-Slavery Network* notes the formation of the Female Anti-Slavery Society in Providence and lists Harriet Truesdell as its treasurer. We will review Anne Boylan's *The Origins of Women's Activism: New York and Boston*. The final report will be revised to reflect the comments regarding Gideon Mapes, Nathaniel Bonnel, and the Truesdell family.

DR. CHERYL LAROCHE'S SITE VISIT

Comment 13: As you know, I met with a number of archaeologists between October 18-20, 2004 in an attempt to gain further clarity concerning the archaeological resources at the Duffield Street site. A total of nine members of the Professional Archaeologists of New York City (PANYC) responded to my invitation for an informal site visit. While all agreed that the Duffield Street buildings, particularly No. 233, were compelling historical documents deserving of preservation, few understood the subsurface features associated with the structures. One archaeologist, Joan Geismar, had previous experience with coal chutes at a potential Underground Railroad site in Jersey City, New Jersey. In the following paragraph, and with Joan's permission, I either quote directly from our e-mail exchange, her site report, or paraphrase, as needed.

As was noted on our tour with Joy Chatel and Lewis Greenstein, there appeared to be a connecting passageway between some of the houses. Archaeologist Joan Geismar confirms this, "it appears that several of the houses did share vaults, but not consecutively." Joan speculates that the area near the curb where Joy Chatel of 227 Duffield Street indicated was continually collapsing is "a likely location for a curbside coal chute." Joan speculated that these coal chutes may have been added after the original construction of the houses as coal gained in popularity as a fuel source. Geismar continues, "Visiting the site, and based on current information, I can only say that, like a similar situation I had in Jersey, circumstantial evidence suggests a connection to the Underground Railroad and vaults under the sidewalk that were probably intended for coal delivery and storage could have been used as hiding places. In other words, the houses may represent "safe" places, but there may be no way to prove it."

On the subject of the general archaeological importance of the site, Joan continues, "Be that as it may, since this is a sensitive issue, at least one potential privy site (behind 233 Duffield, perhaps there are others) should probably be investigated...My thought is whether or not the structures can be firmly associated with the UR [UGRR], they represent relatively early historic-era development and the lots should, therefore, be tested; if privies or other backyard features are located, there should be field investigations and recordation. I believe the privy for at least one lot may remain under the parking lot now directly behind the structure [233 Duffield]. It is even conceivable, but not exactly likely, that there may be info, should such a backyard feature exist, to add to the UR [UGRR] hypothesis. But doesn't the rezoning process pave the way for this kind of investigation? ...I A research and field testing, if warranted (and I think it will be warranted) certainly should be undertaken."

Joan Geismar had a similar situation in Jersey City. In the course of monitoring at 86 Essex Street, an underground vault was discovered. During the course of the work, Geismar had the opportunity to photograph the interior of one vault located under the sidewalk in front of 86 Essex. Her report provides a photographic example for other vaults that did not survive in New Jersey.

The Afro-American Historical Society Museum of Jersey City indicated the house at 86 Essex was once a stop on the Underground Railroad. Of that vault which is accessed beneath the front stoop of the house where a "long, low, narrow passage leads to a partly bricked-in arch," Geismar says, "Although this sidewalk vault was undoubtedly built for coal storage, it certainly could have been used to hide slaves...In addition, it is common wisdom that a local doctor and newspaper editor, Henry Holt, was an active, or at least a very sympathetic abolitionist and is said to have aided runaways pursuing freedom. It is perhaps significant that Holt's father was a boarder in his daughter's home at what was 52 Essex Street in 1850" (Jersey City Directories)—...the address of what is now 86 Essex Street—or it may merely be a coincidence." Due to inconclusive evidence and limited time to conduct the level of research needed to document unknown sites, the project proceeded and impacted the feature.

What is important to note here are the similar circumstances between the Duffield Street site in Brooklyn and the Essex Street site in Jersey City. Though existence of the Underground Railroad in Brooklyn and New Jersey is readily documentable, the operational mechanisms remain poorly understood. Perhaps the parallels between these two sites may be alerting us that coal chutes are the urban equivalent of rural root cellars, attic eaves, or false-bottomed wagons as places of temporary or emergency refuge. In destroying these sites there is the potential that we are eliminating yet another clue to Underground Railroad processes. I hope this has brought further clarity around the question of archaeological resources at the Duffield Street site. (LaRoche)

Response: As the construction date of the buildings' subcellar features has not been determined, we agree that it is unclear whether they date from the period of significance or could have been used for Underground Railroad activities, if such activities existed. As noted above, the historic construction review report prepared by Michael Devonshire for the subject properties noted that with the exception of one "unpaved" section of flooring on Duffield Street, there are no anomalous cellar or subcellar features, no communication between buildings exists at the cellar levels, and the identified features conform to general construction practices of the time period. If desired, Mr. Devonshire can meet with the peer reviewers to further explicate these features. Also, the EIS for the Downtown Brooklyn Development project noted that a Phase IA, and subsequent testing if needed, would be completed for 233 Duffield Street (as well as 227, 229, and 231 Duffield Street and many other lots on the block fronting on Gold Street). However, as the City does not have control of these properties, the work would only be done if the properties are taken for development.

INFORMATION SUBMITTED TO AND COMMENTS RECEIVED FROM PROFESSOR A.J. WILLIAMS-MYERS

Materials relating to the subject properties and the research effort, as well as a letter addressed to the New York City Council, were submitted by Joy Chatel, owner of 227 Duffield Street, to

Professor A.J. Williams-Myers on Monday, June 27, 2005. Those materials are enclosed for your review.

The document entitled "Duffield Street Station and the Underground Railroad" (undated) is substantially similar to a memo dated June 8, 2004 from the Duffield Street Association, which is referenced in the draft final research report (see page 6). The photographs noted as Exhibits A-D and H were previously reviewed by Michael Devonshire, the architectural historian with expertise in 19th century urban residential architecture who prepared a historic construction review report of the subject properties. As described in the draft final research report, the historic construction review report, which was based on a site inspection of the subject properties, noted that with the exception of one "unpaved" section of flooring on Duffield Street, there are no anomalous cellar or subcellar features, no communication between buildings exists at the cellar levels, and the identified features conform to general construction practices of the time period. If desired, Mr. Devonshire can meet with the peer reviewers to further explicate these features.

The portions of a Sanborn map and legend presented as Exhibits E and F were also previously reviewed and referenced in the draft final research report. As noted on page 14 of the report, according to a representative of the Sanborn Map Company, dashed lines on Sanborn maps indicate open porches, which are typically wooden but can also be other materials. Two parallel dashed lines can also indicate a tunnel, but in such cases there is an arc at each end of the lines and the notation "tunnel." Dashed lines such as those shown at the front of 223-227 Duffield Street are also shown at the front of 213-219 Duffield Street, 195 Prince Street, 376 Gold Street, and 404 Gold Street on the 1886 Sanborn map (see Figure 4 of the report). Therefore, the dashed lines on the 1898 Sanborn map would appear to indicate porches at 223-227 Duffield Street, rather than a tunnel.

The following comments were received from Professor AJ Williams-Myers on June 23, 2005 and July 27, 2005. They are presented in chronological order.

Comment 14: In the wake of the proposed Downtown Brooklyn Development Project, six properties on Duffield Street (223, 225, 227, 231, 233, 235) and one on Gold Street (436) were thought to have connection with the Underground Railroad, given the extensive abolitionist activity in the area during the antebellum period (period preceding the Civil War). Since such a connection was more supposition than fact, given that the property owners could not produce documentation, and after a thorough search of primary and secondary sources (city directories, census records, religious, sororal, fraternal, abolitionist, antislavery societies, and obituaries, biographies, autobiographies, family descendants, etc.), it was tentatively concluded that no documentary association could be made with the above properties and the Underground Railroad. The tentativeness was based on an absence of oral data, especially on potential informants like Carl (Calvin Smith) owner of "Joker Jewelry" at 233 Duffield Street, and Bishop Queen Mother Jordan, who as a child played in the subcellar spaces that may have connected Duffield properties as a "secret" tunnel.

The peer review phase of the property investigation, while awaiting the results of oral collection and analysis, produced what was thought to be potentially rich corroborative evidence that would conclusively establish a historical connection

of buildings/residents/owners with the Underground Railroad and abolitionist movement in terms of religious and/or any secular organizations involved in antislavery activity. Meticulous examinations of the evidence with respect to “potential name matches in the various sources and lists identified with the known owners and residents of Duffield and Gold Streets” came up with very few positive matches – matches that showed no Underground Railroad connections. For example, one positive match, that of Gideon Mapes, owner of 225 Duffield Street, was found in the Brooklyn city directories (1848-1871), but he was pro-slavery.

The collection of oral material has now proven as inconclusive as the primary and secondary sources. Many of the potential oral history informants declined to be interviewed. The only interview, that of Richard Green, adjunct professor at Medgar Evars College, made no “specific connections of the subject properties to any Underground Railroad activities or personages.” Given all of the above and the assigned ratings of the properties (ratings of 1, 1, 3, 2, 2, 2, 1), as defined by the Freedom Trail rating system in conjunction with the eligibility criteria for listing on the National Register of Historic Places or as National Historic Landmarks, it now conclusively can be stated that the Duffield and Gold Streets properties demonstrate no historical connection with the Underground Railroad. No residents in or owners of the properties could be connected with such activities as well as with any antislavery or abolitionist organizations. The conclusion of no connection is hereby noted for the record. (Williams-Myers)

Response: Comment noted.

Comment 15: In light of what appears to be, on the one hand, revealing photographic images of what may have been a passageway below ground connecting the buildings on Duffield Street, and, on the other hand, after personal visits to buildings 223, 227, and 233), I have developed a stronger awareness that such a passageway may possibly have existed. Given that, I formally submit the following as an “Addendum” to my earlier “comments.” All of this as well is combined with the very perceptive responses (shared by Ms. Joy Chatel) of two fellow Peer Reviewers, Dr. Cheryl LaRoche and Mr. Richard Hourahan. The two raise some interestingly pertinent points that need to be addressed and followed through on if AKRF is either to conclusively conclude no Underground Railroad/Abolitionism/Antislavery connection, or show there is some evidence to historically preserve the site. My initial final comments lacked access to more corroborative material that Dr. LaRoche and Mr. Hourahan may have been privy to, and, as a result, were too dependent on analysis of data AKRF made available to Peer Reviewers. Recent communications with two owners of buildings 227 and 233 (Joy Chatel and Lewis Greenstein, respectively) have produced some of the oral information the Peer Reviewers waited for from AKRF. In much of my earlier responses to AKRF's emails on the Downtown Brooklyn Development Report, I did indicate the importance of oral data before any conclusions could be made. Unfortunately, appropriate interviews with

promising informants were never done. But now, two owners of buildings have come forth, and only as AKRF is about to present its final report. They have shared both electronic and oral information with me: images and oral accounts not available during the Peer Review sessions. With what Ms. Chatel and Mr. Greenstein have shared, both orally and in a tour of their buildings, as well as the building at 223 Duffield Street, I now need to modify my "no Underground Railroad connection," and instead indicate a high probability of an Underground Railroad/Abolitionism/Antislavery connection. The Duffield Street buildings, along with the one on Gold Street, are not only situated in the heart of downtown Brooklyn, adjacent to what were known establishments in the Underground Railroad movement, like the African Wesleyan Methodist Episcopal Church on Bridge Street, but 227 Duffield Street housed the Truesdell family which, because of their associations, put them "solidly within the Anti-slavery inner sanctum." I left the Duffield Street buildings having been touched by what I saw and upon that which I stood. I saw what indeed may have been the very secreted, below-ground facilities used by those in search of freedom far from the brutal hand of American slavery. And it was the brave souls of the building owners who put their own lives in jeopardy in order to ensure the life and freedom of fellow human beings. I truly stood on ground where humanity joined together against inhumanity. (Williams-Myers)

Response: As requested, your addendum will be added to your earlier comments on the draft of the final research report.

Regarding the photographic images of below-ground features of the buildings on Duffield Street: as described above, Michael Devonshire, the architectural historian with expertise in 19th century urban residential architecture who prepared a historic construction review report of the subject properties, toured these properties and reviewed photographs of their cellars and subcellars. As described in the draft final research report (page 14) and noted above, the historic construction review report noted that with the exception of one "unpaved" section of flooring on Duffield Street, there are no anomalous cellar or subcellar features, no communication between buildings exists at the cellar levels, and the identified features conform to general construction practices of the time period. If desired, Mr. Devonshire can meet with the peer reviewers to further explicate these features.

Regarding your discussion with Dr. LaRoche and Dr. Hourahan: All peer reviewers were provided with the same data from AKRF, and all data collected for the research effort is noted in the draft final report, analyzed, and submitted to the peer reviewers for comment. Therefore, we ask for clarification of your statement. If Dr. Hourahan or Dr. LaRoche have uncovered corroborative materials, these should be shared immediately with AKRF and all of the peer reviewers so that a comprehensive final research report can be prepared.

Regarding the communications with Joy Chatel and Lewis Greenstein: We request that any electronic or oral information obtained from the property owners be circulated to AKRF and all of the peer reviewers. We have repeatedly requested any relevant information from the subject property owners. In the absence of formal interviews, we need to be able to evaluate all available information in the final research report.

OTHER SUGGESTIONS

Comment 16: Your study locates the Duffield Street houses within a highly important area of Underground Railroad activity. Given the nature of Underground Railroad research, your report clearly establishes a need for further study. Researching clandestine operations is not straightforward and rarely conforms to neat, unilateral conclusions. I would urge you to acknowledge what a valuable historical resource Duffield Street represents. The fact that there are no sites identified with the Underground Railroad in New York City, places great importance on the documented Underground Railroad significance of downtown Brooklyn. This is probably the last chance to save any vestiges in New York City of one of the world's greatest resistance movements. (LaRoche)

As to recommendations based on this report, one possibility would be to incorporate a part of Duffield Street (at least 227 Duffield Street) into the proposed new downtown development, both as a reminder of Brooklyn as it used to be and as an interpretive center for the Freedom Trail in Brooklyn—the Underground Railroad, Abolitionism, and African American Life. In central New York, we have included sites relating to all three of these themes in our cultural resource surveys, recognizing that these are inextricably intertwined, and one theme cannot always be easily separated from the others. This would allow you to highlight the importance of the abolitionist movement in Brooklyn, as well as to tell some of the wonderful (and well-documented) stories about the Underground Railroad throughout Brooklyn itself. (Wellman)

The absence of interviews and investigations into the oral traditions allows for lingering doubts about the accuracy of any conclusions. This is a problem that has been generated in and by New York City government and needs to be resolved at that level. Decisions about the historical significance of New York City neighborhoods and properties need to be achieved through collaboration and cooperation, which will benefit the property owners and the city. It is the responsibility of the city government to sustain and facilitate that interaction. (Wilder)

Response: These suggestions have been passed on to the City for their review.

Block No. 146 Association Inc.
233 Duffield Street
Bklyn. NY 11201

June 24, 2005

Dear Councilmembers,

I am writing this letter on behalf of The Duffield Street Block Corporation stakeholders located in Brooklyn, New York. It has come to our attention that the Mayor's Office of the City of New York, and The New York City Economic Development Corporation. Made a decision to cancel the Underground Railroad oral history section, for the City Councils Landmark hearing, ordered last year by the City Council. This decision sends a message that New York City wants to expedite a real estate deal rather than deal with the needs of our lost African American history. The Underground Railroad oral history piece is vital. Since it was a secret society, we must rely on word of mouth accounts. The need was for an expert in Underground Railroad history. Our association has disagreed with the city's choice of oral historian because he was not knowledgeable in the Underground Railroad. In the interest of fairness we offered to cut out the middleman and appear before the Peer Review Panel without the buffer of an oral historian.

The oral history section is essential for providing the missing link of Brooklyn's African American History. We would like to thank the Mayor's office for granting us the opportunity to go this far, but we all know that something of this magnitude needs time to unveil all its truths. The oral history section would give accreditation to back the historic findings; in particular, the property known to Historians as "The Truetsdell House", This will pull the Peer Review ratings up for the whole block. Research for the 19th century properties of Duffield Street should not be rushed, or bulldozed. The City has, on Duffield Street, six examples of historic mid- 19th century housing stock that is almost non-existent in the Downtown Brooklyn commercial district. It will be appalling if the city, yet again, demolished another significant part of Brooklyn's African American history, and refused the people the right to submit testimony to substantiate their claims.

This letter is an urgent request to allow oral history testimony to be heard in order to place more historic evidence in the cities' hand for further evaluation of the Duffield Street project.

We request the city council grant us an opportunity to give our account of the past, and would appreciate a prompt answer, no later than Wednesday June 29th. Oral history is the key, and we are prepared to give ours.

Sincerely
Block No. 146 Association Inc.

Duffield Street Station and the Underground Railroad

- In January, 2004 residents of 223, 225, 227, 231, 233 and 235 Duffield St. received notices from the New York City Department of Housing Preservation and Development notifying them of plans to condemn their residences as part of the proposed Brooklyn Center Urban Renewal Plan amendment. They were invited to express any concerns at a Community Board Two hearing on January 15, 2004
- The property owners belonged to the Duffield Neighborhood Association (DNA), several appeared before the board hearing with strenuous objections. The Community board made no recommendation for or against the plan.
- The next hearing was before the Brooklyn Borough President and resulted in a report from his office approving the development plan with conditions. One condition was to “..encourage developers to preserve and protect historic facades in the Downtown Brooklyn Plan.”
- The City Planning Commission Public Hearing on the Downtown Brooklyn Development Plan occurred on March 24, 2004. **Unfortunately, this was the first hearing at which the DNA raised the issue of the Underground Railroad significance of the properties.** The Planning Commission requested data from DNA to prove the connection but, under the duress of limited time and lack of professional resources, the residents of DNA were unable to gather data the Planning Board deemed sufficient to prove their claims. In addition, the Planning Board did it's own inquiry and issued a press release stating “no evidence “ was found. The press release further states, “Nevertheless, when redevelopment occurs at these sites, test borings will be conducted to ascertain if there is any evidence of tunnels that include Underground Railroad artifacts. Using the criteria of the National Parks Service, if a connection is established to the Underground Railroad, excavations would take place and the finds would be recorded and exhibited in an appropriate location.” To plan to bore for tunnels to ascertain a connection to the Underground Railroad displays a lack of understanding of what the Underground Railroad was.
- **The buildings' current locations are the appropriate locations. Americans need to see, feel and smell what it was like. There is nothing in a museum that can replicate the feeling of burrowing through those small spaces in the dark fearing capture. The homes' multiple use as normal dwellings and hiding spaces for fugitive slaves in transit is at the essence of the Underground Railroad. This is what people need to reference.**
- The residents of 227 and 233 Duffield St. have since found records in the Brooklyn Department of Finance that date their houses from 1848 and 1847 respectively. More time is required to do the same for the remaining houses. City maps show the locations of underground openings in front of the houses.

Historical links between the neighborhood churches and the Underground Railroad are already well documented. The Bridge Street African Wesley Methodist Church, founded in 1854, was known as a major station on the Underground Railroad in Brooklyn. Other Abolitionist churches in the area were the First Reformed Presbyterian Church of Brooklyn, founded in 1859 and The Concord Baptist church, founded in 1847 and located at 165 Duffield Street.

- Below are photographs taken in 233 and 227 Duffield and sections of a 1880 Sanford map showing the opening in front of the houses:



Exhibit A

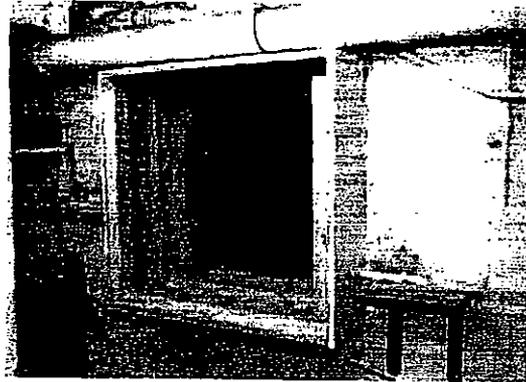


Exhibit B

Two views of a shaft leading from the rear of a sub basement in 233 Duffield to the outside of the building. (The building owner framed the shaft in to install a fan.) A similar shaft leads out of the front of the building to underneath the front sidewalk.



Exhibit C

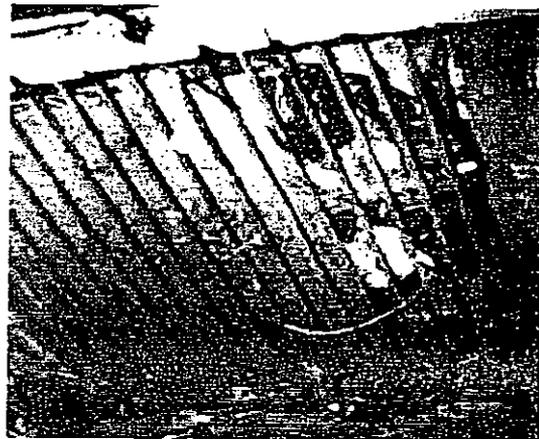


Exhibit D

Exhibit C is a view of an opening into a shaft (previously boarded up) in the back of the sub basement in 227 Duffield St. Exhibit D is a view of the grate at the top of the shaft shown in Exhibit C; the grate covers the shaft opening at the outside rear of 227 Duffield St.



Exhibit H A bricked up entryway between the opening in front of 227 and 225 Duffield St.

- We do not want the properties destroyed or moved from their current locations. The buildings are inextricably linked to the underground constructs beneath them and should be developed as a tourist attraction. Time is needed to properly document the anecdotal evidence and oral history that these six houses were an integral part of the Underground Railroad in Brooklyn. We desperately need your input and assistance to achieve our objectives. We want these six houses linked with the currently recognized historical sections of Brooklyn and integrated into the urban renewal plan.

For further information, please contact the Chairperson or Co-chairperson, Joy Chatel at (347) 731-5481 or Louis Greenstein (917) 539-8751

**Peer Review: Comments on
Second Draft Final Research Report**

GENERAL COMMENTS

Comment 1: AKRF is to be commended for its extensive research relating to these Duffield Street houses, and the commitment of home owners to documenting their buildings is also nothing short of remarkable. While no specific Underground Railroad stories relating to these houses have emerged from this extensive research, this report does provide a solid basis for continued work, beyond that relating to these specific buildings. Evidence relating to the presence of both abolitionists and African Americans at 227 and 231 Duffield Street, as well as the presence of known UGRR supporters and institutions in the neighborhood (such as William Harned and Plymouth Church) suggests the value of continued research in the history of abolitionism and the African American community in downtown Brooklyn. (My own work on Weeksville, just west of downtown Brooklyn, offers one model for this, but it also suggests that African Americans in downtown Brooklyn formed, in effect, a separate but related community from Weeksville. "African American Life in Weeksville, New York, 1835-1910," Society of Weeksville and Bedford Stuyvesant History, 2005.) (Wellman)

Response: Comment noted.

Comment 2: I have taught, researched, and written about the UGRR and abolition for nearly twenty years. I have not seen as comprehensive, well designed, and exhaustive a study on any site or sites (especially any historians had neglected) as your report presents on these downtown Brooklyn properties. The quality of research evidenced in this report is tantamount to that required for a doctoral dissertation. (Sernett)

Response: Comment noted.

Comment 3: The Underground Railroad Draft Final Research Report is a well researched document reflecting your best faith efforts to determine whether Duffield and Gold Streets were involved in the Underground Railroad. Your extensive work demonstrates the painstaking research required to move from oral sources to documentary evidence. (LaRoche)

Response: Comment noted.

Comments on Second Draft Final Research Report

Comment 4: In spite of these objections [listed as Comments 9-11, 39, 40, and 52 below], as I have said in the past, I believe the overall report will be of great value in the study of this topic. (Driscoll)

Response: Comment noted.

Comment 5: AKRF Engineering, Inc. is hereby commended for its comprehensive, thorough, and very professional approach to research and data collection on what has been a very emotive and sensitive project. (Williams-Myers)

Response: Comment noted.

Comment 6: I again, as I did in my June 2005 report, commend AKRF, Inc. for the quite thorough way in which they have conducted the investigation into whether the Duffield Street and Gold Street properties were involved with the Underground Railroad. AKRF continued to search for an oral historian who would be able to conduct the interviews, and found someone who has both extensive oral history and Underground Railroad experience: Delores Walters. The oral interviews Dr. Walters conducted then became the basis of additional investigation into archival and municipal sources to try to determine whether the oral histories themselves had validity, and if a new paper trail could be uncovered to link the properties to the Underground Railroad. In preparation of this report, I again reviewed the overall research report completed by AKRF, Inc., and also read the transcripts of the oral histories collected by Dr. Walters. The oral histories present knowledge of a rich and politically active arm of the Underground Railroad in Brooklyn in the nineteenth century. Clearly historians need to do more to document and interpret this history. (Harris)

Response: Comment noted.

Comment 7: This comment is related to my original report in September 2004. Brooklyn properties were very often considered speculative property, and the purchase of a particular property by a particular person does not necessarily indicate a direct link to the political or social temper of that person or family. The 1840s and 1850s witnessed the expansion of commerce, the build-up of transportation, and the disappearance of farms and estates adjacent to downtown Brooklyn; the lots and houses along Fulton Street changed hands frequently as a consequence. We can observe frequent "flips" of lots and houses in the ante-bellum period, sometimes through a trustee for a probate, so that interest in the anti-slavery cause or the Underground Railroad on the part of the purchaser of a house or lot must be considered speculative at best in the absence of other evidence. Neither can the purchase of a lot or house within walking distance of a church be viewed as adherence to that church or denomination, because religious doctrinal issues and common school education offered in denominational Sunday schools acted on choice of church membership, along with race and other social determinants.

Our reviewing task involves reporting on the acts of historical figures, not their thoughts or purported rationales. Daniel Lord, for example, a purchaser of one of the Duffield Street properties, was a very well-known attorney whose son founded an "industrial school" in New York City and, if I remember correctly, the father founded a law firm that survived into the 1990s. Evidence about his reason for purchasing the Brooklyn property could be sought in his personal papers, which may or may not have survived, *may or may not* be accessible to researchers, and the purchase may or may not have been an important purchase or possessed a motive other than profitability. The magnitude of the task of searching out rationales for each and every buyer and seller of property is, accordingly, impossible. In addition, lawyers and other professional men very often expressed their distaste for slavery in reality and in the abstract, yet, as officers of the court expressed at the same time reluctance to interfere in property rights or to support federal interference in the rights of the states to govern within their borders. The issue was far more complex than purchasing property in a neighborhood or community as an act that can be identified with an anti-slavery or pro-slavery mentalité. (Pettit)

Response: Comment noted.

Comment 8: AKRF has done a thorough job investigating the historical claims about these properties and providing a narrative that explains the buildings' known and potential roles. You have also done a solid job of folding in the commentary and corrections of the outside advisors and of following up on the leads that their responses raised. The current report is balanced and rightly cautious about many of its conclusions. In short, you have addressed the concerns raised in my earlier commentary. (Wilder)

Response: *Comment noted.*

FOLLOW-UP RESEARCH SUGGESTIONS

Comment 9: I am glad that you added numbers to the map after page 2 that show where William Harned lived. As you can see he lived just down the block from the Truesdells. However, your building by building approach to the report doesn't do justice to the importance of this information. Although you do mention somewhere that Harned was an officer in the New York Vigilance Committee and was involved in two documented cases of helping fugitive slaves, to someone arguing in favor of landmarking or saving these sites this is important information and I think the final report should do a better job of emphasizing it. I know of two cases (possibly three) Harned was involved in helping fugitives in this area. I believe there were other cases locally and certainly other cases not in the New York area. On page 40 you do give a complete listing of the years that Harned [*Note: this is assumed to mean Thomas Truesdell*] contributed and

subscribed which is good, but again the report makes the information somewhat cloudy by going into the confusion involving his New York address and his Brooklyn address. (Driscoll)

Response: William Harned is discussed on pages 3-5 of the report; this discussion will be expanded. See also Comment 11 and response. The object of the research effort is to provide a thorough analysis in order to make a reasonable conclusion as to whether or not any of the subject properties specifically had a significant association with the Underground Railroad; therefore, each property must be individually evaluated for its potential significance. The discussion of Thomas Truesdell on page 40 of the report affirms that although the subscription listing identifies his address as New York City, rather than Brooklyn, this listing is presumed to be a match.

Comment 10: On page S-11 at the top of the page the report talks a great deal about Simeon (not Simon) Jocelyn because of his connection with May and Garrison. The most important fact about him in regards to our report is that he was the pastor of a Congregational Church in Williamsburg, Brooklyn, from the mid-1840s until his death in the 1880s(?). (Driscoll)

Response: This information regarding Simeon Jocelyn will be added to the research report, including the executive summary.

Comment 11: Again, there are a number of brief biographies throughout the report of interesting people connected with the subject area. Why not include one of Harned since he lived a few doors down from the Duffield Street houses and has excellent Underground Railroad credentials. (Driscoll)

Response: The biography of William Harned that is provided on page 3 of the report will be expanded.

Comment 12: As a librarian, I'm disappointed research did not uncover documents stored in Brooklyn Historical Society's files and collections and files Fred Laverpool indicated were "proof of UGRR involvement" when he contacted EDC in 2004 (pg. 51) and unsuccessful efforts to locate and analyze artifacts [name removed] found in 1996, in the basement of 233 Duffield (pg. 55), without which we can never verify that connection. The report does not identify all the objects; verify their find or address if they existed what happened to these objects over the past ten years. I look forward any new developments that surface from the response to the open inquiries mentioned in this report. (Jackson)

Response: With the assistance of Dr. Pettit, we have recently determined that the former Kelly Institute collection of St. Francis College was donated to Brooklyn College, the Municipal Archives, and the Brooklyn Historical Society. A representative of St. Francis College's library has stated that they have not been

able to identify any index to the Kelly Institute materials, and that the library does not appear to have any portion of the collection still in its holdings. Brooklyn College received the following portions of the Kelly Institute collection, ca. 1988: local history files and the Rooney, Keogh and Conklin Papers. A representative of Brooklyn College reviewed their holdings and did not identify any of the materials noted by the interviewees. The Municipal Archives received the Kings County town records portion of the collection, which includes 17th and 18th century records from the towns of Brooklyn, Bushwick, Flatbush, Flatlands, Gravesend, New Lots, New Utrecht, and Williamsburgh. The only records for the town of Brooklyn are: town meeting minutes, 1785-1823; town meeting books, 1785-1823; and court and road records, 1692-1825; therefore, none of the materials noted by the interviewees were identified. The Brooklyn Firefighting Collection portion of the Kelly Institute collection was donated to the Brooklyn Historical Society in 1989. These records were integrated with similar records already at the Brooklyn Historical Society, and a new inventory was created, which can be viewed on the Society's website. Before it was determined where the balance of the Kelly Institute collection was sent, AKRF examined a portion of the Society's unprocessed materials to determine whether any materials (other than the Brooklyn Firefighting Collection) from the Kelly Institute collection were transferred to the Society. No materials from the Kelly Institute collection were identified. To date, no additional information from Mr. Greenstein has been received.

Comment 13: Another person you might add to this list [of people on pages 3-4] was Junius C. Morel, principal of Colored School No. 2 in Weeksville and nationally known African American activist and journalist. I have attached a biography that I did of him for the Encyclopedia of African American Biography, published by Harvard University Press (forthcoming). He served on the Committee of Thirteen, set up in New York City after the Fugitive Slave Act was passed in 1850 to help people escape from slavery. (Wellman)

Response: The biography of Junius Morel will be added to the research report.

Comment 14: It is possible that Elizabeth Harris did not go to Nova Scotia but to somewhere else in Canada. Census records exist for Canada for 1861, but these are not especially thorough, and in any case it would be likely that a young woman such as Elizabeth Harris would have married and changed her name between 1857 and 1861. Amani Whitfield, at the University of Vermont, works on African Americans in Nova Scotia. He has promised to send the name of a Nova Scotian archivist who may be able to help trace Elizabeth Harris. I'll pass it on, if I receive any more information about this. (Wellman)

Response: We have also contacted Professor Whitfield, who suggested that we utilize the resources of the Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management (NSARM). An archivist at NSARM examined genealogical and census records for the names requested (Elizabeth Harris, Mary Truesdell Frederickson, and Charles Frederickson), but did not find any matches. The archivist suggested that we contact the Black Cultural Centre for Nova Scotia (BCCNS). If the outreach to BCCNS results in any relevant information, it will be included as an addendum to the final report.

Comment 15: The presence and activism of William Harned in the neighboring area is extremely important, particularly if it is possible to confirm his relationship to the Truesdells. Harned's activism on the Underground Railroad is extensive and well documented, especially in the James Hamlet case. He also raised money to defend William Chaplain, who was a conductor on the Underground Railroad who had been imprisoned for his participation. Perhaps the most important part of Harned's residence in that region is that his role in the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, the New York State Vigilance Committee, and on behalf of Canadian fugitives brought him into close contact with well known activists like Frederick Douglass and Lewis Tappan. Since the Truesdells were participants in the American Anti-Slavery Society, it is very likely that they would have had some contact. Even more importantly, if Thomas Truesdell was active in the New York State Vigilance Committee, this information would be vitally important, since this organization's primary function was to harbor and protect fugitives. This is an issue that we must do everything we can to fully investigate. (Alexander)

Response: Research conducted to date has not uncovered a connection between Thomas Truesdell and the New York Committee of Vigilance. The following resources have been identified and reviewed: the Vigilance Committee Appeal (1844); the First Annual Report of the New York Committee of Vigilance (1837); and the Address of the Committee of Vigilance of the City of New York to the People of the State of New York (1824).

Comment 16: [Name removed] mentioned potential correspondence between Frederick Douglass and Harriet Truesdell. I would urge you to search Frederick Douglass' papers for any evidence of such a letter or any interaction they might have had. (Alexander)

Response: We have reviewed the finding aid and the correspondence index of the Frederick Douglass papers at the Library of Congress. No correspondence between Harriet Lee Truesdell and Frederick Douglass was identified.

Comment 17: In my own research, I noticed that there was a "Wheeler" Truesdell who was involved in the famous "Jerry Rescue" case. Do we have any information about whether any of Thomas' other siblings was named Wheeler? (Alexander)

Response: Thomas Truesdell had no siblings named Wheeler. There is a Wheeler Truesdell listed in the Truesdell genealogy, who was born January 1, 1807 in Onandaga Hill, New York and died December 20, 1882 in Syracuse, New York. Going back several generations, no direct connections could be established. Therefore, the relationship between the two individuals appears to be very distant.

Comment 18: Perhaps most importantly, I would like to see some additional research conducted on the issue of Elizabeth Harris. Since the Truesdells may have had some interaction with the Tappans and William Harned, it would be tremendously useful to find out if Harris was, indeed, transported safely to Canada. Given the context of the 1850s, this would certainly be important information about their possible role in protecting her from the aftermath of the Fugitive Slave Act. (Alexander)

Response: We have reviewed various sources regarding freedom seekers who settled in Canada and the Anti-Slavery Society of Canada; these are noted in the list of sources consulted. (See also the response to Comment 14.) No connections to the owners and residents of the subject properties have been identified.

Comment 19: The unfortunate death of Fred Laverpool has obviously created a challenge in terms of examining any documentation or information that he had in his possession. But I am hopeful that your company will continue to work with [names removed] in their efforts to contact his relatives to locate any relevant information. I am also pleased to see that you have requested [name removed] to provide all the other materials [he/she] referenced (as well as relevant contact information) and hope that you will continue to follow up with [him/her]. (Alexander)

Response: We have continued to follow up with the interviewees regarding their efforts to provide relevant information. As of this date, we have received the following materials: The following scanned materials were submitted by the owner of 227 Duffield Street: a portion of the will of Harriet Truesdell; a portion of the deed to Harriet Truesdell of 227 Duffield Street; a portion of a deed to Francis Peck; a family tree of the Hyams/Hyman family; photographs of Hyams/Hyman family members; portions of court cases, deeds, and other records relating to the Hyams/Hyman/Chatel family; a portion of a book referencing an individual named William Truesdail; a portion of a source referencing the Bridge Street AWME church; a portion of an article referencing the Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women in Philadelphia, 1838; and photographs of post-1870 bottles uncovered at some time in the past (no date given) from the back yard of 227 Duffield Street, and photographs of other artifacts from the basement of 227

Duffield Street. The artifacts include metal objects presumed to be from the former beauty shop operated at 227 Duffield Street. These items are discussed in the report.

Comment 20: I found the interview with [name removed] to be particularly useful, especially [his/her] references to blueprints and other forms of documentation connecting the Duffield street region to Weeksville. I urge your company to persist in efforts to locate the materials housed at the St. Francis College Library, and the Brooklyn Historical Society to see if there are any such documents available. There is a possibility that this would require more research beyond reviewing indices, but I believe it would be worth the effort to investigate. (Alexander)

Response: Please see the response to Comment 12 above.

Comment 21: I noted that you had planned to investigate the Tappan papers back in 2004, but there doesn't appear to be any additional information provided about the progress of that endeavor since then. Has that process concluded? If so, what were the findings? (Alexander)

Response: The Lewis Tappan papers were reviewed in September and October 2004. As noted in the report, one name match was identified. An 1845 letter from Lewis Tappan notes an opinion, of which Mr. Tappan disapproved, written by Mr. Lord regarding the constitution of the Ladies of the Moral Reform Society.

Comment 22: This comment is also related to my earlier comment of September 2004. There were more churches founded in the ante-bellum period than are listed in the draft report, including, for example, fifteen Methodist churches in Brooklyn between 1794 and 1858. Fleet Street Methodist, founded 1850, stood on the southeast corner of Flatbush Avenue Extension at the corner of Willoughby, a site now occupied by Brooklyn Hospital. The temper of these several churches can be stated for some, but not for all, because the Protestant denominational churches were riven by congregational dissent during the so-called Second Great Awakening as, for example, the 1837 schism of the Presbyterian churches. It is well-known that the Presbyterians sorted themselves out along doctrinal lines during this decade; the departure of Mr. Fleet from Brooklyn's First Presbyterian Church may well have been a doctrinal issue, and not at all a socio-political issue. In other words, imputing motive to a selected set of church membership transfers and land transactions is specious and uncertain. It certainly can be said, though, that some churches came to be, if not founded precisely for that purpose, more hospitable to African-Americans than other churches. (Pettit)

Response: We will include this statement in the final report.

Comment 23: 1. On page S-19 of the April 2006 draft, you mention that Gideon Mapes signed an “anti-abolitionist” petition. I’m wondering if it would be possible for you to provide a transcript of the letter that appears in the New York Times for our review. Specifically, I am troubled by the characterization of a letter opposing John Brown’s Raid as “anti-abolitionist,” and the assumption that such a statement would necessarily indicate that Mapes objected to the Underground Railroad. On the contrary, such a document could suggest that Mapes was an ardent supporter of smuggling fugitives. Perhaps a brief explanation would be useful here. Many strong advocates of the Underground Railroad, most notably Frederick Douglass, refused to endorse John Brown’s Raid because they did not agree with violent resistance but also, more importantly for this situation, because they believed in using the Underground Railroad and other methods of harboring fugitives as a more effective alternative. In one case, Douglass reported that during a conversation with John Brown immediately prior to raid, he tried to encourage Brown to rely on smuggling rather than participating in the strike at Harper’s Ferry. According to Douglass, “We spent the most of Saturday and a part of Sunday in this debate—Brown for Harper’s Ferry, and I against it—he for striking a blow which should instantly arouse the country, and I for the policy of gradually drawing off slaves to the mountains, as at first suggested and proposed by him.” This exchange demonstrates that many people opposed Brown’s Raid not because they objected to the anti-slavery movement, but rather, because such a raid might undermine the cause and divert energy from a potentially more effective response, namely the Underground Railroad. My point here, is that having an opportunity to read the transcript of the letter in the New York Times might allow us to settle this question of whether Mapes’ position was truly “anti-slavery,” or if he was a supporter of abolition but favored an alternative strategy. (Alexander)

Response: A copy of the petition has been sent to Dr. Alexander. Based on a review of the petition, Dr. Alexander confirmed that she thinks it is inaccurate to describe this as a “proslavery” letter. The draft report notes that the signing of the petition, is not the same as a proslavery endorsement; however, this language will be expanded and clarified.

Comment 24: I have one final comment in reference to archaeological resources at Duffield Street. If any of the subsurface features associated with the Duffield Street addresses were, in fact, used for coal storage, fragments and particles of coal would be readily discernible from soil samples. I continue to maintain that the FEIS position statement (7) pertaining to archaeology is flawed in advocating soil borings and a search of the buildings after condemnation to ascertain the existence of artifacts. This suggests that archaeological testing and verification can only be achieved through destruction of the properties which is not, in fact, the case. (LaRoche)

Response: It is possible that building cellars, sub-cellars, or living spaces were utilized for Underground Railroad activities; however, no corroborating/authenticating artifacts from the living spaces of the subject properties have yet been identified for these sites. Based on the historic construction report, it does not appear that there are tunnels between or other unique features/spaces in the buildings that could have been constructed for a clandestine purpose. As archaeological testing is unlikely to offer any definitive information about whether or not these structures were part of the Underground Railroad, the City cannot justify taking the step of conducting field testing on property that is privately-owned.

RESEARCH APPROACH AND METHODOLOGY

Comment 25: The following statement appears on page S-3 of the Executive Summary: "Research Approach: The research approach was to document the construction, ownership, and residency history of each building to the extent possible; to determine if any records exist of the owners' and residents' possible connection to abolitionist activities, churches, or societies; and to determine what information on the buildings' histories can be drawn from oral traditions. The research effort was also the subject of a peer review." The statement [that] appears on page 9 of the Research Report differs only in one respect from that cited above: the word abolitionist is underlined (I presume for emphasis). On page S-6 of the Executive Summary the following statement appears: "Archaeological testing is unlikely to offer any definite information about whether or not these structures were part of the Underground Railroad. In addition, assuming that a tunnel was discovered, there would be no way of knowing if it served as a passageway for freedom seekers without corroborating artifacts . . . In addition, a study of seventeen reputed tunnels connected with the Underground Railroad sites in Ohio found no evidence to support the oral traditions relating to such tunnels." My comments as a peer reviewer—to review the "research effort"—will concern two areas which I find seriously flawed: 1) research approach and 2) data collection. I am not an archaeologist and am unqualified to comment upon technical aspects of this discipline. I do think one should be very careful when interpreting an artifact without any corroborating documentary cultural/social historical evidence. *Research Approach.* The avowed objective of the research approach is to find abolitionists at these addresses, not to find cases of Underground Railroad activity at these addresses. My understanding is that the investigation concerned the Underground Railroad. An abolitionist is not necessarily a participant in the Underground Railroad and participants in the Underground Railroad are not necessarily abolitionists. If it did the research design might reasonably be a case study combined with comparative analysis. For example: take indisputable cases of Underground Railroad financiers, agents, station masters, conductors, etc. Formulate the statements: This is a case of an Underground Railroad financier. This is a case of an Underground Railroad agent. This is a case of an Underground Railroad

station master. This is a case of an Underground Railroad conductor. *Data Collection*. With the proper design a data collection method appropriate to the research goal—to find data resources most likely to possess evidence of most Underground Railroad activity, search them for affiliations to Duffield Street and Gold Street, and report the findings of the research effort. Hence you would have avoided wasted activity: looking at local court records for fugitive slave captures in New York after 1850, when the appropriate records are at NARA. Presumably you are looking for the lawyers for the runaway slave, her/his name, and persons who may have aided him. Not all fugitive slaves were captured. If you were looking for Underground Railroad activity, again a focus on the fugitive slave and not the abolitionist, is a far superior course—look at records where they lived and work backwards to how they got there: Ontario Archives, I have suggested and continue to recommend, is an excellent place to look. On several occasions Jennifer Morris verbally told me that the Truesdell's had no known connection with Canada and such an effort was unjustified (even if this were true—it is not, the son-in-law and business partner was a Canadian—it is besides the point, the fugitive slaves helped via New York were in Canada). Her research emphasis on abolitionists rather than fugitive slaves is the cause of the unsatisfactory nature of her data collection method. The documentary evidence of fugitive slaves residing in Canada or the personal papers of residents on Duffield Street and Gold Street either reveal or do not reveal Underground [Railroad] activity on these streets. The researcher can then make a conclusion one way or the other based upon pertinent, extant data. That is all a researcher can do. But a researcher is obliged to design her/his research design and then develop the appropriate data collection method to get this point. (Hourahan)

Response: The research approach was developed with input from the peer reviewers in 2004, and has the concurrence of the other peer reviewers. This comment appears to differ with the reviewer's previous comments, which stated that the research method was appropriate for the historical topic and rigorous in its execution. The object of the research effort is to provide a thorough analysis in order to make a reasonable conclusion as to whether or not any of the Duffield Street and Gold Street buildings had a significant association specifically with the Underground Railroad. We have researched potential connections with fugitive slaves, as described in the report section entitled "Cases of Freedom Seekers." None of our research in this topic has identified any matches with any of the known owners' or residents' names on Duffield or Gold Street, including Elizabeth Harris, who is the only resident potentially identified as a freedom seeker; however, we are attempting to review available district court records at NARA. In the response to comments on the draft research report circulated August 2005, it was noted—in response to a written comment received in June 2005—that since no connections to the Canadian Anti-Slavery Society had been identified for the owners and residents of the subject properties, we were not

planning to pursue the Canada line of inquiry. Our call logs do not include any conversation regarding this line of inquiry. Since the oral tradition interviews have noted a potential link between Charles Frederickson and a potential freedom journey of Elizabeth Harris, we are pursuing this line of inquiry using the recommended sources. The word "abolitionist" on page 9 of the report is underlined, not for emphasis, but to clarify that it was a change from the draft report issued June 2005. In the June 2005 report, this read as "abolition" rather than "abolitionist."

ORAL TRADITION OUTREACH EFFORT

Comment 26: Your extensive efforts to allow for oral history input should be commended. I read the lengthy log of contacts with potential informants against the background of the summary outlines of the comments in this report. I did this having in mind my earlier reading of the preliminary/draft transcripts sent to the peer reviewers. I will put it bluntly. The yield is astoundingly thin given the amount of effort, time, and cost put into trying to obtain relevant information from the oral history informants. They appear to me to have been uncooperative and, at times, adversarial. An objective appraisal of what the oral informants came forward with leads me to the conclusion that their testimony borders more on folklore than history. Their purported "oral history" is frequently contradicted by documentary sources (sources closer to the events under scrutiny and thus not prejudiced by the current political struggle over the fate of the Brooklyn properties). The story/topic of the Underground Railroad is notoriously myth-filled. Oral history claims spontaneously combust as the topic heats up. (Sernett)

Response: Comment noted.

Comment 27: I recognize that the process of obtaining interviews was an arduous process for your firm, and I am pleased to see that the recommendations of the reviewers provided you with the determination to investigate this undertaking as thoroughly as possible. As you know, many of the reviewers (including myself) have insisted from the beginning that oral traditions in such cases are exceedingly important, and must be considered as viable sources. Therefore, you are to be commended for your hard work in this regard. I am hopeful that, in the future, we may have the opportunity to review the text of these interviews, but after carefully considering the information that has been presented thus far, I am convinced that there is substantial documentation provided in these interviews that is worthy of future investigation. (Alexander)

Response: Comment noted. As noted in the revised draft final report, information presented in the oral tradition interviews was followed up on, where possible.

Comment 28: One of the most difficult historic research areas is the oral tradition. So many tangible and intangible factors affect an oral version of historical events, that an accurate truth is not often the result. This report refutes the oral stories about the Duffield Street and Gold Street properties on historical data, chronological factors and questions ownership or residency. (Jackson)

Response: Comment noted.

Comment 29: In my last response I acknowledged the importance of obtaining oral histories to discern whether or not the properties on Duffield and Gold Streets might have been sites for Underground Railroad activities. I therefore paid particular attention to what oral accounts are contained in this recent draft. In general, I find the oral histories relevant and credible. Searching extant records for verifiable proof of oral statements frustrating at best. However we should not view the stories of [names removed], Mr. Calvin Smith and others as history texts or articles published in prestigious journals. These oral remembrances are bound to be replete with factual errors. What is important is the story as a whole. Does it sound credible? Are there similarities in the separate stories? Do the oral histories buttress each other? How detailed are they? I read the oral testimonies and found that they do both complement as well as compliment each other. I would caution against according too much weight to published documents such as census data. Given the important role of the mid-wife in 19th and early 20th century communities, not every birth was recorded. Another consideration is how were the censuses taken. What is their reliability? Additionally, one cannot look to late 20th century census data or directories when searching for 19th century information. (Dobard)

Response: Comment noted.

Comment 30: Thank you so much for adding the oral traditions to this report. Given your extraordinary and remarkable efforts to document this story through written sources, it is very important to add this component, to make the documentation as complete as possible. You also note, very appropriately, that "the nature of this type of research means that more information could be unearthed in the future which would change the rankings provided below" (p. S-18). (Wellman)

Response: Comment noted.

Comment 31: Seven oral interviews were performed by Dr. Dolores Walters with the following individuals: [names removed]. Two of the "informants" are property owners of 227 and 233 Duffield Street. These two, along with [name removed], were more detailed in their interviews and more pointed in terms of the Abolition-Underground Railroad connection than the other four. Yet there were interesting historical tidbits shared by those four "informants." Among those tidbits are possible documents on the Bridge Street AWME Church that might

be in the “where is it?” Kelly Institute collection mentioned in the [name removed] interview, and the “letter request to Mr. Moore for information on oral traditions regarding freedom seekers...” shared by [name removed]. Christopher Moore is said to be a descendant of early African Americans on colonial and post-colonial Manhattan. (Williams-Myers)

Response: The current status of the former Kelly Institute collection has been further clarified, as noted in the response to Comment 12, above. A letter request for information was sent to Christopher Moore, of the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, in response to the recommendation that he should be interviewed for more information on oral traditions regarding freedom seekers being supported by the white community. Mr. Moore responded that he did not have any additional information to contribute about the subject properties. However, Mr. Moore noted that he has collected a substantial amount of documentation about the Underground Railroad in Brooklyn. A letter requesting information about this research was submitted to Mr. Moore, and any resulting relevant information will be included as an addendum to the final report.

Comment 32: This [oral tradition] information came to [name removed] primarily through Albert Chatel, through the in-laws of his first wife, Vera Chatel (mostly Harry Jacobs), who in turn heard it from Vera Chatel’s grandparents. Vera Jacobs Chatel was born in 1915 and died in 1987. It would be useful to know birth and death dates from Vera Chatel’s grandparents, as well as dates they owned property on Duffield Street. Inferences in this summarized oral history account suggest that the Chatels may have purchased their property in the 1870s or 1880s, shortly after the Truesdell family died (Harriet Truesdell probably died in 1862) or left the area. Thus, the origin of this oral tradition may have been close to the time the Truesdell family lived in their Duffield Street house. (Wellman)

Response: According to the Hyam/Hyman family tree recently received, the maternal grandparents of Vera Jacobs Chatel were John Hyams and Clara Kaiser. John Hyams was born in 1835 in England and died in Brooklyn in 1922. Clara Kaiser was born in 1837 in Germany and died in Brooklyn in 1902. John Hyams and Clara Kaiser married in New York City in 1861. As noted in detail below, however, there were no conveyances of the subject properties to anyone with the last names of Chatel, Hyams, Jacobs, or Kaiser from the 1870s through the end of the 19th century. The first such conveyance that could be identified through property deeds and tax assessment records was the purchase in 1906 of 235 Duffield Street by Harry and Hannah Jacobs. 223 Duffield Street was owned by the Perego family through 1870, then by the Orchard family, then by the Hennessey family through ca. 1895-1897. 225 Duffield Street was sold in 1866 by William and Elizabeth Welch to Agnes and Gideon Mapes; then was conveyed in 1867 by the Mapes family to Mary and Tyler Parker; was owned in 1876 by Agnes Mapes; was purchased in 1877 by Tyler Parker; and was sold in

1878 by Tyler Parker to Willett Smith, who owned it through 1897. 227 Duffield Street was owned by the Truesdell family through the end of the 19th century, until 1921, when it was sold to Samuel Dunn. 231 Duffield Street was offered at public auction in 1862 to cover debts and conveyed to John Ryerson; then was sold in 1866 to Samuel Leonard and, later that year, to Daniel Donovan; was conveyed in 1871 to John Donovan; then was conveyed in 1876 to Emily Albert, who owned the property through 1891. After Ms. Albert's death in 1891, the property was conveyed to her heirs. 233 and 235 Duffield Street were owned by Thomas Edwards and his descendants through the end of the 19th century. 436 Gold Street was owned by Emeline Sackett through 1877. Brooklyn city directories were also reviewed every five years from 1850 to 1900. In that time, no individuals by the last name of Chatel, Hyams, Hyman, Jacobs, or Kaiser are listed with an address on the Duffield Street block.

Comment 33: The information about Calvin Smith, Ali Lamont, and George Ware [in one of the interviews] was extremely interesting in its own right, and very important as documentation for a vital Brooklyn neighborhood in the late twentieth century, filled with people who cared about African American history and its power to shape the future. Mr. Greenstein's work with Brooklyn city directories is also vitally important in helping to recreate a sense of the Brooklyn African American and abolitionist community in the mid-nineteenth century. This is the kind of detailed work that should be continued and that will lead to important new understandings of how both the African American community and the Underground Railroad worked in Brooklyn. (Wellman)

Response: Comment noted. As noted on page 8 of the report, Lewis Greenstein provided a spreadsheet of Brooklyn city directory information in 2004 on some of the residents along the entire lengths of Duffield, Stanton, and Gold Streets (including, but not limited to, the subject properties), culled from Brooklyn city directories for 1840-1842, 1849-1852, and 1855-1857. The information relevant to the owners and residents of the subject properties was added to the Brooklyn city directory information researched for this study, as discussed below. We have requested an updated copy of Mr. Greenstein's Brooklyn city directory research, but have not yet received this data.

Comment 34: [Name removed] mentioned Berean Baptist Church in Weeksville as a potential Underground Railroad site. In 2005, I did a substantial study of Weeksville as part of a National Register nomination. I have attached here the description of Berean Church, as well as the section about Weeksville and the Underground Railroad. (I would be happy to send you the whole manuscript as an email attachment, if you would like it.) (Wellman)

Response: Thank you for this information. We will include the additional detail about the Berean Baptist Church in the final report.

Comments on Second Draft Final Research Report

Comment 35: Oral history should not become an occasion for a rant by the interviewee, and I must query the wisdom of apparently permitting a five-hour oral history with one person and little time for another person's testimony. The ensuing protest has generated negative publicity that questioned the motives of the project and by inference impugns the judgment of the peer reviewers. (Pettit)

Response: Comment noted. Dr. Walters tried, to the greatest extent possible, to provide interviewees with ample time to make their statements. In one case, this resulted in one interviewee not having as much time as desired to complete his/her interview. However, nearly five months have passed since the interview, and in that time additional materials have been requested to complete the collection of the interviewee's relevant material. Some of this information has been provided and is incorporated in the report.

Comment 36: The oral history sections provide our best outline of the residents/owners' understanding of the buildings' historical ties to the Underground Railroad. I do not have any substantive commentary on these as they are largely descriptive of the research, views, and understandings of the owners but do not seem to substantively change the previous findings. The Truesdell family connection is an important one, uncovered in the oral interviews, that warrants further exploration. I am intrigued by these claims; however, I have little knowledge of these actors and participants. The unfortunate deaths of Fred Laverpool and Joan Maynard will hamper efforts to explore this history, as they were among the best local historians in the nation and certainly the most knowledgeable about African American history in Brooklyn. The current oral history additions do raise some new questions and possibilities that will—because of the nature of the questions—take time to answer. (Wilder)

Response: Comment noted.

CORRECTIONS

Comment 37: This is a minor issue, but on page 48 of the April 2006 revised draft, abolitionist Lewis Tappan's name is incorrectly reported as "Louis." I only mention this because it might cause confusion among people who later review the opening of this document where his name is spelled correctly. (Alexander)

Response: This correction will be made in the final report.

Comment 38: Listed below are a few edits and corrections: 1) TOC-3 Page 30 AME should be capitalized; 2) S-10, first insert, born is misspelled; 3) S-11 line 5 should read Reverend Simeon Jocelyn; 4) S-21 second sentence—the word "conductor" is too strong and specific for the discussion of Juliana Tappan. I don't think anyone ever suggested she was a conductor. A more appropriate term may be "involved with the Underground Railroad;" 5) If at all possible, place Table 1 facing

Figure 1; 6) Page 4. The spelling of Mary and James Tredwell does not match the spelling in Table 1 where they are listed as Mary and James Treadwell; 7) Page 42 first line should read Simeon Jocelyn; 8) Although I am referred to as Ms. LaRoche in various comments, my title is Dr. LaRoche. (LaRoche)

Response: These corrections will be made in the final report.

Comment 39: On page S-10 in the executive summary it says that Thomas Truesdell was a subscriber to the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*. The summary goes on to say that the listing gives his address as New York City and not Brooklyn. This is not true because as our research showed he was listed in the paper a number of times in the 1850s and the early 1860s as a subscriber or contributor and some of the times his address is given as Brooklyn. Please remove the word presumed from that paragraph, it is misleading. It is an established fact that the Truesdell that lived on Duffield Street is the Truesdell listed in the *Standard and American Anti-Slavery Records*. Also, I still think you should include all the years he is listed as a subscriber and a member in this paragraph (I know you give complete listings in other sections of the report but this is the executive summary and is the part most people will read.) This is important because it does show involvement in the anti-slavery cause in the key period of the years after the Fugitive Slave Act and before the Civil War. (Driscoll)

Response: We will add the years Thomas Truesdell is listed as a subscriber to the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* and as a contributor to the *American Anti-Slavery Standard* to the executive summary.

Comment 40: At one point you refer to Beecher as the first pastor of the Plymouth Church. Is that correct? (Driscoll)

Response: According to [A Church in History: The Story of Plymouth's First Hundred Years Under Beecher, Abbott, Hillis, Durkee, and Fifield](#), Plymouth Church was incorporated in June 1847, and at that time an offer for the pastorage was extended to Beecher. Beecher accepted the call in August 1847. A brochure from Plymouth Church of the Pilgrims entitled "Historical Notes" (no date) also describes Beecher as Plymouth Church's first pastor.

TUNNELS/PHYSICAL EVIDENCE

Comment 41: Tunnels are mentioned in connection with almost all of these houses. While the presence of tunnels is interesting, tunnels are part of the question, not part of the answer. Fergus Bordewich, author of *Bound for Canaan: The Underground Railroad and the War for the Soul of America* (Amistad, 2005), the most recent and best overview of the UGRR, has noted that stories of tunnels did not seem to appear until 1930s, after the first generation of UGRR activists and their children had died. Most cases we can document of people who escaped on the

UGRR suggest that freedom seekers stayed in attics, basements, bedrooms, barns, woods, or tenant houses. This does not mean that we will not ever find documentation for tunnels. Milton House in Wisconsin, an UGRR site listed on the National Register, has a long tunnel. The presence of tunnels is not necessary, however, to document houses relating to the Underground Railroad. (Wellman)

Response: Comment noted.

Comment 42: I am struck by the overlapping testimony from [names removed] regarding the investigation of the cellars at 227, 231 and 235 Duffield Street. Their comments corroborate both Professors Cheryl LaRoche's and A.J. Williams-Myers insights based upon their visits. Having been unable to visit the sites myself, I take their reports very seriously and have studied their comments closely. I recognize that the cellars have been investigated by a well-respected expert, and I certainly would not want to undermine his contribution or findings. However, I believe that the investigation Cheryl LaRoche and her colleagues conducted is worthy of equal weight, particularly since they are archaeologists who specialize in African American history and the Underground Railroad. I was particularly taken with Joan Geismar's comments reported on pages 19 and 20 in the August 4, 2005 peer review. Since the following issues have been well-documented in the report, I elected not to reiterate all the specific points here, but Geismar's reflections on the existence of a similar case in Jersey City, combined with A.J. Williams-Myers comments, and the photographs and documentation provided by the Block Association have convinced me that there is compelling evidence that the cellars contained unique features that may have allowed for the harboring of fugitives. Given [name removed] testimony about structural changes, and areas in the cellars that have been subsequently filled in, or covered over, I feel that the importance of the cellars' features is being dismissed too quickly. I am aware that there may be impediments to the process of excavating or investigating these buildings and the surrounding areas fully, but I am concerned about unilaterally accepting the conclusion that there is nothing about the structure of the cellars that would have lent itself to harboring fugitives. Perhaps more importantly, I am convinced that we should not be too hasty in concluding that there was not a tunnel, or similar feature that could have supported Underground Railroad activity. (Alexander)

Response: Comment noted.

Comment 43: The report constantly refers to the 2004 visit of the properties as the bedrock for interpretations. Several factors mitigate against a 2004 visit being the same as early 20th century visits *remembered*. What is evident today has been compromised by changes in the structures. [Name removed] recollection of an oil tank "pipe" being placed in the "tunnel" in order to shore up the sidewalk is

one example. Whatever artifacts there were, including any chains, have long since been removed. To locate these now is nearly impossible. Questions remain in my mind and are supported by the photographs. Why are there arches imbedded in a wall? What purpose did they serve? Surely they are not merely decorative? (Dobard)

Response: This response is provided by Michael Devonshire, who prepared the historic construction review of the subject properties. The arches referred to in this comment are part of the chimney support masonry system. Some of them were engaged within the cellar party wall masonry, and others projected a bit more. This is a very common and economical practice for supporting the chimney loads above. They are not decorative—the building of the arch saves material and labor. Also, the stone within the arches is keyed into the surrounding stone, indicating that these stones contemporaneous to the arch construction, not a later infill.

ASSESSMENTS OF CONCLUSIONS/RATINGS

Comment 44: Unfortunately, neither the oral histories nor the archival and municipal records and architectural reports support a specific link between the Duffield Street and Gold Street properties and the Underground Railroad. The oral histories did not reveal new leads that would change the previous report's findings (2005). With regret, this peer reviewer must conclude that such evidence does not currently exist. As the AKRF report notes, the current lack of evidence linking these properties does not mean that in that in the future, such evidence may appear. The nature of Underground Railroad activity, and particularly its secrecy for the protection of travelers, means that traditional forms of evidence may not exist, or may later turn up in unlikely places. However, I believe that AKRF, Inc. has, to the best of our current historical methods, thoroughly researched the possibilities of the properties being Underground Railroad sites. AKRF, Inc. has gone beyond what many quite good historians would do to attempt to prove the existence of the Underground Railroad at these sites in Brooklyn. The lack of firm evidence is not the fault of AKRF, Inc. (Harris)

Response: Comment noted.

Comment 45: Based upon the evidence here at hand, I have concluded that none of the properties in question rise to a category of significance sufficient to warrant rostering on a list of documented Underground Railroad sites. I agree with the ratings given in the "Executive Summary;" I believe they are fairly given in relation to the Wellman scale. Of the seven sites, only the 227 Duffield merits a 3 (possible involvement), but this is because of the Truesdell family history of some connection with the abolitionist enterprise. I find no evidence in the report

(documentary or oral) to substantiate the claim that the property itself is of Underground Railroad significance. (Sernett)

Response: Comment noted.

Comment 46: The [names removed] interviews are quite informative in terms of detail, personalities, abolitionism, and Underground Railroad, but when the criteria for potential nomination to the National Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Program of the National Park Service are applied to the properties they come up quite short. Other than the residency of Harriet Lee Truesdell at 227 Duffield Street, much of what both [names removed] shared as to an Underground Railroad connection cannot, as of yet with available sources, be corroborated and/or "verified [by] using professional methods of historical research, documentation, and interpretation" for their properties at 227 and 233 Duffield Street. Given the lack of corroborative verification for information shared in the other interviews, such would hold for the other properties at 223, 225, 231, 235 Duffield Street and 436 Gold Street/Albee Square. An Underground Railroad connection for all properties has not been corroboratively established. (Williams-Myers)

Response: Comment noted.

Comment 47: The best-documented house is 227 Duffield Street, owned by Harriet and Thomas Truesdell, whose abolitionist connections are well-known, and where African American Elizabeth Harris, born in North Carolina, lived in 1855. Oral tradition coming through the Chatel family suggested that Elizabeth Harris later moved to Nova Scotia. All of these components suggest the strong possibility that 227 Duffield Street was used as a safe house. (Wellman)

At this point, I think it is premature to assign this residence [227 Duffield Street] a rating of 3. Based on the oral testimony, I believe that future research on the Truesdell family might provide fruitful. At the very least, every effort should be made to investigate a few of the issues that [name removed] interview raised. Although there are a few minor possible discrepancies (like the issue of the Truesdell's alleged divorce), I feel strongly that your company should investigate certain topics, rather than rely entirely on [name removed] efforts to track information [himself/herself]. I have outlined a few of these issues below [see discussion above under "Follow-up Research Suggestions."] (Alexander)

Response: We are following up on the research suggestions noted, and will reflect any relevant findings in the final report. As noted in the responses to Comments 12, 15-21, research conducted to date has not uncovered a connection between Thomas Truesdell and the New York Committee of Vigilance. We have reviewed the finding aid and the correspondence index of the Frederick Douglass papers at the Library of Congress, and no correspondence between Harriet Lee Truesdell and Frederick Douglass was identified. Thomas Truesdell

had no siblings named Wheeler. With the assistance of Dr. Pettit, we have recently determined that the former Kelly Institute collection of St. Francis College was donated to Brooklyn College, the Municipal Archives, and the Brooklyn Historical Society; however, the relevant materials noted by the interviewees have not been identified in any of these repositories. The Lewis Tappan papers were reviewed in September and October 2004, and one letter was identified from Lewis Tappan to Daniel Lord, in which Mr. Tappan notes his disapproval of an opinion written by Mr. Lord regarding the constitution of the Ladies of the Moral Reform Society. Various sources regarding freedom seekers who settled in Canada and the Anti-Slavery Society of Canada have been reviewed, with no connections made to the owners and residents of the subject properties.

Comment 48: p. 65—While Network to Freedom designation demands clear identification with the Underground Railroad, in central New York we have also been nominating sites to the National Register using guidelines set forth in a draft Multiple Property Document for Historic Resources Relating to the Underground Railroad, Abolitionism, and African American Life in Central New York. (I think you already have a copy of this. If not, let me know, and I'll send you one.) Understanding that the UGRR does not occur in isolation, we have incorporated sites relating also to abolitionism and African American life (even when we cannot document a direct connection to the UGRR) so that we can tell the larger story. This might be an option for the Duffield Street houses, particularly 227 Duffield Street and perhaps also 231 Duffield Street). (Wellman)

Response: We have received a copy of the multiple property nomination, which is referenced in the draft report. The object of the research effort is to provide a thorough analysis in order to make a reasonable conclusion as to whether or not any of the Duffield Street and Gold Street buildings had a significant association with the Underground Railroad specifically, rather than abolitionism and African American life in general.

Comment 49: Obviously, I do not think it is appropriate to offer final conclusions regarding the designation for these buildings at this time. We do not yet have definitive evidence regarding the individual properties in this case, and I believe that future research is still required. As many of my colleagues, and I, have urged from the beginning, finding conclusive evidence about the Underground Railroad is exceedingly difficult given the secrecy of its operation. As a result, I join in the chorus of comments provided by my colleagues in August of 2005 to suggest that the city should seriously consider reconfiguring their development project to take the historical significance of Duffield Street seriously. This process has unearthed a wealth of documentary evidence indicating that Duffield Street and the surrounding areas were actively involved in abolitionist

and Underground Railroad activities, and it would be a monumental injustice to destroy such evidence without making a concerted effort to acknowledge the incredibly important role that this region played in the liberation movement against slavery. (Alexander)

Response: Comment noted.

Comment 50: At the current stage of the research, I agree with your ratings of a 3 for 227 Duffield and a 2 for 231, 233, and 235 Duffield Street. Although specific documentation of Underground Railroad involvement is required for the building located at 227 in particular, and also for 231, 233, 235 Duffield Street for eligibility for listing on the National Register of Historic Places or as National Historic Landmarks, your research clearly positions 227 Duffield Street in a pre-verification research status. This status should exempt it from demolition and allow further investigation that would move it toward eligibility. The possible involvement of 231, 233, and 235 Duffield Street also requires further research. It is important to remember that the Underground Railroad operated through both dedicated individuals and through active residents working in networks or along routes. (LaRoche)

Response: Comment noted.

Comment 51: The research project identifies two properties, (223 and 225 Duffield Street) “probably not involved”, 227 Duffield Street deemed “unclear” and find three residents (231, 233 and 235 Duffield Street) have “some possibility of involvement”. None of residents show certainty, none any closer that 2 on a 5 point scale. Although three properties show signs a connection exists, the facts uncovered do not meet the eligibility for listing in the National Register of Historic Places under current guidelines. However, in those incidences where possible artifacts or other evidences of the existence of UGRR activities, tunnels, hiding areas of escape routes, geological digs will only be performed as a result of development. That thought leaves me uneasy as one can only imagine what history may have been lost where development has already taken place. With the African Burial Ground and its remains found at the federal building construction site in 1991, one can only imagine what further evidence of the African’s presence might have existed prior to the construction of 26 Federal Plaza, right across the street? The research done and the facts clearly show Underground Railroad activity in the Duffield Street vicinity and proximity, involvement by local churches and personalities. But, without more corroboration, based on current criteria, we can’t say any of the homes in question are sites of UGRR activity or residents with certainty. The study allows us to rule out homes that show less accuracy of information and identify those deserving more targeted research. Further research should be done on UGRR sites, personalities and connections regardless of the results of the outcome on

these subject residences in this project. New York City's history demands it and our children deserve it. (Jackson)

Response: Comment noted.

Comment 52: You refer to Truesdell's involvement as passive in, I believe, a couple of places. I really don't agree with the use of that term. I believe its looking at this time period in today's terms. Paying dues to an organization and subscribing to a journal or newspaper advocating a particular cause would today be considered passive. But these anti-slavery groups had small membership lists and the Standard and the other newspapers had small subscription lists. Very few people who hated slavery in the 1850s went to the trouble of joining an anti-slavery group. And don't forget that each time he paid his dues or renewed his subscription his name was published in the Standard. You list the source of this information as the Gay papers at the New York Public Library but you could have just as easily said the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* itself, which can be found on microfilm at the library. To openly belong to an anti-slavery group in New York City in the 1850s took some courage and is, I believe, a sign of a great deal of commitment to the cause. I wouldn't call it a passive involvement. (Driscoll)

Response: This reference will be changed in the report.

Comment 53: While this latest draft does not identify any single house on Duffield as one mentioned in the oral testimonies, the draft does repeatedly admit that the Duffield Street in general is mentioned as a hub for Underground Railroad activity. Page 80 notes that the oral traditions "illustrate how the proximity of Duffield Street to African American and abolitionists churches, African American settlements, and businesses that employed African Americans created an environment that would have supported Underground Railroad activity." To designate an environment as one belonging to Underground Railroad activity is an option which Professor Wellman already notes. In so doing, you need not be concerned with assigning numbers according to the National Park Service or the Network to Freedom listings. Might it not be prudent to do as Professor William-Myers suggests and to recognize 227 Duffield as an Underground Railroad site. [*Note: This refers to comments from Professor Williams-Myers made in 2005. See Comments 5, 31, and 46 for Professor Williams-Myers latest commentary.*] To stand on site and to experience the intensity of the atmosphere cannot be quantified with numbers. Such an experience is intangible. This kind of encounter addresses what in art historical terms is the question; "Can ya feel me." In other words, the very site is asking are we aware of all it contains, both the empirical and the spiritual. (Dobard)

Response: As noted above, the object of this research effort is to provide a thorough analysis in order to make a reasonable conclusion as to whether or not any of the

subject properties specifically had a significant association with the Underground Railroad. Therefore, each property must be individually evaluated for its potential Underground Railroad significance, rather than the general sensitivity of the downtown Brooklyn area.

Comment 54: This reviewer does not lack sympathy or consideration for the valid resentments that have emerged from this and other observations of minimized contributions of African-Americans to Brooklyn's history. The determination to preserve the history of people, ideas, causes, sites, and communities is legitimate, praiseworthy, and entirely welcome—but—evidence for this particular link is not available. The project has not rushed to judgment but made very considerable effort to obtain oral testimony. It is entirely regrettable that so little evidence has emerged that could link the families and the properties to oral tradition, though that could change in the future. (Pettit)

Response: Comment noted.

Comment 55: Right now, the report can only state the claims and note that they remain uncorroborated. It thus correctly concludes that AKRF's effort to verify these connections does not itself negate the possibility that other links will be found in the future. (Wilder)

Response: Comment noted.

OTHER SUGGESTIONS

Comment 56: All of the history and truth of the Underground Railroad will never be known in totality, because it is one of America's best kept secrets. Its success, in spite of being one of the most horrific chapters in our country's history, is one America's and African America's greatest triumphs. White and Black, men and women, free and slave working together. The success of the Underground Railroad was a testament to hundreds of freedom flights carried out in total secrecy. Plans and safe havens were not shared so no trail could be left—for their protection and self preservation; no verifiable connections to provide proof and linkage. Their freedom depended on it. When sites and persons are said to have been involved with the Underground Railroad, it is our cultural and historical responsibility to investigate. And, if validated, let's also hope the information and facts lead to deeper investigations to learn more about our history and that information is shared through education, curricula, cultural lectures, and exhibitions as with the recent Slavery in New York exhibition at the New-York Historical Society. (Jackson)

Response: Comment noted.

Comment 57: Your report reveals the abolitionist history of Duffield Street and the Underground Railroad activities that surrounded it. Based on the findings, I believe enough evidence has been amassed to warrant further research by the experts such as those who reviewed the report. The peer reviewers are the experts in this field of inquiry and should have access to the collections at the Brooklyn Historical Society and St. Francis College archives and records. (LaRoche)

Response: Comment noted. The Brooklyn Historical Society's collections are available to all researchers, by appointment. The current location of the former Kelly Institute collection is noted above in the response to Comment 12.

Comment 58: Instead of analyzing evidence to the Nth degree, is it possible for AKRF to do something bold, powerful and innovative. Why not reach out to the Brooklyn community and to New York City as a whole by incorporating 227 Duffield and the street as a pedestrian zone dedicated to learning about the Underground Railroad as well as the difficulties involved in identifying Underground Railroad sites. Why not make use of all the hard work AKRF has done by exhibiting the reports as part of an exhibition. Allow the public to see the problems involved in determining Underground Railroad sites. It seems to me that AKRF and the city of Brooklyn could benefit from book stores, museums and other businesses housed in the Duffield properties. You might have a section dedicated to ongoing archeological study to determine if a tunnel existed and what was its role. In this way, any future evidence would be recognized as a contributing addendum. It seems to me that New York City embodies many stories of struggle, pain, survival and transcendence. The Duffield properties should be a part of this heritage. What I propose is the development of a section of Brooklyn that could be a magnet for tourists. You need not have definitive answers to your questions. Rather than divide efforts and the community/city, use this controversy to the benefit of all. Empower numerous visitors to experience what Professor Williams-Meyers did when he visited the site. The oral histories can serve to provide an "Insiders View." From a financial perspective, the pedestrian center of learning might well add to the city coffers. My recommendation is not to destroy what could be a very important part of our American Liberty Story. (Dobard)

Response: These suggestions have been passed on to the City for their review.

Comment 59: Figure 1, "the Sensitive Context Map" and the accompanying description of active participants in Table 1 leave no doubt that Duffield and Gold Streets sit in the midst of an active Underground Railroad zone or sector in which some residents of Duffield Street may have participated. In Figure 2, "Blocks and Lots in the Project Area," it is evident that the redevelopment project will impact culturally and historically sensitive areas associated with the

Underground Railroad which deserve and can support landmark status. These houses may provide the last opportunity for Brooklyn, as well as New York City, to tell the story of its active participation in the Underground Railroad. As you state on page S-18 and again on page 68, "...Downtown Brooklyn played vital roles in the abolitionist and Underground Railroad movements." I agree with your assessment that this report "has identified a need for greater education of the public about the historical significance of the Underground Railroad, and research to identify, document, and interpret sites that have a verifiable association to the Underground Railroad and New York's abolitionist history." How can your suggestion that a "walking tour or other interpretive guide documenting such sites in Downtown Brooklyn and the borough as a whole" (S-18) be implemented if the redevelopment plan is to destroy the original landscape and buildings? (LaRoche)

Response: Comment noted.

Comment 60: I am pleased to note in the draft report my suggestions about the relevance and need for a guide—a written guide, oral guide, guided walking tour, or all of the above—to anti-slavery and abolitionist activities in Brooklyn, and am also pleased to note a comment on my sense that the materials once seen at St. Francis College are still there or elsewhere, since I can affirm that they are not, and never have been, at the Brooklyn Historical Society. Attention must be paid to the legacy of slavery in all its complexities as it unfolded in our Brooklyn communities, so that we can understand slavery's mark on the formation of our city. There are many, many Brooklyn sites at which the historical composition of slavery and its outcome could be demonstrated and explained to a Brooklyn that would welcome revelations of its own past. Meanwhile, communities of interest may wish to join together to develop projects that celebrate a common history, from which we can expect that greater awareness of the need for solid evidence may preserve that evidence for posterity. As an historian and archivist, I would welcome an opportunity to collaborate. (Pettit)

Response: These suggestions have been passed on to the City for their review.

Comment 61: I agree with your assessment that "the city of New York, the former city and now borough of Brooklyn, and the neighborhood of Downtown Brooklyn played vital roles in the abolitionist and Underground Railroad movements. This research report has identified a need for greater education of the public about the historical significance of the Underground Railroad, and research to identify, document, and interpret sites that have a verifiable association to the Underground Railroad and New York's abolitionist history." (p. S-18) I endorse your recommendations that this report be used to develop walking tours and other interpretive programs. I would go further and suggest that one or more of the buildings in this study (certainly including 227 Duffield Street) might be

developed as a Freedom Center, committed to telling the story of African Americans and those who promoted the cause of freedom in Brooklyn and New York City. Whether or not we can ever document these houses with certainty as UGRR safe houses, we know that at least some of them were homes of abolitionists, and such a Freedom Center would be an important highlight for tourism in downtown Brooklyn. No such center currently exists anywhere in the greater New York area. For a win-win situation, I would strongly urge policy makers to consider making these Duffield Street houses the core of a Freedom Center, devoted to the story of African Americans, abolitionism, the Underground Railroad, and the larger struggle for freedom in Brooklyn and the greater New York City area. No such interpretive center now exists. Given the current interest in the slavery exhibit at the New-York Historical Society and the expansion of Weeksville's interpretive program, this center could become part of a critical mass of exhibits and interpretive sites relating to African American history, abolitionism, and the Underground Railroad in Brooklyn and New York City, filling a need to tell this important story and adding a key tourism component to downtown development in Brooklyn. (Wellman)

Response: These suggestions have been passed on to the City for their review.

Appendix C

Peer Reviewers' Findings

LESLIE ALEXANDER

Let me begin by commending you and your research team for your exhaustive research efforts. As I have indicated before, AKRF, Inc. has done an outstanding job of responding to our recommendations, and thoroughly investigating every aspect of these properties and their residents. The result is a remarkable piece of historical research that has considerably enhanced our understanding of African American life, and abolitionist activity in Brooklyn during the antebellum era.

I have provided my initial findings below, but I also have a couple of questions:

1. It appears that there were some pages missing from the interview with Jason Donegan (at least in my copy). Are there additional pages beyond his response to question 12? If so, it would be useful to review them.
2. The final document in Appendix H (which appears to be a handwritten note provided by Joy Chatel?) is very difficult to read. Do you have a transcribed version that might be available for our review?

Findings:

I have studied the report and related documents extensively but, since I have offered lengthy comments in previous responses, I will simply offer my concluding reflections.

I have been deeply impressed by the commitment and determination of AKRF, Inc. and my fellow peer reviewers to attempt to excavate all existing information about the potential connection of these properties to the Underground Railroad, as well as the history of African Americans and abolitionist activity in Brooklyn.

I will admit that as an historian who is passionately committed to early African American history, I was hopeful that our research would unearth an irrefutable connection between these properties and the Underground Railroad. Unfortunately, it appears that, despite our best efforts, such documentation has not yet emerged. Given the nature of the Underground Railroad, which by necessity required secrecy, we were presented with a unique challenge and our efforts have proven that such an undertaking is fraught with difficulty. However, I believe we have investigated every avenue available to us, and have uncovered a wealth of useful information about African Americans, abolitionists, and Underground Railroad activity in Brooklyn and New York City.

As a result, it seems to me that the ratings AKRF, Inc. assigned to the properties are relevant and appropriate. It is certainly possible that additional information may emerge that would significantly alter my findings, but for now I must concur with the conclusions the research report provides. The only possible exception to this is 227 Duffield Street. I still believe that the historical record, in conjunction with the oral testimonies, suggest that the Truesdell family had a compelling link to the anti-slavery movement, and possibly the Underground Railroad. Again,

it is difficult to find conclusive evidence of such clandestine activity but I am still moved by the power of the oral testimony regarding the Truesdells, particularly when combined with the historical documents we have located. The comments provided by my colleague, Raymond Dobard, embody my own view on this matter. In particular, he asked us to move beyond minor inconsistencies and consider whether the oral testimony, on the whole, is credible and detailed. In my opinion, at least one of the interviews regarding the Truesdells provided detailed and extremely credible accountings of their potential role in the Underground Railroad. I realize that this evidence may not meet the rigorous criteria required to assign a level 4 rating to 227 Duffield, but I sincerely hope that this information will not be overlooked or dismissed too quickly. In addition, I would like to support the comments provided by Richard Hourahan and suggest that, beyond the remaining avenues of investigating that AKRF, Inc. is exploring, it might prove rewarding to investigate whether there is any compelling information in Canada that might reference the Truesdells. Absent any other forthcoming evidence, I endorse the conclusions AKRF, Inc. has reached.

By way of conclusion, I would simply like to reiterate a point I made in my last response to the report. I urge the city to seriously consider reconfiguring their development project to take the historical significance of Duffield Street and the surrounding neighborhood seriously. This process has revealed a wealth of documentary evidence indicating that this region was actively involved in abolitionist and Underground Railroad activities, and it would be a monumental injustice to destroy such evidence without making a concerted effort to acknowledge the incredibly important role that Brooklyn played in the liberation movement against slavery. I was pleased to see that AKRF, Inc. has provided some suggestions for appropriate commemoration in their conclusion, and since most of my colleagues have highlighted the influence of Duffield Street and the surrounding areas in the abolitionist movement and the Underground Railroad, it is my sincere hope that the city will explore possible strategies for appropriately commemorating this history.

Thank you for providing me with the opportunity to be part of this important project, if you have any questions or concerns feel free to let me know.

RAYMOND DOBARD

I respect and applaud all of the research AKRF has conducted; however, I would prefer not to dismiss some evidence as being coincidental or not significant enough to merit a higher ranking for the houses on Duffield-Gold Streets. I do feel that evidence uncovered by the oral histories deserves special attention. Peer Reviewer Andrew P. Jackson succinctly describes the secretive, covert nature of the Underground Railroad, and the inherent problems of collecting documented evidence (see page 24, Comment 56 of the Peer Review: Comments on Second Draft Final Research Report).

After reading the comments of my fellow peer reviewers and the responses by AKRF, I feel that the standards for accepting evidence in support of recognizing the Duffield houses, especially 227 Duffield, is set too high. Most of my colleagues agree that 227 Duffield deserves the highest rating of the group. I agree. However, I would rate 227 as a 4 not a 3. The other houses would come up a notch as well. The reason for this is based upon my perspective. I appreciate the difficulties of interpreting oral histories. However, Mr. Lewis Greenstein has provided tangible material in the form of a spreadsheet of information on the houses on Duffield Street. In addition, the owner of 227 Duffield has forwarded a wealth of information that included a portion of the Harriet Truesdell will, court cases, photographs, artifacts, etc. All of this appears

to buttress the claims made in oral histories regarding Underground Railroad activity (see page S-4 of the Executive Summary). We might not always find corroborating evidence to verify the claims made by building owners, such as Mr. Greenstein or Miss Chatel. However, I would argue for a sensitive ear. Hear what they say. Names, dates and census records need not always align perfectly with what has been said in order for us to discern truth. The weight given to such documented support could, in my opinion, tip the scales of balance to favor believing only that which is certified via empirical knowledge. Faith, unlike knowledge, engages belief. The belief and the passions of many have surfaced. They should be respected.

I realize that I am asked to look to individual houses and assess the documented evidence. I prefer to view Duffield Street as a whole with 227 as the focal point. As such, I hold to my previous observation and recommendation (see Comment 53 and 58 of the Peer Review: Comments on Second Draft Final Research Report.) I still maintain that a solution exists in a bold inclusive approach. To find the middle ground is the task at hand.

AKRF is to be congratulated on the amount and the quality of research conducted on the Duffield, Gold Street project. Experts will often disagree on findings; however, the quality of the research, the search for truth is beyond reproach.

Professionally, I learned much as a Peer Review Panelist. I am grateful to AKRF and its representatives, Jennifer Morris and Linh Do for including me in the Brooklyn project. I hope that my contribution will assist AKRF and the city of Brooklyn in developing their long range planning strategy for the Duffield and Gold Street properties.

JAMES DRISCOLL

I am glad that the term passive was dropped. And more importantly that you added more information about Harned. Would it be possible to add his address to that information? I know his home is shown on the map. But maps and keys are not easy to use. I found the last round of comments from the peer members very interesting. I particularly liked Professor Wellman's comment about the possibility of one or more of the houses serving as memorial to the abolitionist activities in the downtown area. I think you said that you would pass this information along to the city. If possible, I would like it if you could send along a statement of my support for this idea.

LESLIE HARRIS

I again commend AKRF, Inc., for the quite thorough way in which they have conducted the investigation into whether the Duffield Street and Gold Street properties were involved with the Underground Railroad. AKRF, Inc., has consistently followed up on the numerous and wide-ranging suggestions of the Peer Review board. The Peer Reviewers themselves, as evidenced by their remarks, were committed to overturning every possible stone on behalf of finding a connection between the Duffield and Gold Street properties and the Underground Railroad. The most difficult element was tracking down the oral tradition. AKRF, Inc., employed three different oral historians in an effort to get the most definitive oral histories possible of the Duffield and Gold Street properties. Unfortunately, illness prevented some potential interviewees from participating. The oral histories that were gathered present community knowledge of a rich and politically active arm of the Underground Railroad in Brooklyn in the nineteenth century. Clearly historians need to do more to document and interpret this history. Unfortunately, neither the oral histories nor the archival and municipal records and architectural reports support a specific link between the Duffield Street and Gold Street properties and the

Underground Railroad. The oral histories did not reveal new leads that would change the previous report's findings (2005). With regret, this peer reviewer must conclude that such evidence does not currently exist.

As the AKRF, Inc., report notes, the current lack of evidence linking these properties to the Underground Railroad does not mean that in the future, such evidence may not appear. The nature of Underground Railroad activity, and particularly its secrecy for the protection of travellers, means that traditional forms of evidence may not exist, or may later turn up in unlikely places. However, I believe that AKRF, Inc., has, to the best of our current historical methods, thoroughly researched the possibilities of the properties as Underground Railroad sites. AKRF, Inc., has gone beyond what many quite good historians would do to attempt to prove the existence of the Underground Railroad at these sites in Brooklyn.

RICHARD HOURAHAN

My "finding" remains the same. It is printed as Comment 25 in Appendix A of the report dated May 30, 2006. [This comment and the corresponding response are reprinted below.]

Comment 25: The following statement appears on page S-3 of the Executive Summary: "Research Approach: The research approach was to document the construction, ownership, and residency history of each building to the extent possible; to determine if any records exist of the owners' and residents' possible connection to abolitionist activities, churches, or societies; and to determine what information on the buildings' histories can be drawn from oral traditions. The research effort was also the subject of a peer review." The statement [that] appears on page 9 of the Research Report differs only in one respect from that cited above: the word abolitionist is underlined (I presume for emphasis). On page S-6 of the Executive Summary the following statement appears: "Archaeological testing is unlikely to offer any definite information about whether or not these structures were part of the Underground Railroad. In addition, assuming that a tunnel was discovered, there would be no way of knowing if it served as a passageway for freedom seekers without corroborating artifacts . . . In addition, a study of seventeen reputed tunnels connected with the Underground Railroad sites in Ohio found no evidence to support the oral traditions relating to such tunnels." My comments as a peer reviewer—to review the "research effort"—will concern two areas which I find seriously flawed: 1) research approach and 2) data collection. I am not an archaeologist and am unqualified to comment upon technical aspects of this discipline. I do think one should be very careful when interpreting an artifact without any corroborating documentary cultural/social historical evidence. Research Approach. The avowed objective of the research approach is to find abolitionists at these addresses, not to find cases of Underground Railroad activity at these addresses. My understanding is that the investigation concerned the Underground Railroad. An abolitionist is not necessarily a participant in the Underground Railroad and participants in the Underground Railroad are not necessarily abolitionists. If it did the research design might reasonably be a case study combined with comparative analysis. For example: take indisputable cases of Underground Railroad financiers, agents, station masters, conductors, etc. Formulate the statements: This is a case of an Underground Railroad financier. This is a case of an Underground Railroad agent. This is a case of an Underground Railroad station master. This is a case of an Underground Railroad conductor. Data Collection. With the proper design a data collection method appropriate to the research goal—to find data resources most likely to possess evidence of most Underground Railroad activity, search them for affiliations to Duffield Street and Gold Street, and report the findings of the research effort. Hence you would have avoided wasted activity: looking at local court records for fugitive slave captures in New York after 1850, when the appropriate records

are at NARA. Presumably you are looking for the lawyers for the runaway slave, her/his name, and persons who may have aided him. Not all fugitive slaves were captured. If you were looking for Underground Railroad activity, again a focus on the fugitive slave and not the abolitionist, is a far superior course—look at records where they lived and work backwards to how they got there: Ontario Archives, I have suggested and continue to recommend, is an excellent place to look. On several occasions Jennifer Morris verbally told me that the Truesdell's had no known connection with Canada and such an effort was unjustified (even if this were true—it is not, the son-in-law and business partner was a Canadian—it is besides the point, the fugitive slaves helped via New York were in Canada). Her research emphasis on abolitionists rather than fugitive slaves is the cause of the unsatisfactory nature of her data collection method. The documentary evidence of fugitive slaves residing in Canada or the personal papers of residents on Duffield Street and Gold Street either reveal or do not reveal Underground [Railroad] activity on these streets. The researcher can then make a conclusion one way or the other based upon pertinent, extant data. That is all a researcher can do. But a researcher is obliged to design her/his research design and then develop the appropriate data collection method to get this point. (Hourahan) --

Response: The research approach was developed with input from the peer reviewers in 2004, and has the concurrence of the other peer reviewers. This comment appears to differ with the reviewer's previous comments, which stated that the research method was appropriate for the historical topic and rigorous in its execution. The object of the research effort is to provide a thorough analysis in order to make a reasonable conclusion as to whether or not any of the Duffield Street and Gold Street buildings had a significant association specifically with the Underground Railroad. We have researched potential connections with fugitive slaves, as described in the report section entitled "Cases of Freedom Seekers." None of our research in this topic has identified any matches with any of the known owners' or residents' names or Duffield or Gold Street, including Elizabeth Harris, who is the only resident potentially identified as a freedom seeker; however, we are attempting to review available district court records at NARA. In the response to comments on the draft research report circulated August 2005, it was noted—in response to a written comment received in June 2005—that since no connections to the Canadian Anti-Slavery Society had been identified for the owners and residents of the subject properties, we were not planning to pursue the Canada line of inquiry. Our call logs do not include any conversation regarding this line of inquiry. Since the oral tradition interviews have noted a potential link between Charles Frederickson and a potential freedom journey of Elizabeth Harris, we are pursuing this line of inquiry using the recommended sources. The word "abolitionist" on page 9 of the report is underlined, not for emphasis, but to clarify that it was a change from the draft report issued June 2005. In the June 2005 report, this read as "abolition" rather than "abolitionist."

ANDREW JACKSON

I am in receipt the May 2006 research report. After having reviewed the new latest comments and findings, these are my comments on this latest report.

Over the past two years, we have followed the results of extremely thorough and tedious research and attempts to verify the oral history of the Duffield and Gold Street houses. At least three of the homes appear to have some verifiable evidence of a connection to either persons involved in the Brooklyn abolitionist movement or connections to Underground Railroad activities in that area of Brooklyn. As a result, three homes warrant ratings from 2 to 3 indicating some possibility or a 3 rating for the 227 Duffield Street home (which also possesses an

unexplained sidewalk vault) and a 2 rating for the 231 and 235 Duffield Street properties. The 223, 233 and 235 Duffield Street structures on Lot 17 and Lot 12 and portions of the 436 Gold Street home on Lot 51 may be the original buildings constructed between 1846 and 1848 may warrant historical significance for the community. With the additional oral histories included and researched we are still no closer to validating most of these claims which would further establish verifiable connectedness to URR activities or with persons known to be involved in URR activities of the Downtown Brooklyn area. We have seen some connections between people of that community and the movements in question through churches, organizations or abolitionism.

One ongoing question and concern I have had is the lack of access to the historical documents from the Brooklyn Historical Society, which have not been accessible through most of this research period. However, I notice that these records are now available (page 64), but there is not mention of what was found or any results of their review mentioned in this report. I would like to a further discussion on these records, exactly what they are and what results were concluded from them.

While I want to see verifiable evidence to warrant identification of these properties and a connection to URR activities, we are still left with a possibility of involvement in abolitionist or URR activities of some of the originally identified properties. Although I'm not sure this is sufficient for the City Council to vote for further research or archeological investigation of the homes or foundations to find any artifacts or proof for additional connection to the URR activity. At the same time, as do some of the other reviewers, I am very concerned that if these properties are destroyed, we may lose the possibility of further finds of historical significance to the history of our City and Downtown Brooklyn. We have already learned so much from this project about the movements, personalities and URR activities, the fact that some of these structures are the original houses built on those sites over 100 years ago, the interaction of churches and organizations to freedom and freedom seekers. All still a secret from the students in New York City schools yesterday and today.

This project should open the door to further research and study of the Downtown Brooklyn's URR movement, activities, proven and questionable sites, routes, personalities and development of this area. While we have come much closer to our original goal, there are still outstanding questions and answers still unanswered today. As a student of history, member of the New York State Freedom Trail Commission, an activist librarian and educator, I am in favor of the City preserving these sites for further research and answers to the possibility of connecting our present to our past. This past is too valuable to be lost for purely economic development reasons. As we accidentally learned of the significant history of lower Manhattan by an accidental find while constructing the second federal building producing the current monument project at the African Burial Ground, so too may we uncover a significant historical connection in Downtown Brooklyn if we look further into this area and these properties.

I believe both needs can be met with some variation of the development plans. The preservation of the Duffield and Gold Street blocks for historical purposes as part of the overall design of the development would benefit Downtown Brooklyn's further development and preservation for the area's future and the education of our society. Although no definitive finding have been found, the fact that we have found some connectedness between some of the houses, some people and URR and abolitionist activity in that area, warrant further consideration that these properties should be preserved and not destroyed.

CHERYL LAROCHE

In slightly less than two years, I have reviewed three AKRF Draft Reports which also contained input from Peer Reviewers. With each subsequent draft report, compelling and convincing evidence of Underground Railroad connections emerged. The progressively convincing nature of the data contained in these Draft Reports is perhaps the most persuasive argument for preserving the Duffield Street homes. Underground Railroad research requires the time consuming, painstaking research which AKRF has undertaken. The various versions of the Draft Report have documented the history of the residents of Brooklyn's Duffield Street and their association with abolitionism in general and with the Underground Railroad more specifically.

Although the transcripts of the oral interviews have not been approved or included in the final draft report, Joy Chatel has furnished AKRF with her written statement which should form the basis for further investigations. The study of the Duffield Street and Gold Street houses began with an oral tradition that claimed Duffield Street's associations with the Underground Railroad. The history that has emerged from the foundation of these oral traditions has been deep and rich but not surprising. Duffield Street has all the markers of an Underground Railroad site—surrounded by black churches, abolitionist associations, nearby abolitionist activities, a Quaker meeting house, proximity to water, and Civil War service, in addition to oral tradition. The Civil War and passage of the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments are generally viewed as the concluding episodes of this historic phase. Joy Chatel indicated that Harriet and Thomas Truesdell's son, William Lee Truesdell became Colonel William Truesdell in the Union army.

In light of my own studies connecting the landscape with Underground Railroad activity across the United States—from Massachusetts to Iowa and from Kentucky to Canada—specific landscape configurations are emerging.¹ Based on these findings, it is clear that the Duffield Street site has a significant historical connection to the Underground Railroad most likely through Harriet and Thomas Truesdell. After reviewing the "Sensitive Context Map" (Figure 1) I have concluded that Duffield Street lies at the center of an Underground Railroad zone bounded by:

1. William Harned (25) to the north, who is emerging as a major figure in light of his work with the New York Vigilance Committee, his documented work with escapees from slavery, and his role as treasure of the American Missionary Association of which abolitionist and Underground Railroad workers J.C. Pennington, Lewis Tappan, and Simeon Jocelyn were affiliated.
2. The Brooklyn Friends Meeting House (F) to the southwest, which your report states some sources claim was an Underground Railroad station.
3. Prominent abolitionist Reverend Samuel Cox (9) and Lafayette Presbyterian Church (B) to the southeast, of which Cox was the pastor. The church was reported to have been a station on the Underground Railroad.
4. Siloam Presbyterian Church (D) and Bridge Street AWME Church (C), activist black churches known for their Underground Railroad activity which were in close proximity to the northeast and to the north of Duffield Street.

¹ See Cheryl Janifer LaRoche, "On the Edge of Freedom: Free Black Communities, Archaeology and the Underground Railroad." Ph. D. Diss. University of Maryland, May 2004.

5. The Fleet Street Methodist Episcopal Church, also known as the Fleet Street African Methodist Episcopal Church and later as the First African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church. This important church is listed on "Noted Churches in Downtown Brooklyn" (Figure 18) and should be included in "The Sensitive Context Map" (Figure 1). Rev. Francis Peck pastored the church until 1859 and, according to the documents provided by Joy Chatel, signed Harriet Truesdell's Last Will in 1862.
6. And anchored by Henry Ward Beecher's the Plymouth Church (A), a celebrated Underground Railroad site less than a mile away.

It would appear that as we continue to trace Harriet and Thomas Truesdell, that both may well emerge as central to understanding Underground Railroad activities. Based on citations of William Lloyd Garrison's letters to his wife Helen, provided in Dr. Robert J. Swan's report, "Research Notes And Outline Sketch For The Underground Railroad In New York City And Brooklyn, With Particular Reference To Duffield Street," William Lloyd Garrison had a close and affectionate relationship with both Thomas Truesdell and his wife. In a May 1, 1838 letter to his wife Helen, Garrison notes, "...I have been under the roof of our ever hospitable friend Thomas Truesdell...Mrs. Truesdell is, as usual, pleasant and smiling."¹ As Swan notes, a reference in an explanatory footnote refers to Truesdell as a "Negro Abolitionist," a citation, although it may be incorrect, deserves further investigation.²

In my comments, I have repeatedly stated the time constraints associated with the Downtown Brooklyn Development project and the research time required to document this previously unverified potential Underground Railroad site are in fundamental opposition. The importance of the Duffield Street site should not be subsumed by the demands of development nor can AKRF expect its final report to substitute for scholarly investigations although the work has been thorough and comprehensive. The peer reviewers were expected to review the work, not produce scholarship, although the majority has provided important findings. At best, the final report should be considered a feasibility study, the results of which clearly indicate that further research is warranted. As AKRF has demonstrated, effective Underground Railroad research unfolds in circuitous patterns when patience is applied.

Furthermore, for the duration of this study, the Brooklyn Historical Society has been closed to outside researchers, effectively sealing off an important historical resource that will, in all probability, further strengthen the Duffield Street connections to the Underground Railroad.

Recommendations and Conclusions

1. By every measure, the oral tradition has proved a reliable indicator for potential Underground Railroad activities: Joy Chatel's written statement must be reviewed carefully and she should be contacted for follow-up since it appears that knowledge of the abolitionist and Underground Railroad activities derived primarily from her husband Albert Chatel.

¹ ASL W.L Garrison to Helen E. Garrison 350-51.

² Robert J. Swan, "Research Notes And Outline Sketch For The Underground Railroad In New York City And Brooklyn, With Particular Reference To Duffield Street," June 9, 2006. See footnote 49, n.p. ASL William Lloyd Garrison to Helen E. Garrison, 7 May 1838. Louis Ruchames, ed. *The Letters of William Lloyd Garrison, Vol. II* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1971), 351-2.

2. Ms. Chatel's reference to her husband, Albert Chatel's¹ description of the cotton brokers Thomas Truesdell and Charles Frederickson hiding escapees in the bales of cotton and shipping them to Washington in upstate New York must be thoroughly investigated. Any evidence supporting these activities would conclusively link Duffield Street to the Underground Railroad.
3. We cannot lose this important historical site to development.
4. I have not repeated my previous comments or conclusions here. Please refer to my comments and conclusions in the previous Draft Reports.
5. In addition to the recommendations cited above, Christopher Moore's input remains an important component of the research.
6. Based on the most recent findings I rate 227 Duffield Street between a 3 and a 4.
7. Further research into the activities of Thomas Truesdell, Harriet Truesdell, and Charles Frederickson will undoubtedly place it at a 4.

MARILYN PETTIT

I have little to add to my earlier comments. The research has been carefully and thoughtfully performed but no further evidence has emerged, despite lengthy attempts to obtain meaningful oral testimony. There are suggestions and circumstantial evidence to connect some past property owners with anti-slavery churches, organizations, and issues, but, regrettably, there is no affirmative evidence at this point of connections between the properties and the Underground Railroad. The anti-slavery cause and its cultural manifestations in business and residential communities in Brooklyn are worthy of further exploration and celebration that would offer context to Brooklyn's diverse communities and cultures. I welcome that exploration and will endeavor to contribute to it.

MILTON SERNETT

I have read and reviewed the changes and additions to the most recent draft report. The final draft of the AKRF report on the Brooklyn properties is comprehensive, professional, and sensitive to the concerns raised by the peer review team and the public throughout these last two years. I will not repeat here comments I have made on the earlier drafts regarding the content of the report. My conclusion is that none of the properties in question can be said to have been involved in what we commonly refer to as Underground Railroad activity. None of them rise to the level where I would recommend preservation solely on the basis of the evidence before us (either documentary or oral) that alleges such a connection. I believe that it is important that all of us who have an interest in preserving URR Freedom Sites and recovering the history of that noble effort hold to the highest standards of historical scholarship and argument from the evidence. If we settle for less for whatever reason, sentiment or political expediency, we risk bringing the entire effort to honor the freedom seekers and their allies into public disrepute. In the current revival of interest in the Underground Railroad we must guard against introducing

¹ During an informal telephone conversation with Ms. Chatel on June 15, in an attempt to further clarify portions of Ms. Chatel's written narrative which she provided AKRF and the peer reviewers via e-mail, I asked about Al as she refers to her husband. She indicated that he was a statistical analyst with a mind for facts and figures. I also asked her why she remember Harned's name—that seemed too precise to me for recollection and oral transmission. She indicated that she had been mispronouncing the name as Harning until Jim Driscoll told her it was Harned. As far as I can determine, much of the subsequent focus on Harned derived from Ms. Chatel's mention of him in her oral narrative.

new myths and recycling old ones. A noble history deserves our best efforts. Therefore I commend the entire team at AKRF and my colleagues on the peer review team for their dedication in this research effort.

JUDITH WELLMAN

You are to be congratulated on one of the best-documented projects that I have ever been involved with. AKRF has researched a remarkable amount of material, following leads from many different people, reaching out to a wide variety of directions. You have done this work in a careful and professional manner. The home owners, too, especially Joy Chatel and Lewis Greenstein, are to be commended for their loving dedication to this project, and for their willingness to spend long hours—years in fact—to bring this history to light.

This project shows both the limits and the possibilities of combining oral traditions, archeological and architectural evidence, and documentary sources to research the Underground Railroad.

Results of this work suggest the clear possibility that the Truesdell family (and possibly also the Hawes family) may have been involved in the Underground Railroad. Although documented at only a “3” on our rating scale, the Truesdell house may well have been an Underground Railroad site, suggested by the presence of Thomas and Harriet Truesdell as lifelong abolitionists in the same household with Elizabeth Harris, a North Carolina-born African American woman, in 1855. In this case, the whole adds up to more than the sum of its parts, i.e. the fact that both the Truesdells and Elizabeth Harris (either one of whom would rate a “3”) lived in the same household pushes the rating for this household up to a 3-1/2.

Although no clear substantiated evidence for Underground Railroad activity in these households emerged from this study, enough suggestive possibilities presented themselves to warrant further investigation. The presence of William Harned, a known Underground Railroad agent, in the neighborhood, along with nearby Plymouth Church, a hotbed of Underground Railroad activism, makes this whole area of Brooklyn a rich area for further exploration.

To maximize the benefits of this study, bringing the full benefits of its history to the people of greater New York, the country, and the world, the City would do well to consider creating a Freedom Center on Duffield Street, celebrating not only abolitionism and the Underground Railroad but also the more recent history of this neighborhood. One of the unexpected benefits of this study has been the recovery of the twentieth century history of this block, with the Committee of Black Heroes and Sheroes, Sonny Carson, Ali and Jackie Lamont, and others. This is truly a remarkable story, as worthy of preservation as any discovered for its nineteenth century heritage. The story of this research project itself is worthy of preservation.

I am honored to have been a part of such a major, thorough, and well-documented community research project and to have had an opportunity to work not only with AKRF but with Joy Chatel and Lewis Greenstein, whose commitment to their neighborhood and their history is an inspiration to us all.

CRAIG WILDER

I have read and evaluated the “Research Report on the Potential Underground Railroad Associations of the Duffield Street and Gold Street Properties in Downtown Brooklyn” (AKRF, May 2006). Your staff has done an excellent job of compiling the documentary and oral records

related to the Underground Railroad in Brooklyn and identifying information relevant to the questions surrounding the subject properties.

The research aims to connect the sites and known residents with the people, events, and institutions that the Underground Railroad comprised. The report also provides an analysis of the structural and architectural evidence, including basements and substructures that have been implicated in oral traditions about the Underground Railroad in Brooklyn. This sub-report confirmed that many of the claims about architectural and structural features were improbable, while leaving open the need for a more comprehensive archaeological investigation. Cheryl LaRoche's site visit strengthens the latter call. AKRF's efforts to collect oral interviews from residents and local authorities met with disappointing results.

The final report links the known history of an active abolitionist and Underground Railroad community to the more cloudy history of the physical and spatial expressions and locations of those political and social movements. In the decades before the Civil War, Brooklyn served as a haven, at least temporarily, for a number of the nation's most prominent freedom seekers and the presence of an active commercial port created the conditions that made the city an attractive site for protecting and transporting such persons.

The report correctly notes the problem of this kind of investigation: clandestine and extralegal social actions and movements like the Underground Railroad, that incorporate mechanisms for hiding their own existence, are often only apprehended through oral and non-traditional sources. These oral traditions have existed for decades, they predate the current controversies about redevelopment, and the advisors have emphasized the need to explore and appreciate these claims. The property owners were not for the most part interviewed, many of their documents and some of the other interviews are not accessible. Nonetheless, the oral histories that were collected confirmed the lineage and the scope of the traditions about these properties and the materials recently received from some of the property owners begins to confirm the integrity of these traditions. This area of investigation remains promising.

The level of cooperation should not be misread. In an earlier review of the progress of AKRF's efforts, I wrote that the problem is the very real culture of mistrust and suspicion that surrounds many of the interactions between communities defending their own histories and experiences and government agencies and their arms with a long history of disrespecting and ignoring the historical, cultural, and emotional meaning of physical places and spatial relations in communities of color. To be blunt, the very fact that the decision to explore the historical claims of these communities generally comes only when they stand in the path of a greater urban plan does and will continue to breed suspicion and reservation.

Given these limitations, AKRF has methodically collected and analyzed historical records, documents, and traditions pertaining to the subject properties. It has also been careful in its assignment of rankings and consistent in its willingness to incorporate external criticism. Thus, I offer no substantive criticism of the examination and ratings enclosed in the report, although I do caution readers to remember that the final report establishes what has been documented and confirmed but does not negate the possibility that additional research could considerably alter these findings. For instance, as several of the consultants have noted, the identities of many of the residents of these properties during key historical moments have not been ascertained.

- The connection between the 223 Duffield property and the Underground Railroad remains speculative. Despite its efforts, AKRF has not been able to uncover any documentary evidence to verify claims that the site was connected to the known institutional structures,

personnel, or events of the Underground Railroad. The level 1 rating is judicious given what has been documented.

- As the report notes, 225 Duffield is implicated only by location in the oral traditions about the Underground Railroad in Brooklyn. Here, the possibility of a physical remnant (a tunnel) of the Underground Railroad has been explored but this analysis is of limited value as the structure was largely rebuilt in the mid-twentieth century. The level 1 rating is reasonable given what has been documented.
- The 227 Duffield rating of 3 is consistent with the evidence as collected and processed by AKRF, which strongly indicates ties to the Underground Railroad. The Truesdell and Frederickson families, residents and owners of the property, were known to belong to abolitionist organizations and institutions, they were involved in a Northeastern anti-slavery network, and they were implicated in oral traditions about the Underground Railroad in Brooklyn, which all point to this site's likely historical role.
- The level 2 rating assigned to 231, 233, and 235 Duffield are consistent with the facts as compiled. Again, here it is important to remember that the findings simply fail to positively connect these sites to the Underground Railroad.
- The level 1 rating assigned to 436 Gold Street is consistent with what has been uncovered.

Again, AKRF has done a considerable amount of work that clearly establishes the historical significance of this neighborhood and the potential roles of these properties. One of the clearest conclusions from this investigation is that this part of Brooklyn deserves a far more prominent place in the public history of the city, the state, and the Underground Railroad.

A.J. WILLIAMS-MYERS

Having examined the Final Research Report, it is quite evident that no further corroborative data have been found to conclusively establish an Underground Railroad connection for the enumerated properties on both Duffield Street and Gold Street/Albee Square. Yet at the same time I shudder at the thought of the eventual demolition of the buildings, especially given their location in the heart of downtown Brooklyn which was once a community caught up in the throes of the clandestine operations of the Under-ground Railroad. The clandestine nature of the system meant and means that in the wake of the movement of Freedom Seekers there would be no "paper trail." For me, this is an added variable to that personal shudder. As a result, I concur with the comments of Peer Reviewers Alexander (Comment 49), LaRoche (Comment 50), and Wellman (Comment 61). There seems to be a need for further deliberation as to what ultimately to do with the properties and/or property. Dr. Wellman's idea of a "Freedom Center" is an idea whose time has come. What better way to begin to unlock and disseminate to the community, and the wider New York community as well, knowledge of its area's involvement in the ongoing struggle to guarantee to all the American Dream of personal freedom!

Appendix D

**Report of Historic Construction Review
of the Duffield Street Houses, Brooklyn, New York**

September 10, 2004

REPORT OF HISTORIC CONSTRUCTION REVIEW OF THE DUFFIELD ST. HOUSES - BROOKLYN, NEW YORK

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Purpose

In August of 2004, AKRF, Inc. issued a request for proposal for professional services to conduct an investigation of the cellar levels of several houses on Duffield St. and one structure on Gold St., in Brooklyn, New York. Michael Devonshire, principal and Senior Architectural Conservator of Jan Hird Pokorny Associates, Inc., of New York City responded to the RFP.

The purpose of the investigation was to review existing architectural features and render an opinion concerning what possible evidence may exist, such as passages between buildings, anomalous features, etc., which reflect that the buildings were used as elements in the "Underground Railroad" in the 19th century.

1.2 Methodology

The investigation of the buildings involved a brief review of maps relating to the site, and historical architectural reference books from the Avery Library at Columbia University, but was based primarily on a visual examination of existing evidence within the cellars of the subject houses which was performed in August of 2004. No investigative removals were performed as a component of the site investigation. During the site investigation, which was attended by several interested parties, a number of questions were fielded and responded to directly by the investigator. These are included in the Addenda section of this report.

2.0 DESCRIPTIONS

2.1 General

The buildings are located on Duffield St. and Gold St., between Willoughby and Fulton Sts. in downtown Brooklyn. The buildings conform to the typical 19th C. "row house" configuration, with engaged party walls and generally continuous

facade walls. The upper stories of all of the subject buildings appear to have been modified to a greater or lesser extent from the original construction, with the addition of facade projections, which are used as commercial space, and changes in height as well. The upper interior spaces of the buildings were not included in this investigation, however, the front parlor of two of the Duffield St. buildings exhibit Greek Revival era trim and layout, suggesting a construction period of the first half of the 19thC.

2.2 No. 223 Duffield St.

The foundation walls of No. 223 Duffield St. are constructed of random coursed rubble stone masonry. A ventilation well is located at the rear of the cellar, the masonry of which is keyed to the foundation walls, indicating original construction. There is an early concrete lined coal chute located at the front façade which appears to date from the early 20th C.

2.3 No. 225 Duffield St.

The cellar level walls of this space have been significantly altered, concealing any evidence of 19th C. construction.

2.4 No. 227 Duffield St.

The basement walls of No. 227 Duffield St. are constructed of random coursed rubble stone which appears to be a mixture of brownstone and schist, typical of 19th C foundation wall construction. There is a projecting ventilation well at the rear facade. The walls of the ventilation well are faced in stone similar to that of the foundation walls and are also keyed to them, indicating original construction.

2.5 No. 233 Duffield St.

Foundation walls of No. 233 are of coursed rubble sandstone and appear to be original construction. This cellar area features a ventilation well at the rear which is keyed to the foundation stone, indicating contemporaneous construction. The well has been previously altered to an entry, with some brick infill, and some schist stone on the rear wall, which is not keyed to the adjacent walls.

The floor of this cellar has been covered with a concrete slab, completed in numerous pours rather than a single construction event. There is an 8'x8' area at the front of the cellar which has not been covered with concrete. The existing condition suggests that there was a partitioned area here when the adjacent concrete was poured, but considering that the floor was constructed in several events, it is not possible to determine when the partition was removed, its origin

or form of construction. The soil within the area is well compacted. As this area is the significant anomalous feature of this cellar, archeological investigation is the most appropriate means of determining if this relates to "Underground Railroad" activity. However, the soil has been disturbed, resulting in questionable archeological value.

The ventilation shaft located at the front facade is concealed by newer construction.

2.6 No. 235 Duffield St.

This construction appears to be contemporaneous to that of No. 227 Duffield St., with foundation facade walls of random coursed sandstone and schist construction, however, the party walls are of brick masonry construction. There are no significant anomalous features within this cellar.

2.7 No. 436 Gold St.

The cellar of the Gold St. building is of random coursed stone and brick masonry. The building has been significantly modified at least twice. One (rear) or possibly both the front and rear facades have been expanded, removing most traces of original construction. The existing alterations appear to date from the last quarter of the 19th C.

3.0 CONCLUSION

The contiguous buildings on Duffield St. appear to predate the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, and are located in an area which oral history has suggested was active in the Underground Railroad system. These two considerations make it extremely enticing to suggest that they might have been part of that conveyance system.

However, with the exception of one "unpaved" section of flooring on Duffield St., no architectural features were evident in any of the buildings which do not conform to general construction practice (i.e. original ventilation wells), or reflect subsequent modifications (i.e. coal chutes, facade wall "bump-outs"), and no communication between buildings exists at the cellar levels.

In the opinion of this investigator, if there had been more compelling features or anomalies which existed, they have been removed in subsequent alterations, otherwise, any participation of these buildings in the Underground Railroad system, took place only on ancillary spaces, rather than in unique cellar or sub-cellar spaces.

4.0 ADDENDA

Several questions were directed to the investigator during the performance of the site review concerning specific features within the cellars. In order to illuminate the architectural discussion, these questions are addressed below:

Q: Do the arches below the chimneys at the party walls indicate passageways which have been infilled?

A: Each of these masonry constructs supports the chimney and hearth loads above. Frequently when chimney supports are constructed of brick masonry, the support features an arch, which saves on material and labor. Generally, rubble stone supports do not feature an arch. No arches or other infill areas were found on walls which lacked chimney support structures. In the case of the Duffield St. chimney supports, the masonry is keyed to the adjacent foundation walls, indicating construction which is contemporaneous.

Q: Is the small sloped shaft in the front wall building related to a passageway?

A: The small sloped shaft is a coal chute.

Q: Are the shafts at the rear foundation walls possible passageways?

A: The shafts were constructed and originally used as ventilation bays. Prior to the late 19th C basements or cellars were used for kitchen areas. Because of the lack of side wall ventilation, there was usually a ventilation shaft at the rear facade, and a larger shaft, that served not only for ventilation, but as a means for conveying goods to the basement or cellar levels from the street. Frequently there is a wrought iron "crane" architectural feature that is frequently found on areaways in the fronts of 19th C New York row houses, serving the same purpose.

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New York, NY 10022

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Michael Devonshire is Senior Architectural Conservator and a principal in the firm of Jan Hird Pokorny Associates, Inc., an architectural firm in New York City. Prior to joining the Pokorny firm he was a conservator at the Center for Building Conservation in New York City and served as a restoration supervisor for the National Trust Preservation Workshop at Lyndhurst in Tarrytown, New York, and was a master craftsman at the Weeksville Society restoration in Brooklyn, NY.

He received his education at the Rhode Island School of Design in Providence, RI and Roger Williams University in Bristol, RI, and also studied at the Aegean School of Art in Paros, Greece. He has also attended the Attingham School for the Study of the English Country House.

At the Weeksville project, he served first as the lead craftsman, then as Restoration Director. Responsibilities included documentation of existing elements and conditions, determination of period-appropriate levels of restoration, supervision and training of restoration crew.

In his position as Senior Architectural Conservator with the Pokorny firm, he is frequently involved in the determination of period treatments and details. The type of research with which he is involved is more "forensic" than informational, and is frequently called for in the development of Historic Structure Reports. Projects on which this discipline has been implemented include the Morris-Jumel Mansion, 1765, Manhattan's oldest residence; the 19th century Merchant's House Museum, NYC; the Bartow Pell Mansion Carriage House, Pelham; thirteen buildings at the Snug Harbor Cultural Center, in Staten Island; The Longstreet Farm Dutch Barn in Holmdel, NJ. He has also assisted with archeological investigations of foundation walls at Ellis Island, the "Telco Block" at the South Street Seaport, and the Stadthuis, in Lower Manhattan. Mr. Devonshire has also worked on an 18th century New World Dutch Barn in New Jersey and the Guilin Building, an early 20th century structure on the Bund in Shanghai, PRC.

The Pokorny firm has been engaged in a broad range of commissions since its establishment in 1946, including the design of new commercial, institutional, and residential buildings, as well as historic structure reports, masterplans, and urban design projects. In recent years the focus of the practice has been on the preservation, restoration, and adaptive reuse of historic structures with projects which include Mills Mansion, a McKim Mead and White mansion in Staatsburg, New York, the Church of the Intercession, a Bertram Goodhue masterpiece, and Olana, the Frederick Church home in Hudson, New York. Mr. Devonshire supervises all religious property work at the Pokorny firm.

Mr. Devonshire has been on the faculty of the Columbia University Graduate School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation since 1990, instructing in courses in the history of building technology as well as preservation studios. He participates on the Preservation Program Director's Curriculum Committee.

He has presented several papers, including more recently at the annual APT conference, and the first Conference for the Preservation of Historic Districts, in Kaoshiung, Taiwan.

As a private consultant he has performed numerous architectural assessments and has assisted in award winning restoration projects, and has performed numerous CAPS architectural assessments on buildings ranging from the 16th through 20th Centuries.

Michael has served on the boards of directors of the Snug Harbor Cultural Center, the Victorian Society in America, New York Chapter, and presently serves on the Board of Directors of US ICOMOS.

Appendix E

Historic Census Records

1930 Fed (1930)
 SCHEDULE 1 - Free Inhabitants in St. Louis in the County of St. Louis State of Missouri
 enumerated by me, on the 12 day of April 1850. C. Baker Assy. Marshal

1	2	3	4			7	8	9	10		11
			12	13	14				15	16	
588	1850	Thos. Shandale	36	M		Pelle Baker		Comer			
		Harriet D.	37	F				W. J.			
		Abby W.	19	F							
		William D. Drake	28	M		Pelle Baker		Wm. Baker			
		Miss J. W.	26	F				W. J.			
		Robert Wallen	20	M							
		Harriet S.	24	F				W. J.			
589	1850	William D. Drake	28	M		Wm. Baker		W. J.			
		Robert W.	26	M				W. J.			
		Carroll W.	31	M							
590	1850	William D. Drake	28	M		Wm. Baker		W. J.			
		Carroll W.	31	M							
		Edna	24	F				W. J.			
		Harriet S.	24	F				W. J.			
		Abby W.	19	F							
		James W.	27	M							
591	1850	Edna	24	F		Wm. Baker		W. J.			
		Harriet S.	24	F				W. J.			
		William D. Drake	28	M		Wm. Baker		W. J.			
		Carroll W.	31	M							
		Edna	24	F				W. J.			
		William D. Drake	28	M		Wm. Baker		W. J.			
		Carroll W.	31	M							
		Edna	24	F				W. J.			
		William D. Drake	28	M		Wm. Baker		W. J.			
		Carroll W.	31	M							
		Edna	24	F				W. J.			
		William D. Drake	28	M		Wm. Baker		W. J.			
		Carroll W.	31	M							
		Edna	24	F				W. J.			
		William D. Drake	28	M		Wm. Baker		W. J.			
		Carroll W.	31	M							
		Edna	24	F				W. J.			
		William D. Drake	28	M		Wm. Baker		W. J.			
		Carroll W.	31	M							
		Edna	24	F				W. J.			
		William D. Drake	28	M		Wm. Baker		W. J.			
		Carroll W.	31	M							
		Edna	24	F				W. J.			
		William D. Drake	28	M		Wm. Baker		W. J.			
		Carroll W.	31	M							
		Edna	24	F				W. J.			
		William D. Drake	28	M		Wm. Baker		W. J.			
		Carroll W.	31	M							
		Edna	24	F				W. J.			
		William D. Drake	28	M		Wm. Baker		W. J.			
		Carroll W.	31	M							
		Edna	24	F				W. J.			
		William D. Drake	28	M		Wm. Baker		W. J.			
		Carroll W.	31	M							
		Edna	24	F				W. J.			
		William D. Drake	28	M		Wm. Baker		W. J.			
		Carroll W.	31	M							
		Edna	24	F				W. J.			
		William D. Drake	28	M		Wm. Baker		W. J.			
		Carroll W.	31	M							
		Edna	24	F				W. J.			
		William D. Drake	28	M		Wm. Baker		W. J.			
		Carroll W.	31	M							
		Edna	24	F				W. J.			
		William D. Drake	28	M		Wm. Baker		W. J.			
		Carroll W.	31	M							
		Edna	24	F				W. J.			
		William D. Drake	28	M		Wm. Baker		W. J.			
		Carroll W.	31	M							
		Edna	24	F				W. J.			
		William D. Drake	28	M		Wm. Baker		W. J.			
		Carroll W.	31	M							
		Edna	24	F				W. J.			
		William D. Drake	28	M		Wm. Baker		W. J.			
		Carroll W.	31	M							
		Edna	24	F				W. J.			
		William D. Drake	28	M		Wm. Baker		W. J.			
		Carroll W.	31	M							
		Edna	24	F				W. J.			
		William D. Drake	28	M		Wm. Baker		W. J.			
		Carroll W.	31	M							
		Edna	24	F				W. J.			
		William D. Drake	28	M		Wm. Baker		W. J.			
		Carroll W.	31	M							
		Edna	24	F				W. J.			
		William D. Drake	28	M		Wm. Baker		W. J.			
		Carroll W.	31	M							
		Edna	24	F				W. J.			
		William D. Drake	28	M		Wm. Baker		W. J.			
		Carroll W.	31	M							
		Edna	24	F				W. J.			
		William D. Drake	28	M		Wm. Baker		W. J.			
		Carroll W.	31	M							
		Edna	24	F				W. J.			
		William D. Drake	28	M		Wm. Baker		W. J.			
		Carroll W.	31	M							
		Edna	24	F				W. J.			
		William D. Drake	28	M		Wm. Baker		W. J.			
		Carroll W.	31	M							
		Edna	24	F				W. J.			
		William D. Drake	28	M		Wm. Baker		W. J.			
		Carroll W.	31	M							
		Edna	24	F				W. J.			
		William D. Drake	28	M		Wm. Baker		W. J.			
		Carroll W.	31	M							
		Edna	24	F				W. J.			
		William D. Drake	28	M		Wm. Baker		W. J.			
		Carroll W.	31	M							
		Edna	24	F				W. J.			
		William D. Drake	28	M		Wm. Baker		W. J.			
		Carroll W.	31	M							
		Edna	24	F				W. J.			
		William D. Drake	28	M		Wm. Baker		W. J.			
		Carroll W.	31	M							
		Edna	24	F				W. J.			
		William D. Drake	28	M		Wm. Baker		W. J.			
		Carroll W.	31	M							
		Edna	24	F				W. J.			
		William D. Drake	28	M		Wm. Baker		W. J.			
		Carroll W.	31	M							
		Edna	24	F				W. J.			
		William D. Drake	28	M		Wm. Baker		W. J.			
		Carroll W.	31	M							
		Edna	24	F				W. J.			
		William D. Drake	28	M		Wm. Baker		W. J.			
		Carroll W.	31	M							
		Edna	24	F				W. J.			
		William D. Drake	28	M		Wm. Baker		W. J.			
		Carroll W.	31	M							
		Edna	24	F				W. J.			
		William D. Drake	28	M		Wm. Baker		W. J.			
		Carroll W.	31	M							
		Edna	24	F				W. J.			
		William D. Drake	28	M		Wm. Baker		W. J.			
		Carroll W.	31	M							
		Edna	24	F				W. J.			
		William D. Drake	28	M		Wm. Baker		W. J.			
		Carroll W.	31	M							
		Edna	24	F				W. J.			
		William D. Drake	28	M		Wm. Baker		W. J.			
		Carroll W.	31	M							
		Edna	24	F				W. J.			
		William D. Drake	28	M		Wm. Baker		W. J.			
		Carroll W.	31	M							
		Edna	24	F				W. J.			
		William D. Drake	28	M		Wm. Baker		W. J.			
		Carroll W.	31	M							
		Edna	24	F				W. J.			
		William D. Drake	28	M		Wm. Baker		W. J.			
		Carroll W.	31	M							
		Edna	24	F				W. J.			
		William D. Drake	28	M		Wm. Baker		W. J.			
		Carroll W.	31	M							
		Edna	24	F				W. J.			
		William D. Drake	28	M		Wm. Baker		W. J.			
		Carroll W.	31	M							

1880 Federal Census

SCHEDULE 1. Free Inhabitants in 11th Ward City of New York in the County of King State of New York enumerated by me, on the 1st day of Aug 1880. J. P. Kelly Ass't Marshal.

585

1	2	3	4			7	8	9	10 11 12			13
			Age	Sex	Color				Married	Single	Widowed	
482	185	Edwards P Woodson	50	M		Merchant		England				
483	186	Lester	31	F				"				
		Lester B	12	M				"				
		Caliza	15	F				"				
		Christina	13	F				"				
		Edwina	12	M				"				
		Madison	1	M				"				
		Wendy	7	F				"				
		Corinna	6	F				"				
		Madison	4	F				"				
		Harriet	3	F				"				
484	187	John Corahy	37	M		Walter		N.Y.				
485	188	Harriet	46	F				N.Y.				
		Maranda	23	F				N.Y.				
		John	12	M				"				
486	189	Man & Lee	41	M		Merchant		"				
487	190	Calmarine C	40	F				N.Y.				
		John	15	M		Cliff		N.Y.				
		John	13	F				"				
		John	9	F				"				
		John	6	F				"				
		John	4	M				"				
		John	19	F				"				
488	191	J. J. Schell	49	M		Agent		N.Y.				
489	192	John	50	F				"				
		John	28	M		Surgeon		N.Y.				
		John	19	F				N.Y.				
		John	15	M		Cliff		N.Y.				
		John	13	F				"				
		John	9	M				"				
		John	25	F				"				
490	193	George Paulhouse	36	M		Brother		N.Y.				
491	194	John	01	F				"				
		John	9	F				"				
		John	7	M				"				
		John	11	M				"				
492	195	John Smith	38	M		Brother		N.Y.				
493	196	John	32	F				"				
		John	9	M				N.Y.				
		John	7	M				"				
		John	5	F				"				

John Kelly

494
197

1850 Census

SCHEDULE I--Free Inhabitants in 11 Ward City Parkyn in the County of Stuyvesant State of New York enumerated by me, on the 31 day of July 1850. J. B. Smith Ass't Marshal

1	2	3	4			7	8	9	10			13
			Age	Sex	Color				Married within the year	Whether deaf and dumb, blind, insane, idiotic, pauper, or convict		
		Anna Smith	3	f				N.Y.				
		Edward	41	m								
488	935	Mary G. Lawrence	49	f				Portland				
49	932	Wm. J. Post	33	m	Black			N.Y.				
		Henry W.	9	m								
		William G.	4	m				N.Y.				
		Henry A.	2	f								
		Mariah Miller	45	f								
		Bridget Agnes	24	f				Scots				
578	938	Geo. H. Simons	35	m		Butcher		Scotland				
498	933	Emily J.	32	f				N.Y.				
		Edmund	11	m								
		John	19	m		Butcher						
508	937	George C. Thompson	44	m		Butcher						
499	934	Martha G.	37	f		Seaman		Scots				
		George A.	18	m		Black		N.Y.				
		Henry G.	17	f				England				
		George B.	16	m		Black		N.Y.				
		Franky N.	8	m								
		Bridget Murray	23	f				N.Y.				
508	938	Mary Barron	67	f				Scotland				
500	935	John G. Sheppard	53	m		Tailor	3700	N.Y.				
		Henry	57	m								
		John	26	f								
		John C. Dudley	27	m		Tailor						
503	939	Margaret Williams	53	f				England				
		Margaret	53	f			4520					
		Mary F. Gile	75	f				N.Y.				
504	940	Mary W. Wright	77	f				N.Y.				
502	939	Richard G.	51	f		Carpenter	5000	N.Y.				
		Henry J.	11	m				N.Y.				
		Mary H.	9	f				N.Y.				
		Richard H.	8	m				N.Y.				
		Ben. Hill	5	m				N.Y.				
		Edwin	3	m				N.Y.				
		Juliana W.	1	m				N.Y.				
		Emily P. Davis	23	f								
		John	8	m				N.Y.				
		Mary Newman	11	f				Scots				
505	941	Harriet Mearns	38	f				Scotland				
503	939	Edward Davis	31	m				England				
506	942	John Stewart	77	m		Black						

J. B. Smith

Federal 1860 Census

156

SCHEDULE 1. Free Inhabitants in Ward No. 11 in the City of Brooklyn in the County of Kings State of N.Y. enumerated by me, on the 25 day of June 1860. Brooklyn City Post Office Brooklyn City

1	2	3	4			7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
			4	5	6														
1	675	1333	Charles	40	M		Welder		1000		Irish								
2			Mental	40	M				3000		Irish								
3			James	30	M						Irish								
4			John	3	M						Irish								
5			Suegar	23	M		Servant				Irish								
6			Mary	18	F						Irish								
7	676	1334	Frances	34	M		Black		2000		N.Y.								
8			Katie	26	F						N.Y.								
9		1333	M. G. Gies	30	M		W. Hospital		600		Irish								
10			Mary	30	F														
11			Josephine	20	F														
12			Sarah	18	F														
13	677	1336	James	41	M		Butcher		2500	4000	N.Y.								
14			John	28	M														
15			Amaguetta	15	F														
16			Daniel	14	M														
17			Elizabeth	8	F														
18			Mathew	3	M														
19			William	2	M														
20	678	1337	Amos	43	M		Merchant		4000										
21			Mary	41	F														
22			Barab	18	F														
23			John	21	M		Servant				Irish								
24	679	1338	William	45	M		Telegraph Agent		1000		Irish								
25			Harriet	43	F														
26			Alfred	19	M		Black				N.Y.								
27			Charles	14	M														
28			Harriet	12	F														
29			Elizabeth	11	F		Servant		50		Irish								
30	680		George	47	M		Merchant		6000		N.Y.								
31	681	1335	George	47	M		Merchant		6000		N.Y.								
32			Mary	23	F														
33			Charles	27	M		Servant		50		Irish								
34			Mary	23	F														
35			Elizabeth	21	F														
36	682	1340	Francis	43	M		Minister P.O.		12000	2000	N.Y.								
37			Elizabeth	41	F														
38			Francis	37	M														
39			John	38	M		Minister P.O.				Irish								

No. of this table 14
No. of this census 133

I. Population. CENSUS of the Inhabitants living in the *Eastern of the Eleventh Ward of the City* of *Brooklyn* in the County of *Kings State of N. Y.* on the first day of June, 1865. This Enumeration was made by me, on the *fourth* day of June, 1865. *Jesse Smith*

(2.)

Enumerated

Dwelling	Family name	Street and house	Value	Sex	Age	Color	Relation to the head of the family	Is not a citizen of the United States	Profession, trade or occupation	Place of birth	Married		Total	Male	Female	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced	Never married	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
											Head	Wife														
1	112	Home 3700	188	Wm. M. Shanty	44	M	Head		Wear	New York	2	1	3	2	1	1					3	2	1	3	2	1
2				Ann	38	F	Wife		Wear	New York	1	1	2	1	1						2	1	1	2	1	1
3				Chas. M.	15	M	Son			New York			1								1			1		
4				Charles A.	13	M	Son			New York			1								1			1		
5				Wm. M.	11	M	Son			New York			1								1			1		
6				Oliver	8	M	Son			New York			1								1			1		
7				Frank R.	1	M	Son			New York			1								1			1		
8				James R.	3	M	Son		Stings	New York			1								1			1		
9				Bridget M. Smith	184	F	Servant		Delaware				1								1			1		
10	113	Home 3500	189	Thomas B. Jones	40	M	Head		Delaware		1	1	2	1	1						2	1	1	2	1	1
11				Abeline	40	F	Wife		New York		1	1	2	1	1						2	1	1	2	1	1
12				William H.	19	M	Son		Kings				1								1			1		
13				Frank B.	12	M	Son		"				1								1			1		
14				Bridget - Jones	24	F	Servant		Delaware				1								1			1		
15				Mary Clark	50	F	Wife		"				1								1			1		
16	114	Brick 4500	190	Joseph D. Nelson	44	M	Head		New York		1	1	2	1	1						2	1	1	2	1	1
17				Caroline	33	F	Wife		"		3	1	4	3	1						4	3	1	4	3	1
18				John	8	M	Son		Kings				1								1			1		
19				Joseph G.	2	M	Son		"				1								1			1		
20				John H. Taylor	57	M	Head		New York		2	1	3	2	1						3	2	1	3	2	1
21				Thomas H. Jones	30	M	Servant		Delaware				1								1			1		
22			191	Martha Jones	58	F	Wife		Delaware		5	1	6	5	1						6	5	1	6	5	1
23				Martha	20	F	Child		"				1								1			1		
24				George Grogan	18	M	Son		New York				1								1			1		
25	115	Brick 4000	192	James G. Jones	23	M	Head		New York		1	1	2	1	1						2	1	1	2	1	1
26				James	25	M	Son		Kings		1	1	2	1	1						2	1	1	2	1	1
27				Albert G.	12	M	Son		"				1								1			1		
28			193	Edgar Freeman	50	M	Head		New York		1	1	2	1	1						2	1	1	2	1	1
29				Ruth	24	F	Wife		Kings		3	1	4	3	1						4	3	1	4	3	1
30				Walter	12	M	Son		"				1								1			1		
31				Arthur	7	M	Son		"				1								1			1		
32				Isabella H. Jones	12	F	Servant		Delaware				1								1			1		
33				Mary Chaffee	10	F	Child		New York				1								1			1		
34	116	Brick 4000	194	Charles H. Jones	52	M	Head		Delaware		1	1	2	1	1						2	1	1	2	1	1
35				Mary A.	32	F	Wife		"		3	1	4	3	1						4	3	1	4	3	1
36				Robert	7	M	Son		"				1								1			1		
37				Martha	12	F	Child		Kings				1								1			1		
38				Mary Jones	22	F	Servant		Delaware				1								1			1		
39				John Jones	14	M	Son		"				1								1			1		
40				John Jones	14	M	Son		"				1								1			1		
41	117	Brick 4000	195	William H. Jones	50	M	Head		Kings		1	1	2	1	1						2	1	1	2	1	1
42				Elizabeth	30	F	Wife		"		3	1	4	3	1						4	3	1	4	3	1
43				Caroline	7	F	Child		"				1								1			1		
44				William R.	12	M	Son		"				1								1			1		
45				Frank	7	M	Son		"				1								1			1		
				Mary Jones	18	F	Servant		"				1								1			1		

1870

No. 1
 Schedule I.—Inhabitants in North-Haven Town, Connecticut, in the County of Sturges, State of New York, enumerated by me on the 21 day of June, 1870. 133
 Post-Office: Sturges John McColl A.S. Marshal.

No.	Name	Sex	Age	Color	Profession, Occupation, or Trade	Place of Birth	Value of Real Estate		Value of Personal Property		Place of Birth of Mother	Place of Birth of Father	Whether blind and deaf, dumb, idiot, insane, or idiotic	Whether deaf and dumb, or idiotic
							Land	Improvements	Real Estate	Personal Property				
1	Paul A. Collins	M	38	W	Highway	Conn								
2	Conrad W. 2	M	38	W	at school	N.Y.								
3	St. James	M	38	W	at school	N.Y.								
4	Richard W. 2	M	38	W	Domestic	Conn								
5	John W. 2	M	38	W	Domestic	Conn								
6	John W. 2	M	38	W	Highway	N.Y.								
7	John W. 2	M	38	W	at school	N.Y.								
8	John W. 2	M	38	W	Domestic	Conn								
9	John W. 2	M	38	W	Domestic	Conn								
10	John W. 2	M	38	W	Highway	Conn								
11	John W. 2	M	38	W	at school	N.Y.								
12	John W. 2	M	38	W	at school	N.Y.								
13	John W. 2	M	38	W	at school	N.Y.								
14	John W. 2	M	38	W	at school	N.Y.								
15	John W. 2	M	38	W	Domestic	Conn								
16	John W. 2	M	38	W	Domestic	Conn								
17	John W. 2	M	38	W	Domestic	Conn								
18	John W. 2	M	38	W	Domestic	Conn								
19	John W. 2	M	38	W	Domestic	Conn								
20	John W. 2	M	38	W	at school	N.Y.								
21	John W. 2	M	38	W	at school	N.Y.								
22	John W. 2	M	38	W	Domestic	Conn								
23	John W. 2	M	38	W	Domestic	Conn								
24	John W. 2	M	38	W	Highway	N.Y.								
25	John W. 2	M	38	W	Domestic	Conn								
26	John W. 2	M	38	W	Domestic	Conn								
27	John W. 2	M	38	W	at school	N.Y.								
28	John W. 2	M	38	W	Domestic	Conn								
29	John W. 2	M	38	W	Highway	N.Y.								
30	John W. 2	M	38	W	at school	N.Y.								
31	John W. 2	M	38	W	at school	N.Y.								
32	John W. 2	M	38	W	at school	N.Y.								
33	John W. 2	M	38	W	at school	N.Y.								
34	John W. 2	M	38	W	at school	N.Y.								
35	John W. 2	M	38	W	Domestic	Conn								
36	John W. 2	M	38	W	Domestic	Conn								
37	John W. 2	M	38	W	Domestic	Conn								
38	John W. 2	M	38	W	at school	N.Y.								
39	John W. 2	M	38	W	at school	N.Y.								
40	John W. 2	M	38	W	at school	N.Y.								

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Appendix F

**Abstract of Brooklyn and New York City Directories
1848-1871**

Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories

1848-1871

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1848-1849	1849-1850	1850-1851
Ackley (aka Ackeley)	Delia and John A.	John A, agent American tract society. Duffield b Fulton and Willoughy.	John, Warren n Henry	John A., 150 Nassau N Y h. 143 Duffield
Ackley	William B. and Sarah G.	NID	NID	lawyer, 71 Nassau NY h 143 Duffield
Baldwin	Caleb	mason, Stanton n. Willoughby	Caleb H., mason, 300 Gold	Caleb H., mason 345 Gold
Batteris	Julia L. and Harriet S.	NID	NID	NID
Beatty	Ellen	NID	NID	NID
Bergen	Mary	NID	NID	NID
Bernard	Frank	NID	NID	NID
Bernard	John	NID	NID	NID
Bonnel	Adeline and Nathaniel	mason, 16 Prince	Nathaniel, mason, 16 Prince	Nathaniel, mason 16 Prince
Bonnel	Robert	NID	Robert G, mason, 289 Gold	Robert G, mason 289 Gold
Breckin	Ann	NID	NID	NID
Burnham	Caroline A.	NID	NID	NID
Burns	Bridget	NID	NID	NID
Canis	Julia	NID	NID	NID
Carey	Joanna	NID	NID	NID
Carwe	Margaret	NID	NID	NID
Cary	Eliza	NID	NID	NID
Clancey	Mary	15 State	NID	NID

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1851-1852	1852-1853	1853-1854
Ackley (aka Ackeley)	Delia and John A.	John A., 10 Wall, NY h 143 Duffield	John A., 10 Wall NY h. 143 Duffield	John A., 10 Wall, NY, n 143 Duffield; Delia, widow of John A. 145 Duffield
Ackley	William B. and Sarah G.	lawyer, 71 Nassau NY h. 143 Duffield	NID	lawyer, 18 Wall, NY, h 127 Duffield
Baldwin	Caleb	Caleb H., mason 347 Gold	Caleb H., mason 347 Gold	Caleb H., mason, 347 Gold
Batteris	Julia L. and Harriet S.	NID	NID	NID
Beatty	Ellen	NID	NID	NID
Bergen	Mary	NID	NID	NID
Bernard	Frank	NID	NID	NID
Bernard	John	NID	NID	NID
Bonnel	Adeline and Nathaniel	Nathaniel, mason 16 Prince	Nathaniel, mason 16 Prince	NID
Bonnel	Robert	Robert G, mason Duffield n Fulton av	Robert T, mason 167 Duffield n Fulton av	Robert T., mason, 167 Duffield n Fulton av
Breckin	Ann	NID	NID	NID
Burnham	Caroline A.	NID	NID	NID
Burns	Bridget	NID	NID	NID
Canis	Julia	NID	NID	NID
Carey	Joanna	NID	NID	NID
Carwe	Margaret	NID	NID	NID
Cary	Eliza	NID	NID	NID
Clancey	Mary	NID	NID	NID

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1854-1855	1855-1856	1856-1857
Ackley (aka Ackeley)	Delia and John A.	NID	Delia, widow John A h. Clermont av n. Myrtle	Delia B. widow John A. 80 Clermont Av.
Ackley	William B. and Sarah G.	Wm. B., lawyer, 18 Wall NY, h 127 Duffield	Wm. B., lawyer, 18 Wall NY, h 127 Duffield	lawyer, 19 William, NY h 171 Duffield
Baldwin	Caleb	NID	Caleb H., mason, 25 Debevoise, h. 205 Duffield; Caleb J., printer, h. 78 Union av	Caleb H, builder, 222 Adelphi
Batteris	Julia L. and Harriet S.	NID	NID	NID
Beatty	Ellen	NID	NID	NID
Bergen	Mary	NID	NID	widow John.S. First av. n 44th
Bernard	Frank	vocalist, 171 Nassau	NID	NID
Bernard	John	NID	2 entries: glassblower, h. Cumberland st. n. Park av; John H, tailor, h. Marion, New Brooklyn	glassblower, Park av cor Cumberland
Bonnel	Adeline and Nathaniel	Nathaniel, mason, 203 Pearl & Tillary	Bonnell, Nathaniel, mason, h. 203 Pearl	N, mason, Pearl c Tillary
Bonnel	Robert	NID	Bonnell, Robert G, mason, h. 211 Duffield	R.G., mason 167 Duffield
Breckin	Ann	NID	NID	NID
Burnham	Caroline A.	NID	NID	NID
Burns	Bridget	Hickory n Classon av	laundress, h. 129 Court	NID
Canis	Julia	NID	NID	NID
Carey	Joanna	NID	NID	NID
Carwe	Margaret	NID	NID	NID
Cary	Eliza	NID	NID	NID
Clancey	Mary	NID	NID	NID

NID=Not In Directory

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1857-1858	1858-1859	1859-1860
Ackley (aka Aceley)	Delia and John A.	Delia, widow, h. 189 Duffield	Delia, wid. h 189 Duffield	Delia, widow, h. 189 Duffield
Ackley	William B. and Sarah G.	William B., lawyer, 10 William, NY h. 171 Duffield	lawyer, h 171 Duffield	lawyer, 60 Wall, NY h. 171 Duffield
Baldwin	Caleb	NID	NID	NID
Batteris	Julia L. and Harriet S.	NID	NID	NID
Beatty	Ellen	NID	NID	NID
Bergen	Mary	NID	NID	NID
Bernard	Frank	NID	NID	NID
Bernard	John	John F., clerk, h. 88 Clermont Av	2 entries - h Clermont av. N Myrtle av.; butcher, 424 Columbia	3 entries: bookkeeper, h. 111 Carlton av; glassblower, Cumberland n. Park av; pocketbook maker h.r. 93 Stagg
Bonnel	Adeline and Nathaniel	NID	Nathaniel, builder, h Quincy n Franklin	Bonnell, Nathaniel, mason, h. Quincy n. Classon av
Bonnel	Robert	Robert G., mason, Greene av. c. Cumberland	builder, h Cumberland c Greene av	NID
Breckin	Ann	NID	NID	NID
Burnham	Caroline A.	NID	NID	NID
Burns	Bridget	NID	NID	NID
Canis	Julia	NID	NID	NID
Carey	Joanna	NID	NID	NID
Carwe	Margaret	NID	NID	NID
Cary	Eliza	NID	NID	NID
Clancey	Mary		NID	NID

Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories

1848-1871

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1860-1861	1861-1862	1862-1863
Ackley (aka Ackeley)	Delia and John A.	NID	NID	NID
Ackley	William B. and Sarah G.	lawyer, 32 Pine, NY, h. 171 Duffield	lawyer, 32 Pine NY h. 171 Duffield	NID
Baldwin	Caleb	NID	NID	NID
Batteris	Julia L. and Harriet S.	NID	NID	NID
Beatty	Ellen	NID	NID	NID
Bergen	Mary	NID	h. 1st av. n. 517th	Bergan, Mary-2 entries: Mary W, h. 55th n. 2d av; Mary, widow, h. Greenpoint av. N. Eckford
Bernard	Frank	NID	NID	musician, h. 167 N. 6th
Bernard	John	2 entries: bookkeeper, h. Oxford n. Myrtle av.; laborer, h. Wyckoff n. Troy av	2 entries: bookkeeper, h. 115 Oxford; varnisher, h. 18 Fulton av.	h. Oxford n. Myrtle av
Bonnel	Adeline and Nathaniel	Nathaniel, builder, h. Quincy n. Classon av.	Nathaniel, builder, h. Quincy n. Classon av	Bonnell, Nathaniel, mason, h. Quincy n. Classon av
Bonnel	Robert	R.G. builder, h. 1 Greene av	R.G., mason, h. 392 Cumberland	R.G. builder, h. 177 Adelphi
Breckin	Ann	NID	NID	NID
Burnham	Caroline A.	NID	NID	NID
Burns	Bridget	widow, h. 129 Court	NID	2 entries: h. 129 Court; widow laundress, h. Washington av. N. President
Canis	Julia	NID	NID	NID
Carey	Joanna	NID	NID	NID
Carwe	Margaret	NID	NID	NID
Cary	Eliza	NID	NID	NID
Clancey	Mary	NID	2 entries: M., wid. laundress, h. 8 Court; Mary L., wid h. 627 Pacific	Mary L, h. 627 Pacific

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1863-1864	1864-1865	1865-1866
Ackley (aka Ackeley)	Delia and John A.	John, soap manufacturer, Flushing av, h Kent av	NID	NID
Ackley	William B. and Sarah G.	lawyer, 39 Nassau, NY h. 311 Cumberland	lawyer, 33 Wall, NY h 180 Fort Green pl	NID
Baldwin	Caleb	NID	NID	NID
Batteris	Julia L. and Harriet S.	NID	NID	NID
Beatty	Ellen	NID	NID	NID
Bergen	Mary	Maria, widow, h. 42d n 1st av	widow, h 44th n 2d av	widow, h. NY, Bay n 44th
Bernard	Frank	shoemaker, h. S. 2nd n. Union	NID	shoemaker and music h. 166 7th
Bernard	John	NID	NID	3 entries - laborer h. River n. Throop av; milkman, 94 Wyckoff; varnisher 66 E. Warren
Bonnel	Adeline and Nathaniel	Bonnell, Nathaniel mason, h. 167 Fort Green pl	Bonnell, Nathaniel mason h 243 Pearl	Bonnell, Nathaniel, mason, h 57 Butler
Bonnel	Robert	Robert G, builder, h. 888 Carlton av	Robert G., builder, h. 383 Carlton av	Robert C, builder, h 327 Cumberland
Breckin	Ann	NID	NID	NID
Burnham	Caroline A.	NID	NID	NID
Burns	Bridget	NID	candies, 78 York	widow, h. Union av. N. Devoe
Canis	Julia	NID	NID	NID
Carey	Joanna	NID	NID	NID
Carwe	Margaret	NID	NID	NID
Cary	Eliza	NID	NID	NID
Clancey	Mary	NID	NID	NID

Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories

1848-1871

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1866-1867	1867-1868	1868-1869
Ackley (aka Ackeley)	Delia and John A.	NID	NID	NID
Ackley	William B. and Sarah G.	laborer, h Water c Bridge	NID	NID
Baldwin	Caleb	NID	NID	NID
Batteris	Julia L. and Harriet S.	NID	NID	NID
Beatty	Ellen	NID	NID	NID
Bergen	Mary	NID	NID	NID
Bernard	Frank	NID	NID	NID
Bernard	John	coal; 294 Front, N.Y. h Gates av. c. Ryerson	2 entries - laborer, Wyckof n. Schenectady av; glassblower; h. Myrtle av. c. Houston	3 entries: John, varnisher, h Smith n State; John F. comm. merchant, Broadway NY h 89 Prince; John F, treas. h 30 Greene av
Bonnel	Adeline and Nathaniel	bookkeeper, h 151 Wyckoff	Bonnell, Nathaniel, mason, h 3 Hanson pl	Bonnell, Nathaniel, builder, h 3 Hansen pl
Bonnel	Robert	h 151 Wyckoff	Bonnell, Robert G, building h 327 Cumberland	Bonnell, Robert G, builder, h 327 Cumberland
Breckin	Ann	NID	NID	NID
Burnham	Caroline A.	wid. h. 183 Duffield	NID	NID
Burns	Bridget	NID	widow, h. Wolcott n. Richards	NID
Canis	Julia	NID	NID	NID
Carey	Joanna	NID	NID	NID
Carwe	Margaret	NID	NID	NID
Cary	Eliza	NID	NID	NID
Clancey	Mary	NID	NID	NID

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory	
Last Name	First Name	1869-1870	1870-1871
Ackley (aka Ackeley)	Delia and John A.	NID	Page Missing
Ackley	William B. and Sarah G.	NID	Page Missing
Baldwin	Caleb	NID	Page Missing
Batteris	Julia L. and Harriet S.	NID	NID
Beatty	Ellen	NID	NID
Bergen	Mary	NID	widow, Fulton Ave n. Clove
Bernard	Frank	2 entries - clerk h. 185 Duffield; shoemaker, 261 S. 4th	NID
Bernard	John	brewer, h Bushwick av. n Jefferson	carpenter, Park Ave n. Spencer
Bonnel	Adeline and Nathaniel	Bonnell, Nathaniel, mason h 3 Hanson pl	builder, 3 Hanson Pl
Bonnel	Robert	NID	builder, 327 Cumberland
Breckin	Ann	NID	NID
Burnham	Caroline A.	NID	NID
Burns	Bridget	widow h 60 Atlantic	widow, 78 Atlantic Ave
Canis	Julia	NID	NID
Carey	Joanna	NID	Page Missing
Carwe	Margaret	NID	Page Missing
Cary	Eliza	Cary, widow h 92 Remson	NID
Clancey	Mary	NID	NID

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents:		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1848-1849	1849-1850	1850-1851
Clark	Mary	NID	Mary H., Mead st. n 4th av Gowanus	NID
Clem	William and Catherine	Catharine, widow 251 John; William - 4 entries - William, 227 Washington; William P, fishmonger 122 High; William, laborer Water n Bridge; William, accountant 47 Prince	William N., hardware store 299 Fulton h. 82 Henry	Wm N, hdwr. store 299 Fulton h Duffield n Fulton av
	Children Sarah, William, Elizabeth, Kate, Mary, James	NID	NID	NID
Crawford	Reverend John A.	NID	laborer, Harrison n Columbia	NID
Crosby	Seth and Harriet	NID	Seth, Waverly house 13 Atlantic c Fulton	Seth, hat store NY h Duffield n Fulton av
	Children Amanda and Della	NID	NID	NID
Curran	Theodore	NID	NID	NID
Delow	Margaret	NID	NID	NID
Dingee	Robert and Frances	Robert, contr of military equipments, 318 Gold	Robert, contractor of military equipments, 318 Gold	Robert, contractor of military equipments, 56 Frankfort NY h 318 Gold
Divine	Jane	NID	NID	NID
Donovan	Daniel E. and Mary	NID	NID	NID
Donovan	John and Margaret	NID	John, laborer 48 Butler	NID
Dowd	Mary	NID	NID	NID

NID=Not In Directory

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1851-1852	1852-1853	1853-1854
Clark	Mary	NID	NID	NID
Clem	William and Catherine	William N, hdwr store 299 Fulton h Duffield n Fulton av	William N, 63 Court	William N., Carlton n DeKalb av
	Children Sarah, William, Elizabeth, Kate, Mary, James	NID	NID	NID
Crawford	Reverend John A.	Rev John S., pastor 3d Methodist Church, 21 S Washington	Rev John S., pastor 3d Methodist Church 21S Washington	laborer, 217 Hudson av
Crosby	Seth and Harriet	Seth, hat store NY h Duffield n Fulton av	NID	NID
	Children Amanda and Delia	NID	NID	NID
Curran	Theodore	NID	NID	NID
Delow	Margaret	NID	NID	NID
Dingee	Robert and Frances	Robert, contractor of military equipments, 56 Frankfort NY h 316 Gold	Frances L, widow of Robert, 329 Gold	Frances L., widow of Robert, 329 Gold
Divine	Jane	NID	NID	Devine, Jane, widow of Francis, 201 Bridge
Donovan	Daniel E. and Mary	NID	NID	NID
Donovan	John and Margaret	NID	John, tailor 38 Hudson av	John, tailor, 34 Hudson av
Dowd	Mary	NID	NID	NID

Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories

1848-1871

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1854-1855	1855-1856	1856-1857
Clark	Mary	Mary Ann, boarding house, 7 Union pl Union st	2 entries - Mary A, boarding h. Court cor. President; widow, h. N. 5th cor. 3d	2 entries: colored, dressmaker, 3 Fair; widow, 82 Carlton av
Clem	William and Catherine	William N, 353 State	William N, collector taxes, h. 353 State	William N, redemption clerk, City Hall, h. 353 State
	Children Sarah, William, Elizabeth, Kate, Mary, James	NID	NID	NID
Crawford	Reverend John A.	NID	NID	NID
Crosby	Seth and Harriet	NID	Seth, shipchandler, 52 South and 7 Jones la, NY h. 79 S. 4th	NID
	Children Amanda and Delia	NID	NID	NID
Curran	Theodore	NID	NID	NID
Delow	Margaret	NID	NID	NID
Dingee	Robert and Frances	NID	NID	NID
Divine	Jane	NID	NID	De Vigne, Mrs. Jane, 126 Duffield
Donovan	Daniel E. and Mary	NID	NID	NID
Donovan	John and Margaret	NID	John-3 entries: laborer, h. Warren st. n. Underhill av; tailor, 85 Gold, h. same; tailor, h. 86 Gold	John, laborer, Warren n. Underhill av
Dowd	Mary	NID	NID	NID

NID=Not In Directory

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1857-1858	1858-1859	1859-1860
Clark	Mary	Mary, wid, h. 52 Carlton av	wid. h 247 S. 4th	2 entries: h. Dean n. Powers; widow, h. 88 N. 5th
Clem	William and Catherine	William, N. redemption clerk, city hall, h. 353 State	W, clerk, h 353 State	William, clerk, h. 353 State
	Children Sarah, William, Elizabeth, Kate, Mary, James	NID	NID	NID
Crawford	Reverend John A.	NID	NID	NID
Crosby	Seth and Harriet	NID	Seth, mer. 52 South N.Y. h 79 S 4th	Seth, shipchandler, 52 South, NY h. 79 S. 4th
	Children Amanda and Delia	NID	NID	NID
Curran	Theodore	NID	NID	NID
Delow	Margaret	NID	NID	NID
Dingee	Robert and Frances	NID	NID	NID
Divine	Jane	NID	NID	NID
Donovan	Daniel E. and Mary	Daniel, reporter, h. Montrose Av. c. Bushwick Av	Daniel-2 entries, liquors, 212 Front; laborer, h. N. 5th n. 6th; Mary-h. King n. Van Brunt	Daniel, bookkeeper, h. Bushwick av. n. Montrose av
Donovan	John and Margaret	NID	NID	John-2 entries: laborer, h. 5 Hamilton av; peddler, h. Van Buren n. Bedford av.
Dowd	Mary	NID	NID	widow, h. Columbia c. Centre

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1860-1861	1861-1862	1862-1863
Clark	Mary	Mary J, tailoress, h. 182 Prospect	3 entries: Mary, fancygoods h. 12 Hudson av; Mary, wid. h. 62 N 5th; Mary J. wid. tailoress, h. 13 Hart's av.	5 entries: Mary, confectionary, 85 Bridge; Mary, widow nurse, h. 95 Graham; Mary A. boarding, 35 Summit; Mary J, artist, 344 1/2 Atlantic; Mary J, widow tailoress, h. 205 Front
Clem	William and Catherine	William N, clerk, h. 358 State	William N, clerk, City Hall, 653 State	William N, clerk, h. 353 State
	Children Sarah, William, Elizabeth, Kate, Mary, James	NID	NID	NID
Crawford	Reverend John A.	NID	NID	John A. (Rev), h. 191 Duffield
Crosby	Seth and Harriet	Seth, merchant, 52 South, h. 79 S. 4th	Seth, mer. 52 South, N.Y. h. 79 S. 4th	NID
	Children Amanda and Delia	NID	NID	NID
Curran	Theodore	NID	NID	NID
Delow	Margaret	NID	NID	NID
Dingee	Robert and Frances	NID	NID	NID
Divine	Jane	NID	NID	NID
Donovan	Daniel E. and Mary	Daniel, smith, h. 4 S. 5th	Mary, wid. h. 70 Washington	NID
Donovan	John and Margaret	John, furdresser, h. 17 Mill	NID	John-2 entries: laborer, h. 12 Hamilton av; tanner, h. 12 Hill
Dowd	Mary	NID	NID	widow, h. Columbia n. Bush

NID=Not In Directory

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1863-1864	1864-1865	1865-1866
Clark	Mary	3 entries: confectioner, 85 Bridge; widow, h. 180 Hudson; widow h. 38 N. 4th	4 entries - Mary, wid, h. 64 Remsen; Mary, wid, liquors, 15 Hudson av; Mary, wid, h. 86 Park Av; Mary, wid. h. E. Warren n. Vanderbilt Av.	5 entries: h. 64 President; widow, h. 86 Park av; widow h 170 Tillary; widow, h. 35 N. 4th; M.E. widow music, h Union c. N. 7th
Clem	William and Catherine	William N, clerk, h. 358 State	2 entries: William W., clerk, h. 353 State; William N. Jr. clerk, h. 190 Livingston	William, N. clerk, h. 353 State
	Children Sarah, William, Elizabeth, Kate, Mary, James	NID	NID	NID
Crawford	Reverend John A.	h. 191 Duffield	NID	NID
Crosby	Seth and Harriet	S.D, flour, 15 Stone, NY h. 25 Bond	NID	NID
	Children Amanda and Delia	NID	A.F., widow h 79 S. 4th	NID
Curran	Theodore	NID	NID	NID
Delow	Margaret	NID	NID	NID
Dingee	Robert and Frances	NID	NID	NID
Divine	Jane	NID	NID	NID
Donovan	Daniel E. and Mary	NID	Daniel- 2 entries: h. 96 S. 5th; lab. h. Grand c. De Kalb Av	Daniel, porter, h. 228 Gold; Mary-2 entries: widow, h. r. 156 S. 3d; widow, h. 43 York
Donovan	John and Margaret	John-2 entries: assessor h. 33 Prospect; furrier, h. 560 Columbia; Margaret-widow, h 31 President	John, assessor, h. 33 Prospect	John- 2 entries: assistant assessor, h. 33 Prospect; fur dresser, h. 12 Mill
Dowd	Mary	h Ewen, n. Van Brunt	NID	NID

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1866-1867	1867-1868	1868-1869
Clark	Mary	3 entries - wid., h 86 Park av; wid., dressmaker, h 170 Tillary; wid., 15 Hudson Av	5 entries: widow, h. 170 Tillary; widow, h. 274 Smith; widow. h. 86 Park av; widow, confectioner, 15 Hudson av; Mary E. widow, h New York av. C. St. Mark's Place	7 entries: h 10 Furman; widow h 274 Smith; widow h 110 Hoyt; widow h 86 Park av; widow h 18 Lefferts; widow h Dupont n. Union av; Mary a. widow h 237 S. 3d
Clem	William and Catherine	William N., clerk, h 358 State	2 entries: William N., clerk, h. 353 State; Wm. N. Jr. bookkeeper h 215 Schermerhorn	3 entries: William H, clerk h 353 State; William N. clerk, h 353 State
	Children Sarah, William, Elizabeth, Kate, Mary, James	M.F., peddler, h Wyckoff n. Schenectady av	NID	William Jr., clerk 215 Schermerhorn
Crawford	Reverend John A.	NID	NID	NID
Crosby	Seth and Harriet	NID	NID	NID
	Children Amanda and Delia	NID	NID	NID
Curran	Theodore	NID	medicines, h. 310 Gold	NID
Delow	Margaret	NID	NID	NID
Dingee	Robert and Frances	R.C., clerk, 107 Chambers, NY h 829 Gold	NID	Robert C., clerk, h 329 Gold
Divine	Jane	NID	NID	NID
Donovan	Daniel E. and Mary	Daniel - 2 entries - laborer, h De Kalb av. n. Grand av.; laborer, h Carroll c. 5th av.	Daniel, driver, h Carrol n 5th av	Daniel, laborer h 29 Gold
Donovan	John and Margaret	John - 3 entries - broker, h 33 Prospect; furrier, h 3 Mill; machinist, h Van Brunt n. Wolcott; Margaret, wid. Laundress, h. Imlay n. Commerce	John, broker, h 189 Duffield	John bluestonedealer, h 189 Duffield
Dowd	Mary	NID	NID	NID

NID=Not In Directory

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory	
Last Name	First Name	1869-1870	1870-1871
Clark	Mary	5 entries: widow h 103 Carroll; Mary A. milliner, h 417 Atlantic; Mary A. widow h 237 S. 3d; Mary E. widow h 18 Lefferts; Mary J widow h 238 Lorimer	6 entries - widow, milliner, 1022 Fulton Ave; widow 103 Fleet Pl.; wid, 110 Hoyt; wid 86 Park Av.; no occupation, 162 7th; wid, 18 Lefferts
Clem	William and Catherine	William N. clk, h 353 State	William, clerk 220 Dean
	Children Sarah, William, Elizabeth, Kate, Mary, James	William N, Jr., clerk h 215 Schermerhorn	William Jr., clerk 215 Scherhorn
Crawford	Reverend John A.	NID	h. 2 Carroll Park
Crosby	Seth and Harriet	NID	Page Missing
	Children Amanda and Delia	NID	Page Missing
Curran	Theodore	NID	NID
Delow	Margaret	NID	NID
Dingee	Robert and Frances	NID	NID
Divine	Jane	NID	NID
Donovan	Daniel E. and Mary	Daniel-4 entries: driver, h De Kalb av. n Grand av; laborer h Columbia c Ewen; marblecutter, 978 Fulton av; publisher, Broadway c 4th	3 Daniels. laborer, Columbia n. Tremont, laborer Macomb n 4th, stationer 36 5th
Donovan	John and Margaret	2 entries - furrier 16 Summit; laborer Macomb n. 4th	John, fur skin dresser, 17 Summit
Dowd	Mary	NID	widower, 533 Columbia

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1848-1849	1849-1850	1850-1851
Downs	Mary	NID	NID	NID
Duffield	John	(1841) Mrs., widow of Dr. John, Fulton n. Bridge	NID	NID
Edwards	Thomas	NID	2 entries: builder, 255 Gold; collar maker, 269 Myrtle	builder, 255 Gold & Duffield n Johnson
Faulkner	George and Anna	NID	NID	broker, NY h 139 Duffield
	Children Julia, George, Frank	NID	NID	NID
Ferrald	Charles and Jane	NID	NID	NID
	Children Charles and Eliza	NID	NID	NID
Fleet	Samuel	Fulton c Gold	Fulton c Gold	Fulton av c Gold
Foster	Mary and Carrie	NID	NID	NID
Foulkes	Louisa	NID	NID	NID
Frederickson	Chas. W. and Mary T.	Mary, nurse 120 Tillary	NID	NID
Fulam (sp)	Margaret	NID	NID	NID
Furnell	Charles	NID	NID	NID
Ghasm (sp)	Mimi	NID	NID	NID
Greenleaf	Amos and Mary	NID	NID	NID
	Child Sarah	NID	NID	NID
Gregory	Bridget	NID	NID	NID

NID=Not In Directory

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1851-1852	1852-1853	1853-1854
Downs	Mary	NID	NID	Mary Downes widow, 149 Court
Duffield	John	NID	NID	NID
Edwards	Thomas	builder, 255 Gold & Duffield n Johnson	carpenter 255 Gold	2 entries: T., builder, Duffield n Johnson; Thomas, 207 Columbia
Faulkner	George and Anna	broker, NY h 139 Duffield	broker, NY h 139 Duffield	broker, NY h 139 Duffield
	Children Julia, George, Frank	NID	NID	NID
Ferrald	Charles and Jane	NID	NID	NID
	Children Charles and Eliza	NID	NID	NID
Fleet	Samuel	Fulton av c Gold	Fulton av n Gold	Fulton av n Gold
Foster	Mary and Carrie	NID	NID	NID
Foulkes	Louisa	widow, 147 Duffield	NID	NID
Frederickson	Chas. W. and Mary T.	NID	C.W., 4 Classon n Fulton av	2 entries - C.W., broker, 4 Classon n Fulton av; Charles W., cotton broker, 141 Pearl NY h Classon n Fulton av
Fulam (sp)	Margaret	NID	NID	NID
Furnell	Charles	NID	NID	NID
Ghasm (sp)	Mimi	NID	NID	NID
Greenleaf	Amos and Mary	NID	NID	NID
	Child Sarah	NID	NID	NID
Gregory	Bridget	NID	NID	NID

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1854-1855	1855-1856	1856-1857
Downs	Mary	Mary Downes, widow of George, 125 Myrtle av	widow George, h. 143 Myrtle av	NID
Duffield	John	NID	NID	NID
Edwards	Thomas	builder, 255 Gold	3 entries: builder 99 Duffield h. 255 Gold; collar maker, s Columbia h. same; cutter, h. 178 S. 3d	2 entries: 110 Union; builder, 99 Duffield, h. 255 Gold
Faulkner	George and Anna	broker, 54 Wall NY, h 139 Duffield	broker, 54 Wall NY h. 183 Duffield	broker, 54 Wall, NY, h. St. Felix, n. Lafayette av
	Children Julia, George, Frank	NID	NID	NID
Ferrald	Charles and Jane	NID	NID	NID
	Children Charles and Eliza	NID	NID	NID
Fleet	Samuel	Fulton av n Gold	h. 125 Fulton av	125 Fulton av
Foster	Mary and Carrie	NID	Mary, boarding h. 146 Atlantic	Mary boarding 98 Fulton
Foulkes	Louisa	NID	NID	NID
Frederickson	Chas. W. and Mary T.	Charles W., cotton broker, 148 Pearl NY, h Classon n Fulton av; Mary, widow of John, nurse, 104 Washington	Mary, nurse, h. 147 Gold	Charles W, broker, 148 Pearl NY, h Putnam n Classon av; Mary, widow nurse 147 Gold
Fulam (sp)	Margaret	NID	NID	NID
Furnell	Charles	NID	NID	NID
Ghasm (sp)	Mimi	NID	NID	NID
Greenleaf	Amos and Mary	A Greenleaf, Warren stock broker Fulton av c. Franklin	NID	NID
	Child Sarah	NID	NID	NID
Gregory	Bridget	NID	NID	NID

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1857-1858	1858-1859	1859-1860
Downs	Mary	NID	h. 69 Tillary	NID
Duffield	John	John, cooper, h. Court n. Church	NID	NID
Edwards	Thomas	2 entries: builder 99 Duffield h. 265 Gold; tailor, Broadway c. Pearl N.Y. h. 178 S 3d.	3 entries: carpenter, h. 255 Gold; clothing, Broadway c. Pearl, NY h. 178 S. 3d; filemaker, h. 10th n. Ainslie	3 entries: h. 110 Union; builder, h. 99 Duffield; clothing, Broadway c. Pearl, NY h 178 S. 3d
Faulkner	George and Anna	broker, Wall, NY h. St. Felix n. Lafayette Av	NID	NID
	Children Julia, George, Frank	NID	NID	NID
Ferrald	Charles and Jane	NID	NID	NID
	Children Charles and Eliza	NID	NID	NID
Fleet	Samuel	Samuel, H. Fulton Av. C. Gold	Samuel E. W, merchant, h. Fulton av. op Elm pl	h. Fulton av. n. Elm pl
Foster	Mary and Carrie	Mary, boarding house, 93 Fulton	Mary-2 entries: boarding, 93 Fulton; furnishing store, 299 Court	Mary, boarding, 93 Fulton
Foulkes	Louisa	NID	NID	NID
Frederickson	Chas. W. and Mary T.	Charles W., broker, 135 Pearl, N.Y. h. Putnam av. n. Classon Av; Mary, widow, nurse, h. Gold n High	Charles W, Putnam av n. Ormond	Chas.W., Putnam av. n. Classon av
Fulam (sp)	Margaret	NID	NID	NID
Furnell	Charles	NID	NID	NID
Ghasm (sp)	Mimi	NID	NID	NID
Greenleaf	Amos and Mary	NID	NID	NID
	Child Sarah	NID	NID	NID
Gregory	Bridget	NID	widow, h. 249 Adams	NID

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1860-1861	1861-1862	1862-1863
Downs	Mary	h. 218 Bridge	wid. 218 Bridge	widow, h. 218 Bridge
Duffield	John	NID	NID	NID
Edwards	Thomas	carpenter, h. 99 Duffield	Thomas, builder, 99 Duffield	3 entries: carpenter, h. 99 Duffield; harnessmaker h. 30 Marshall; Thomas M. printer, h. 188 S/ 4th
Faulkner	George and Anna	broker, 54 Wall NY. H. 3 St. Felix	broker, h. 3 St. Felix	merchant 54 Wal, NY h. 3 St. Felix
	Children Julia, George, Frank	NID	NID	NID
Ferrald	Charles and Jane	NID	NID	Fernald, Charles F h. 61 Joralemon
	Children Charles and Eliza	NID	NID	NID
Fleet	Samuel	h. 181 Fulton v. n. Elm pl	Samuel, h. Fulton av. op. Elm pl	NID
Foster	Mary and Carrie	Mary-2 entries: boarding, h. 93 Fulton; widow h. 130 Sackett	NID	M, boarding, 93 Fulton
Foulkes	Louisa	NID	NID	NID
Frederickson	Chas. W. and Mary T.	Charles, broker, Pearl NY h. Putnam av. N. Classon av.	NID	NID
Fulam (sp)	Margaret	NID	NID	NID
Furnell	Charles	NID	NID	NID
Ghasm (sp)	Mimi	NID	NID	NID
Greenleaf	Amos and Mary	Amos C, dry goods, 25 Cortlandt, NY h 198 Duffield	NID	NID
	Child Sarah	NID	NID	NID
Gregory	Bridget	NID	NID	NID

NID=Not In Directory

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1863-1864	1864-1865	1865-1866
Downs	Mary	NID	wid, h. 135 Myrtle Ave	NID
Duffield	John	NID	NID	NID
Edwards	Thomas	3 entries: builder, h. 99 Duffield; harnessmaker, h. 30 Marshall; Thomas M, printer, h. 76 S. 6th	2 entries: Thomas, builder, h. 99 Duffield; Thomas M. printer. h. 40 Clymer	3 entries: builder, 99 Duffield; harness, h. 31 Marshall; Thomas M, printer, h. 44 Hamilton
Faulkner	George and Anna	banker, 54 Wall, NY h. 3 St. Felix	NID	banker, 54 Wall, NY, h. 3 St. Felix
	Children Julia, George, Frank	NID	George, broker, 54 Wall, NY h. 3 St. Felix	Francis, laborer, h 31 Main
Ferrald	Charles and Jane	Fernald, Charles F, hardware, 83 Beckman NY, h. 61 Joralemon	NID	NID
	Children Charles and Eliza	NID	NID	NID
Fleet	Samuel	h. Fulton av. n. Elm pl	Samuel, h. Fulton av. c. Gold	h 336 Gold
Foster	Mary and Carrie	Mary, boarding, h. 93 Fulton	NID	Mary, boarding, h. 89 Fulton
Foulkes	Louisa	NID	NID	NID
Frederickson	Chas. W. and Mary T.	NID	NID	NID
Fulam (sp)	Margaret	NID	NID	NID
Furnell	Charles	NID	NID	NID
Ghasm (sp)	Mimi	NID	NID	NID
Greenleaf	Amos and Mary	NID	NID	NID
	Child Sarah	NID	NID	NID
Gregory	Bridget	widow, h. 46 James	NID	NID

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1866-1867	1867-1868	1868-1869
Downs	Mary	NID	NID	NID
Duffield	John	NID	NID	NID
Edwards	Thomas	4 entries: builder, 99 Duffield; harnessmaker, h 81 Marshall; mer. H 108 Duffield; printer, h 44 Hamilton pl.	4 entries: Thomas, builder, h 99 Duffield; Thomas, collar maker h 286 Graham av; smith, h 45 Willow pl; Thomas M. printer, h 22 Wythe av	3 entries (1 for Thomas Edward): builder, 99 Duffield; collarmaker, h 286, Graham av; porter, h 5 Furman
Faulkner	George and Anna	NID	George, broker h 5 St. Felix	2 entries: George, Wall, NY h 8 St. Felix; George P, banker, Wall, NY h 3 St. Felix
	Children Julia, George, Frank	NID	NID	NID
Ferrald	Charles and Jane	NID	NID	NID
	Children Charles and Eliza	NID	NID	NID
Fleet	Samuel	h Fulton av. c. Gold	NID	NID
Foster	Mary and Carrie	NID	NID	Mary, widow h 84 Marshall
Foulkes	Louisa	NID	NID	NID
Frederickson	Chas. W. and Mary T.	NID	NID	NID
Fulam (sp)	Margaret	NID	NID	NID
Furnell	Charles	NID	NID	NID
Ghasm (sp)	Mimi	NID	NID	NID
Greenleaf	Amos and Mary	NID	NID	NID
	Child Sarah	NID	NID	NID
Gregory	Bridget	NID	NID	NID

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory	
Last Name	First Name	1869-1870	1870-1871
Downs	Mary	NID	NID
Duffield	John	NID	NID
Edwards	Thomas	4 entries - builder 99 Duffield; clerk h Myrtle av n Spencer; harnessmaker, h Suydam.n. Central av; printer, h 22 Wythe av	2 entries, bldr, 99 Duffield, liquors, 56 Grand
Faulkner	George and Anna	2 entries: George, banker, 54 Wall, NY, h 3 st; Felix; George P. clerk h 3 St. Felix	George, clerk, 3 St. Felix
	Children Julia, George, Frank	NID	NID
Ferrald	Charles and Jane	NID	NID
	Children Charles and Eliza	NID	NID
Fleet	Samuel	NID	NID
Foster	Mary and Carrie	Caroline, dressmaker, 226 Washington; Mary, widow h 84 Marshall	Mary, wid., 16 n 10th av
Foulkes	Louisa	NID	NID
Frederickson	Chas. W. and Mary T.	NID	NID
Fulam (sp)	Margaret	NID	NID
Furnell	Charles	hardware, Beekman, NY h. 185 Duffield	NID
Ghasm (sp)	Mimi	NID	NID
Greenleaf	Amos and Mary	NID	Greenleaf, A & Son, commers 17 Atlantic dock
	Child Sarah	NID	NID
Gregory	Bridget	widow, drygoods, 63 Fulton av h 146 Duffield	NID

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1848-1849	1849-1850	1850-1851
Gregory	George	George J, Douglass and Smith.	NID	storage, NY h 7 Degraw place
Hammon	Mary	Hammond, Mary, widow, Skillman n Myrtle .	Hammond, Mary, widow, Myrtle n. Graham	NID
Harris	Elizabeth	NID	NID	NID
Haskell	Eliza	NID	NID	NID
Hawes	Peter and Mary	2 entries - Peter, Hicks, Pacific; Rev. Peter, 251 Gold	NID	NID
	Child Gilbert	NID	NID	NID
Hennessy	John	2 entries - John, shoemaker, Bridge c Tillary; John H., carpenter 33 Stanton	laborer, 382 Hudson av	John F, carpenter, 196 Bridge
Hilles	Sophia and George W.	NID	NID	NID
Hunter	Jane	NID	NID	NID

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1851-1852	1852-1853	1853-1854
Gregory	George	storage, NY h 7 Degraw place	NID	NID
Hammon	Mary	NID	NID	NID
Harris	Elizabeth	NID	NID	NID
Haskell	Eliza	NID	NID	NID
Hawes	Peter and Mary	NID	NID	NID
	Child Gilbert	NID	NID	NID
Hennessy	John	John F, carpenter 196 Bridge	John F, architect & builder 85 Gold n Front	2 entries: John F, architect & builder, 85 Gold n Front; carpenter, 376 Atlantic
Hilles	Sophia and George W.	NID	NID	George, jeweller, 42 Maiden lane NY, h Washington av
Hunter	Jane	NID	NID	NID

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1854-1855	1855-1856	1856-1857
Gregory	George	dry salter , 47 Fulton NY, h 92 Lawrence	NID	NID
Hammon	Mary	Hammond, Mary, widow, candy store, 25 Carrol	NID	NID
Harris	Elizabeth	NID	NID	NID
Haskell	Eliza	NID	NID	NID
Hawes	Peter and Mary	Peter A., mer 41 Dey NY, h 145 Duffield	Peter A. mer, 41 Dey, Ny h. 145 Duffield	Peter A, merchant 112 Broadway NY h 189 Duffield
	Child Gilbert	NID	NID	NID
Hennessy	John	4 entries: John F, architect & builder, 85 Gold n Front; carpenter, 376 Atlantic; shoemaker, Little n John; John D, carpenter 70 E Warren	5 entries: carpenter, h. 6 Stanton; driver, 27th st. n. 3d av; laborer, h. Columbia, n. Oregon; shoemaker, h. Little cor. John; John F. architect and builder, 85 Gold; watchman, h. King cor. Ferris; carpenter, h. Huron, n. Washington, G.P.	John F, architect, 85 Gold
Hilles	Sophia and George W.	NID	NID	NID
Hunter	Jane	NID	NID	NID

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1857-1858	1858-1859	1859-1860
Gregory	George	NID	NID	NID
Hammon	Mary	NID	NID	Hammond, Mary A, widow, h. Java n. Union av
Harris	Elizabeth	NID	h. Park av. n. Ryerson	NID
Haskell	Eliza	NID	NID	NID
Hawes	Peter and Mary	NID	Peter A, Pearl c. Broadway, NY, h. Washington av. n. Gates av	NID
	Child Gilbert	NID	NID	NID
Hennessy	John	John - 4 entries - John D., carpenter, h. 6 Stanton; John, carpenter, h. 69 President; John, teamster, h. Franklin n. Calyer; John F. architect, 85 Gold; John, shoemaker, h. Little c John	6 entries: carpenter, n 174 Bridge; porter, h. Hoyt n. Butler; shoemaker, h. 222 Water; stonerubber, h. King c Ferris; John F. real estate, h. 85 Gold; John F, Jr. ins. broker, h. 85 Gold	carpenter, h: 521 Columbia
Hilles	Sophia and George W.	NID	NID	NID
Hunter	Jane	NID	widow, h. 76 Fulton	widow, h. 187 Prospect

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1860-1861	1861-1862	1862-1863
Gregory	George	NID	NID	George F, bookkeeper, h. 1 Harrison
Hammon	Mary	Hammond, Mary widow h. Java, n. Union av	Hammond, Mary, 2 entries: h. 70 Willoughby; Mary A., wid. h. 37 Grand	widow, h. Java n. Union av
Harris	Elizabeth	NID	NID	NID
Haskell	Eliza	NID	NID	NID
Hawes	Peter and Mary	Peter A, merchant, 820 Broadway, NY h. Washington av. N. Gates av	Peter A. mer. Pearl C. Broadway, N.Y. h. Washington av. n. Greene av	Peter A. merchant h. Washington av. N. Gates av
	Child Gilbert	NID	NID	NID
Hennessy	John	6 entries: carpenter, h. 521 Columbia; carpenter, h. 4th av. N. Pacific; policeman, h. 125 Hoyt; sawyer, h. King c. Ferris; shoemaker, h. r. 81 Bridge; John F, Jr. architect, h. 76 Bridge; J.F. real estate agent, h. 76 Bridge	4 entries: John, police h. 125 Hoyt; John, shoemaker, h. r. 81 Bridge; John D. carpenter, h. Putnam av. n. Tompkins; John F. real estate, 76 Bridge	7 entries: laborer, h. 100 Hamilton av; policeman, h. 125 Hoyt; shoemaker h. r. 81 Bridge; laborer, h. 31 Carroll; John D, carpenter, h. Putnam av. N. Tompkins av; John F, real estate, h. 288 Bridge; John F, jr. architect, h. 288 Bridge
Hilles	Sophia and George W.	NID	NID	NID
Hunter	Jane	wid h. 111 York	NID	widow, h. 183 Prospect

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1863-1864	1864-1865	1865-1866
Gregory	George	George G., clerk, h. 188 Sands	G.W. clerk, h. 138 Sands	George F., clerk h. 320 Sackett
Hammon	Mary	Hannan, Mary, widow, h. 7 Lawrence pl	Mary A., boarding, Franklin n. Noble	Hammond, Mary widow, h. 302 Dean
Harris	Elizabeth	E. peddler, h. N. 7th n. 6th	E. milliner h. 78 S. 6th	widow h DeKalb c Carlton av, widow 637 Myrtle Av
Haskell	Eliza	NID	NID	NID
Hawes	Peter and Mary	Peter A. mer. 300 Broadway, NY h. Washington av. n. Gates av	NID	NID
	Child Gilbert	NID	NID	NID
Hennessy	John	4 entries: John, laborer, h. 100 Hamilton av; John, police, h. 110 Hoyt; John D. carpenter, Water c. Depeyster, NY h. Putnam av. n. Marcy ave; John F. Jr. architect, h. 288 Bridge	7 entries: John F. laborer, h. 95 Atlantic; John, lab. h.r. Wyckoff n Nevins; John laborer, h 60 E. Balic; u.s.a. h. 110 Hoyt; John D builder, h. Putnam av n Tompkins av; John F, assessor, city hall, and real estate, 288 Bridge; John F & Son, real estate, 288 Bridge	4 entries: laborer, h 100 Hamilton av; smith, h. 90 Partition; John D, carpenter, h Putnam av n. Tompkins av; John F, and Jr. real estate and architect, h. 288 Bridge
Hilles	Sophia and George W.	NID	NID	NID
Hunter	Jane	NID	NID	NID

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1866-1867	1867-1868	1868-1869
Gregory	George	4 entries: oils, 125 Maiden la. N.Y. h 14 Cheever pl; patterns, h 113 Sands; clerk, h 148 Sands; clerk, h 148 Sands	3 entries: clerk, h. 12 De Kalb av; clerk, h 308 Gold; George T. merchant h. 5 Carroll pl	4 entries: h 83 Sands; clerk, h 12 De Kalb av; George P. oils, NY h 5 W. Carroll pl; George J. clerk, h 9 W. Baltic
Hammon	Mary	Hammond, Mary, wid. h 302 Dean	Hammond, Mary, widow h 302 Dean	Hammond, Mary, 2 entries: widow h 302 Dean; widow h Flushing av n. Spencer
Harris	Elizabeth	2 entries: wid. Myrtle av. N Steuben; pillboxmkr. h 7 Powers	2 entries: widow Myrtle av. n Steuben; widow h 272 Hudson av	3 entries: milliner, 98 Broadway; widow h 585 Myrtle av; widow laundress, h Hart's al
Haskell	Eliza	Elizabeth, wid. h 81 Willow	NID	NID
Hawes	Peter and Mary	NID	NID	NID
	Child Gilbert	NID	NID	NID
Hennessy	John	5 entries: lab(orer), h 80 E Baltic; Carpenter, h Putnam av. N Tompkins av.; printer, h 95 Altantic av.; real estate, 288 Bridge; architect, 288 Bridge	5 entries: laborer, h 82 E. Baltic; machinist, h 44 Main; polic, h 270 Pacific; John D. carpenter, Water n. Pine NY h Putnam av, n Tompkins av	9 entries: 970 Atlantic av; boilermaker h Ferris c Partition; laborer h 80 E. Baltic; laborer h 96 Hamilton av; laborer h Van Brunt n Wolcott; police, h 270 Pacific; seaman, h 9 Summit; John F, insurance 288 Bridge
Hilles	Sophia and George W.	NID	NID	NID
Hunter	Jane	2 entries: widow, h 182 Pkymouth; widow, h 12 De Kalb av.	widow, h 12 De Kalb av	widow, h. 12 De Kalb av

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory	
Last Name	First Name	1869-1870	1870-1871
Gregory	George	3 entries: George F. oil, 1st n Gowanus canal, and 125 Maiden la, NY h 272 Union; George G. h 12 De Kalb av; George J. clerk h 9 W. Baltic	5 entries: fancygoods, 63 Fulton av h. 130 Duffield; 272 Union; oils, 1st n. Bond, h. 272 Union; clerk h. Quincy n. Yates av.; clerk h. 9 W. Baltic
Hammon	Mary	Hammond, Mary-3 entries: widow, h 302 Dean; widow seamstress, h Flushing av. n Bedford av; widow h 93 Cranberry	NID
Harris	Elizabeth	2 entries: dressmaker, h r Classon av. n Putnam av; milliner, 98 Broadway	milliner, 98 Broadway
Haskell	Eliza	NID	NID
Hawes	Peter and Mary	NID	NID
	Child Gilbert	NID	NID
Hennessy	John	6 entries: clerk h 74 Congress; laborer, h 96 Hamilton av; police, h 270 Pacific; John D, carpenter, Madison n Tompkins av. h Putnam av. n Tompkins av; John D, real estate, 777 Gates av h Putnam av n Tompkins av; John F real estate 288 Bridge	3 entries: porter, 270 Pacific; real estate 228 Bridge, clerk 970 Atlantic
Hilles	Sophia and George W.	Hill, George W. banker, h 125 Elliott pl	NID
Hunter	Jane	widow h 12 De Kalb av	NID

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents:		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1848-1849	1849-1850	1850-1851
Hunter	Robert	Robert G, clerk 1 Cottage row Furman	NID	sailmaker, USN 61 Carlton av
Hyde	Eliza	NID	NID	NID
Jones	Thomas B. and Adeline	2 entries: Thomas B., dry goods, stora NY h. 67 Johnson; Thomas, Degraw n Columbia	6 entries: laborer, 14 Jay; Thomas B, dry goods store, NY h. 69 Johnson; T.I., U.S. Naval Office Smith n. Dean; shoemaker, 45 Adams; 52 Green lane; Thomas H, tailor, 92 Pearl	6 entries: Thomas, laborer 14 Jay; Thomas B, clerk 69 Johnson; Thomas, 52 Green lane; Thomas E, milkman Franklin av n Hickory st; Thomas, shoe store 104 Hudson av; Thomas H, tailor 92 Pearl

NID=Not In Directory

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1851-1852	1852-1853	1853-1854
Hunter	Robert	sailmaker, USN 61 Carlton av	2 entries: sailmaker u s n 138 Nassau; carpenter 135 Court	2 entries: sailmaker, USN, 138 Nassau; carpenter E Warren n Hoyt
Hyde	Eliza	NID	NID	NID
Jones	Thomas B. and Adeline	clerk 69 Johnson	Thomas B, clerk 69 Johnson	6 entries: sailmaker, 14 Hamilton av h Wolcot n; Thomas N., clerk, 165 Livingston; T.I., US Naval officer, 33 Bergen; shoe store, 104 Hudson av; sailmaker, 12 Hamilton av h 4 Wolcott; engineer, 52 Green lane

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1854-1855	1855-1856	1856-1857
Hunter	Robert	3 entries: sailmaker, USN, 210 High; builder, 347 State; carpenter, 30 Boerum	3 entries: carpenter, h. 56 Bergen n. Smith; carpenter, h. 347 State; sailmaker, h. 210 High; reporter, h. 144 Grand	4 entries: carpenter, 217 Smith; reporter, Brooklyn Daily Times, h 27 Fulton; sailmaker USN 280 Gold; seaman, r. 252 Marshall
Hyde	Eliza	NID	NID	NID
Jones	Thomas B. and Adeline	6 entries: shoemaker, 204 Hudson av; Thomas B, 185 Fulton; Thomas B, dry goods, 280 Fulton NY, h 165 Livingston; T.I., accountant, 33 Bergen; sailmaker, Navy n DeKalb av; engineer, 52 Green lane	Thomas paper hangings, 391 Grand; salesman, h. 290 S. 3d	Thomas B, clerk 165 Livingston

NID=Not In Directory

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1857-1858	1858-1859	1859-1860
Hunter	Robert	2 entries - Robert, carpenter, h. 56 Wyckoff; Robert. U.S.N. h. 88 Prince	4 entries: brewer, h. Van Buren n. Marcy av; builder, h. 122 Duffield; Robert, carpenter, h. 162 Smith; sailmaker, h. 291 Gold	4 entries: carpenter, h. 347 State; carpenter, h. Wyckoff c. Court; reporter, h. 41 Stanton; sailmaker, h. 291 Gold
Hyde	Eliza	NID	NID	NID
Jones	Thomas B. and Adeline	Thomas B., clerk, Remsen c. Court, h. 165 Livingston	Thomas-6 entries: laborer, h. Fulton av. n. Ralph av; accountant, h. 25 E. Baltic; clerk, h. Monroe n. Reed av; (colored) steward, h.r. Broadway n. 12th; sailmaker, 154 Maiden lan, NY h. 99 Powers; laborer, h. 10th n Ainslie	Thomas - 9 entries - assist. sec. Nassau Ins. Co. Remsen c Court, h. 165 Livingston; clerk, h. 136 Hamilton av; furniture, 140 Court, h. 99 Powers; laborer, h. Metropolitan av. n. Bushwick av; laborer, h. 3 Nelson; seaman, h. Van Brunt c. Ewen; shoemaker, 116 Stagg, h NY

Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories

1848-1871

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1860-1861	1861-1862	1862-1863
Hunter	Robert	4 entries: carpenter, h. 225 Pacific; clerk, h. 76 Fulton; salesman, h. 84 Washington; U.S.N. h. 291 Gold	4 entries: R. builder, h. 56 Fleet; carpenter, h. 225 Pacific; reporter, h. 261 Washington; U.S.N. h. 291 Gold	2 entries: 189 Duffield; bookkeeper, 103 Water, NY h. 436 Atlantic
Hyde	Eliza	NID	Eliza M. wid. h. 275 Bridge	NID
Jones	Thomas B. and Adeline	bookkeeper, h. 170 Washington	5 entries: com. mer. h. 168 4th; com. mer. 26 Water, N.Y. h. Franklin av. n. Park av; Thomas E. clerk, h. 148 Adams; Thomas I. clerk, h. 136 Hamilton av; T.J. bookkeeper, h. 25 E. Baltic	7 entries: com. Merchant h. Franklin av. N. Park av; com. Merchant 83 N. 3d. . 168 4th; druggist, Classon av. C. Fulton av. H. Classon av. N. Fulton av; printer, h. 76 Middagh; seaman, h. Smith c. Nelson; shiphandler, h. Nelson n. Court; shoemaker, h. r. 137 N. 5th

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1863-1864	1864-1865	1865-1866
Hunter	Robert	sailmkr. h. 189 Duffield	7 entries: builder, h. 410 Hudson Av; carpenter, h. 89 Main; conductor, h. 3d av n 19th; reporter, 32 Fulton, h. 184 Fulton; Robert (u.s.n.), 189 Duffield; Robert J., drygoods, h. 94 Pierrespont; Robert J. printer, h. 21 Hicks	7 entries: bookkeeper, h. 127 Wyckoff; carpenter, Front c Adams; laborer, h. Schenck n Willoughby av; printer, h. 54 Henry; printer, h. 47 Fulton; u.s.n. h 189 Duffield; Robert J, dry goods, 330 Broadway, NY h. 94 Pierrepont
Hyde	Eliza	NID	NID	NID
Jones	Thomas B. and Adeline	Thomas- 10 entries: h. 77 Clinton; clerk, h. 57 High; Thomas I. clerk, h. 25 E. Warren; com. mer. 102 Broad, NY h. Franklin av. n. Park av; druggist, Fulton av. c. Classon av. h. Hall n. Gates av; painter, 405 Myrtle av. h. Clermont av. n. De Kalb av; sailmaker, h. Nelson n. Court; seaman, h. 3 Leonard; Thomas H. fruits, h. 16 S 1st; Thomas J. guns, 16 John, NY h. 199 Dean	Thomas B-bookkeeper, 10 Court, h. 191 Duffield	8 entries: com. merchant, 302 Broad, NY, h Franklin av n. Park av; drugs, 1312 Fulton av c. Classon av. h. Lefferts n. Classon av; laborer, h. 1st n N. 9th; laborer, h. r. 225 Navy; painter, 39 Myrtle av, h. De Kalb av; shipmaster, h. Quincy n. , soap S. 8th n. 6th, 166 4th (h), trunkmaker, Whitehall n. Exchange, h. 77 Lafayette av, 191 Duffield, Thomas C. clerk 295 Cumberland, J. acct 25 East Baltic, J. guns 16 John St., NY h. 199 Dean

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1866-1867	1867-1868	1868-1869
Hunter	Robert	carpenter, h 15 Vine	3 entries: carpenter, h 13 Prospect; printer, h 33 Fulton; Robert J., drygoods, 330 Broadway, h 94 Pierrepont	3 entries: carpenter, h. 124 Willoughby; carpenter, h. 25 Front; Robert C. carpenter, h. 338 Atlantic
Hyde	Eliza	wid. H 848 Sackett	NID	Eliza B, printer, 97 Maiden la. NY, h. 142 Schermerhorn
Jones	Thomas B. and Adeline	Thomas- 12 entries: coppersmith, h 61 Carlton av; com. mer. 102 Broad, N.Y. h Franklin av. n. Jefferson; drugs, Fulton av. c. Classon av. h. Lefferts n. Franklin av; ins. 10 Court and Wall, N.Y. h. 191 Duffield; seaman, h 11 Carlton Av; Thomas B., sec. 10 Court, h 191 Duffield; Thomas C., clerk, h 82 Prospect; Thomas D., lumber, Washington c Kent, h. India n. Washington; Thomas E., clerk, h. 295 Cumberland; Thomas E., drygds 445 Pearl, N.Y. h B'way n 11th; Thomas L., papermaker, 49 John, N.Y. h. 68 Hamilton; Thomas W. carpenter, 20 Fletcher, h 77 Lafayette	Thomas B, sec. 10 Court h 191 Duffield	2 entries: Thomas B, clerk, h 86 W. Warren; president 28 Court and 65 Wall, NY h. 122 Livingston

NID=Not In Directory

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory	
Last Name	First Name	1869-1870	1870-1871
Hunter	Robert	3 entries: carpenter, h 124 Willoughby; carpenter h 25 Front; Robert C, carpenter h 338 Atlantic	2 entries: 124 Willoughby; Robert C. carpenter, 338 Atlantic Avenue .
Hyde	Eliza	Eliza B. printer 97 Maiden lane, NY h 142 Schermerhorn	NID
Jones	Thomas B. and Adeline	Thomas B-2 entries: clerk, h 36 W. Warren; pers. 28 Court and 65 Wall, NY h 122 Livingston	Thomas, 19 entries: carriagemith 116 1st; clerk, 75 Main; clerk, 74 Washington; drugs, Lefferts n. Classon; engraver, Franklin c. Centre, NY, h. 126 Dean; shipmaster, h. 178 Adams; stonecutter, h. 195 Hoyt; supt. h. Bond n. President, h. 325 Bergen.

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1848-1849	1849-1850	1850-1851
	Children William and Frank	William - 6 entries: wheelwright, Water n Pearl, h. Pearl; Livingston n Hoyt [Water n Front]; writing master, Atlantic n Powers; laborer, 98 Front; boot fitter 175 Gold; William, Jr. Livingston n Hoys	6 entries for William: William L., wheelwright &c. Water n. Pearl h. Pearl b; writing master Atlantic n. Powers; William P. cartman, 47 Front; bootfitter, 175 Gold; William H., painter, 143 Nassau; agent, Columbia n. Union place	8 entries: 118 York; William L, wheelwright &c Water n Pearl h Pearl; milkman Bedford av n Madison st; William P, cartman 47 Front; laborer 198 Prospect; bootfitter Gold c Concord; William H, painter 4 Stanton; William J
Kelly	Bridget	NID	NID	NID
Lawrence	Susan	NID	NID	NID

NID=Not In Directory

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1851-1852	1852-1853	1853-1854
	Children William and Frank	8 entries: 118 York; William L, wheelwright & c Water n Pearl h Pearl; milkman Bedford av n Madison st.; William P, cartman 47 Front; laborer 198 Prospect; bootfitter Gold c Concord; William H, painter 4 Stanton; William J, merchant NY h 51 Pacific	William-13 entries: wigmaker 3d av n 14th st Gowanus; trunkmaker 36 Hudson av; laborer 38 State; William L, wheelwright & c Water n Pearl h Pearl; milkman, Bedford av n Madison st; stone-cutter Front c Jay; gilder 118 York; 139 Livingston; clerk Shermerhorn n Bond; William C., stone-cutter 55 Jay; god beater Duffield c Johnson; bootfitter 163 1/2 Gold; William H, painter 168 Nassau	13 entries for William; wigmaker, 3d av n 14th at Gowanus; laborer 21st at n 4th av, h Water and Front; William L, wheelwright &c, Water n Pearl, h Pearl b; milkman, Bedford av n Madison st; stone cutter, 53 Jay; William P, carman, 3 Summit; William C, stone cutter, 55 Jay c Front; gold beater, 30 prince; bootfitter, 163 1/2 Gold; William H painter, 168 Nassau; William F, 91 Clark; William L, flour and feed store, 118 York; seaman, 121 High
Kelly	Bridget	NID	NID	NID
Lawrence	Susan	NID	NID	NID

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1854-1855	1855-1856	1856-1857
	Children William and Frank	14 entries: blacksmith, 9 Cumberland; William L, flour store, 17 James slip NY, h 12 Cumberland; merchant, 61 Broad NY, h 48 State; jeweler, NY, h 20 York; William D & Co., grocers and feed, 34 Fulton, h 26; milkman, Bedford av n Madison; stonecutter, 53 Jay; gold beater, 30 Prince; watchman, 182 Hudson av; seaman caulker, Partitiion n Van Brunt; William F, com mer, 91 Clark; William H painter, 168 Nassau c Gold; William H, glass manuf., 128 Carl n Concord; William R., chaser, 21st st 4th av Gowanus	William- 14 entries: blacksmith h. 28 Oxford; gold beater, h. 30 Warren; painter, h. Kent av. cor Park av; porter h. r. 97 High; seaman, h. 198 Front; stonecutter, h. 55 Jay; William C. music teacher, h. 90 Duffield; William D. & Co., grocers, 34 Fulton h. 26 Fulton; William F. late mer.h. 91 Clark; William H. painter, 168 Nassau h. same; William L. flour h. 98 Bridge; William P. cartman, h. 40 Union; William R. chaser, NY h. 21st n. Fourth av.; William T. teas, 175 Greenwich, NY h. Bay View Terrace n. 13th st.	NID
Kelly	Bridget	NID	NID	NID
Lawrence	Susan	NID	NID	NID

NID=Not In Directory

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1857-1858	1858-1859	1859-1860
	Children William and Frank	William- 22 entries: blacksmith h. Oxford n Park ave; bronze h 270 Atlantic; carpenter, h. Furman n. Joralemon; dry goods, Park pl. N.Y. h. 68 Summit; furniture, Hudson av. c. Nassau, Nassau c. Gold; gasfitter, h. 171 Adams; mason, h. 84 Stagg; William (colored), porter, h. 3 Halleck's ct; printer, h. 128 Hamilton av; seaman, h. 6 Church; William B. mer. 281 Grand , NY h. 52 s. 5th; William C. stonecutter, bds. 120 Fulton; William F. h. 91 Clark; William H. sparmkr. h. Noble n Franklin; William H. H. barkeeper, 268 Court; William L. daguerreotypes, 208 Atlantic; William M. broker, 114 Water, NY h 430 Grand.; William T.b. 3d av. n 17th; William D & Co, flour and feed, 34 Fulton	William-20 entries: furniture, 170 Hudson av; mariner, h. 4th n. N. 4th; blacksmith, h. Oxford n. Park av; dry goods, 23 Dey, NY, h. 86 Carroll; druggist, h. 141 S. 2d; locksmith h. 67 Sands; h. 474 Atlantic; cooper, h. 29 Bond; seaman, h. 581 Columbia; clerk, h. 128 Hamilton av; fish, h. 8th n. Broadway; mason, h. 34 Stagg; William H, porter, h. N 1st n. Water; William H, furniture, Nassau c. God; William H, h. 127 S. 3d; William L, ambrotypes 208 Atlantic; WM, broker, 114 Water, NY h. 43d Grand; William P, cartman, h. 37 Carroll; William T, drygoods, 28 Warren, NY, h. Central av n. Myrtle av Plank rd ; Francis-laborer h. Frost n. Ewen	William-16 entries: h. 149 Bridge; caulker, h. Kent av. n. Flushing av; Wm, jr. dry goods, 388 Broadway NY, h. 86 Carroll; liquors, h. Dean n. Grand av; liquors, h. Fulton c. Boerum; machinist, h. Kent n. Smith av; mason, h. 34 Stagg; (colored) porter, h. 106 Washington; printer, h. 128 Hamilton av; seaman, h. 210 Pacific; smith, h. Oxford n. Park av; steward, h. 11 Rapelyea; William C, stonecutter, h. 40 Adelphi; Wm. H, gasfitter, h. 171 Adams; Wm. M, broker, 114 Water, NY h. 430 Grand
Kelly	Bridget	2 entries - Bridget, wid, h. Steuben n. Willoughby Av; Bridget, wid. h. Clove rd. n. Atlantic Av	NID	h 259 Bridge
Lawrence	Susan	NID	NID	NID

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1860-1861	1861-1862	1862-1863
	Children William and Frank	William-24 entries: brassrollers, h. Portland av. N. Flushing av; broker, 114 Water, NY, h. 480 Grand; carpenter, h. 146 Fulton av; segarmaker, h. 128 Court; coffinmaker, h. 187 Court; dry goods, h. 86 Carroll; goldbeater h. Johnson c. Prince; machinist, h. 67 Sands; machinist, h. 28 N. 9th; mason, h. 84 Stagg; printer, h 128 Hamilton av; seaman, h. 130 Smith; smith, h. 314 2d; smith, h. 47 Front; smith, h. Oxford n. Park av; William C, stonecutter, h. 40 Adelphi; William H, framemaker, 250 Canal NY, h. 52 Prince; William H, furniture, 168 Nassau; William H, gasfitter, h. 171 Adams, William H, upholsterer, State c. Bond, h. 99 Powers; William K, engineer h 72 Poplar; William L, daguerreian, 208 Atlantic; William P, carman, h. 87 Carroll; William R, merchant Schenck n. Myrtle av. H. Dean n. Grand av ; Francis-2 entries: clerk, 107 Amity; Francis H, weigher, h. 143 S. 1st	William - 18 entries: W. grocer, Fleet c. Lafayette av; William, h. 67 Sands; William, jr. drygoods, 899 B'way, NY h. 86 Carroll; William, machinist, h. Orchard n. Calyer; William, mason, h. Ainelle n. Union av; William, seaman, h. 188 S. 5th; William, seaman, h. Portland av. n. Auburn pl; William, smith h. Oxford n. Park av; William, col, whitewasher, h. 100 Sands; William A. seaman, h. 50 Bergen; William B. agent, h. 285 Schermerhorn; William C. h. Park av. n. Vanderbilt av; William F. clerk, h. 128 Hamilton av; William H. grasfitter, h. 171 Adams; William H. furniture, Nassau c. Gold; W.L. daguerrean, 210 Atlantic; W.M. broker, 114 Water, N.Y. h. 480 Grand; William P. carman, h. 87 Carroll; William T., machinist, h. 188 York	NID
Kelly	Bridget	NID	Bridget, wid. h. Adelphi c. Fulton Ave	2 entries-h. 300 2d; widow h. 288 Plymouth
Lawrence	Susan	NID	NID	NID

NID=Not In Directory

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1863-1864	1864-1865	1865-1866
	Children William and Frank	William- 19 entries: William, h. 67 Sands; William, boilermaker h. McDougall n Hopkinson av; Wiliam, carman, h. Flatbush av n. Bergen; William, caulker, h. Dikeman c. Ferris; William, clerk, h. 186 Duffield, William, Jr. drygoods, Mercer c Canal; NY h. 86 Carroll; William, grocer, Fleet c. Lafayette; William, laborer, h.r. 199 Front; William (col) laborer, h. 20 Talman; William, laborer, h. 83 Wyckoff; William, mason, h. 16 Ainslie; William, smith, h. 28 Oxford; William, smith, h. 120 1st; William, stonecutter, h. 214 Park av; William F. seaman, h. 14 Oxford; William H. drygoods, h. 195 Gold; William H. flour and feed, Fulton av. n. Classon av; William H. liquors, h. 61 Concord; William K. engineer, h. 103 Prince	William-18 entries: h. 67 sands; h 14 N. Oxford; clerk, h 186 Duffield; drygoods, h. 87 Summit; engineer, h. 42 Fleet; laborer, h.r. 243 S. 4th; laborer, h.r. 46 Graham av; mason, h. 16 Ainslie; smith, h N. Oxford n Park av; painter, h. 72 Concord; u.s.a. h 179 Pearl; William A, u.s.a. h 42 Dean; William B, agent h Classon av. c. Greene av; William C, stonecutter, h 109 Hamilton; William D & Co. flour and feed, 84 Fulton, h. Gates av n. Classon av; William F, printer, h. 29 Huntington; William H, clerk, h. 75 Prince; William H. liquors, 61 Concord; William H, paperhanger, h. 264 Myrtle av	William-26 entries: h. 79 Sands; h. 67 Sands; clerk, h. 127 Navy; clerk, 186 Duffield; drygoods, Canal c. Mercer NY h 87 Summit; engineer, h. 42 Fleet; flour and feed, 31 Fulton, h. 196 Gates; furniture, 264 Myrtle av. h. 264 Myrtle av; grocer, h Fleet c.
Kelly	Bridget	2 entries- Bridget, wid. h.r. 25 Amity; Bridget, operator, h. 73 Carll	Bridget, wid. h. 112 Bridge, h. 174 N. 8th	2 entries-widow, laundress, h. Dean n. Carlton av; laundress, h. 74 E. Warren
Lawrence	Susan	NID	NID	NID

Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories

1848-1871

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1866-1867	1867-1868	1868-1869
	Children William and Frank	Frank F., engineer, h 84 Taylor; William- 35 entries- Wiliam, h Hunter n Gates Av; William, boiler-mkr h McDougall n Saratoga Av; William, book-kpr. h 186 Duffield; William, clerk, h 191 Duffield; William, clerk h 25 E Baltic; Wm. carriagemkr. h Pacific n NOstrand; Wm., dockmaster, h 109 Hamilton; Wm., driver, h 11th n. 7th av; Wm., grocer, 1 Lafayette; Wm. machinist, h. Eagle c Oakland; Wm. machinist, h 26 1st; Wm. printer, 40 Broad NY h. 28 14th; Wm. rectifier, 203 Water, h 23 Hudson Av; Wm. shipmaster, h 150 S. 1st; Wm. shoes, h. 800 5th; Wm. smith, h 145 S. 1st; Wm. weigher, h Baltic n. 5th Av; Wm. Jr. drygds. 343 B'way, NY h 87 Summit; Wm. B. agt, h. 116 Ryerson; Johnes, Wm. C. storage, h. 179 High; Wm. F. shoeman, h. Hopkins n. Marcy av; Wm. G. mason, h 128 Ainslie; Wm. H. grocer, 264 Myrtle av; Wm. H. flour, 84 Fulton, h Quincy n. Franklin av; Wm. h. liquors, 61 Concord; Wm. H. saw-mill, 293 Monroe, NY h 145 ed; Wm. H. silversmith, h. Huntington n Court; Wm J., painter, h 230 S. 6th; Wm. M. broker, 114 Water, h 430 Grand; Wm. M. shipmaster, h. Putnam	Frank f. engineer, h 84 Taylor; William-35 entries h Hunter n. Gates av; boiler maker. h McDougall n. Saratoga av; book keeper. h 186 Duffield; clerk, h 191 Duffield; clerk, h 25 E. Baltic; carriagemaker h Pacific n Nostrand av; dockmaster, h 109 Ham	William-42 entries-barber, 72 Chatham, NY h. Classon av. n. Willoughby; bookbinder, h. 4 Fleet's al; carpenter, h. 16 Devoe; clerk, h. India n. Franklin; dry goods, 343 Broadway, NY, h 87 Summit; grocer, 203 Atlantic, h. 70 W. Baltic; gardener, h Magnolia
Kelly	Bridget	3 entries- widow h. r. 161 N. 8th; widow h. Atlantic av n Nostrand av; widow h 272 Hicks; widow laundress, h Dean n. Vanderbilt av; widow fursewer, h 112 Bridge	3 entries-widow, h 466 Atlantic; widow h Dean n Carlton av; widow, laundress, h 186 N. 2d, widow candies 175 Hudson Av	6 entries-h r Dean n Carlton av; dressmaker, h. 80 Prince; laundress, 186 N. 2d; widow, h. 4 Church; widow, h. Dean n. Classon av; widow h. E. Warren n Nevins
Lawrence	Susan	NID	NID	NID

NID=Not In Directory

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory	
Last Name	First Name	1869-1870	1870-1871
	Children William and Frank	Francis-3 entries-engineer, h 79 Wythe av; Francis S. h 41 Union av; Francis H, city-weigher, h 182 Hoyt	3 entries for Frank, (col'd) laborer. 48 Lorimer. Frank F. engineer, 29 3rd. Frank T. dentist 38 Smith. William 30 entries boilermaker, h. McDougall n Saratoga av., bookkeeper, h. Herkimer n. Kingston Av., clerk 61 Raymond., clerk 150 S. 1st., garden
Kelly	Bridget	6 entries-h r Dean n Carlton av; dressmaker h 30 Prince; laundress, 186 N. 2d; widow h 4 Church; widow h Dean n Classon av; widow h E. Warren n Nevins	3 entries. widow h. 186 2nd, widow., h. 180 Prince., widow h. 40 Willow Pl.
Lawrence	Susan	NID	NID

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents:		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1848-1849	1849-1850	1850-1851
Leonard	Samuel B. and Amelia	Samuel B., sash and blind maker, Myrtle n Bridge	Samuel B., sash and bind maker, Myrtle n Bridge h	Samuel B, sash & blindmaker, Myrtle av n Bridge h 116 Prince
Lewis	Walter	NID	NID	NID
Lewis	William O. and Harriet	6 entries: William B., mason, 113 Willoughby; Rev. William B., pastor, 3d Presb church, h. 48 Willow c Orange; William E., carpenter 21st and 3d av Gowanus; carpenter 21st and 3d av Gowanus; Rev William H., rector of Church of the Holy Trinity, h. Montague place adjoining church; painter Court n Fulton h 105 Atlantic	NID	NID
	Children Ellen, Alphie, Charles; mother Zuriah	NID	NID	Charles, porter 7 Fair
Lord	Daniel	NID	NID	NID
Mapes	Agnes and Gideon	NID	NID	NID
Martin	Elizabeth	NID	NID	dressmaker and milliner, 190 Fulton
McCormick	Bridget	NID	NID	NID
McGinley	Mary	NID	NID	NID
Munsey	Edward	NID	NID	NID
Nelson	Israel D. and Caroline	NID	NID	NID

NID=Not In Directory

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1851-1852	1852-1853	1853-1854
Leonard	Samuel B. and Amelia	Samuel B. sash & blindmaker, Myrtle av n Bridge h 116 Prince	NID	NID
Lewis	Walter	NID	Walter O., 21 Wall NY h 25 Joralemon	Walter O., 21 Wall NY h 147 Duffield
Lewis	William O. and Harriet	NID	NID	2 entries: tavern, Vanderbilt av n Dean; painter, Vanderbilt av n Dean
	Children Ellen, Alpie, Charles; mother Zuriah	NID	Charles-2 entries-Charles O, 110 Prospect; Charles salesman 179 Myrtle av; Alpheus, ferryman r 175 Gold	Alpheus, ferryman, 175 Gold; Charles O., 110 Prospect
Lord	Daniel	NID	NID	NID
Mapes	Agnes and Gideon	NID	NID	NID
Martin	Elizabeth	dressmaker and milliner 190 Fulton	NID	NID
McCormick	Bridget	NID	NID	widow, 462 Atlantic
McGinley	Mary	NID	NID	NID
Munsey	Edward	NID	NID	NID
Nelson	Israel D. and Caroline	NID	NID	NID

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1854-1855	1855-1856	1856-1857
Leonard	Samuel B. and Amelia	NID	Samuel B, buildher, Gates av. n. Classon av.	Samuel, builder, Gates av n Classon av
Lewis	Walter	Walter O., 21 Wall NY h 147 Duffield	Walter O., telegraph, 21 Wall, NY h. 191 Duffield	Walter O., telegraph 114 Mer. Exch. NY h. 191 Duffield
Lewis	William O. and Harriet	2 entries: painter, Pacific and Underhill av; painter, Pacific h. Vanderbilt and Underhill	William, stevedore, h. 2 Fifth	William, machinist, 65 Elizabeth NY h Portland av n Myrtle av
	Children Ellen, Alpie, Charles; mother Zuriah	Charles, laborer Hunter Fly Rd	Alpheus, conductor, h. Bedford av. n. Myrtle av; Charles (colored) laborer, h. Dean st. cor Rochester av	NID
Lord	Daniel	NID	NID	NID
Mapes	Agnes and Gideon	NID	NID	NID
Martin	Elizabeth	widow, 136 Duffield	Eliza-3 entries: Eliza A, widow Wiliam, h. 99 State; widow, h. 81 S. 2d; widow James, cupper & leecher, h. 86 N. 1st	Eliza A, widow William, 167 Livingston
McCormick	Bridget	NID	widow, seamstress, h.r. Court n. Leonard	widow, Underhill av n Dean
McGinley	Mary	NID	NID	NID
Munsey	Edward	NID	NID	NID
Nelson	Israel D. and Caroline	NID	NID	NID

NID=Not In Directory

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1857-1858	1858-1859	1859-1860
Leonard	Samuel B. and Amella	Samuel, builder, h. Gates av. n. classon	Samuel B, carpenter, h. Gates av. n. Classon av	builder, Redhook la. h. Gates av. n. Classon av
Lewis	Walter	Walter O., telegraph, 114 Mer. Ex. NY h. 191 Duffield	Walter O. supt. 21 Wall, NY h. 191 Duffield	W.O. sup't, 21 Wall, N.Y. h. 191 Duffield
Lewis	William O. and Harriet	NID	NID	W.O., supt't 21 Wall, NY h 191 Duffield
	Children Ellen, Alphie, Charles; mother Zuriah	Charles- 4 entries: (col'd) h 7 Fair; carpenter, Market c. Front, NY h. 177 N. 2d; Charles C. (col'd) h. dean c. Rochester av; Charles D. imp. 55 Broad, N.Y. h. President n Henry	Charles-5 entries: com. merchant. h. 26 Cumberland; cattle, h. 5 Lewis pl; Charles D, inp 55 Broad, NY h. President n Henry; Charles C, undertaker, h. Dean n. Buffalo av; Charles & Son undertaker, Dean n. Buffalo av	Charles, liquors, 73 Cumberland; Chas, merchant 55 Broad, NY, h. President n. Henry
Lord	Daniel	NID	NID	NID
Mapes	Agnes and Gideon	NID	pilot, h. 110 Sands	pilot, h. 110 Sands
Martin	Elizabeth	NID	Elizabeth A, widow h. 3 E. Warren	NID
McCormick	Bridget	NID	NID	NID
McGinley	Mary	wid. h. 61 Carll	NID	NID
Munsey	Edward	NID	NID	NID
Nelson	Israel D. and Caroline	NID	NID	NID

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1860-1861	1861-1862	1862-1863
Leonard	Samuel B. and Amelia	h. Gates av. N. Classon av	Samuel B.- sup. repairs pub. schools, h. Gates av. n. Classon av	NID
Lewis	Walter	W.O. supt. tel. h. 191 Duffield	Walter O. superintendent, 145 B'way NY h. 122 Joralemon	Walter O. 145 Broadway h. 96 Clinton
Lewis	William O. and Harriet	W.O. supt. Tel. h. 191 Duffield	8 entries: bookkeeper, h. 5th av. n. 13th; carpenter, h. Huron n. Washington; machinist, 61 Elizabeth, NY h. Portland av. n Myrtle av; sash and blinds, h. 281 Grand; William B. com. Nassau waterworks, 355 Fulton, h. Gates av. n. Franklin av; William D. mer. h. 72 1st pl; William H. segars, 126 5th; William J. papercarrier, h 148 Remsen	NID
	Children Ellen, Alphie, Charles; mother Zuriah	Alf. miller, h. Franklin av. n Park; Charles, china, h. President n. Henry	Charles- h. 180 President	NID
Lord	Daniel	NID	NID	NID
Mapes	Agnes and Gideon	pilot, h. 110 Sands	pilot, h. 110 Sands	A.W, clk h Franklin av n. De Kalb av; G., pilot 110 Sands
Martin	Elizabeth	NID	Elizabeth, dressmaker, Classon av. n. Fulton av.	wid. grocer, h. 152 Water
McCormick	Bridget	B. washerwoman, h. 20th n. 4th av	NID	NID
McGinley	Mary	NID	NID	NID
Munsey	Edward	NID	NID	NID
Nelson	Israel D. and Caroline	NID	NID	NID

NID=Not In Directory

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1863-1864	1864-1865	1865-1866
Leonard	Samuel B. and Amelia	NID	NID	Samuel, builder, h 105 Livingston
Lewis	Walter	NID	NID	NID
Lewis	William O. and Harriet	2 entries: h. 52 Huron; photographer. 63 Elizabeth NY h. 119 Portland av	6 entries: carpenter, h. 272 Grand; clerk, h. 286 Navy; clerk, h. 15th n 4th av; photographer, h 119 Portland av; printer, h. 274 Graham av; stevedore, h. 5 5th	5 entries: driver, h. Pacific n. Grand av; manufacturer, Howerd, NY h. 109 Portland av; porter, h 5 Cole; printer, h 348 Grand; sashmaker, h. 392 Atlantic
	Children Ellen, Alpie, Charles; mother Zuriah	NID	Alpheus-grocer, Skillman n Myrtle av; Charles-4 entries: (col) candies, h. Hunterfly rd. n. Rochester av; seaman, h. 59 Bergen; Charles H, carpenter, h. 100 Prospect; Charles P clerk, h 188 Carlton	Charles-3 entries: (col.) farmer, h. Hunterfly rd. n. Rochester av; Charles, seaman, h. 55 Adams; Charles H. shipcarpenter, h 100 Prospect
Lord	Daniel	NID	NID	NID
Mapes	Agnes and Gideon	pilot, h. 110 Sands	pilot, h 110 Sands	pilot, h. 110 Sands
Martin	Elizabeth	Eliza, teacher, h. 7 Lafayette av	49 Main	widow, h. 49 Main
McCormick	Bridget	NID	NID	widow, h. 95 Sackett
McGinley	Mary	NID	NID	NID
Munsey	Edward	NID	NID	NID
Nelson	Israel D. and Caroline	NID	NID	NID

Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories

1848-1871

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1866-1867	1867-1868	1868-1869
Leonard	Samuel B. and Amelia	Samuel B, supt. h. 189 Duffield	Samuel B, supt. h 193 Raymond	Samuel B. supt, Red Hook la. n Fulton, h. 38 Greene av
Lewis	Walter	Walter, clerk, h 96 Clinton	Walter O. tel. supt. h 96 Clinton	Walter O. supt. h. 96 Clinton
Lewis	William O. and Harriet	10 entries: h 24 Rush; h. Huron n. Union av; W. carman, h Atlantic av. n Grand av; carpenter, h 188 E Warren; clerk, h 174 Henry; laborer, h. N. 8th c 6th; photorapher, Furman n. Union av. h Kent n. Union av; stevedore, h. 5 5th; William & Co. vinegar, 105 Furman, h. Montague n. Court	8 entries-bookkeeper h 211 Bergen; blindmaker h 255 Grand; carman, h 1312 Atlantic av; drygoods. h 95 Wykhoff; gas-fitter, h Hamilton n. Park av; photographic insts. 119 Portland av; printer, h 104 Devoe; h 5 5th	NID
	Children Ellen, Alphie, Charles; mother Zuriah	Charles-3 entries:carpenter, h 100 Prospect; junk, h 2 Willow; Charles D, imp. 34 Broadway, NY h 130 President	Charles-4 entries: engineer, h 2d n. N. 6th; fish, W. Washington mkt, NY. h 145 Franklin av; hatter, h Condord c. Hudson av; Charles D. Chinese gds. 34 Broadway, NY h 130 President	Charles-6 entries: bookkeeper, h. 30 Cheever pl; laborer, h. Hoyt c Wyckoff; paints, 71 Hudson NY h. 9th n. 4th av; Charles A, fish, 302 Washington mkt, NY h 160 Franklin av; Charles H, nickel 17 Nassau, NY h 35 Gates av; Charles L, clerk, h 249 Ewen
Lord	Daniel	NID	NID	NID
Mapes	Agnes and Gideon	pilot, h. 183 Duffield	NID	pilot, h. 47 Nassau
Martin	Elizabeth	NID	widow, h 12 Duffield	widow, h 70 Ryerson
McCormick	Bridget	widow, h. 95 Sackett	NID	widow, h. 20th n 4th av
McGinley	Mary	NID	NID	NID
Munsey	Edward	NID	NID	NID
Nelson	Israel D. and Caroline	I, lighterman, h. 536 Columbia	NID	NID

NID=Not In Directory

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory	
Last Name	First Name	1869-1870	1870-1871
Leonard	Samuel B. and Amelia	supt. Red Hook la. N Fulton h 38 Greene av	2 entries for Samuel: laborer h. Devoe n. Bushwick av.; Samuel B., supt. Red Hook la. h. 38 Greene av.
Lewis	Walter	NID	Walter, teller, h 96 Clinton
Lewis	William O. and Harriet	10 entries-carpenter, h. 274 Grand; driver, h. 2 Devoe; seaman, h. 130 York; plasterer, h Middle n Webster; pipefitter, h. 74 Washington; printer h 104 Devoe; seaman, h 2383 Hudson av; sashmaker h 274 Grand; (colored) whitewasher, h. Wyckoff n Troy av, stevedor 5 Fifth Ave	6 entries -- carpenter Greene n. Franklin, h. Freeman n. Franklin. clerk, h. 74 Washington., army (colored) whitewasher h. rear of 1049 Atlantic av., photographic manufacturer, Furman., h. 119 N. Portland av., sashmaker, 274 Grand. stevedor h. 5 Fifth
	Children Ellen, Alphie, Charles; mother Zuriah	Alpheus-miller, h. 33 Kent av; Charles-6 entries: bookkeeper, h. 30 Cheever pl; laborer h Hoyt c Wyckoff; paints, 71 Hudson ny h 9th n 4th av; Charles A, fish 302 Washington mkt, ny h 160 Franklin av; Charles H, nickel, 17 Nassau, NY h 35 Gates av; Charles L. clerk 249 Ewen	Charles - 2 entries: engineer h. 108 Java. engineer h. 309 2nd; William - 2 entries: carpenter Green n. Franklin, h. Freeman and Franklin; clerk h. 74 Washington
Lord	Daniel	NID	NID
Mapes	Agnes and Gideon	pilot, h. 47 Nassau	pilot, h. 318 Carlton Av.
Martin	Elizabeth	widow, h 70 Ryerson	2 entries: wid., h. 70 Ryerson; Elizabeth A., wid. h. 52 S. 5th
McCormick	Bridget	widow, h. 20th n 4th av	wid. h. 20th n 5th Av.
McGinley	Mary	NID	NID
Munsey	Edward	NID	NID
Nelson	Israel D. and Caroline	NID	NID

Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories

1848-1871

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1848-1849	1849-1850	1850-1851
	Children Jane and Joseph	NID	NID	NID
Nevins	Isaac W.	Nevius, Isaac W., sashmaker, 168 Johnson	NID	NID
Newell	Edward and Sue	NID	NID	NID
	Children Hattie, Laughlin, Edward	NID	NID	NID
Nichols	Henry G.	merchant, NY h. 116 Sands	merchant, NY h. 116 Sands	nail manufacturer, Jersey City h. 116 Sands
O'Brian	Catherine	NID	NID	O'Brien, Catherine, widow Myrtle c Kent av
O'Brien	Bridget	NID	NID	NID
Orchard	John and Emma	NID	NID	NID
	Children Mary, Thomas, Phillip	NID	NID	NID
Parker	Mary C. and Tyler	NID	NID	NID
	Children Lizzie and George	NID	NID	George, engraver Bergen n Powers
Parker	Peter T.	NID	NID	NID
Peck	Reverend Francis	NID	NID	NID
Peel	Robert	NID	NID	NID

NID=Not In Directory

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1851-1852	1852-1853	1853-1854
	Children Jane and Joseph	NID	NID	NID
Nevins	Isaac W.	NID	Nevius, J.W., sash and blind maker, 168 Johnson	Isaac A, sash maker 168 Johnson
Newell	Edward and Sue	NID	NID	NID
	Children Hattie, Laughlin, Edward	NID	NID	NID
Nichols	Henry G.	H.M., u a gauger 69 South NY h 123 Sands	mer 79 Water NY h. 149 Duffield	mer 79 Water NY h. 149 Duffield
O'Brian	Catherine	NID	O' Brien, Catharine, widow of Patric, Water n Gold	2 entries: dress maker, 4 Franklin pl; widow of Patrick, Water n Gold
O'Brien	Bridget	NID	NID	NID
Orchard	John and Emma	NID	NID	NID
	Children Mary, Thomas, Phillip	NID	NID	NID
Parker	Mary C. and Tyler	NID	NID	T. Parker, shoemaker, 25 Dean
	Children Lizzie and George	NID	G, engraver 265 Gold	G, engraver 265 Gold
Parker	Peter T.	NID	NID	NID
Peck	Reverend Francis	h. 147 Duffield	147 Duffield	143 Duffield
Peel	Robert	NID	NID	NID

Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories

1848-1871

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1854-1855	1855-1856	1856-1857
	Children Jane and Joseph	NID	NID	NID
Nevins	Isaac W.	Isaac W. sash & blind maker, 149 Duffield h 168	Isaac W. blindmaker, Duffield, n. Johnson, h. 168 Johnson	Isaac W. sash maker, Gold bet. Myrtle av and Johnson
Newell	Edward and Sue	NID	NID	NID
	Children Hattie, Laughlin, Edward	NID	NID	NID
Nichols	Henry G.	mer 79 Water NY h. 149 Duffield	iron, 79 Water, NY h 27 Hoyt	iron, 79 Water NY, h. 27 Hoyt
O'Brian	Catherine	O'Brien, Catharine, widow of Patrick, Water n Gold	O'Brien, Catharine, widow Thomas, grocer, h. Spencer st. n. Myrtle av	O'Brien, Catharine-2 entries: fancy goods, 174 Hudson av; widow Thomas, grocer, Spencer n. Myrtle av
O'Brien	Bridget	NID	widow, Peter, h. Church n. Court	2 entries: widow James, Harrison, n. Columbia; widow John laundress, Church, n. South
Orchard	John and Emma	NID	NID	NID
	Children Mary, Thomas, Phillip	NID	NID	NID
Parker	Mary C. and Tyler	NID	NID	NID
	Children Lizzie and George	George, oil mer 50 South NY, h Kent b Myrtle & Park avs; Elizabeth, widow 99 Pearl	Elizabeth-2 entries-widow Joseph, boarding h. 99 Pearl; widow William, fancy goods, 205 Columbia, h. same; George-2 entries-engraver, h. 265 Gold; refectory, h. Grand av. n Fulton av	Elizabeth, fancy goods 205 S. Columbia
Parker	Peter T.	NID	NID	NID
Peck	Reverend Francis	143 Duffield	Rev. Francis, h. 143 Duffield	Pastor St. Mark's h 143 Duffield
Peel	Robert	NID	NID	NID

NID=Not In Directory

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1857-1858	1858-1859	1859-1860
	Children Jane and Joseph	Joseph - 2 entries: laborer, h Greene n. Franklin; shipmaster, h Bond n. Bergen	Joseph-2 entries: lawyer, NY h. 51 2d pl; shipmaster, h. Bond n Bergen	Jane-h. 301 S. 1st; Joseph-shipmaster, h. Bond n. Bergen
Nevins	Isaac W.	NID	Isaac W. sash and blind maker, h. 253 Gold	NID
Newell	Edward and Sue	NID	NID	NID
	Children Hattie, Laughlin, Edward	NID	NID	NID
Nichols	Henry G.	iron, 79 Water NY, h. 37 Hoyt	h. 27 Hoyt	iron, 24 Pine NY h. Dean n. Nevins
O'Brian	Catherine	Catharine O'Brien wid. grocer, Spencer n. Myrtle av	O'Brian, Catharine, widow, grocer, Spencer n. Myrtle	Catharine, widow, h. Walworth n. Myrtle av
O'Brien	Bridget	wid., h Harrison n. Tiffany pl	2 entries: washing, h. Church n. Columbia; widow, h. Harrison n. Columbia	widow, h. 7 Harrison
Orchard	John and Emma	NID	NID	NID
	Children Mary, Thomas, Phillip	NID	NID	NID
Parker	Mary C. and Tyler	NID	NID	NID
	Children Lizzie and George	Elizabeth, fancy goods, Columbia n. Union; George, 3 entries: engraver, h 254 Gold; restaurant, 20 Dey, NY h Grand av. n. Fulton; George Jr. h 254 Gold	Elizabeth, widow, fancy goods, 499 Columbia; George-3 entries: candlemaker, h. Franklin av n Myrtle av; clerk, h. 250 S. 2d; coffee merchant, 20 Dey ny, h. Grand av n. Atlantic av	George H, candlemanf h. Walworth n Myrtle av
Parker	Peter T.	NID	NID	NID
Peck	Reverend Francis	h 187 Duffield	h. 187 Duffield	h.187 Duffield
Peel	Robert	NID	NID	NID

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1860-1861	1861-1862	1862-1863
	Children Jane and Joseph	J. imp. liquors, 74 1/2 Pine, NY h 102 Bond	Joseph, h. 218 Bergen	Joseph, shipmaster, h, 218 Bergen
Nevins	Isaac W.	Isaac W. sash and blind maker, Gold n. Concord, h. 172 Johnson	Isaac W. sash and blinds, Hudson av. n. Concord, h. 172 Johnson	NID
Newell	Edward and Sue	NID	NID	NID
	Children Hattie, Laughlin, Edward	NID	NID	NID
Nichols	Henry G.	H.J., iron, 24 Pine NY h. 244 Dean	mer. 24 Pine NY, 244 Dean	hardware 24 Pine, NY, 244 Dean
O'Brian	Catherine	O'Brian, Catharine-2 entries: widow h. 205 Water; widow h. Walworth n. Myrtle av	wid, h. 205 Water	widow varieties, h. Walworth n Myrtle av
O'Brien	Bridget	2 entries: widow h Harrison n. Tiffany pl; widow harnessmaker 39 Atlantic	2 entries: laundress, h. 147 Harrison; wid. laundress, h. 11 S. 5th	3 entries- h. 11 S 5th; widow h Church n Court; widow h Harrison n Columbia
Orchard	John and Emma	NID	NID	NID
	Children Mary, Thomas, Phillip	NID	NID	NID
Parker	Mary C. and Tyler	Mary-3 entries: candies, h. Columbia Amity; dressmaker, h. Classon av. N. Fulton av; widow dressmaker, h. 235 Court	NID	NID
	Children Lizzie and George	George-2 entries: h Grand av. N. Atlantic av; George H., flour 520 Atlantic; Elizabeth E. h 48 State	George- 2 entries- George, h. Grand av. n. Fulton av; George H. flour, 520 Atlantic	George, h Grand av. n Fulton av.
Parker	Peter T.	NID	NID	colored, barber, 14th n. 5th av
Peck	Reverend Francis	h. 187 Duffield	Francis (Rev) h. 187 Duffield	h. 187 Duffield
Peel	Robert	NID	NID	NID

NID=Not In Directory

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1863-1864	1864-1865	1865-1866
	Children Jane and Joseph	Joseph, shipmaster, h. 218 Bergen	Joseph, ferrymaster, h. Putnam av. N. Franklin av.	Joseph-h. Putnam av n. Franklin av
Nevins	Isaac W.	Isaac W. sashmkr, h. 172 Johnson	Isaac W., blindmkr. Nassau n. Bridge, h. 172 Johnson	NID
Newell	Edward and Sue	clerk, h. 301 Carlton av	NID	NID
	Children Hattie, Laughlin, Edward	NID	NID	NID
Nichols	Henry G.	mer 66 Maiden ln, NY 244 Dean	iron, 85 Maiden la, NY h. 244 Dean	NID
O'Brian	Catherine	3 entries: wid. h. Bergen n. Grand av; wid. h. Butler c. Classon av; wid. laundress, h. Stewart n. York	O'Brien, Catherine - 3 entries: h. Gold c. Water; wid. H. 205 Water; wid. H. 759 Myrtle av	NID
O'Brien	Bridget	3 entries: h 478 Atlantic; wid. h. Harrison n. Columbia; dressmaker, h. r. Kent av. n. Myrtle av	laundress, h 478 Atlantic	widow laundress, h. Church n. Court
Orchard	John and Emma	NID	NID	NID
	Children Mary, Thomas, Phillip	Thomas, laborer, h. Van Brunt n. Tremont	NID	NID
Parker	Mary C. and Tyler	NID	2 entries for Mary: h. 184 Court; wid. h. Greene av. N. Classon av; M., wid. H. 270 4th	Mary, candies h. S. 6th. c 7th
	Children Lizzie and George	George- 3 entries- George, h. 48 State; George, h. Grand av. n. Fulton av; George W. lawyer, h. 5 E. Warren	Elizabeth, wid. h. B-way n. Myrtle av; George, h. Grand av n. Fulton av	George-3 entries: h. Grand av. n. Fulton av; laborer, h 32 Van Brunt; seaman, h. 63 Lorimer
Parker	Peter T.	Mecker av. n. Ewen	NID	NID
Peck	Reverend Francis	Francis (Rev) h. 151 S. 5th	NID	NID
Peel	Robert	NID	NID	NID

Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories

1848-1871

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1866-1867	1867-1868	1868-1869
	Children Jane and Joseph	Joseph-shipmaster, h. 207 State	Joseph, shipmaster, h 236 Union	NID
Nevins	Isaac W.	Isaac W. sashmkr, h 172 Johnson	Isaac W. sashmkr. Nassau n. Duffield h. 173 Johnson	Isaac, sashes, Nassau n. Gold, h 172 Johnson
Newell	Edward and Sue	banker, Wall c. Broadway, NY h. Quincy n. Nostrand av	NID	NID
	Children Hattie, Laughlin, Edward	NID	NID	NID
Nichols	Henry G.	iron, 14 Platt NY, 244 Dean	iron, 14 Platt NY, 244 Dean	iron, 14 Platt NY, 244 Dean
O'Brian	Catherine	O'Brien, Catharine-2 entries: widow h. Centre n. Court; widow, h. 141 Plymouth	NID	NID
O'Brien	Bridget	2 entries-widow, h. 147 Harrison; widow, h. 278 Grand	2 entries-widow. h 278 Grand; widow, laundress, h 147 Harrison	3 entries-widow, h 8 Church; widow, h 278 Grand; widow, h. Nevins c Atlantic
Orchard	John and Emma	NID	NID	NID
	Children Mary, Thomas, Phillip	NID	Mary, widow, boarding, h 840 Pacific	NID
Parker	Mary C. and Tyler	NID	Mary, widow h 221 Courth	NID
	Children Lizzie and George	George-2 entries: h. 93 S. 5th; George W, shoes, 377 Broadway, NY h 52 W. Baltic	George h. 93 S 5th	George-4 entries: h. 93 S. 5th; engineer, h. 4 Butler; George M, carpenter, h. 48 Hunter; George W, lawyer, 76 Wall, NY h 265 Sackett
Parker	Peter T.	col. barber, h 5th av n. 14th	col. barber, h 5th av n. 14th	NID
Peck	Reverend Francis	h 8th n. S. 9th	h 8th n. S. 9th	8th n. S. 9th
Peel	Robert	NID	NID	clerk, h 13 Fulton av

NID=Not In Directory

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory	
Last Name	First Name	1869-1870	1870-1871
	Children Jane and Joseph	NID	NID
Nevins	Isaac W.	Isaac W., sashes, Nassau n Gold, h 172 Johnson	Isaac W. sashes, Nassau n Duffield h. 172 Johnson
Newell	Edward and Sue	NID	NID
	Children Hattie, Laughlin, Edward	NID	NID
Nichols	Henry G.	iron, 14 Platt NY, 244 Dean	iron, NY h. 244 Dean
O'Brian	Catherine	NID	NID
O'Brien	Bridget	3 entries-widow, h 8 Church; widow, h 278 Grand; widow, h. Nevins c Atlantic	6 entries: boarding, h. 199 Montrose Av; boarding, h. 296 3d; wid, h. 37 Church; wid, h. 278 Grand; wid, h. 147 Harrison; wid, h. Nevins c Atlantic Av.
Orchard	John and Emma	NID	shoemaker, h. 47 Emmett
	Children Mary, Thomas, Phillip	NID	Thomas, lab, h Van Brunt opp Tremont
Parker	Mary C. and Tyler	NID	NID
	Children Lizzie and George	George-4 entries-h. 93 S. 5th; engineer, h. 4 Butler; George M, carpenter, h. 43 Hunter; George W, lawyer, 76 Wall, NY h. 265 Sackett	George - 3 entries: fireman, h. 867 Court; George W. (col'd) coachman, h. 248 Henry; George W., lawyer, 64 Wall, NY h. 266 Sackett
Parker	Peter T.	2 entries - Peter C. - hairdresser, 5th av n. 20th.; Peter T. h. 183 Duffield	Peter C., 5th av n. 20th
Peck	Reverend Francis	8th n. S. 9th	Reverend, h. 11 8th
Peel	Robert	clerk, h. 13 Fulton av	NID

Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories

1848-1871

Owners/Residents :		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1848-1849	1849-1850	1850-1851
Perego	Alfred and Ann	NID	NID	NID
	Children Joseph and Fanny	NID	NID	NID
Perego	Ira	NID	NID	furnishing store 74 Maiden lane NY h 164 Washington
Prince	Anna	NID	NID	widow, Fulton av c Duffield
Prince	Christopher and Gertrude	MD, Fulton c Stanton	MD, Fulton c Pearl h Fulton c Duffield	MD, Fulton c Pearl h 64 Willoughby
Purdy	Martha	widow, 295 Gold	widow, seminary 106 Prince	widow, seminary 106 Prince
Remson	George and Ann	livery stable, Hicks n Atlantic h 4 Cottage buildings n Degraw	Remsen, George, 6 Cottage Place Columbia	8 Cottage Placc, Columbia n Degraw

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1851-1852	1852-1853	1853-1854
Perego	Alfred and Ann	NID	NID	NID
	Children Joseph and Fanny	NID	NID	NID
Perego	Ira	furnishing store NY h 164 Washington	furnishing 61 Nassau NY h 164 Washington	furnishing, 61 Nassau NY h 164 Washington
Prince	Anna	widow, Fulton av c Duffield	NID	Prince, Hannah, widow, Fulton av c Duffield
Prince	Christopher and Gertrude	MD, 64 Willoughby	MD, 64 Willoughby	NID
Purdy	Martha	widow seminary 106 Prince	widow seminary 106 Prince	widow, seminary 120 Prince
Remson	George and Ann	Remsen, George, 4 Cottage pl Columbia n Degraw	Remsen, Georg, livery stable 20 Union h 6 Cottage pl Col-	Remsen, George (Alderman, 6th Ward), Woodhill n Hicks

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1854-1855	1855-1856	1856-1857
Perego	Alfred and Ann	NID	NID	NID
	Children Joseph and Fanny	NID	NID	NID
Perego	Ira	furnishing, 61 Nassau NU, h 164 Washington	gents' furnishing, 61 Nassau, NY, h. 164 Washington	gent's furnishing, 61 Nassau, NY h 20 Hanover pl
Prince	Anna	NID	NID	NID
Prince	Christopher and Gertrude	NID	NID	NID
Purdy	Martha	widow, seminary 120 Prince	widow, James, music teacher, h. 297 Bridge	NID
Remson	George and Ann	Remsen, George (Alderman, 6th Ward), livery stable Boerum n Fulton Woodhill n Hicks	NID	Remsen, George-2 entries: George B coal and wood, Flushing av. C Kent av. H Rutledge; George, livery, Livingston, N. Boerum, h. 68 Woodhull

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1857-1858	1858-1859	1859-1860
Perego	Alfred and Ann	NID	NID	gents' furnishing, 61 Nassau, NY h. 181 Duffield
	Children Joseph and Fanny	NID	NID	NID
Perego	Ira	gents furnishing, 61 Nassau, N.Y., h 20 Hanover pl	2 entries-gents' furnishing goods, 61 Nassau NY, h. 164 Washington; furnishing goods, 61 Nassau, NY, h. 20 Hanover pl	gents' furnishing, 61 Nassau, NY h 164 Washington; Ira Jr. gents' furnishing, 61 Nassau, NY h. 20 Hanover pl
Prince	Anna	NID	NID	NID
Prince	Christopher and Gertrude	NID	NID	NID
Purdy	Martha	wid., music teacher, h 279 Gold	widow, h. 291 Gold	widow, music teacher, h. 291 Gold
Remson	George and Ann	4 entries: bootmaker, h Union av c. Huron; engineer, h 141 Concord; livery stable 13 Boerum, h 78 Livingston; dealer in lime and brick, h. Rutledge n Bedford	Remsen, George-2 entries: Sheriff, off. Mechanics Bank bdgs. h. Raymond n. Willoughby; George B, lime and bricks, ft. Anne, h. Rutledge n. Bedford av	Remsen, George-2 entries: Geo. lime and brick, Ann n. Kent av. h. Rutledge n. Bedford av.; Sheriff Office Mechanics' Bank Buildings h. Raymond n Willoughby

Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories

1848-1871

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1860-1861	1861-1862	1862-1863
Perego	Alfred and Ann	gents' furnishing, 582 Broadway, NY h 181 Duffield	gents' furnishing, h. 181 Duffield	gent's furnishing, h. 181 Duffield
	Children Joseph and Fanny	NID	NID	NID
Perego	Ira	2 entries-dry goods, 61 Nassau, NY h. 164 Washington; Ira, Jr. dry goods, 61 Nassau NY h. 20 Hanover pl	gents' furnishing 61 Nassau, NY h. 164 Washington	Ira, furnishing 61 Nassau, NY h. 164 Washington; Ira Jr. furnishing, 61 Nassau, NY. h. 20 Hanover pl
Prince	Anna	NID	NID	NID
Prince	Christopher and Gertrude	NID	NID	NID
Purdy	Martha	music, h. 291 Gold	widow, teacher, h. 53 Bond	widow, teacher, h. 53 Bond
Remson	George and Ann	Remsen, George-2 entries: Sheriff's off. Mechanics' Bank Building Montague c Court h. Clinton av. N. Greene av; George B., lime, brick & c. ft. Ann h. Rutledge n. Lee Av	George, h. 190 Duffield	2 entries: h 190 Duffield; lime and brick, Kent av n Morthon, h. Rutledge n Bedford av.

NID=Not In Directory

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1863-1864	1864-1865	1865-1866
Perego	Alfred and Ann	gents' furnishing, 85 Nassau N.Y. h. 181 Duffield	gents furnishing, 175 B'way, and 85 Nassau, N.Y. h. 181 Duffield	gents' furnishing, 85 Nassau, NY, h. 181 Duffield
	Children Joseph and Fanny	NID	NID	NID
Perego	Ira	2 entries- Ira, gents furnishing h. 164 Washington; Ira Jr. gents' furnishing, h. 20 Hanover pl	Ira, Jr., gents furnishing, 381 B'way N.Y. h. Hanover pl; Perego I & Sons, gents' furnishing, 175 B'way NY h. 164 Washington	gents' furnishing, 85 Nassau, NY, h. 164 Washington
Prince	Anna	NID	NID	NID
Prince	Christopher and Gertrude	NID	NID	NID
Purdy	Martha	teacher, h. 53 Bond	wid. h. 53 Bond	teacher, h. 189 Duffield
Remson	George and Ann	NID	3 entries: h. Greene av, n. Washington av; George B., lime and brick, Kent av. N. Rush, h. Rutledge n. Lee; Remsen and Burroughs, lime and brick, Kent av. c. Morton	Remsen, George-h Green av. n. Washington

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1866-1867	1867-1868	1868-1869
Perego	Alfred and Ann	gents' furn. 85 Nassau, NY h 181 Duffield	furng gds 85 Nassau, h 181 Duffield	gents furng. 86 Nassau NY, h. 181 Duffield
	Children Joseph and Fanny	NID	NID	NID
Perego	Ira	gents furn. 187 Broadway, NY h. 164 Washington; Ira Jr. gents' furn. 187 Broadway, NY h 20 Hanover pl; Ira & Son, gents' furnishing 187 Broadway, NY	furng. gds, 85 Nassau, NY h 6th av. n. E. Warren; Ira Jr. furng gds. 61 Nassau NY h 20 Hanover pl	Ira, h. 24 6th av; Ira Jr, gents furng. 85 Nassau, NY h. 20 Hanover pl
Prince	Anna	NID	NID	NID
Prince	Christopher and Gertrude	NID	NID	paints, 37 Fulton, h. Flatbush
Purdy	Martha	widow, music, h. 12 De Kalb av	widow, teacher, h 12 De Kalb av	NID
Remson	George and Ann	Remsen, George B, lime, Kent av c Morton h Hempstead LI	NID	Remsen, George, h. Green n Washington av

NID=Not In Directory

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory	
Last Name	First Name	1869-1870	1870-1871
Perego	Alfred and Ann	gents furng. 85 Nassau, NY h. 181 Duffield	gents' furng. 85 Nassau, N.Y. h. 188 Livingston
	Children Joseph and Fanny	NID	NID
Perego	Ira	h. 24 6th av; Ira, Jr. gents-furng. 85 Nassau, NY, h. 20 Hanover pl	Ira, gents' furng. 85 Nassau, N.Y. h. 22 6th Av; Ira Jr. furng. gds. 85 Nassau, N.Y. h. 20 Hanover pl.
Prince	Anna	NID	NID
Prince	Christopher and Gertrude	paints, 37 Fulton, h Flatbush	oils, 37 Fulton, h. Flatbush, L.I.
Purdy	Martha	NID	teacher, h. 228 Schermerhorn
Remson	George and Ann	2 entries: h. Green n Washington av; G. B, bricks, Kent c Morton, h. Hempstead	NID

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents:		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1848-1849	1849-1850	1850-1851
Riley	Sheriff Thomas	4 entries: laborer John n Gold; milk dealer, Bolivar n Hudson av; laborer, Raymond n Myrtle; Butler n Bond	2 entries: milk dealer, Bolivar n Hudson av; laborer, Raymond n Myrtle	4 entries- milk dealer 5 Bolivar n Hudson av; laborer Butler n Bond; laborer Tillary c Barbarine; laborer Bond c Degraw
Robinson	Edward and Mary	tailor, 67 Middagh	Edward S., tailor, 203 High	NID
	Children Herbert and Minetta	NID	NID	NID
Rorke	J. Pryor	NID	NID	NID

NID=Not In Directory

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1851-1852	1852-1853	1853-1854
Riley	Sheriff Thomas	4 entries-clerk 198 Front; milkdealer 5 bolivar n Hudson av; laborer Butler n Bond; clerk 88 Tillary	4 entries- clerk, 151 Myrtle av; milkdealer 5 bolivar n Hudson av; carpenter 19 James; laborer r 81 Hudson av; laborer Bond n Butler; laborer 12 Talman	NID
Robinson	Edward and Mary	NID	Mary, widow 23 Sackett	Edward-3 entries: 82 Willow; tailor, 205 High; shipping mer NY h Atlantic u Powers; Mrs., widow, 132 Duffield; Mary, Widow, 23 Sackett
	Children Herbert and Minetta	NID	NID	NID
Rorke	J. Pryor	NID	3 entries: James, 21st st n 3d av Gowanus; John, laborer Columbia n Amity; John, mason Navy c Park av	3 entries: James, 21st st n 3d av Gowanus; John, laborer Columbia n Amity; John, mason 263 Hudson av

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1854-1855	1855-1856	1856-1857
Riley	Sheriff Thomas	NID	policeman, h. Broadway, cor. Leonard	4 entries-bootmaker, Douglass n. Bond; clerk 284 Fulton h 212 Jay; dry goods, 22 Navy; laborer, 204 M. Columbia
Robinson	Edward and Mary	2 entries: tailor, 205 High; mer 334 Atlantic	Edward, embroideries, 35 Cedar, NY boards 192 Atlantic	Edward N, clerk 37 South, NY h 139 Joralemon
	Children Herbert and Minetta	NID	NID	NID
Rorke	J. Pryor	3 entries: James, 27 Hicks; John, laborer 82 Hoyt; John, laborer Adelphi n Vanderbilt	NID	J. Pryor, ins. agent, 183 Duffield

NID=Not In Directory

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1857-1858	1858-1859	1859-1860
Riley	Sheriff Thomas	9 entries: carpenter, h 297 S 5th; clerk, h 70 Vanderbilt; clerk, 198 Front; cooper, h 318 1st; laborer, h 5 Bolivar; laborer, h Columbia n Hamilton av; laborer, h 15th n. 5th av; second hand goods, 312 S. 4th; straw hat presser, h 309 S 3rd	10 entries-carpenter, h. 17th c S 5th; laborer, h. Columbia n. Hamilton av; laborer, h. 15th n. 5th av; builder, h. Wilson n. Broadway; pianoforte maker, h 312 S. 4th; carman, h. Bond n Douglass; laborer, h. Graham av c Withers; junk, 16th n 3d av; clerk, h. Vanderbilt av n. Park av; Thomas B, clerk, h. 196 Front	11 entries-boatman, h. 183 Water; carman, h. Clinton av n. Flushing av; carpenter, h. Vanderbilt av. n. Flushing av; carpenter, h.r. 306 S. 5th; cooper, h. 56 N. 6th; cooper, h. 56 N. 6th; junk shop, h. 16th n. 3d av; laborer, h. Bond n. Douglass; laborer, h. 15th n. 5th av; laborer, h. 5 Bolivar; pianofortemaker; h. 312 S/ 4th; shoemaker, h. Douglass n. Bond
Robinson	Edward and Mary	Mary-4 entries: h 13 James; wid. h 300 Hicks; seamstress, h 311 Sackett; wid. H 311 Sackett	3 entries-carpenter, h Smith c Huntington; E.D. h Pierrepont House; Edward S, tailor, h. 129 Hudson; Mary-2 entries-widow, h. 308 Hicks; widow, h.r. 313 Sackett	Edward, carpenter, h. Smith n. 9th
	Children Herbert and Minetta	NID	NID	NID
Rorke	J. Pryor	J. Pryor, bookkeeper, h. 183 Duffield	NID	John P. insurance, Beaver c. William NY h. 8 Hampden

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1860-1861	1861-1862	1862-1863
Riley	Sheriff Thomas	23 entries-h. 225 Hudson av.; builder, h. 8 Wilson; carpenter, h. 17 Vanderbilt av; carter h. Bond c. Douglass; clerk, h. 96 Prospect; cooper, h. N. 6th c. 2d; flagger, h. Flushing av. N. Nostrand av; hatter, h. 227 Hudson av; laborer, h. Smith n. Withers; laborer, h. r. 202 Water; laborer, h. 8 Columbia; laborer, h. Conover c. Wolcott; laborer, h. 5 Bolivar; laborer, h. 142 Harrison; laborer, h. 15th n. 5th av; laborer, h. 302 Hicks; liquors; Middle n. 8d. av; planomaker, h. 312 S. 4th; plumber, h. 56 Metropolitan av; sawyer, h. 210 Hamilton av; shoemaker, Douglass n. Bond; Thomas B, salesman, h. 196 Front; Thomas M. clerk, h. 17 Vanderbilt av	9 entries: h. 96 Prospect; h. 225 Hudson av; contractor, h. 196 Nassau; cooper, h. 56 N. 6th; laborer, h. 8 Columbia; laborer, h. 15th n. 5th av; pianoforte maker, h. 312 S. 4th; Thomas B. clerk, h. 196 Front; Thomas M. clerk, h. 17 Vanderbilt av	9 entries: builder, h. Broadway c 9th; carpenter, h. 66 Portland av; cooper, h. 2d n. N. 4th; junk, h. 16th n, 2d av; laborer, h. 5 Bolivar; laborer, h. 15th n. 5th av; shoemaker. h. Douglass n Bond; Thomas M, liquors, Myrtle c. Portland av. h. Portland av. n. Park av; Thomas O, cotton, h. Withers n Smith
Robinson	Edward and Mary	Mary-2 entries: widow, h. 313 Sackett; widow h. Eagle n. Union av	Edward, tailor, h. 73 Concord	Mary-4 entries: M, h 18th n, 2d av; Mary, widow h. 313 Sackett; widow h. 166 Atlantic; Mary A, widow h. Dean n Vanderbilt av
	Children Herbert and Minetta	NID	NID	NID
Rorke	J. Pryor	John, fancygoods h. Hoyt n. Douglass	J. P. bookkeeper, h. Raymond n. Fulton av	J.P. bookkeeper, h. Raymond n. De Kalb av

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1863-1864	1864-1865	1865-1866
Riley	Sheriff Thomas	5 entries: cooper, h, 150 Water; driver, h. 5 Bolivar; driver, h. Bond n. Douglass; laborer, h. 340 1st; Thomas B., clerk, h. 196 Front	9 entries-carman, h. bond n. Douglass; hat presser, h. 30 Wyckoff; junk, h. 16th n. 3d av; laborer, h. 340 1st; laborer, h. 15th n. 5th av; laborer, h. Dupont n. Oakland; shipmaster, h. 40 President; Thomas B, u.s.a. h. 196 Front; Thomas M. clerk, h. 77 Cumberland	14 entries-h. Little Naassau n. Kent av; h. Broadway c. 9th; carpentern h. r. 300 S. 5th; carriage builder, h. Dupont n. Oakland; clerk, h 75 Hamilton; cooper, h. 47 N. 4th; hat presser, h. 22 Stagg; laborer, h. 19 Sedgwick; h 15th n. 5th av; laborer, h.
Robinson	Edward and Mary	Edward, paper, 186 Fulton, NY h. 185 Duffield; Mary-2 entries: Mary, wid. h. 86 N. 7th; Mary A. wid. h. Dean n Vanderbilt av	Edward A., mer. 38 Burling sl. N.Y. h 53 Columbia	Edward H-wool, 32 Vesey, NY, h. 164 1st pl; Mary-2 entries: widow, h. 313 Sackett; Mary A, widow, h. 138 Johnson
	Children Herbert and Minetta	NID	NID	NID
Rorke	J. Pryor	J.P. clerk, h. 99 Clinton.	NID	John la orcr. h. 172 Hoyt; John, mason, h 23d n. 6th av

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1866-1867	1867-1868	1868-1869
Riley	Sheriff Thomas	8 entries-cooper, h r 45 N. 4th; foundry, 43 John, h 397 6th av, NY; laborer, h Bond n. Douglass; laborer, h. 231 Hudson av; laborer, h. Carroll n Powers; laborer, h 5 Bolivar; laborer h 340 1st; Thomas M, clerk, 71 Hamilton	Thomas, u.s.a. h Johnson c. Division	15 entries-brassfounder 43 John, h. 397 6th av. NY; cooper, h. 21 N. 3d; distiller, 110 Butler, h. 118 Butler; feed, 15th n. 6th av; laborer, h. 340 1st; laborer, h. r. 298 Hicks; laborer h. r. 11 Coles; laborer h. 72 Congress; laborer, h. 14 Pacific; lab
Robinson	Edward and Mary	Mary-4 entries: M. nurse, h. 276 Court; M, widow, h. 191 Court; Mary, widow, h 313 Sackett; Mary, widow, h. 18 N. 1st	Edward-2 entries: machinist, h Conselyea n. Ewen; Edward R. lawyer, h Classon av. n. Madison; Mary, h 2046 Fulton av	Edward-3 entries: clerk, h. 77 Pacific; machinist, h. 290 Leonard; laborer, h. 121. E. Warren; Mary-3 entries: fancygoods 205 Grand, widow 81 Court, Mary G., teacher 304 Claremont av
	Children Herbert and Minetta	2 entries-H.M jeweler, 150 Bowery, NY h 77 Rodney; H.W, h 212 Franklin av	NID	NID
Rorke	J. Pryor	John P. broker, Cedar, NY h 67 Elliott pl	NID	John P. h 289 Cumberland

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory	
Last Name	First Name	1869-1870	1870-1871
Riley	Sheriff Thomas	15 entries-brassfounder, 43 John, h. 397 6th av, NY; cooper, h. 21 N. 3d; distiller, 110 Butler, h. 118 Butler; feed, 15th n 6th av; laborer, h. 340 1st; laborer h. 4 298 Hicks; laborer, h. r. 11 Coles; laborer, h. 72 Congress; laborer, h. 14 Pacific; laborer, h. 18 Carroll; plasterer, h. 712 Court; pianomaker, h. 51 Union av; railingmaker, h. 233 Gold; Thomas J. engineer h. Franklin n Oak; Thomas M., justice, Myrtle av c Adelphi h 91 Classon av	14 entries: blacksmith, h. 22 Carroll; brassfounder, 155 Water; carpenter, h. 286 B'way; cooper, h. 21 N. 3d; engineer, h. 134 Pearl; lab. h. Baltic n Troy; lab. h. 24 Carroll; lab., h. Water
Robinson	Edward and Mary	Edward-3 entries: clerk, h. 77 Pacific; machinist, h. 290 Leonard; laborer, h. 121 E. Warren; Mary-3 entries: fancygds. 205 Grand; widow, h. 81 Court; Mary G, teacher, h. 304 Clermont av	Edward-4 entries: Edward M, drygoods, 1018 Fulton av. h. 233 Adelphi; machinist, h 290 Leonard; porter, h 121 E. Warren; Edward P. bookkpr. h. 52 Tompkins pl.; Mary-5 entries: wid, h. 15 Duffield Terrace; wid, h. 170 Smith; wid 36 Summit; teacher 304 Claremont; Mary C. 17 Cambridge place
	Children Herbert and Minetta	NID	NID
Rorke	J. Pryor	NID	John P. h. 289 Cumberland

Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories

1848-1871

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1848-1849	1849-1850	1850-1851
Rorke	Thomas B.	NID	NID	NID
Russell	Mary	widow, Columbia c Kelsey's alley	widow, Columbia c Kelsey's alley	NID
Ryerson	John and Monica	John - 2 entries: tailor, 208 Atlantic; farmer Flushing c Ryerson Av	3 entries for John: tailor, 240 Henry; tailor, 254 Atlantic; farmer, Flushing c Ryerson av	3 entries: butcher 71 Atlantic; tailor State c Smith; farmer Flusing c Ryerson av
Sackett	Emeline	NID	NID	NID
Savage	Maggie	NID	NID	NID
Simpson	Ray	NID	NID	NID
Smith	Anna	NID	NID	NID
Smith	J. Ogden and Angeline	NID	broker, 63 Front N.Y., h 137 Duffield	broker 63 Front NY h 137 Duffield

NID=Not In Directory

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1851-1852	1852-1853	1853-1854
Rorke	Thomas B.	NID	NID	NID
Russell	Mary		NID	NID
Ryerson	John and Monica	3 entries-John C, clerk 71 Atlantic; tailor 148 Court; farmer Flushing av c Ryerson	John C, butcher 109 Atlantic h S	John C, butcher, 109 Atlantic h 73 Court
Sackett	Emeline	NID	NID	NID
Savage	Maggie	NID	NID	NID
Simpson	Ray	NID	NID	NID
Smith	Anna	NID	NID	NID
Smith	J. Ogden and Angeline	broker 63 Front NY h 137 Duffield	J O, broker 63 Front NY h 137 Lawrence	J.O., broker, 63 Front NY, h 137 Duffield

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1854-1855	1855-1856	1856-1857
Rorke	Thomas B.	glass and flintware store c Maiden lane and Pearl NY h 16 Hicks	NID	Thomas B. umbrellas, Maiden lane c. Pearl NY h. 183 Duffield
Russell	Mary	NID	NID	widow, John 25 Clermont av
Ryerson	John and Monica	John C., shades, 154 Atlantic c Hicks	NID	John C, fruit 33 1/2 Myrtle av
Sackett	Emeline	NID	NID	NID
Savage	Maggie	NID	NID	NID
Simpson	Ray	NID	NID	NID
Smith	Anna	NID	NID	NID
Smith	J. Ogden and Angeline	J.O., broker, 63 Front NY, h 137 Duffield	importer, 10 Broadway NY h. 181 Duffield	John, com. merchant, 10 Broadway, NY; John O., ales, 10 Broadway, NY 181 Duffield

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1857-1858	1858-1859	1859-1860
Rorke	Thomas B.	2 entries: laborer h. Columbian Hamilton av; peddler h. Butler c. Classon av	Rork, Thomas, peddler, h. Butler n. Franklin av	2 entries: 192 Duffield; labr. h. Columbia h. Rapelyea
Russell	Mary	NID	2 entries-widow h. Vanderbilt av n. Park av; Mary Ann widow, h. 86 4th	widow h. Vanderbilt av. n. Parl av.
Ryerson	John and Monica	John, confectionery, 83 1/2 Myrtle av	John C, Dept. Sheriff h. 191 Dean	John-Dept. Sheriff h 311 Pacific
Sackett	Emeline	NID	Sacket, Emeline widow h. Fulton av. op. Elm pl	NID
Savage	Maggie	NID	NID	NID
Simpson	Ray	watch case maker, h 84 S. 2nd	R.G.W, watch case maker, h. 84 S. 2d	NID
Smith	Anna	NID	Ann-3 entries: widow h N. 1st n Union av; widow, h.r. 89 York; widow h. N 2d c Union av; Anne widow, h. 48 Douglass	NID
Smith	J. Ogden and Angeline	NID	NID	J.O. ale, Broadway c. Beaver NY, h. 23 Lafayette av

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1860-1861	1861-1862	1862-1863
Rorke	Thomas B.	NID	Thomas B. mer. 387 Broadway, NY h Raymond n. Fulton av	junk, h. Dikeman c. Richards
Russell	Mary	widow, h. Vanderbilt av. N. Park av	NID	widow, h. Coselyea n. Graham av
Ryerson	John and Monica	J, ironrailingmaker, h. 316 Atlantic	John C. h. 265 Gold	Ryerdon, John, grocer, 109 Hamilton av; Ryerson, John B. Chairmaker, 63 New Bowery, NY h 412 Hudson av
Sackett	Emeline	NID	NID	NID
Savage	Maggie	NID	NID	NID
Simpson	Ray	NID	NID	NID
Smith	Anna	widow, h. 50 Stanton	NID	Ann-5 entries: h 130 Smith; grocer, N. 2d c. 7th; widow h. 48 Douglass; widow h. 398 Columbia; widow h. 149 Sackett; Anna widow, h. Richardson n Ewen
Smith	J. Ogden and Angeline	NID	J.O. imp. h. 23 Lafayette av	merchant 10 Broadway, NY, h 23 Lafayette av

NID=Not In Directory

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1863-1864	1864-1865	1865-1866
Rorke	Thomas B.	lab., h. Columbia n Hamilton av	NID	laborer, h 56 Atlantic av
Russell	Mary	NID	NID	NID
Ryerson	John and Monica	John C, shipbuilder, h. 219 Washington	John C., shipbuilder, h. 52 Schermerhorn	John-2 entries: John B, c. h. h. 198 Duffield; John C. shipbuilder, 104 E. Warren
Sackett	Emeline	NID	NID	NID
Savage	Maggie	Margaret, wid, candies, 180 Jay	NID	NID
Simpson	Ray	NID	NID	NID
Smith	Anna	2 entries: wid, h. Bedford av. n. Park av; operator, h. 40 Willoughby	8 entries: Ann, h. 194 Water; Ann, wid. Laundress, h. 130 Wyckoff; Ann, wid. H 256 1st; Ann, wid. grocery 198 N 2nd; Ann, wid. Laundress, h. 393 Columbia; Anne, h. 4th av. n. 21st; Anna, wid. Laundress h. r. 101 Gold; Annie, laundress, h. 104 Orange	widow, h. Greenpoint av. n Leonard
Smith	J. Ogden and Angeline	NID	J.O. liquors, 10 Broadway, NY h. 28 Lafayette av	John O, imp. ales 10 Broadway, NY h. 28 Lafayette av

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1866-1867	1867-1868	1868-1869
Rorke	Thomas B.	NID	Thomas B. umbrella, 98 Franklin, NY h 192 Duffield	NID
Russell	Mary	NID	papers, h 139 Nassau	2 entries-widow, h. 112 Raymond; widow, newsagt. 141 Nassau
Ryerson	John and Monica	NID	John C. builder, h 188 Hoyt	2 entries: John C, carpenter, h. 168 4th pl; J.B. h 458 Atlantic av
Sackett	Emeline	NID	NID	NID
Savage	Maggie	NID	NID	NID
Simpson	Ray	R, clerk, h 108 Tillary	NID	NID
Smith	Anna	widow, h 200 Adams	NID	NID
Smith	J. Ogden and Angeline	J.O. liquors 10 Broadway, NY h 23 Lafayette	NID	NID

NID=Not In Directory

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory	
Last Name	First Name	1869-1870	1870-1871
Rorke	Thomas B.	Rork, Thomas B. clk, h 192 Duffield	NID
Russell	Mary	2 entries- widow, h. 112 Raymond; widow, newsagent, 141 Nassau	NID
Ryerson	John and Monica	John-2 entries: John C, carpenter, h. 168 4th pl; J.B. h. 458 Atlantic av	John C., bldr. h. 16 3d
Sackett	Emeline	NID	NID
Savage	Maggie	NID	NID
Simpson	Ray	NID	NID
Smith	Anna	NID	2 entries: Anna, wid, h. 173 Division Av; Anna T., wid, h. 142 Jay
Smith	J. Ogden and Angeline	real-estate, 15 Willoughby, h. 23 Lafayette av	real estate, 15 Willoughby, h. 23 Lafayette Av

Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories

1848-1871

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1848-1849	1849-1850	1850-1851
	Children Edward, Frank, Clara, Anna, Emma	Edward - 2 entries: Edward B., tailor 180 Nassau; Edward, laborer Pacific n Boerum	Edward-2 entries: tailor, Plymouth n Hudson av; laborer, Pacific n Boerum	Edward B, tailor 14 Plymouth; Edward, Amity c Willow
Smith	Willett	NID	NID	NID
Spitzer	William and Susannah	NID	NID	NID
	Child Clara	NID	NID	NID
Stanley	Ira and Ann	NID	NID	NID
	Children Ira, Charles, Allee, Clara, Frank, and Annie	NID	NID	NID
Studwell	John J.	2 entries: John J. Middagh c Columbia; John J., lumber yard foot of Bridge, h. 40 Prospect	2 entries: Middagh c Columbia; lumber yard foot of Bridge, h 40 Prospect	lumber yard foot of Bridge h 40 Prospect
Swift	Hiram and Catherine	NID	NID	NID
Truesdell	Harriet and Thomas	NID	NID	cotton broker, 142 Willoughby
	Children Mary, Abby, Julia	NID	NID	NID
Valdee	John	NID	NID	NID

NID=Not In Directory

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1851-1852	1852-1853	1853-1854
	Children Edward, Frank, Clara, Anna, Emma	Edward-4 entries: Edward B, tailor Plymouth n Hudson av; junkman Butler n Bond; Edward E, carpenter Gold n Prospect; laborer Pacific n Boerum	Edward-5 entries: Edward B, tailor Plymouth n Hudson av; Edward E, tailor 21st st n 5th av Gowanus; druggist Van Brunt c Degraw; junkman Butler n bond; laborer Pacific n Boerum	NID
Smith	Willett	NID	Long Island hotel and liverly stable 27 Fulton	Long Island hotel and livery stable, 27 Fulton
Spitzer	William and Susannah	NID	NID	NID
	Child Clara	NID	NID	NID
Stanley	Ira and Ann	NID	NID	NID
	Children Ira, Charles, Allee, Clara, Frank, and Annie	NID	NID	NID
Studwell	John J.	lumber yard foot of Bridge h 40 Prospect	138 Livingston	24 Monroe pl
Swift	Hiram and Catherine	NID	NID	NID
Truesdell	Harriet and Thomas	NID	cotton broker 141 Pearl NY h 141 Duffield	Thos., cotton broker, 141 Pearl NY h 141 Duffield
	Children Mary, Abby, Julia	NID	NID	NID
Valdee	John	NID	NID	NID

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1854-1855	1855-1856	1856-1857
	Children Edward, Frank, Clara, Anna, Emma	Edward-5 entries: butcher, 78 Front; policeman, Walworth b Willoughby & Myrtle av; E, tailorm 32st n 5th av Gowanus; liquors, Butler n Bond; farmer, 96 E Warren	Edward-3 entries: h. 96 E, Warren; laborer, h. Wyckoff st. n Schenectady av; plumber, h. 5 Cottage pl. Columbia st.	Edward-6 entries: laborer, h 7 S 5th; (col'd) laborer, h. Wyckoff st. n Troy av; Ed, merchant 24 Barclay NY h 5 Ninth; porter, h. Butler n. Bond; Edward B, tailor h 55 Little; Edward G, cabinetmaker, h. Huron, n. Franklin; Edward N, stevedore, h. 108 Willoughby
Smith	Willett	Long Island hotel and livery stable, 27 Fulton	NID	NID
Spitzer	William and Susannah	NID	NID	NID
	Child Clara	NID	NID	NID
Stanley	Ira and Ann	NID	NID	NID
	Children Ira, Charles, Allee, Clara, Frank, and Annie	NID	NID	NID
Studwell	John J.	24 Monroe pl	h. 24 Monroe pl	h 24 Monroe pl
Swift	Hiram and Catherine	NID	NID	NID
Truesdell	Harriet and Thomas	Thos., cotton broker, 141 Pearl NY, h 141 Duffield	cotton broker, 141 Pearl, NY h. 185 Duffield	cotton broker, 141 Pearl, NY h 185 Duffield
	Children Mary, Abby, Julia	NID	NID	NID
Valdee	John	NID	NID	NID

NID=Not In Directory

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1857-1858	1858-1859	1859-1860
	Children Edward, Frank, Clara, Anna, Emma	Edward-8 entries: boatman, h 55 President; carpenter, 16 White, N.Y., h 192 S 1st; dry goods, 24 Barclay, N.Y., h 159 S 9th; engraver, h. Franklin av, near Warren; grocer, Butler n Bond; laborer, h 9 S 5th; machinist, h 70 Concord; plumber, h 34 Carroll; Francis-4 entries: blacksmith, h 238 S 1st; blacksmith, h N 2nd n Union av; editor, h 258 S 3rd; flour mills, 6, 8, and 10 S 7th and 1 and 2 Fulton, 82 Sands	Edward-7 entries: engraver, h. Franklin av n. Butler; (colored) seaman, h. 55 President; plumber, h. 44 President; musician, h. 230 Water; laborer, h. Monroe n. Reed av; Edward N shipmaster h. 108 Willoughby	Edward-9 entries: carver, h. 151 Ewen; clothing, 356 Broadway, NY, h. 159 S. 9th; laborer, h. 9 S. 5th; plumber, h. 44 President; seaman, h. 206 Water; seaman, h. 55 President; smith, h. 13 N. 3d; Edward N. carpenter, h. 94 Carroll; Edward N, stevedore, h. 108 Willoughby
Smith	Willett	NID	NID	NID
Spitzer	William and Susannah	NID	NID	NID
	Child Clara	NID	NID	NID
Stanley	Ira and Ann	NID	NID	NID
	Children Ira, Charles, Allee, Clara, Frank, and Annie	NID	NID	NID
Studwell	John J.	24 Monroe pl	JJ, Prest. Montauk Ins. Co. 7 Court, h. 24 Monroe pl	Supervisor 3d Ward, and Pres. Montauk Uns. CO. 7 Court, h. 24 Monroe pl
Swift	Hiram and Catherine	teacher, bos, 189 Duffield	music, h. 189 Duffield	teacher music, h. 189 Duffield
Truesdell	Harriet and Thomas	broker, 141 Pearl, N.Y., h 185 Duffield	broker, 141 Pearl, NY h. 185 Duffield	cotton broker, 141 Pearl, NY h. 185 Duffield
	Children Mary, Abby, Julia	NID	NID	NID
Valdee	John	NID	NID	NID

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1860-1861	1861-1862	1862-1863
	Children Edward, Frank, Clara, Anna, Emma	Edward-9 entries: carver, h. 64 Remsen; clothier, 356 Broadway, h. 159 S. 9th; founder, h. 16 James; laborer, h. 9 S. 5th; laborer, h.r. Guernsey n. Meserole; plumber, h. 101 Union; polisher, 21 Court, h. 182 Fulton; seaman, 108 Willoughby; Edward R h. 20th n. 5th av; Frank-tailor, h. 25 Hicks	Edward-10 entries: h. 115 Smith; bookkeeper, h. Leonard n. Calyer; candies, Ewen n. Varet; engraver, h. Franklin av. n. Warren; liquors, Butler n. Bond; mer. B'way, NY h. 159 S. 9th; plumber, h. 302 Henry; printer, h. 192 Grand; Edward, col., seaman, h. 66 Atlantic; Edward N. seaman, h. 108 Willoughby	Edward-8 entries: bookkeeper, h. Leonard n. Meserole av; clothing, 51 4th, h. 159 S. 9th; engraver, h. Franklin av n. e. Warren; laborer, h. 9 S 5th; laborer h. Butler n. Bond; porter, h 29 Ewen; Edward N, carpenter h 94 Carroll; Edward N, seaman, h, 108 Willoughby; Emeline, widow. h. 217 Smith; Emily, widow tailoress, h. Union av. c. Powers; Frank, shoemaker 177 Johnson; Frank B. telephone operator h 50 2d
Smith	Willett	NID	NID	NID
Spitzer	William and Susannah	NID	NID	NID
	Child Clara	NID	NID	NID
Stanley	Ira and Ann	NID	NID	NID
	Children Ira, Charles, Allee, Clara, Frank, and Annie	NID	NID	NID
Studwell	John J.	president ins. Co. 7 Court h. 24 Monroe pl	John J. supervisor 8d ward, pres. Montauk Ins. Co. 7 Court, h. 24 Monroe pl	supervisor 3d ward, pres. Montauk Ins. Co. 7 Court, h. 24 Monroe pl
Swift	Hiram and Catherine	teacher, h. 189 Duffield	music, h. 189 Duffield	professor of music, h. 195 Fort Green pl
Truesdell	Harriet and Thomas	broker, 141 Pearl NY h. 185 Duffield	broker, 141 Pearl, NY h. 185 Duffield	cotton, h. 185 Duffield
	Children Mary, Abby, Julia	NID	NID	NID
Valdee	John	NID	NID	NID

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1863-1864	1864-1865	1865-1866
	Children Edward, Frank, Clara, Anna, Emma	Edward-14 entries: h. Leonard n. Meserole av; h. 148 Water; clerk, h. Leonard n. Meserole av; clerk, h. 310 Fulton av; clothing, 58 4th, h. 159 S. 9th; engraver, h. Franklin av. n. E. Warren; grocer, Butler n. Bond; machinist, h. 9 Summit; patternmkr. h. 39 6th; (col) porter, h. 29 Ewen; Edward B. h. Taylor n. Wythe av; Edward N. stevedore, h. 108 Willoughby; Edward N. carpenter, h. 94 Carl; Frank, clerk, h. Spencer n. Park av	Edward-12 entries: clerk, Leonard n. Meserole av; filecutter, h. 256 1st; grocer, 140 Butler; laborer, h. 130 Wyckoff; machinist, h. 84 Degraw; mer. tailor, 98 S. 7th, h. 159 S. 9th; USA, h. 302 Henry; varnisher, 21 Court, h. 213 Atlantic; Edward A., book-keeper, h. 140 Livingston; Edward B., book-keeper, h. Taylor n. Wythe av; Edward N., carpenter, h. 94 Carl; Edward N., seaman, h. 108 Willoughby	Edward-14 entries: h. 23 Lafayette av; h. 159 S. 9th; clerk, h. Leonard, n. Calyer; clerk, h. 29 ewen; clerk, h. 22 S. 4th; carpenter, 206 Navy; engraver, h. Franklin av. c. Warren; laborer, h. Smith; laborer h. 150 Butler; seaman, h. Walworth n. Park av
Smith	Willett	NID	NID	NID
Spitzer	William and Susannah	NID	NID	NID
	Child Clara	NID	NID	NID
Stanley	Ira and Ann	Ira N., engineer, h. 193 Duffield	Ira N. engineer, Van Brunt, h. 93 Duffield	Ira N, engineer, h. 193 Duffield
	Children Ira, Charles, Allee, Clara, Frank, and Annie	NID	NID	NID
Studwell	John J.	John J. supervisor 3d ward, prest. 341 Fulton, h. 24 Monroe pl	Supervisor 3d ward, pres. 341 Fulton h. 24 Monroe pl	supervisor, 3d ward, prest. 861 Fulton, h 24 Monroe pl
Swift	Hiram and Catherine	NID	NID	NID
Truesdell	Harriet and Thomas	NID	NID	NID
	Children Mary, Abby, Julia	NID	NID	NID
Valdee	John	NID	NID	NID

Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories

1848-1871

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1866-1867	1867-1868	1868-1869
	Children Edward, Frank, Clara, Anna, Emma	Edward-17 entries: h Dupont n Union av; cigars, h Bushwick av n Maspeth av; clothing, 359 Broadway, NY h 150 Butler; laborer, h. 9 S. 5th; machinist, h 15th n 4th av; patternmaker, h. 133 7th; plumber, h 302 Henry; provisions, h 169 s. Oxford; varnisher, h. 218 Atlantic; Edward B. clerk h Taylor n Wythe av; Edward D, clerk, h 23 Lafayette av; Edward M, clerk, h 111 Henry; Edward M photographer, 101 Cranberry h 71 Lawrence; Edward N, stevedore, h 17 Tompkins pl; Edward S, carman, h 150 Park av; Edward A, agent, h 122 Congress; Frank, laborer h Devoe n. Morgan av	Edward-20 entries: Edward R. joiner. h Leonard n. Meserole av; h 178 2d; h r. 156 S. 3d; bookkeeper h Taylor n. Wythe av; carman, h 98 Ewen; clothing, 359 Broadway, NY h 159 S. 9th; lab. h 744 Court	Edward-20 entries: h. 20th n 6th av; bookkeeper h 241 Columbia; bricklayer, h. 65 Douglass; carpenter, h. 31 Grand; carpenter, h. Van Buren c Nostrand av; calker, h. 49 Grand; (colored) driver, h. Wyckoff c Schenectady av; laborer h r Butler n classon av; Frank-2 entries: barkeeper 262 Atlantic, H., clerk 21 Johnson
Smith	Willett	porter, h. 14 Fulton	NID	NID
Spitzer	William and Susannah	NID	NID	NID
	Child Clara	NID	NID	NID
Stanley	Ira and Ann	Ira N. engineer, h. 193 Duffield	Ira N. engineer, h 193 Duffield	Ira, N, engineer, h 193 Duffield
	Children Ira, Charles, Allee, Clara, Frank, and Annie	Annie, widow, h Fulton av n. Troy av; C. pocketbookmaker, h. Clymer, n Lee av	NID	NID
Studwell	John J.	supervisor 3d ward, pres. 341 Fulton, h. 24 Monroe pl	pres. 341 Fulton, h 24 Monroe pl	pres. 841 Fulton, h. 24 Monroc pl
Swift	Hiram and Catherine	professor, h 109 Fulton av	professor, h 111 Fulton av	teacher, 359 Fulton, h 115 W Warren
Truesdell	Harriet and Thomas	NID	NID	NID
	Children Mary, Abby, Julia	NID	NID	NID
Valdec	John	NID	NID	NID

NID=Not In Directory

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory	
Last Name	First Name	1869-1870	1870-1871
	Children Edward, Frank, Clara, Anna, Emma	Edward-20 entries: h. 20th n 6th av; bookkeeper, h. 241 Columbia; bricklayer, h. 65 Douglass; carpenter, h. 31 Grand; carpenter, h. Van Buren c. Nostrand av; calker, h. 49 Grand; (colored) driver, h. Wyckoff c Schenectady av; grocer, 150 Butler; laborer, h.r. Butler n. Classon; laborer h.r. 1 Skillman; laborer, h. 251 Smith; mechanic, h. 133 7th; plumber, h. 288 Court; tailor, 85 Broadway, h. 7 7th; weaver, h. Classon av. n. Greene av; Edward C, h. 56 Prince; Edward F, mason, h. Park av. n Adelphi; Edward M, clerk, h. 111 Henry; Edward P (Rev) h. 9th n 4th av; Edward W, stevedore, h 17 Tompkins pl; Frank, barkeeper, h. 262 Atlantic	Edward-26 entries: carpenter, h. 94 9th; calker, h. 49 Grand; clk, h. 200 Ross; clk, h. 9th n 4th Av; clk. h. 80 S. 2d; clothing, 85 B'way, h. 7 7th; clothing, h. 12 Cumberland; cooper, h.
Smith	Willett	ferryman, h. 14 Fulton	ferryman, h 25 Henry
Spitzer	William and Susannah	NID	NID
	Child Clara	NID	NID
Stanley	Ira and Ann	Ira N. engineer, h. 193 Duffield	Ira N., engineer, h. 193 Duffield
	Children Ira, Charles, Allee, Clara, Frank, and Annie	NID	NID
Studwell	John J.	pres. 341 Fulton,, h. 24 Monroe pl	John J., pres., 357 Fulton, h. 24 Monroe pl.
Swift	Hiram and Catherine	music teacher, 260 Hicks	NID
Truesdell	Harriet and Thomas	NID	NID
	Children Mary, Abby, Julia	NID	NID
Valdee	John	NID	NID

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents:		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1848-1849	1849-1850	1850-1851
Wallace	James J.	James J., chemist, 88 Prince	James J., chemist 88 Prince	James J., medicine manufr 36 Fulton h 88 Prince
Walsh	Edwin	NID	NID	NID
Walsh	William W. and Catherine	NID	NID	(W.W.), flour & feed store, 92 Myrtle Av, h 120 Duffield (x1)
	Children Austin, Amos	NID	NID	NID
Weiss	William and Julia	NID	NID	NID
	Child George	NID	NID	NID
Welch	William H. and Elizabeth	jeweller, Cumberland n Myrtle Av	Welsh, Elizabeth, fancy store 42 Husdon av	William H, engraver Cumberland n Myrtle av
	Children William Jr., Emma, Francis	NID	NID	NID

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1851-1852	1852-1853	1853-1854
Wallace	James J.	James J., medicine manufr 36 Fulton, 88 Prince	druggist 84 Myrtle av	mer 21 South Wm NY h 1st pl h Clinton
Walsh	Edwin	NID	NID	NID
Walsh	William W. and Catherine	NID	William, tailor Plymouth n Hudson av	(Wm. W.) flour & feed dealer, 31 Myrtle av, h 88 Duffield
	Children Austin, Amos	NID	NID	NID
Weiss	William and Julia	NID	NID	NID
	Child George	NID	NID	NID
Welch	William H. and Elizabeth	NID	Elizabeth G, boarding 66 Fulton	Elizabeth G., boarding 66 Fulton; William-3 entries: William M, varnisher, Dean n Smith; William M, shipwright, 29 Adelphi; William T, dock builder, 11 Lafayette
	Children William Jr., Emma, Francis	NID	Francis-2 entries: Francies S, bootmaker, smith c Douglass; laborer West Baltic n Columbia; William H, engraver Cumberland n Myrtle av	Francis, laborer, W Baltic n Columbia

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1854-1855	1855-1856	1856-1857
Wallace	James J.	chemist 36 Fulton h 89 Prince	chemist, 36 Fulton, h. 89 Prince	chemist, 36 Fulton h. 89 Prince
Walsh	Edwin	NID	shipping agent, New York h. Livingston, cor. Hoyt	shipping, 39 Burling st. NY h. 193 Duffield
Walsh	William W. and Catherine	William-3 entries: tailor, 282 Plymouth; hatter, 16 Union; Wm W., flour and feed dealer, 91 Myrtle av h 88 Duffield	William W. (Alderman 11th ward) flour and feed (Walsh & Shipman), 91 Myrtle av. h. 149 Duffield	William W, (Alderman 11th Ward), flour, 109 Myrtle av.
	Children Austin, Amos	NID	NID	NID
Weiss	William and Julia	NID	NID	NID
	Child George	NID	NID	NID
Welch	William H. and Elizabeth	William H., jeweler, 58 Myrtle av	William H., Spooner & Welch, h. Myrtle av. cor. Bridge st	William H, jewelry, 73 Myrtle av, Bridge st. n. Myrtle av
	Children William Jr., Emma, Francis	NID	NID	NID

NID=Not In Directory

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1857-1858	1858-1859	1859-1860
Wallace	James J.	J.J., patent medicines, 36 Fulton h. 349 State	J.J., chemist, 86 Fulton, h. 349 State	chemist h. 349 State
Walsh	Edwin	shipping agent, 39 Burling st. NY h. 178 Duffield	agent, 39 Burling st. NY h. 178 Duffield	shipping mer. 39 Burling St. NY h. 178 Duffield
Walsh	William W. and Catherine	alderman, 11th Ward, flour and feed, 109 Myrtle av, h 190 Duffield	flour and feed, 109 Myrtle av. h. 190 Duffield	William W, flour, 109 Myrtle av h. 190 Duffield
	Children Austin, Amos	NID	NID	NID
Weiss	William and Julia	NID	NID	NID
	Child George	shoemaker, h 5th n N 4th	shoemaker, N. 2d n. Graham av	shoemaker, h. Maspeth av. n. Bushwick av
Welch	William H. and Elizabeth	jeweler, 98 Myrtle av	jeweler, 73 Myrtle av h. 183 Duffield	William H, jeweler, 73 Myrtle av. h. 183 Duffield
	Children William Jr., Emma, Francis	NID	NID	NID

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1860-1861	1861-1862	1862-1863
Wallace	James J.	4 entries: Jas, janitor, Flushing av n. Ryerson; laborer, h. Metropolitan av n. Bushwick av; (col.) porter, h. 81 Chapel; ropemaker, h Smith n. Herbert	James J., physician, h 189 Duffield	J.J., physician, h. Clermont av. c. Fulton av
Walsh	Edwin	shipping, 39 Burling st. NY h. 178 Duffield	NID	shipping h. 178 Duffield
Walsh	William W. and Catherine	5 entries: grocer, h. Evans c. Little; ironmoulder, h. r. 93 N. 5th; physician, h. 176 Taylor; porter, h. 485 Columbia; tailor, h. Little c. Water	5 entries: hatter, h. 135 6th; hatter, h. 108 4th pl; moulder, h. 120 S. 3d; porter, h. 485 Columbia; tailor, h. Water c. Little	William W. 89 Burling st. NY h 282 State (121)
	Children Austin, Amos	NID	NID	NID
Weiss	William and Julia	NID	segars, 62 Fulton	NID
	Child George	NID	shoemaker, h. N. 2d n. Graham av	NID
Welch	William H. and Elizabeth	jeweler, 73 Myrtle av. H. 183 Duffield	William-6 entries: grocer, 896 Myrtle av. h. 58 Adelphi; laborer, h. 55 Little; shipmaster, h. 68 Butler; William H. jeweler, 73 Myrtle av. h. 183 Duffield; William R. hotel, 44 Myrtle Av; W.T. broker, h. 96 Prince	William H. jeweler, 73 Myrtle av. h. 183 Duffield
	Children William Jr., Emma, Francis	NID	NID	William-4 entries: laborer, h. 16 Pacific; grocer, 396 Myrtle av. h. 58 Adelphi; Welsh, William, laborer, h. 55 Little; moulder, h. 42 N. 5th

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1863-1864	1864-1865	1865-1866
Wallace	James J.	NID	USA, h. 7 Metropolitan av	3 entries: clerk h 95 Concord; laborer, h Metropolitan av n Bushwick av; (col.) waiter, h 31 Chapel
Walsh	Edwin	h. 178 Duffield	NID	oils, h 282 State
Walsh	William W. and Catherine	William W. mer. 39 Burling pl. NY h. 282 State	W. W. h. 282 State	Wm. W- h Marcy av n. Myrtle av
	Children Austin, Amos	NID	NID	NID
Weiss	William and Julia	NID	NID	NID
	Child George	NID	NID	NID
Welch	William H. and Elizabeth	William H. jeweler, 73 Myrtle av. h. 183 Duffield	William H, jeweler, 78 Myrtle av. h. 183 Durrield	NID
	Children William Jr., Emma, Francis	Francis R. agent, h. 192 Smith	Francis, agent, h. 192 Smith	NID

Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories

1848-1871

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1866-1867	1867-1868	1868-1869
Wallace	James J.	lab h. Metropolitan av n. Lafayette Av	lab. h 172 Taylor	NID
Walsh	Edwin	2 entries: h. 282 State; clerk, h De Kalb av. n. Grand av	h Bedford av. c. Keep	NID
Walsh	William W. and Catherine	William W, coal, 28 Fulton, h Marcy av n. Myrtle av	William W. coal, 28 Fulton, h Marcy av. n. Myrtle	Catherine, h 284 4th; William W-h Marcy av n Willoughby av
	Children Austin, Amos	NID	NID	NID
Weiss	William and Julia	porter, h. 1st c. N. 7th	NID	NID
	Child George	shoemaker, 83 Union av	shoemaker 85 Union av	shoemaker 414 N. 2d
Welch	William H. and Elizabeth	William H, jeweler, 73 Myrtle av h 126 Willoughby	William H., porter, 92 Front; shipsmith 3 Furman; shipmaster, 38 Summit; jeweler, 73 Myrtle av. h 254 Raymond	William H-2 entries: jeweler, 73 Myrtle av. h 254 Raymond; printer, h Skillman n De Kalb av
	Children William Jr., Emma, Francis	Francis-2 entries: lithographer, 70 Maiden la NY, h 22d n. 5th av; Francis R, agt, h 256 Dean; William-8 entries: clerk, h 209 Water; liquors, 85 Hudson av; porter, h 487 Columbia; tailor, h 209 Water; William E, ice, h 774 Pacific; William E, shipmaster, h 38 Summit; William E, shipsmith, h 3 Furman; William L, h. 72 Prince	William-3 entries: porter, h 92 Front; shipsmith, h 3 Furman; William E., shipmaster h 38 Summit; Francis R. agt. 49 Wall, NY h 256 Dean	Francis-2 entries: cooper, h. William c Richards; Francis R, agent, Wall, NY h 256 Dean

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents:		Brooklyn City Directory	
Last Name	First Name	1869-1870	1870-1871
Wallace	James J.	NID	NID
Walsh	Edwin	h 109 Bedford av	h. Bedford av. c. Keap
Walsh	William W. and Catherine	Catharine-h. 284 4th; William W, h. Marcy av. n Willoughby av	Catharine-3 entries: wid, h. 19 Clymer; wid, h. 211 Front; wid, h. 101 Union; William-4 entries: hatter, h. 268 B'way; lab, h. Emmett n Pacific; Washington mkt. N.Y. 462 Columbia; William W., h. Marcy ave n. Willoughby Ave
	Children Austin, Amos	NID	NID
Weiss	William and Julia	NID	trimmings, 219 Church N.Y. h. 189 Duffield
	Child George	shoemaker, 414 N. 2d	h. 70 Dean
Welch	William H. and Elizabeth	NID	William-7 entries: butter, Fulton c Orange, h. 58 Adelphi; hatter, h. Flushing Av. n Schenck; machinist, h. 3 N. Portland Av.; produce, Nassau mkt, h. 48 Adelphi; stevedore, h. 102 Front; William H. jeweler,
	Children William Jr., Emma, Francis	Francis-2 entries: cooper, h. William c Richards; Francis R, agt. Wall, NY h. 256 Dean	Francis R., agent h. 256 Dean

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1848-1849	1849-1850	1850-1851
Williams	Joe	2 entries: Joseph D., furrier, 102 Willoughby; mason, Union n Hamilton Av.	Joseph-5 entries: pedlar, Franklin n DeKalb av; furrier, Nostrand n Myrtle av; laborer, 80 High; mariner Water n Main; mason, Union n Hamilton av	Joseph-3 entries: Joseph D, furrier 2 Bond; fancy goods NY h 68 Johnson; laborer 80 High
Winer	Charles	NID	NID	NID

NID=Not In Directory

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1851-1852	1852-1853	1853-1854
Williams	Joe	Joseph-2 entries: Graham st n Flushing av; mason Union pl c Hamilton av	Joseph-2 entries: laborer 161 Pearl; laborer 54 Stanton	3 entries: yankee notions, 64 Broadway NY h 52 Schermerhorn; J, clerk, 86 Prince; J.T., seaman, Classon n Myrtle av
Winer	Charles	NID	NID	NID

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1854-1855	1855-1856	1856-1857
Williams	Joe	2 entries: hattier and furrier, 219 Fulton; 52 Schermerhorn	Joseph-6 entries: marble cutter h. Franklin Av n Willoughby av; (colored) porter, h.r. 191 Pearl; Joseph D. hats and caps, 219 Fulton, h. 86 Cranberry; Joseph K. clerk h. 27 Gold; Joseph P. manuf. printing ink, 95 Furman, h. 52 Schermerhorn; peddler, h. Moore, n. Ewen	Joseph-5 entries: clerk, h. 59 E. Baltic; flancy goods, Moore, n. Ewen, h. same; (colored) seaman, h. 88 Carll; Joseph D, hats, 219 Fulton h. 86 Cranberry; Joseph H, (colored) porter, h 26 Chapel
Winer	Charles	NID	NID	NID

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1857-1858	1858-1859	1859-1860
Williams	Joe	5 entries: clerk, h 235 Washington; blacksmith, 11 State; dry goods, 210 S 6th; (col.) porter, h 182 Navy; hats and caps, 219 Fulton h 86 Cranberry	Joseph-4 entries-tailor, h. 123 4th; fancy goods, 210 S. 6th; (colored) whitewasher, h. 182 Navy; Joseph D, hats, caps and furs, 219 Fulton, h. 86 Cranberry	Joseph-5 entries: bookkeeper, h. 50 Lafayette av; fancy goods, 210 S. 6th; liquors, 6 Furman; Joseph D, hats, caps and furs, 293 Fulton, and manf. Willoughby av. c. Mostrand av. h. 86 Cranberry; Joseph E, h. 314 Gold
Winer	Charles	NID	NID	NID

Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories

1848-1871

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1860-1861	1861-1862	1862-1863
Williams	Joe	Joseph-6 entries: fancygoods, 210 S. 6th; inventor, h. 54 1st; (colored), laborer, h. 26 Chapel; tailor, h 52 Ewen; Joseph H, h. Oakland n. Nassau; Joseph P, fancy goods, 194 Broadway, NY h 314 Gold	Joseph-5 entries: clerk, h. 5 11rh; fancygoods, 210 S. 6th; col. steward, h. 45 Talman; Joseph D. hats and furs, 336 Fulton, h. 86 Cranberry; Joseph P. h. 314 Gold	Joseph-7 entries: carpenter, h. 82 Wyckoff; fancygoods, 210 S. 6th; (col) porter, h. 45 Talman; Joseph D. hatter, 336 Fulton, h. 337 Pearl; Joseph M. bookkeeper h. 306 Degrave; Joseph M. bookkeeper, h. 62 Schermerhorn; Joseph P, grocer, 130 Fulton av n. 292 Carlton av
Winer	Charles	NID	NID	NID

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1863-1864	1864-1865	1865-1866
Williams	Joe	Joseph-5 entries: clerk, h. 61 Joralemon; (col'd) laborer, h. 45 Talman; shoemaker. h. Meeker av. n. Ewen; Joseph D. hats, 336 Fulton, h. 337 Pearl; Joseph M. clerk, 306 Degraw	Joseph-4 entries: drygoods, h. 232 S. 6th; hats, 326 Fulton, h. 337 Pearl; laborer, h.r. 188 York; porter, h. 45 Talman	Joseph-6 entries: fancy goods, Meserole av. n. Leonard; laborer, h. 77 Montrose av; porter, h. 45 Talman; seaman, h 188 York; Joseph D, hats and caps, 336 Fulton, h. 337 Pearl; Joseph M, bookkeeper, h. 306 Degraw
Winer	Charles	NID	NID	NID

Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories

1848-1871

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1866-1867	1867-1868	1868-1869
Williams	Joe	Joseph-7 entries: carpenter, 618 Myrtle av; fancygoods, Graham av n. Devoe; shipbuilder, h. Van Brunt n. Partition; USN h. r. 188 York; (colored) porter, h. 45 Talman; Joseph D hats, caps and furs, 336 Fulton, h 337 Pearl	Joseph-11 entries: fancy gds. h 81 10th; furrier, 240 Wyckoff n Fulton av. h Johnson; (col.) lab. h Sackett n. Rochester av; seaman, h r. 164 Prospect; (col.) stevedore, h. 161 Concord; waiter, h 45 Talman; Joseph F. broker, 45 Wall, NY h 40 Remsen	Joseph-15 entries: h 306 Degraw; agt. 2 Astor House, NY h 188 Elliott pl; fancygoods, 15 Moore; salesman, h 45 Talman; Joseph D, clerk h 185 Duffield; Joseph D Hats and Furs, 836 Fulton, h 44 Johnson; Joseph E, laborer, h r. 51 Powers; Joseph H. colored laborer
Winer	Charles	NID	NID	NID

**Abstract of Brooklyn City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		Brooklyn City Directory	
Last Name	First Name	1869-1870	1870-1871
Williams	Joe	15 entries: h. 306 Degraw; agt. 2 Astor House, NY h 138 Elliott pl; fancygds. 15 Moore; salesman, h 45 Talman; Joseph D, clerk h 185 Duffield; Joseph D Hats and Furs, 336 Fulton h 44 Johnson; Joseph E. laborer, h r 51 Powers; Joseph H, colored, laborer, h. 264 Gold; Joseph M. com merchant h 14 Joralemon; J. clerk h 363 Pacific; J, seaman, h. 80 Schols; J.C. gasfitter, h. 15 Talman; J.C., & S.W. school, 277 Cumberland; J.S. & Co. hardware, 33 Hicks; J. W. agt. h Washington av. n Gates av	8 entries: drygds, 15 Moore; furs Fulton n Montaque h. 44 Johnson; lab h r. 160 Johnson; (col'd) seaman h. 435 B'way; Joseph G. shoemkr h. 156 6th; lab. h. 193 Nassau; Joseph L. h. 306 Degraw
Winer	Charles	NID	NID

**Abstract of New York City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		New York City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1848-1849	1849-1850	1850-1851
Ackley (aka Ackeley)	John A.	agent American Tract Society, 150 Nassau, h. Brooklyn	agent American Tract Society, 150 Nassau, h. Brooklyn	agent American Tract Society, 150 Nassau, h. Brooklyn
Bernard	John	NID	NID	NID
Clem	William	NID	NID	NID
Donovan	John	3 entries: butcher, 11 Tompkins market, h. 99 E. 24th St; marble polisher, 75 W. 15th St; waiter, 496 Houston	7 entries: butcher, 11 Tompkins market, h. 99 E. 24th St; marble polisher, 75 W. 15th St; waiter, 281 Brosby; laborer 355 Cherry; tailor 84 Cherry; laborer 9 Pelham; laborer 142 Maiden Ln	6 entries: 9 Pelham; butcher, 11 Tompkins Market, h. 99 E. 24th; laborer, 351 Cherry; laborer 355 Cherry; marblecutter 75 W. 15th; waiter, 81 Crosby
Faulkner	George	broker, 54 Wall, h. 61 Horatio	NID	NID
Frederickson	Charles W.	NID	NID	cottonbroker, 141 Pearl
Furnell	Charles	NID	NID	NID
Greenleaf	Amos	salesman, 8 Vandam	salesman, 82 Cedar, h. 8 Vandam	salesman, 63 Liberty, h. 8 Vandam
Hawes	Peter	NID	NID	fancy goods, 135 Broadway, h. 872 Broadway
Lewis	Walter	Walter B., binder, 98 Catherine, h. 5 Chatham square	NID	NID

NID=Not In Directory

**Abstract of New York City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		New York City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1851-1852	1852-1853	1853-1854
Ackley (aka Aceley)	John A.	2 entries: fireman. 38 Thomas; agent American Tract Society, 150 Nassau, h. 143 Duffield Brooklyn	agent American Tract Society, 150 Nassau, h. 143 Duffield Brooklyn	NID
Bernard	John	NID	NID	NID
Clem	William	NID	NID	NID
Donovan	John	11 entries: shipcarpenter, 26 Monroe; farmer 351 Cherry; laborer 78 Pike; laborer 355 Cherry; laborer 5 Hester; laborer 19 West; laborer 95 James; butcher, 11 Tompkins mkt; marblepolisher, 75 W. 15th; waiter, 81 Crosby; laborer 9 Pelham	8 entries: shipcarpenter, 57 Hudson; laborer 357 Cherry; laborer 5 Hester; butcher, 11 Tompkins market h. 12 E. 22nd St; carpenter, 422 Ave 3; laborer, 75 W. 15th; furdresser, 169 W. 18th; flagger 113 W. 27th	7 entries: waiter, 81 Crosby; clerk h. 167 Reade; seamen 78 Pike sl; laborer 357 Cherry; laborer 5 Hester; butcher 11 Tompkins Market, h. 12 E. 22nd; marble polisher, 69 Bank
Faulkner	George	NID	NID	NID
Frederickson	Charles W.	cottonbroker, 141 Pearl		NID
Furnell	Charles	NID	NID	NID
Greenleaf	Amos	NID	salesman, 63 Liberty, h. 25 Vandam	salesman, 63 Liberty, h. 25 Vandam
Hawes	Peter	fancy goods, 135 Broadway, h. 11 St. george's place	fancy goods, 151 Broadway	fancy goods, 41 Dey, h. Manhattan
Lewis	Walter	NID	Walter O., sup. Telegraph, 21 Wall, h. 25 Joralemon, Brooklyn	Walter, telegraph, 21 Wall, h. 147 Duffield, Brooklyn

Abstract of New York City Directories
1848-1871

Owners/Residents		New York City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1854-1855	1855-1856	1856-1857
Ackley (aka Ackeley)	John A.	NID	NID	NID
Bernard	John	NID	NID	NID
Clem	William	NID	NID	NID
Donovan	John	10 entries: builder, h. 112 W. 41st; grocer, 357 Cherry, h. 357 Cherry; plumber/water pipe fixer, h. 245 Madison; butcher, 11 Tompkins mkt h. 121 E. 22d; grocer, h. 347 Cherry; finisher, h. 5 Hester; tailor, h. 338 Water; John J., waiter, h. 240 Seventh av.; seaman, 78 Pike al; carpenter, 412 Av. 3	13 entries: butcher, 11 Tomp. mkt h. 121 E. 22d; charcoal, h. 90 Henry; fruit, Wash. mkt. h. 56 Robinson; furniture, 528 Ninth Av.; laborer, h. 89 Cherry; laborer, h. r. 103 E. 41st; laborer, 67 James; laborer, h. r. 22 Roosevelt; liquor, 357 Cherry; mason, h. 530 Ninth av.; porter, h. 245 Madison; shipcarpenter, h. 153 Cherry; waiter, h. 212 Seventh av.	12 entries: builder, h Ninth av. c W. 43d; butcher, 11 Tompkins mkt. h 121 E. 22d; carpenter, h 153 Cherry; carpenter, h 587 First av.; furniture, 528 Ninth av.; laborer, h. 656 Water; laborer, h 174 Madison; late liquors, 357 Cherry; plumber, h. 245 Madison; polisher, h. 19 Troy; seaman, h r 360 Cherry; John J. waiter, h 212 Seventh Av.
Faulkner	George	NID	NID	NID
Frederickson	Charles W.	cottonbroker, 148 Pearl, h. Brooklyn	cottonbroker, 148 Pearl, h. Putnam Av. N. Clason, Brooklyn	cottonbroker, 135 Pearl, h. Putnam N. Classon Av, Brooklyn
Furnell	Charles	NID	NID	NID
Greenleaf	Amos	salesman, 63 Liberty, h. 25 Vandam	NID	C. mer. 95 Liberty, h 43 Morton
Hawes	Peter	fancy goods, 41 Dey	merchant, 41 Dey, h. Brooklyn	NID
Lewis	Walter	Walter O., telegraph, 21 Wall, h. 147 Duffield, Brooklyn	Walter O., telegraph, 21 Wall, h. 147 Duffield, Brooklyn	Walter O., telegraph, 114 Mers. Ex. h. Duffield, Brooklyn

**Abstract of New York City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		New York City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1857-1858	1858-1859	1859-1860
Ackley (aka Ackeley)	John A.	NID	NID	NID
Bernard	John	NID	NID	NID
Clem	William	NID	NID	NID
Donovan	John	10 entries: butcher, 11 Tompkins mkt. h 121 E. 22d; carpenter, h 158 Cherry; furrier, h r 482 Seventh av.; laborer, h 73 Cherry; laborer, h 357 Cherry; laborer, h 31 Oak; laborer, h 398 Water; mason, h W. 43d c Ninth av.; pedlar, h r 216 Elizabeth; plumber, h. 40 Scammel	11 entries: butcher, 11 Tompkins mkt. h. E. 52d n Third av.; carpenter, h 221 Cherry; furrier, h r 482 Seventh av.; grocer, 357 Cherry; laborer, h 73 Cherry; laborer, h r 37 Cherry; mason, h 250 W. 43d; plumber, h. 40 Scammel; polisher, h 19 Troy; seaman, h. 186 Cherry; seaman, h 161 Madison; smith, h 237 Madison	10 entries: butcher, 11 Tomp. mkt. h E. 52d n Third Av.; carpenter, h 221 Cherry; charcoal, h 36 Madison; grocer, h 37 Cherry; laborer, h. 67 James; laborer, h. 131 Liberty; mason, h. 250 W. 43d; pedlar, h r. 60 Henry; plumber, h. 40 Scammel; polisher, h 19 Troy
Faulkner	George	NID	NID	NID
Frederickson	Charles W.	cottonbroker, 135 Pearl, h. Putnam N. Classon Av, Brooklyn	cotton, 125 Pearl & 78 Beaver, h B'klyn	broker, 125 Pearl, h Putnam av. N Classon, B'klyn
Furnell	Charles	NID	NID	NID
Greenleaf	Amos	C. mer. Liberty, h 37 Morton	C. mer., h 37 Morton	C., clerk, 25 Cortlandt, h 37 Morton
Hawes	Peter	NID	NID	NID
Lewis	Walter	Walter O., telegraph, 114 Mers. Ex. h, Duffield, Brooklyn	Walter O., telegraph, 21 Wall	Walter O., tel., 21 Wall

Abstract of New York City Directories
1848-1871

Owners/Residents		New York City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1860-1861	1861-1862	1862-1863
Ackley (aka Aceley)	John A.	NID	NID	NID
Bernard	John	NID	NID	NID
Clem	William	NID	NID	NID
Donovan	John	14 entries: butcher, 11 Tomp. mkt h E. 52d n Third av.; calker, h. 201 Cherry; laborer, h r 131 Liberty; laborer, h. 54 Roosevelt; laborer, h r 38 Trinity pl.; laborer, h. 37 Cherry; laborer, h 445 Fourth; laborer, h. E. 48th n. Second av.; laborer, h. 654 Water; laborer, h. 8 W. 41st; liquors, 357 Cherry; mason, h. 250 W. 43d; shoes, h. 61 James; varnisher, h. 51 W. 42d	15 entries: butcher, 19 Tomp. mkt. h E. 52d n Third av.; carpenter, h 221 Cherry; laborer, h. 73 Cherry; laborer, h. 267 E. 13th; laborer, h Sixth av. n W. 54th; laborer, h. Third av. n. E. 83d; laborer, h 69 Watts; laborer, h. 91 W. 41st; liquors, 357 Cherry; liquors, Eleventh av. c W. 47th, h W. 12th n Ninth av.; liquors, 88 Tenth av.; machinist, h 69 Attorney; mason, h. 250 W. 43d; seaman, h 33 Rutgers; varnisher, h. 122 E. 26th	10 entries: butcher, 768 Second av.; butcher, Tomp. mkt, h E. 52d n Third av; carpenter, h 221 Cherry; clothing, 76 Baxter; laborer, h. 73 Cherry; laborer, h. 357 Cherry; laborer, h. 212 E. 17th; laborer, h 33 Rutgers; laborer, h r 180 W. 40th; mason, h 250 W. 43d
Faulkner	George	NID	NID	NID
Frederickson	Charles W.	broker, 125 Pearl & 78 Beaver, h Putnam av n Classon av. B'klyn	broker, 125 Pearl, h Classon av n Putnam, B'klyn	broker, 29 Pine
Furnell	Charles	NID	NID	NID
Greenleaf	Amos	NID	NID	NID
Hawes	Peter	NID	NID	NID
Lewis	Walter	Walter O., telegraph, 21 Wall, h 191 Duffield, Brooklyn	NID	NID

**Abstract of New York City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		New York City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1863-1864	1864-1865	1865-1866
Ackley (aka Ackeley)	John A.	NID	John T., h 193 W 28th	NID
Bernard	John	NID	NID	NID
Clem	William	NID	NID	NID
Donovan	John	10 entries: bags, h 94 James; butcher, 19 Tomp. mkt, h 126 E. 52d; laborer, h 357 Cherry; laborer, h 518 E. 16th; laborer, h. 126 Hudson; laborer, h 33 Rutgers; laborer, h 654 Water; polisher, h 774 Wash'n; smith, 564 G'wich; John J., provisions, 17 Tomp. mkt, h E 52nd n Third av	14 entries: carpenter, h 36 Gotham ct.; bagmkr, h 94 James; butcher, 21 Tomp. mkt h 210 E. 5d; junk, 11 Coenties sl h 59 Wash'n; laborer, h 73 Cherry; laborer, h 357 Cherry; laborer, h 365 Cherry; laborer, h 13 Dover; laborer, h 76 Mulberry; laborer, h 43 Park; laborer, h 413 Wash'n; laborer, h 774 Wash'n; laborer, h 25 Vandewater; John J., butcher, 17 Tomp. mkt h E 52d	14 entries: h 506 Pearl; bagmkr h 94 James; boilermkr, h 776 Wash'n; butcher, 19 Tomp. mkt., h 210 E. 52d; junk, 11 Coenties sl h 59 Wash'n; laborer, h. 65 Av. A; laborer, h 91 Charlton; laborer, h 210 1/2 Cherry; laborer, h 357 Cherry; laborer, h 110 Park; laborer, h 479 Pearl; laborer, h 33 Rutgers, laborer, h 496 Tenth av.; liquors, 32 Cherry
Faulkner	George	NID	NID	NID
Frederickson	Charles W.	cotton, 85 Beaver	cotton, 83 Beaver, h S. Nicholas b.	cotton, 83 Beaver, h S. Nicholas b.
Furnell	Charles	NID	NID	NID
Greenleaf	Amos	NID	NID	NID
Hawes	Peter	NID	NID	NID
Lewis	Walter	Walter O., supt, 52 Pine, h B'klyn	Walter O., supt, 52 Pine, h 96 Clinton, B'klyn	Walter O., supt, 52 Pine, h 96 Clinton, B'klyn

Abstract of New York City Directories
1848-1871

Owners/Residents		New York City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1866-1867	1867-1868	1868-1869
Ackley (aka Aceley)	John A.	NID	NID	NID
Bernard	John	NID	NID	NID
Clem	William	NID	NID	NID
Donovan	John	16 entries: butcher, 19 Tomp. mkt, h 210 E. 52d; cabinetmkr, h 38 Cherry; carman, h 232 Madison; carpenter, h r 309 Madison; express, h 113 Sullivan; junk, h 59 Wash'n; laborer, h 153 Cherry; laborer, h 357 Cherry; laborer, h r 400 Cherry; laborer, h 211 1/2 Division; laborer, h 77 Tenth av.; laborer, h 496 Tenth av.; laborer, h r 654 Water; seaman, h 320 Tenth Av.; shoemkr, h 326 Cherry; stevedore, h 404 Cherry	8 entries: bricklayer, h. 601 E. 15th; butcher, 19 Tomp. mkt. h 210 E. 52d; carpenter, h r 229 W. 17th; carman, h 113 Sullivan; laborer, h r 224 Elizabeth; junk, 11 Coenties sl. h 59 Wash'n; laborer, h r 18 cherry; laborer, h 33 Rutgers; laborer, h 36 Wash'n; machinist, h 9 Cannon; mason, h 33 G'wich av.; shoes, h 325 Cherry	16 entries: butcher, 19 Tomp. mkt. h 210 E. 52d; laborer, h 357 Cherry; laborer, h r 400 Cherry; laborer, h 350 Front; laborer, h r 400 Cherry; laborer, h 350 Front; laborer, h 94 James; laborer, h 202 Madison; laborer, h 72 Oliver; laborer, h 33 Rutgers; laborer, h 94 St. Mark's pl; laborer, h 422 West; laborer, h 232 W. 31st; laborer, h 254 W. 41st; mason, h 4 Albany; mason, h 536 E. 17th; shoemkr. h 326 Cherry; John J., carpenter, h r 309 Madison
Faulkner	George	NID	NID	conductor, h 317 E 32nd
Frederickson	Charles W.	cotton, 85 Beaver	cotton, 85 Beaver	broker, 85 Beaver
Furnell	Charles	NID	288 Delancy	NID
Greenleaf	Amos	drygoods, 312 B'way, h 160 W 39th	c. merchant, 343 B'way, h 160 W 39th	c. merchant, 343 B'way, h 248 W 39th
Hawes	Peter	NID	NID	NID
Lewis	Walter	Walter O., supt., 52 Pine	Walter O., agent, 118 Liberty, h 96 Clinton, B'klyn	NID

**Abstract of New York City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		New York City Directory	
Last Name	First Name	1869-1870	1870-1871
Ackley (aka Ackeley)	John A.	NID	NID
Bernard	John	NID	NID
Clem	William	NID	NID
Donovan	John	13 entries: bags, h 94 James; bootmkr. h 326 Cherry; bricklayer, h 219 W. 32d; butcher, 17 Tomp. mkt. h 210 E. 52d; joiner, h r 309 Madison; laborer, h 18 Cherry; laborer, h r 406 Cherry; laborer, h r 370 G'wich; laborer, h 31 Oak; laborer, h 33 Rutgers; laborer, h 443 W. 40th; laborer, h 512 W. 43d; machinist, h 42 Broome; rigger, h 64 New Chambers; tailor, h 9 Crosby; varnish, h r 182 Elizabeth, John J. printer, h 226 Cherry	16 entries: finisher, h 06 W. 28th; japanner, h 113 Elizabeth; laborer, h r 5 Batavia; laborer, h 325 Cherry; laborer, h 21 New Bowery; laborer, h 33 Rutgers; laborer, h 1345 Third Av.; laborer, h 397 Water; laborer, h 159 W. 34th; laborer, h 350 W. 39th; machinist, h 42 Broome; mason, h 247 W. 31st; stone, h 305 Av. A; tailor, h 108 Laurens; John J., meat, 17 Tomp. mkt. h 210 E. 52d; John O., shoes, 201 Madison, h 326 Cherry
Faulkner	George	NID	NID
Frederickson	Charles W.	broker, 85 Beaver	broker, 85 Beaver
Furnell	Charles	NID	NID
Greenleaf	Amos	c. merchant, 343 B'way, h 248 W 39th	c. merchant, 343 B'way, h 248 W 39th
Hawes	Peter	NID	NID
Lewis	Walter	NID	Walter O., agent, Pier 1 ER h 96 Clinton, B'klyn

Abstract of New York City Directories
1848-1871

Owners/Residents		New York City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1848-1849	1849-1850	1850-1851
Lewis	William O.	19 entries: upholsterer, h. 452 Pearl; porterhouse, 13 Hudson; huckster, 4 Washington mkt, h. 378 Washington; machinist, 142 Chatham, H. 21 Eldridge; barber, 138 Beekman, h. 92 Beekman; cus. house, h. 145 Avenue 10; painter, 55 Tompkin; porter, 593 Greenwich; laborer, r. 109 Delancy; Jr., oysters Av. 7 n. W. 19th; (col'd) mariner, 79 Sheriff; William C., physician, 1 St. Mark's Place; William C., express, 16 Wall, h. Newark; William E., merchant, 62 Liberty, h. 52 Seventh; William H., machinist, 142 Chatham, h. 21 Eldridge; William H., hairdresser, 626 Water; William J., clerk, 146 Ave. 3; William N., auction, 187 Chatham, h. 95 Ludlow	14 entries: upholsterer, h. 452 Pearl; grocer, 59 Pike, h. 96 monroe; huckster, 4 Washington mkt, h. 378 Washington; machinist, 142 Chatham, H. 21 Eldridge; barber, 138 Beekman, h. 92 Beekman; porter, 593 Greenwich; h. W.24th; mason, r. 234 Broome; Jr., milk, 116 1/2 Av. 7; agent for obtaining life, fire 67 Wall, h. 62 Seventh; William H., machinist, 142 Chatham, h. 21 Eldridge; William H., hairdresser, 626 Water; William J., clerk, 146 Ave. 3; William N., auction, 187 Chatham, h. 95 Ludlow	18 entries: grocer, 59 Pike, h. 80 Monroe; huckster, 4 Washington mkt, h. 378 Washington; William H., machinist, 142 Chatham, h. 21 Eldridge; bank of America. h. 593 Greenwich; Jr., milk, 116 1/2 Av. 7; mason, r. 234 Broome; porter, 334 Greenwich; Lewis & Thomas, general upholstery store 452 Pearl, h. 452 Pearl; agent for obtaining life, fire 67 Wall, h. 62 Seventh; machinist, 142 Chatham, H. 21 Eldridge; William H., hairdresser, 626 Water; William H. & Co,shipchandlers, 292 west, h. 22 Abingdon Square; William H., paperboxes, 118 maiden ln, h. Brooklyn; William H., hairdresser, 626 Water, h. 626 Water; William J, straws, 145 Av. 3, h. 145 Av. 3; William C., clothing, 118 Maiden Lane, h. Newark; William N., auction, 187 Chatham, h. 95 Ludlow
Lord	Daniel	Lawyer, 82 Mer. Ex., h. 19th n. B.way	2 entries: Lawyer, 82 Mer. Ex., h. 26 Beach; Lawyer, 82 Mer. Ex., h. 19th n. B.way	Lawyer, 82 Mer. Ex., h. nineteenth n. B.way
Nelson	Israel D.	NID	NID	
Nichols	Henry G.	NID	NID	
Orchard	John	NID	NID	
Parker	Mary C.	NID	NID	
Peel	Robert	NID	NID	

NID=Not In Directory

**Abstract of New York City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		New York City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1851-1852	1852-1853	1853-1854
Lewis	William O.	18 entries: grocer, 59 Pike, h. 80 Monroe; William C., clothing, 111 Chatham, h. 111 Chatham; clerk, 348 Greenwich; paperhanger, 70 Hamersley; machinist, 142 Chatham, H. 21 Eldridge; bank of America. h. 589 Greenwich; h. 97W.24th; mason, r. 234 Broome; Jr., milk, 116 1/2 Av. 7; saloon, 235 Centre, h. 235 Centre; Lewis & Thomas, general upholstery store 452 Pearl, h. 452 Pearl; carpenter, 308 Av. 9; agent for obtaining life, fire 67 Wall, h. 62 Seventh; machinist, 142 Chatham, H. 21 Eldridge; William H., hairdresser, 330 Monroe; William H. & Co, shipchandlers, 292 west, h. 226 W. 22d; William H., boxmkr, 95 Maiden ln, h. Brooklyn; William J, straws, 146 Av. 3, h. 146 Av. 3; William C., clothing, 53 Maiden Lane, h. Newark; William N., auction, 187 Chatham, h. 95 Ludlow; William S. manuf. 115 Av. 6 & 53 Fulton, h. 92 Av. 7	16 entries: grocer, 59 Pike, h. 80 Monroe; machinist, 142 Chatham, H. 21 Eldridge; William C., tailor 111 Chatham, h. 111 Chatham; Jr., milk, 150 Av. 7; saloon, 77 Duane, h. 538 Pearl; Lewis & Thomas, general upholstery store 452 Pearl, h. 452 Pearl; William C., physician, 225 Av.3; machinist, 142 Chatham, H. 21 Eldridge; William H., hairdresser, 626 Water, 626 Water; William H. & Co, shipchandlers, 292 west, h. 226 W. 22d; William H., boxmkr, 95 maiden ln, h. 4 Liberty; William J, straws, 163 Av. 3; William C., clothing, 53 Maiden Lane, h. Newark; William N., auction, 187 Chatham, h. 95 Ludlow	16 entries: grocer, 59 Pike, h. 80 Monroe; oysters, 127 Sullivan, h. 181 Prince; porter, 228 Sullivan; mason, 45 Hester; carpenter, 244 Av. A; bank of America, 67 Carmine; Jr., milk, 150 Av. 7; saloon, 77 Duane, 528 Pearl; ice cart, r. 24 Thomas; Lewis & Thomas, general upholstery store 452 Pearl, h. 452 Pearl; William E., insurance agent, 89 Cedar, h. 62 Seventh; machinist, 61 Elizabeth, h. 21 Eldridge; boxmaker, 50 Fulton, h. Brooklyn; straw good, 83 Cedar, h. 163 Av. 3; William C., clothing, 53 Maiden Lane, h. Newark; William N., auction, 187 Chatham, h. Morrisania
Lord	Daniel	2 entries: Lawyer, 82 Mer. Ex., h. 26 Beach; Lawyer, 82 Mer. Ex., h. 19th n. B.way	NID	Lawyer, 82 Mer. Ex., h. 34 W. 17th
Nelson	Israel D.	NID	NID	NID
Nichols	Henry G.	NID	NID	NID
Orchard	John	NID	NID	NID
Parker	Mary C.	NID	NID	NID
Peel	Robert	NID	NID	NID

**Abstract of New York City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		New York City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1854-1855	1855-1856	1856-1857
Lewis	William O.	17 entries: coaches, 48 W. 24th; grocer, 59 Pike, h. 80 Monroe; porter, 224 Sullivan; bank of America, 67 Carmine; oysters, 75 Av. 9; saloon, 77 Duane, 528 Pearl; confectionery, 214 Av. 3, 214 Av. 3; machinist, 63 Elizabeth, h. 33 Delancy; porter, 348 Greenwich; William B., 290 W. 36th; William H. & Co, shipchandlers, 292 west; Lewis & Thomas, general upholstery store 452 Pearl, h. 452 Pearl; William E., insurance agent, 89 Cedar, h. 62 Seventh; machinist, 63 Elizabeth, 167 Allen; William H., hairdresser, 626 Water, 626 Water; straw good, 903 Broadway, h. 163 Av. 3; William N., auction, 187 Chatham, h. Morrisania	15 entries: carpets, 452 Pearl; carpenter, h. Av. B n. E. 17th; confectionery, 214 Av. 3; machinist, 63 Elizabeth; porter, 67 Carmine; William B., h. 290 W. 36th; William D & Co., imports, 72 Broad, h. Brooklyn; William E., agent, 85 Cedar, h. 62 Seventh; William H. & Co, shipchandlers, 292 West, h. Collins; William J., strawgoods, 241 Broadway, h. 183 Thrid Av.; William M., clothier, 58 Maiden ln, h. Newark; William M., agent, 102 Pearl, h. 62 Seventh; William N., auction, 151 Bowery, h. Morrisania	13 entries: barber, hr 547 Pearl; butcher, 227 Third Av; carpets, 522 Broadway, h. 452 Pearl; clerk, 67 Carmine; confectioner, 214 3 Av.; grocer, 59 Pike, h. 80 Monroe; laborer, r 189 W. 25th; machinist, 63 Elizabeth, h Portland av Brooklyn; mason, h 45 Hester; porter, h 67 Carmine; porter, h 449 Greenwich; printer, h 150 Mott; sailor, h 327 E. 12th
Lord	Daniel	NID	3 entries: D.P., merchant. 96 Liberty, h. Statn Island; Lawyer, 82 Mer. Ex., h. 34 W. 17th; Lawyer, 82 Mer. Ex., h. 45 W. 19th	2 entries: lawyer, h. 34 W. 17th; Daniel D., lawyer, 84 mers. Ex. H 45 W 19th
Nelson	Israel D.	NID	NID	NID
Nichols	Henry G.	NID	NID	NID
Orchard	John	NID	NID	NID
Parker	Mary C.	NID	NID	NID
Peel	Robert	NID	NID	NID

NID=Not In Directory

**Abstract of New York City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		New York City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1857-1858	1858-1859	1859-1860
Lewis	William O.	15 entries: barber, hr 547 Pearl; butcher, 227 Third Av; carpenter, h 299 Eighth; carpets, 522 Broadway, h. 452 Pearl; clerk, 67 Carmine; confectioner, 214 3 Av.; crockery, 52 Carmine; grocer, 59 Pike, h. 80 Monroe; laborer, h 224 W. 25th; machinist, 63 Elizabeth, h Portland av Brooklyn; mason, h 45 Hester; milk, 449 Greenwich; printer, h 327 Bleecker; refiner, h 37 Hester; seaman, h 30 Hamilton	16 entries: h 290 W. 36th; barber, hr 547 Pearl; butcher, 227 Third Av h 347 3rd Av; carpenter, h 299 Eighth; carpets, 12 Fourth; clerk, h 67 Carmine; crockery, 263 Bleecker; driver, h 224 W. 25th; goldsmith, h 37 Hester; grocer, 59 Pike, h. 80 Monroe; machinist, 63 Elizabeth, h Portland av n Myrtle av. Brooklyn; milk, 449 Greenwich; paperhanger, h 70 Cannon; printer, h 123 Suffolk; printer, h 33 Third av; Lewis & Co., distillers, 18 William, h S.I.	15 entries: h 80 Monroe; h 290 W. 36th; barber, h r 547 Pearl; butcher, 227 Third ave; carpets, 12 Fourth av.; clerk, h 67 Carmine; crockery, 53 Carmine; engineer, h 79 Cannon; exchange, 2 Crosby; joiner, h 250 Seventh; laborer, h 653 Water; machinist, 63 Elizabeth, h Portland av B'klyn; milk, h 449 G'wich; milk, h 496 Third av; printer, h 25 Orchard
Lord	Daniel	2 entries: lawyer, 82 Mers. Ex. h. 34 W. 17th; Daniel D., lawyer, 82 mers. Ex. H 45 W 19th	2 entries: lawyer, 82 Mers. Ex. h. 34 W. 17th; Daniel D., lawyer, 82 mers. Ex. H 45 W 19th	2 entries: lawyer, 82 Mers. Ex. h. 34 W. 17th; Daniel D., lawyer, 82 mers. Ex. H 45 W 19th
Nelson	Israel D.	NID	NID	NID
Nichols	Henry G.	NID	NID	NID
Orchard	John	NID	NID	NID
Parker	Mary C.	NID	NID	NID
Peel	Robert	NID	NID	NID

**Abstract of New York City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		New York City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1860-1861	1861-1862	1862-1863
Lewis	William O.	12 entries: h 236 Madison; h 290 W. 36th; butcher, 227 Third ave; carpenter, h 230 Seventh; carpets, 12 Fourth av.; clerk, h 173 W. Houston; crockery, h 53 Carmine; dag. app 63 Elizabeth, B'klyn; mason, h 45 Hester; milk, 449 G'wich; milk, h 496 Third av; refiner, h 7 Stanton	12 entries: barber, h r 547 Pearl; butcher, 227 Third ave; carpenter, h 203 Av. C; carpets, 12 Fourth av.; clerk, h r 74 Eldridge; clerk, h 178 W. Houston; crockery, 53 Carmine; late merch 236 Madison; milk, h 496 Third av; paperhanger, h 70 Cannon; photograph app. 63 Elizabeth, h. Portland av n Myrtle ab B'klyn; plaster, h r 185 W. 25th	10 entries: h 236 Madison; banker, 46 Wall, h 173 W. Houston; carpenter, h 109 Worth; crocker, 85 Sixth av; fancygoods, 63 Laight; grocer, 323 Third av h 89 E. 25th; laborer, h 46 Ridge; paperhanger, h 70 Cannon; phot app, 63 Elizabeth, h B'klyn; plasterer, h 105 W. 28th
Lord	Daniel	2 entries: lawyer, 82 Mers. Ex. h. 34 W. 17th; Daniel D., lawyer, 82 mers. Ex. H 45 W 19th	2 entries: lawyer, 82 Mers. Ex. h. 34 W. 17th; Daniel D., lawyer, 82 mers. Ex. H 45 W 19th	2 entries: lawyer, 45 Exchange pl h 84 W. 17th; Daniel D., lawyer, 45 Exchange pl h 45 W. 19th
Nelson	Israel D.	NID	NID	NID
Nichols	Henry G.	NID	NID	NID
Orchard	John	NID	NID	NID
Parker	Mary C.	NID	NID	NID
Peel	Robert	NID	NID	NID

NID=Not In Directory

**Abstract of New York City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		New York City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1863-1864	1864-1865	1865-1866
Lewis	William O.	8 entries: h 236 Madison; h 11 Stanton; h 290 W 36th; clerk, h 173 W. Houston; crocker, 30 Carmine; machinist, 63 Elizabeth, h Portland av n Myrtle av B'klyn; mason, h 4 Suffolk; varieties, 74 Carmine	10 entries: h 10 Hamersley pl; h 236 Madison; carpenter, h 71 Cannon; clerk, h 549 Greenwich; crockery, 80 Carmine; mason, h 4 Suffolk; milk, 501 Third Av h 129 E 85th; paperhanger, h 70 Cannon; porter, h 74 Carmine; refiner, 11 Chambers, h 11 Stanton	12 entries: h r 547 Pearl; h 173 W. Houston; agent, 4 Howard, h 119 Portland ave. B'klyn; carpenter, h 31 Jackson; china, 597 Second ave; driver, h 138 Hammond; grocer, 306 First ave; paperhanger, h 70 Cannon; late grocer, h 216 Madison; milk, 501 Third av, h 129 E 85gh; refiner, 11 Chambers, h 11 Stanton; segarmaker, h 73 Forsyth
Lord	Daniel	2 entries: lawyer, 45 Exchange pl h 84 W. 17th; Daniel D., lawyer, 45 Exchange pl h 45 W. 19th	2 entries: lawyer, 45 Exchange pl h 84 W. 17th; Daniel D., lawyer, 45 Exchange pl h 45 W. 19th	2 entries: lawyer, 45 Exchange pl h 84 W. 17th; Daniel D., lawyer, 45 Exchange pl h 45 W. 19th
Nelson	Israel D.	NID	NID	NID
Nichols	Henry G.	NID	NID	NID
Orchard	John	NID	NID	NID
Parker	Mary C.	NID	NID	NID
Peel	Robert	NID	NID	NID

NID=Not In Directory

**Abstract of New York City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		New York City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1866-1867	1867-1868	1868-1869
Lewis	William O.	10 entries: clerk, h 173 W. Houston; crocker, 597 Second ave h E 44th n Second Ave; refiner, 11 Chambers, h 25 E 73rd; mason, h 99 Ludlow; milk, 501 Third Av; phot. Matis, 4 Howard, h E 73rd n Fourth av; proter, h 100 Worth; refiner, h 25 E 73rd; saloon, h 397 West; u.s.n. h 762 Third ave	12 entries: h 254 Madison; butcher, h 44 Ridge; clerk, h 173 W. Houston; crockery, 799 Second av; driver, h 348 W 11th; laborer, h 28 Chrystie; mason, h 298 Stanton; phot. Matis., 4 Howard, h 119 Portland av. B'klyn; pilot, 104 South; printer, h 660 Sixth ave; refiner, 11 Chambers, h 25 Willow ter.; sec., 95 Liberty, h N.J.	9 entries: h 258 Henry; butcher, h 307 Third av; carpenter, h 362 Cherry; clerk, h 178 W Houston; crockery, 799 Second ave; jeweler, 71 Chambers, h 25 E 78th; laborer, h 118 Centre; paper, h 70 Cannon; truckman, h 348 W 11th
Lord	Daniel	2 entries: lawyer, 45 Exchange pl h 84 W. 17th; Daniel D., lawyer, 45 Exchange pl h 45 W. 19th	4 entries: lawyer, 45 Exchange pl h 84 W. 17th; Jr., lawyer, 45 Exchange pl h 45 W. 19th; Daniel D., lawyer, 45 Exchange pl h 45 W. 19th; Daniel M., storage, 2 Stone, h 133 Lafayette av B'klyn	2 entries: Jr., lawyer, 45 Exchange pl h 45 W. 19th; Daniel D., lawyer, 45 Exchange pl h 45 W. 19th
Nelson	Israel D.	NID	NID	NID
Nichols	Henry G.	NID	NID	NID
Orchard	John	NID	NID	NID
Parker	Mary C.	NID	NID	NID
Peel	Robert	NID	NID	NID

NID=Not In Directory

**Abstract of New York City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		New York City Directory	
Last Name	First Name	1869-1870	1870-1871
Lewis	William O.	12 entries: h 258 Henry; clerk, h 81 Henry; clerk, h 178 W Houston; crockery, 799 Second ave; gents furnishings, 323 B'way, h NJ; jewelry, 111 Chambers, h 25 E 78th; laborer, h 118 Centre; laborer, h 306 E 33rd; pilot, 104 South; refiner, 11 Chambers, h 25 E 73rd; Sec., 157 B'way, h NJ	12 entries: carpenter, h 209 W 13th; clerk, h 178 W Houston; driver, h 348 W 11th; grocer, h 258 Henry; laborer, h 118 Centre; laborer, h r 23 Forsyth; laborer, h 629 Second av; mason, h 35 Allen; pilot, 104 South; refiner, 11 Chambers, h 218 E 85th; Sec., 155 B'way, h NJ; tailor, h r 791 Ninth av
Lord	Daniel	2 entries: Jr., lawyer, 45 Exchange pl h 45 W. 19th; Daniel D., lawyer, 45 Exchange pl h 45 W. 19th	2 entries: Jr., lawyer, 45 Exchange pl h 45 W. 19th; Daniel D., lawyer, 45 Exchange pl h 45 W. 19th
Nelson	Israel D.	NID	NID
Nichols	Henry G.	NID	NID
Orchard	John	NID	NID
Parker	Mary C.	NID	NID
Peel	Robert	NID	NID

NID=Not In Directory

Abstract of New York City Directories
1848-1871

Owners/Residents		New York City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1848-1849	1849-1850	1850-1851
Perego	Alfred	NID	NID	
Perego	Ira	furnishing, 74 Maiden In., h. 107 Greene	furnishing, 74 Maiden In., h. 197 Fourth	furnishing, 74 Maiden In., h. 164 Washington, Brooklyn
Remson	George	Remsen, George, bootmaker, 103 Clinton	Remsen, George, bootmaker, 103 Clinton	Remsen, George, bootmaker, 103 Clinton
Riley	Sheriff Thomas	NID	NID	NID
Robinson	Edward	3 entries: mason, 36 Carmine; Rev., professor, 257 Greene; Edward C., agent, 149 Bowery, h. 210 Grand; Edward H., acct., 8 Pine, bds 105 Christopher	4 entries: mason, 36 Carmine; Rev., professor, 257 Greene; buttonmaker, Cortlandt alley, h. 96 White; Edward C., hardw. 149 Bwry, h. 195 Grand	4 entries: mason, 36 Carmine; Rev., professor, 257 Greene; buttonmaker, Cortlandt alley, h. 96 White; Edward C., hardw. 149 Bwry, h. 195 Grand
Robinson	George	NID	NID	NID
Rorke	J. Pryor	NID	NID	NID
Rorke	Thomas B.	NID	NID	NID
Sackett	Clarence D. and Emeline	Clarence D, lawyer, 59 Nassau, h. 40 Twelfth; Emeline, widow of Jesse r. 126 Delancy	Clarence D, lawyer, 59 Nassau, h. 40 Twelfth	Clarence D, lawyer, 59 Nassau, h. 40 Twelfth
Smith	J. Ogden	NID	NID	NID
Spitzer	William	NID	NID	NID
Stanley	Ira	NID	NID	NID
Studwell	John J.	NID	NID	NID
Truesdell	Thomas	cottonbroker, 74 Wall, h. 113 Johnson, Brooklyn	cottonbroker, 74 Wall, h. 143 Willoughby, Brooklyn	cottonbroker, 74 Wall, h. 143 Willoughby, Brooklyn

NID=Not In Directory

**Abstract of New York City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		New York City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1851-1852	1852-1853	1853-1854
Perego	Alfred	NID	NID	NID
Perego	Ira	furnishing, 74 Maiden Ln., h. 164 Washington, Brooklyn	2 entries: gentlemen's furnishing, 61 Nassau, h. 164 Washington, Brooklyn; Perego, Ira & Son, furnishing, 61 Nassau, h. 164 Washington, Brooklyn	2 entries: gentlemen's furnishing, 61 Nassau, h. 164 Washington, Brooklyn; Perego, Ira & Son, furnishing, 61 Nassau
Remson	George		Remsen, George, bootmaker, 103 Clinton\	Remsen, George, bootmaker, 92 Cannon
Riley	Sheriff Thomas	NID	NID	NID
Robinson	Edward	NID	NID	NID
Robinson	George	stagedriver, 372 Ninth; George W., broker, 235 Av. 7	NID	NID
Rorke	J. Pryor	NID	NID	NID
Rorke	Thomas B.	NID	NID	NID
Sackett	Clarence D. and Emeline	Clarence D, lawyer, 59 Nassau, h. 40 Twelfth; Emeline, widow of Jesse 191 Orchard	Clarence D, lawyer, 59 Nassau, h. 40 Twelfth; Emeline, widow of Jesse 191 Orchard	Clarence, lawyer, 34 Liberty h. 40 Twelfth
Smith	J. Ogden	broker, 63 Front, h. 137 Duffield, Brooklyn	broker, 63 Front, h. 137 Duffield, Brooklyn	broker, 63 Front, h. 137 Duffield, Brooklyn
Spitzer	William	NID	NID	NID
Stanley	Ira	NID	NID	NID
Studwell	John J.	NID	NID	NID
Truesdell	Thomas	cottonbroker, 74 Wall, h. 141 Duffield, Brooklyn	cottonbroker, 74 Wall, h. 141 Duffield, Brooklyn	cottonbroker, 141 pearl & 92 Beaver, h. 141 Duffield, Brooklyn

NID=Not In Directory

Abstract of New York City Directories
1848-1871

Owners/Residents		New York City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1854-1855	1855-1856	1856-1857
Perego	Alfred	NID	NID	NID
Perego	Ira	2 entries: gentlemen's furnishing, 61 Nassau, h. 59 Christopher; Perego, Ira & Son, furnishing, 61 Nassau, h. Brooklyn	2 entries: gentlemen's furnishing, 61 Nassau, h. 59 Christopher; Perego, Ira & Son, furnishing, 61 Nassau, h. Brooklyn	NID
Remson	George	Remsen, George, bootmaker, 92 Cannon	Remsen, George, bootmaker, 92 Cannon	Remsen, George, shoemaker, h. 98 Cannon
Riley	Sheriff Thomas	NID	NID	NID
Robinson	Edward	7 entries: mason, 35 Cedar, h. Brooklyn; pianofortemaker, 118 E. 35th; mason, 49 E. 21st; Rev., professor, 257 Greene; manuf. portable water closets, 55 W. 16th; Edward C., furniture, 69 Bowery, h. 75 Chrystie; Edward D., stoves, 33 1/2 Water, h. 385 Cherry	NID	5 entries: plumber, h 55 W. 18th; Rev., h 257 Greene; Jr., lawyer, 50 Wall, h 257 Greene; Edward A., h 373 Second av.; Edward C., furniture, 69 Bowery, h Mamaroneck
Robinson	George	NID	NID	NID
Rorke	J. Pryor	NID	NID	NID
Rorke	Thomas B.	NID	NID	NID
Sackett	Clarence D. and Emeline	Clarence, lawyer, 34 Liberty h. 40 Twelfth; Emeline, widow of Jesse, 191 Orchard	Clarence, lawyer, 34 Liberty h. 142 W. 25th St; Emeline, widow of Jesse, 828 Houston	Clarence, lawyer, 34 Liberty h. 142 W. 25th St; Emeline, widow of Jesse, 828 Houston
Smith	J. Ogden	broker, 63 Front, h. 137 Duffield, Brooklyn	NID	John, com. merchant, 10 Broadway, NY; John O., ales, 10 Broadway, NY 181 Duffield
Spitzer	William	NID	NID	NID
Stanley	Ira	NID	NID	NID
Studwell	John J.	NID	NID	NID
Truesdell	Thomas	NID	& Co. brokers, 141 Pearl, h. 141 Duffield, Brooklyn	broker, 141 Pearl & 92 Beaver, h 185 Duffield, Brooklyn

NID=Not In Directory

**Abstract of New York City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		New York City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1857-1858	1858-1859	1859-1860
Perego	Alfred	NID	NID	furnishing, 61 Nassau & 881 B'way, h 181 Duffield, B'klyn
Perego	Ira	2 entries: Ira Jr., shirts, 61 Nassau, h 20 Hanover pl. Brooklyn; IRA & SON, gents furnishing, 61 Nassau, h 164 Washington, Brooklyn	2 entries: Ira Jr., 61 Nassau, h 20 Hanover pl. Brooklyn; Ira & Son, furnishing, 61 Nassau, h 164 Washington, Brooklyn	2 entries: Ira Jr., furnishing, 61 Nassau & 881 B'way, h 20 Hanover pl. Brooklyn; Ira & Son, furnishing, 881 B'way & 61 Nassau
Remson	George	NID	NID	NID
Riley	Sheriff Thomas	NID	NID	NID
Robinson	Edward	5 entries: h 35 King; clerk, h 414 Scammel; laces, 11 John; porter, h 10 Desbrosses; Rev., prof. h 257 Greene	4 entries: plasterer, 94 W. 33rd, h 88 W. 43rd; plumber, 175 W. 34th; Rev., prof. h 257 Greene; Jr., lawyer, 43 Wall, h 257 Greene	6 entries: carman, h 44 Scammel; imp. 86 Cedar, h E 30th n Second Ave; plaster, 94 W 31st, h 24 W. 43rd; plumber, 175 W. 34th; Rev., prof. 9 University pl. h 257 Greene; Jr., lawyer, 43 Wall, h 257 Greene
Robinson	George	NID	NID	NID
Rorke	J. Pryor	NID	NID	NID
Rorke	Thomas B.	NID	NID	NID
Sackett	Clarence D. and Emeline	Clarence, lawyer, 34 Liberty h. 142 W. 25th St	Emeline, widow of Jessy, h. 76 Division	NID
Smith	J. Ogden	NID	NID	NID
Spitzer	William	NID	NID	NID
Stanley	Ira	NID	NID	NID
Studwell	John J.	NID	NID	NID
Truesdell	Thomas	broker, 92 Beaver & 141 Pearl, h 185 Duffield, Brooklyn	broker, 141 Pearl, h 185 Duffield, Brooklyn	broker, 141 Pearl, h 185 Duffield, Brooklyn

NID=Not In Directory

**Abstract of New York City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		New York City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1860-1861	1861-1862	1862-1863
Perego	Alfred	furnishing, 61 Nassau & 881 B'way, h 181 Duffield, B'klyn	furnishing, 61 Nassau & 881 B'way, h 181 Duffield, B'klyn	gent's furnishing, 175 Broadway, 2 Cortlandt & 85 Nassau, h. 181 Duffield, B'klyn
Perego	Ira	2 entries: Ira Jr., furnishing, 61 Nassau & 881 B'way, h 20 Hanover pl. Brooklyn; Ira & Son, furnishing, 881 B'way & 61 Nassau	2 entries: Ira Jr., furnishing, 61 Nassau & 175 B'way, h 20 Hanover pl. Brooklyn; Ira & Son, furnishing, 175 B'way & 61 Nassau	2 entries: Ira & Sons, gents furnishing, 175 Broadway, 2 Cortlandt & 85 Nassau, h 181 Duffield B'klyn; Ira Jr., gents' furnishing, 175 Broadway, 2 Cortlandt & 85 Nassau, h 20 Hanover pl B'klyn
Remson	George	NID	NID	NID
Riley	Sheriff Thomas	NID	NID	NID
Robinson	Edward	NID	8 entries: laces, 254 B'way, h Lex av n E 44th; mer. 10 B'way, h 417 Broome; plasterer, r 94 W. 31st, h 88 W 43rd; plumber, 175 W. 34th; Rev., prof. 9 University pl h 257 Greene; Jr., lawyer, 3 Pine, h 257 Greene; Edward B., pianos, h r 141 E 36th; Edward M., mer. 88 Wall	5 entries: builder, 429 Broadway & r 94 W 31st, h 88 W 43rd; mer h Lex av n E 44th; plumber, 175 W 34th; Rev., prof 9 University pl h 257 Greene; Jr., lawyer, 3 Pine, h 257 Greene
Robinson	George	NID	NID	NID
Rorke	J. Pryor	NID	NID	NID
Rorke	Thomas B.	NID	NID	NID
Sackett	Clarence D. and Emeline	NID	NID	NID
Smith	J. Ogden	NID	NID	NID
Spitzer	William	NID	NID	NID
Stanley	Ira	NID	NID	NID
Studwell	John J.	pres. 60 Wall, h 24 Monroe pl B'klyn	pres. 60 Wall, h B'klyn	pres. 60 Wall, h B'klyn
Truesdell	Thomas	broker, 141 Pearl, h 185 Duffield, Brooklyn	broker, 141 Pearl, h 185 Duffield, Brooklyn	cotton, 132 Pearl, h 185 Duffield, B'klyn

NID=Not In Directory

**Abstract of New York City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		New York City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1863-1864	1864-1865	1865-1866
Perego	Alfred	gent's furnishing, 175 Broadway, 2 Cortlandt & 85 Nassau, h. 181 Duffield, B'klyn	gent's furnishing, 178 B'way & 85 Nassau, h 181 Duffield, B'klyn	gent's furnishing, 187 B'way & 85 Nassau, h 181 Duffield, B'klyn
Perego	Ira	2 entries: Ira & Sons, gents furnishing, 175 Broadway, 2 Cortlandt & 85 Nassau, h 181 Duffield B'klyn; Ira Jr., gents' furnishing, 175 Broadway, 2 Cortlandt & 85 Nassau, h 20 Hanover pl B'klyn	2 entries: Ira & Sons, gents furnishing, 178 B'way & 85 Nassau, h 164 Wash'n, B'klyn; Ira, Jr., gents furnishing, 178 B'way & 85 Nassau, h 20 Hanover pl. B'klyn	2 entries: Ira & Sons, gents furnishing, 187 B'way & 85 Nassau, h 164 Wash'n, B'klyn; Ira, Jr., gents furnishing, 187 B'way & 85 Nassau, h 20 Hanover pl. B'klyn
Remson	George	NID	NID	NID
Riley	Sheriff Thomas	NID	NID	NID
Robinson	Edward	3 entries: bosoms, 303 B'way; manuf. 124 Wooster, h 88 W 43rd; Jr., lawyer, 3 Pine, h 257 Greene	4 entries: buttons, 337 B'way; muskets, 126 Wooster, h 101 Waverley; Jr., lawyer, 8 Pine; Jr., u.s.a. h 257 Greene	5 entries: buttons, 387 B'way, h Ct.; clerk, h 80 Fourth av; drygoods, 125 Chambers, h B'klyn; guns, 126 Wooster, h 101 Waverley pl; laborer, h 355 W. 26th
Robinson	George	NID	NID	NID
Rorke	J. Pryor	NID	NID	NID
Rorke	Thomas B.	NID	NID	NID
Sackett	Clarence D. and Emeline	NID	NID	NID
Smith	J. Ogden	NID	NID	NID
Spitzer	William	NID	NID	NID
Stanley	Ira	NID	NID	NID
Studwell	John J.	NID	NID	NID
Truesdell	Thomas	cotton, 132 Pearl	NID	NID

NID=Not In Directory

**Abstract of New York City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		New York City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1866-1867	1867-1868	1868-1869
Perego	Alfred	gent's furnishing, 187 B'way & 85 Nassau, h 181 Duffield, B'klyn	gent's furnishing, 187 B'way & 85 Nassau, h 181 Duffield, B'klyn	gent's furnishing, 85 Nassau, n B'klyn
Perego	Ira	2 entries: Ira & Sons, gents furnishing, 187 B'way & 85 Nassau, h 164 Wash'n, B'klyn; Ira, Jr., gents furnishing, 187 B'way & 85 Nassau, h 20 Hanover pl. B'klyn	2 entries: Ira & Sons, gents furnishing, 187 B'way & 85 Nassau, h Flatbush av n Sixth av, B'klyn; Ira, Jr., gents furnishing, 187 B'way & 85 Nassau, h 20 Hanover pl. B'klyn	Ira Jr., gents furnishing, 85 Nassau, h B'klyn
Remson	George	NID	NID	NID
Riley	Sheriff Thomas	NID	NID	NID
Robinson	Edward	5 entries: 4 Broad, h France; fancygoods, 202 Church; guns, 126 Wooster, h 101 Waverley pl; plumber & patent portable water-closet manuf. Patented 1866, 178 W 37th; pork, h 353 W 30th	6 entries: broker, 12 Broad, h 101 Waverley pl.; imp. 202 Church, h 186 Pacific, B'klyn; plumber, 178 W. 37th; Edward C., broker, 26 Broad, h 148 E 85th; Edward C., chairs, 160 W 27th, h Mamaroneck; Edward R., notary, 189 Canal & 234 B'way, h 165 Sixth Av	6 entries: builder, h 139 W 26th; plumber, 268 W 37th; Edward B., pianomakr, h 324 E 24th; Edward C., chairs, 160 W 27th, h Mamaroneck; Edward R., lawyer, 165 B'way, h Classon av n Putnam av. B'klyn; Edward R., lawyer, 234 B'way, h 165 Sixth av
Robinson	George	NID	NID	NID
Rorke	J. Pryor	NID	NID	NID
Rorke	Thomas B.	NID	NID	NID
Sackett	Clarence D. and Emeline	NID	NID	NID
Smith	J. Ogden	NID	NID	NID
Spitzer	William	NID	NID	oils, 31 Cedar, h 24 Canton av B'klyn
Stanley	Ira	NID	NID	NID
Studwell	John J.	NID	NID	NID
Truesdell	Thomas	NID	NID	NID

NID=Not In Directory

**Abstract of New York City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		New York City Directory	
Last Name	First Name	1869-1870	1870-1871
Perego	Alfred	gent's furnishing, 85 Nassau, n B'klyn	gent's furnishing, 85 Nassau, n B'klyn
Perego	Ira	Ira Jr., gents furnishing, 85 Nassau, h B'klyn	2 entries: Ira Jr., gents furnishing, 85 Nassau, h B'klyn; Ira Perego's Sons, gents furnishings, 85 Nassau
Remson	George	NID	NID
Riley	Sheriff Thomas	NID	NID
Robinson	Edward	5 entries: builder, h 139 W 26th; pianos, h 240 E 26th; Edward C., chairs, 160 W 27th, h Mamaroneck; Edward C., clerk, E 27th c Fourth av h Mott Haven; Edward R., notary, h 165 Sixth av	8 entries: butcher, h 507 W 44th; mason, h 324 W 22nd; pianomaker, h 240 E 26th; plumber, 163 Av C; Edward C., chairs, 160 W 27th, h Mamaroneck; Edward C., clerk, h 10 Beekman pl; Edward R., notary, h 165 Sixth av; Edward K., police, h 120 First ave
Robinson	George	NID	NID
Rorke	J. Pryor	NID	NID
Rorke	Thomas B.	NID	NID
Sackett	Clarence D. and Emeline	NID	NID
Smith	J. Ogden	NID	NID
Spitzer	William	oils, 31 Cedar, h 24 Canton av B'klyn	NID
Stanley	Ira	NID	NID
Studwell	John J.	NID	NID
Truesdell	Thomas	NID	NID

NID=Not In Directory

Abstract of New York City Directories
1848-1871

Owners/Residents		New York City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1848-1849	1849-1850	1850-1851
Valdee	John	NID	NID	NID
Walsh	Edwin	NID	NID	NID
Walsh	William W.	NID	NID	NID
Weiss	William	NID	artist, 86 Pearl, h. 28 Whitehall	artist, 86 Pearl, h. 28 Whitehall
Welch	William H.	NID	NID	NID

NID=Not In Directory

**Abstract of New York City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		New York City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1851-1852	1852-1853	1853-1854
Valdee	John	NID	NID	NID
Walsh	Edwin	NID	NID	NID
Walsh	William W.	NID	NID	NID
Weiss	William	NID	NID	NID
Welch	William H.	NID	NID	NID

NID=Not In Directory

**Abstract of New York City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		New York City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1854-1855	1855-1856	1856-1857
Valdee	John	NID	NID	NID
Walsh	Edwin	NID	shipping 39 Burking sl, h. 153 Livingston, Brooklyn	shipping, 39 Burling sl, h. Duffield Brooklyn
Walsh	William W.	NID	NID	NID
Weiss	William	NID	2 entries: barber, h. 218 Eighth Av; painter, r. 70 Willett	painter, h r 70 Willett; pedler, h 148 Duane; tailor, h 24 Ludlow
Welch	William H.	NID	NID	NID

NID=Not In Directory

**Abstract of New York City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		New York City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1857-1858	1858-1859	1859-1860
Valdee	John	NID	NID	NID
Walsh	Edwin	notary, 39 Burling sl, h 178 Duffield, Brooklyn	notary, 39 Burling sl, h 178 Duffield, Brooklyn	notary, 39 Burling sl, h 178 Duffield, Brooklyn
Walsh	William W.	NID	NID	NID
Weiss	William	seaman, h 16 Carlisle	painter, h r 70 Willett	NID
Welch	William H.	NID	NID	NID

Abstract of New York City Directories
1848-1871

Owners/Residents		New York City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1860-1861	1861-1862	1862-1863
Valdee	John	NID	NID	NID
Walsh	Edwin	agent, 39 Burling sl, h 178 Duffield, Brooklyn	notary, 39 Burling sl, h 178 Duffield, Brooklyn	shipping, 39 Burling sl, h 178 Duffield, Brooklyn
Walsh	William W.	NID	NID	NID
Weiss	William	NID	NID	tailor, h 97 Third
Welch	William H.	NID	NID	NID

NID=Not In Directory

**Abstract of New York City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		New York City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1863-1864	1864-1865	1865-1866
Valdee	John	NID	NID	NID
Walsh	Edwin	agent, 39 Burling sl, h 178 Duffield, Brooklyn	agent, 39 Burling sl	machinist, h 201 E. 35th; Edwin J., fitter, h 227 First av.
Walsh	William W.	NID	NID	NID
Weiss	William	NID	tailor, h 105 Third	tailor, h 105 Third
Welch	William H.	NID	NID	NID

**Abstract of New York City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		New York City Directory		
Last Name	First Name	1866-1867	1867-1868	1868-1869
Valdee	John	NID	NID	NID
Walsh	Edwin			laborer, ft W. 29th
Walsh	William W.	NID	NID	NID
Weiss	William	segars, 108 Madison	2 entries: cabinetmaker, h 54 Spring; tailor, h 105 Third	2 entries: butcher, 20 Pitt; mer. 476 B'way
Welch	William H.	NID	NID	NID

NID=Not In Directory

**Abstract of New York City Directories
1848-1871**

Owners/Residents		New York City Directory	
Last Name	First Name	1869-1870	1870-1871
Valdee	John	NID	NID
Walsh	Edwin		
Walsh	William W.	NID	NID
Weiss	William	NID	trimmings, 319 Church, h 189 Duffield, B'klyn
Welch	William H.	NID	NID

Appendix G

Oral Historians' Curriculum Vitae

Curriculum Vitae

DELORES M. WALTERS

629 Garrard St.
Covington, KY 41011
(513) 460-3996
waltersd@nku.edu
www.nku.edu/~waltersd/

PROFILE:

Expertise in Creating Cultural & Historical Education Programs for Academic and Non-academic Communities Designed to:

- Integrate local history and culture into college courses, community training programs, museums and historical sites
- Involve women and marginalized groups in empowerment strategies for overcoming racial, ethnic, gender and economic inequality in both domestic and international contexts
- Restore the history and culture of people of color in the public and national record
- Assist community members with researching the traditions, stories, sites and events related to the Underground Railroad
- Support my research on women and resistance to enslavement, sexual bondage and violence historically and in contemporary contexts

EDUCATION: Ph.D., Anthropology, New York University, 1987
Masters, Liberal Studies, New York University,
BS, R. N., Columbia University School of Nursing
BS, Biology, City College of New York

PROFESSIONAL POSITIONS:

Teaching

- Northern Kentucky University, Assistant Professor, Anthropology, Institute for Freedom Studies, joint position with the
- National Underground Railroad Freedom Center, Community Research Specialist, 2002-
- Colgate University, Director, ALANA (African, Latin, Asian, Native American) Cultural Center (Fulltime administration and part-time teaching; directing and organizing of co-curricular multicultural educational programs), 1997-2002
- Colgate University, Visiting Assistant Professor, fall, 1995.
- Syracuse University, Visiting Assistant Professor (Continuing Ed & Honors Program), 1993-4
- University of the Pacific, Visiting Assistant Professor, 1991-92
- Lake Forest College, Assistant Professor, 1988-91

Research Affiliations & Applied Anthropology

- Towson State University, Visiting Scholar, 1993.
- Johns Hopkins University, Visiting Scholar, 1992-93
- Human Relations Area Files, Yale University, Full-time Research Associate 1987-88
- Eastside Neighbors in Partnership, Syracuse, NY, developed and coordinated social and educational programs for youth, adults and seniors for an affordable housing organization 1995-96

Consultancies

- Margaret Garner Opera Steering Committee, helped design an outreach program on the historical, anthropological and fictionalized versions of this true story which was the inspiration for Toni Morrison's *Beloved*
- Dinsmore House Research Project for more inclusive representation of African Americans and Native Americans in the tour narratives and public education programs on this 1840s plantation in Boone County, KY
- Sickle Cell Research Project, to collect racial/ ethnic data in the screening of newborns, Human Resources and Service Administration (HRSA) grant, "*Improving Hemoglobinopathy Screening and Follow-up Services for Affected Families in Cincinnati*," for Cincinnati Children's Hospital

Nursing

- Ten years cumulative experience in health care delivery, supervision, information gathering and evaluation of culturally diverse populations
- Visiting Nurse Service of New York, Lower East Side, NYC,
- Public Health Nurse, East Harlem, New York city,
- Tachikawa AFB, Pediatrics, Medical-Surgical Nurse, Tokyo, Japan, (Achieved rank of Capt.)
- Medical Staff Nurse, Lackland Air Force Base, San Antonio, TX, OB-GYN
- Kaiser Foundation Hospital, Medical Staff Nurse, San Francisco, CA,
- Columbia Presbyterian Hospital, NYC, Medical Staff Nurse

COURSES TAUGHT:

- **Researching the Underground Railroad in the Ohio-Kentucky Borderlands**, Anthropology course, local history pertaining to slavery and resistance to enslavement by African Americans, cross-listed with African-American Studies and Women's Studies, NKU, 2002-present

- **Community Service: Theories and Applications** -- Students created a Web site providing cultural sensitivity guidelines for St. Elizabeth's Medical Center in Utica, NY over a two year period, Colgate, 2000-02 (<http://www.stemc.org/cultdiv/default.htm>)
- **Women in Community Development: Implementation for Change**, University of the Pacific, Experiential learning in a women's prison, Native American and Southeast Asian cultural organizations, and among Latinos in a migrant labor camp, 1991-2
- **Common Grounds: Multicultural & Multiracial Perspectives on Women's Work and Survival**, Urban Studies seminar taught in Chicago, IL as a faculty fellow for the Associated Colleges of the Midwest (ACM) consortium. Student learning involved women's organizations concerned with reducing gang and domestic violence and providing health care to uninsured and underinsured Chicanos.
- **Graduate Seminar in Social Science Research Methods**
- **Muslim Women in Middle Eastern & African Societies**,
- **Peoples and Cultures of the Middle East**,
- **Peoples and Cultures of the World**
- Community service course designed as a learning community for first year undergraduates (not implemented)
- Underground Railroad course in Upstate New York in which students examined racial issues on and off campus (not implemented)
- **"Race, Gender & Culture in Historical Contexts (Spring, 2006)**

OTHER COMMUNITY EDUCATION OUTREACH:

Workshops for Local & Family Researchers

- Community education training workshops providing hands-on local history research for community organizations nationwide, Freedom Stations Program at the National Underground Railroad Freedom Center, 2002-present

Special Programs Attended

- The Black Roots of Liverpool, University of Liverpool, England, 2001, history of the slave trade in Liverpool and its impact on race and socio-economic relations Special Programs (cont.)
- Community-Campus Partnerships for Health Summer Institute, 2000 Focus on implementing service learning in health care in college courses

RESEARCH & ANALYSIS:

- Research on issues of gender, culture and race in the Margaret Garner "Beloved" story, especially women's enslavement and their pursuit of freedom in the American South
- Ethnographic and historical analysis of the integration of Underground Railroad research and the contributions African of Americans to local communities in service learning college courses
- Ethnographic research on the social, gender and racial hierarchy in Yemen, an Arab Muslim society with an African Diaspora population
- Research and analysis of women's empowerment strategies in Yemen based on interviews in Arabic during fieldwork in rural and urban areas

Video

1999 "***Murshidat: Female Primary Health Care Workers Transforming Society in Yemen***," a 35 min. documentary, original in Arabic with English voice-over version available through Penn State Media Sales' Web site at www@mediasales.psu.edu

Dissertation

1987 "Perceptions of Social Inequality in the Yemen Arab Republic."
(University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, Michigan, #8801582)

MA Thesis

1978 "Yukio Mishima: Another Approach to Understanding the Artist."

PUBLICATIONS:

Book Chapters

Forthcoming "Margaret Garner," in *The Encyclopedia of Emancipation and Abolition in the Trans-Atlantic World*, Junius P. Rodriguez, ed Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, Inc.

2002 "Work," in *Unchained Memories: Readings from the Slave Narratives*. (Based on the HBO Documentary) Boston: Bulfinch Press, Chapter 2, pp. 36-53.

2001 "Women, Health Care and Social Reform in Yemen," in *Feminism & Antiracism: International Struggles for Justice*, France Winddance Twine and Kathleen Blee (eds.), New York University Press, Chapter 4; pp. 71-93.

- 1998 "Invisible Survivors: Women and Diversity in the Transitional Economy of Yemen." In *Middle Eastern Women in the Invisible Economy*. Richard Lobban (ed.), University Press of Florida, Chapter 3, pp. 74-95.
- 1996 "Caste Among Outcastes: Interpreting Sexual Orientation, Racial and Gender Identity in the Yemen Arab Republic," in *Out in the Field: Reflections of Lesbian and Gay Anthropologists*. Ellen Lewin and William Leap (eds.), University of Illinois Press, Chapter 3, pp. 58-69.
- 1993 "Yemen Arab Republic," *The Encyclopedia of World Cultures: Africa and the Middle East*. Vol. VI. HRAF/Sage. Pp. 388-390.

Articles

- 2005 "Margaret's Desperate Solution," Essay for Opera Program for *Margaret Garner* Cincinnati Opera 2005 Summer Festival
- 2005 "Margaret Garner in History, Fiction and Opera," Essay for Toni Morrison & Sites of Memory Fourth Biennial Conference of the Toni Morrison Society, Program July 14-17, 2005
- 2005 "Margaret Garner Site in Richwood, Kentucky," Essay in TMS Program (as above)
- 2004 Video Guide for "Murshidat," Media Sales, Pennsylvania State University, www@mediasales.psu.edu.
- 2004 "Involving Students and the Community in Local Underground Railroad Research," *The Freedom Chronicle*, NKU's Institute for Freedom Studies Website: www.nku.edu/~freedom.
- 2002 "Cultural Anthropologist Becomes Newest Member of IFS," in *Institute for Freedom Studies Bulletin*. Winter.
- 1996 "Strategies for Teaching about Race, Gender and other Categories of Difference" in *VOICES: Association for Feminist Anthropology*. Vol.1 Nos. 2-3, 13-16.
- 1995 "Transforming Cultural, Racial and Gender Categories: An Ethnographic Update on Social Relations in Two Yemeni Communities" in *Yemen Update*. No. 37, 6-9. S/Fall.
- 1988 "Racial, Ethnic and Gender Identity in the Yemen Arab Republic," in *Mera Forum* (Middle East Research in Anthropology), XI (1-2): 10-12. Fall.

Review Article

- 2004 "Democracy and Development: Conflicting or Complementary Goals in Yemen?" Review of *The Republic of Yemen: Development Challenges in the 21st Century*, *Marta Colburn*, and *Pioneers or Pawns: Women Health Workers and the Politics of Development in Yemen*, Marina deRegt in

Yemen Update: Bulletin of the American Institute for Yemeni Studies No.46
(autumn), pp. 25-30.

Book Reviews

- 1998 Review of *Tournaments of Value: Sociability and Hierarchy in a Yemen Town*, Anne Meneley in *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 30:600-02.
- 1987 Review of *Women of 'Amran: A Middle Eastern Ethnographic Study*, Susan Dorsky in *American Anthropologist*, 89(3): 745-46.
- 1982 Review of *Muslim Women in Mombasa, 1890-1975*, Margaret Strobel in *International Women's Anthropology Conference Newsletter*, July, 1982.
- 1982 Review of *Tuhami: Portrait of a Moroccan*, Vincent Crapanzano in *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin*, 16(1): 48-50.

FELLOWSHIPS & GRANTS:

Royal Netherlands Embassy, Sana'a for Video Project, 1998-99
Grants & Fellowships (cont.)
Fundraiser for Video, Women's Showcase, 1997
Fulbright Scholar Award (Yemen), Jan-May 1996
American Institute for Yemeni Studies (AIYS) Fellowship, 1994
New York University Dean's Dissertation Fellowship and Stipend, 1983-86
Social Science Research Council Fellowship (Middle East Program), 1983-84
Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad Fellowship, 1982-83
Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowship (Arabic), 1978-1982

PRESENTATIONS:

- "Re(dis)covering the Cultural Milieu of Margaret Garner," Oral History Association (OHA), Providence, RI, Nov 2005
- "Researching the Margaret Garner Story: Discovering the Motivations for Women's Liberation," American Association for State and Local History (AASLH), Pittsburgh, Sep 2005; The Margaret Garner Teachers Institute on Slavery and Resistance at the National Underground Railroad Freedom Center, Jul 2005
- "Runaways from Slavery in Kentucky: Impacts on Michigan," "Slavery, Resistance & Freedom Underground Railroad Symposium, First Congregational Church of Detroit, Aug 2005
- "The Role of Fiction in Recreating the Cultural Milieu of Margaret Garner," Toni Morrison Society, Cincinnati, Jul 2005

- "How Do I Start My Family History Research?" Maysville Community & Technical College, Kentucky, Apr 2005; River Road African American Museum, Donaldsonville, LA, Juneteenth, 2005
- "The Margaret Garner Story: Its Relevance to Today," Northern Kentucky University Elderhostel, Jun 2005
- "Inspirations for Spring 2005," Keynote for Advocates for Youth Education Scholarships Awards Luncheon, May 2005
- "Applications of Cultural Anthropology in Historical Contexts," for Anthropology Careers Day, Northern Kentucky University, Apr 05
- "When Sorrow Clouds the Mind: Margaret Garner in Interdisciplinary Perspective," Association for Psychoanalytic Thought, Freedom Center, Apr 05
- "Recreating the Cultural Milieu of Margaret Garner," Central States Anthropological Society, Oxford, OH, Mar 2005
- "Shhh ! We Don't Talk About That: Family Secrets in Genealogy," Scotlandville Branch Library, Baton Rouge, LA, Feb 05
- "Margaret Garner, Salmon P. Chase and the Underground Railroad," Steely and Chase Law Libraries, to launch exhibit "A Beacon on the River" at Northern Kentucky University, Jan 05
- "The Margaret Garner Story: Fact & Fiction," for "Behind the Scenes in the Arts class at University of Cincinnati, Jan 05;
- "Students, the Community and Underground Railroad Research," University of Toledo, Training for the docents at the Freedom Center, 2004
- "Involving Students and the Community in Local Underground Railroad Research," SUNY Potsdam; Anthropologists and Sociologists of Kentucky, 2003-04
- "Where Ethnography Meets History: Using Multiple Approaches to Researching & Interpreting the Margaret Garner (*Beloved*) Story," Borderlands," "Learning from the Legacy of the Underground Railroad" (Conference organizer) and History Day at NKU; Cincinnati Public Library; and American Ethnological Society Conference, Providence, RI, 2002-03
- "Researching the UGRR in the Ohio-Kentucky Borderlands Using Historical and Anthropological Approaches," *The Underground Railroad: Movement and Context*, Albany, NY, 2003
- "Integrating UGRR History and Culture in the College Curriculum," UGRR Family Reunion, Phila, PA, 2003
- "Rebels, Runaways and Researchers: Routes to Freedom in Central New York," Power Point on the Underground Railroad "faces," Colgate University, 2000-02.

- "Invisible Survivors: Women Transforming Health Care and Social Relations in Yemen," Syracuse, NY, March 1997.
- "Invisible Survivors: Women, Diversity and Transition in Yemen," Middle East Studies Association (MESA), Providence, RI, November 1996.
- "Female Primary Health Care Workers in Yemen: A Solution to Racial/Ethnic Inequality?" Conference on Remedies to Racial and Ethnic Economic Inequality, the Hubert Humphrey Institute, University of Minnesota, May 1996.
- "Yemeni Women in Community Development: A Comparative Perspective on Primary Health Care Workers in the Tihamah," American Institute for Yemeni Studies (AIYS), April 1996.
- "Women and Social Transformations: The Interrelation of Social Status, Race and Gender," Conference on Racial and Ethnic Economic Inequality, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, December 1995.
- "Strategies for Teaching about Race and Gender," Association for Feminist Anthropology and Association of Black Anthropologists (Affiliates of the American Anthropological Association), November 1993.
- "Constructing Women's Identities in Yemen: Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Community Development," Health Promoters Women's Group, Baltimore; Feminist Challenges to the Curriculum class; and the Research on Women Study Group at Towson State University, 1992 and 1993.
- "International/Local Community Perspectives on Women and Development," the World on Wednesday Series at the University of the Pacific, October 1991.
- "Common Grounds: Multicultural and Multiracial Perspectives on Women's Work and Survival," Dartmouth College, January 1991.
- "Cultural Development Patterns in Yemen: The Interrelation of Social Status, Race and Gender," School of Oriental and Asian Studies (SOAS) and (AIYS), in memory of Leigh Douglas, London, May 1990.
- Tropical Forests in the Caribbean: Ecosystem Adaptation in El Yunque," Lake Forest College following workshop in Puerto Rico, January 1990.
- "Fieldwork in Yemen: Preparation and Process" (Slide Presentation), NYU, 1986.

Discussant:

"Migrations of Race: Relocations and Identities in the Middle East," Panel at the American Ethnological Society Conference, Providence, RI, 2003

CO-CURRICULAR EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS:

- **Co-organizer with Prof. Mary Frederickson , Miami U. of “Gendered Resistance: Women Opposing Sexual and Economic Subjugation in Global, Historical and Contemporary Contexts” Symposium, Miami U. and the Freedom Center, 6-8 Oct 05**
- Organized the “From Neighbor to Nation” program to inaugurate the Madison County Freedom Trail Commission at Colgate University, 2002
- Supervised student design of a workshop for school children visiting the UGRR “faces” exhibit in the ALANA Cultural Center, 2002
- Organized the “Mock UN Conference on Racism,” a collaboration among students, staff and faculty, ALANA Cultural Center 2001
- Supervised, “The Harlem Renaissance Revue,” an evening of dance, poetry, music and the visual arts inspired by the artists of the 1920s and 30s, presented by Colgate students, 1999
- Collaboration with culturally diverse students, faculty and administrators resulted in a multicultural mural and a student-run “JavALANA” Coffeehouse

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS:

Oral History Association
Madison County Freedom Trail Committee
American Anthropological Association (Fellow)
Middle East Studies Association
American Institute for Yemeni Studies (Board of Directors, 2000-02)

Philip F. Napoli
60 Park Terrace West Apt. A22
New York, NY 10034
tel: 212-942-8830/fax: 212-567-4282
e-mail: pnapoli@brooklyn.cuny.edu
<http://userhome.brooklyn.cuny.edu/pnapoli/>

Education:

- 1998 **Columbia University**, Department of History, New York, NY
Ph.D. American History
Dissertation: Empire of the Middle: Radio and the Emergence of an
Electronic Society. Professor Alan Brinkley, sponsor
- 1990 M.Phil., American History
- 1988 M.A., European History
- 1982 **McGill University**, Montreal, Quebec, Canada
B.A., Honors in History

Teaching Experience:

- 2001–Present **Brooklyn College, Department of History**
Assistant Professor
CS4 The Shaping of the Modern World
43.4 US Social History from Reconstruction
43.9 Vietnam and the American Experience of War
43.16 Immigration and Ethnicity in the United States
43.18 History of American Popular Culture
43.17 The Public and the Past
69.2 Oral History
760 Doing Brooklyn History
- 1999-2000 **Columbia University, Department of History**
Adjunct Assistant Professor
America Since 1945
History of American Popular Culture, 1865-Present
- 1998-2000 **Brooklyn College, Department of History**
Adjunct Assistant Professor
Core 4: The Shaping of the Modern World, 1700 to the Present
History of American Popular Culture, 1865-Present
- 1998-2000 **Bard College, Clemente Program**
Adjunct Assistant Professor
American History from Colonial Times to the Present

1999 Spring **Rutgers University-Newark, Department of History**

Part Time Lecturer

The United States, 1865-Present

American Popular Culture, 1865-Present

1991-1992 **The Dalton School, New York, NY**

Instructor

European and American history

1987-1990 **Columbia University, Department of History**

Teaching Assistant

European history and American studies

Oral History Experience

2004-Present **The Morgenthau Project**

Interviews with the men and women who served under Robert Morgenthau when he headed the US Attorney's Office for the Southern District of New York, 1961-

1969. 3 interviews completed, over 10 hours of audio collected, 300 pages of transcript.

More than 100 interviews planned for this project.

2003-Present **Brooklyn College Vietnam Project**

An oral history of the relationship between New York City and the Vietnam War. Over

70 interviews completed, 170 hours of audio, 5,000 pages of transcript.

Book

drawing on this material will be published in 2006 by Hill and Wang as *New York's*

Vietnam. Personally raised \$75,000 for the project.

2001-Present **Brooklyn College Special Collections**

Interviews with prominent alumni and others. 13 interviews completed, over 25

hours of audio collected.

1998 **Tom Brokaw, *The Greatest Generation***

Collected approximately 1/3 of the material for this book via oral history.

Interviewees included former Secretary of State George Schultz, former Secretary

of Defense Caspar Weinberger, former Senator Gaylord Nelson, former

White

others. House attorney Lloyd Cutler, and chef Julia Child, among

1996 Iranian Hostage Crisis Settlement Oral History Project
Interviews with virtually all of the major American participants who negotiated the deal that freed the Iranian hostages in 1981. Over 20 hours of audio collected.

Publications

Forthcoming "Creating an Ethnic Strip Mall: Manhattan's Little Italy 1965-1995," in *Ethnic Communities in New York City*, edited by Jerry Krase, Elsevier Press.

1999 "Radio Censorship," in *Censorship: An International Encyclopedia*, Derek Jones, editor, Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, UK (1999).

1998 "Crossing Boundaries: Radio Becomes a Mass Medium," *Columbia Journal of American Studies* 3 (Summer/Fall 1998): 163-185.

1998 "Historical Background to the Iranian Hostage Crisis," and "From the Capture of the Embassy to the Start of Substantive Negotiations" in *Revolutionary Days: The Iran Hostage Crisis and The Hague Claims Tribunal: A Look Back*, (NY: Juris Publishers, 1999).

1997 Review of *WCFL: Chicago's Voice of Labor, 1926-1978*, by Nathan Godfried, for Jhistory, an Internet mailing list for Journalism historians, Nov. 6, 1997.
<http://www.tc.umn.edu/nlhome/m321/astro/jhistory/archive/godfried.html>

1988-1990 Wrote *Time* magazine's NewsQuest educational computer game.

Papers:

2003 "Creating an Ethnic Strip Mall: Manhattan's Little Italy, 1965-1995," Social Science History conference, Nov. 14, 2003 Baltimore, MD

2003 "Strangers Like Family: Marvin Miller and His Fans," the Radio Conference: A

Transnational Forum, July 31, Madison, WI

- 1999 "Resisting the 'Asian Invasion:' The Campaign to 'Save' New York's Little Italy, 1974-1995," American Historical Association, Washington, DC
- 1998 "Consuming Power: Radio Becomes Commonplace," New England Historical Association, April 18, Burlington, VT
- 1998 "Crossing Boundaries: Radio Becomes A Mass Medium," Popular Culture Association & American Culture Association National Conference, April 9 Orlando, FL
- 1998 "Remapping the Political Stage: Style, Commerce, and the Growth of Media Politics," Broadcast Education Association convention, April 3, Las Vegas, NV
- 1999 "Ethereal Politics: Broadcast Radio and the Communist Party, 1936-1940," American Journalism History Association/Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication Conference, March 7, New York University, New York, NY
- 1997 "The Radio Front: 'This Is War!' and U.S. Domestic Radio Propaganda in World War II," World War II: A Dual Perspective, Siena College, NY
- 1996 "Historical Background to the Iranian Hostage Crisis" and "From the Capture of the Embassy to the Start of Substantive Negotiations," Fifteenth Anniversary Symposium on the Iran Hostage Crisis Settlement and the Iran-U.S. Claims Tribunal, New York University, NY
- 1988 "The Economic World-View of the British Chiefs of Staff, 1930-1939," Siena Conference on the 50th Anniversary of World War II, Siena College, NY
- 1988 "The Chiefs of Staff Committee and the Influence of Economic Attitudes on British Rearmament," 2nd Annual Warren Susman Memorial Graduate Student Conference, Rutgers University, NJ

Prizes:

- 2004-2005 Mrs. Giles Whiting Foundation Research Fellowship. Awarded for outstanding teaching. Full year paid sabbatical.
- 1998 First Place, Debut Competition, sponsored by the Broadcast Education Association History Division, for "Remapping the Political Stage: Style, Commerce, and the Growth of Media Politics."

Professional Activities:

- 1999 Judge, Broadcast Education Association History Division, national paper competition.

Related Experience:

- 2002 **Researcher, Tom Brokaw, *A Long Way From Home*** (New York: Random House, 2002)
- 2000-2001 **Curator, Herbert H. Lehman Suite and Papers.** Columbia University Rare Book and Manuscript Library. New York, NY
Responsible for all aspects of the collection and Suite, from collection acquisitions, web presence and preservation to program planning and implementation.
- 2001 **Researcher, Tom Brokaw, *An Album of Memories*** (New York: Random House, 2001). *New York Times* #5 Best Seller. A book of letters sent to Tom Brokaw in response to *The Greatest Generation*, and *The Greatest Generation Speaks*.
- 1999 **Project Manager, Columbia Business School.** New York, NY.
Managed the development and operation of a new on-line course selection system for 1,500 MBA candidates.
- 1998 **Researcher, Tom Brokaw.** New York, NY. For the book *The Greatest Generation* (New York: Random House, 1998). *New York Times* # 1 Best Seller. Responsibilities included conducting interviews with presidential attorney Lloyd Cutler, former Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, former Senator Mark Hatfield, former Secretary of State George Shultz and others, fact-checking, and editorial consultation.
- 1997-1999 **Editor, Centennial History Project, College Board Online.** New York, NY
Anticipating its 100th anniversary in the year 2000, the College Board is devoting a portion of its web site to an examination of the history of American higher education in the 20th century. Responsibilities included editing submitted interpretive articles, collection and

arrangement of relevant documentation, and writing explanatory materials.

1997-Present **Freelance Computer Consultant.** New York, NY

Data base and World Wide Web technical support to various clients, including Office of Executive Programs, Columbia Business School, and the College Board.

1992-1997 **Columbia Business School.** Office of Student Affairs, New York, NY

Liaison and coordinator for all computer-related projects of the office, including maintenance of hardware, software, and database of 1500 Business School students. Assisted in migration of information from FOCUS-based database to a Unix system. Coordinated implementation of the Business School telephone-driven system of course selection. Managed Business School student registrations with the University.

1993-1996 **Big Onion Walking Tours.** New York, NY

New York City Tour Guide.

Conducted public walking tours of Chinatown, Little Italy, Lower East Side, Ellis Island, and Greenwich Village.

1990-1992 **New York Power Authority.** New York, NY

Historical Consultant.

Prepared transcripts of 17th and 18th century documents for inclusion in legal briefs on cases concerning property ownership of islands in the St. Lawrence River.

Other Experience:

1986 Urban Appalachian Council, Cincinnati, Ohio
Administrative Assistant

1985 Glusker Group, New York, NY
Picture Editor

1983-1984 Doubleday Publishing, New York, NY
Editorial Assistant

1983 Grune and Stratton
Editorial Assistant

Languages:

Reading and translation competence in French and Italian

Memberships:

Organization of American Historians
American Historical Association
American Studies Association
Popular Culture Association
New England Historical Association

Community Service:

- 2003 Program Volunteer, Flatbush YMCA, 1401 Flatbush Ave., Brooklyn, NY 11210
- 1998-1999 Member of the Board of Directors, Katherine Gibbs Scholarship & Research Foundation. The Foundation is an independent non-profit organization that raises money through donations and awards fellowships to outstanding career-minded high school graduates.
- 1997 Harlem Tutorial. Tutor. This program brings East Harlem high school students to the Columbia campus for individualized educational help.
- 1997 Columbia University Leadership, Education, and Development (LEAD) Program.
Walking Tour Guide. LEAD brings minority students from all over the nation to the Columbia campus each summer.

December 21, 2004

Kemile Jackson
5901 Avenue O
Brooklyn, NY 11234
Home: (718) 763-7115
Email: pierjack@aol.com

Education: **Brooklyn College – CUNY**
Master of Arts, History *in progress*

City University of New York
Bachelor of Arts, History and Economics, with honors, June 2001

New York City College of Technology– CUNY
Associate of Arts, Liberal Arts, with honors, June 1998

Research & Work Experience: **Brooklyn College Department of History**
Brooklyn, NY
Advisor: Philip Napoli

Collected oral histories that focused on:

- The events of 9/ 11
- The history of the Hendrick I. Lott House
- The working experience in Brooklyn – Brooklyn Works Project
- The Vietnam War and its impact on New York City
- The careers of NBC anchor Tom Brokaw and former Brooklyn borough President Howard Golden (*group interviews*)

Conferences: Warren I. Susman Memorial Graduate Student Conference – 4/ 2003
Topic: Bushwick in Flames: The Story of a Neglected Neighborhood.

Awards: Dean's Scholar, 2003-2004
Thomas W. Smith Fellow, 2000
Dean's List, 1997-1998

Interview and Project Details

Bushwick History Project—ongoing

This project is my own thesis project, which aims to document the history of Bushwick, a neighborhood that was once one of Brooklyn's most affluent. Bushwick was best known for its mansions and breweries, and through the use of my interviews I will try to tell the story of the neighborhood's rise and fall.

Brooklyn College Vietnam War Project—2004

Interviewee: Milton Katz

Mr. Katz's interview included a discussion of his childhood, his experience as a fighter pilot in Vietnam, and how the war changed his life. This interview was done for Professor Philip Napoli, who is writing a book on the Vietnam War and its impact on New York City.

Brooklyn Works Project—Summer & Fall 2003

These interviews were done for the Brooklyn Historical Society's Brooklyn Works Project. The purpose of the interviews was to document the work experience of people from various professions who worked in the borough.

Hendrick I. Lott House—Spring 2002

Interviewees for this project included the director and board members of the Hendrick I. Lott House Preservation Association. I also interviewed Catherine Lott, a direct descendant of Hendrick I. Lott. These interviews, along with archival research, were used to record a history of the house.

9/11 Interviews—December 2001

Interviewee: Christoph Kimmich, President of Brooklyn College

This interview documented Brooklyn College's reaction to the events of 9/11, how the administration dealt with issues such as security, student's fears, and how to best honor the members of the college community who had died.

Brooklyn College Archive Interviews—Spring & Fall 2001

Interviewees: NBC anchor Tom Brokaw and former Brooklyn Borough President Howard Golden

These group interviews included a discussion of their childhood and respective careers. I interviewed Mr. Brokaw regarding his childhood, and Mr. Golden concerning his efforts to promote culture in Brooklyn.

Jennifer A. Scott
67 Hanson Place, #15A
Brooklyn, NY 11217
(718) 596-9499
jascott@umich.edu

EDUCATION

- Present Ph.D pre-candidate, Anthropology. University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
- 1996 M.A. Anthropology. University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
- 1993 M.A. African American Studies. concentration: History. University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), California.
- 1989 B.A. Philosophy. Stanford University, Stanford, California.
- 1988 *Stanford in Tours*, Tours, France.
Coursework: French Literature, History, Culture, and Language

RESEARCH AWARDS AND FELLOWSHIPS

- 1999 *Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad Fellowship*, US Department of Education and J William Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board.
- 1999 *Predoctoral Grant*, Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research.
- 1997 *Department of Anthropology Predissertation Award*, University of Michigan.
- 1997 *International Institute Predissertation Award*, University of Michigan.
- 1997 *Africa Initiative Award*, Center for African and African American Studies and International Institute, University of Michigan.
- 1997 *Rackham Discretionary Award*, University of Michigan.
- 1996 *Student Academic Multicultural Initiative Award*, University of Michigan.
- 1996 *Rackham Discretionary Award*, University of Michigan.
- 1995 *Rackham Merit Fellowship*, University of Michigan.
- 1995 *CIC (Committee on Institutional Cooperation) Predoctoral Fellowship*.

EMPLOYMENT

- 6/04-Present Research Consultant, *The Weeksville Society*, Brooklyn, New York. Conduct ethnographic and archival research on historic sites from a 19th century free Black community in the Crown Heights area of Brooklyn.
- 10/02-4/4 Anthropologist, *City Lore*, New York, New York. Conducted historical and cultural research, including oral history work, for non-profit cultural center, dedicated to preserving and documenting the heritage of the city. Researched sites primarily in Crown Heights, Bedford-Stuyvesant, Fort Greene, and Clinton Hill neighborhoods of Brooklyn for the *Places Matter* project. Designed historic and cultural tours. Organized community forums and workshops. Built partnerships and conducted outreach in the area.

- 1/02-9/02 Grants Associate, *National Black Programming Consortium*, New York, New York; Assisted non-profit national media arts organization with the annual open solicitation (Request For Proposals), selection, and award process for cinematic and video documentary projects that are to be placed on National Public Television (PBS). Arranged scheduling; wrote guidelines, press releases; monitored deliverables of winning submissions.
- 9/99-12/99 Research Consultant, *American History Workshop*, Brooklyn, New York; Consulted with project director and research team members in interpretive planning for the permanent exhibit, "Freedom and Slavery," at new interactive museum, the *National Underground Railroad Freedom Center*; Performed historical and curatorial research related to exhibit themes.
- 3/99-4/99 Conference Assistant, *City Lore*, New York, New York; Assisted in organizing the first international *People's Poetry Gathering*.
- 12/93-6/95 Project Coordinator, *Conflict Mediation Program*, Ombuds Office, UCLA, Los Angeles, California; Coordinated Department of Education funded campus program to address diversity-related conflict through mediation services and conflict resolution activities; trained participants; assisted with course: *ED 197/257: Conflict, Diversity and Conflict Resolution*; conducted mediations and facilitations; wrote grant proposals.
- 9/92-6/93 Field Study Graduate Assistant, *Field Studies Development Office*, UCLA, Los Angeles, California; supervised independent field work projects for undergraduates.
- 9/92-6/93 Research Assistant, *Marcus Garvey Papers Project and C.L.R. James Papers Project*, Department of History, UCLA, Los Angeles, California.
- 9/91-6/92 Research Assistant, Department of English, UCLA, Los Angeles, California.
- 7/89-8/91 Legal Assistant, *Heller, Ehrman, White & McCauliffe*, San Francisco, CA.

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

- 9/03-Present Adjunct Professor, Department of Social Sciences, New School University,
- *Anthropology 3100: Fundamentals of Cultural Anthropology Introduction to Ethnography*;
 - *Anthropology 3552: African Dress as Cultural Object: Material Culture and the Anthropology of Dress*.
- 8/97- 5/98 Teaching Assistant, Department of Anthropology, University of Michigan,
- *Anthropology 101: Introduction to Anthropology*.
- 6/96-8/96 Teaching Assistant, *Jamaica Abroad Program*, Center for African and African American Studies and the Office of International Programs, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, and the University of the West Indies, Mona, Kingston Jamaica.
- 3/93-6/93 Teaching Assistant, UCLA, Los Angeles, California; Created and co-instructed field study course for undergraduate and graduate students.
- *African American Studies 101/201: Field Studies in African and African American Communities*;
- 3/92-6/92 Reader, Department of History, UCLA, Los Angeles, California,
- *History 158: Introduction to African American History*

WRITING EXPERIENCE

- 8/01-10/01 Freelance Writer, *Missing Pixel*, New York, New York; Researched and authored three essays on the life of Zora Neale Hurston, anthropologist and novelist, for educational website for a documentary film.
- 10/98-9/99 Co-Author, *The Rough Guide, West Africa. The Rough Guides*, London, England. Contributing author to 1999 edition. Wrote two chapters: "Ghana" and "Burkina Faso" for international travel guide based on five months of field research in West Africa.
- 1995 Co-editor, *Unity/Difference Journal*. UCLA, Los Angeles, California. Interdisciplinary and international journal addressing questions about difference and culture. Submissions included artistic contributions (videos, visual work, essays about performance), scholarly papers, literary pieces.
- 1994 Work Abroad Intern, *Council for International Educational Exchange*, Swept Away Resort, Negril, Jamaica. Wrote manual for largest sports and fitness facility in Caribbean.
- 1989 Production Assistant, *Public Service Center*, Stanford University Stanford, CA; edited *International Work and Study Abroad Opportunities* manual.

FUNDRAISING EXPERIENCE

- 1993 Grant Writer, *Field Studies Office*, UCLA, Los Angeles, California; wrote funding proposal for community service-learning field work program.
- 1992 Grant Writer, *Pax Christi USA*, Erie, Pennsylvania; Wrote funding proposal for international youth activist conference, *Worlds Moving Together, 1993*: conference encouraging productive dialogue concerning global peace, justice and human rights issues.
- 1988 Grant Writer, *Overseas Development Network*, Stanford University, Stanford, California. Wrote funding proposal for grassroots, international conference, *Global Objectives: Toward a Mutual Survival* conference which brought together officials, organizers and students from around the world to address issues concerning global development.

MAJOR PAPERS AND PRESENTATIONS

- "Texts of Blackness in Nineteenth Century New Orleans: Situating *Gens De Couleurs Libre* in the Politics of Identity", for History seminar, *The Black Atlantic, Studies in the Africa Diaspora*, May 1996; also presented at annual mini-conference, Dept. of History, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, May, 1996.
- "Contemporary Africanisms in Religious Imagery: The Appropriation of African Vodun Images", for History of Art seminar, *Art of the Africa Diaspora*, May, 1996.
- "Power and Art in the Kingdom of Dahomey: Oral Histories and Visual Form", for History of Art seminar: *Art and the Ideology of Power*, May, 1997.
- "African Heritage in Louisiana: Exploring Afro-Creole Identities through Narrative Histories", for Anthropology seminar, *Oral History and Narrative Identity: The Politics of Subjectivity*, May, 1997.
- "Indigenous Anthropology: Afro-American and Afro-Jamaican Ethnographies", for Anthropology seminar: *Ethnographic Writing*, May, 1997.
- "Decolonizing Anthropology: Africans and African Americans in the Field", Center for

African American Studies, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, May, 1996; also article based on presentation in *Michigan Today*, November, 1997.

"What's Behind a Dress?: Seamstresses and Dressmakers in Accra, Ghana", presented as part of a panel, "Field Research in Africa", Center for African and African American Studies, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, October, 1997.

TRAVELS/INDEPENDENT RESEARCH

Travels: Austria, Barbados, Benin, Burkina Faso, Cuba, England, Egypt, France, Germany, Ghana, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Mexico, Morocco, Netherlands, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, South Africa, Spain, Switzerland, Togo.

Field Research: Ghana (1997, 1998-1999, 1/2000-8/2001); South Africa (2001); Burkina Faso, Togo, Benin (1999); Netherlands (1998); Jamaica, Barbados (1996); New Orleans, Louisiana (1995).

LANGUAGES

French. Conversational Spanish. Field Knowledge of Twi.

PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

American Anthropological Association
Association for Black Anthropologists
Association for Africanist Anthropology
Stanford University Alumni Association
University of California, Los Angeles Alumni Association

ACTIVITIES

Volunteer, *Pacific Street Bears Community Garden*, Fort Greene, Brooklyn, New York 2003-Present.

Community Tour Guide, *New York City Firsthand Walks and the Fort Greene Association*, Fort Greene, Brooklyn New York, 2003-Present.

Volunteer, *Museum for African Art*, New York, New York, 1999.

Member, *International Gender Studies Group*, UCLA, Los Angeles, CA, 1994-95.

Participant, *Roadrunners L.A. Marathon-In Training*, Los Angeles, CA, 1994-95

Speaker, *Worlds Moving Together*, 1992 Conference, Pax Christi, Utrecht, Netherlands.

Member, *Student Committee for the Arts*, UCLA, Los Angeles, CA, 1991-92.

INTERESTS

Academic: ethnography, history, narrative, gender, development, identity, authenticity, tourism, heritage, preservation, representation, material and visual culture, creolization, West Africa, Caribbean.

Non-Academic: documentary film; visual arts, travel, music, and dance of Africa and the African Diaspora; health and fitness, gardening.

Appendix H

Information Received from Property Owners

Oral History Interview Questions**Subject Building: 231 Duffield St. Jason Donegan****1) Name**

John "Jason" Edward Donegan, Jr.

2) Address

231 Duffield Street, Brooklyn, NY 11201

3) Are you the owner of 231 Duffield? Yes.**How long have you owned the building? Since 1987.****4) Did your family own the building before you?**

Yes, it has been in the family since December 3rd, 1943.

If Yes, what was this person's name? Phyllis Kay.**5) If a family member owned your building, is he/she still alive? No. Phyllis Kay is deceased.****6) Do you live at 231 Duffield, or have done so in the past? If yes, please describe when and for how long.**

I have lived at 231 Duffield Street since 1987.

7) Have any family members lived in the building? When and how long? Yes, my beloved mother, Claire Clara Tortora Donegan. She lived in the building in 1987 until her passing on September 6th, 2000.**8) Do you know of any of the previous residents of 231 Duffield St? Please provide their names and describe any information you know about them, and whether he/she is available to be interviewed.**

No, I do not personally know any previous residents of 231 Duffield Street prior to my family's ownership of it. However, I am aware of two residents, Peter and Mary Hawes, who were abolitionists and members of the Plymouth Church in Brooklyn Heights.

9) Describe your work at 231 Duffield. Have you worked elsewhere in Downtown Brooklyn? If yes, please describe where and for how long.

I am a Professional Psychic. I have previously worked at the Scotch Tea-Room at 233 Duffield Street from June of 1977 to May of 1987. In 1987, I moved it to 231 Duffield Street's "A Little Gypsy Tea Room" which I changed into "Jason's Psychic-CJ Tea Room".

buildings and how this information was conveyed to you. Please provide the names of the sources, and if a person(s) his/her name and whether they are available to be interviewed.

I am a Professional Psychic. I have previously worked at 233 Street. It was common knowledge among the elders of the street. It was validated when I looked up on previous owners and tenants through researching the New York census and through Plymouth Church. I found Peter and Mary Hawes were tenants at 231 Duffield Street from the Plymouth Church's registry; located on 75 Hicks Street in Brooklyn Heights.

11) How did you become interested in researching UGRR history and the history of African Americans in your community?

I was interested as a child in the Civil War. My interest continued into my college years and my work years. When I was taking a Critical Thinking course at Marymount Manhattan College; I chose slavery as a topic and subject. I wrote a paper on a freed slave, Elizabeth Freeman, entitled: "The Historical Problems of Slavery Could Have Been Settled"

Also, as I am a Professional Psychic operating out of Downtown Brooklyn, I serviced many member of the African-American community who knew that Duffield Street was part of the Underground Railroad.

12) What do you know about the owners and residents of 231 Duffield before the end of the Civil War (1865) such as occupations, and membership in churches or secular organizations? How far back can you trace the ownership of any of the subject buildings on Duffield and Gold St.? How was this information conveyed to you? Was it from a person(s) or did you obtain it from a written source? If the information was conveyed to you through a person(s), please provide their name(s), describe any other information you know about them, and whether he/she is available to be interviewed. If the information was obtained from a person(s) or from a written source, please describe the source and where and how it was accessed.

I do know that Peter and Mary Hawes lived at 231 Duffield Street around this period. I got the information on their residency through the Plymouth Church Registry. Peter Hawes' occupation was a merchant. It was made known to me by neighbors, now deceased.

13) What do you know about the potential of the subject buildings on Duffield and Gold Streets to have been used for the Underground Railroad? Please provided the names of the sources of your knowledge, and if a person (s) his/her name and whether they are available to be interviewed.

I do know that it is for a FACT, not potential, that the subject buildings on Duffield Street have been used for the Underground Railroad. This information was passed down through the years through property owners. In my case, mainly through the late Al Chatel and his wife Vera, who lived at 227 Duffield Street, which in turn, is the home to the Truesdales; who themselves were abolitionists.

14) What have you learned about the possible routes that fugitives took that would encompass the buildings on Duffield and Gold Sts.? Please say how you obtained that information and if a person(s) is the source, whether they are available to be interviewed.

I do not know exactly how fugitive slaves were brought over to Duffield Street, but I do know that the homes here were used as safe-houses where escaped slaves were given food and shelter. Back in those days, Duffield Street actually ran through across Tillary Street and to the East River. Peter Hawes, as I have said before, was a merchant. He had access to ships going up the Eastern seaboard to Canada. He would ship escaped slaves to freedom to Canada. This information was provided to be by Al and Vera Chatel.

15) What have you learned about possible connections between Black and White churches nearby, and the subject houses on Duffield and Gold Sts. with respect to abolitionists and /or Underground Railroad activity? Please say how you obtained that information and if a person is the source, whether they are available to be interviewed.

I have no knowledge on this, other than that Peter and Mary Hawes were members of Plymouth Church.

"I'll be home tomorrow night," Pauline promised with a smile. "I'll be home tomorrow night," Pauline promised with a smile. "I'll be home tomorrow night," Pauline promised with a smile.

The next day, with women still so rarely admitted to odd jobs, Pauline found her way into the kitchen. "Anything you'd like to do today?" he asked. "I'll be home tomorrow night," Pauline promised with a smile.

The next night, wearing the nightgown she had bought in Louisville, Pauline felt a surge of inspiration. She slipped away from the other women in the kitchen, grabbed a champagne glass, and stepped into the center of the stage.

The next morning, after passing through Union lines, Pauline found that she had been spotted by a Federal soldier. She slipped away from the other women in the kitchen, grabbed a champagne glass, and stepped into the center of the stage.

After passing through Union lines, Pauline found that she had been spotted by a Federal soldier. She slipped away from the other women in the kitchen, grabbed a champagne glass, and stepped into the center of the stage.

AMAZING WOMEN of the CIVIL WAR

FASCINATING TRUE STORIES OF WOMEN WHO MADE A DIFFERENCE . . .

SPIES • SOLDIERS • JOURNALISTS • ANGELS OF MERCY



Webb Garrison
Author of *Civil War Curiosities* & *A Treasury of Civil War Tales*

Partial copy of *Amazing Women of the Civil War*, by Webb Garrison

Pauline's performance brought the night's performance to a grand finale. The members of the audience cheered and cheered at the actress, and she bowed at the top of her lungs. When the music began to play, she bowed again, raised her glass, and started sobbing.

After passing through Union lines, Pauline found that she had been spotted by a Federal soldier. She slipped away from the other women in the kitchen, grabbed a champagne glass, and stepped into the center of the stage.

Deeply divided Tennessee held both Federal and Confederate forces, both of which wanted to see what the other would do before taking action. In this delicate situation, it was easy for the actress from New Orleans to pass from one Rebel camp to another. Her mission was to reach the headquarters of Gen. Braxton Bragg and learn his plans, but she was so confident that she succeeded in doing so. Here and there she passed up a bit of information that she considered to be valuable, and she seems to have passed some of it along to Federal officers. Nor can we trust her memory when she gained access to data she consid-

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Mary Ann Folwell, Confederate spy

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Partial copy of *Amazing Women of the Civil War*, by Webb Garrison



AND DAILY TRANSCRIPT

PHILADELPHIA, FRIDAY, MAY 28, 1853

SCANDALOUS OUTRAGE AGAINST LAW AS WELL AS AGAINST DECENCY.—The Pennsylvania Hall was attacked on Wednesday evening, by a mob of disorderly persons, apparently about three thousand, who demolished the windows of the edifice, and wounded several of those assembled within it.

If the citizens of Philadelphia are resolved upon maintaining a regular government of laws, and saving their fair city from the anarchy which disgraces some other portions of our common country, they have but one course in this emergency. This course is to stand before the law, and for its violation upon their, after conviction, the utmost penalties of the law, and also to adopt the most vigorous measures for preventing a renewal of such outrages. If the right of discussion upon any subject, a right made common to all by our constitutions and laws, both State and Federal, may be invaded with impunity, all freedom among us is abolished, and we are the slaves of the very worst of all tyrants, the mob. Is this the destiny of Pennsylvania? We trust that the citizens of a commonwealth founded upon the broad and deep foundations of democratic liberty and Christian benevolence, have spirit enough to defend their fair heritage against the devastating incursions of wolves and tigers in human shape.

From the symptoms manifested throughout the city we cannot but entertain strong apprehensions of further violence. Let every citizen who would maintain the law, buckle on his armor for fighting in earnest. Let our Mayor, who never flinches from duty because danger is in his path, call upon the military to aid the civil arm, and

the same theory, advantage was burnt down, as the streets of this city

NEW ORLEANS.—On Sunday the cabin of the ship Ohio Philadelphia; lying in the port was entered and robbed of its contents, containing his papers, &c. was taken on deck, and open contained nothing but drugs, with the deck only.

THE GIRARD BUILDINGS received additional commotion, which we shall not publish for nothing which has yet a witness be published with persons on either side of the street, the public under our notice, main concealed from all but not approve of showing a newspaper, as a stalking horse in private, while the parties concerned say to the editors, &c.

We repeat that if the fair can furnish proof that a tenant of the Girard Buildings is another tenant, because he is that the commissioners have we will publish such proof, we witnesses, provided the proof of common sense would command the witnesses be credible for the purpose of punishing a lenient and ridiculous, we will logics and histories of all the who can be convicted of unjust pretension. And we further commissioners will deny by their own hands, and will denounce that shall roll the column, and will show for wishing to remove, I will publish such denunciations, and I shall not

the streets of this city

handed themselves together and worshipped in the Flatbush building. They refused to vacate and finally it became necessary to depose them.

It was the practice of the church to sell graves and plots in the cemetery to its members. When ever funeral services were to be held in this building on this property the church would loan the key to whoever wished it.

On one occasion in the year 1887 the key was borrowed by the Ground Steward on pretense of a funeral and not returned and on demand refused to give the key up, contending that as they owned practically all of the cemetery by individual purchase they had organized themselves into a church known as the St. Pauls Congregational Church of the Town of Flatbush and that they would neither vacate nor release the property, or the building as it was theirs by legal right of purchase.

It became necessary on December 15th, 1887 to sue the St. Pauls Congregational Society of Flatbush to sustain the church's legal right to the property.

The Supreme Court of the State of New York rendered a verdict in favor of the A. W. M. E. Church on June 5th, 1888.

St. Pauls Church appealed from the decision and carried the case to the Circuit Court which on June 24th, 1889 unanimously upheld the lower Court in the verdict in favor of our Church.

The Church's interest in these actions were very ably taken care of by our own learned Counsel J. McCant Stewart.

This property was sold on November 13th, 1893 to Mr. William G. McDonald for \$2,250.00. The bodies were removed from the cemetery by Mr. W. G. Overton and deposited at Pine Lawn, Long Island, among them were

- Private C. Johnson, Co. F., 26th Regt.
- Corporal J. A. Johnson, Co. A., 26th Regt.
- Corporal C. Holmes, Co. F., 26th Regt.
- Private Wm. Anderson, Co. E., 20th Regt.
- Cornelius Peterson
- Isabella Peterson
- Carl Mason
- Maria Oliver
- Sarah Brown
- Sophia Clarkson
- Peter Jackson
- Ella J. Jackson
- Samuel Jackson
- James Moody
- Henry Hicks
- Paulis Evan
- Ellen Breckman
- Susana Pierce
- Carolina Jones
- Mary A. Schenk
- Elizabeth Dickson
- Samuel Warren
- Thomas M. Williams
- Frances M. Hicks
- Francis A. Hicks
- Thomas Williams
- Lizaboth Wilhem
- Edward Freeman

The spot where the present Church stands was known as the Doctor Duffield Estate, who sold same in 1829 to the Pierrepont Estate.

On July 7th, 1854 Edward and Margaret Pierrepont assigned same to the following trustees of the First Congregational Church which was then occupying the property

- Simon B. Chattenden
- Henry C. Bowen
- Chas. G. Stedman
- Edward Conway
- Chas. P. Baldwin
- Luther Latus

On July 12th, 1854 these trustees sold on behalf of the Pierreponts this Church for \$12,500 to the African Wesleyan Methodist Episcopal Church of Brooklyn, during the pastorate of Rev. J. Morris Williams.

Later on the fourth Sunday in July of the last Sunday in August, 1854 Rev. Williams marched from the Flatbush Street Church to the new Church on Bridge Street with a membership of 292, included in the procession were such patriots as

- Edward Crosby
- Willy Jones
- Isaiah Hunter
- Enoch C. Harrington
- Abraham Brown
- Isaac Capple
- Cato Oliver
- James Overton
- Michael Thompson
- Samuel Anderson
- Levi Harris
- Alvin Harris
- Alvin Flood
- Robert Jackson
- Enoch Waterford
- Robert H. Cousin
- Francis Lummie
- William Anderson
- Ellen Jones
- Hannah Long
- James Conover
- Charles Hicks

The first quarterly conference in the new home was held on August 20th, 1854 presided over by the pastor, who had so successfully led his flock into the new fold, Rev. James Morris Williams. At this meeting the conference very fittingly put itself on record as to how pleased it was with the new edifice.

The Church went on and at various times made small payments upon the mortgage but the record shows very vividly that it was a struggle. The serious and crucial point was reached in 1871 when it became necessary for the officers and members to bind themselves closely together in order to save the Church as the mortgagee threatened them with a dispossession, foreclosure, etc. It became necessary for each member to pay \$1.00 per month to keep the Church.

Finally in 1872 the foreclosure notice was tacked on the Church and it was then that Robert Jackson, Willy Jones, Ellen Jones, Robert Cousin, Stephen Overton, Alvin Spencer, came forth with their own money, paid what was necessary to keep Bridge Street from foreclosure sale. It is to these noble fathers we

Unidentified article regarding Philadelphia Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women

Program for Centennial of Bridge Street AWME Church

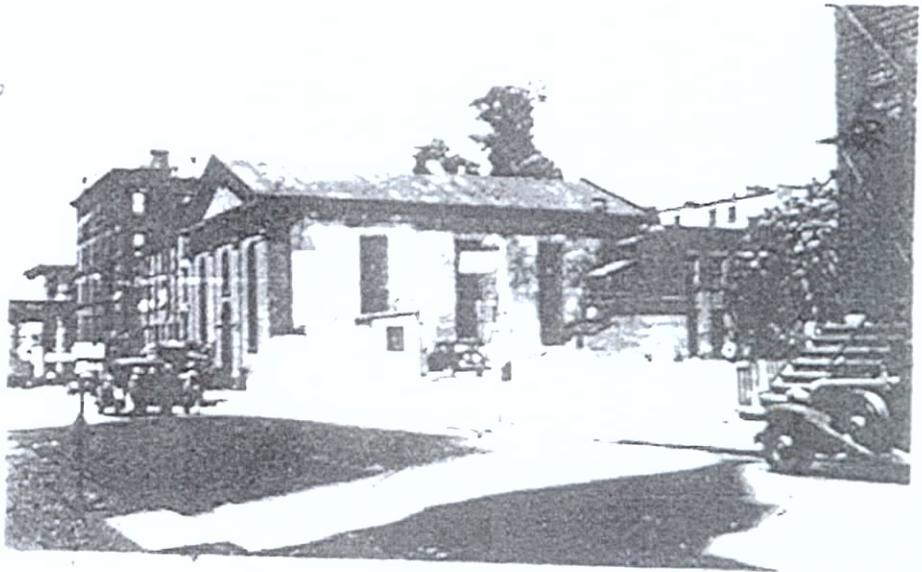
DAT LOOK HOW BIGGAST
ITS SCARIE
There isy the grace of god go I

~~I need to write up~~

From History Knowledge Marguerite Duffield
who father was Rev owned much of what is
now Down to me Bridge + strong Dutch influence
of slave + white who sold land to several Black
churches on 2 Bridge street on in Duffield St
+ one on Gold Street who opened from 1840 there
cells were I had the Duffield street was
the focal point between these churches + had his
~~deep~~ deep basements where the slave were ~~kept~~ kept
then made there any to exist n.y. I was told that
there is a void in front of my house that was thought
to be a tunnel. Marguerite Duffield + he husband John
Duffield ~~was~~ had an estate on the corner where
op his estate I feel that now the cut is at 1st Big
about the Thunderqueel Railroad is not right
But fact what ~~was~~ was I T nice to know it
my own father story he told by father about the
Blacks history was not a story But is a
Fact.

Notes, unidentified author, unknown date

*Shiloh Church or the Antioch Church
Later Concord Church*



Photographs of Shiloh Church or the Antioch Church,
later Concord Church

SURROGATE'S COURT : COUNTY OF KINGS

In the Matter of the Petition of

HANNAH JACOBS

for Letters of Administration of the
goods, chattels and credits which
were of

BILL OF PARTICULARS

PAUL HYMAN,

Deceased.

The petitioner, Hannah Jacobs, in compliance
with the demand for a bill of particulars served by the
Public Administrator of Kings County, states:

FIRST: The full name of the claimant is HANNAH
JACOBS, maiden name Hannah Hyman, residing at 227 Bayfield
Street, Brooklyn, New York.

SECOND: The Claimant is related to the decedent;
in the THIRD degree,
and is a Maternal Aunt of the decedent.

THIRD: The name of the Common ancestor of the
Claimant and decedent is:

JOHN HYMAN,
father of claimant, and maternal grandfather of the
decedent.

FOURTH: The common ancestor of the Claimant
and the decedent was born at: London, England, in 1835.
He married Clara Kaiser at New York City, in 1861.

Partial copy of petition of Hannah Jacobs

Sir :

PLEASE TAKE NOTICE that the
within is a true copy of a
this day duly filed and entered in the office
of the clerk of the

Dated, N. Y., 19

Yours, &c.,

JAY J. LEHRMAN

Attorney for

(Office and Post Office Address)

11 Park Place

Borough of Manhattan New York 7, N. Y.

To Esq.,

Attorney for

Sir :

PLEASE TAKE NOTICE that

of which the within is a true copy, will be
presented for settlement and entry herein to
Mr. Justice
one of the Justices of the within named
Court at

on the day of 19

at o'clock in the forenoon.

Dated, N. Y., 19

Yours, &c.,

JAY J. LEHRMAN

Attorney for

(Office and Post Office Address)

11 Park Place

Borough of Manhattan New York 7, N. Y.

To Esq.,

Attorney for

Index No. 19

SURROGATE'S COURT
KINGS COUNTY

In the Matter of the Petition of

HANNAH JACOBS,

for Letters of Administration of
the goods, chattels and credits
which were of

PAUL HYMAN,

Deceased.

Bill of Particulars.

JAY J. LEHRMAN

Attorney for petitioner,

(Office and Post Office Address)

11 Park Place

Borough of Manhattan New York 7, N. Y.

To MRS. HANNAH JACOBS' Esq.,
COPY.

Service of a copy of the within

is hereby admitted.

Dated, N. Y., 19

Attorney for

Partial copy of petition of Hannah Jacobs

Born at Montclair, N.J. in August 12th 1889 at 8:30 P.M. Paul Elias Truesdell son of Thomas & Matilda W. Truesdell.

William Lee Son of Samuel and Abigail Lee was Born Tuesday 9th May 1758 in Swansea.

Abigail Lee wife of the above was Born Sunday 13th January 1760 Daughter of John & Ruth Kinnicutt

Harriett Lee Daughter of the above was Born Monday 10th July 1786 in Providence...

Mary M. Lee Daughter of the above William & Abigail Born Saturday 23 May 1788 in Providence, R.I.

Julia Lee Daughter of the above Wm & Abigail Born Wednesday 26th December 1791 in Providence...

Lydia Cushing Lee Daughter of the above Wm & Abigail Born Friday 6th January 1792 in Providence.

William Lee Son of the above Wm & Abigail Born Saturday 19th April 1794 in Providence...

Joseph Belehier Lee Son of the above Wm & Abigail Born Sunday 6th March 1796 in Providence...

John Kinnicutt Lee Son of the above Wm & Abigail Born Monday 26th February 1798 in Providence...

Samuel Lee Son of the above Wm & Abigail Born Sunday 30th November 1800 in Providence...

Abigail Lee Daughter of the above Wm & Abigail Born Sunday 5th September 1803 in Providence

Abby Lee Penniman Daughter of Obadiah & Mary Penniman Born 1 day February 1808 in Albany.

Caroline Penniman Daughter of the above was born at Albany on the 16th Day of November 1810

Harriet Penniman Daughter of the above was born at Providence 8th day of October 1812

Harriet Lee Truesdell Daughter of Thomas & Harriet Truesdell Born May 31, 1813 in Providence

William Lee Truesdell Son of the above Thomas & Harriet was Born March 8, 1815.

<http://petjr.net/BIBL1/page2.html>

1/1/06

Partial copy of online Truesdell genealogy

Thomas Truesdell Son of Harriet Lee Truesdell deceased.

Eleanor Truesdell and Helen Whipple Truesdell twins deceased daughters of Thomas and Harriet Lee Truesdell.

Anna Kinnicutt Truesdell daughter of Thomas and Harriet Lee Truesdell deceased August 1848 aged 22 years.

Harriet Lee Truesdell was Born May 31 1813 at 8:00 A.M.

William Lee Truesdell was Born Wednesday, March 8, 1815, 1 O'C P.M.

William Lee Truesdell was Born Wednesday, January 5, 1817 at Eleven O'C in the morning.

Mary Elizabeth Truesdell was Born Sunday Febr 8, 1819 at Twelve O'C at noon.

Thomas Truesdell was born Feby 27, 1821 Monday noon - 1 o'clock.

Julia Lee Truesdell was born Tuesday December 24, 1822 at 4 O'clock P.M.

Anna Kinnicutt Truesdell daughter of Thomas & Harriet Truesdell born March 31st 1825, Thursday 7 O'C A.M.

Abby Kinnicutt Truesdell daughter of Thomas & Harriet Truesdell was born Feb 8th, 1829.

Eleanor Lee Truesdell dau Helen Whipple Truesdell was born March 1st, 1830 Thursday 9 o'clock.

Thomas Truesdell was married to Harriet Lee Daughter of Mr. William Lee and Abigail Lee October 14, 1811 by the Rev. Stephen Gana.

Mrs. Harriet Truesdell was baptised 6th of April 1816.

Julia Lee Truesdell was born Tuesday December 24th 1822 4 o'clock P.M.

Anna Kinnicutt Truesdell was born in March 31, 1825. Thursday 7 o'clock A.M.

Abby Kinnicutt Truesdell was born Feby 8th 1827.

Eleanor Lee to Helen Whipple Truesdell was born March 4th, 1830 Thursday 6 o'clock all children of the above Thomas & Harriet Truesdell.

Helen Lee Batteris daughter of Richard M. Batteris and Julia Lee Batteris was born 19 April (Saturday, 5 minutes before 12 o'clock) 1845 in Brooklyn NY.

<http://petjr.net/BIBL1/page3.html>

1/4/06

Partial copy of online Truesdell genealogy

Scanned Materials Received from Joy Chatel
Appendix H

and the personalities of leading abolitionists familiar to their Providence hostesses. News that friends in nearby Brooklyn, Connecticut, had formed a female society was also encouraging. A sense of shared mission and praise from other anti-slavery societies and from male leaders provided context for Providence females ready to organize.

The founding of the juvenile group, however, seems linked to George Thompson's 1833 visit. The Englishman first lectured in Providence in late November, and in December six young girls began holding their own anti-slavery meetings. Their first annual report did not mention Thompson by name, but their concern that humans were being "treated like brutes" echoed Thompson's message to the Providence Anti-Slavery Society "that there was no such thing as property in man, sanctioned by the scriptures; and that . . . we must treat human beings as men, be their color . . . what it may." Because most acknowledged Thompson's attractiveness to women, it was logical for male leaders to feature him as the speaker of a anti-slavery meeting called for the purpose of organizing a female society. The meeting was held at the Baptists' Pine Street meeting house, the church of Rev. John Blain, an officer in both the New England and national anti-slavery societies and member of the Providence men's group. At the conclusion of Thompson's address, Blain moved "that it was expedient to form a Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society, which was carried without a dissenting vote." A written constitution and pledge sheets were conveniently ready for the newly enlisted members to sign.¹

The names of members immediately appointed to office suggest that some of the "most influential and worthy ladies" who signed the constitution and pledged a total of \$86.32 had already been working with leaders of the male society. The chief officer, or "first directress," was Mrs. Lucy Blain, the minister's wife. The second directress was Mrs. Williams, wife of Rev. Thomas Williams, traveling anti-slavery agent and corresponding secretary for the Providence men. Similarly linked to the Providence Anti-Slavery Society were the treasurer, Harrist Truesdell, Catharine Benson, wife of activist George W. Benson; Elizabeth J. Chace, younger sister of William M. Chace, the men's recording secretary; and Lydia Cady, wife of Josiah Cady, president of the men's group. In fact, of the twenty-one officers and board members, at least sixteen were linked by blood or marriage to members of the Providence Anti-Slavery Society. William M. Chace was not alone in voicing his pride that there were "at this meeting many of our most influential and worthy ladies, and some of the fairest of the fair."²

Although formally segregated by age, in reality the two women's groups

mingled, adults assisted the youngsters with their sewing, and the girls on occasion imitated activities in which the older women took part. The first annual report of the "young ladies" admitted that at first they had almost completely forgotten how to sew, as young as six might help. "We knew very little about what had been done, or was doing for the slaves, but the we fast learned that these poor human beings were dependent on liberty, treated like brutes, and subjected to innumerable hardships. This was enough. We know, were we in their situation, we should wish that something might be done to alleviate their condition, and remembering the injunctions of our Lord and Saviour: 'All things whatsoever we would that men should do to us, we even so do to them,' we were impelled by a sense of duty to act." Following the example of Boston women, they determined to "raise funds for the cause." Given literature by locals George W. Benson and Moses Brown and encouraged by visits from agents Henry Stanton and William Goodell, the original band of sewers grew in numbers, confidence, and treasury. "Our humble efforts have been blessed . . . The contrast between this and our first meeting is very striking." In raising the unprecedented sum of seven, the youthful group had overcome lack of skill and experience.

Although the support of juveniles—initially females—pleased leaders, gaining the support of "influential and worthy ladies" was even more desirable. As Chace's comment reveals, emphasizing their respectable character was one way of countering anti-abolitionist charges that local groups were the products of fanaticism and outside agitators. Citing this successful Providence pattern, national leaders encouraged "ladies" to form auxiliaries in areas where male organization already existed.³ Yet local men rarely pursued this suggestion. In 1835 and 1836, the whirlwind organizing years for Rhode Island abolitionism, agents Henry Stanton and Amos Phelps and editor Garrison focused on male societies, perhaps assuming that female organizations would follow. And in fact, although not expressly invited, women were allowed to attend lectures by visiting agents, and generally this indirect, informal strategy worked. Simple exposure to the new kind of abolitionism, even reading a tract or attending a special meeting, was often the only catalyst necessary to organize local women into an anti-slavery society.

Auxiliaries were crucial centers of education, for most Rhode Islanders, male or female, needed the context of a local organization to transform a vaguely anti-slavery belief into militant commitment to immediate emancipation. Leaders who scheduled and publicized speeches by well-known abolitionists at first assumed that such meetings would transform inert

Partial copy of *The Devotion of These Women*, by Deborah Bingham Van Broekhoven



Photograph, possibly of Rose Hyman (date unknown)



Photograph of Clara Kaiser and John Hyams (date unknown)



Photograph of Paul Hyman (date unknown)



Photograph of Paul Hyman (date unknown)

This is the back to 227 Duffield there are no alleys just houses behind. So a coat chute is out of the question



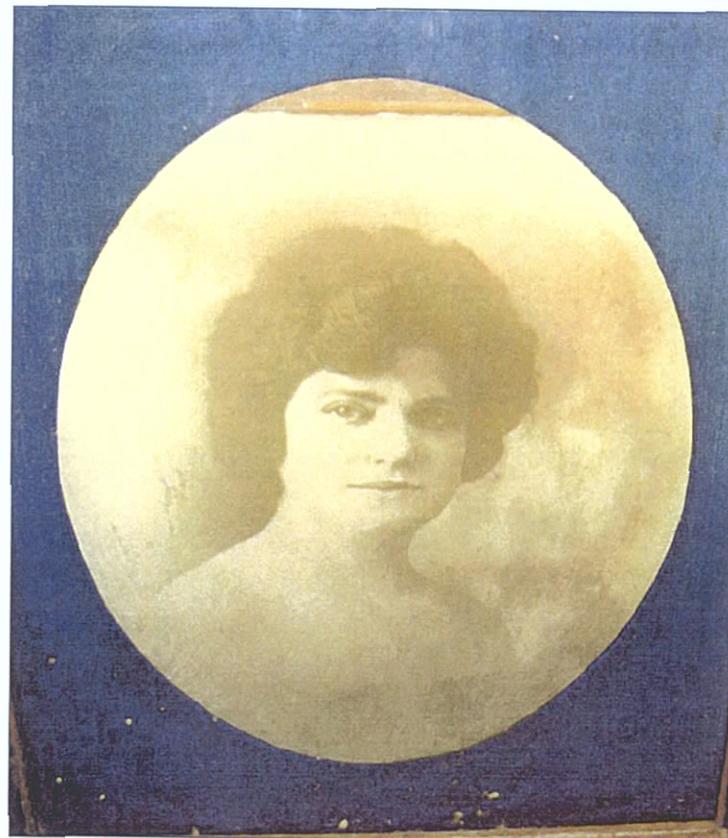
Harry Jacobs

Photograph of Harry Jacobs
(date unknown)



*Vera and Richard
Chatel*

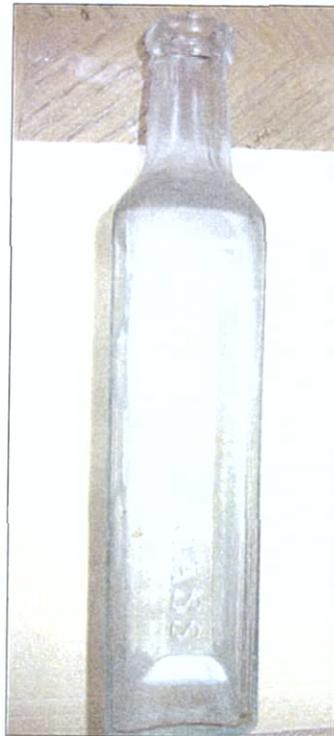
Photograph of Vera and Richard Chatel
(date unknown)



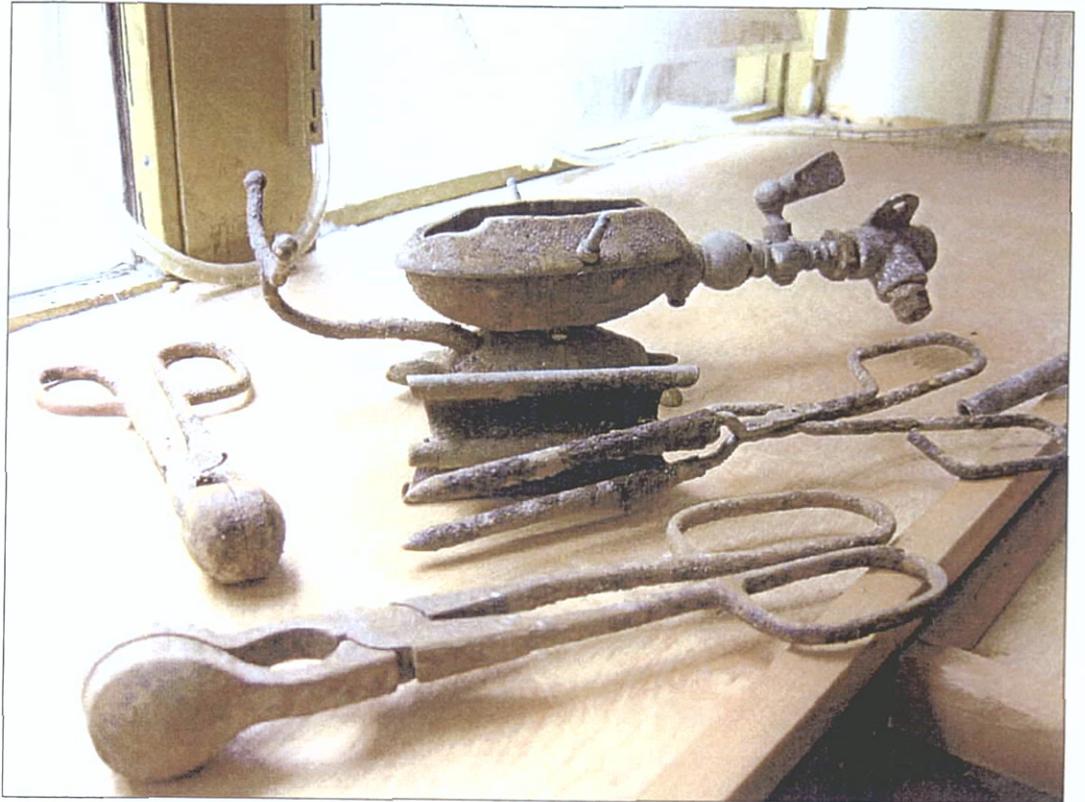
Photograph of Vera Jacobs Chatel (date unknown)



Bottles from backyard of 227 Duffield Street



Bottles from backyard of 227 Duffield Street



Artifacts from basement of 227 Duffield Street



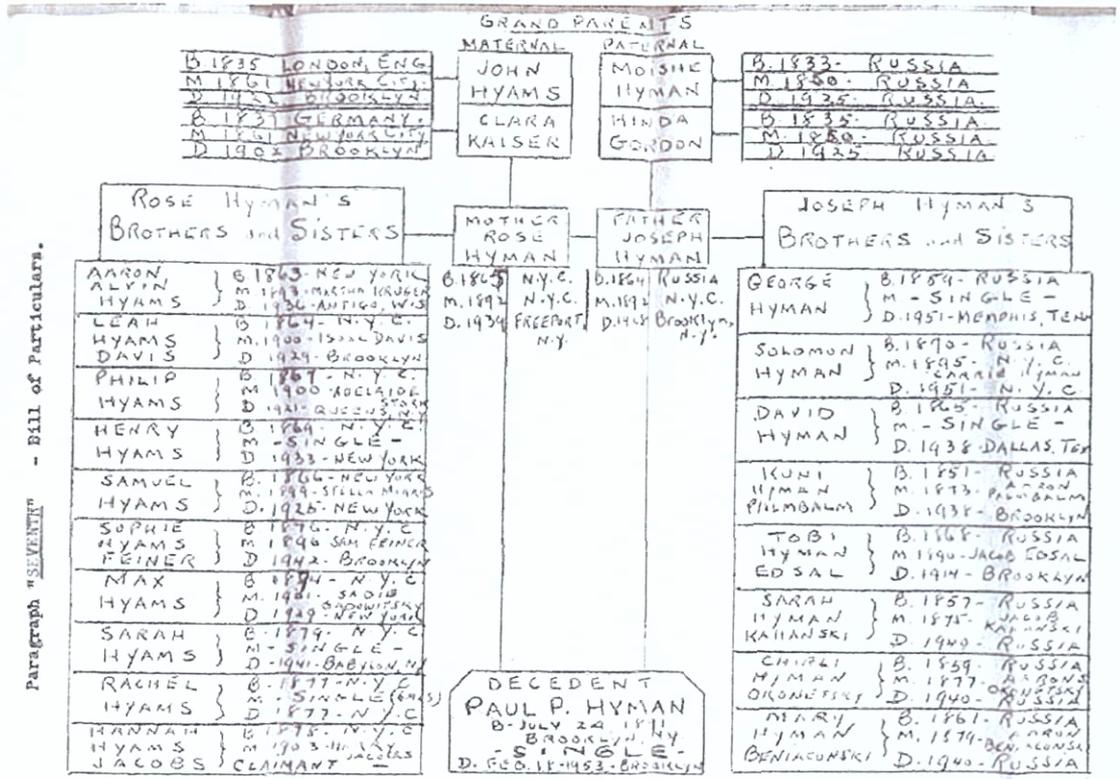
Artifacts from basement of 227 Duffield Street



Photograph from 227 Duffield Street



Photograph from 227 Duffield Street



Paragraph "SEQUENT" - Bill of Particulars.

Hyams/Hyman Family Tree

BUREAU OF RECORDS & CERTIFICATIONS

THE CITY OF NEW YORK
 DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH
 STATE OF NEW YORK
 CERTIFICATE AND RECORD OF BIRTH

No. of Certificate
 24061

Name of Child: Vera Jacobs No. of Certificate: 24061

Sex: <u>F.</u>	Father's Occupation: <u>Mrs. Hair Goods</u>
Color: <u>H.</u>	Mother's Name: <u>Hannah Jacobs</u>
Date of Birth: <u>June 10, 1915</u>	Mother's Maiden Name: <u>H. Hyams</u>
Place of Birth: <u>235 Druffield St</u>	Mother's Residence: <u>"</u>
Father's Name: <u>Harry Jacobs</u>	Mother's Occupation: <u>U.S.</u>
Father's Residence: <u>"</u>	Mother's Age: <u>35</u>
Father's Occupation: <u>us</u>	Number of previous Children: <u>2</u>
Father's Age: <u>36</u>	How many born living (in all): <u>3</u>

I do solemnly swear that I attended personally at the above birth and I am personally acquainted therewith, and that all the facts stated in said certificate and report of birth are true to the best of my knowledge, information and belief.

Signature: James P. H. Magilligan M.D.
 Registrar, 226 - 6th Ave

DATE OF REPORT: 1915

CITY OF NEW YORK BUREAU OF VITAL RECORDS DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH

Things to certify that the following is a true copy of a record on file in the Department of Health. The Department of Health does not warrant the truth of the statements made thereon, as the inquiry of the facts has been provided by law.

DO NOT ACCEPT THIS TRANSCRIPT UNLESS THE RAISED SEAL OF THE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH IS AFFIXED THEREON. REPRODUCTION OR ALTERATIONS ARE PROHIBITED BY LAW.

James Mellon City Registrar

With Birth Certificate
 from 1915 - mother Hannah Jacobs

Birth certificate of Vera Jacobs Chatel

Commonwealth of Massachusetts

U. S. A.

Certificate of Marriage

Town of Easthampton, Mass., 1943

I, William A. Walker, hereby certify that it appears by the Record of Marriages in said Easthampton, that a Marriage was solemnized between

Albert A. Chatel and Vera Jacobs on the 23rd day of May in the year 1943

Table with 2 columns: GROOM and BRIDE. Rows include Name, Residence, Age, Color, Occupation, Number of Marriage, Birthplace, Father's Name, and Mother's Name.

Place and Date of Marriage: Easthampton, Mass., May 23, 1943
By whom Married: William A. Walker, Justice of the Peace

I, William A. Walker, above named, depose and say, that I hold the office of Town Clerk of the Town of Easthampton, in the County of Hampshire and Commonwealth of Massachusetts; that the Records of Births, Marriages and Deaths in said Town are in my custody, and that the above is a true extract from the Record of Marriages, in said town as certified by me.

Witness my hand and the Seal of said Town of Easthampton, on the day and year first above written

[SEAL]

Signature of William A. Walker, Town Clerk

Marriage certificate of Albert and Vera Chatel

THE CITY OF NEW YORK
DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH
BUREAU OF VITAL RECORDS
CERTIFICATION OF BIRTH

This is a certification of name and birth facts and is not the legal record of the birth. It is subject to change.

DATE OF BIRTH: APRIL 15, 1931 TIME OF BIRTH: 11:00 P.M.

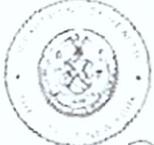
PLACE OF BIRTH: BROOKLYN COUNTY: KINGS DISTRICT: 11-06-84

NAME: MARIE HODES SEX: FEMALE

MOTHER'S MAIDEN NAME: CLARA JANE HATTIE JACOBS

FATHER'S NAME: LYNDON HODES

Irene A. Stanton
HEALTH SUPERVISOR



Birth certificate of Marie Hodes

JAY J. LEHRMAN
ATTORNEY AT LAW
11 WALL STREET
NEW YORK 7, N. Y.
TELEPHONE BAKELLY 7-0000 (1-2-3)

THOMAS H. GIBSON
SECRETARY

April 17, 1969

Dear Sir:- Re: Paulview Realty Corp.

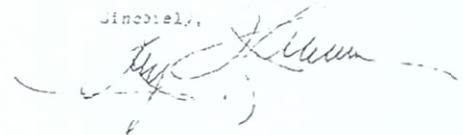
I filed the Federal Tax Return for 1968, stating that Paulview operated at a loss, and therefore no income tax was payable for 1968. I signed the Return as Secretary.

Should you need any additional documents signed in behalf of Paulview, this is a reminder that you can sign such documents in your capacity as President of Paulview.

With my regards,

Sincerely,

J.S.



Correspondence regarding Paulview Realty Corp.

Sir :
PLEASE TAKE NOTICE that the within is a true copy of a

this day duly filed and entered in the office of the clerk of the

Dated, N. Y., 19

Yours, &c.,

JAY J. LEHRMAN

Attorney for _____
(Office and Post Office Address)

11 Park Place

Borough of Manhattan New York 7, N. Y.

To _____ Esq.

Attorney for

Sir :
PLEASE TAKE NOTICE that

of which the within is a true copy, will be presented for settlement and entry herein to Mr. Justice

one of the Justices of the within named Court at

Borough of
in the City of New York

on the day of 19

at o'clock in the forenoon

Dated, N. Y., 19

Yours, &c.,

JAY J. LEHRMAN

Attorney for _____
(Office and Post Office Address)

11 Park Place

Borough of Manhattan New York 7, N. Y.

To _____ Esq.

Attorney for

Index No. _____ 19

COPY.

JOINT WILL OF:

HARRY JACOBS AND

HANNAH JACOBS, his wife.

Dated: June 22nd, 1953.

JAY J. LEHRMAN

Attorney for Testators.

(Office and Post Office Address)

11 Park Place

Borough of Manhattan New York 7, N. Y.

To _____ Esq.

Attorney for

Service of a copy of the within

is hereby admitted.

Dated, N. Y., 19

Attorney for

JOINT WILL OF HARRY JACOBS AND HANNAH JACOBS

We, Harry Jacobs and Hannah Jacobs, and each of us, residing at 227 Suffolk Street, Brooklyn, New York, being of sound and disposing mind and memory, do make, publish and declare this as our joint and mutual last will and Testament, and hereby revoke all and sundry Wills and Codicils by us and either of us at any time heretofore made.

ARTICLE I: Upon our respective deaths, we do hereby direct that our respective debts, funeral and testamentary expenses be paid, including the cost of 960.00, to our granddaughter, Marie Cohen.

ARTICLE II: Upon the death of one of us, leaving the other us surviving, all the remaining property and estate, both real, personal and mixed, of every nature and kind and wherever situate, of the one so first expiring, or of which he or she has power of disposal, ~~including any~~ ~~rights and~~ ~~interests~~ mentioned to the survivor.

ARTICLE III: In the event we both die at the same time, or in the event of a common disaster resulting in the death of both of us, or in the event that one of us survives and other, then upon the death of the survivor, we give, devise and bequeath all of our stock in 227 Suffolk Street Corporation, to our beloved daughter Vera Cohen, and our beloved grandchild, ~~and~~ ~~in~~ ~~such~~ ~~proportion,~~ ~~however,~~ ~~that~~ ~~each~~ ~~shall~~ ~~be~~ ~~equal~~ ~~owner~~ ~~with~~ ~~the~~ ~~other~~ ~~of~~ ~~such~~ ~~in~~ ~~said~~ ~~corporation,~~ ~~keeping~~ ~~in~~ ~~mind~~ ~~that~~ ~~our~~ ~~daughter~~ ~~Vera~~

~~and~~ ~~our~~ ~~grandchild,~~ ~~and~~ ~~in~~ ~~such~~ ~~proportion,~~ ~~however,~~ ~~that~~ ~~each~~ ~~shall~~ ~~be~~ ~~equal~~ ~~owner~~ ~~with~~ ~~the~~ ~~other~~ ~~of~~ ~~such~~ ~~in~~ ~~said~~ ~~corporation,~~ ~~keeping~~ ~~in~~ ~~mind~~ ~~that~~ ~~our~~ ~~daughter~~ ~~Vera~~ ~~shall~~ ~~receive~~ ~~an~~ ~~equivalent~~ ~~amount~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~stock~~ ~~now~~ ~~owned~~ ~~by~~ ~~Vera~~ ~~Cohen,~~ ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~remainder~~ ~~be~~ ~~given~~ ~~equally~~ ~~to~~ ~~them,~~ ~~so~~ ~~that~~ ~~each~~ ~~shall~~ ~~own~~ ~~the~~ ~~same~~ ~~amount~~ ~~of~~ ~~stock~~ ~~in~~ ~~said~~ ~~corporation;~~ ~~also~~ ~~in~~ ~~either~~ ~~of~~ ~~such~~ ~~event,~~

Partial copy of will of Harry and Hannah Jacobs

Partial copy of will of Harry and Hannah Jacobs

1947-146-270

STATE OF NEW YORK,
COUNTY OF _____ } ss.:
On this _____ day of _____, in the year nineteen hundred and _____, before me personally came _____, subscribing witness to the foregoing instrument, with whom I am personally acquainted, who, being by me duly sworn, did depose and say, that he resided, at the time of the execution of said instrument, and still resides at _____; that he is and _____ then was acquainted with _____ and knew _____ to be the individual described in, and who executed the foregoing instrument; and that he, said subscribing witness, was present and saw execute the same; and he, said witness, at the same time, subscribed his name as witness thereto.

1948 JAN 10 AM 10:51
Title No. 502 ✓
NOT TAXABLE
LOUIS ADVELOPP
-tc- A300
227 DUFFIELD STREET CORPORATION
WARRANTY DEED
The land affected by the within instrument lies in Section 7 Block _____ on the land map of the County of _____ HOME TITLE GUARANTY COMPANY OFFICES MAIL 132 BROADWAY NEW YORK 6 51 W. 40th STREET BROOKLYN 5
Record & Return, by mail, to: JAY J. LEHRMAN 11 PARK PLACE NEW YORK, 7, N.Y.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
COUNTY OF _____ } ss.:
On this _____ day of _____, in the year nineteen hundred and _____, before me personally came _____, who executed the foregoing instrument, and _____, who executed the same. I, _____, a Notary Public in and for the State of New York, do hereby certify that _____ is duly qualified to execute the foregoing instrument, and that he is duly sworn, and that he is duly qualified to execute the same.

Directed to: _____
Block _____
Witness: _____
HENRI W. _____
Henry W. _____

Portion of property deed for 227 Duffield Street, 1948

1947-146-267

DOCUMENTARY F. 221, 1064-1-45
Full Coverage-Warranty-Individual.

This Indenture, made the 10th day of January, nineteen hundred and forty-eight, between _____ and _____, both of the County of _____, City and State of New York, residing at _____, party of the first part, and _____, residing at _____, party of the second part, Witnesseth, that the party of the first part, in consideration of One Dollar, lawful money of the United States, and other valuable consideration paid by the party of the second part, does hereby grant and release unto the party of the second part, its predecessors and assigns forever, All that certain plot, piece or parcel of land, with the buildings and improvements thereon erected, situate, lying and being in the Borough of _____, County of _____, City and State of New York, bounded and described as follows:

_____ at a point on the Easterly side of Duffield Street, distant two hundred and fifty (250) feet southerly from the corner defined by the intersection of the Easterly side of Duffield Street with the Easterly side of Allynby Street; running thence Easterly parallel with Allynby Street, one hundred (100) feet; thence southerly parallel with Duffield Street, twenty-one (21) feet, eight (8) inches; thence Easterly parallel with Allynby Street, one hundred (100) feet to the Easterly side of Duffield Street; and thence southerly along the Easterly side of Duffield Street, twenty-one (21) feet, eight (8) inches, to the point or place of beginning. The southerly wall being a party wall. Said premises being shown as and by the Street Map of _____ Duffield Street.

_____ to any state of facts which an accurate survey could show, not mentioned in this deed.

1948

Portion of property deed for 227 Duffield Street, 1948

State of New York
County of NEW YORK

On the 31st day of October 1949, before me personally came
PHYLLIS KATZ, known, who, being by me duly
sworn, did depose and say that she is the
Secretary-Treasurer of 221 Duffield Street Realty Corp., the corporation
mentioned in, and which executed the foregoing instrument; that she knows
the seal of said corporation; that the seal affixed to said instrument is
such corporate seal; that it was so affixed by order of the Board of Di-
rectors of said corporation; and that she signed her name thereto by like
order.

[Signature]
Notary Public

State of New York
County of NEW YORK

On the 31st day of October 1949, before me personally came
HENRY S. MENNING
to me in view, who, being by me duly sworn, did depose and say that he resides at 221 Lenox Road,
Brooklyn, New York;
that he is the President of FEINE'S PIECE GOODS & TRIMMINGS, INC.

the corporation mentioned in, and which executed the foregoing instrument, that he knows the seal of said corpora-
tion, that the seal affixed to said instrument is such corporate seal, that it was so affixed by order of the Board of
Directors of said corporation, and that he signed his name thereto by like order.

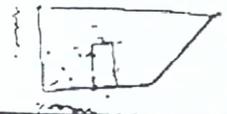
[Signature]
Notary Public

6819
221 DUFFIELD STREET REALTY
CORP.,
1131412
Landlord,
-TO- H. S. MENNING
CONVEYANCE
LEASE
New York, October 31st, 1949
The land affected by the within
instrument lies in Block 2077
in Section 7 on the Land Map
of the County of Kings
ALAN HAN PROSELY
Attorney for Landlord
211 Broadway, 10th Floor
City of New York
R. G. Fleiss, Esq.
Attorney at Law
16 Chest Street
Brooklyn, N.Y.

In Consideration of the use of the premises within mentioned to the within one of Tenant and the sum of
\$100 paid to the undersigned by the within named Landlord, the undersigned do hereby covenant and agree, in and
with the Landlord and the Landlord's legal representatives, that if default shall at any time be made by the said Tenant
in the payment of the rent and the performance of the covenants contained in the within lease, on the Tenant's part to
occupy and perform, that the undersigned will well and truly pay the said rent in any arrears thereof, that may be
main due unto the said Landlord, and also pay all damages that may be the consequence of the non-performance of said
covenants, in either of these, without requiring notice of any such default from the said Landlord. The undersigned
hereby waives all right to trial by jury in any action or proceeding hereafter instituted by the Landlord, in which the
undersigned may be a party.

In Witness Whereof, the undersigned do hereunto set hand and seal this 31st day of October 1949.

WITNESS
[Signature]
Notary Public



Portion of copy of 1949 lease at 231 Duffield Street

Appendix I

Oral Tradition Collection Effort Contact Log

Oral History Collection Effort
Contact Log

Last Name	First Name	Title/Organization/Affiliation	Referral From?	Date of Contact	Contact Type	Contact By	Contact Notes
Green	Pam	Society for the Preservation of Weeksville and Bedford-Stuyvesant History		7/20/2004	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Left message with Rainona Candy for Ms. Green asking about Weeksville's oral history program. Suggested AKRF contact Columbia University's Oral History Research Office, Cynthia Copeland at New York History Society, Kate Femoral at Brooklyn Historical Society and Ridia Harper at Brooklyn Museum of Art.
Green	Pam	Society for the Preservation of Weeksville and Bedford-Stuyvesant History		7/26/2004	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Conducted research on Carl/Calvin Smith, potential source of oral tradition.
		New York Public Library		7/29/2004	Site Visit	Richard Schaefer (HPI)	Suggested contacting Elizabeth Rankin-Fulcher for Brooklyn research.
Mueller	Jim	Chief Historian, Independence National Historic Park	Karie Diethom	8/3/2004	Call	David Quart (AKRF)	CC'd DQ on an email to Karie Diethom referring AKRF to Elizabeth Rankin-Fulcher.
Mueller	Jim	Chief Historian, Independence National Historic Park		8/4/2004	E-mail	David Quart (AKRF)	Referred to Frederick Laverpool
Rankin-Fulcher	Elizabeth		Jim Mueller (NPS)	8/4/2004	E-mail Reply	David Quart (AKRF)	
Laverpool	Fred	Brooklyn Historian	Elizabeth Rankin-Fulcher	8/5/2004	Call	David Quart (AKRF)	FL left a voice mail message for DQ.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		8/6/2004	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Said she needed more time to provide info requested from DCP letter; going on vacation week of 8/9; suggested 8/21 site visit date; would try to contact neighbors.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		8/6/2004	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Left message for return call with "Lee" (male).
Laverpool	Fred	Brooklyn Historian	Elizabeth Rankin-Fulcher	8/6/2004	Call	David Quart (AKRF)	Called; no answer.
Laverpool	Fred	Brooklyn Historian	Elizabeth Rankin-Fulcher	8/6/2004	Call	David Quart (AKRF)	Spoke to woman who would not give name. Gave number of nursing home. 718.247.5370.
							Wanted to know credentials of architectural historian proposed for site visit; gave his home and e-mail addresses, cell phone number; noted that "Carl" is in fact "Calvin Smith" who died in the early 1990s but no other info available; is doing some independent research with help from others (Robert Patterson, Columbia).
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		8/9/2004	Return Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Called to schedule site visit. DW stated intent to contact lawyer to oppose condemnation; wanted to know credentials of visiting architectural historian; says he only received DCP letter requesting info last week. WVE explained additional research was at request of City Council to learn more about UGRR.
Walker	Dave	Property Owner, 436 Gold Street		8/9/2004	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	
Laverpool	Fred	Brooklyn Historian	Elizabeth Rankin-Fulcher	8/10/2004	Call	David Quart (AKRF)	Called; no answer.
Laverpool	Fred	Brooklyn Historian	Elizabeth Rankin-Fulcher	8/12/2004	Call	David Quart (AKRF)	Called; no answer.
Laverpool	Fred	Brooklyn Historian	Elizabeth Rankin-Fulcher	8/12/2004	Call	David Quart (AKRF)	Called; no answer.
							WVE called to return HW's call. Confirmed his status as owner of 223 Duffield Street property; responding to DCP letter asking for info on UGRR does not have any info; was "deferring" to other property owners on the block.
Weiss	Howard	Property Owner, 223 Duffield Street		8/12/2004	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	
Laverpool	Fred	Brooklyn Historian	Elizabeth Rankin-Fulcher	8/13/2004	Call	David Quart (AKRF)	Called; no answer.
Burke	Michael	Director, Downtown Brooklyn Council		8/17/2004	E-mail	Linh Do (AKRF)	LD seeking contact information on Bishop Queen Mother Jordan, Society of Old Brooklynites. MB referred her to Frank Spinner, the Society's president.
Lopez	Daisy	Deputy Director, Brooklyn Planning, New York City Department of Housing Preservation and Development		8/17/2004	E-mail	Linh Do (AKRF)	Seeking information on Calvin Smith and/or his former business on Duffield Street.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		8/18/2004	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Left message with girl, no name given.

Oral History Collection Effort
Contact Log

Last Name	First Name	Title/Organization/Affiliation	Referral From?	Date of Contact	Contact Type	Contact By	Contact Notes
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		8/18/2004	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Discussed dates for site visit. LG wanted to know the qualifications of the architectural historian before the site visit.
Spinner	Frank	President, Society of Old Brooklynites		8/18/2004	Call	Linh Do (AKRF)	Left message.
Walker	Dave	Property Owner, 436 Gold Street		8/18/2004	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Left voicemail message.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		8/19/2004	Return Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	JC left message. WVE returned call, but her line was busy.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		8/20/2004	E-mail	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Forwarded Michael Devonshire's resume.
Mitchell	Sharon	Consultant to Property Owners		8/20/2004	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	SM called to set up a meeting; she is working as a consultant to JC and LG.
Spinner	Frank	President, Society of Old Brooklynites		8/20/2004	Call	Linh Do (AKRF)	Provided background information on BQM Jordan. FS had heard BQMJ is very ill in the hospital, may have suffered some heart ailment; she was a government worker during WWII; may have belonged to a church in Manhattan. Gave a potential contact number and address for BQMJ.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		8/23/2004	Return Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Expressed concern over Michael Devonshire's experience, desire for process to be over.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		8/23/2004	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Expressed concern over Devonshire's experience.
Lopez	Daisy	Deputy Director, Brooklyn Planning, New York City Department of Housing Preservation and Development		8/23/2004	E-mail	Linh Do (AKRF)	Follow-up on Carl/Calvin Smith, jewelry store research.
Mitchell	Sharon	Consultant to Property Owners		8/23/2004	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Left message inviting her to site visit.
Walker	Dave	Property Owner, 436 Gold Street		8/23/2004	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Left voicemail message with time and date of site visit.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		8/24/2004	Return Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Scheduled site visit for 8/26.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		8/24/2004	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Scheduled site visit for 8/26.
Wellman	Judith	Historical New York Research Associates	Lauren Rhodes	8/24/2004	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Recommended AKRF contact Linda Shopes and Noel Stowe regarding oral historians working in NYC.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		8/25/2004	Return Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Called with Sharon Mitchell. Mitchell cannot make site visit, sister in hospital.
Diaz	Rose	President, Oral History Association		8/25/2004	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Left voicemail regarding search for oral historians in New York area.
Mitchell	Sharon	Consultant to Property Owners		8/25/2004	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Left voicemail about time and date of site visit.
Mitchell	Sharon	Consultant to Property Owners		8/25/2004	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Called with Joy Chatel. Mitchell cannot make site visit. Sister in hospital.
Shopes	Linda	Former President, Oral History Association	Judith Wellman	8/25/2004	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Left message regarding search for oral historians in New York area.
Stowe	Noel	Arizona State University	Judith Wellman	8/25/2004	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Left message regarding search for oral historians in New York area.
Walker	Dave	Property Owner, 436 Gold Street		8/25/2004	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Left message about time and date of site visit.
Wiederhorn	Jessica	Columbia University Oral History Research Office		8/25/2004	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Requested written description of oral historian search, for posting on listserv.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		8/26/2004	Site Visit	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Site visit of subject properties.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		8/26/2004	Site Visit	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Site visit of subject properties.
Walker	Dave	Property Owner, 436 Gold Street		8/26/2004	Site Visit	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Site visit of subject properties.
Reaven	Marci	CityLore	Linda Shopes	8/30/2004	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Called regarding potential oral historians in New York. Recommended Jennifer Scott (African American anthropologist), Kathy Condon (folklorist, Brooklyn Children's Museum), Cynthia Copeland (source of other referrals). Suggested Columbia University Oral History Research Program; h-oralist (listserv); Stephanie Felix; Marci Reaven at CityLore.
Shopes	Linda	Former President, Oral History Association	Judith Wellman	8/30/2004	Return Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		8/31/2004	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Wants to meet WVE with Sharon Mitchell.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		8/31/2004	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Confirmed meeting on 9/2.

Oral History Collection Effort
Contact Log

Last Name	First Name	Title/Organization/Affiliation	Referral From?	Date of Contact	Contact Type	Contact By	Contact Notes
Diaz	Rose	President, Oral History Association		8/31/2004	Return Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Returned JM's call regarding search for oral historians in New York. Recommended Ron Grele, posting on h-oralhist (listserv).
Mitchell	Sharon	Consultant to Property Owners		8/31/2004	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Left voicemail message confirming 9/2 meeting with Joy Chatel.
Felix	Stephanie	Oral Historian	Linda Shopes	9/1/2004	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Left message regarding interest in oral historian work. GK called AS to ask about how he would stop the Downtown Brooklyn project. He said that he is a member of the Society of Old Brooklynites, that his family helped to found the Bridge Street Church, and that he had a lot of knowledge about this area and its connection to the Underground Railroad. GS is willing to meet with an oral historian but asked that their session be video taped. He mentioned Bishop Queen Mother Jordan and then conferenced her into the conversation. BQMJ is also willing to meet with an oral historian. AS referred him to Winston Von Engel at DCP.
Roberts	Garland	Society of Old Brooklynites		9/1/2004	Return Call	Amanda Sutphin (LPC)	
Stowe	Noel	Arizona State University	Judith Wellman	9/1/2004	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Will have recommendations soon.
Wiederhorn	Jessica	Columbia University Oral History Research Office		9/1/2004	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	JW apologized for not getting back to JM sooner, hoped to get back to her the next day.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		9/2/2004	Meeting	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Met with Sharon Mitchell to discuss project status.
Felix	Stephanie	Oral Historian		9/2/2004	Return Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Left message, wanting to know more about the project.
Felix	Stephanie	Oral Historian		9/2/2004	Return Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Left message with Linh Do's contact information.
Grele	Ron	Oral Historian	Rose Diaz	9/2/2004	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Consults but does not interview anymore; set appointment to talk 9/7.
Mitchell	Sharon	Consultant to Property Owners		9/2/2004	Meeting	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Met with Joy Chatel to discuss project status.
Scott	Jennifer	African American Anthropologist	Marci Reaven	9/2/2004	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Left message.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		9/3/2004	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Left message with woman (no name) as follow-up to meeting.
Felix	Stephanie	Oral Historian		9/3/2004	Return Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Left voicemail message.
Wiederhorn	Jessica	Columbia University Oral History Research Office		9/3/2004	Return Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Left voicemail message.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		9/7/2004	E-mail	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Sent Duffield Street Neighborhood Association's notes on UGRR research.
Felix	Stephanie	Oral Historian		9/7/2004	Call	Linh Do (AKRF)	Might be unavailable to participate in project.
Felix	Stephanie	Oral Historian		9/7/2004	Return Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Left voicemail message.
Grele	Ron	Oral Historian		9/7/2004	Meeting	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Meeting to discuss oral tradition outreach effort. UGRR stories are likely folklore; important to find sources of the stories. Suggested using community resources.
Scott	Jennifer	African American Anthropologist	Marci Reaven	9/7/2004	Call	Linh Do (AKRF)	Left message regarding her interest in project.
Scott	Jennifer	African American Anthropologist	Marci Reaven	9/7/2004	Return Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Left voicemail message.

**Oral History Collection Effort
Contact Log**

Last Name	First Name	Title/Organization/Affiliation	Referral From?	Date of Contact	Contact Type	Contact By	Contact Notes
Scott	Jennifer	African American Anthropologist	Marci Reaven	9/8/2004	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Discussed qualifications, possibility of conducting oral interviews.
Diaz	Rose	President, Oral History Association		9/9/2004	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Sent list of oral historians; Ron Grele, Amy Tobol, Kimb Giunta had expressed interest.
Diaz	Rose	President, Oral History Association		9/9/2004	Return Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Left voicemail message asking for e-mail address, will forward oral historian suggestions.
Wiederhorn	Jessica	Columbia University Oral History Research Office		9/9/2004	Call	Linh Do (AKRF)	No pickup.
Giunta	Kimb	Oral History Association Member	Rose Diaz	9/10/2004	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Left voicemail regarding project.
Mitchell	Sharon	Consultant to Property Owners		9/10/2004	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	SM left voicemail message.
Tobol	Amy	Oral History Association	Rose Diaz	9/10/2004	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Left voicemail regarding project.
Wiederhorn	Jessica	Columbia University Oral History Research Office		9/10/2004	Call	Linh Do (AKRF)	Voice mailbox full.
Felix	Stephanie	Oral Historian		9/11/2004	E-mail	Linh Do (AKRF)	Update on potential availability to participate in project.
Giunta	Kimb	Oral History Association Member		9/13/2004	Call	Linh Do (AKRF)	Left voicemail regarding project.
Giunta	Kimb	Oral History Association Member		9/13/2004	Return Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Left voicemail regarding availability and qualifications.
Mitchell	Sharon	Consultant to Property Owners		9/13/2004	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Forwarding LU's city directory research. She spoke with BQMJ the other day with JC; BQMJ is amenable to interviewing but would want newspaper report along to make sure she is quoted correctly. SM to follow up with suggestions on oral historians. She spoke with Robert Patterson who suggested Pratt as potential resource (for archaeology work).
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College	Amanda Sutphin	9/13/2004	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Talked to Steve Remi at number given; SR suggested using email to reach PN.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		9/13/2004	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Provided details on oral tradition outreach effort.
Tobol	Amy	Oral History Association	Rose Diaz	9/13/2004	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Follow-up to voicemail, regarding potential interest in project.
Tobol	Amy	Oral History Association	Rose Diaz	9/13/2004	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Interested in speaking about project. Corrected phone number.
Wiederhorn	Jessica	Columbia University Oral History Research Office		9/13/2004	Call	Linh Do (AKRF)	Discussed benefits of using oral historians in shaping the scope of outreach. African American interviewers might be more helpful in connecting with interviewees.
Felix	Stephanie	Oral Historian		9/14/2004	E-mail	Linh Do (AKRF)	Left voicemail.
Tobol	Amy	Oral History Association	Rose Diaz	9/14/2004	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Discussed qualifications/availability for project.
Tobol	Amy	Oral History Association	Rose Diaz	9/14/2004	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Requested CV for project team.
Felix	Stephanie	Oral Historian		9/15/2004	Call	Linh Do (AKRF)	Doubtful availability and interest.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		9/15/2004	E-mail	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Sent city directory data.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		9/15/2004	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Requested recommendations of oral historians.
Jordan	Bishop Queen	Society of Old Brooklynites		9/16/2004	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Left voicemail regarding interest in interviewing.
Roberts	Garland	Society of Old Brooklynites		9/16/2004	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Left voicemail regarding interest in interviewing.
Scott	Jennifer	African American Anthropologist	Marci Reaven	9/16/2004	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Asked for CV to forward to project team.
Felix	Stephanie	Oral Historian		9/17/2004	E-mail	Linh Do (AKRF)	Unable to work on UGRR project; accepted full-time position.
Meeter	Daniel	Reverend, Old First Reformed Church		9/20/2004	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Not much promise for oral histories from congregation; membership changed completely over the years; Dutch Reformed Church was the last slave-holding congregation in New York.
Gantt-Wright	Iantha	Oral Historian		9/21/2004	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Discussed qualifications, possibility of conducting oral interviews.
Gantt-Wright	Iantha	Oral Historian	Judith Wellman	9/21/2004	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Follow-up to phone call to gauge interest in working on project.
Gantt-Wright	Iantha	Oral Historian		9/21/2004	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Provided contact information.
Wellman	Judith	Historical New York Research Associates	Lauren Rhodes	9/21/2004	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Follow-up regarding referral of Iantha Gantt-Wright for oral historian.

Oral History Collection Effort
Contact Log

Last Name	First Name	Title/Organization/Affiliation	Referral From?	Date of Contact	Contact Type	Contact By	Contact Notes
Dallet	Nancy	Arizona State University	Noel Stowe	9/22/2004	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Made suggestions for oral historians: Richard Rabinowitz (runs American History Workshop); Mike Wallace (Gotham Center); Mary Marshall Clark (Columbia); Erik Foner (Columbia); Andrew Dolkart; Paul Mattingly (NYU).
Mitchell	Sharon	Consultant to Property Owners		9/22/2004	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	SM met lantha Gantt-Wright at conference; WVE noted we'd received her name as a recommendation. SM mentioned Joy Chatel's candidates for oral history interviews. WVE noted we'd contacted BQMJ and Garland Roberts and left voicemail messages.
Mitchell	Sharon	Consultant to Property Owners		9/22/2004	Return Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Left voicemail regarding status update.
Rabinowitz	Richard		Nancy Dallet	9/22/2004	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Tried to reach, no answer.
Gomez	Michael	New York University	Leslie Harris	9/23/2004	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Contacted regarding interest in working as oral historian.
Wellman	Judith	Historical New York Research Associates	Lauren Rhodes	9/23/2004	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Provided update on lantha Gantt-Wright.
Wellman	Judith	Historical New York Research Associates	Lauren Rhodes	9/23/2004	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Re: update on lantha Gantt-Wright.
Wright	Marcia	Columbia University	Leslie Harris	9/23/2004	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Contacted regarding interest in working as oral historian.
Scott	Jennifer	African American Anthropologist	Marci Reaven	9/24/2004	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Left message; want to hire JS for oral historian position.
Gomez	Michael	New York University		9/25/2004	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Referred AKRF to Tom Bender (NYU).
Bender	Tom	New York University		9/27/2004	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Contacted regarding interest in working as oral historian.
Bender	Tom	New York University	Michael Gomez	9/27/2004	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Referred AKRF to Paul Mattingly, Rachel Bernstein.
Clark	Mary Marshall	Director, Columbia Oral History Project	Marcia Wright	9/27/2004	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Contacted regarding interest in working as oral historian.
Clark	Mary Marshall	Director, Columbia Oral History Project		9/27/2004	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Departing for conference; will return 4 October; will contact after that regarding potential oral historians.
Gomez	Michael	New York University		9/27/2004	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Confirmed receipt of reference.
Wright	Marcia	Columbia University		9/27/2004	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Referred AKRF to Mary Marshall Clark.
Scott	Jennifer	African American Anthropologist	Marci Reaven	9/28/2004	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Left voicemail re: hiring her as oral historian.
Wellman	Judith	Historical New York Research Associates	Lauren Rhodes	9/28/2004	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Forwarded potential oral history sources from Joy Chatel.
Scott	Jennifer	African American Anthropologist	Marci Reaven	9/29/2004	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Provided contact information for Joy Chatel, Lewis Greenstein, Bishop Queen Mother Jordan, and Garland Roberts to start oral history interviews.
Scott	Jennifer	African American Anthropologist	Marci Reaven	9/29/2004	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Looking forward to working on project.
Bender	Tom	New York University		9/30/2004	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Confirmed receipt of referral.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		9/30/2004	Call/E-mail	Jennifer Scott	Left voicemail and e-mail messages regarding oral history interview.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		9/30/2004	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Scott	Was under impression someone else would be conducting interviews; wants to clarify.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		9/30/2004	Call/E-mail	Jennifer Scott	Left voicemail and e-mail messages regarding oral history interview.
Jordan	Bishop Queen	Society of Old Brooklynites		9/30/2004	Call	Jennifer Scott	Spoke briefly regarding oral history interview; BQMJ only wants to answer questions or arrange interviews through Joy Chatel.
Roberts	Garland	Society of Old Brooklynites		9/30/2004	Call	Jennifer Scott	Left message regarding oral history interview.
Scott	Jennifer	African American Anthropologist	Marci Reaven	9/30/2004	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Answered questions on interview parameters.
Scott	Jennifer	African American Anthropologist	Marci Reaven	9/30/2004	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Provided update on calls to Joy Chatel, Lewis Greenstein, Garland Roberts, Bishop Queen Mother Jordan. Had questions on parameters of research.

Oral History Collection Effort
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Last Name	First Name	Title/Organization/Affiliation	Referral From?	Date of Contact	Contact Type	Contact By	Contact Notes
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		10/1/2004	E-mail/Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Traded several voice mail messages before talking. JC was confused, thought Iantha Gantt-Wright would be calling her. WVE explained that Jennifer Scott was chosen as oral historian, apologized for not notifying her earlier. WVE forwarded Jennifer Scott's CV.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		10/1/2004	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Had received e-mail and voicemail messages from Jennifer Scott and was going to get back to her.
Roberts	Garland	Society of Old Brooklynites		10/1/2004	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Called to let him know Jennifer Scott would be calling. He had received her call but had not responded yet. Concerned he was giving away knowledge that might be used by his brother, who is working for Steven Spielberg on a documentary.
Scott	Jennifer	African American Anthropologist	Marci Reaven	10/1/2004	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Discussed problems setting up interviews.
Scott	Jennifer	African American Anthropologist	Marci Reaven	10/1/2004	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Discussion of Joy Chatel's role in scheduling interviews.
Scott	Jennifer	African American Anthropologist	Marci Reaven	10/1/2004	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Clarification on Joy Chatel confusion over Iantha Gantt-Wright.
Scott	Jennifer	African American Anthropologist	Marci Reaven	10/1/2004	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Discussion of Joy Chatel's role in scheduling interviews.
Tobol	Amy	Oral History Association	Rose Diaz	10/1/2004	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Inquiring whether decision was made on oral historian for project.
Wellman	Judith	Historical New York Research Associates	Lauren Rhodes	10/1/2004	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Forwarded message from Winston Von Engel to Joy Chatel.
Wellman	Judith	Historical New York Research Associates	Lauren Rhodes	10/1/2004	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Importance of involving Joy Chatel with oral historian process and neighbors.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		10/2/2004	Meeting	Jennifer Scott	Met to discuss strategy for interviewing individuals JC is connected to. JC will be travelling soon.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		10/2/2004	Return Call	Jennifer Scott	Discussed meeting.
Wellman	Judith	Historical New York Research Associates	Lauren Rhodes	10/2/2004	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Inclusion of Joy Chatel on oral interviewer process.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		10/4/2004	E-mail	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Forwarded CV for Jennifer Scott.
Scott	Jennifer	African American Anthropologist	Marci Reaven	10/4/2004	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Discussion of consultant fees.
Scott	Jennifer	African American Anthropologist	Marci Reaven	10/4/2004	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Discussion of Joy Chatel meeting.
Scott	Jennifer	African American Anthropologist	Marci Reaven	10/4/2004	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Report on meeting with Joy Chatel.
Scott	Jennifer	African American Anthropologist	Marci Reaven	10/4/2004	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Discussion of Joy Chatel meeting. JS will be gone until 10/18; cannot schedule interviews before then.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		10/6/2004	E-mail	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Left voicemail informing of his impending vacation, contact information while he's away.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		10/6/2004	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Informed of his pending vacation. LG said he would contact Jennifer Scott later in the week. Owners "delighted" with Jennifer Scott, would work with her. Discussed archaeologists visit of site with Cheryl LaRoche.
Mitchell	Sharon	Consultant to Property Owners		10/6/2004	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	
Scott	Jennifer	African American Anthropologist	Marci Reaven	10/7/2004	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Request for status report on interview progress.
Tobol	Amy	Oral History Association	Rose Diaz	10/7/2004	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Informed AT that oral historian position had been filled.
Tobol	Amy	Oral History Association	Rose Diaz	10/13/2004	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Follow up to JM's response. Hope to work with firm in the future.
Laverpool	Fred	Brooklyn Historian	Elizabeth Rankin-Fulcher	10/14/2004	Call	Katherine Collignon (EDC)	Intending to apply for landmark status for subject properties based on the age, not UGRR involvement, of the buildings. Alluded to having proof of UGRR involvement for Duffield Street properties in possession, does not want to turn it over without compensation.

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Lee	Sejeh	Property Owner, 235 Duffield Street		10/14/2004	Call	Owen Foote (DCP)	SL contacted OF regarding possible condemnation of land; apparently has not received prior communication from DCP; wanted to know if his property was being investigated for UGRR.
Lee	Sejeh	Property Owner, 235 Duffield Street		10/14/2004	Return Call	Owen Foote (DCP)	SL has no information on potential UGRR connections of buildings; main concern is ability to rent out building to tenants.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		10/18/2004	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	LG called WVE; has left messages for JS and wanted to confirm phone number. Owen Foote returned his call, confirmed JS's phone number, explained she was away from 10/7-10/18.
Scott	Jennifer	African American Anthropologist	Marci Reaven	10/19/2004	Call	Linh Do (AKRF)	Left message.
Scott	Jennifer	African American Anthropologist	Marci Reaven	10/19/2004	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Unable to continue as oral interviewer because of new academic time constraints with dissertation.
Clark	Mary Marshall	Director, Columbia Oral History Project		10/20/2004	Call	Linh Do (AKRF)	Left voicemail regarding interest in working as oral historian.
Clark	Mary Marshall	Director, Columbia Oral History Project		10/20/2004	E-mail	Linh Do (AKRF)	Contacted regarding interest in working as oral historian.
Foner	Eric	Historian		10/20/2004	Call	Linh Do (AKRF)	Left voicemail.
Foner	Eric	Historian		10/20/2004	E-mail	Linh Do (AKRF)	Possible referral to candidates for oral historian position.
Gantt-Wright	Iantha	Oral Historian		10/20/2004	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Inquired after interest in serving as oral historian for project.
Mattingly	Paul	NYU Public History Program	Nancy Dallet	10/20/2004	Call	Linh Do (AKRF)	Left voicemail. Looking for oral historian.
Foner	Eric	Historian		10/21/2004	E-mail Reply	Linh Do (AKRF)	Referred AKRF to Mary Marshall Clark for oral historian work.
Scott	Jennifer	African American Anthropologist	Marci Reaven	10/21/2004	Return Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Left voicemail apologizing for not being able to conduct interviews.
Campbell	Madelyn	Exec. Sec., Oral Historian Association at Dickinton College	Mary Marshall Clark	10/25/2004	Call	Linh Do (AKRF)	Left voicemail. Looking for contact information on Adrienne Petty.
Clark	Mary Marshall	Director, Columbia Oral History Project		10/25/2004	Return Call	Linh Do (AKRF)	Suggested Gerry Abernathy and Amy Starechski for oral historian work. Also suggested contacting Madelyn Campbell for Adrienne Petty's info.
Gantt-Wright	Iantha	Oral Historian		10/25/2004	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Checking interest in working as oral historian.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		10/25/2004	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Searching for oral historian.
Scott	Jennifer	African American Anthropologist	Marci Reaven	10/25/2004	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Confirmed ending association with project because of academic time constraints. Recommended Columbia's Oral History Project, NYU's Africana Program.
Campbell	Madelyn	Exec. Sec., Oral Historian Association at Dickinton College		10/26/2004	E-mail	Linh Do (AKRF)	Follow-up to voicemail. Looking for contact information on Adrienne Petty.
Jackson	Kemile	Oral Historian	Philip Napoli	10/26/2004	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Contacted regarding interest in working as oral historian.
Mattingly	Paul	NYU Public History Program		10/26/2004	Return Call	Linh Do (AKRF)	Colleague Richard Bernstein might be able to find qualified oral historians.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		10/26/2004	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Conveyed appreciation for the referral.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		10/26/2004	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Schedule too full for oral research. Referred to Kemile Jackson.
Truesdell	Paul		Meredith Paine Sorozan	10/26/2004	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Inquired after any knowledge of involvement in the UGRR on the part of his ancestors.
Truesdell	Paul		Meredith Paine Sorozan	10/26/2004	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Forwarded genealogy showing that Truesdells vacated Brooklyn in 1847, and there is no evidence of UGRR activity while there.
Bang	Youn G.	Property Owner, 225 Duffield Street		10/28/2004	Meeting	Owen Foote (DCP) Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Reviewed DCP 7/28 letter regarding UGRR research. They had no information to provide on UGRR and asked questions about the development process.

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Jackson	Kemile	Oral Historian	Philip Napoli	10/28/2004	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Is interested in oral history work, can forward resume.
Lee	Sejeh	Property Owner, 225 Duffield Street		10/28/2004	Meeting	Owen Foote (DCP) Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Reviewed DCP 7/28 letter regarding UGRR research. They had no information to provide on UGRR and asked questions about the development process.
Lee	Sejeh	Property Owner, 235 Duffield Street		10/28/2004	Meeting	Owen Foote (DCP) Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Reviewed DCP 7/28 letter regarding UGRR research. They had no information to provide on UGRR and asked questions about the development process.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		10/29/2004	E-mail	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Return from vacation; update on Jennifer Scott.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		10/29/2004	E-mail	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Informing LG of his return from vacation. Jennifer Scott update.
Jackson	Kemile	Oral Historian	Philip Napoli	10/29/2004	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Copy of resume requested.
Jackson	Kemile	Oral Historian	Philip Napoli	10/29/2004	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Scheduling phone interview.
Mitchell	Sharon	Consultant to Property Owners		10/29/2004	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Discussed JS's departure from the project. SM had spoken with JS, advocated for Iantha Gantt-Wright to do the work. WVE noted we'd never received a CV from IGW. SM to follow up with IGW.
Truesdell	Paul		Meredith Paine Sorozan	10/29/2004	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Follow-up questions on Truesdell's involvement in UGRR.
Wellman	Judith	Historical New York Research Associates	Lauren Rhodes	10/29/2004	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Requested assistance in tracking down Iantha Gantt-Wright.
Gantt-Wright	Iantha	Oral Historian		10/31/2004	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Interested in oral historical work. Will deliver resume.
Wellman	Judith	Historical New York Research Associates	Lauren Rhodes	10/31/2004	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Provided contact info for Iantha Gantt-Wright and Anna French (research assistant).
Gantt-Wright	Iantha	Oral Historian		11/1/2004	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Confirmed receipt of contact information.
Truesdell	Paul		Meredith Paine Sorozan	11/1/2004	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Confirmed no records of involvement in UGRR in Truesdell business ledger.
Wellman	Judith	Historical New York Research Associates	Lauren Rhodes	11/1/2004	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Follow-up to contact information provided for IGW and AF.
Gantt-Wright	Iantha	Oral Historian		11/2/2004	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Sent resume.
Jackson	Kemile	Oral Historian	Philip Napoli	11/2/2004	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Interviewed as potential oral historian.
Pettit	Marilyn	Brooklyn Historical Society		11/2/2004	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Referred AKRF to Janet Greene as potential oral historian.
Campbell	Madelyn	Exec. Sec., Oral Historian Association at Dickinton College		11/3/2004	Call	Linh Do (AKRF)	MC left voicemail re Adrienne Petty's contact info (doesn't have it). Suggested we contact Roger Horowitz of the Oral History Association's Mid-Atlantic Region.
Gantt-Wright	Iantha	Oral Historian		11/3/2004	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Confirmed receipt of resume.
Gantt-Wright	Iantha	Oral Historian		11/3/2004	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Looking forward to hearing from project team.
Greene	Janet	Director, Library of General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen		11/3/2004	Call	Linh Do (AKRF)	Too busy to work as oral interviewer. Suggested Columbia Oral History Project.
Mattingly	Paul	NYU Public History Program		11/3/2004	Return Call	Linh Do (AKRF)	Left voicemail re: oral historians; suggested Richard Bernstein.
Truesdell	Paul		Meredith Paine Sorozan	11/3/2004	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Hope for future exchange of information.
Horowitz	Roger	Oral History Association--Mid-Atlantic Region		11/4/2004	Call	Linh Do (AKRF)	Suggested Judith Sloan and Warren Lehrer as possible oral historians.
Jackson	Kemile	Oral Historian	Philip Napoli	11/4/2004	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Confirmed receipt of resume.
Lehrer	Warren	Oral Historian	Roger Horowitz	11/4/2004	E-mail	Linh Do (AKRF)	Contacted regarding interest in working as oral historian.
Mitchell	Sharon	Consultant to Property Owners		11/4/2004	E-mail	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Requested JC names for interviews.
Lehrer	Warren	Oral Historian		11/5/2004	Call	Linh Do (AKRF)	WL called back in response; will get back in touch.
Sloan	Judith	EarSay		11/8/2004	E-mail	Linh Do (AKRF)	Generating proposal to work as oral historians.
Sloan	Judith	EarSay		11/9/2004	E-mail	Linh Do (AKRF)	Proposal submitted, discussed potential schedule.

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Sloan	Judith	EarSay		11/9/2004	E-mail Reply	Linh Do (AKRF)	Verifying that proposal had not been accidentally deleted by AKRF mail system.
Sloan	Judith	EarSay		11/10/2004	E-mail	Linh Do (AKRF)	Update on decision process.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		11/15/2004	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Would be happy to supervise Kemile Jackson. Provided other contact info.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		11/15/2004	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Discussed possibility of mentoring Kemile Jackson in her capacity as oral historian.
Jackson	Kemile	Oral Historian	Philip Napoli	11/16/2004	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Still under review but top contender for oral historian position; all right with Napoli overview.
Jackson	Kemile	Oral Historian	Philip Napoli	11/18/2004	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Submission of OT Agreement letter.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		11/18/2004	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Submission of OT Agreement letter.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		11/22/2004	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Asking if oral interviews will be transcribed, and if the records and transcripts will eventually be made available to the public.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		11/23/2004	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Receipt of letter agreement.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		11/23/2004	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Response from institutional review/want to proceed.
McKnight	Thomas	EDC		11/29/2004	E-mail Reply	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Follow-up on Richard Syphax (on Community Board 3's Transportation Committee), possible link to John B. Syphax at 185 Duffield Street ca. 1900.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		11/29/2004	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	No response from Institutional Review Board.
Jackson	Kemile	Oral Historian	Philip Napoli	11/30/2004	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Requested clarification for answer on Institutional Review Board form.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		11/30/2004	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	AKRF ready to provide any information needed to complete IRB form.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		11/30/2004	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Proposed AKRF responses for IRB form.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		11/30/2004	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Receipt of proposed AKRF responses for IRB form.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		11/30/2004	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Must complete an IRB form for CUNY; development of informed consent form.
Syphax	Richard	Community Board 3, Brooklyn	Winston Von Engel	12/2/2004	Call	Gabriella Amabile (DCP)	RS spoke with GA; he checked with his family and no one believes there is/was a relative of theirs in Downtown Brooklyn.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		12/6/2004	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Receipt of IRB form.
Von Engel	Winston	New York City Department of City Planning		12/6/2004	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	WVE spoke with Richard Syphax directly. No known connection to John B. Syphax.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		12/7/2004	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Sent IRB form with suggested text changes from ARKF.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		12/8/2004	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Request for CV.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		12/13/2004	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Left message re: project oral historians with girl (no name).
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		12/13/2004	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Called regarding new oral historians. LG asked that WVE sent him an e-mail with their information. He believes Carl/Calvin Smith's family might be able to be found by looking at 1996 death certificates.
Mitchell	Sharon	Consultant to Property Owners		12/13/2004	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Called regarding new oral historians. SM asked for resume and said they would contact others to work with her.
Roberts	Garland	Society of Old Brooklynites		12/13/2004	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Left voicemail message regarding new oral historians.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		12/14/2004	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Sent comments on CV.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		12/15/2004	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Will revise CV.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		12/15/2004	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Inquired regarding time of meeting to discuss work.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		12/15/2004	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Revised CV submitted.
Von Engel	Winston	New York City Department of City Planning		12/15/2004	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Emailed Joy Chatel, Lewis Greenstein, Sharon Mitchell regarding new oral historians, attached resumes for Kemile Jackson and Philip Napoli.

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Last Name	First Name	Title/Organization/Affiliation	Referral From?	Date of Contact	Contact Type	Contact By	Contact Notes
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		12/16/2004	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Submission of gift form and informed consent statement.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		12/17/2004	Return Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Expressed reservations re: oral historian, no specific UGRR experience. JC asked about Iantha Gantt-Wright - WVE noted IGW also had no specific UGRR oral historian experience.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		12/17/2004	E-mail	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Expressed doubts re: qualifications of oral historians - no specific UGRR experience.
Mitchell	Sharon	Consultant to Property Owners		12/17/2004	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	SM called while WVE was on the phone with JC. He returned her call, left a voice mail message.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		12/17/2004	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Inquired after timetable of IRB review.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		12/17/2004	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Discussed talking points for IRB.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		12/20/2004	E-mail Reply	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	LG researching Calvin Smith; noted Calvin Smith was 'under the radar'; looking into funeral parlors.
Mitchell	Sharon	Consultant to Property Owners		12/21/2004	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Noted JC and LG's reservations on oral historian.
Mitchell	Sharon	Consultant to Property Owners		12/22/2004	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Wants to set up a conference call to discuss oral historians.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		12/23/2004	E-mail	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Noted qualifications of oral historians.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		12/23/2004	E-mail	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Addressed property owners' concerns, noted oral historians qualifications, hoped property owners would give them a fair hearing.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		12/23/2004	E-mail Reply	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Expressed discomfort with oral historians.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		12/23/2004	E-mail	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Addressed property owners' concerns, noted oral historians qualifications, hoped property owners would give them a fair hearing.
Mitchell	Sharon	Consultant to Property Owners		12/23/2004	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Conference call postponed.
Mitchell	Sharon	Consultant to Property Owners		12/23/2004	E-mail	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Addressed property owners' concerns, noted oral historians qualifications, hoped property owners would give them a fair hearing.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		12/23/2004	E-mail	Linh Do (AKRF)	Communicated property owners' concerns with the oral historians qualifications.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		12/23/2004	E-mail	Linh Do (AKRF)	Response to acknowledgement of concerns.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		12/23/2004	E-mail Reply	Linh Do (AKRF)	Acknowledgement of property owners' concerns.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		12/27/2004	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Conference call with Sharon Mitchell. JC noted reservations re: oral historian, lack of UGRR sensitivity. JC to contact Sherrill Wilson at African Burial Ground for oral historian suggestions.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		12/27/2004	E-mail Reply	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Opposed to oral historian; not because of lack of professionalism but because they're 'wrong for the job.'
Mitchell	Sharon	Consultant to Property Owners		12/27/2004	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Conference call with Joy Chatel. JC noted reservations re: oral historian, lack of UGRR sensitivity.
Weiss	Howard	Property Owner, 223 Duffield Street		12/27/2004	E-mail	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Opposed to oral historians because of lack of UGRR experience.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		12/28/2004	E-mail	Linh Do (AKRF)	Provided background on Garland Roberts.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		12/28/2004	E-mail	Linh Do (AKRF)	Enclosed public comments of Joy Chatel and Lewis Greenstein.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		12/28/2004	E-mail	Linh Do (AKRF)	Inquired after scheduling/availability to speak with property owners.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		12/28/2004	E-mail Reply	Linh Do (AKRF)	Availability limited, better for Kemile Jackson.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		12/28/2004	E-mail Reply	Linh Do (AKRF)	Receipt of public comments of Joy Chatel and Lewis Greenstein.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		12/30/2004	E-mail	Linh Do (AKRF)	Acknowledged IRB approval of work. Referred to Winston Von Engel for status of discussions with property owners.

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Contact Log

Last Name	First Name	Title/Organization/Affiliation	Referral From?	Date of Contact	Contact Type	Contact By	Contact Notes
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		12/30/2004	E-mail Reply	Linh Do (AKRF)	IRB has approved Napoli/Jackson's work on project.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		1/5/2005	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Notifying her of upcoming call from Jackson/Napoli. JC said she would meet with them but still had objections.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		1/5/2005	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Notifying him of upcoming call from Jackson/Napoli.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		1/6/2005	Call	Kemile Jackson	Spoke for one hour regarding potential oral history interviews.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		1/6/2005	Call	Kemile Jackson	Spoke for 30 minutes regarding potential oral history interviews
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		1/7/2005	Call	Kemile Jackson	Left voicemail message.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		1/7/2005	Call	Kemile Jackson	Left voicemail message.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		1/7/2005	Call	Kemile Jackson	LG said that he and JC had agreed not to use Jackson/Napoli as oral historians; he has a heart condition and will not be able to participate in any stressful activity.
Jackson	Kemile	Oral Historian	Philip Napoli	1/7/2005	E-mail	Linh Do (AKRF)	Discussed difficulties in reaching Lewis Greenstein and Joy Chatel.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		1/13/2005	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	LG being monitored for his heart, was asked by his doctor to avoid stress, would be reevaluated on 1/21 or 1/23 and would contact WVE after that date.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		1/14/2005	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	JC is willing to speak with Philip Napoli, but not Kemile Jackson, stilled concerned about sensitivity to UGRR.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		1/19/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Inquired after follow-up on Joy Chatel.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		1/20/2005	Call	Kemile Jackson	Spoke briefly, said Philip Napoli will call when he gets better (is sick).
Jackson	Kemile	Oral Historian	Philip Napoli	1/20/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Oral historians might be pulling out of project. Spoke briefly; JC wants to meet next week, provided that her health permits - she has pneumonia and strep throat; she will call after 1/25.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		1/21/2005	Call	Philip Napoli	
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		1/21/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Thanked Napoli for getting in touch with Joy Chatel.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		1/24/2005	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Had appt. to speak with Napoli this week, but suffering from pneumonia.
Greenstein	Mrs.	Wife of Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		1/24/2005	E-mail	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Request to not contact Lewis Greenstein due to health reasons.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		1/24/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Orientation on call log protocol for project.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		1/24/2005	E-mail	Linh Do (AKRF)	Communicated to Philip Napoli and Kemile Jackson that Lewis Greenstein is not to be contacted until his health improves.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		1/26/2005	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Lewis Greenstein and JC no longer dealing with Sharon Mitchell. JC still sick, doctor would determine when she would be able to meet with Philip Napoli.
Carter	Edward A.			1/31/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Left voicemail with contact information, as per EC's request.
Carter	Edward A.			1/31/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Called to determine interest in participating in oral history collection effort. Happy to be interviewed.
Green	Richard	Crown Heights Youth Collective		1/31/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Called to determine interest in participating in oral history collection effort; left voicemail message.
Jordan	Bishop Queen N	Society of Old Brooklynites		1/31/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Declined to participate in oral history collection effort.
Patterson	Robert		Edward Carter	1/31/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Left message regarding interest in participating in oral history collection effort.

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Last Name	First Name	Title/Organization/Affiliation	Referral From?	Date of Contact	Contact Type	Contact By	Contact Notes
Smith	Andy	Assistant to the Pastor and Dr. Amos Jordan, Bridge Street Church		1/31/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Decline to participate in oral history collection effort because of ill health.
Smith	Andy	Assistant to the Pastor and Dr. Amos Jordan, Bridge Street Church		1/31/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Dr. Amos Jordan probably unable to participate in oral history because of health. No other potential interviewees at church. Gave JM home number for Dr. Jordan.
Patterson	Robert		Edward Carter	2/1/2005	Return call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Left message.
Patterson	Robert		Edward Carter	2/2/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Attempted to call. No voicemail.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		2/3/2005	Call	Philip Napoli	Left message.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		2/3/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Conveyed status of outreach to potential interviewees; suggested outreach to Ed Carter, who had agreed to be interviewed.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		2/3/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Discussed message from Joy Chatel.
Patterson	Robert		Edward Carter	2/3/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Attempted to call. No voicemail.
Green	Richard	Crown Heights Youth Collective		2/4/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Called; receptionist expected RG to return in 2 hours.
Green	Richard	Crown Heights Youth Collective		2/4/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Called; unable to leave voicemail.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		2/4/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Encouraged to pursue interview with Joy Chatel.
Patterson	Robert		Edward Carter	2/4/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Called, no voicemail.
Roberts	Garland	Society of Old Brooklynites		2/4/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Declined to participate in oral history collection effort.
Carter	Edward A.			2/7/2005	Call	Kemile Jackson	EC asked KJ to call him back 2/8 or 2/9 to schedule an interview.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		2/7/2005	Return Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	LG now has pacemaker; could speak to Philip Napoli in 1/2 weeks; had call from Christopher Smith, son of Carl/Calvin Smith - will try to get his grandmother's name; noted Joy Chatel is still sick, now in hospital.
Jackson	Kemile	Oral Historian	Philip Napoli	2/7/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Interview to be scheduled with Ed Carter.
Jackson	Kemile	Oral Historian	Philip Napoli	2/7/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Noted dates preferred for interview by City.
Green	Richard	Crown Heights Youth Collective		2/8/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Left voicemail regarding conducting oral histories.
Green	Richard	Crown Heights Youth Collective		2/8/2005	Return Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Left voicemail for JM.
Patterson	Robert		Edward Carter	2/8/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Left voicemail regarding oral histories.
Carter	Edward A.			2/9/2005	Call	Kemile Jackson	Discussed possible interview. EC suggested that Robert Patterson, others sit in on interview; wanted to consult with 'Barbara'.
Carter	Edward A.			2/9/2005	Call	Kemile Jackson	Left voicemail.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		2/9/2005	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	JC is out of hospital, had a mild heart attack in addition to pneumonia, would like to meet with Napoli possibly next week.
Green	Richard	Crown Heights Youth Collective		2/9/2005	Call	Kemile Jackson	Scheduled interview with RG for 2/16.
Green	Richard	Crown Heights Youth Collective		2/9/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Agreed to be interviewed.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		2/9/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Passed on information regarding Joy Chatel's health.
Jackson	Kemile	Oral Historian	Philip Napoli	2/10/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Oral interview coordination.
Jackson	Kemile	Oral Historian	Philip Napoli	2/10/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Clarified - interview set up with Richard Green.
Jackson	Kemile	Oral Historian	Philip Napoli	2/10/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Conveyed Ed Carter's wishes for other potential
Jackson	Kemile	Oral Historian	Philip Napoli	2/10/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Trying to contact Ed Carter.
Jackson	Kemile	Oral Historian	Philip Napoli	2/10/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Trying to contact Ed Carter.
Jackson	Kemile	Oral Historian	Philip Napoli	2/10/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Clarification on Ed Carter's interview stipulations.

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Patterson	Robert		Edward Carter	2/10/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Asked whether AKRF was doing a Section 4 for 106; possible findings to present at community board meeting.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		2/11/2005	Call	Philip Napoli	Left message.
Jackson	Kemile	Oral Historian	Philip Napoli	2/11/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Inquired after potential success in reaching Ed Carter. Robert Patterson, Bishop Queen Mother Jordan.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		2/11/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Receipt of contact update.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		2/11/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Receipt of Joy Chatel's health update.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		2/11/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Noted attempted contact with Joy Chatel.
Carter	Edward A.			2/14/2005	Call	Kemile Jackson	EC hasn't spoken to 'Barbara', but expects to soon.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		2/14/2005	E-mail	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Confirmed receipt of e-mail, health update, need to receive any potential interview on Carl/Calvin Smith.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		2/14/2005	E-mail Reply	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Feeling better, hoped to meet Philip Napoli end of week. Christopher Smith not being cooperative.
Jackson	Kemile	Oral Historian	Philip Napoli	2/14/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Updated regarding status of scheduling interviews with Ed Carter, Bishop Queen Mother Jordan.
Jordan	Bishop Queen	Society of Old Brooklynites		2/14/2005	Call	Kemile Jackson	Called, unable to reach.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		2/14/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Forwarded Lewis Greenstein's 2/14 e-mail communication with Winston Von Engel.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		2/15/2005	E-mail Reply	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Social Security number located for a Carl Smith.
Jackson	Kemile	Oral Historian	Philip Napoli	2/15/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Encouragement to continue efforts re BQM Jordan.
Jackson	Kemile	Oral Historian	Philip Napoli	2/15/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Update regarding efforts to contact Bishop Queen Mother Jordan.
Green	Richard	Crown Heights Youth Collective		2/16/2005	Interview	Kemile Jackson	Oral history interview conducted.
Jackson	Kemile	Oral Historian	Philip Napoli	2/17/2005	Return Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	KJ left voicemail for JM.
Patterson	Robert		Edward Carter	2/17/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	JM left voicemail asking if appointment with Ed Carter et al had been set up.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		2/22/2005	Call	Kemile Jackson	LG said that he and Joy Chatel would meet with Philip Napoli after JC returned from California - she's seeing a heart specialist, expected to return 2/24. Ed Carter will participate in a group interview once they've met with PN.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		2/24/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Discussed Joy Chatel's return from vacation, eagerness to set up interview.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		2/28/2005	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	LG left voice mail message. He has broken ankle, will delay oral interview schedule by about six weeks.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		3/1/2005	E-mail	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Confirmed receipt of LG's medical news; has forwarded on LG's willingness to meet with oral historians out of home; information regarding research on Carl Brown's social security number.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		3/1/2005	E-mail Reply	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Corrected - name is Carl Smith (not Brown).
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		3/1/2005	E-mail Reply	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Gave medical update on ankle; no luck in getting response from Carl Smith's son.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		3/1/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Forwarded information on Lewis Greenstein's medical complications.
Jackson	Kemile	Oral Historian	Philip Napoli	3/2/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Oral interview coordination with Lewis Greenstein.
Jackson	Kemile	Oral Historian	Philip Napoli	3/2/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Asking for call info for contact log.
Jackson	Kemile	Oral Historian	Philip Napoli	3/2/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Gave status update on contact with Lewis Greenstein.
Jackson	Kemile	Oral Historian	Philip Napoli	3/3/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Receipt of time of Greenstein call.
Jackson	Kemile	Oral Historian	Philip Napoli	3/3/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Established time of Greenstein phone call.

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Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		3/7/2005	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	JC called WVE, then he called her back. She's back from California and might not have a problem doing oral history with Philip Napoli. JC asked whether there was a hearing date set; WVE noted that would have to wait for completion of oral history effort. JC to reach out to PN.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		3/8/2005	Call	Kemile Jackson	JC said she would contact Philip Napoli to set up a meeting.
Jackson	Kemile	Oral Historian	Philip Napoli	3/8/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Receipt of update.
Jackson	Kemile	Oral Historian	Philip Napoli	3/8/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Update on contacting Joy Chatel for oral interview.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		3/14/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Confirmation of oral history appointment; eagerness to move the process forward.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		3/14/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Scheduled meeting between Joy Chatel, Lewis Greenstein, and oral historians.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		3/14/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	PN also eager to move forward.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		3/16/2005	Meeting	Philip Napoli	Meeting with Lewis Greenstein and Joy Chatel. They discussed possible interview formats, fears regarding interviews and process. LG and JC want to see list of questions in advance, want to meet with PN and Kemile Jackson again before setting up interview, still expressed concerns regarding qualifications. LG can't do anything for next 25 days because his foot is in a cast.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		3/16/2005	Meeting	Philip Napoli	Meeting with Lewis Greenstein and Joy Chatel. They discussed possible interview formats, fears regarding interviews and process. LG and JC want to see list of questions in advance, want to meet with PN and Kemile Jackson again before setting up interview, still expressed concerns regarding qualifications. LG can't do anything for next 25 days because his foot is in a cast.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		3/17/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Recap of meeting with Joy Chatel and Lewis Greenstein.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		3/17/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Requested written recap of meeting with Joy Chatel and Lewis Greenstein.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		3/18/2005	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	JC asked for a copy of the 'research paper,' noted she'd meet with Philip Napoli, said he was a wonderful person, but realized what they were after was folklore, not oral history, and that a folklorist was needed. WVE to ask when a copy of the report could be made available. JC wanted to meet with WVE to discuss the oral history.
Von Engel	Winston	New York City Department of City Planning		3/18/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Recap of conversation with Joy Chatel.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		3/22/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Receipt of meeting notes.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		3/22/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Forwarded notes from meeting with Louis Greenstein and Joy Chatel.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		3/25/2005	Return Call	Philip Napoli	Residents still debating whether or not to participate in oral history.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		3/29/2005	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	JC reading through copy of draft report. JC feeling better, but Bishop Queen Mother Jordan has had a heart attack and is recovering. WVE mentioned idea of commemoration of UGRR in proposed Willoughby Park; JC to discuss with Lewis Greenstein.
Jackson	Kemile	Oral Historian	Philip Napoli	3/29/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Submitted transcript from interview with Mr. Green.

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Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		3/30/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Confirmed receipt of contact log.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		3/30/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Forwarded contact log of Lewis Greenstein call.
Jackson	Kemile	Oral Historian	Philip Napoli	4/13/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Receipt of interview clarification.
Jackson	Kemile	Oral Historian	Philip Napoli	4/13/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Confirmed that interruptions in Richard Green interview transcripts are breaks in the conversation.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		4/13/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Email to PN and KJ regarding status of project, whether they've heard from Lewis Greenstein or Joy Chatel, question on clarification of Richard Green interview transcript.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		4/14/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Confirmed that he has not been contacted by Lewis Greenstein or Joy Chatel.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		5/2/2005	Return Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	JC getting ready to restart process now that everyone is healthy; wants to do interviews as a group; looking to speak with Ed Carter who has knowledge of Bridge Street Church. WVE noted that time was tight with Philip Napoli's schedule.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		5/3/2005	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	JC was busy, said she would call back.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		5/3/2005	Return Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	JC left message.
Jackson	Kemile	Oral Historian	Philip Napoli	5/9/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Relayed comments from project team regarding Richard Green's interview transcript.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		5/13/2005	Return Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	JC left message. WVE returned call, but JC was busy and said she would call back.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		5/16/2005	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	JC was busy, said she would call back.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		5/16/2005	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Left message regarding impending deadline for Philip Napoli.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		5/16/2005	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	WVE called to let LG know about impending deadline for Philip Napoli. LG stated his ankle was now 85% healed, Carl Smith's son had moved south with no forwarding contact information. LG questioned PN's qualifications, but said he was willing to proceed with interviews but it depended on Joy Chatel's and Bishop Queen Mother Jordan's availability; asked whether upcoming deadline meant the procedure for their review of the transcript would still be followed; WVE said yes.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		5/18/2005	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Left message regarding impending deadline for Philip Napoli.

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Last Name	First Name	Title/Organization/Affiliation	Referral From?	Date of Contact	Contact Type	Contact By	Contact Notes
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		5/18/2005	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Left message returning JC's call.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		5/18/2005	Return Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	from Lewis Greenstein regarding oral history deadline and was concerned. She was going to be
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		5/19/2005	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	JC was busy at meeting but said she would call later, wanted to give WVE a 'heads up' regarding a meeting on Saturday.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		5/19/2005	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Tried to reach JC again, left voicemail message.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		5/23/2005	Return Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	JC called WVE. WVE told her about Philip Napoli's deadline at the end of May. JC said everyone involved in the oral history met last weekend and JC wanted to meet with Philip Napoli the coming weekend (Memorial Day weekend). WVE urged JC to contact PN as soon as possible to set a date.
Napoli Von Engel	Philip Winston	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College New York City Department of City Planning		5/23/2005 5/23/2005	E-mail Reply E-mail Reply	Linh Do (AKRF) Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Confirmed that his time is almost up for being able to work on oral history; times to schedule interviews are already limited. Update re: 5/23 conversation with Joy Chatel.
Chatel Von Engel	Joy Winston	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street New York City Department of City Planning		5/24/2005 5/24/2005	Call E-mail Reply	Winston Von Engel (DCP) Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Called to let JC know Philip Napoli's last available day was 5/27. JC said she'd contacted people in Cincinnati and at Frederick Douglass, questioned why they had to use PN. JC was on another line and got off the call. Recap of 5/24 conversation with Joy Chatel.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		6/2/2005	Return Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	JC called to say that she and Lewis Greenstein had been under the impression that they got to sign off on oral historian and were still uncomfortable with choice of Philip Napoli/Kemile Jackson because they had no UGRR experience. WVE explained that their experience was in oral history. JC wanted to meet to discuss. WVE accepted. JC called later to say she'd call on 6/3 to discuss meeting.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		6/6/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	E-mail to Philip Napoli and Kemile Jackson noting that the City has decided to move forward with report as is. Established details for honorarium process.
Napoli	Philip	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College		6/6/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Receipt of update.
Jackson	Kemile	Oral Historian	Philip Napoli	6/7/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Awaiting Green's approval to submit transcript.
Jackson	Kemile	Oral Historian	Philip Napoli	6/9/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Inquired after length of interview with Green (estimated to be approx. 30 mins)
Jackson	Kemile	Oral Historian	Philip Napoli	6/10/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Request to expedite approval of transcript.
Jackson	Kemile	Oral Historian	Philip Napoli	6/13/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Richard Green will try to sign off on transcript as soon as possible.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		6/20/2005	Call	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	JC voiced strong objections to the City's completing its oral tradition collection effort.

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Jackson	Kemile	Oral Historian	Philip Napoli	7/1/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Continued efforts to get Richard Green's approval of interview transcript.
Jackson	Kemile	Oral Historian	Philip Napoli	7/11/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	KJ discussed getting Richard Green to sign off on his interview transcript.
Jackson	Kemile	Oral Historian	Philip Napoli	7/11/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	KJ left voicemail asking for return call.
Jackson	Kemile	Oral Historian	Philip Napoli	7/11/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Richard Green will be meeting with Joy Chatel and will be in touch soon.
Jackson	Kemile	Oral Historian	Philip Napoli	7/11/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Plans to follow up in the coming week.
Jackson	Kemile	Oral Historian	Philip Napoli	7/21/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Any follow-up efforts to contact Richard Green; processing payment for work.
Scott	Jennifer	African American Anthropologist	Marci Reaven	7/21/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Left voicemail requesting return call.
Green	Richard	Crown Heights Youth Collective		7/25/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Left VM regarding the transcript included in the draft report.
Green	Richard	Crown Heights Youth Collective		7/25/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	RG left VM requesting call back.
Green	Richard	Crown Heights Youth Collective		7/25/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Clarification on transcript inclusion in draft report; content of informed consent statement. RG will make decision on inclusion of the report in the next couple days.
Jackson	Kemile	Oral Historian	Philip Napoli	7/25/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Left VM for JM asking for return call.
Jackson	Kemile	Oral Historian	Philip Napoli	7/25/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Clarification of Richard Green transcript consent status.
Jackson	Kemile	Oral Historian	Philip Napoli	7/25/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Relayed substance of JM's conversation with Richard Green re: transcript's inclusion in the draft report. Requested KJ's meeting notes.
Jackson	Kemile	Oral Historian	Philip Napoli	7/25/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Acknowledged that contact with RG made on 7/25.
Scott	Jennifer	African American Anthropologist	Marci Reaven	7/27/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Follow up to previous call.
Scott	Jennifer	African American Anthropologist	Marci Reaven	7/27/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Possibility of JS returning to the project, rate structure, time frame for interviews.
Scott	Jennifer	African American Anthropologist	Marci Reaven	8/4/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	JM called to see if JS had final answer on whether she could participate in project. She didn't have an answer yet.
Berger Gluck	Sherma	Director, Oral History Program at California State University-Long Beach		8/5/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Request for referral to qualified oral historians.
Harris	Leslie	Associate Professor, Emory University		8/6/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Suggestions for expanding interview process.
Scott	Jennifer	African American Anthropologist	Marci Reaven	8/8/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Left VM regarding JS's availability to work on oral history effort.
Harris	Leslie	Associate Professor, Emory University		8/11/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Response to LH's comments on expanding oral interview process.
Scott	Jennifer	African American Anthropologist	Marci Reaven	8/11/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Left VM regarding JS's availability to work on oral history effort.
Dobard	Raymond	Professor, Department of Art, Howard University		8/12/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Referrals for oral historians.
Abrabam	Jennifer	Director, T. Harry Williams Center for Oral History at Louisiana State University		8/15/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Request for referral to qualified oral historians.
Bodnar	John	Co-director of the Center for the Study of History and Memory at Indiana University		8/15/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Request for referral to qualified oral historians.
Bodnar	John	Co-director of the Center for the Study of History and Memory at Indiana University		8/15/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Referral to National Underground Railroad Freedom Center and Daniel Walkowitz @ NYU
Foley	John	Director, Center for Studies in Oral Tradition, University of Missouri-Columbia		8/15/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Request for referral to qualified oral historians.
Hall	Jacquelyn	Director, Southern Oral History Program, University North Carolina at Chapel Hill		8/15/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Request for referral to qualified oral historians.
Sharpless	Dr. M. Rebecca	Director, Baylor University's Institute of Oral History		8/15/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Request for referral to qualified oral historians.
Sloan	Stephen	Co-director of the Center for Oral History and Cultural Heritage at the University of Southern Mississippi		8/15/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Request for referral to qualified oral historians.
Stave	Bruce	Director, Center for Oral History at the University of Connecticut		8/15/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Request for referral to qualified oral historians.
Stave	Bruce	Director, Center for Oral History at the University of Connecticut		8/15/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Guidelines for conducting oral interviews.
Suchanek	Jeff	Director, Oral History Program, University of Kentucky		8/15/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Request for referral to qualified oral historians.

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Last Name	First Name	Title/Organization/Affiliation	Referral From?	Date of Contact	Contact Type	Contact By	Contact Notes
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		8/15/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Left message explaining UGRR project.
Winkler	David	President, Oral History in the Mid-Atlantic Region		8/15/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Request for referral to qualified oral historians.
Foley	John	Director, Center for Studies in Oral Tradition, University of Missouri-Columbia		8/16/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Referred to Steve Zeitlin at CityLore.
Battle	Thomas	Director, Moreland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University	Raymond Dobard	8/17/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Request for referral to qualified oral historians.
Bodnar	John	Co-director of the Center for the Study of History and Memory at Indiana University		8/17/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Follow-up to oral historian suggestions.
Clark	Mary Marshall	Director, Columbia Oral History Project	Marcia Wright	8/17/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Request for referral to qualified oral historians.
Davis	Bill	Executive Director, American Anthropological Association		8/17/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Request for referral to qualified oral historians.
Dobard	Raymond	Professor, Department of Art, Howard University		8/17/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Follow-up to referrals.
Foley	John	Director, Center for Studies in Oral Tradition, University of Missouri-Columbia		8/17/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Follow-up to referrals.
Lutz	Catherine	President, American Ethnological Society		8/17/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Request for referral to qualified oral historians.
Lutz	Catherine	President, American Ethnological Society		8/17/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Will pass along request on listserv.
Lutz	Catherine	President, American Ethnological Society		8/17/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	JM relayed wording for posting on listserv.
Lutz	Catherine	President, American Ethnological Society		8/17/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	New wording confirmed.
Rankin-Fulcher	Elizabeth		Jim Mueller (NPS)	8/17/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Request for referral to qualified oral historians.
Rogers	Kim	President, Oral History Association		8/17/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Request for referral to qualified oral historians.
Scott	Jennifer	African American Anthropologist	Marci Reaven	8/17/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Trying to clear prior commitments. Hopes to speak via phone Friday.
Scott	Jennifer	African American Anthropologist	Marci Reaven	8/17/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	JM's availability to speak.
Slave	Bruce	Director, Center for Oral History at the University of Connecticut		8/17/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Details on UGRR project.
Slave	Bruce	Director, Center for Oral History at the University of Connecticut		8/17/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Suggestion to pair an oral historian with an expert historian in the UGRR
Walkowitz	Daniel	Director, Metropolitan Studies Program, NYU		8/17/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Request for referral to qualified oral historians.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		8/17/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Return call from DW; left voicemail with another contact number.
Wiederhorn	Jessica	Columbia University Oral History Research Office		8/17/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Request for referral to qualified oral historians.
Zeitlin	Steve	CityLore	John Foley	8/17/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Request for referral to qualified oral historians.
Bernstein	Rachel	Professor, New York University		8/18/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Interest in working as oral historian.
Clark	Mary Marshall	Director, Columbia Oral History Project	Marcia Wright	8/18/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Just returned from vacation, will reply to inquiry in a couple days.
Clark	Mary Marshall	Director, Columbia Oral History Project	Marcia Wright	8/18/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Message received by JM.
Elder-Mayes	Eve	Director, Marketing & Programs, William Still Underground Railroad Foundation		8/18/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Request for referral to qualified oral historians.
Hall	Jacquelyn	Director, Southern Oral History Program, University North Carolina at Chapel Hill		8/18/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Beth Millwood responded for Dr. Hall, referring JM to Columbia Oral History Program.
Hall	Jacquelyn	Director, Southern Oral History Program, University North Carolina at Chapel Hill		8/18/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Follow-up to BM's suggestions on an oral historian.
Logan	John	President, African-American Genealogy Group		8/18/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Request for referral to qualified oral historians.
Rogers	Kim	President, Oral History Association		8/18/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Referred to Mary Marshall Clark.
Rogers	Kim	President, Oral History Association		8/18/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Follow-up to oral history suggestions.
Rogers	Kim	President, Oral History Association		8/18/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Will post request on listserv.
Scott	Jennifer	African American Anthropologist	Marci Reaven	8/18/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	JS will call in 8/19 PM
Scott	Jennifer	African American Anthropologist	Marci Reaven	8/18/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	JM looking forward to call.
Shodell	Elly	Port Washington Public Library Oral History Program		8/18/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Request for referral to qualified oral historians.
Walkowitz	Daniel	Director, Metropolitan Studies Program, NYU		8/18/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Recommendations of Ron Greig and Rachel Bernstein.
Walkowitz	Daniel	Director, Metropolitan Studies Program, NYU		8/18/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Follow up on recommendations.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		8/18/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	JM returned DW's call.
Wellman	Judith	Historical New York Research Associates	Lauren Rhodes	8/18/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Request for information on Judy Bryant.
Albarelli	Geny	Oral Historian	Mary Marshall Clark	8/19/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Left VM as follow-up to recommendation to project by MMC.
Albarelli	Gerry	Oral Historian	Mary Marshall Clark	8/19/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Expressed interest in UGRR project.
Clark	Mary Marshall	Director, Columbia Oral History Project	Marcia Wright	8/19/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Referral to Geny Albarelli.
Clark	Mary Marshall	Director, Columbia Oral History Project	Marcia Wright	8/19/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Request for further information on Mr. Albarelli.

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Clark	Mary Marshall	Director, Columbia Oral History Project	Marcia Wright	8/19/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Recommendation of Gerry Albarelli for oral history work.
Rogers	Kim	President, Oral History Association		8/19/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Will send on information for listserv posting.
Scott	Jennifer	African American Anthropologist	Marci Reaven	8/19/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Coordination of JS's schedule and feasibility of working on the project.
Sharpless	Dr. M. Rebecca	Director, Baylor University's Institute of Oral History		8/19/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Referral to Mary Marshall Clarke and Oral History netserv for oral historian work.
Sharpless	Dr. M. Rebecca	Director, Baylor University's Institute of Oral History		8/19/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Receipt of recommendations and expression of thanks.
Wellman	Judith	Historical New York Research Associates	Lauren Rhodes	8/19/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Background information on Judy Bryant.
Berger Gluck	Sherna	Director, Oral History Program at California State University-Long Beach		8/20/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Referral to Columbia University Oral History Office.
Campbell	Madelyn	Exec. Sec., Oral Historian Association at Dickinton College	Mary Marshall Clark	8/20/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Is forwarding annual meeting program materials to JM; recommends putting listing on oral history listserv.
Albarelli	Geny	Oral Historian	Mary Marshall Clark	8/22/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Request for CV; setting up possible phone interview.
Berger Gluck	Sherna	Director, Oral History Program at California State University-Long Beach		8/22/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Acknowledgement of recommendation.
Campbell	Madelyn	Exec. Sec., Oral Historian Association at Dickinton College	Mary Marshall Clark	8/22/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Text of list to be posted on oral history listserv.
Charis	Bernard	President, African American Museum in Philadelphia		8/22/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Left voicemail for Mr. Charis with details of the UGRR project.
Clark	Mary Marshall	Director, Columbia Oral History Project	Marcia Wright	8/22/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Receipt of recommendation for Geny Albarelli
Scott	Jennifer	African American Anthropologist	Marci Reaven	8/22/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Receipt of time-cost estimate, will pass on to project team.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		8/22/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Review of general parameters of UGRR project and specifics of oral history research.
Wilmot	Nadine	Oral Historian		8/22/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	NW left VM regarding oral historian search.
Albarelli	Geny	Oral Historian	Mary Marshall Clark	8/23/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Provides some work information; will send on CV when he returns home.
Campbell	Madelyn	Exec. Sec., Oral Historian Association at Dickinton College	Mary Marshall Clark	8/23/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Advised that JM will have to join the listserv herself to post the query.
Campbell	Madelyn	Exec. Sec., Oral Historian Association at Dickinton College	Mary Marshall Clark	8/23/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	JM noted MC's suggestion.
Stave	Bruce	Director, Center for Oral History at the University of Connecticut		8/23/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Expressed appreciation for suggestion.
Wilmot	Nadine	Oral Historian		8/23/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Submission of CV for consideration on the project.
Winkler	David	President, Oral History in the Mid-Atlantic Region		8/23/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Asking permission to forward request to oral historians in the area.
Adeyoumon	Oloye	Legacy Program		8/24/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Request for referral to qualified oral historians.
Reaves	Cordell	Coordinator, Underground Railroad Heritage Trail Program at Heritage New York		8/24/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Request for referral to qualified oral historians.
Reaves	Cordell	Coordinator, Underground Railroad Heritage Trail Program at Heritage New York		8/24/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Suggestion of Judith Wellman.
Reaves	Cordell	Coordinator, Underground Railroad Heritage Trail Program at Heritage New York		8/24/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Receipt of Judith Wellman referral.
Wellman	Judith	Historical New York Research Associates	Lauren Rhodes	8/24/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Follow-up to JW's recommendations and information.
Wilmot	Nadine	Oral Historian		8/24/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Receipt of resume.
Wilmot	Nadine	Oral Historian		8/24/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	NW will be in touch next week.
Winkler	David	President, Oral History in the Mid-Atlantic Region		8/24/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Forwarding of more complete oral historian query
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		8/26/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Forwarded information on the oral tradition collection effort.
Upton	John			8/29/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Left voicemail to be called back.
Upton	John			8/29/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	JM returned call, left callback number.

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Last Name	First Name	Title/Organization/Affiliation	Referral From?	Date of Contact	Contact Type	Contact By	Contact Notes
Upton	John			8/29/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	JU left voicemail explaining that his wife is a cultural anthropologist and would be interested in working on the project; she is currently in Italy.
Adeyounon	Oloye	Legacy Program		8/30/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Explanation of UGRR project; background information on OA
Miller	Diane	National Coordinator, National Underground Railroad Network to Freedom		8/30/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Request for contact information for Oloye Adeyemon.
Miller	Diane	National Coordinator, National Underground Railroad Network to Freedom		8/30/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Forwarded contact information on Adeyemon.
Miller	Diane	National Coordinator, National Underground Railroad Network to Freedom		8/30/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Receipt of information.
Upton	John			8/30/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	JU called regarding wife's interest in project.
Upton	John			8/30/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	JM requested JU's wife's CV; discussion of her qualifications.
Upton	John			8/30/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Forwarded CV for Antonella Fabri.
Upton	John			8/30/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Receipt of CV; JM will be in touch next week.
Upton	John			8/30/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Acknowledgement that JM will be in touch next week.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		8/30/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Setting up time for DW to review AKRF's materials.
Adeyounon	Oloye	Legacy Program		8/31/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Notification that he has requested Elvira Coaston to forward letters of support for Legacy Program, as well as a list of services regularly provided.
Coaston	Elvira Walker	Coordinator, Legacy Network, University of Cincinnati Raymond Walters College		8/31/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	As per the request of Oloye Adeyemon, forwarding a sampling of Legacy Program support letters.
Adeyounon	Oloye	Legacy Program		9/6/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Receipt of materials regarding legacy network; offering availability for follow-up questions.
Albarelli	Gerry	Oral Historian	Mary Marshall Clark	9/6/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Rejection of his services.
Wilmot	Nadine	Oral Historian		9/6/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Rejection of NW's services for the project.
Wilmot	Nadine	Oral Historian		9/6/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Receipt of rejection.
Adeyounon	Oloye	Legacy Program		9/7/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Legacy Program would be interested in assisting in collection effort.
Coaston	Elvira Walker	Coordinator, Legacy Network, University of Cincinnati Raymond Walters College		9/7/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Legacy program would NOT be interested in assisting with collection effort.
Coaston	Elvira Walker	Coordinator, Legacy Network, University of Cincinnati Raymond Walters College		9/7/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Receipt of message; confusion as to interest.
Coaston	Elvira Walker	Coordinator, Legacy Network, University of Cincinnati Raymond Walters College		9/7/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Differentiation between Legacy Network and Legacy Program.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		9/7/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Follow-up to conversation last week; left VM.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		9/7/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Called at 513.871.5788; no answer.
Coaston	Elvira Walker	Coordinator, Legacy Network, University of Cincinnati Raymond Walters College		9/8/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	JM's understanding of distinction.
Coaston	Elvira Walker	Coordinator, Legacy Network, University of Cincinnati Raymond Walters College		9/8/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Receipt of clarification.
Abraham	Jennifer	Director, T. Harry Williams Center for Oral History at Louisiana State University		9/19/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Request for referral to qualified oral historians.
Adeyounon	Oloye	Legacy Program		9/19/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Request for research plan/follow-up conference call.
Battle	Thomas	Director, Moreland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University	Raymond Dobard	9/19/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Request for referral to qualified oral historians.
Bernstein	Rachel	Professor, New York University		9/19/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Called to inquire about the oral history collection effort.
Bernstein	Rachel	Professor, New York University		9/19/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Request for referral to qualified oral historians.
Coaston	Elvira Walker	Coordinator, Legacy Network, University of Cincinnati Raymond Walters College		9/19/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Request for research plan.

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Last Name	First Name	Title/Organization/Affiliation	Referral From?	Date of Contact	Contact Type	Contact By	Contact Notes
Davis	Bill	Executive Director, American Anthropological Association		9/19/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Request for referral to qualified oral historians.
Elder-Mayes	Eve	Director, Marketing & Programs, William Still Underground Railroad Foundation		9/19/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Request for referral to qualified oral historians.
Logan	John	President, African-American Genealogy Group		9/19/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Request for referral to qualified oral historians.
Rankin-Fulcher	Elizabeth		Jim Mueller (NPS)	9/19/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Request for referral to qualified oral historians.
Shodell	Elly	Port Washington Public Library Oral History Program		9/19/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Request for referral to qualified oral historians.
Sloan	Stephen	Co-director of the Center for Oral History and Cultural Heritage at the University of Southern Mississippi		9/19/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Request for referral to qualified oral historians.
Suchanck	Jeff	Director, Oral History Program, University of Kentucky		9/19/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Request for referral to qualified oral historians.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		9/19/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Left voicemail follow-up to 9/7 conversation.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		9/19/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Clarification of project parameters; will forward CV.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		9/19/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Forwarded CV.
Zeitlin	Steve	CityLore	John Foley	9/19/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Request for referral to qualified oral historians.
Coaston	Elvira Walker	Coordinator, Legacy Network, University of Cincinnati Raymond Walters College		9/20/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Clarification of Legacy Network's position regarding Legacy Program.
Coaston	Elvira Walker	Coordinator, Legacy Network, University of Cincinnati Raymond Walters College		9/20/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Clarification of purpose of conference call.
Coaston	Elvira Walker	Coordinator, Legacy Network, University of Cincinnati Raymond Walters College		9/20/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Looking to set up time to talk.
Jackson	Andrew	Executive Director, Langston Hughes Community Library and Cultural Center, Queens Borough Public Library		9/20/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Update on oral historian search.
Logan	John	President, African-American Genealogy Group		9/20/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Called for more details on the oral history collection effort.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		9/20/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Receipt of CV.
Wilmot	Nadine	Oral Historian		9/20/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Follow-up to scholar referral.
Jackson	Andrew	Executive Director, Langston Hughes Community Library and Cultural Center, Queens Borough Public Library		9/21/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Request for/disperal of listing of criteria required for oral historians seeking to be retained for the project.
Adeyoumon	Oloye	Legacy Program		9/22/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	List of deliverables expected at conclusion of the oral history segment of the project.
Adeyoumon	Oloye	Legacy Program		9/22/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Will have proposal by early next week.
Adeyoumon	Oloye	Legacy Program		9/22/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Receipt of timeline.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		9/22/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Abbreviated time frame for cost proposal.
Logan	John	President, African-American Genealogy Group		9/25/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Clarification on whether JM is seeking CV's or recommendations.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		9/25/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Submission of cost proposal.
Adeyoumon	Oloye	Legacy Program		9/26/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Abbreviated window to receipt of proposal materials.
Logan	John	President, African-American Genealogy Group		9/26/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Seeking both CVs and recommendations.
Parsons	Anne		Rachael Bernstein	9/26/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Left voicemail regarding oral history collection effort.
Scott	Jennifer	African American Anthropologist	Marci Reaven	9/26/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Updated timeline on review process.
Scott	Jennifer	African American Anthropologist	Marci Reaven	9/26/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Receipt of update.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		9/26/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Receipt of cost proposal.
Adeyoumon	Oloye	Legacy Program		9/27/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Receipt of timetable; plan to submit.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		9/27/2005	E-mail	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Clarification of JC's input on oral historians.
Coaston	Elvira Walker	Coordinator, Legacy Network, University of Cincinnati Raymond Walters College		9/27/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	JM's phone availability.
Westmoreland	Carl	Curator and Senior Advisor, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		9/27/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	JM called to introduce herself and outline parameters of the oral history collection effort.
Adeyoumon	Oloye	Legacy Program		9/29/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Legacy Program unable to participate in oral tradition collection effort.

Oral History Collection Effort
Contact Log

Last Name	First Name	Title/Organization/Affiliation	Referral From?	Date of Contact	Contact Type	Contact By	Contact Notes
Adeyounon	Oloye	Legacy Program Curator and Senior Advisor, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		9/29/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Receipt of message conveying inability to participate in project.
Westmoreland	Carl	Director, Moreland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University		9/29/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Left follow-up voicemail.
Battle	Thomas	Curator and Senior Advisor, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center	Raymond Dobard	9/30/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Suggestion of resources to find oral historians; offer of further assistance if necessary.
Westmoreland	Carl	Curator and Senior Advisor, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		9/30/2005	Fax	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Gauging interest in conducting oral interviews.
Parsons	Anne	Oral Historian	Rachael Bernstein	10/1/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Left voicemail expressing interest in the project, but outlined time constraints.
Wilmot	Nadine	Oral Historian		10/3/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Referred oral historian Claudine Bonner.
Adeyounon	Oloye	Legacy Program Curator and Senior Advisor, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		10/4/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Request for clarification on parallel UGRR project that OA is working on in Brooklyn.
Westmoreland	Carl	Director, Moreland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University		10/4/2005	Fax	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Gauging interest in conducting oral interviews.
Wilmot	Nadine	Oral Historian		10/4/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	JM has not yet heard from Claudine Bonner. Request for direct contact information.
Battle	Thomas	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College	Raymond Dobard	10/5/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Receipt of resource recommendations.
Napoli	Phil	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College	Amanda Sutphin	10/5/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Concluding their work with the project.
Napoli	Phil	Oral Historian, Brooklyn College	Amanda Sutphin	10/5/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Receipt of email.
Parsons	Anne	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center	Rachael Bernstein	10/5/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	JM left voicemail thanking her for her interest.
Scott	Jennifer	African American Anthropologist	Marci Reaven	10/5/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	New timeline for oral histories.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		10/5/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	New timeline for oral histories.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		10/5/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Communication of November schedule.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		10/6/2005	E-mail	Winston Von Engel (NYCDCP)	Update on retention of oral historians by the city; wishes to follow up by phone.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		10/6/2005	E-mail Reply	Winston Von Engel (NYCDCP)	Response from LG asking for consideration of Westmoreland and preference not to be contacted by phone.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		10/6/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	JM scheduled phone call to discuss schedule.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		10/7/2005	E-mail Reply	Winston Von Engel (NYCDCP)	WVE asked that LG get Westmoreland in touch with DCP/AKRF.
Bonner	Claudine	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center	Nadine Wilmot	10/10/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Background of UGRR project and gauging interest in working as an oral historian.
Walters	Delores	Curator and Senior Advisor, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		10/10/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	DW left voicemail with contact information.
Westmoreland	Carl	Curator and Senior Advisor, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		10/10/2005	Fax	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Gauging interest in conducting oral interviews.
Wilmot	Nadine	Oral Historian		10/10/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	JM has not yet heard from Claudine Bonner.
Wilmot	Nadine	Oral Historian		10/10/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Request for direct contact information.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		10/11/2005	E-mail	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Receipt of contact information.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		10/11/2005	E-mail	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Email to JC and Lewis Greenstein regarding oral historian selection process.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		10/11/2005	E-mail	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	JC emailed WVE with impressions on oral historians.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		10/11/2005	E-mail	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Receipt of oral historian impressions; will forward preferences to project team.
Jackson	Kemile	Oral Historian	Philip Napoli	10/11/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Submission of invoice.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		10/11/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	JM called to inform that DW of the city's choice to use her services.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		10/11/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Project update.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		10/11/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Confirming travel plans to interview property owners.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		10/12/2005	E-mail	Delores Walters	Initial contact by DW with JC and Lewis Greenstein.

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Contact Log

Last Name	First Name	Title/Organization/Affiliation	Referral From?	Date of Contact	Contact Type	Contact By	Contact Notes
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		10/12/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	DW checked in before sending introductory message to property owners.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		10/12/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	JM passed on names of property owners that need to be contacted (Joy Chatel and Lewis Greenstein)
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		10/14/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	DW needs to reschedule introductory meeting.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		10/14/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	JM left VM for DW returning earlier call.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		10/14/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Receipt of initial contact by DW with property owners.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		10/17/2005	E-mail	Delores Walters	DW sent scheduling information to JC.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		10/17/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Coordinating meeting with Carl Westmoreland and Joy Chatel.
Bonner	Claudine		Nadine Wilmot	10/18/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	CB expressed interest and provided professional background.
Bonner	Claudine		Nadine Wilmot	10/18/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Informing CB of oral historians already retained for the project.
Scott	Jennifer	African American Anthropologist	Marci Reaven	10/18/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	JS inquired after the oral historian selection process; informed that the project had moved on with other candidates.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		10/18/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Updating email contact information for DW.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		10/18/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	DW called to discuss dates of availability for DW and Westmoreland.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		10/18/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Email to property owners regarding introductory meeting.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		10/19/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Lewis Greenstein's confirmation of introductory meeting.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		10/19/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	JM inquired if travel arrangements needed to be made for Carl Westmoreland as well as DW.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		10/19/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	DW recommended that JM contact Carl Westmoreland directly regarding travel arrangements; outlined equipment requirements.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		10/24/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	JM will contact Carl Westmoreland directly. Outlining equipment used previously to conduct interviews.
Jackson	Andrew	Executive Director, Langston Hughes Community Library and Cultural Center, Queens Borough Public Library		10/25/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	AJ unsuccessful in attempts to reach out to oral historians he knows.
Westmoreland	Carl	Curator and Senior Advisor, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		10/25/2005	Call	Linh Do (AKRF)	I.D introduced herself to CW, offered to arrange travel arrangements for oral interviews; follow-up call scheduled for 10/27.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		10/26/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Travel options for DW.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		10/26/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Narrowing travel options for DW.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		10/26/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Possibility of DW flying to LAG instead of NWK.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		10/26/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	LAG flight options for DW.
Westmoreland	Carl	Curator and Senior Advisor, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		10/26/2005	Call	Linh Do (AKRF)	Left VM as follow-up to previous day's conversation.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		10/27/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	DW expressed her flight preferences.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		10/27/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Discussion of St. Mary's Church; suggested contacting Cynthia Copeland/Kathleen Hulser @ New York Historical Society.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		11/1/2005	Call	Denise Alfonso (AKRF)	Left VM to make travel arrangements.

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Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		11/1/2005	Call	Denise Alfonso (AKRF)	Left VM re travel arrangements.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		11/2/2005	Call	Denise Alfonso (AKRF)	Left VM re travel arrangements.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		11/2/2005	Call	Denise Alfonso (AKRF)	Make travel arrangements for DW
Westmoreland	Carl	Curator and Senior Advisor, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		11/2/2005	Call	Denise Alfonso (AKRF)	Left VM to make final travel arrangements for CW.
Westmoreland	Carl	Curator and Senior Advisor, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		11/2/2005	Call	Denise Alfonso (AKRF)	Change in Westmoreland's travel schedule (SC instead of Cincinnati).
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		11/3/2005	E-mail	Linh Do (AKRF)	Coordination of separate oral history from the Joy Chatel and Lewis Greenstein group interview.
Westmoreland	Carl	Curator and Senior Advisor, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		11/3/2005	Call	Denise Alfonso (AKRF)	Left message for CW regarding travel arrangements.
Westmoreland	Carl	Curator and Senior Advisor, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		11/3/2005	Call	Denise Alfonso (AKRF)	Left message regarding travel plans
Westmoreland	Carl	Curator and Senior Advisor, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		11/3/2005	Call	Denise Alfonso (AKRF)	Left message regarding travel plans
Westmoreland	Carl	Curator and Senior Advisor, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		11/3/2005	E-mail	Denise Alfonso (AKRF)	Confirmation of flight information.
Westmoreland	Carl	Curator and Senior Advisor, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		11/3/2005	E-mail	Denise Alfonso (AKRF)	Re-confirmation of flight information.
Westmoreland	Carl	Curator and Senior Advisor, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		11/4/2005	E-mail	Denise Alfonso (AKRF)	Inquired after making travel arrangements
Westmoreland	Carl	Curator and Senior Advisor, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		11/7/2005	Call	Denise Alfonso (AKRF)	Finalized travel arrangements.
Westmoreland	Carl	Curator and Senior Advisor, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		11/7/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	CW and DW asked for agenda for introductory session with property owners.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		11/8/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	JM faxed list of items for discussion during meeting with Joy Chatel and Lewis Greenstein.
Donegan	Jason	Property Owner, 231 Duffield Street		11/12/2005	Call	Delores Walters	JD has conducted his own research; wants to be interviewed after Joy Chatel and Lewis Greenstein.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		11/14/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	DW called with some questions regarding the introductory meeting.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		11/15/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	LG unable to reach Joy Chatel; wants to confirm meeting location.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		11/15/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Forwarded review of the Informed Consent Statement and Deed of Gift forms, as per Walters' request.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		11/15/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	DW hasn't been able to confirm with Joy Chatel the introductory meeting.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		11/15/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Even with revised contact info, DW still cannot reach Joy Chatel.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		11/15/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Further confirmation of meeting details; Carl Westmoreland unaccounted for.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		11/15/2005	Meeting	N/A	Introductory meeting with Joy Chatel, Lewis Greenstein, Ali Lamont
Walters	Howard	Property Owner, 223 Duffield Street		11/15/2005	Return Call	Winston Von Engel (NYCDCP)	Confirmed as owner of 223 Duffield Street property; did not have any info, was deferring to other homeowners on the block.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		11/16/2005	Meeting	N/A	Met with Jennifer Morris and Linh Do at AKRF to review introductory meeting with property owners.
Westmoreland	Carl	Curator and Senior Advisor, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		11/16/2005	Call	Linh Do (AKRF)	Called to find out why CW missed the meeting with property owners.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		11/17/2005	Call	Delores Walters	LG will be on vacation 11/18-11/28. Wants to wait until he has more time to speak to Ali Lamont before interview.

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Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		11/17/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Rescheduled meeting with LG. LG will forward primary documents to AKRF.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		11/18/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Forwarded review of the Informed Consent Statement and Deed of Gift forms, as per Walters' request.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		11/18/2005	E-mail	Delores Walters	Laying groundwork for oral interviews.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		11/19/2005	Call	Delores Walters	Mtg. with prospective interviewees still in progress. Finds release form unacceptable.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		11/20/2005	Call	Delores Walters	JC unable to talk, promises to call the next day.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		11/21/2005	Call	Delores Walters	JC reports stress re: personal home responsibilities but also her commitment to project.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		11/21/2005	Call	Delores Walters	Oral history committee will review and revise forms. JC will prioritize list of interviewees after mtg. to be held 11/27. DW consented to not speak to Ali Lamont or Jason Donegan prior to JC making arrangements.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		11/21/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	LG unwilling to sign release form.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		11/21/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Clarification of forms as SOP.
Von Engel	Winston	New York City Department of City Planning		11/21/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	WVE called Joy Chatel, who will call back.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		11/21/2005	Meeting	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Met at AKRF. DW detailed her repeated contacts with Joy Chatel and DW's attempts to alleviate concerns regarding the release forms.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		11/21/2005	Meeting	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Met at AKRF. Continued discussion of release forms.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		11/22/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	DW left voicemail; spoke with Joy Chatel, will provide call details in subsequent email.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		11/22/2005	Call	Joy Chatel	JC working out mtg. date for residents. DW asked JC to prioritize interviewees based on knowledge of buildings' UGRR activity, copy any relevant documentation.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		11/23/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	DW will touch base after Thanksgiving.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		11/26/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Committee members continuing to review waiver language.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		11/27/2005	Call	Delores Walters	Plan to speak on Monday.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		11/28/2005	E-mail	Winston Von Engel (DCP)	Status report on meetings with Dr. Walters.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		11/29/2005	Call	Delores Walters	JC unable to talk, promises to call later in the day.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		11/29/2005	Call	Delores Walters	No answer.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		11/29/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Clarification on language of oral history waivers.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		11/29/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Email from DW with update on interview progress.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		11/29/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Receipt of update from DW. Request that she communicate her time restraints to the property owners.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		11/29/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Receipt of voicemail update on Joy Chatel.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		11/30/2005	Call	Delores Walters	JC at doctors office.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		11/30/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Recounted phone call with Joy Chatel; Daily News inquiry.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		11/30/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Follow-up; bad connection, DW said she would call back.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		11/30/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Follow-up on Daily News and Joy Chatel.
Westmoreland	Carl	Curator and Senior Advisor, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		11/30/2005	Meeting	Delores Walters	Discussed consent form; CW suggested contract lawyer.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		12/1/2005	Call	Delores Walters	Committee met on 11/26, 11/30, and will meet today; seeking legal counsel to review forms, concern over timing of forms.

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Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		12/1/2005	E-mail	Judith Wellman	Assurance regarding protection afforded under the oral history release form.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		12/2/2005	E-mail Reply	Judith Wellman	Joy Chatel's receipt of assurance, will share with group.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		12/2/2005	Call	Linh Do (AKRF)	L.D called to inquire after interview schedule. Scheduled a follow-up call.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		12/2/2005	Call	Linh Do (AKRF)	DW called, encouraged to sent Joy Chatel email clarifying what happened with Richard Greens interview (signed consent, but hasn't approved transcript).
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		12/2/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Receipt of update regarding Joy Chatel. Clarification on schedule.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		12/6/2005	E-mail	Winston Von Engel (NYCDCP)	Notification to JC and L.Greenstein that the contract with Dr. Walters runs up Dec 31 2005.
Burke	Michael	Director, Downtown Brooklyn Council		12/8/2005	E-mail	Linh Do (AKRF)	Request for Jason Donegan's inclusion in oral tradition collection effort.
Burke	Michael	Director, Downtown Brooklyn Council		12/8/2005	E-mail Reply	Linh Do (AKRF)	Confirmation that Jason Donegan has been contacted by Dr. Walters.
Burke	Michael	Director, Downtown Brooklyn Council		12/9/2005	E-mail Reply	Linh Do (AKRF)	MB communicated Jason Donegan's unease that he had been overlooked by the project.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		12/9/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	DW left VM for JM; was trying to get in touch with Linh Do to answer questions.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		12/12/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	JM requested status report for scheduling interviews with Joy Chatel and Lewis Greenstein.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		12/12/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Update on interviews with Joy Chatel and Lewis Greenstein.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		12/12/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Suggestions on expediting the consent form process; suggestion that DW get in touch with Jason Donegan.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		12/15/2005	Call	Delores Walters	Residents are reviewing forms with counsel, then will set up interviews. Aware of DW's schedule in January.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		12/15/2005	E-mail	Winston Von Engel (NYCDCP)	Reminder to JC and Lewis Greenstein on deadline for oral history.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		12/16/2005	Call	Linh Do (AKRF)	Project update from DW; Donegan interview scheduled; progress report on interview release forms.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		12/16/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Had set up interview with Donegan; also had contact Chatel.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		12/16/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Summary of 12/15/05 phone conversation with Joy Chatel.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		12/16/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Walters has scheduled appointment with Donegan; will book travel on 22 Dec.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		12/20/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Receipt of interview and travel plans.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		12/20/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Receipt of call notes with Joy Chatel.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		12/20/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	No further progress on interview release forms. Request for advice on travel within city in light of transit strike.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		12/20/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Suggestions on travel within city.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		12/20/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Receipt of travel suggestions.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		12/21/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Further suggestions of travel from the Bronx.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		12/22/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Called to confirm DW's arrival in the city, and her moves to establish interviews with subjects.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		12/22/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Forward movement on the interview release form.

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Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		12/22/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Update on interview status with Jason Donegan; forwarded update on Joy Chatel.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		12/22/2005	E-mail Reply	Linh Do (AKRF)	Receipt of update.
Do	Linh	Project Team		12/23/2005	E-mail	Linh Do (AKRF)	Status update with Delores Walters and interviews.
Donegan	Jason	Property Owner, 231 Duffield Street		12/23/2005	Call	Delores Walters	JD called DW to report that he missed the interview because he was in a car accident.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		12/23/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	DW called to tell JM she had been unable to meet with Jason Donegan; he was a no show.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		12/23/2005	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Jason Donegan unable to conduct interview because of car accident.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		12/24/2005	Call	Delores Walters	JD called DW to say they believe interviews can start 12/28. JC will let DW of the interviewees the day of.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		12/24/2005	Call	Linh Do (AKRF)	DW called LD, left message to inform AKRF of interview arrangements.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		12/24/2005	Call	Linh Do (AKRF)	LD inquired whether DW could extend stay to first week of January to conduct interviews. DW must return to KY before start of classes on 1/11.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		12/25/2005	Call	Delores Walters	JC was on her way to meet with Lewis Greenstein and Ali Lamont; planned to speak next day.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		12/26/2005	Call	Delores Walters	JC called to confirm start of interviews 12/28; about 10 people to be interviewed.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		12/26/2005	E-mail	Linh Do (AKRF)	Confirmation of travel change for Dr. Walters.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		12/27/2005	Call	Delores Walters	JC called to confirm start time of interviews; Bishop Queen Mother Jordan wants to be interviewed.
Donegan	Jason	Property Owner, 231 Duffield Street		12/27/2005	Call	Delores Walters	Left message regarding availability for interview.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		12/27/2005	E-mail	Delores Walters	Request for LG to fax suggested changes to interview release form to AKRF.
Mandel	Scott			12/27/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Called to confirm fax with changes to interview release forms.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		12/27/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Scheduled interview with Joy Chatel.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		12/27/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Joy Chatel ready to begin oral interviews; DW will come by AKRF to pick up tape recorder.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		12/27/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Scheduled interview with Joy Chatel; proposed changes to form from property owners; change in contact information for DW.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		12/27/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Receipt of interview schedule with Joy Chatel.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		12/27/2005	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Fax received from Lewis Greenstein.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		12/28/2005	Call	Delores Walters	JC called to confirm time, cannot release interviewee names b/c DW is reporting to AKRF. Requests DW contact Rev. Daughtry.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		12/28/2005	Call	Delores Walters	JC called to say Lewis Greenstein was picking up first interviewee.
Daughtry	Herbert	Reverend, House of the Lord Church		12/28/2005	Call	Delores Walters	Spoke with Brother Simmons, left message for RD regarding interviews.
Green	Richard	Crown Heights Youth Collective		12/28/2005	Call	Delores Walters	Called to discuss documents in Brooklyn.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		12/28/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	LG called to express displeasure with lack of change from "pre-Civil War" to "pre-1865" on interview release form; JM confirmed this change was acceptable and could be manually changed with initials on original form.

Oral History Collection Effort
Contact Log

Last Name	First Name	Title/Organization/Affiliation	Referral From?	Date of Contact	Contact Type	Contact By	Contact Notes
Hooper	Michael			12/28/2005	Meeting	Delores Walters	Oral interview conducted.
Morris	Jacob			12/28/2005	Meeting	Delores Walters	Oral interview conducted.
Carter	Edward A.			12/29/2005	Meeting	Delores Walters	Oral interview conducted.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		12/29/2005	Call	Linh Do (AKRF)	Walters interview update; interviews conducted with Jacob Morris, Michael Hooper, Ed Carter, DW left VM for JM regarding status of oral interviews and inquiring after tape recorder protocol.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		12/29/2005	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	JD called, wants to be interviewed, said his interview is the most accurate. JD will call 1/2 to set interview time.
Donegan	Jason	Property Owner, 231 Duffield Street		12/31/2005	Call	Delores Walters	Schedule and confirm interviews.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		1/2/2006	Call	Delores Walters	Unsuccessful in reaching RD to discuss interview scheduling.
Daughtry	Herbert	Reverend, House of the Lord Church		1/2/2006	Call	Delores Walters	DW left VM for JM regarding status of oral interviews and inquiring after tape recorder protocol.
Donegan	Jason	Property Owner, 231 Duffield Street		1/2/2006	Call	Delores Walters	JD called, wants to be interviewed, said his interview is the most accurate. JD will call 1/2 to set interview time.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		1/3/2006	Call	Delores Walters	Schedule and confirm interviews.
Daughtry	Herbert	Reverend, House of the Lord Church		1/3/2006	Call	Delores Walters	Unsuccessful in reaching RD to discuss interview scheduling.
Donegan	Jason	Property Owner, 231 Duffield Street		1/3/2006	Call	Delores Walters	DW left VM for JM regarding status of oral interviews and inquiring after tape recorder protocol.
Mandel	Scott			1/3/2006	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	SM left message for JM requesting return call ASAP.
Mandel	Scott			1/3/2006	Fax	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	JM faxed revised oral tradition interview forms.
Mandel	Scott			1/3/2006	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	SM raised concerns regarding Delores Walters' interview techniques.
Mandel	Scott			1/3/2006	Return Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	JM conveyed Delores Walters' impressions of interviews; SM said to chalk it up to misunderstanding.
Sangster	Donald			1/3/2006	Meeting	Delores Walters	Oral interview conducted.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		1/3/2006	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	JM conveyed Scott Mandel's concerns regarding interview technique; DW tried to determine what behavior might have prompted this concern.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		1/3/2006	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Forwarded message to DW from Michael Burke re Jason Donegan; importance of rescheduling his interview.
Wilkins	William			1/3/2006	Meeting	Delores Walters	Oral interview conducted.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		1/4/2006	Call	Delores Walters	Schedule and confirm interviews.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		1/4/2006	Meeting	Delores Walters	Oral interview conducted.
Daughtry	Herbert	Reverend, House of the Lord Church		1/4/2006	Call	Delores Walters	Unsuccessful in reaching RD to discuss interview scheduling.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		1/4/2006	Meeting	Delores Walters	Oral interview conducted.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		1/4/2006	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Left VM regarding upcoming interviews with Joy Chatel and Lewis Greenstein.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		1/4/2006	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	JM returned DW's call.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		1/4/2006	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Called to confirm meeting following DW's final interview.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		1/4/2006	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	DW called to confirm meeting location.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		1/5/2006	Call	Delores Walters	JC called to discuss interview; DW suggested JC organize her documents with help of Lewis Greenstein.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		1/6/2006	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Email from Dr. Walters to Jason Donegan with attached questionnaire, consent statement, and deed of gift form.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		1/7/2006	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Re-send of interview documents.

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Last Name	First Name	Title/Organization/Affiliation	Referral From?	Date of Contact	Contact Type	Contact By	Contact Notes
Donegan	Jason	Property Owner, 231 Duffield Street		1/9/2006	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Left VM to notify JM that he was having trouble downloading Dr. Walters' email. Requested to be sent hard copies of all materials.
Donegan	Jason	Property Owner, 231 Duffield Street		1/9/2006	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Spoke to JM regarding hard copies of materials versus electronic. JD has been ill of late, has difficulty getting around.
Donegan	Jason	Property Owner, 231 Duffield Street		1/9/2006	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Re-submission of interview forms.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		1/9/2006	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	JM relayed request by Donegan that the forms be sent via mail.
Perez	Yasmin	Legal Language Services		1/10/2006	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Left VM requesting return call.
Perez	Yasmin	Legal Language Services		1/11/2006	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Left VM confirming that JM spoke with her colleague, and they had all the materials they needed.
Perez	Yasmin	Legal Language Services		1/12/2006	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	JM returned YP's call, confirmed receipt of materials, and ETA of transcripts.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		1/18/2006	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Forwarded interview summary, logs, and expense report.
Dobard	Raymond	Professor, Department of Art, Howard University	Charles Barron	1/19/2006	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Receipt of update.
Perez	Yasmin	Legal Language Services		1/19/2006	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Forwarded transcriptions of Tapes 1, 2, 3, 5, and 6.
Perez	Yasmin	Legal Language Services		1/23/2006	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Forwarded transcription of Tape 4.
Perez	Yasmin	Legal Language Services		1/25/2006	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Receipt of final deliverable.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		1/27/2006	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Receipt of interview report. Will review transcripts.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		1/30/2006	Letter	AKRF	LG letter noting displeasure with Dr. Walters interviews.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		1/31/2006	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Reaction to letter from Lewis Greenstein and Joy Chatel.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		1/31/2006	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	DW's reaction to letter attacking oral tradition collection effort.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		2/3/2006	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Preliminary reaction to transcripts.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		2/3/2006	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	DW called to discuss course of project.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		2/3/2006	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Request from Dr. Walters as to how to proceed with corrections on oral history transcripts.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		2/3/2006	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Response to methods of transcript correction.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		2/6/2006	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	DW left VM with questions and information.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		2/6/2006	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	JM returned DW's call; discussion on updating transcripts.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		2/8/2006	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Pending submission of statement by Jason Donegan.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		2/8/2006	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Receipt of update on Jason Donegan, and log of hours.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		2/15/2006	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Update with Joy Chatel.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		2/15/2006	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Request for update from DW on project.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		2/15/2006	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Update on Joy Chatel communication.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		2/20/2006	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Receipt of VM from DW; request for email address for Jason Donegan.
Donegan	Jason	Property Owner, 231 Duffield Street		2/22/2006	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Request for research materials.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		2/22/2006	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Forwarded email address for Jason Donegan.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		2/23/2006	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	DW submitted corrected transcripts for Jacob Morris and Michael Hooper.

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Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		2/23/2006	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Receipt of transcripts.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		2/27/2006	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	DW submitted more corrected transcripts.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		2/27/2006	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	DW submitted remaining corrected transcripts.
Carter	Edward A.			3/7/2006	Letter	Linh Do (AKRF)	Submitted transcripts for review and approval.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		3/7/2006	Letter	Linh Do (AKRF)	Submitted transcripts for review and approval.
Green	Richard	Crown Heights Youth Collective		3/7/2006	Letter	Linh Do (AKRF)	Submitted transcripts for review and approval.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		3/7/2006	Letter	Linh Do (AKRF)	Submitted transcripts for review and approval.
Hooper	Michael			3/7/2006	Letter	Linh Do (AKRF)	Submitted transcripts for review and approval.
Morris	Jacob			3/7/2006	Letter	Linh Do (AKRF)	Submitted transcripts for review and approval.
Sangster	Donald			3/7/2006	Letter	Linh Do (AKRF)	Submitted transcripts for review and approval.
Wilkins	William			3/7/2006	Letter	Linh Do (AKRF)	Submitted transcripts for review and approval.
Carter	Edward A.			3/8/2006	Call	Jeff Catanese (AKRF)	Left voicemail to confirm corrected address.
Carter	Edward A.			3/8/2006	Call	Jeff Catanese (AKRF)	Corrected address confirmed.
Morris	Jacob			3/8/2006	Call	Linh Do (AKRF)	JM requested modifications to transcript; request for original of tape.
Wellman	Judith	Historical New York Research Associates	Lauren Rhodes	3/20/2006	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	JW forwarded update from Joy Chatel, requesting extension of deadline for review/submittal of materials.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		3/21/2006	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	LG submitted request for extension of deadline for review/submittal of materials, and another request from block association. Request has been passed on to the City for review.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		3/22/2006	Letter	Linh Do (AKRF)	JC requested additional time to review transcripts.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		3/23/2006	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Formal notification that the deadline for transcript review and research submittals has been extended to April 7.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		3/27/2006	E-mail Reply	Linh Do (AKRF)	Receipt of email offering assistance.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		3/28/2006	Call	Linh Do (AKRF)	Update on progress of oral history.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		3/29/2006	E-mail	Linh Do (AKRF)	JC submitted request for materials as follow-up to phone conversation.
Carter	Edward A.			3/30/2006	Letter	Linh Do (AKRF)	Formal notification that the deadline for transcript review and research submittals has been extended to April 14.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		3/30/2006	E-mail Reply	Linh Do (AKRF)	LD forwarded letter from City allowing extension.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		3/30/2006	Letter	Linh Do (AKRF)	Formal notification that the deadline for transcript review and research submittals has been extended to April 14.
Green	Richard	Crown Heights Youth Collective		3/30/2006	Letter	Linh Do (AKRF)	Formal notification that the deadline for transcript review and research submittals has been extended to April 14.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		3/30/2006	Letter	Linh Do (AKRF)	Formal notification that the deadline for transcript review and research submittals has been extended to April 14.
Hooper	Michael			3/30/2006	Letter	Linh Do (AKRF)	Formal notification that the deadline for transcript review and research submittals has been extended to April 14.
Morris	Jacob			3/30/2006	Letter	Linh Do (AKRF)	Formal notification that the deadline for transcript review and research submittals has been extended to April 14.
Sangster	Donald			3/30/2006	Letter	Linh Do (AKRF)	Formal notification that the deadline for transcript review and research submittals has been extended to April 14.
Wilkins	William			3/30/2006	Letter	Linh Do (AKRF)	Formal notification that the deadline for transcript review and research submittals has been extended to April 14.

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Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		3/31/2006	E-mail Reply	Linh Do (AKRF)	LG still reviewing transcript and meeting with people to review corrections.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		4/3/2006	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	DW offered help with contacting Donegan.
Donegan	Jason	Property Owner, 231 Duffield Street		4/4/2006	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	JM requested update on status of submission of statement, research materials.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		4/5/2006	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	JM requested for Dr. Walters to contact Donegan.
Donegan	Jason	Property Owner, 231 Duffield Street		4/6/2006	E-mail	Delores Walters	DW requested update on status of submission of statement, research materials.
Daughtry	Herbert	Reverend, House of the Lord Church		4/7/2006	Letter	Linh Do (AKRF)	Requesting information on Georgia Ware/Carlvin Smith.
Lamont	Ali	Committee to Honor Black Heroes		4/7/2006	Letter	Linh Do (AKRF)	Requesting information on Georgia Ware/Carlvin Smith.
Donegan	Jason	Property Owner, 231 Duffield Street		4/7/2006	E-mail	Delores Walters	DW requested ETA for status of submission, possibility of receiving what he has researched so far.
Donegan	Jason	Property Owner, 231 Duffield Street		4/7/2006	E-mail Reply	Delores Walters	JD delayed with chronic back pain, meeting with advisor from Brooklyn Public Library.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		4/7/2006	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	DW forwarded email from Donegan.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		4/10/2006	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	JM received forwarded message from Donegan.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		4/12/2006	Letter	Linh Do (AKRF)	JC's letter requested additional time to complete response, solid draft ready by June 1.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		4/13/2006	Call	Linh Do (AKRF)	JC left voicemail, requested call back asap.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		4/13/2006	Call	Linh Do (AKRF)	LD returned JC's call; request for one-week extension on deadline for Holy Week.
Donegan	Jason	Property Owner, 231 Duffield Street		4/13/2006	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	For inclusion in the report, materials must be submitted by 14 April.
Morris	Jacob			4/13/2006	Call	Linh Do (AKRF)	Jacob Morris requested meeting at AKRF to review oral interview transcript.
Sangster	Donald			4/13/2006	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Has reviewed transcript of oral interview; finds it unacceptable. Wants to give new interview.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		4/14/2006	Letter	Linh Do (AKRF)	Formal notification that the deadline for transcript review and research submittals has been extended to April 21.
Green	Richard	Crown Heights Youth Collective		4/14/2006	Letter	Linh Do (AKRF)	Formal notification that the deadline for transcript review and research submittals has been extended to April 21.

Oral History Collection Effort
Contact Log

Last Name	First Name	Title/Organization/Affiliation	Referral From?	Date of Contact	Contact Type	Contact By	Contact Notes
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		4/14/2006	Letter	Linh Do (AKRF)	Formal notification that the deadline for transcript review and research submittals has been extended to April 21.
Hooper	Michael			4/14/2006	Letter	Linh Do (AKRF)	Formal notification that the deadline for transcript review and research submittals has been extended to April 21.
Morris	Jacob			4/14/2006	Letter	Linh Do (AKRF)	Formal notification that the deadline for transcript review and research submittals has been extended to April 21.
Sangster	Donald			4/14/2006	Letter	Linh Do (AKRF)	Formal notification that the deadline for transcript review and research submittals has been extended to April 21.
Wilkins	William			4/14/2006	Letter	Linh Do (AKRF)	Formal notification that the deadline for transcript review and research submittals has been extended to April 21.
Carter	Edward A.			4/14/2006	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	JM called to confirm meeting for oral history review.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		4/14/2006	Call	Linh Do (AKRF)	Chatel called in conference with Greenstein, coordinated schedule for oral transcript review.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		4/14/2006	E-mail	Linh Do (AKRF)	Confirmation with Chatel and Greenstein of extension for oral transcript to 21 April.
Donegan	Jason	Property Owner, 231 Duffield Street		4/14/2006	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Discussed results of Donegan's report: "tunnels" are really coal chutes; JD provided context on block politics.
Sangster	Donald			4/14/2006	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	JM called to confirm time and date of interview transcript review; confusion on date of appointment was sorted out.
Sangster	Donald			4/14/2006	Call	Linh Do (AKRF)	DS left voicemail with LD that he would not be able to approve his transcript as sent by AKRF; would elaborate at their meeting.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		4/14/2006	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	DW called to inform JM that Donegan was faxing his report to her, and that she would be forwarding it on to AKRF.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		4/14/2006	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	DW called to confirm AKRF's receipt of Donegan's report.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		4/15/2006	E-mail	Linh Do (AKRF)	LG submitted first 9 pages of edited transcript.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		4/16/2006	E-mail	Linh Do (AKRF)	Request that Linh Do meet with the committee instead of Jennifer Morris.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		4/17/2006	Call	Linh Do (AKRF)	Chatel requested a copy of her oral interview transcript; found assistance for Ed Carter, and Do would not have to visit him.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		4/17/2006	E-mail Reply	Linh Do (AKRF)	LD will meet with the committee instead of Jennifer Morris.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		4/17/2006	E-mail Reply	Linh Do (AKRF)	LD forwarded copy of Chatel's interview transcript.
Donegan	Jason	Property Owner, 231 Duffield Street		4/17/2006	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	JD urgently requested call back regarding press release.
Donegan	Jason	Property Owner, 231 Duffield Street		4/17/2006	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	JD expressed frustration with Chatel and Greenstein.
Donegan	Jason	Property Owner, 231 Duffield Street		4/17/2006	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Following up on phone conversation, JM sent contact information for Winston Von Engel to inquire after the status of property acquisition.
Sharpless	Dr. M. Rebecca	Director, Baylor University's Institute of Oral History		4/17/2006	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Request for guidance on the addition of bracketed text to oral histories.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		4/17/2006	E-mail	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	Inquired as to Greenstein's desire to replace whole sections of his oral interview transcript; would it be acceptable to place the new text in brackets and call the result an annotated transcript.
Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		4/17/2006	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	DW referred JM to Sharpless for guidance on the bracketed text question.

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Walters	Delores	Community Resources Specialist, National Underground Railroad Freedom Center		4/17/2006	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	JM cc'ed DW on her direct inquiry to Sharpless.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		4/18/2006	Call	Linh Do (AKRF)	Chatel left message saying she had not received the electronic version of her oral transcript.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		4/18/2006	E-mail Reply	Linh Do (AKRF)	LD resubmitted the transcript of Chatel's interview.
Sharpless	Dr. M. Rebecca	Director, Baylor University's Institute of Oral History		4/18/2006	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	The addition of text on the part of interviewees can be awkward but is not unprecedented.
Sharpless	Dr. M. Rebecca	Director, Baylor University's Institute of Oral History		4/18/2006	E-mail Reply	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	As per Sharpless' suggestion, AKRF will include header note on the edited transcripts.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		4/19/2006	E-mail	Linh Do (AKRF)	LG submitted edits to pages 10-18 of transcript.
Sangster	Donald			4/19/2006	Meeting	Linh Do (AKRF)	Conversion of transcript to written submission.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		4/20/2006	E-mail Reply	Linh Do (AKRF)	LD sent hopes that the electronic transcript helped his review, and that the side effects of his new heart medication abated soon.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		4/20/2006	E-mail Reply	Linh Do (AKRF)	LG noted easier review with electronic transcript.
Morris	Jacob			4/20/2006	Meeting	Linh Do (AKRF)	Review and revision of transcript.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		4/21/2006	Call	Linh Do (AKRF)	Do and Chatel exchanged project updates.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		4/22/2006	E-mail	Linh Do (AKRF)	LG submitted additional edits to transcript.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		4/24/2006	E-mail	Linh Do (AKRF)	JC requested Richard Green's transcript electronically.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		4/24/2006	E-mail Reply	Linh Do (AKRF)	LD sent Green's transcript electronically.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		4/27/2006	E-mail	Linh Do (AKRF)	LG submitted additional edits to transcript.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		5/5/2006	E-mail Reply	Linh Do (AKRF)	Request for an update on scanned materials from Chatel, and for consent forms from Green and Carter.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		5/5/2006	E-mail	Linh Do (AKRF)	LD request final edits to transcript.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		5/5/2006	E-mail Reply	Linh Do (AKRF)	LG responded with update on review process.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		5/5/2006	E-mail Reply	Linh Do (AKRF)	LG submitted final piece of first round review.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		5/8/2006	Call	Linh Do (AKRF)	JC asked for assistance with document compilation.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		5/8/2006	Call	Jennifer Morris (AKRF)	JC left voicemail requesting callback.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		5/8/2006	E-mail	Linh Do (AKRF)	JC took pictures of the documents, but these did not come out. If second attempt is not successful, will ask for assistance. Dr. Green received transcripts, will correct them ASAP.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		5/10/2006	E-mail	Linh Do (AKRF)	LG noted edits to pages 10 and 11 were not incorporated will resend.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		5/11/2006	Call	Linh Do (AKRF)	JC left voicemail on LD's cell phone with project update.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		5/11/2006	Call	Linh Do (AKRF)	LD returned JC's call; update received.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		5/11/2006	E-mail	Linh Do (AKRF)	JC sent project/schedule update.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		5/11/2006	E-mail Reply	Linh Do (AKRF)	JC provided meeting schedule update and receipt of project update.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		5/11/2006	E-mail	Linh Do (AKRF)	Update on transcript review.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		5/11/2006	E-mail Reply	Linh Do (AKRF)	Update on transcript review.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		5/12/2006	E-mail	Linh Do (AKRF)	No materials received from Mr. Carter or Ms. Lee; LD requested that JC inquire after their progress.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		5/12/2006	E-mail Reply	Linh Do (AKRF)	LD requested clarification on what assistance JC was requesting from AKRF.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		5/13/2006	E-mail	Linh Do (AKRF)	LD forwarded latest copy of annotated transcript.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		5/15/2006	E-mail Reply	Linh Do (AKRF)	LD forwarded Carter transcript, as requested by JC.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		5/15/2006	Meeting	Linh Do (AKRF)	Review of JC's materials. Documents were not available for copying. Set up meeting to help with transcript review.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		5/18/2006	Call	Linh Do (AKRF)	JC called to reschedule appointment.

Oral History Collection Effort
Contact Log

Last Name	First Name	Title/Organization/Affiliation	Referral From?	Date of Contact	Contact Type	Contact By	Contact Notes
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		5/18/2006	E-mail	Linh Do (AKRF)	LD re-submitted Hooper transcript and Lamont letter.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		5/22/2006	Call	Linh Do (AKRF)	LG left message regarding incorporation of edits to transcript.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		5/22/2006	Call	Linh Do (AKRF)	LD and JM returned call. LG expressed displeasure with missing edits; edits were determined not to be received by AKRF.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		5/23/2006	E-mail	Linh Do (AKRF)	LD requested clarification on scanned documents sent in to AKRF.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		5/23/2006	Meeting	Linh Do (AKRF)	Review of JC's materials. Transmitted scanned copies to AKRF FTP site. JC did not need assistance on her written submission.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		5/24/2006	Call	Linh Do (AKRF)	LD left voicemail for JC requesting clarification on certain documents submitted to AKRF.
Morris	Jacob			5/24/2006	Call	Linh Do (AKRF)	Do called to follow-up on oral transcript release; timetable for its return to AKRF.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		5/25/2006	Call	Linh Do (AKRF)	JC left voicemail regarding document clarification.
Chatel	Joy	Property Owner, 227 Duffield Street		5/25/2006	Call	Linh Do (AKRF)	JC returned LD's call regarding document clarification; set up meeting.
Greenstein	Lewis	Property Owner, 233 Duffield Street		5/25/2006	E-mail	Linh Do (AKRF)	LG forwarded additional transcript revisions, with notes on what various edits mean in the file.
Morris	Jacob			5/25/2006	Call	Linh Do (AKRF)	Left message with Mr. Morris' wife requesting a return call.

Appendix J

Fred Laverpool Report

Braggin' About Brooklyn's

**Preliminary Statement in the Application for
Historical Landmark Designation of Defined
Brooklyn Area**

Submitted by
Frederick Laverpool Sr.
Founder, Braggin' About Brooklyn
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(718) 390-3507
(718) 771-0307

Confidential draft - Not for distribution or copy ©

Mr. Winston R. Von Engel, Deputy Director
Department of City Planning
City of New York
Brooklyn Office
16 Court Street 7th Floor
Brooklyn, New York 11241

Dear Mr. Von Engel,

In reply to our recent telephone conversation, and aligned with your dedicated commitment to ensure the proper identification and protection and preservation of a significant historical themed community aspect in relation to African American history, it is with great pride to specifically establish and inform you and your office that therein your current downtown Brooklyn environment impact survey, there existed a community of significant historical value which has been discovered and identified as a significant historical community with a more than tremendous importance beyond reasonable doubt with relationship to and of great importance to American history and with a distinctive involvement with the historical Underground Railroad. As an acknowledged historian of Brooklyn's African American history and as a developing authority on and of the history of Brooklyn's involvement in the Underground Railroad, I believe there is a wealth of information to prove this fact.

The initial preliminary investigative statements by historians and academia professionals clearly and overwhelmingly substantiate and support the statement that the defined area of the environment impact survey is and can beyond reasonable doubt be proven to a significant historical location to America's history during its horrific slavery period. The area of definition of both your environment impact and the community of significant historical importance is bordered to the north by High Street, to the east by Flatbush Avenue, to the west by Jay Street and to the south by Livingston Street. In 1790, according to the Federal census, and as a result of the actions of those who lived in the defined area of the community of "Abolitionist" Brooklyn inherited the distinctive title as being "The Grand Central Terminal of the Underground Railroad". This distinctive and honorable title was and is only associated with Brooklyn after thus far researched material of the Underground Railroad of many states, which were involved in this country's first civil rights action during the era of slavery in America.

To date, acknowledged historians and noted published academia professional consultants concur that the area of this current discussion is with great contribution to America's history. It is perfectly clear that the community as described by the above boundaries and the contribution of those whom lived therein was a significant aspect to the development of Brooklyn and without question this development shaped the darkest moment that of the slavery era.

The protection of historical and cultural resources associated with African American history has been in adequately represented within the statewide historic

Noted is the ability and capacity of blacks in Brooklyn, New York during these early times in establishing for themselves separate communities and by 1796, blacks who practiced Protestantism, became frustrated by the segregation and discrimination of the white churches and formed their own religious organizations.

While many New York, Brooklyn residents both black and white play pivotal roles in the struggle for liberation from slavery, many associations and cultural institutions, like the Woolman's Benevolent association of Nassau Street in Brooklyn, along with public schools for blacks and separate black churches helped form and proved the resourcefulness of the under represented communities of blacks and helped develop in Brooklyn, one of the mightiest abolitionist locations of all of founding America. It can not be more emphatically stated with significance that the single most underlying factor that was created to undermine the evil political system of slavery - "Man's inhumanity to man" was the abolitionist movement, the growth of which ensured slavery's demise.

Eradicating the "identified area" which by documentation will be proven to have had the most significant concentration of abolitionist churches of any area located within America during that time, would display a deflection conscious and eradicating any historical defined fact, even that which is defined by, minimum of qualification for historical designation that by oral traditions and destroying the location that which is defined within the Brooklyn current environmental impact area information, would constitute the greatest atrocity against the preservation of treasured American history. Frankly I personally cannot imagine such a callous act in the name of any progressive development by a city governmental official or representative.

"A race of people without a history is, doomed for degradation" once quoted the Russian physicist Andre sackarov. It is inconceivable the desire to eradicate the history of the only ethnic group in Brooklyn who have survived progressively and who are not immigrants.

The Underground Railroad and the safe haven it created within the homes and churches of abolitionist and the followers of the abolitionist movement, is considered one of the greatest factual remnants that remind us of the commitment numerous individuals had towards the abolition of slavery. While it is understandably desirable and easy to decide to eradicate these remnants, which highlight the oppression of people of African decent, one only needs to consider the detrimental effect of eliminating valuable American history without the thought of preservation and without regard to the effect upon future generations and how history will remember those responsible for the eradication.

Currently, very few sites have been formally recognized for their association with this very critical theme of American history and its involvement with the Underground Railroad and the city planners should not be the first in line to eradicate their very own American history. The current locations on Duffield Street and Albee Square west Street must not be eliminated but investigated, researched and preserved for future generations to better understand the quality of character of which Brooklynites

were born with developed and used to help develop Brooklyn and shape the destiny of America.

Let's be perfectly clear the identification, recognition, protection and preservation of this defined historical location by all parties concerned can only serve as a source of civic ethnic pride and provide all brooklynites with a distinctive legacy associated with the struggles for freedom and rights of others and a lasting positive image for all future generations, the opposite will always question what manner of humans would destroy their legacy to history.

This preliminary overview establishes that the major historic theme relating to a specific area and its involvement with the Underground Railroad are presumptively clear. I have personally visited the states of Kentucky, Ohio, Tennessee, Georgia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, West Virginia, Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina, and studied New York state areas, and in the past eight years of studying the underground railroad and working with individuals in each of these states and locations therein, in relationship to the underground railroad, and I have never personally experienced an area with such a high concentration of with abolitionist related churches as contained within the defined area of the Brooklyn environmental impact survey area that which includes Duffield Street and surrounding community.

To probe the question of any reasonable doubt will include the following research including but not limited to thorough investigation, analysis and evaluation of:

- a. Court records
- b. Birth records
- c. Death records
- d. Church directories
- e. Federal census
- f. Off year state census
- g. Tax records
- h. Military records
- i. Quaker meeting record
- j. Business records
- k. Deeds
- l. School records
- m. Black Newspaper

The thorough examination and research through published books, journals and unpublished book length manuscripts on the following subjects:

- a. slavery and free person of African descent in New York 1626-1827
- b. African American in antebellum New York 1827-1864
- c. The African American press 1827-1867

- d. American Revolution and Civil War military records
- e. The African American church 1776-1865 in New York

Research Team –

The following is the list of proposed human resources:

1. Professor Craig Wilder+
2. professor Robert Swan+
3. Dr. Amos Jordan*
4. National Park Service*
5. National Archive Association+
6. Brooklyn Historical Society*
7. Queens Historical Society*
8. New York Historical Society+
9. national Land Preservation Committee+
10. Ms. E. Hardy – Brooklyn Central Library – Brooklyn Collection*
11. Mr. J. Driscoll – Queens Central Library – Long Island Collection*
12. Mr. C. Moore – Schaumburg Library+
13. Ms. Michelle Williams – researcher*
14. Ms. A. Meyer – Brooklyn Society Library+
15. Ms. Victoria Missick – researcher*
16. Ms. Crystal Barkley – researcher*
17. Braggin' About Brooklyn – (CEO Destiny Burns)*

*Committed participants

+ Anticipated participants

resource inventories to date. Identifying and protecting these historical areas is a critical issue in contemporary historic preservation. While there are many reasons why historic resources related to African American history has been often overlooked in traditional preservationist attempts to identify and protect historical sites of African American history and area of the slavery era, are perhaps far likely by the result of its painful memory of guilt and shame that it regenerates.

Also constraints of time and money often limit the kind of documental research and investigation needed to established significant historical African American communities. And while many scholars have developed knowledge and expertise about the history of the under represented cultural efforts to identify, protect and preserve these communities are met often with strong opposition because of the question of value in preserving resources that recall the oppression of one race over another. African American heritage is woven deeply into the fabric of American history and the notion that African American history is separate of American history is the notion that undermines the realities of the true stories of histories ever being told and fore stalling America into a fantasy of fable folklores not accurate accounts.

To dispel the accounts that occurred relating to the African American with regard to his role and contributions to history will forever be considered an unconscionable act of deceit. However even though there is not always time for a full fledged survey and while often many resources are lost such as in the late eighteenth century black community called the hills in Westchester County for example. This community was not identified nor documented and planning agencies in an unknown reason of haste eradicated the development before it could be protected, recorded and preserved. Upon this notification, such is hope not to be the case of this historical location of Brooklyn, which is defined and is developing through current research and identification as being one of the most concentrated areas of abolitionist churches and one of the richest abolitionist strongholds in America, located within the second largest slaveholding county of America after the 1790's and until the end of slavery in America.

Africans were some of the earliest settlers in New York. By 1643 Jan Francisco, an African trader and landowner had settled in Breukelen. While the slave population of New York State grew by the late 1700's, New York/Brooklyn had the largest slave population of any state north of Maryland. The ability of the academic communities to identify, protect and preserve specific properties of the African culture that represented history have lagged, and have been relatively non existent with the surviving remnants of the 18th century African burials.

While the African slave labor was a crucial component to the development of colonial Brooklyn, New York and America, the potential to provide significant opportunities to preserve and protect the many resources associated with these themes communities relative to history, for many reasons have failed, this current opportunity which of the identified area of definition of Brooklyn is of significant importance to American history if the truth is ever to be told accurately.

Addendum to Research Report

Addendum to Report: Summary and Response to Materials

The following materials were submitted to AKRF, Inc. after May 30, 2006. Responses to issues raised in the materials are provided.

1) Feedback from the University of Western Ontario.

A reference librarian at the University of Western Ontario has reviewed the portions of Fred Landon's papers that appeared relevant to the research effort (specifically, Box 4220, Files 6A, 11, and 14-19). The librarian did not find any references to Elizabeth Harris, Mary Truesdell Frederickson, Charles Frederickson, Harriet Lee Truesdell, Thomas Truesdell, Julia Truesdell Batteris, or Abby Truesdell.

2) An amended and approved transcript of the interview of Jacob Morris by Delores Walters on December 28, 2005.

The statements made in this interview were addressed in the section of the research report entitled "Oral Tradition Collection Effort," which starts on page 46.

3) A copy of document entitled "Research Notes and Outline Sketch for the Underground Railroad in New York City and Brooklyn, with Particular Reference to Duffield Street," written Dr. Robert J. Swan and dated June 9, 2006 (received from Joy Chatel).

To follow up on Dr. Swan's paper, several sources were reviewed for additional information on Thomas and Harriet Truesdell:

The Graham Journal of Health and Longevity, vol. 1, no. 1, April 4, 1837.

- Thomas Truesdell is noted as one of a number of individuals whose testimonials in favor of the Graham System (of dietary reform) were published in this issue of the journal, as well as in the "Esculapian Tablets." David Campbell is noted as the editor of the journal

Genius of Universal Emancipation, vol. X, nos. 243 and 249, January 1 and February 12, 1830.

- Thomas Truesdell is listed as an authorized agent for the journal in both issues, from Providence, Rhode Island.

Gilkeson, John S. Middle-Class Providence, 1820-1940. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986.

- On page 36, the following reference is found, in a discussion of the formation of the Providence Anti-Slavery Society in June 1833: "Only two members of the original [Providence] Society for Abolishing the Slave Trade, George Benson, former partner of Moses Brown and father-in-law of William Lloyd Garrison, and Thomas Truesdell, a grocer, appear to have been active in the later antislavery movement."

Ruchames, Louis and Walter M. Merrill, editors. The Letters of William Lloyd Garrison, volumes I-VI. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971.

- On page 350, vol. II, the following reference is found, in a letter to Helen E. Garrison dated May 7, 1838: "Since then, I have been under the roof of our ever hospitable friend Thomas Truesdell, where are also abiding friends H.C. Wright and Wm. Adams of

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Pawtucket. Mrs. Truesdell is, as usual, pleasant and smiling." The footnote associated with this reference reads: "Thomas Truesdell was a Negro abolitionist who had a large home in Brooklyn Heights in New York. Garrison stayed there at least one other time." On page 378, vol. II, the following reference is found, apparently regarding the same trip: "In New York, I enjoyed the hospitality (not for the first or second time) of my esteemed friend Thomas Truesdall, formerly of Providence." Based on the directory research noted below, in 1838 Thomas Truesdell's residence would have been 47 Pearl Street in Manhattan; however, in the 1839-1840 directory, his residence is listed as 14 Hicks Street in Brooklyn. Thomas Truesdell was not noted as African American in any of the census or city directories researched.

- On page 614, vol. II, the following reference is found in a letter to Helen E. Garrison dated May 16, 1840: "Last evening, bro. Rogers and myself went over to Brooklyn, to stay at friend Truesdell's, until we sail. He has got a fine house, and we had a very gracious reception at the hands of Mrs. T. — of course. Friend Adams, of Pawtucket, who is going to Liverpool with us, is also at friend T's." On page 617, vol. II, the following reference is found in a letter to Helen E. Garrison dated May 19, 1840: "Rogers and myself have been very hospitably entertained at Mrs. Truesdell's." On page 627, the following reference is found, apparently regarding the same trip: "N.B. I would gratefully acknowledge the kindness of my friend Thomas Van Rensalaer, of New-York city, and of Thomas Truesdell and family, of Brooklyn, N.Y. in extending to me a most hospitable reception during my stay in the commercial emporium." Based on the directory research noted below, in 1840 Thomas Truesdell's residence would have been either 14 Hicks Street or 11 Liberty Street.
- On page 321, vol. IV, the following reference is found in a letter to Helen E. Garrison dated October 19, 1854: "...I went with Dr. R[otton] over to Brooklyn, where I found Anna looking very well, and very pleasantly situated in a handsome house, neatly furnished, and well located ... Isaac Swasey and his wife, and friend Truesdell and John O. Wattles also came in, with two or three others, and we passed the time very agreeably till near midnight." This incident does not occur in a Truesdell residence; however, it does occur during the time period the Truesdell family was in residence at 227 Duffield Street.

Garrison, Wendell Phillips. William Lloyd Garrison, 1805-1879; The Story of His Life Told by His Children, vols. I and II. New York: The Century, 1885-1889.

- On page 356, vol. II, the following reference is found, to an article by N.P. Rogers in the newspaper *Herald of Freedom*: "At the National Meeting in May [1840], Thomas Van Rensalaer opened his heart and his home in New York to brother Garrison and us, without money and without price ... We take this late opportunity of acknowledging, too, the kind hospitality of Thomas Truesdell and family, who gave us, with brother Garrison, the shelter of his beautiful home on Brooklyn Heights, from the close of the meeting until the departure of our vessel for England." Also, on page 359, vol. II, the following reference is found, from a May 21, 1840 letter by William Lloyd Garrison to an unknown party: "As soon as I came over from Brooklyn this morning (for Rogers and myself are still making our headquarters at Mrs. Truesdell's), whom should I see but Wm. M. Chace and James C. Jackson, just arrived from Boston, via Connecticut!" Based on the directory research noted above, in 1840 Thomas Truesdell's residence would have been either 14 Hicks Street or 11 Liberty Street.

**Research Report on the Potential Underground Railroad Associations of
the Duffield Street and Gold Street Properties in Downtown Brooklyn**

Foner, Phillip S. Business and Slavery: The New York Merchants and the Irrepressible Conflict. New York: Russell and Russell, 1968.

- References to a Daniel Lord are found on a number of pages: donated money in 1850 toward the "launching of an opposition paper to the *Albany Evening Journal*, which would voice the desire of New Yorkers for compromise" (p. 25); joined a committee to "'sustain Mr. Clay's compromise' as the best way of achieving 'the permanent settlement of the great questions now agitating the nation.'" It is also noted that the merchants on this committee had also attended an anti-compromise meeting two years earlier (p. 25); was active in the movement to nominate Millard Fillmore (p. 82); sent a letter to Moses H. Grinnell, which was published in the *New York Tribune* on May 15, 1854, noting his opposition to the Nebraska bill: "It opens the country anew to agitation on the subject of Slavery, not to end until it be driven off or the Union severed ... and it tends to the indefinite prolongation in this country of Slavery. On every principle the proposed bill is objectionable as a radical and vital evil;" (p. 96); attended a meeting in 1856 regarding the attack upon Senator Charles Sumner by Preston Brooks, and spoke at the meeting, warning "the South that if it persisted in its 'madness' the merchants of New York would be forced to unite against it;" (p. 104); attended a meeting in 1856 of the mercantile supporters of Millard Fillmore (p. 133); led a large group of merchants in a successful struggle to defeat a resolution condemning the slave trade, at the annual meeting of the American Tract Society in May 1860 (p. 168); hosted a meeting in December 1860 of merchants united to preserve the Union (p. 237); wrote a letter to John Crittenden regarding the proposed compromise in December 1860 (p. 249); and wrote a letter and publication regarding the effects of secession upon the commercial relations between the North and South, noting that secession would bring the cotton trade to New York (p. 275-276).

The following sources noted in Dr. Swan's report were reviewed, but no references to the owners or residents of the subject properties were identified:

Hansen, Debra Gold. Strained Sisterhood: Gender and Class in the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1993.

Jentz, John B. "The Antislavery Constituency in Jacksonian New York City." *Civil War History* vol. 28, no. 2, 1981.

Kerber, Linda K. "Abolitionists and Amalgamators: The New York City Race Riots of 1834." *New York History*, vol. 48, no. 1, 1967.

McDougall, Marion Gleason. Fugitive Slaves (1619-1865). Boston: Ginn & Company, 1891.

Mills, Bruce, ed. Lydia Maria Child: Letters from New York. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998.

Myers, John L. "Antislavery Agencies in Rhode Island, 1832-1835." *Rhode Island History*, vol. 29, nos. 3-4, 1970.

Myers, John L. "Anti-Slavery Agents in Rhode Island, 1835-1837." *Rhode Island History*, vol. 30, no. 1, 1971.

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Pease, Jane H. and William H. Pease. They Who Would Be Free: Blacks Search for Freedom, 1830-1861. New York: Atheneum, 1974.

Rammelkamp, Jilian. "The Providence Negro Community, 1820-1842." *Rhode Island History*, vol. 7, no. 1, 1948.

Brooklyn and New York City directories from 1834 through 1849, as well as several earlier Providence city directories, were reviewed to corroborate references to the Truesdell's residences during those years. The listings from these directories are provided in the table below.

Year	Providence	
1824	Truesdell, Thomas, grocer, Hydraulion, 104 Westmins.	
1828	Truesdell, Thomas & Co., grocers, 2 Weyb. 104 Westminster	
1836-37	Truesdell & Rhodes, grocers, 32 Market; Truesdell, Thomas, grocer, 32 Market, 104 Westminster	
	Brooklyn	New York
1833-34	NID	NID
1834-35	NID	NID
1835-36	NID	NID
1836-37	NID	Truesdell, Thomas, locksmith, 24 Canal
1837-38	NID	NID
1838-39	NID	Truesdell, Thomas, 35 Front, h 47 Pearl
1839-40	Truesdell, Thos., commission merch., 200 Fulton, N.Y., h 14 Hicks	Truesdell, Thomas, 200 Front c. Fulton, h 14 Hicks Street
1840-41	Truesdell, Thos., commis. merch. NY, h. 11 Liberty	Truesdell (Thomas) & E.J. Moore, brokers 62 Wall
1841-42-	Truesdell, Thos., com. merchant. NY, h. 11 Liberty	Truesdell (Thomas) & E.J. Moore, brokers 62 Wall
1842-43	Not available	Truesdell (Thomas) & E.J. Moore, brokers 62 Wall
1843-44	Truesdell, Thos., com. merchant NY, h. 113 Johnson	Truesdell, Thomas, cotton broker, 62 Wall, h. Brooklyn; Truesdell T. & E.J. Moore, cotton brokers, 62 Wall
1844-45	Truesdell, Thomas, com. merchant NY, h. 113 Johnson	Truesdell, Thomas, cottonbroker, 62 Wall, h. Brooklyn; Truesdell T. & E.J. Moore, cotton brokers, 62 Wall
1845-46	Truesdell, Thomas, com. merchant NY, h. 113 Johnson	Truesdell, Thomas, cottonbroker, 74 Wall, h. Brooklyn; Truesdell, Moore & Co., cottonbrokers, 74 Wall
1846-47	Not available	Truesdell, Thomas, cottonbroker, 74 Wall, h. Brooklyn; Truesdell, Moore & Co., cottonbrokers, 74 Wall

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the Duffield Street and Gold Street Properties in Downtown Brooklyn**

1847-48	Truesdell, Thomas, com. merch. NY, h. 113 Johnson	Truesdell, Thomas, cottonbroker, 74 Wall, h. Brooklyn; Truesdell, Moore & Co., cottonbrokers, 74 Wall
1848-49	Truesdell, Thomas, commission merchant NY, h. 113 Johnson	Truesdell, Thomas, cottonbroker, 74 Wall, h. 113 Johnson, Brooklyn; Truesdell, Moore & Co., cottonbrokers, 74 Wall
NID=not in directory		

No information regarding the names of delegates to agent training conventions of the American Anti-Slavery Society ca. 1836-1837 has been identified.

Property deeds from the Brooklyn City Register were reviewed to corroborate the reference to William Harned purchasing property on Block 2077 (current Block 146) in 1850. No deed conveyances relating to William Harned were identified for Block 2077. However, deed conveyances were identified relating to William Harned on Block 2059, which is the block directly north of Block 2077. William Harned is identified as having purchased property from John White on Block 2059 in 1848, and having sold his property on this block in 1853. As noted in the research report (page 5), Brooklyn directories list William Harned as living on the block bounded by Myrtle Avenue and Duffield, Gold, and Willoughby Streets ca. 1851-54.

Regarding Dr. Swan's statement about outreach from AKRF: at the suggestion of Dr. Pettit, Dr. Swan was contacted by AKRF in August and September 2004 for potential research suggestions. Dr. Swan provided several suggestions which were followed up on by AKRF, but noted that he did not have any information specific to the subject properties. Dr. Swan stated that he was beginning to organize his notes and research on Underground Railroad activities in Brooklyn, but that this would take a very long time, and that if he found relevant information he would let AKRF know. This was Dr. Swan's last contact with AKRF.

4) A statement written by Joy Chatel, property owner of 227 Duffield Street, submitted with attachments. *It should be noted that this document was written by Ms. Chatel and is not a interview transcript.

- The report by Fred Laverpool entitled "Braggin' About Brooklyn," which is attached to Ms. Chatel's statement, has been reviewed previously and is included in the research report as Appendix J.
- The Bridge Street Church Centennial publication, which is attached to Ms. Chatel's statement, has been reviewed previously and is noted in the research report (page 27).
- The statements made regarding Thomas Truesdell's occupation in Providence, Rhode Island have been corroborated as noted above. As noted in the Truesdell online genealogy, Thomas Truesdell and his son-in-law, Charles Frederickson, bought a cotton factory in 1843 in Battenville, Washington County, New York. Thomas and Harriet Truesdell sold the factory in 1847.
- The documentary source for the statement regarding Thomas Truesdell's membership in the Providence Society for Abolishing the Slave Trade is noted above.
- The documentary sources for the statement regarding William Lloyd Garrison letters are noted above.

Addendum

- Brooklyn and New York City directory listings for Thomas and Harriet Truesdell from ca. 1838-1849 are noted above.
- Regarding the statements made about Thomas Truesdell's abolitionist papers and journals being sent to his place of business; Thomas Truesdell's business address, per the New York City and Brooklyn directories, was 35 Front (1838-39), 200 Fulton (1838-40), 62 Wall (1840-45), 74 Wall (1845-52), 141 Pearl (1852-62) and 92 Beaver (1853-54, 1856-58), and 132 Pearl (1862-64). In *National Anti-Slavery Standard* references (as noted in the research report), he is listed variously as being from Brooklyn and New York.
- *Julia Lee Truesdell Batteris*, the daughter of Thomas and Harriet Truesdell, was born in 1822. Documentary research conducted to date has not uncovered any connection between Harriet Truesdell and Juliana Tappan before or after their attendance at the 1838 Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women in Philadelphia. Therefore, it is not considered to be likely that Julia Lee Truesdell was named after Juliana Tappan.
- Documentary research conducted to date has not uncovered any abolitionist or Underground Railroad connections of Reverend Francis Peck. In addition, research conducted to date has not uncovered any meeting at Reverend Peck's house regarding an influx of freedom seekers fleeing to Brooklyn after the Fugitive Slave Act and the incidents in Five Points. The *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* article and undated Brooklyn directory pages attached to Ms. Chatel's statement document Reverend Peck's affiliations with St. Mark's Church and Calvary Church, which are noted in the research report.
- Henry C. Bowen married Lucy Tappan, the daughter of Lewis Tappan, not Juliana Tappan as stated. (See page 42 of the research report.)
- See page 43 of the research report for a discussion of Colonel William Truesdail. According to the online Truesdell genealogy, Thomas Truesdell and Harriet Lee Truesdell had two sons named William Lee Truesdell, both of whom died in early childhood.
- See page 64 of the research report for a discussion of Georgia Ware. As noted in the report, a search of 1975-1995 New York City telephone directories did not identify any listings for a G. or Georgia Ware on Duffield Street.
- As noted in the research report, documentary research conducted to date has not uncovered any abolitionist or Underground Railroad connections of Nathaniel Bonnel.
- A short biographical sketch of William Harned is provided on page 3 of the research report.
- The documentary source for the statement regarding Thomas Truesdell's connection to the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* is noted above.
- The documentary source for the statement regarding Thomas Truesdell's connection to the founding of Rhode Island's Anti-Slavery Society is noted above.
- The documentary source for the statement regarding Thomas Truesdell's connection to the *Graham Journal of Health and Longevity* is noted above.

**Research Report on the Potential Underground Railroad Associations of
the Duffield Street and Gold Street Properties in Downtown Brooklyn**

- As noted above, no information regarding the names of delegates to agent training conventions of the American Anti-Slavery Society ca. 1836-1837 has been identified.
- Documentary research conducted to date has not uncovered any information regarding campaign for City office by Charles Fredrickson in 1857.
- Documentary research conducted to date has not uncovered any information regarding a potential sister of Charles Frederickson or connections to abolitionist societies in Nova Scotia.
- Documentary research conducted to date has not uncovered any information regarding a potential marriage of Elizabeth Harris to an individual with the last name of Jackson.
- Documentary research conducted to date has not uncovered any information regarding a potential connection of Harriet or Thomas Truesdell to Zion Shiloh Baptist Church or Concord Baptist Church (see page 27 of the research report).
- Stanley Lemons of the First Baptist Church in America was contacted to follow up on his e-mail message regarding the church memberships of Thomas and Harriet Truesdell, which is attached to Ms. Chatel's statement. Mr. Lemons notes that the membership records of Harriet and Thomas Truesdell can be verified in the Minutes of the First Baptist Church, and provided the relevant references. The *Historical Catalogue of the Members of the First Baptist Church in Providence, Rhode Island* (1908), compiled and edited by Henry Melville King, also lists their memberships. Mr. Lemons searched these records and found no references to other members of Thomas and Harriet Truesdell's immediate family (Mary E. Truesdell Frederickson, Charles W. Frederickson, Julia Lee Truesdell Batteris, Richard Batteris, Harriet Batteris, Abbie Kennicutt Truesdell, and Anna Kennicutt Truesdell). The *Historical Catalogue of the Members of the First Baptist Church in Providence, Rhode Island* notes that Thomas Truesdell was received in April 1820 and ceased his connection in July 1823. Harriet Truesdell was received in April 1816 and left the church in January 1840 for the First Baptist Church of Brooklyn.
- Mr. Lemons also noted that First Baptist Church in Providence was not known as an abolitionist church; the church "was badly split on the issue of immediate abolition. Until 1841, one of the most influential and richest men in Rhode Island was Nicholas Brown, Jr., and he was an opponent of the abolitionist crusade. He owned the front pew in the Meeting House. On the other hand, Joseph Bogman, the wealthiest abolitionist in Rhode Island owned another pew just a few to the rear of Brown. And in the other front pew, right next to Brown's was Phebe Jackson who was a subscriber to William Lloyd Garrison's *Liberator*. Until the split in the Baptist denomination in 1845, Francis Wayland, president of Brown University and president of the Baptist Triennial Convention, took the moderate-to-conservative side of the issue, trying to prevent the denomination from dividing. Wayland was a powerful influence in FBC in Providence. A number of members of a more radical mind moved their membership to other Baptist churches in Providence in the 1840s."
- The First Baptist Church in Brooklyn was established in 1823 and was located on Nassau Street at the corner of Liberty Street by 1835. As noted on page 32 of the research report, the First Baptist Church and the Pierrepont Street Baptist Church merged in 1873 to form the First Baptist Church in Pierrepont Street. In 1893, the congregation moved to its current location at Schermerhorn Street and Third Avenue,

Addendum

and the existing building (the Baptist Temple) was constructed. This church is not known to have been abolitionist, nor is it reported to have been a station on the Underground Railroad.

- Regarding the establishment of a newspaper by Lewis Tappan: Arthur Tappan did establish a newspaper in 1827 named the Journal of Commerce, and eventually sold his interest in the paper to Lewis Tappan and other investors. The *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, however, was founded in 1841 by Henry Cruse Murphy and Isaac Van Anden. (<http://eagle.brooklynpubliclibrary.org/Archive/skins/BE/NavigationSites/what.htm>)

LEGAL LANGUAGE SERVICES

TAPE TRANSCRIPTION

DESIGNATED AS: 803898

TAPE 1: Jacob Morris

12/28/2005

Delores Walters: I am Delores Walters; we are at 233 Duffield Street in Brooklyn, interviewing Jacob Morris on December 28th, 2005. So, Mr. Morris, we begin with you and have you state your name and your present residence.

Jacob Morris: My name is Jacob Morris. And I currently reside [on the Upper Westside] in Manhattan, New York City.

Delores Walters: Thank you. Could you give your current employment?

Jacob Morris: I'm basically a consultant, program designer and grant writer for various non-profits.

Delores Walters: Okay. And please remember if there are any questions that you don't feel comfortable in answering, you have the prerogative not to. I should say that at the outset.

Jacob Morris: Excellent.

Delores Walters: Alright. Are you the owner of any of the buildings that are the subject of this research project, with respect to the Underground Railroad in downtown Brooklyn?

Jacob Morris: No.

Delores Walters: Okay. You're not the owner of any of the buildings, but have you been involved with any of the residents who own the buildings and could you give me an idea of what that relationship is?

Jacob Morris: Am I involved with any of the residences.

Delores Walters: With any of the residents.

Jacob Morris: Residents?

Delores Walters: Who live in the subject buildings, which are in question, now you understand that this whole interview process is to try to determine the relationship of the buildings to Underground Railroad activity?

Jacob Morris: Right.

Delores Walters: We're interviewing the residents of the buildings who have something to reveal with respect of that history. But not everyone is a resident of the buildings, they have some other association, and some other information with respect to those buildings. So I would like to know what information you have with respect to the buildings in question.

Jacob Morris: Okay, well, it's hard to answer that in one sentence. So, [clears throat] I guess, you know, just as a fundamental, I should probably just tell why I'm interested and how I, you know, came to be interested in the Underground Railroad, New York City, New York City's role in the Underground Railroad, overall and then Brooklyn's role in the

Underground Railroad. [clears throat] Okay. Well, let's see, basically I became interested in the subject of New York City's role in the Underground Railroad because I wanted to help a friend of mine when the Underground Railroad grant [became available] from the US Department of Education; this was about five years ago. [Richard Green,] he's a professor of history [and] the director of the Crown Heights Youth Collective and Peace Academy [in] Crown Heights, Brooklyn. We're very close friends and I wanted to help him, you know, win some money for his non profit and I felt this would be, you know, perfect in terms of his interests. Especially as I started to research it, and the more I researched it, the more I became astonished that there was like a hole in history, and that hole was New York City's role in the Underground Railroad. On a personal level, ever since I was a little boy I kind of loved geography and navigation. You know, maybe it was because of my poor eyesight. When other little boys wanted to be pilots, I decided I wanted to be a navigator. [Laughs] You know, what can I tell ya? So, you know, inherently that deals with maps, and that deals with getting from Point A to Point B. And as I looked at the history and looked at the maps of the purported routes of the Underground Railroad from the south and the escape routes, I saw that there was this big gap between New Jersey and upstate New York. Of course, you know the role of Philadelphia in the Underground Railroad is very well documented. Then of course, upstate New York, well documented but New York City, even though it's like kind of legendary that New York City had sanctuaries and spots for the Underground Railroad, it was really like not in the history books.

Jacob Morris:

And you know, I got deeper and deeper, and I found nuggets describing black abolitionists. And I kept trying to understand why was New York City's role left out of the history books. So, you know what, the conclusion I finally reached was that the history books or the histories of the Underground Railroad were primarily written by white abolitionists. [Laughs] I was like, oh, how do you like that? Well, what about New York? Well, [in] New York City, the vigilance committees were dominated by black abolitionists and they didn't write the history books. [Laugh] And so that's why the documentation was so much better for Philadelphia and for Boston. But as it turned out, New York City's Vigilance Committee, which was founded by David Ruggles and associates around 1835, turned into a model for vigilance committees in the other big cities like Philly and Boston. And I was like, wow, how do you like that? One of the first things that I uncovered which stayed with me, you know, over the past, let's say four and a half years or so was, or more, was that Frederick Douglass himself had landed at a dock in downtown Manhattan, on the Hudson River, at the base of Chambers Street, disguised as a slave when he was twenty years old in 1838. And I was like, wow! Look at that. [Laughs] Frederick Douglas, the most famous escaped slave since Moses [Laughs], came through New York City, landed at a dock, in downtown Manhattan, and then connected with the Underground Railroad with the New York City Vigilance Committee. And then went on to New Bedford, Massachusetts. You know, and then later I got more, much more into the life of Frederick Douglass, and how he became who he became. But in regards to the Underground Railroad, I started to get into the sheer volume of escaped slaves who came through New York City to get to the major destination points, which in my view [clears throat] were upstate New York, Canada, and New England. And to get to those two major destinations, you had to come [through] New York City. Now in

terms of sheer volume, the latest research that I've been able to uncover basically says that between 1820 and 1860 approximately one hundred thousand slaves escaped from the south to freedom in the north. Whether it was upstate New York, Canada, New England. Now, when you look at the Underground Railroad nationwide, basically the divisor is the Appalachian Mountains.

Jacob Morris: And so you look at the Appalachians, and the slaves escaped either east of the Appalachians or west of the Appalachians. And the approximate percentage would be sixty-forty. Sixty percent of the slaves escaped east of the Appalachian Mountains and took routes northeast of the Appalachians. And forty percent escaped west of the Appalachians. So you know, of course, you know they talk about the Ohio River.

Delores Walters: Okay, that is part of it.

Delores Walters: Alright, well I know you're pressed for time too.

Jacob Morris: Right, but you know, now I'm rolling [Laughs]

Delores Walters: Okay.

Jacob Morris: So, you know, I'm gonna lay it out and, you know, if I'm late for where I gotta go to, so be it. So at any rate, the Ohio River is considered a major highway of the Underground Railroad. That was the other major aspect that fascinated me, was the role of water as, as an escape route path and crossing point, that in many ways water wasn't a barrier but was actually like a highway.

Delores Walters: Okay, maybe we can do it this way. As you were saying earlier, you know that I'm connected with the National Underground Railroad Freedom Center in Cincinnati, so, that, you know, that aspect of the Underground Railroad is pretty familiar. What we really want to do today is to, to see what you

Jacob Morris: Right. I'm gonna get to that

Delores Walters: And you have done work, with respect to the Slavery in New York exhibit. It seemed that you mentioned to me earlier that you were involved.

Jacob Morris: Right, I wrote the grant.

Delores Walters: Yeah. Well, maybe, focus a little bit on what you found in constructing that exhibit

Jacob Morris: Well, I'm getting to that.

Delores Walters: Alright.

Jacob Morris: I'm getting to that.

Delores Walters: Okay.

Jacob Morris: You know, this'll actually go quicker if, you know, you allow the natural flow here. Okay. So, you know, I discussed this role of rivers and water and water routes. Of course for east [of the] Appalachians, now it's becoming well known, or more well known, as a critical nugget of fact. Thirty percent of the sailors prior to the Civil War were black. Being a sailor was a rough occupation and that was one of the few occupations that allowed blacks to travel relatively freely, was to be a sailor. So, even though the work was very hard, they could travel, [and] there [were] many regulations that were promulgated about the dissemination of abolitionist's literature, that [were] directed against black sailors, about southern ports and things like that. At any rate, like I said, Frederick Douglass himself, he utilized, he worked in a shipyard, he was a master caulker so the role of the ocean as well as the rivers, when he escaped he had to cross four rivers to get to New York City, and the last, of course, was the Hudson River. So if there was a total approximately of a hundred thousand slaves who escaped in this forty year period, and sixty percent of them escaped east of the Appalachians, that would mean approximately sixty thousand slaves escaped east of the Appalachians in the forty year period prior to the Civil War. My conservative estimate is that of that sixty thousand escaping east of the Appalachians, thirty thousand came [through] New York City. Now

Delores Walters: Mr. Morris, we can get that background information from the books that are in your exhibit. I was at your exhibit.

Jacob Morris: Well, that's not in, that's not in this phase of the exhibit.

Delores Walters: Well, some of the historical information is. We're looking at some of the materials that were available, some of that information is in the exhibit. And these are your materials.

Jacob Morris: No.

Delores Walters: So

Lewis Greenstein: There's something on 1827.

Jacob Morris: 1827. It's not in the exhibit.

Delores Walters: Well, maybe not in the exhibit itself.

Jacob Morris: No, no. Maybe it'll be in and it should be in, in the second phase of the exhibit.

Delores Walters: Well, the books in

Jacob Morris: But it's not in

Delores Walters: Research materials.

Jacob Morris: Right. But right now I'm, I'm giving this. You don't want me to give this?

Delores Walters: I do. But

Jacob Morris: Okay then. So then why, you know?

Delores Walters: Well, could we? I mean there are

Jacob Morris: I'm getting to, you know, I'm getting to

Delores Walters: I want you to give the story.

Jacob Morris: Right. Well, you know but, you're, you know.

Delores Walters: Could we, could we

Jacob Morris: So, so, yeah. So you know, please. You know, you're what, what's happening is your making your tape longer.

Delores Walters: Alright. You continue then, it's okay with me. Alright. You were saying that the Ohio Valley was important in this context

Jacob Morris: I've finished with the Ohio Valley.

Delores Walters: Okay.

Jacob Morris: The Ohio River. I finished with that. I was into that thirty percent of the sailors were black, and it was a reason for that, and that was that being sailor was a very, very hard occupation. And it was, and that's why they allowed blacks to be sailors because whites didn't want to be sailors. It was a very tough job. But, and it's a lot of documentation about that black sailors did spread abolitionist literature and that was considered extremely negatively by the slave power of the south and many laws were passed prohibiting even black sailors from after, into the 1840's, from even getting off their boats in southern ports. And there were many blacks always on ships, there's a lot of documentation about that, and a lot of them landed in New York City. Okay. So we're looking at the gross numbers and that was what I had gotten to. And so as I said, my conservative estimate is that thirty thousand blacks escaped from slavery passed through New York City. And some of them stayed in New York City and achieved sanctuary for a time. In terms and numbers [clears throat] because, you know, these, these questions about how pervasive was the Underground Railroad in New York City. And my contention is that it was incredibly pervasive for blacks. When you look at New York City and Brooklyn, what do you see? Okay. Well, and you know, just for example, focusing on David Ruggles and his two places or stations on the Underground Railroad in, on Lispenard Street between 1835 and 1841, I'm estimating that somewhere between three and five hundred slaves a year went through both his boarding house and his reading room on Lispenard Street. At that location of course in 1838 Frederick Douglass was married and he was married by the Reverend J.C. Pennington who was a close friend and associate also known as the fugitive blacksmith. And he was the station master, the largest station master of the Underground Railroad [in Brooklyn] at that period and time and for a long time

actually and pre-Civil War New York City history, very influential guy, Reverend Pennington.

Jacob Morris: In Brooklyn he was the largest station master, you know, they had this network. And he came, he was the one who married Frederick Douglass. This was not an accident. Now, for example, if let's say two to three thousand slaves came through the Lispenard Street locations which I believe we can fairly well document an approximate in that six year period alone up to 1841. And then the Vigilance Committee dissolved. And then it was reconstituted later. [Clears throat] And it was a new Vigilance Committee. I was always fascinated by why was this association or committee or whatever you want to call it, why was it called a vigilance committee. And it came to me that in that period prior to the Civil War, even free blacks were not secure in their persons so the top priority of the Vigilance Committee was to be vigilant. They had to be vigilant just as free blacks to not get kidnapped and sold down south into slavery. So when we talk about Civil Rights, I mean the thought of walking around with that type of paranoia on a daily basis is just shocking and astonishing. I can, I just really can feel that. And then the secondary purpose of the Vigilance Committee was to help escaped slaves. So the first, their first thing was to be vigilant to, to help each other not get kidnapped. It's just kind of amazing. That, in and of itself, that realization is, is left out of the history books. And I mean that, that's right into something as obvious as the name of the committees itself. It's, it's like, wow. Okay. So, so now we're looking at, we're looking at let's say thirty thousand slaves come through New York City. Well, alright. If you have thirty thousand slaves coming through New York City a lot of them went on to upstate New York, a lot of them went to New England, a lot of them went to Canada. Now we're talking percentages. Let's say Manhattan was a center for the slave catchers. Even though maybe it was left out of the history books, at that time slave catchers knew that there was a hell of a lot of slaves escaping through New York City. Again, tying that into the story of Frederick Douglass himself, from his own narrative [clears throat] he discusses his exhilaration, of feeling free, that he was on free soil when he landed at that dock. So for about one day he felt, like, really free. And then he ran into this other escaped slave from Baltimore who he knew who had escaped six seven months before. And that guy told him, "Gee man, you can't trust nobody. This town, Manhattan, is full of slave catchers."

Jacob Morris: "And it doesn't matter what, you know, what the color of the person is, they'll give you up for very little money." So from the heights of exhilaration, of feeling free, Frederick Douglass fell into the depths of paranoia and he wound up sleeping amidst the garbage barrels behind the Tombs. Until finally he was just so desperate and hungry that he saw a black sailor and went to him and the black sailor put him in touch with David Ruggles, the general secretary of the New York Vigilance Committee.

Delores Walters: Is the information about slave catchers being in Manhattan, is that mostly from Frederick Douglass' narrative?

Jacob Morris: No, no, no. It's very well documented from multiple sources.

Delores Walters: Okay.

Jacob Morris: So, so Manhattan was full of slave catchers. There's even stories about how they were afraid to go into the Five Points neighborhood because they would get [pause] the crap beat out of them at best. And, and it was a lot of escaped slaves in the Five Points area of Manhattan. Which of course, the Five Points area was known as a hellhole. [Clears throat] And so they were afraid to go into Five Points. Brooklyn was much more, both the transit point and well, actually, no. Brooklyn was much more of a sanctuary, it was also a transit point for slaves escaping. There was a wonderful book written the Underground by Professor [Stouthers.]

Delores Walters: Graham Hodges?

Jacob Morris: No, what's his name? He wrote the Underground Railroad in Connecticut.

Delores Walters: Okay.

Jacob Morris: Very hard to find book, actually.

Delores Walters: Okay.

Jacob Morris: And he talks about how even the Long Island Sound was not a barrier but a transit point for slaves escaping from the north shore of Long Island right across the Long Island Sound into Connecticut. Well, you know, if you're gonna get to Long Island you gotta go through Brooklyn because you are crossing over the ferries from lower Manhattan into lower Brooklyn. And then there was the main road going out to Long Island that ran half a block past these houses and this street at that point and time. Now Brooklyn was, looked a lot different in the 1830s, 1840s, 1850s than it does now. And the industries were different, and there were black villages of course, you know, a lot of people have heard of Weeksville. And where Crown Heights is now, there was also a black village. And Bedford was also a black village. These villages were transit points and they were sanctuaries. And the funny thing is, is that I was able to explain to the solution of this mystery that Lew uncovered. Lew basically, God bless him [Laughs], decided to get the name of every black person in Brooklyn from various rolls, you know, property tax roles and you know, which is a phenomenal project.

Delores Walters: In what period?

Lewis Greenstein: 1823 to 1860.

Jacob Morris: Right. So this is phenomenal. So, you know, Lew and I are talking and Lew says to me, "You know, 1850 there was how many, six, seven thousand blacks in Brooklyn?"

Lewis Greenstein: There was a large number of blacks on the rolls.

Jacob Morris: Right. On the rolls, right.

Lewis Greenstein: And I was finding, in Brooklyn I was finding, what I was finding [were] ones who were employed and were apparently willing to give their names and information. There were a lot that the rolls were not including, we know that. Like for instance, if there was someone in a house, if it was a woman doing laundry or something for another family,

Jacob Morris: Right, so, but the, those that were willing to give their names for these various documented, and, so this was fascinating. So you know, so he says to me, "You know, in 1850 there was, what, seven, eight thousand blacks on the rolls in Brooklyn. And then in 1855, Jake when I went back and checked again, like half of them were gone, half their names were gone." And I said aha, guess what? It's the Fugitive Slave Act. They took off, because they had to have been fugitives, they got comfortable, they got comfortable here in Brooklyn, but then they passed the Fugitive Slave, no, they were no longer comfortable.

Jacob Morris: They had to run. Even if they'd been, even if they escaped in 1842 and they had their families and their kids. Bam! [smack hands together] They were still fugitives. They could still get snatched. They were protected in those villages, the villages of Bedford, the villages of Weeksville. And they had jobs right nearby. There was a tannery. Very lousy work, to work in a tannery. So who worked in the tannery? Blacks! [Laughs] Now the role of the, of the abolitionist churches and the black churches, fundamental. And it was a whole network. And that was one of the things that also fascinated me way back in the beginning, was I started looking at, well, gosh, the largest abolitionist church, one of the largest in the north was the Plymouth, Henry Ward Beecher. I said, gee, wow, they had two thousand congregants every Sunday or more listening to this guy's sermons. Well, golly gee, weren't any of them involved in the Underground Railroad? You bet your bippy. [Laughs] And was there a network, were they friends, did they know each other, did they help each other out? Did they care? And that's what got me. That this was in an age that was so profoundly racist, that these people would put their lives and their freedom on the line, cause they thought this was wrong that people could be slaves, be made slaves; whether or not they thought that blacks were equal to whites, they just felt that slavery was wrong. So how, you know, in terms of the racism, even if they were still racists and that's possible, that a large percent of them still were, nonetheless, they still thought slavery was wrong.

Jacob Morris: And so they still committed to helping blacks escape from slavery. This really moves me on a personal basis. And so this is why this history lives for me, it's why I care about it. So, I know that there were abolitionists that lived in these buildings. In terms of the structure of the houses and the basements. I looked at that, you know, I feel that it makes sense, in terms of the specific details.

Delores Walters: Could you elaborate?

Jacob Morris: On the details of these. I'm not that up on the specific details of these houses. My contribution is in the framework. I'm setting the table for understanding the milieu, the environment, the sheer numbers. So I guess the last key to this would be if, let's

say, half of the people that were on the legitimate various rolls in 1850 that Lew uncovered disappeared from those rolls in 1855, then that would mean that approximately 3,000 names disappeared from those rolls in that five year span after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act. Well that kind of makes sense to me, that one tenth, if you take my number of thirty thousand escaping through New York City, that conservative number, one tenth would be three thousand. So if you take one tenth of the gross number of slaves escaping in that 40-year period through New York City, kind of achieving sanctuary for a time, a life here in Brooklyn, then it makes sense. I could see the Reverend Pennington say hey, we got you covered, we got jobs here in Brooklyn. You know, no one's gonna rat you out in our village of Bedford or village of Weeksville or you know, and we have our congregation and you'll be okay. And so this all makes sense to me. And that the Underground Railroad and people helping, both as transit points and a sanctuary all through many of these parts of Brooklyn, they just permeated the society at that time.

Delores Walters: Okay. So we know that there was a very active African American community providing sanctuary, that there were active abolitionists in the region as well. In your research have you uncovered any information that connects that anti-slavery activity to some of the buildings in question?

Jacob Morris: Specifically to these buildings?

Delores Walters: Yes.

Jacob Morris: I know that they were involved in the Vigilance Committees, the residents of these buildings. And

Delores Walters: Okay, so how do we know that?

Jacob Morris: I'm sorry?

Delores Walters: How do we know that?

Jacob Morris: Lew and Joy have the specific documentation of who lived in what building at what period of time. I believe these buildings were built around 1847, 1848.

Delores Walters: Right

Jacob Morris: Which is, you know, the right time period. And if they were built or if they were owned and built by abolitionists and abolitionist sympathizers, you know, I think that it's very, very plausible

Delores Walters: Okay.

Jacob Morris: That they, you know, had certain things in mind when they built them like the way they built the basements. And if they had escape routes and, you know, in certain structural aspects that were conducive to either temporary sanctuary and also a fast escape and things like that. I want to point out [clears throat] back in terms of the

grass roots of the Vigilance Committees, that is phenomenal to me. And very, very moving that, for example, the New York, Manhattan, but it also had Brooklyn involved, the New York City Vigilance Committee, because Pennington was involved with that, Reverend Pennington, and he was the pastor of this very active black congregation in Brooklyn. And remember to take a look at his book, The Fugitive Blacksmith. And he discusses a lot of his activities with the Underground Railroad in Brooklyn. That when they got this thing off the ground.

Delores Walters: What thing are we talking about now?

Jacob Morris: The New York City Vigilance Committee.

Delores Walters: Okay.

Jacob Morris: It was supported by blacks paying one penny a week into their fund. The money, for the New York, came, that is totally grass roots. One penny a week, black, freed blacks paid into the fund, one penny a week. Can you get any more grass roots than that?

Delores Walters: Okay. And you said that

Jacob Morris: Of course, a penny was worth a lot more than it is now. [Laughs]

Delores Walters: Okay. Now, you've discussed some of the documents with Joy and Lew about the Vigilance Committee?

Jacob Morris: I have confidence in their documentation.

Delores Walters: Okay.

Jacob Morris: Of who lived in these buildings when.

Delores Walters: Alright.

Jacob Morris: You know. And so when they tell me when they tell me that the Truesdells lived here, I believe them. Did I personally examine their documents? No. But I'd like you to feel free to examine them. [Laughs]

Delores Walters: Okay.

Jacob Morris: But you know, I know enough about the general situation and I, and I know the Truesdells from my readings of the history and that they were members of the, the, you know, the Plymouth congregation and the other, and the other abolitionist congregations and also the type occupations they had. You know, with being able to travel and cotton brokers and things like that, you know. So they had a lot of, they had great cover.

Delores Walters: Okay.

Jacob Morris: And you know, now you just inspired me, believe it or not, with the word cover. You know, so, you know, like for example, well churches have always been a great cover for multiple activities, social and escape. But you know, I was just, and I still am, I'm just filled with admiration for what David Ruggles set up. In terms of, how did he manage to do what he did and help so many slaves escape in New York City? I mean, who really knows that Ruggles almost single-handedly was responsible for, you know, in the neighborhood, 2,500 slaves escaping here in New York City. That's in a six year period, that's a phenomenal number of escapes, I mean that's like what I call the real Grand Central Station. And the cover, the cover for that was a reading room for blacks? And a boarding house, fantastic.

Jacob Morris: I mean, I'm just filled with admiration. So in terms of a covering activity that could, he could get away with that in this, you know, restrictive racist society, just brilliant, just brilliant, brilliant. He had, I mean he really had, what can I say? Balls. [Laughs] I just gotta hand it to him. [Laughs]

Delores Walters: So I was saying though, the documents that

Jacob Morris: I just love the guy. What can I tell ya? [Laughs]

Delores Walters: Let me ask you this though. The documents that you are referring to because, as you know, it's very difficult to document Underground Railroad activity. A lot of it was not documented, that's why we need to look at the oral traditions

Jacob Morris: That's why I felt the framework

Delores Walters: Well, it's important, yes.

Jacob Morris: The framework, you know, kind of like settles it down.

Delores Walters: Okay.

Jacob Morris: You know. So like, if you gotta look at the keys, you look at the total number.

Delores Walters: Okay.

Jacob Morris: Then you look at, did they come to New York City? Well, yes they did. Well, did they come across the Hudson River? Yes they did. How did they get, it's almost like, you know what I

Delores Walters: Okay, well we established that that's important so,

Jacob Morris: Well, let me just, let me just say this. Let me say this.

Delores Walters: Alright.

Jacob Morris: 'Cause when you were a kid did you ever have to, did you ever solve a maze? I mean

did you ever look at a maze and solve a maze. Did you ever, instead of starting at the beginning of at a maze, did you ever start in the middle?

Jacob Morris: You know what I'm talking about? So when I looked at the Underground Railroad nationally, I said okay, well they came from all these points in the south but where did they want to end up? Well, in a way I looked at the Underground Railroad like a maze. And I said well okay they wanted to get up here, so how did they get, they had to come through here. You gotta look at the natural geographic routes. So you divide it, the Appalachians, and then you look at your routes. And to get to New England and to get to upstate New York, they had to come through New York City. Okay, well then how many?

Delores Walters: Okay.

Jacob Morris: And that's a nice [Laughs]

Delores Walters: Yeah.

Jacob Walters: And then how many? Click.

Delores Walters: Okay. So maybe we can then, talk a little bit about your understanding of the documentary evidence that you discussed with Lew and Joy, with respect to the Duffield Street buildings. You were saying that the residents of the buildings were involved in the Vigilance Committees.

Jacob Morris: Yes.

Delores Walters: Yeah. Is that?

Jacob Morris: There's documentation of that.

Delores Walters: Okay, so why don't you talk a little bit about the research that you found that connects that vigilance activity to any of the buildings that we are interested in.

Jacob Morris: I don't have that.

Delores Walters: Okay.

Jacob Morris: I just know that some of the people who lived in these properties, these buildings, were involved in the Brooklyn branch of the New York City Vigilance Committees.

Delores Walters: Okay. And that's based on the discussions that you've had with

Jacob Morris: Yes.

Delores Walters: Lew and Joy.

Jacob Morris: Right.

Delores Walters: Okay. Is there anything else with respect to the conversations that you've had with them that would support the existence of Underground Railroad activity? That you can think of?

Jacob Morris: Well, the geographic proximity and the black churches.

Delores Walters: Okay.

Jacob Morris: So the linkages with the black churches and the abolitionist churches here in Brooklyn.

Delores Walters: Okay.

Jacob Morris: The type of businesses that could employ blacks were nearby. The nature of how things were done with the Underground Railroad, in that period of New York City and Brooklyn history. The number of black villages that were located in Brooklyn. Inherently, at least prior to the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act. Absolutely one million percent provided sanctuary in and of themselves.

Jacob Morris: And so, and you know when you look at it, and you go back to that, that point in time, in New York City's and America's history, you know, let's say you're in 1847, 1848, you didn't know they were gonna pass a Fugitive Slave Act.

Delores Walters: Well, there was another before it.

Jacob Morris: Yea, there was, I mean there were some, but they, you didn't know that they were gonna like pass such a, an act that legally was so overriding in terms of state law.

Delores Walters: Right.

Jacob Morris: You didn't know that.

Delores Walters: Sure.

Jacob Morris: You know, so, you know, just like you didn't know that hey there could be a New Orleans, you know, I mean like, theoretically you could know New Orleans was gonna get flooded but you didn't know it was gonna get, or prior to 9/11 you didn't know they were gonna you know, pass this Patriot Act and then they were gonna start, you know, the NSA was gonna start wiretapping, that's perfect. Yeah. Did we know that they were gonna start wiretapping Americans without, without court orders? You know

Delores Walters: So, what are you saying?

Jacob Morris: So what I'm saying is, that there was an environment.

Delores Walters: Okay. So the type of environment

Jacob Morris: There was a social, political environment and there was a level of expectations in the north, by the residents of the north, that was continually, negatively exacerbated by the south's vehement response to the Underground Railroad and the existence of the Underground Railroad. And the south just hated the puncturing of their bubble that the slaves are happy in the south. And it was all these abolitionists' fault. You know. But the Underground Railroad gave lie to that so even if the actual numbers in terms of, in terms of percentage, you know, millions of slaves in the south. So even if a hundred thousand escaped in the course of forty years, that's still a very small percentage. You know. But for the southerners even for one slave to escape, you know, punctured their bubble. And it just got worse and worse for the south. And they kept ratcheting up their, their response. And since they dominated the national government in the United States, when you look at the number of presidents that came from the south and Supreme Court justice[s], they basically, you know, [that] the national government was dominated by southerners. So and then they came up with this phenomenal act that just overrode all state laws. Which I mean, got incredible negative local response in Massachusetts and upstate New York, there was riots when they took escaped blacks into custody. There was that college town in Ohio, I think also that there was riots there too. So you know, and the abolitionists here in Brooklyn, they were incredibly passionate. And that's how they felt, they hated it.

Delores Walters: So,

Jacob Morris: Now, but those slave catchers, man, they're out for money. They love that reward money. And that was one of the things I thought of. I said hey, [Laughs] take a look in the local newspapers for that period and time and you could just check out the advertisements for escaped slaves. Boy they were full of advertisements for escaped slaves. So if you want documentation for who escaped, and then they obviously thought hey, they were coming through Brooklyn and they were coming through Manhattan. So there's a very, very fertile area for further research.

Delores Walters: Okay.

Jacob Morris: Is to like, get into the local papers from 1851. [Laughs] You know. And grab them and you'll see advertisement after advertisement for escaped slaves.

Delores Walters: Okay, so then you're saying that the area, this particular area

Jacob Morris: Was permeated

Delores Walters: Was permeated, okay, and supported Underground Railroad activity, and that was certainly increased after 1850 and the Fugitive Slave Law.

Jacob Morris: It was strong before.

Delores Walters: Even before

Jacob Morris: It was very strong before and then it got, it got probably desperate after.

Delores Walters: Okay. Now you've mentioned two things that I'd like you to address. You said the type of businesses that were here supported a black community, a free black community. And you also said that churches were important. If you know, what were those businesses that you were referring to, in this area of Brooklyn?

Jacob Morris: Well, there was a major, major tannery.

Delores Walters: A tannery? Okay.

Jacob Morris: And

Delores Walters: Where was that located, do you know?

Lewis Greenstein: Stanton Street

Delores Walters: Stanton?

Lewis Greenstein: Duffield Street came to an end; it was at the entrance to the Brooklyn Bridge, Tillary Street.

Delores Walters: Okay.

Lewis Greenstein: And then from there on in they called it Stanton Street.

Delores Walters: Stanton Street.

Lewis Greenstein: And the tannery was down actually where the Manhattan Bridge, the footings, the, not the footings, the anchorages where the Manhattan Bridge is now

Jacob Morris: So it was by the water.

Lewis Greenstein: It was actually, it was pretty close to the water. Cause I know we've extended the island a little bit.

Jacob Morris: Yeah, the whole thing with landfill is like, you know, very interesting.

Lewis Greenstein: But it was close to water and there were streams that ran by there.

Delores Walters: Right.

Lewis Greenstein: Right nearby there it was all kinds of

Jacob Morris: Cause boats were so important. [Laughs] So they were you know, I mean, I'd say.

Delores Walters: Are there any other ones that we should take note of?

Jacob Morris: Well, you know just basically you have to look at occupations.

Delores Walters: Yes.

Jacob Morris: That were funky and dirty and that whites didn't want to work in.

Delores Walters: So maybe on the waterfront.

Jacob Morris: Waterfront, you know, things like tanneries, things like

Lewis Greenstein: What about the Navy Yard?

Jacob Morris: Right. And there was a lot of black employment at the Navy Yard. Well again, you know, back to that 30 percent [of the] sailors were black. As a matter of fact, when the Amistad itself was captured and they were trying to like understand what they were saying, well, that's hers. You wanna turn that over?

Lewis Greenstein: Yes.

Jacob Morris: So the Amistad was captured, right? So they got, they got that tribe that we were all like, they were, and that was you know, usually you know they like they mushed together a bunch of different tribes there at the gathering stations in Africa. You know, to the everlasting regret I'm sure of the crew [Laughs] of the Amistad. They had mostly one tribe and so they couldn't understand the language of that tribe. So when they captured them they wanted to, they wanted to communicate with them. Well, where did they find someone who could speak that language? At the Fulton Street dock right in downtown Manhattan they found a black sailor who knew the language of that African tribe. And they knew where to go to find a black sailor, you know, like hey do you speak this language? [Laughs] So, you know, the Amistad itself you know, and that's well documented that they found the translator on, at the dock on Fulton Street.

Delores Walters: Right.

Jacob Morris: In Manhattan.

Delores Walters: Okay. So we have some information about the occupations, is there anything else that would connect those occupations and the occupants of these houses to those occupations?

Jacob Morris: That I don't have.

Delores Walters: Okay.

Jacob Morris: I'm just like you know, I'm just, I'm setting up this milieu you know, so that we kind of like understand, you know, that hey, it was all going on and it was nearby and it just like was a framework that made these things kind of fit together.

Delores Walters: Okay. In your research what would be used to make those connections? In your opinion?

Jacob Morris: Well you know, you know one of the things that I, that I've actually gotten proved is, for, with the support of the New-York Historical Society, we're establishing a partnership with Medgar Evers College for their advanced history students to do independent research, what do you call it? Advanced Studies Independent Research Project. To study the role of New York City and Brooklyn in the Underground Railroad. And that's a three credit course and we hope to have that started in January of 2006. Because there's just so many fruitful areas you know like what Lew did, [that] I love. And it's fundamental and it's just scratching the surface.

Delores Walters: Well, it's probably the way to begin.

Jacob Morris: You know, but I mean like for example, you could get if you could find them, you could get, you know, you gotta look at the local newspapers, like I'm saying. A couple of students could just comb the local newspapers for escaped slave ads.

Delores Walters: Okay, and you said

Jacob Morris: And you could get the employment roles from that tannery. And you know the other interesting thing, oh and this is so cool, I love this.

Delores Walters: You think those records exist?

Jacob Morris: Yeah.

Lewis Greenstein: I have the records.

Delores Walters: You have the records.

Lewis Greenstein: I have the records of who, who, what and where they lived and who worked at the tannery.

Delores Walters: Okay. Alright.

Jacob Morris: And then you know one of the cool things is that you can actually tell who was black. [laughs] By their names.

Lewis Greenstein: Okay.

Jacob Morris: That's really neat, you know? [laughs]

Lewis Greenstein: To their names or in the early days they just put an asterisk.

Jacob Morris: That's the way they did it here in New York City, you know? I don't know how they did it somewhere else.

Lewis Greenstein: Or they put them "Col."

Delores Walters: Okay.

Lewis Greenstein: And that would be colored.

Delores Walters: Right

Lewis Greenstein: And interesting is this: every so often

Jacob Morris: Wasn't that nice of them? [laughs] It's really, really kind of nifty.

Delores Walters: Okay. The partnership that you mentioned between the New-York Historical Society and Medgar Evers College and that's to look at Underground Railroad history in New York City?

Jacob Morris: The role.

Delores Walters: The role of the Underground Railroad?

Jacob Morris: Of New York City and Brooklyn. And all its aspects.

Delores Walters: Okay.

Jacob Morris: Yep. So we're gonna have fun with that.

Delores Walters: Okay. Now, how about the churches now?

Jacob Morris: That's my fault by the way. [laughs]

Delores Walters: Okay. You were mentioning how important the Vigilance Committees were. Now do you expect that those records of that activity would be in the churches as well? You mentioned the role of the churches and that some of this documentation might be there. I think, that's what you said.

Jacob Morris: Oh yes, absolutely.

Delores Walters: Okay. What would we find in those churches and what churches are you referring to? Are they ones related to this region?

Jacob Morris: Oh yes, yes, yes. The black and the white churches.

Delores Walters: Okay.

Jacob Morris: I mean, you know, now at this point and time I am not an expert and, on the history of churches in Brooklyn. However, that is a million percent a very fruitful area for further investigation. And you know, Lew has done some great work with looking at old church records.

Lewis Greenstein: Right now I'm presently working with Plymouth Church. I'm looking at all of their current, all of the people who were members [of Plymouth] Church, from its inception up to 1900. And we're [already] finding connections. We've already discovered a church that didn't appear anywhere, that was a block away; it was a Congregational church. And its members were coming right out of Plymouth Church.

Delores Walters: Well, good. Do you hope to wrap up the review pretty soon?

Lewis Greenstein: Well, I've done so much, I've done so much research.

Delores Walters: Is there anything else you could tell me about the role of these particular buildings and the

Jacob Morris: Just that I see them as, I just see them as very strategic, geographically.

Delores Walters: Okay.

Jacob Morris: You know, and like I said, you know in terms of, you know that prominent, historically well-known abolitionists built them and lived in them, make it just about impossible for there not to have been Underground Railroad activity, you know, passing through these sites. It's just impossible for there not to have been, in my view.

Delores Walters: Okay. Alright, well thanks for providing that framework. And is there anything else you think you could add or elaborate on with respect to more direct connections?

Jacob Morris: No. I think I, you know, I came up with, you know the framework and kind of have set the table for the more specific information.

Delores Walters: Okay.

Jacob Morris: I'm happy with that. [laughs]

Delores Walters: Yes.

Jacob Morris: You know like a lot of what I'm saying really is just common sense. But I don't think anyone had really put it together quite the way that I just laid it down.

Delores Walters: Alright. Well, anything else that you can think of that would be helpful in documenting and supporting (the residents' claims).

Jacob Morris: A lot more is going to come out.

Delores Walters: Okay.

Jacob Morris: You know, as we get the independent research study off the ground with Medgar Evers. We get all these like energetic, bright

Delores Walters: Well, this is good but

Jacob Morris: Students, you know

Delores Walters: But for the time being, that means putting courses together and that's kind of down the road, when that'll actually be implemented. [Jacob laughs].

Jacob Morris: Hey, we've got, we're, we're off running. We have a start.

Delores Walters: Right.

Jacob Morris: You know, and I think it's a good start.

Delores Walters: Okay.

Jacob Morris: Truly a pleasure.

Delores Walters: Alright. Well, thanks for agreeing to come and support the project. Thank you.

[End of recording]

June 13, 2006 ADDENDUM

Mr. Morris has requested that the following written statement be included as part of his transcript record:

Upon subsequent research, I have come to the conclusion that in regards to Underground Railroad activity on Duffield Street, and in particular at the locations in question, there is a high probability of the occurrence of Underground Railroad activity. This conclusion is based on the framework that supporting abolitionist activity absolutely existed. It is because of this framework that it is distinguished from a Category 3 on the Wellman Scale, which represents a "possibility of Underground Railroad activity," to a Category 4, which represents a "high probability of Underground Railroad activity" having occurred at those locations. Specifically, prior to the Civil War three fervent abolitionist churches were located either on Duffield Street or in the immediate vicinity. Moreover, several prominent abolitionists both lived and owned property on Duffield Street. It is historically incontrovertible that there existed abolitionist sympathy clustered on Duffield Street. Given the geography and architectural of the lay of the land at that time, the Duffield Street vicinity was uniquely situated to facilitate temporary sanctuary and rapid escape from the bounty hunters that permeated the city at that time.

RESEARCH NOTES AND OUTLINE SKETCH FOR
THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD
IN NEW YORK CITY AND BROOKLYN,
With Particular Reference to Duffield Street¹

Robert J. Swan, Ph.D.

June 9, 2006

Preface

At the outset, I want the reader to know that, as far as I understand it, inquiries into the Underground Railroad in Brooklyn commenced in 2004 on opposition of residents of Duffield Street to the expansion of the development of Metrotech Center in Downtown Brooklyn. The City formed a commission that placed this inquiry in the hands of an architectural firm, not a college or university. Academics, almost all from upstate, who have no knowledge of or experience with Brooklyn, were engaged to evaluate the findings of this firm. I want to emphasize that definitive conclusions could not have been reached because the main institution for Brooklyn studies, the Brooklyn Historical Society, has been closed for as long as this project has been in existence. Whether the Society provided services for this commission is unknown to me. Because it is still closed, I could not conduct research for this study. I have not seen the final report or the conclusions of evaluators. But I read in a summary report that, based on recommendations of the Schomburg Center, and other individuals known as "peer evaluators," the commission concluded that there was no Underground Railroad in Brooklyn. They are wrong.

With thirty years experience, an earned Ph.D. in 1989, by 2004, I am the only "expert" on black history in Brooklyn. I am angry that over all these years I cannot earn a living in history and frequently unemployed. I find it very curious and suspicious that during the two years of this commission I was never asked to participate in this project

or join the group of peer evaluators, even though few of them know of my expertise on Brooklyn. In 2004, I talked by telephone with Jennifer Morris of AKRF about the specific property in question, 227 Duffield Street. The reason for that inquiry was not explained to me. I thought it strange that she would inquire about only one address when most know that the Underground Railroad was a network, which at the time of operation was a well-kept secret. I gave her some pertinent suggestions for conducting this inquiry, particularly about the De Grasses at 2 Stanton Street, at the head of Duffield and a black PE church there, and even offered my help in pursuing that information. She did not respond.

I heard nothing more about this project until three weeks ago, when I was contacted by Ms. Joy Chatel, owner and resident of 227 Duffield Street, and a group of citizens interested in the history of the area. This paper, therefore, is my evaluation of documents shown to me and my conclusions on research in the area of Duffield Street pertaining to the Underground Railroad. It is not a validation of one address or is it a criticism of findings of that commission.

Introduction

It is important to understand that a history of the Underground Railroad in New York City or Brooklyn has never been written. Both cities are lacking general histories of the black experience. Although New York is way ahead of Brooklyn in historiography, competent research has never been conducted for that city.² As shown by the discovery of an "African Burial Ground" and a recent exhibit on "Slavery in new York," New York City history still lacks proficient research and study of a complex history.³ You will be shocked at what has been purposefully omitted from history books. Until 1977, research into black history has never been considered for Brooklyn, which was a separate city until 1898. Now as a borough, besides a perpetuation of separateness, sadly, it continues to be neglected by academic institutions and archives of Manhattan. New York and Brooklyn had a disadvantage in local historical institutions. The New York Historical Society was established in 1804. The Brooklyn (formerly the Long Island) Historical Society was not founded until 1863, the middle of the Civil War. Despite the sixty year difference in local historical institutions, regarding black history, a perpetual legacy of past and

present racial discrimination means that a tremendous amount of primary resources are irretrievably lost.

Despite the lack of historiography there is no history of the Underground Railroad in New York City or Brooklyn because, one, I cannot emphasize the fact that it was conducted in secret. Anyone caught aiding a fugitive could be mobbed and beaten or killed. Businesses could be boycotted or financially ruined. In fact, in 1834, Lewis Tappan's house was sacked. H. G. Ludlow's and Samuel Hanson Cox's churches and Cox's house were stoned. In a tribute to Tappan, Anthony Lane, a member of the New York Vigilance Committee, wrote in 1871:

The "Vigilance Committee," for aiding and befriending fugitives, of which I was treasurer for many years, had no better or warmer friend than [Lewis Tappan]. He was almost always at their meetings, which were known only to "the elect," for we dared not hold them too publicly, as we almost always had some of the travelers toward the "North Star" present, whose masters or their agents were frequently in hot pursuit.⁴

No history of the Underground Railroad is also principally due to the fact that, in understanding the situation of the times, except for the name "New York City," local addresses in the city were rarely identified as stations because of the large population of blacks and whites. Despite secrecy, in most histories of the Underground Railroad in America, slaves ran away from a masters' plantation into networks, or stations, which were found in rural areas where farms or agents are spread out few and far between in counties or parishes. However, because of a numerous slave (before 1827) and free black population, a fugitive slave could easily and literally get lost in the city by moving from one location to another, or simply by changing his or her name. Every year, on May 1, New York City and Brooklyn inherited a religious tradition of Moving day, a death and resurrection, or "day of new beginning."⁵ Not only whites, wealthy, middle class, or poor, but blacks also frequently changed addresses. This tradition established the institution of yearly city directories. Hence, no address retained the permanency of location. In the city, however, churches, principally abolitionist and black churches, replaced farms with a permanent location. Also, once slave catchers registered the names of fugitives with the court, marshals or

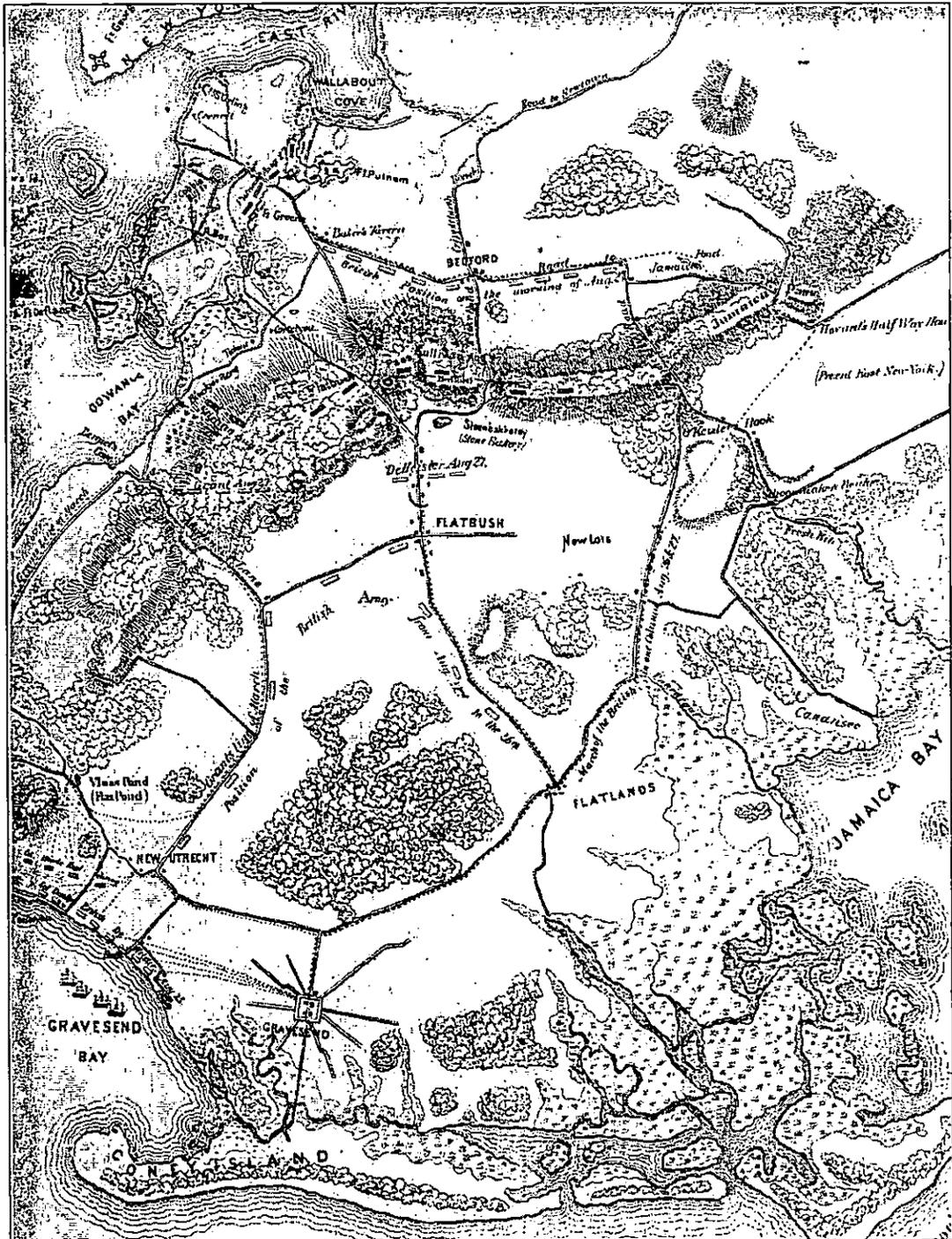
sheriffs could arrest anyone on the street and claim them as property of their client. Add to this the exaggeration of pro-slavery forces at the ease of apprehending fugitives. The Anti-Slavery Record published an advertisement in a Southern newspaper by a southern lawyer stationed in New York whose business it was to "arrest and secure runaway slaves." For \$20, he pledged the facile return of property because there were an estimated 5,000 fugitives in the city.⁶ Therefore, to avoid slave catchers hot on the trail of fugitives, individuals or organizations required an organized effort to transport fugitives to freedom and to protect the freedom of those kidnapped back into slavery.

Another factor is that the main route of the Underground Railroad generally bypassed the city. If a slave could make it by land to a port city, then they could be shipped by water directly to Canada. The most important of these cities are Jersey City and Philadelphia. If fugitive slaves landed in New York City, another water route was up the Hudson River to Albany. As boats traveled further upstate, landings at certain locations resembled the rural aspects of the countryside down south. Hence, locations become easily identifiable.

By land, the principal route in New York City was Broadway, Bowery Lane to (Forty-Second Street⁷) upstate by the Road to Boston. Absent from published sources, another means of bypassing New York City is by a land route through Brooklyn. As late as the 1970s, Brooklyn was known as Long Island. Even though James W. C. Pennington resided at the home of his employer in Brooklyn Heights, he claimed that he lived on Long Island. In fact to obtain funding and grants for Brooklyn, the Long Island Historical Society had to change its name. Except for where villages sprang up, almost all of Brooklyn and Long Island was undeveloped countryside.

Another tactic of bypassing New York City was to land on the shoreline of Brooklyn or Long Island. Major landing points at Gowanus, the Narrows, Gravesend Bay, Coney Island and Jamaica Bay, offered land routes to interior towns of Kings and Queens Counties where slaves could find shelter in black settlements or, Quaker families of Queens County. The areas between towns were literally woodlands or forests. The major roads from the county towns all led to Long Island, which were principal thoroughfares to Connecticut or New England, which connected to roads leading upstate New York, further along to Canada. For example, a boat can bypass New York City, landing slaves at Gowanus Bay at either Bennett Cove or Blockjes Berg. There, a land route along Gowanus Lane to Sebring's Road to Red Hook Lane, which

led into the Fulton-Jamaica Turnpike. Or if a sloop bypassed Coney Island, the Rockaway Inlet



Map of Kings County, 1776

and landed at Canarsie, either the Fresh Kill or Schoonmaker's Bridge, fugitive slaves could travel along Hunterfly Road, which led directly to Carrville and Weeksville.

These landing points and routes are not speculation. They were the landings that slavers used since the colonial period to avoid paying an import tax on slaves disembarking in New York City. Almost certainly, Long Island slaves who were conveyed by these routes remembered them and sent information back home. Most certainly Southern fugitive slaves who were kidnapped carried this information back to others in captivity.

The Underground Railroad in Brooklyn is unknown for the basic reason that its African American history in slavery and freedom is unknown. Only two works have been published. Harold X. Connelly's ground breaking work, *A Ghetto Grows in Brooklyn*, is a cursory topical overview. In 1977 I contributed a half dozen articles on aspects of black history to a work entitled, *An Introduction to the Black Contribution to the Development of Brooklyn*, which was the companion volume to a permanent exhibit at the, now defunct, New Muse Community Museum. That book is out of print and now lost at most branches of the Brooklyn Public Library, where copies were deposited. Neither of these books discusses the Underground Railroad.

In the last half decade, an organization--I should say, one man operation--sprang up called "Bragging about Brooklyn." Its originator, Fred Laverpool, conducted a walking tour of the known Underground Railroad stations in Brooklyn. I never took the tour and except for three sites (to be discussed below) I do not know the content or extent of his program. Indeed, a few years ago, before he died, he tried to extract some knowledge about sites from me by asking me to assist him in preparing a curriculum for the Board of Education on the Underground Railroad. <See Laverpool, "Braggin About Brooklyn African American Cultural Heritage Program Guide, 1999-2000; The New Millinuem [sic] Grade 2 Through Grade 9. Community School district New York, New York" (Typescript, August 10, 1999.) Curiously, he gave me only the first ten pages of his ninety page program.>

Integrating the Underground Railroad into Brooklyn history reveals interesting and promising features. First is that the road now known as Fulton Street, then the Ferry Road to Long Island or Jamaica Turnpike provided a land route for the Underground Railroad to Connecticut. From cross roads along the Turnpike, the route allowed stations along the water route or inland to hamlets and settlements. One of the most important crossroads was Hunterfly Road. This road led to Weeksville on the south and along the present Bedford and Nostrand Avenues to Williamsburgh on the north.

Weeksville was an isolated rural community, literally in the woods, settled in 1838 by small property owners and squatters. It is claimed to have been named for a free black landowner, James Weeks. The area grew to large dimensions by the acquisition of large tracts by black entrepreneurs. There were at least three other blacks who owned substantially more property than Weeks. It had two churches, a school, an old folks home, and a cemetery. It was a major refuge for blacks who fled the Civil War Draft Riots of 1863. It was a refuge for fugitive slaves on their way to Canada.⁸ In 1861, Weeksville was the home of the African Civilization Society, a center for assisting runaway slaves. There was another settlement in Brooklyn, further south along Hunterfly Road and formed earlier than Weeksville by two free blacks Richard Thompson and George Woods. Both eventually settled in Canada.⁹

Although not strictly an Underground Railroad activity, nevertheless, providing food, clothing, shelter, and aid to fugitives or contrabands during the Civil War was an operation of Freedmen's Aid Societies. A major Northern center was located at 16 Court Street in Brooklyn. Local societies were created in the black churches. As heads of these societies, black ministers such as James N. Gloucester, Richard H. Cain and Amos N. Freeman continued their activities during the war.

1. Origins.

It is difficult, but not impossible, to write a history of the Underground Railroad in New York because of two formidable problems. One the Underground Railroad is dedicated to organized resistance to the Southern Slave Power. One origin can be traced to the

Manumission societies in Pennsylvania and New York that were founded before and after the Revolutionary War. These organizations sought to promote the manumission or emancipation of slaves and to return those freed slaves who were kidnapped back to freedom. Opposition to the laws of the land, commencing with the Fugitive Law of 1793 and exacerbated by the Fugitive Act of 1850 rendered any efforts to free slaves illegal. In New York, a permeable line between slavery and freedom was created with the Emancipation Act of 1827. Freedom in the North regularly drew slaves from the South to the North. As New York was next to last and New Jersey the last Northern state to abolish slavery, most runaway slaves stopped running below New York, such as Ohio or Pennsylvania. However, Ohio Black Laws (1829) and Nat Turner's rebellion (1831) drove free blacks to New York. With participation and cooperation by government, captured slaves could easily be returned to their masters. Therefore, the grand objective of the Underground Railroad was to carry fugitives out of America entirely, to Canada. Two, as an illegal operation, underground activities were carried out in secret. Because they were witnessing actions of their neighbors or probably members of the same congregation, pro-slavery and anti-slavery editors rarely reported these activities in the news.

2. Objectives or Philosophy

Organized resistance to fugitive slave laws or the Constitution, the law of the land, commenced with religious groups who believed that religious law, the Bible, was higher than civil law. Dissent began among the Society of Friends, popularly called Quakers. They originated the first protest against slavery, based on a doctrine that slaveholding was a sin against God. Believing the God created all men of one blood, Quakers espoused brotherhood of the races. Quaker "Charity" towards brothers promoted aid and education to the less fortunate.

This idea is important to point out. Abolitionist and Society of Friends' opposition to slavery was not based on humanitarianism, but on religious doctrine. , Xxxxxxx As Elizabeth Buffum Chace wrote "In

some cases, persons who were opposed to slavery and were willing to work for its abolition, nevertheless strongly objected to any association with colored persons in their anti-slavery labors."¹⁰

To remove the sin of slaveholding the Society of Friends advocated manumission of slaves, not only within their sects but within other Christian denominations. Manumission of slaves met with stern opposition from Christians and slaveholders who viewed slaves as property, thus setting up pro-slavery and anti-slavery factions. Quakers formed manumission societies to promote freedom of slaves and to protect the liberty of slaves kidnapped or unlawfully returned to bondage. Because slavery nominally existed in the North, the best means of protection of liberty was to remove runaway slaves to lands where slavery was nonexistent--Canada. The Revolution transformed this religious protest into political protest. After the War for Independence, principal religious denominations, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Methodists and Baptists joined with Quakers to purify America of the sin of slaveholding. Since most of the blacks in the North were free, this purification movement developed into a regional contest between North and South. Although not viewed as two sides of the same coin, Northern, and some Southern, protagonists organized anti-slavery societies established a network of assisting fugitive slaves to freedom called the Underground Railroad. Although not discussed here, purifying America also meant removing blacks from the country. This movement was accomplished by colonizationists. This was nonthreatening to pro-slavery forces because the slave power continued importation of slaves and slave breeding factories to supply the institution. This escalated the activities of the Underground Railroad. After the abolition of slavery in the North, many white churchmen, believing that they had accomplished their goal, abandoned the cause, leaving the movement to black people to assist their brothers.

This study pertains to Brooklyn and New York City.

3. Stations

In New York and Brooklyn there is evidence of organized Underground Railroad efforts as early as 1829 when blacks of both cities organized to aid free blacks and fugitive slaves that were expelled from Cincinnati to a new home free of slavery in Wilberforce, Canada. This effort, along with establishing a Negro college, was a major platform of the first and succeeding annual Colored Conventions. Delegates returned to their respective cities and immediately formed Wilberforce Committees that engaged agents to raise funds and auxiliaries to hold fairs and fund raising activities to assist those on their way to freedom.

Definitive proof of an Underground Railroad station in New York City is offered by the New York African Society for Mutual Relief. This was not known until the dawn of the twentieth century. The Mutual Relief Society was formed in 1808 primarily as a burial and sickness insurance organization. By 1820 it branched into education, library and "intelligence." In that year, the Society purchased a lot on Orange Street, at now 42 Baxter Street, at Mulberry Bend, where the present New York City Police Headquarters now stands. In August of that year the society erected a two-story frame house. <Roi Ottley and William J. Weatherby, eds., The Negro in New York An Informal Social History (NY: New York Public Library, 1967), 60-61> On June 18, 1845 it built brick building and moved the frame house to the rear yard. This hall housed a Colored School and the first Negro Masonic Lodge.

Evidently, the Mutual Relief Society began aiding fugitives as early as 1820, possibly a decade earlier. In 1901, when the brick building was dismantled, workers found a square trap door at the left of the stairs that led into a secret chamber of dimensions of forty-eight feet long by three-and ½ wide by four feet high. Underneath this chamber was an alley entered through a door which was sunk below the sidewalk, which extended to the rear yard. The writer claimed that "According to the best information, Henry Ward Beecher directed runaway Negroes to the house, there to lie concealed in 'the cage,' as the chamber was known, until the coast was clear." <xxxxxxxxx, 1901> This is probably implausible for two reasons. First, although Beecher, a Brooklyn-based preacher, came to national fame as a conductor or captain of the UGRR, there is no evidence that he had any direct contact or relationship with blacks of New York or their organizations. Second, Beecher's church, Plymouth Church was itself a station on the Underground Railroad. The church is known to have secret

passageways and chambers. Many of his congregation, themselves were conductors on the UGRR. At least two are known to have secret chambers in their own residences.

The principal white "captain" of the Underground Railroad in Brooklyn and New York before 1847 was Lewis Tappan. Although Lewis attributes many of his personal anti-slavery and abolition efforts to his brother Arthur in his biography, *Life of Arthur Tappan*, Lewis was the major figure in the abolitionist movement. Lewis grew to be obnoxious and offensive to church and society by his insistence on equal treatment of colored people. A founder of Chatham Street Chapel, in spite of objections of amalgamation from the congregation, he accompanied blacks to the church and encouraged them to sit anywhere in the church. On the founding of the Second Presbyterian or Congregational Church, which became known as Broadway Tabernacle, Tappan attempted pass the same resolution. He was refused by its first pastor, the already famous, Rev. Charles Grandison Finney, and the rest of the congregation. However, his most egregious offence was organizing the Broadway Tabernacle Anti-Slavery Society. Interestingly, Finney and many so-called abolitionists were anti-slavery in name only. They advocated only the abolition of the sin of slavery. On the insistence of Finney, David Hale, the vestry and congregation, the church brought him to trial and excommunicated him for contumacy. Tappan turned to other humanitarian causes such as the Amistad Committee, the Missionary Union, and the American Missionary Association.

Of Course, after 1847, the quintessential figure in the Underground Railroad in Brooklyn or New York was Henry Ward Beecher. Called to Brooklyn in 1847 to pastor Plymouth Congregational Church. From the pulpit, he had a phenomenal presence and influence on religious and social affairs. Proclaimed as one of the greatest preachers of all times, at the end of his career he recalled that he recognized early that his "Greatest work of the modern century, the emancipation of the slaves in America, by which the industry of the continent was also emancipated, and by which the church and religion itself were saved from a worse than Babylonian captivity."¹¹ His efforts on behalf of the emancipation of slaves began less than one year after his arrival in New York's Broadway Tabernacle, the church of the famed Lewis and Arthur Tappan, where

raised from the pulpit more than two thousand dollars to free the Edmonson sisters. In 1850, he championed the state and the nation against the Fugitive Slave Law and deflated the Southern boycott of northern abolitionist merchants. In 1852, after a mob stormed Broadway Tabernacle, preventing Wendell Phillips, America's most ardent abolitionist, from speaking, Beecher invited him to Brooklyn where he delivered an anti-slavery discourse that aroused the audience. He attacked "Jim Crow cars" The next year he purchased another slave from the pulpit. Perhaps his most inspiring and memorable anti-slavery act occurred in 1856 when he purchased from the pulpit a slave whom he named Pinky.¹²

He, therefore, was so influential in the Underground Railroad movement that writing in 1887, Thomas W. Knox related that Beecher "became one of the most prominent of the directors of the Underground Railroad Company. His congregation were nearly all stockholders of the line, and the church has been called its Grand Central Depot. By stockholder he probably meant agent or conductor. Stephen M. Griswold, a member since 1851 and a trustee, wrote in 1907 that "It was no secret that some of the men of Plymouth Church knew a good deal about this railroad, and were deeply interested in helping men, women and girls to escape from bondage." Richard Dwight Hillis, wrote that one of his most "vivid boyhood recollections" was being shown "a secret closet of S. V. White, deacon and treasurer of the church, where White and his wife hid slaves under the stairway of his residence on their way to Canada and freedom. That this was a secret operation is realized by the fact that except for White, no other member can be identified. White was not disclosed until about 1900; Hillis penned these words almost a century after slavery."¹³

The most important possible stations in the Underground Railroad were churches.

New York

Churches, white [not completely identified here]

Were any white churches involved in the Underground Railroad movement?

Broadway Tabernacle
Trinity PE Church
St George's PE Church

St Paul's PE

**Laight Street Congregational Church,
Crosby Street Congregational Church
[James Milnor's church] [Milnor and his church supported
colonization]**

Churches, Black ¹⁴**Zion AME, 1796--****Asbury AME****Bethel A.M.E.****Union AME, inc. 1841 [still in existence 1861]****Colored United Wesleyan Methodist, inc. 1856****St. Phillip's PE Church****St Matthew's PE, 1836-1862****Church of the Messiah, inc 1846****Abyssinian Baptist, 1809--****Zion Baptist, org 1832, inc 1854****Shiloh Presbyterian (First Col Presby. Org 1823)****Bethesda Congregational, org by Charles B. Ray, 1845--1868****Colored American Congregational Methodist Society (Levin
Tilmon)****Congregational****Presbyterian****Episcopal****New York Colored Mission, est. 1865¹⁵**

**Mutual Aid Organizations <Daniel Perlman, "Organizations of
the Free Negro in New York City, 1800-1860," Journal of Negro History
56, 3 (Jul., 1971), 181-97>**

New York African Society for Mutual Relief**New York African Clarkson Society****Female Mutual Assistance Society of the Colored Presbyterian
Church****Female Assistance Society****Colored Sailors Home, William P. Powell**

After 1833, the most important station was the American Anti-Slavery Society (organized October 3, 1833) Office, 138 Nassau Street. Individuals associated with that office were

Arthur Tappan
 Lewis Tappan
 Abraham L. Cox, MD
 John Rankin, Presbyterian General Assembly
 Charles W. Denison
 Elizur Wright
 Isaac T. Hopper
 William Goodell
 Joshua Leavitt and
 Samuel E. Cornish
 Peter Williams Jr.

Except for the Tappans and Cornish, none of the officers were residents of New York City or state.

On November 20, 1835, blacks and whites organized the New York Committee of Vigilance. Its members were:

Theodore S. Wright, chairman
 David Ruggles, secretary
 William Johnston, treasurer
 James W. Higgins, chair, exec comm.
 George R. Barker
 Thomas Van Renssalaer
 Robert Brown
 Samuel E. Cornish.

Present at the meeting were:

Rev. John J Miter
 G. R. Barker
 Rev. John T. Reymond [Raymond].
 Rev Mr. Ludlow
 H. Dresser, Esq.¹⁶

Brooklyn

Churches
 Church of the Pilgrims
 Plymouth Church¹⁷
 Quaker Meeting House, corner of Henry and Clark Streets
 First Free Congregational Church, Bridge Street.

Lafayette Street Presbyterian Church
Bridge Street A.W.M.E. Church, Bridge Street
Concord Baptist Church
Siloam Presbyterian Church
First Presbyterian (ED) Church¹⁸

Mutual Aid Organizations

Brooklyn African Woolman Benevolent Society <Sandra Shoiock Roff, "The Brooklyn African Woolman Benevolent Society Rediscovered," Afro-Americans in New York Life and History 10, 2 (Jul., 1986), 55-63>

Brooklyn African Tompkins Society

4. Agents

Except where stated with documentation, the relationship to activities, principally of being an agent on the UGRR, of the following list of names is only by an association with a church, a known agent, or a known route or station.

New York

Lewis and Arthur Tappan

Theodore Tilton

Henry C. Bowen [Did he have any relationship with blacks??]

Isaac T. Hopper¹⁹

Theodore Y. Cuyler

Samuel Cornish

Theodore S. Wright

Charles B. Ray

Henry Highland Garnett

Briggs [from Siebert]

Downing, Thomas

Downing, George T.

Gibbs [from Siebert, probably Gibbon]

Johnson, Oliver

Pennington, James W. C

David Ruggles²⁰

Thomas Van Renssalaer

Smith, Dr, James McCune²¹

Powell, William P.
Lyons, Albro
John J. Zuille

Notes on the above persons

Henry C[handler]. Bowen. Born in Woodstock, Conn. Father, descendant of the first settlers, was a farmer, kept a country store and tavern. When a boy of ten, he was impressed at the struggle of slaves to avoid kidnapers by story of a very clever, former slave, Cuff Fellows, frequently employed in the family household. Disappointed because he could not seek a collegiate education, Bowen clerked for his father from sixteen to twenty. <New York Times, Feb. 25, 1896, 8:1;>

Canterbury, Conn., was but a few miles from Woodstock. In his "Reminiscences of Slavery Times," he wrote that the stories of Prudence Crandall's travail with her school for colored young ladies, which he heard first hand from the United States Weekly mail carrier, transformed him "into a first-class abolitionist" by his early twenties. Unmentioned, is whether he visited her or met any of the abolitionists who came to her aid, notably Lewis Tappan. <Independent, Dec. 10, 1908, 1367-69> Because on June 6, 1844 he married Lucy Maria, daughter of Lewis Tappan. They had ten children.

Shortly after he moved to New York, he was taken into the firm of Arthur and Lewis Tappan, silk dealers. He was one of the clerks who protected the Tappan's store at 122 Pearl during the riots of 1834. He founded a wholesale dry goods business known as Bowen and McManee, which prospered until the crash of 1857. He then founded Bowen and Holmes, which failed from the loss of payments from southern customers during the Civil War. At a grand meeting of merchants at Castle Garden, Bowen's firm was the only company of 5,000 merchants that refused to sign a petition "defending the rights of the South to its slaves, whether north or South." <Independent, Dec. 3, 1908, 1346>

Henry C. Bowen is not listed in New York directories and is first listed in Brooklyn directory in 1841. Interestingly, a Henry F. Bowen, merchant, is found in New York City in 1834 and 1835 at 168 and 172 Pearl Street, house at McDougal Street. Henry F. is missing from 1836. In that year, Henry F. Bowen appears in the Brooklyn Directory. This probably not Henry C. or Henry F. of New York because a Henry

Bowen at Love Lane is listed in 1835. The next year a Henry F. is enumerated at Love Lane. In 1841, Henry C. Bowen is recorded in the Brooklyn Directory at 47 Willow Street. In 1845 he moves to 50 Willow Street.

His biographer does not state which, but Bowen connected with the Rev. Samuel Hanson Cox's church. It was probably Laight Street Church and he could have followed Cox to Brooklyn. He became active in religious work when he was rebuked for conducting neighborhood prayer meetings because he was not an ordained elder or evangelist. He told of his troubles to the Rev. Henry Bingham, one of the first missionaries to the Sandwich Islands. Bingham Laid his hand on Bowen's head and ordained him to—"do all the good you can, wherever in the province of God, you may be called to labor, Amen." <Independent, Dec. 10, 1908, 1364-66>

Bowen was the founder of Storr's Church of the Pilgrims, the First Congregational Church, and one of the founders of Plymouth Congregational Church, which brought Henry Ward Beecher to Brooklyn. He was a "munificent helper in founding a multitude of churches in his own city and thruout [sic] the Western country."

Bowen was also a publishing giant. He was the founder of the Independent, a religious sheet initially dedicated to Congregational and Presbyterian principles, but soon undenominational or "independent." [THIS NEEDS TO BE REWORKED] It was devoted to the church and anti-slavery. From its opposition to the Fugitive Slave Law its became deeply involved in politics. Bowen invited Lincoln to New York in 1859 and advocated Republican principles. Supporting Lincoln's election, to compete with the staunchly Democratic Brooklyn Daily Eagle, Bowen founded the Brooklyn Union later the Standard Union. In xxxx, he engaged the brilliant and ardently Republican Theodore Tilton as editor. Since the beginning Beecher had his own editorial column. While Beecher was in England during the Civil War, Bowen gave Tilton full management control of the paper.²²

Thomas Downing. Born Junketing [sic, probably Chincoteague], Accomac County, Virginia in 1791xxxx. Married Rebecca West of Philadelphia Came to New York in xxxx; first in lumber business; established a restaurant in the basement of 5 Broad on the corner of and Wall Streets. His specialty was oysters and the "marked superiority of colored cooks" made this an epicurean delight. His house became a famous gathering place for white merchants, politicians and

government officials. <Abram C. Dayton, Last Days of Knickerbocker Life in New York (NY: Geo. W. Harlan, Publishers, 1882), 101-05; John H. Hewitt, "Mr. Downing and his Oyster House: the Life and Good Works of an African-American Entrepreneur," New York History 73, 3 (Jul., 1993), 229-xx; George T. Downing, "A Sketch of the Life and Times of Thomas Downing," A.M.E. Church Review xxxxx, (Apr., 1887), xx409xx> [See efforts of Thomas Downing in the fire of 1835 in [Lewis Tappan, The Life of Arthur Tappan, pp. 278-79] died, Apr 10, 1866; five children: GTD, Thomas, Henry, Jane, and Peter William.

He was a delegate to the 1831 National Negro Convention, which unofficially inaugurated the underground railroad among black people in free states with aid to fugitives on their way to Wilberforce colony in Canada.<Hewitt, 242; xxxxx> Downing and his son George were founding members of the Committee of Thirteen.<Hewitt, 246>

George T. Downing. Oldest son of Thomas and Rebecca Downing was born December 30, 1819. Educated at a private school kept by one Charles Smith, then at the Mulberry Street African Free School. He began his public career at the age of fifteen as an agent on the Underground Railroad when he attempted to spirit away a slave named "Little Henry" from the City Jail. He was arrested and the situation resolved when the value of the slave was paid. <New York Freeman, Mar. 7, 1885> He was a member of the Phoenixian Literary Society.<Col Amer Jul 21 1838 p3:1 [Col Amer Dec 4 1841 [check date] p3:4 MARR In St Philips on eve of 24th ult. by Rev Mr Evans, Mr George T. Downing to Miss Serena L. DeGrasse, all of this city] [North Star, Jun 13, 1850 on exec comm of Amer. league of Colored laborers]; member of Committee of Thirteen[North Star Oct 31, 1850]

[North Star, Jan 23, 1851, Serena Downing, 4 Temple St., on contrib comm of North Star Fair Assn] By 1853 George and family relocated to Providence, Rhode Island, which he made his home for the rest of his life.

Let of GTD on St Phillips Ch and Fugitive Slv law[zFDP, Apr 29, 1852]

<John H. Hewitt, "Mr. Downing and his Oyster House: The Life and Good Works of an African-American Entrepreneur," New York History 74, 3 (Jul., 1993), 229-52 >

Albro Lyons. XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX. Reminiscenes of daughter Maritcha, "Father's connection with the underground railroad brought

many strange faces to our house, for it was semi-public and persons could go in and out without attracting special attention. Under mother's vigilant eye, refugees were kept long enough to be fed and to have disguises changed and be met by those prepared to speed them on in the journey toward the North Star. Father used to say humorously this part of his business was "keeping a cake and apple stand." He estimated he had been of help to a thousand persons, thanks to mother's devotion and discretion. <Dorothy Sterling, *We Are Your Sisters; Black Women in the Nineteenth Century* (NY: W.W. Norton, 1984), 220-21>

Notes on the above institutions

New York City Committee of Vigilance, formed Nov. 20, 1835. In the first annual report the committee noted that it rescued three hundred thirty five fugitives. <First Annual Report of the New York Committee of Vigilance for the Year 1837, in Herbert Aptheker, ed., *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States Vol. 1: From Colonial Times Through the Civil War* (NY: Citadel Press, 1961), 161-63 >

Committee of Thirteen, formed to retrieve James Hamlet, the first black seized under the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850.

The New York Times reported that anti-slavery fairs were actually gatherings to raise funds for fugitives. <New York Times, Dec. 15, 1856, 6:1 >

North Star Association, formed in 1850 out of the Ladies Literary Society. Prominent persons, managers: Mrs J.N. (Emma?) Gloucester, president, Mrs. A.N. Freeman, Mrs. C. B. Ray, Mrs. William J. Wilson. <See issues of the North Star; Anglo-African; Sterling, *We Are Your Sisters*, 118>

Brooklyn

w Rev. Richard Salters Storrs?

w Rev. Henry Ward Beecher

w Samuel Hanson Cox

w Rev. Evan M. Johnson

w Rev. Theodore Y. Cuyler

w William Harned²³

w White, S. V.²⁴

w Rev. Simeon Starr Jocelyn

w Stephen M. Griswold
w Samuel Wilde
b Rev. Amos N. Freeman²⁵
b Rev. Sampson V. White
b Thomas J. White MD
b Rev. James N. Gloucester
b William J. Wilson
b Rev. Richard H. Cain

Notes on the above Institutions.

Society of Friends Meeting House. , established 1836 by the Fifteenth Street Meeting House. Moved to Boerum Place and Smith Street in 1857.²⁶ As in other states and localities, most of the agents on the Underground Railroad were members of the Society of Friends, or Quakers. Surprisingly, the Quaker church is absent from literature on Brooklyn history. Stiles wrote that the church provided no information for his works. Since his book covers the period 1816 to 1834, Weld overlooked that church. As most Quakers were the political elite who engaged in public service, none can be identified in Brooklyn. This is a subject for further study.

First Presbyterian Church. As will be noted below, this church, established in 1822 in the building where Plymouth Church began, requires further study. It has an interesting history related to the Rev. Samuel Hanson Cox, who will be outlined below. As is well known, in 1837 the Presbyterian Church in America separated into New School (Anti-Slavery) Synod and Old School (Pro-Slavery) Synod over slavery. However, it suffered a split in 1831, apparently over Garrison's "immediate abolition," (this reason is just speculation or hypothesis) when thirty-one members left to form the Second Presbyterian Church (Old School). Although listed as the Third Presbyterian Church, as stated "a few members" separated to form this church a few months earlier. Minister of the First Presbyterian, the Rev. Daniel Lynn Carroll remained until 1835. For two years the pulpit remained vacant until the Rev. Samuel Hanson Cox was installed. One year into Cox's pastorate, claiming their association with the original (Old School) First Presbyterian Church, forty families, about one hundred members left

the church.²⁷ Among those remaining were Henry C. Bowen and five others who would found the First Free Congregational Church and Plymouth Church.

First Free Congregational Church. Omitted from the history of Brooklyn's Congregational churches, this church was created in 1843 by the members of the First Presbyterian Church under the Rev. Samuel Hanson Cox. These members, desiring a congregational form of worship, were Henry C. Bowen, Simon B. Chittenden, Charles J. Stedman, Charles P. Baldwin, Edward Corning and Luter [sic] Eames. Of these, Bowen would found Plymouth Church four years later. This church was located at 309 Bridge Street.²⁸ Nothing is known about this church. It was vacated more than a decade before Stiles's histories, which surveyed existing churches. Perhaps its failure resulted from the concept of a free church or it was overshadowed by Beecher and Plymouth Church. But it lasted more than a decade.

The next year, 1844, some members of the First Presbyterian Church, notably Henry C. Bowen, desiring New England or Puritan style of worship, founded the Church of the Pilgrims. And in 1847, members of the Church of the Pilgrims founded Plymouth Church and called Henry Ward Beecher to the pulpit.

The point of acknowledging these three churches is a syllogistic argument for abolitionist and Underground Railroad activities at congregational churches. It is known that within months of his leading the church, Beecher commenced aiding fugitive slaves from the pulpit. Although in December, 1850, Storrs delivered from the pulpit a sermon on the "Obligation of Man to Obey the Civil Law, Its Ground and Extent," churches and pastors aligned against the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850.²⁹ By 1854, Plymouth and congregational churches acquired a label of being abolitionist churches. Griswold cites that many of its members engaged in aiding fugitives.

The importance of this argument is that in 1853 the African Church in High Street purchased the edifice of the First Free Congregational Church. On July 12, 1854 the church, led by the Rev. James Morris Williams, marched from High Street to their new home. Within a short time, this church became known as the Bridge Street A.W.M.E. Church.

Bridge Street A.W.M.E. Church has always been known as a station on the Underground Railroad. That reputation may have escalated during the Civil War era when blacks assumed more

responsibility for their brothers' liberty. By the twentieth Century knowledge of the church as an UGRR station was public knowledge. Church bulletins and Brooklyn's major newspaper reported that "Slaves were housed, fed, cared for and slept on the floor of the basement." In fact, slaves made carvings in the floor that were still there in 1918. In 1970, Prof. Felix E. Okoli of New York City Community College, received a grant to do exploratory digging at the church. His findings were never published.³⁰

The significance of Bridge Street AWME Church as an UGRR station and its relation to Duffield Street is noteworthy. This church was located on Bridge Street, bounded by Mrytle, Johnson and Duffield Streets. Thus, if slaves had to seek a hasty escape from the church, they were rushed out the rear of the church onto Duffield Street, the nearest open street and down Duffield to Fulton Steet or into the woods. If there were sympathetic citizens on Duffield Street, no black residents or servants were found from Johnson to Fulton Streets, fugitives could have sought shelter in an abolitionist's house or another church.

CONCORD BAPTIST CHURCH

Two interesting ramifications concern the development of black Baptism in Brooklyn. New York City blacks established a Baptist church as early as 1809. That denomination did not reach Brooklyn until nearly forty years later. A second black Baptist church was established in New York just one year after the expulsion of free blacks from Virginia, the seat of black Baptism, following the Nat Turner Uprising. <Jonathan Greenleaf, A History of the Churches of All Denominations in the City of New York from the First Settlement to the Year 1846 (New York: E. French, 1846), 240, 259.> Curiously, although the suburban Brooklyn settlements of Weeksville and Carville, which began around 1834, comprised a substantial number of Virginia blacks, it would take another two decades for black Baptism to reach the city of churches. And, it commenced in Lower Brooklyn by Manhattanites.



Black Baptist preachers, such as the Rev. Sampson White, <Source: Carter G. Woodson, History of the Negro Church, 3d ed. (Wash. DC:, Associated Press, 1972), 106.> sometimes led or followed their flocks in the exodus out of Virginia. James M. Washington asserts the black Baptist clergymen who were most nearly white, such as Sampson White and John H. Raymond, could travel back and forth across the Mason-Dixon Line without being detected. <Washington, Frustrated Fellowship The Black Baptist Quest for Social Power (Macon, Ga.: Mercer UP, 1986), 23-24> Stories abound about very light complexioned blacks posing as whites to carry their families and fugitive slaves out of the South. With this deception certain

blacks, like White, could engage in business negotiations barred to a darker skin. It is said that the site on Concord Street, the former Ebenezer Baptist Church, would not be sold to a black. White purchased it as a private citizen and then sold it to the church corporation. <Kings County Clerks Office, Conveyances, Valentine G. Hall to Sampson White; Sampson White to Concord Baptist Church, Dec. 31, 1847; Deeds, Liber, 172, page 299, 330.>

With some discrepancies, resulting from the scourge of time, that cannot be corroborated or refuted, a newspaper historical column, a century later, claimed that six men founded Concord Baptist Church; only five have been identified. [Who was Maria Hampton of 6 Fair Street?? She is mentioned in Clarence Taylor and no where else] The newspaper stated that they held meetings at 6 Fair Street, from whence the church was founded May 15, 1847. The record of incorporation reveals different facts.

On September 22, 1847 a group of men met at 309 Fulton Street for the purpose of forming a religious organization. John J. Washington and Sampson V. White were elected moderator and clerk, of the meeting, respectively. Thomas J. Leggins [or Seggins check this out], and Robert Johnson were elected as inspectors of elections. This meeting elected Washington, David [Purser?] and White as trustees of

the congregation to be known as Concord Baptist Church of Christ. Incorporation papers were filed November 8, 1847.<Kings County Clerk's Office, Book of Religious Incorporations, Nov. 8, 1847, p xxx.>

The leader of this movement was Sampson White. He was a native of Virginia. Before 1847 he had successfully founded Baptist churches from Virginia to Connecticut. In 1832, he was called a success at the Gilfield Baptist Church in Petersburg, Virginia. In 1839, he organized the 19th Street Baptist Church in Washington, D.C. Although the newspaper article states the date as 1846, two years after he organized the church in D.C., in 1841 he came to pastor Abyssinian Baptist church in New York City.<Woodson, History of the Negro Church, 96, 119-20; Washington, Frustrated Fellowship, xxxxxxxx; Amsterdam News, Jun 4, 1955.>

Abyssinian Baptist Church was formed on July 5, 1809 with eighteen black members of the First Baptist Church on Gold Street in Manhattan. It is curious that he split occurred on Independence Day, which suggests that racial discrimination may have been a factor. It met for several years without a pastor and then supplied with white ministers until 1824. In that year one of Abyssinian's and New York's great preachers, the Rev. Benjamin Paul, was called to the pulpit. Paul continued until 1831 when he led a colony of settlers to the Wilberforce Settlement in Canada. After other ministers, the Rev. William Loomis and the Rev. William Moore, the rev. White became pastor.<Greenleaf, History of the Churches, 240>

[INCLUDE Dates of purchases of church on Concord Street near Duffield and white's complexion.]

This newspaper article implies that the members who founded Concord were members of Abyssinian Church. The arduous trip from Brooklyn to Manhattan made it necessary for Brooklyn members to seek a church in their city.

In 1854, the Rev. Simon Bundick took charge of Concord. In that year John Williams was engaged as sexton. He lived at 6 Stanton Street. Five years later, Sampson White returned and held that post until the middle of the Civil War. In 1863, William J. Barnett was minister for one year.

In 1864, the most illustrious minister, William J. Dixon was called to the pulpit. He held that post until 1909.

In 1873 Concord Baptist Church moved to Canton Street near Park Avenue.

In 1891, the church again relocated to 165 Duffield Street.

Dates of purchases of church on Concord Street near Duffield and white's complexion.

This newspaper article implies that the members who founded Concord were members of Abyssinian Church. The arduous trip from Brooklyn to Manhattan made it necessary for Brooklyn members to seek a church in their city.

What were some locations and who were some "agents" in the Duffield Street area?

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. | 1847-1873 | Concord Baptist Church | Concord bet Duffield and Gold. |
| 2. | 1850 | Rev. Amos N. Freeman | 38 Fleet St. |
| 3. | | Siloam Presbyterian Church | |
| 4. | 1854-- | Bridge Street AWME Church | 309 Bridge |
| 5. | 1855 | William Harned | 123 Duffield |
| 6. | | Calvary Church | |
| 7. | 1850 | John N. Still | Atlantic c Willow |
| 8. | 1846 | George DeGrasse | 2 Stanton St. |
| 9. | 1851 | Thomas Truesdell | 227 Duffield |
| 10. | 1857 | James N. Gloucester | 265 Bridge |
| 11. | 1847- | Rev Sampson V. White | 11 Chapel |

Notes on the above Probable Agents

Samuel Hanson Cox. A Presbyterian minister in New York and Brooklyn. According to a biographical sketch, he as "a man of brilliant

but eccentric genius." He was born in Rahway, NJ of Quaker ancestry, educated at a Friends' Academy in Philadelphia. While studying for the law, he broke his twenty year association with Quakerism and joined the Presbyterian Church. He was ordained in 1817. He pastored various churches, including in New York, Spring Street Church (1820-25), and Laight Street Church (1825-35). He prepared James W.C. Pennington for the ministry. In 1833 Cox wrote a long dissertation, Quakerism not Christianity, in which he renounced the doctrine of the Society of Friends. This book was answered by Dr. David M. Reese, M.D., an unknown but major figure in the anti-abolitionist movement. Originally not strongly associated with abolition--but it was--Cox caused the 1834 Abolition Riot by declaring from the pulpit that Jesus was a black man. That "Nigger" was already entrenched in New York's racist vocabulary is demonstrated by James Watson Webb, editor of the Courier and Enquirer and an instigator of the riot, who said that Cox "called my Saviour a nigger!" His church suffered attacks on all three days of the riot.³¹

An example of Historians' disregard for Brooklyn, a biographical sketch in Dictionary of American Biography completely omits Cox's experiences in Brooklyn.³² This subject needs more research. However, what is known is that he headed Brooklyn's First Presbyterian Church from May, 1837 to April, 1854 (see above).³³ He led the split between the Old School and New School Presbyterians. Residence, Oxford c Fulton.

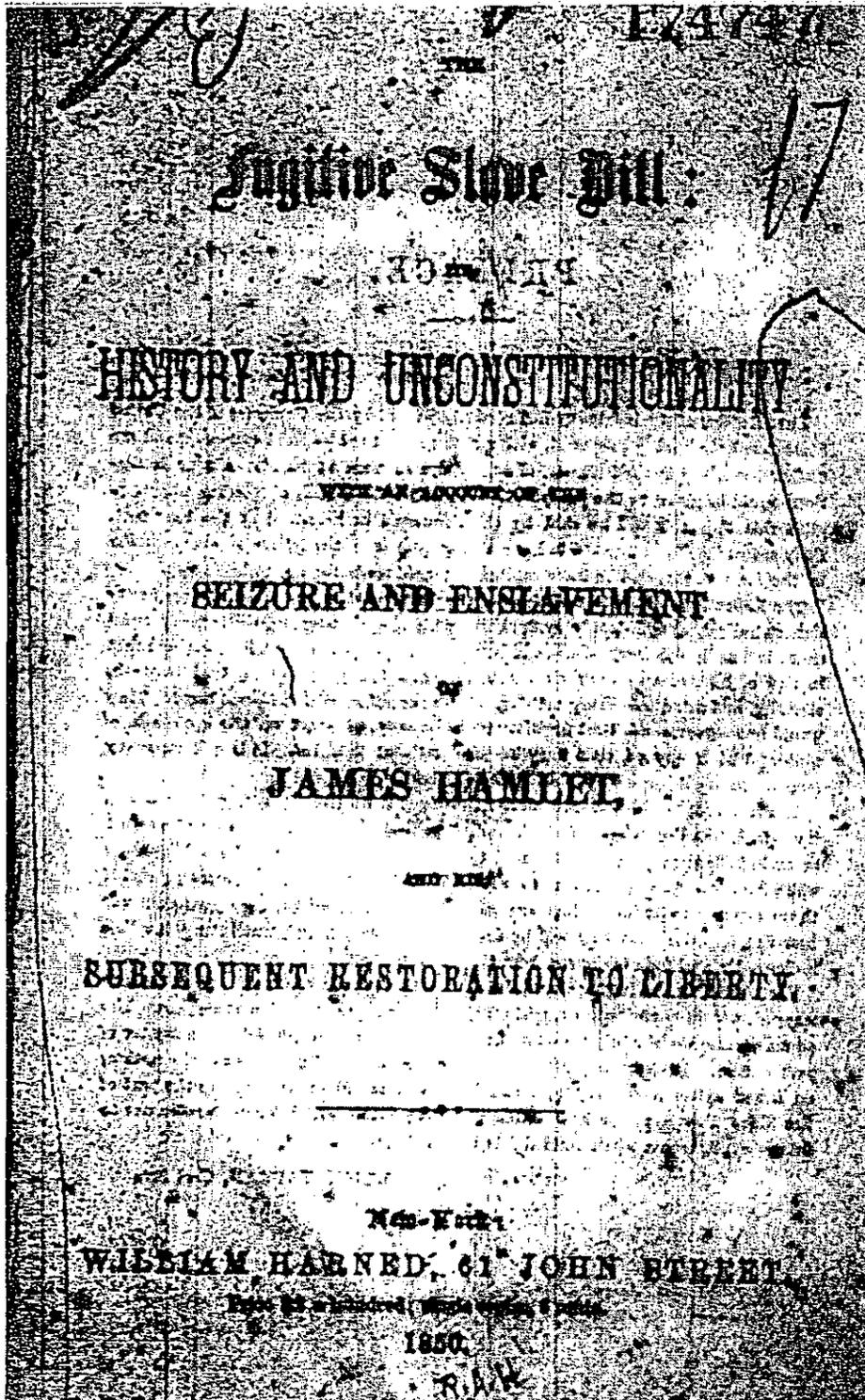
Amos N. Freeman. Pastor of Siloam Presbyterian Church, known agent of the Underground Railroad.³⁴ He was born in New Jersey, in 1809. Mr. Freeman was educated in the Oneida Institute, near Rochester. He never graduated, but was ordained and installed in Portland, Me., in 1841; he came to Brooklyn, in 1852, and with the exception of three and a half years in Hartford he occupied the pulpit of Siloam Presbyterian Church to 1885. He was twice appointed moderator for the Brooklyn Presbytery. Residence, 38 Fleet Street.³⁵

William Harned. Spent his early years in Philadelphia Quaker communities; active in anti-slavery, pacifist and temperance causes. An official of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society; secretary and treasurer of the New York State Vigilance Committee; assistant treasurer of the American Missionary Association. He was a New York agent for the American Anti-Slavery Society. After the split, he associated with the Tappanites on the American and Foreign Anti-

Slavery Society. In 1847 he moved to Brooklyn, residing at Smith near Warren; from 1848-50 he lived at 130 Bridge Street. This might be the same block as the First Congregational Church.

In 1848, Robert G. Bonnell and John White purchased large portions of Block 2077. White was a builder and Bonnell a mason. Though speculation, perhaps they engaged in erecting and selling housing. In 1850, Harned purchased property in Block 2077, same block as the present 227 Duffield, from John White. In that same year, Truesdell purchased his property from Bonnell. From 1851 to 1853, Harned's address was 123 Duffield.

Harned's activities after 1850 can be traced with more certainty than Truesdell. In August of that year Congress passed the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. Harned must have attended the great outrage meetings by black and white citizens. Except for the Rev. Richard S. Storrs, most pastors, following the influence of Beecher, urged their congregations to disobey such an illegal law. Harned, apparently, was directly involved in the controversy. Attached is the title page of a pamphlet on the Fugitive Slave Law,



entitled, *The Fugitive Slave Bill: Its History and Unconstitutionality; with an Account of the Seizure and Enslavement of James Hamlet and his Subsequent Restoration to Liberty*, published in late 1850. Hamlet, nearly white, a resident of Williamsburgh, a separate city until it was annexed to Brooklyn in 1855, was the first black person in America to be seized under this act. In the preface, Lewis Tappan, corresponding secretary of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, wrote that it was hastily prepared, the "author has freely availed himself of such helps as were at hand." Although its author is unknown, undoubtedly to avoid persecution for openly advocating opposition to the law of the land, the fact that Harned's is the only name on its cover implies that he wrote it. If he did write it, was it written from his home on Bridge Street or from the offices of the AMA?

What part did the AMA play in opposition to the Fugitive Act? Interestingly, on the same day that blacks of New York City held a great outrage meeting and formed the Committee of Thirteen, the AMA had published a declaration of sentiments adopted at their annual meeting, held in Rochester. Three articles of their resolutions vowed to oppose federal law by a higher law, to secret fugitives from slave catchers, and give aid and assistance to them, regardless of any penalty or persecution that they may suffer. <Tribune, Oct. 3, 1850, 4: 5> Quoted in full, they are:

7. Resolved, That in the practice and propagation of Christianity, and in all the responsibilities, labors and duties of human life, the law of God is to be held paramount to all human compacts, constitutions and statutes, the law above all laws, the source and the essence of all binding law;

...

8. Resolved, That no duties of Christianity are more sacred and binding than those of remembering them that are in bonds and bound with them, of hiding the outcasts, of not betraying him that wandereth, of being a cover to him from the face of the spoiler, and of exercising hospitality and extending aid to the fugitive from [unrighteous] oppression.

9. Resolved, That our warm sympathies, prayers, and assistance are due to those magnanimous men, who, in the exercise of their inalienable rights and religion which is ours to profess, practice and propagate, have hazarded their

liberties, and are now incarcerated, for no crime but that of obeying God and showing mercy to the poor.

10. Resolved, That we believe the Christianity of the nation is about to be tested in view of the late act of Congress for the recovery of Fugitive Slaves, which appears equally at variance with the principle of this association, the Constitution of the country, and the law of God; and that while as Christians, we do not feel called upon to use forcible resistance to the law, we do solemnly covenant with each other and our colored brethren that we cannot obey it, nor [sic] any other law that evidently contravenes the higher law of our Maker, whatever persecution or penalty we may be called to suffer.

Many questions need to be researched concerning Harned, Truesdell and the Fugitive Slave Law. The AMA Papers have not been consulted for this outline. See below for Truesdell. Did Harned associate with the First Free Congregational Church, which had ties to Beecher, Bowen and Plymouth Church? Was that church committed to, as Tappan wrote in the pamphlet, that people of color "may be assured that they will be effectively aided by their white friends"? One example, in January, 1851, Henry Bibb fled from the Fugitive Slave Law to Sandwich Canada West where he established a newspaper, the Voice of the Fugitive. He soon became a leading worker for Canadian refugees. Bibb wrote to the Executive Committee of the American Missionary Association on securing land for the refugees. Undoubtedly, he must have been an acquaintance or a correspondent with Harned for he was confident that Harned would assist him. He wrote, "Without conferring with Br. Harned on the subject I have taken the liberty of announcing that He [sic] would receive contributions for that object."³⁶

Evan M. Johnson. Born in Newport R.I. of Quaker ancestors, he was ordained a PE minister in 1813. After a year at Grace Church, New York City, he was called to Newtown, Long Island in 1814 and remained until 1826. Moving to Brooklyn in that year, Johnson personally erected St. John's PE Church, ministering to it until 1847, when he established St. Micheal's Church to minister to a neglected population. He acquired a large tract of land bounded on the north by the Duffield estate and personally opened Myrtle Avenue to Queens.³⁷ Residence, Johnson c Pearl Streets.

Johnson's effort on behalf of blacks is new and noteworthy history. As early as 1830, it was probably Johnson who protested against the exclusion of African ministers from a board of all denominations to administer African Infant Schools. Three years later, he assisted Brooklyn and New York blacks in establishing St. Peter's African PE Church located on Stanton and Tillary Streets. Besides complaints of performing the solemnization of slave marriages, he probably preached there as well. Of course, Duffield Street, which was opened in 1847, was a continuation of Stanton. This church brought Johnson into association with the Rev. Isaiah DeGrasse and his father George. Isaiah was a black who was expelled from seminary because of race. DeGrasse was undistinguishable from a white person. Although a property owner in Manhattan, George DeGrasse is noted as a resident at 2 Stanton Street in 1846. Johnson appealed to PE conventions to save St. Peter's but it failed in 1839.³⁸

James W.C. Pennington. A fugitive slave who wrote his autobiography.

Resided six months with Quaker William Wright, Adams County, Pennsylvania.³⁹

Lived with Elder (Van Sinderin) of Brooklyn Presbyterian Church (First Presbyterian??); actually he was a domestic servant; after Rev. Samuel Hanson Cox visited Van Sinderin, he converted Pennington to Presbyterian religion, member of Cox's church.⁴⁰ Along with Samuel E. Cornish, Theodore S. Wright, Peter Williams, and four other prominent blacks, a founding member of Tappan's American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. He was the founder of the Mendi Missionary Association that aided the Amistad captives.

Thomas Truesdell. Born about 1794 in Connecticut; moved to Rhode Island. In 1830, he was Providence Rhode Island's agent for Benjamin Lundy and Garrison's *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.⁴¹ Probably a founding member of Rhode Island's Anti-Slavery Society, founded in 1833. In Providence, Truesdell, Benjamin Robinson, Benjamin Abbot, and John Babcock published *The Graham Journal of Health and Longevity Devoted to the Practical Illustration of the Science of Human Life*.⁴² He was a member of the Providence Society for Abolishing the Slave Trade. Truesdell was a grocer in Providence,

where he became a broker for Rhode Island's blooming cotton industry. This meant that he may have had contact with southern merchants. Gilkeson writes that he and George Benson, William Lloyd Garrison's father-in-law (Garrison married Helen Benson), were the only two members of the Society for Abolishing the Slave Trade that were active in later anti-slavery movements. Thus, Truesdell was founding member of the Providence Anti-Slavery Society, organized by Garrison, Arnold Buffum and Moses Brown in June, 1833. It was organized with only twelve members. In October, he probably met Simeon Starr Jocelyn, a supporter of Prudence Crandall. She was later forced out of Connecticut for teaching black girls.⁴³ Buffum and Jocelyn met with a recently organized black Temperance society. Did Truesdell attend the first Agents' Training Convention in New York City in November and December of 1836? One who was there was William Harned.⁴⁴

Although he probably did not settle in New York City,⁴⁵ not listed in the directory until the next year, Truesdell moved to Brooklyn by 1838. In that year he is found in Brooklyn Heights at 14 Hicks Street between Doughty and Poplar Streets. Interestingly, three of the most important blacks in Brooklyn history resided at 41 and 43 Hicks Street, a block away.⁴⁶ In 1840 he moved to 11 Liberty Street and in 1842 to 249 Jay Street, between Nassau and Concord Streets. Missing from the directory in 1845, the next year he resided at 113 Johnson. In 1850, Truesdell is found at 142 Willoughby Street. In that year, Truesdell and wife Harriet purchased the house and lot that took various house numbers until it was fixed at 227 Duffield Street. For example, in 1851 it was 141 Duffield; in 1856, the number changed to 185 Duffield. A listing of his neighbors and residents of Duffield Street in 1840, 1850, 1851, and 1860 is shown in the tables below.

Were there other abolitionists on Duffield Street? One member of the Duffield Neighborhood Association claims that there were five but has not shared their identities with me. To answer this question, we need to know the names of families that resided on Duffield. We can also get a picture of racial patterns.

Family and residential patterns for the decades between 1840 and 1860 are shown in the following tables. Please note that the following tables are incomplete. They were hastily prepared and I have been unable to obtain information on names of abolitionists to compare these names with members. 1840 was a very easy task because that was the only year in which the directory compiler composed a Street Directory, the location of families, and their house numbers on every street. The

Doyle,	Michael	Tailor	72 Duffield
M'alister,	Alexander	Blacksmith	72
Wright,	Thomas	Painter	74
Cook,	Jane	Widow	76
M'gowan	James	Umbrella maker	76
Williams	William	Plasterer	76
Dugan	Joseph	Salesman	78
Doughty	Patrick	Mason	78
Mulhern	Rose	Widow	80
Gedney	Henry	Collector	82
Brown	William	Surveyor	82
Garvin	Jeremiah	Grocer	83
Sturgus	Ebenezer	Mason	88
Newcomb	James	Builder	88
Van Brunt	Thomas	Gold pen maker	88
Crowder	George	Letter carrier	89
Dorsett	Samuel	Butcher	90
Savage	Edward	Stove dealer	90
Chichester	Francis	Merchant	90
Kelly	Patrick	Carman	90
Johnson	Nancy	Widow	91
Montross	Joseph	Hatter	91.5
Hooper	Charles	Printer	92
Nafew	Samuel	Miller	92
Avis	William	Tailor	94
Cogswell	Samuel	----	94
Hunt	Abraham	Carpenter	96
Dixon	Robert	US Navy	98
Brown	Robert	Book Binder	98
Bedell	Cadwallader	Accountant	98
Goodfellow	Mary	Widow	100
Griffing	B	Dry goods store	100
Marsh	William	Artist	102
Darrow	Walter	Gold pen manuf	112

Davidson	D. L.	Importer of watches	112
Wells	Dudley	Wood type	112
Brant	David	Carman	112
Dodd	Thomas	Mechanics Institute	119
Walsh	W W	Flour & Feed store	120
Wood	Lawrence	Marketman	120
Van Voorhis	Uriah	Carpenter	123
Blake	John	Morocco dresser	123
Brown	Samuel	Silversmith	123
Jackson	Solomon	Crockery merch	126
M'Donald	Alexander	----	126
Williams	Miss	F & M	127
Dudley	John	----	129
Jarrett	James	Chocolate	130
Thompson	George	Bookkeeper	131
Ingraham	Richard	Lawyer	134
Ingraham	William	Lawyer	134
Houghton	Frederick	Merchant	136
Faulkner	George	Broker	139
Ackley	John	Lawyer	143
Ackley	William	Lawyer	143
Edwards	Thomas	Builder	255 nor of Johnsn
Barnard	Mary	Widow	Duf nor Willough
De Mott	Abraham	Sash maker	Duf nor Myrtle
Forbes	Cleveland	Ferryboat Capt	Duf cor Willough
Houghton	Frederick	Merchant	Duf nor Fulton
John	Raymond	Merchant	Duf nor

			Willough
Johnson	John	Fringe maker	Duf nor Myrtle
Sage	Louis P.	Merchant	Duf nor Myrtle
Williams	Frances,	Miss	Duf nor Willough
O'Brian	Robert	Engraver	Duf nor Willough
Underhill	R. C.	Attorney	Duf nor Willoug
Swalm	William	Butter merch	Duf nor Myrtle
Thomas	William	Merch	Duff nor Myrtle
Dean	Henry	Teacher	Duff nor Myrtle
Doremus	Thomas	Mason	Duff nr Myrtle
Holroyd	Stephens	Printer	Duff nr Myrtle
Fickett	S. S.	School	Duff nr Will
Cahoone	George	Organ builder	Duf nor Will
Cem	William	Hardware store	Duff nor Fulton
Coit	Charles	Bookkeeper	Duff nor Will
Crosby	Seth	Hat store	Duf nor Fulton
Duryea	J. C.	Office clerk	Duf nor Fulton
Fellows	Charles	Lamp dealer	Duf nor Fulton
Foster	Charles	Ship carpenter	Duf nor Fulton
Hitchcock	John	Merchant	Duf nor Will
Jackson	Solomon	Crockery merch	Duf nor Will
Jacob	William	Merchant	Duff cor Tillary

Neefus	William	Sash & blind	Duf nor Johnson
Crocker	F. A.	Ship chancier	Duf nor Fulton
Crocker	E.B.H.		Duf nor Johnson

Wright, Thomas H	Painter	74
Duffield		
Williams, William S.	Plasterer	76 Duffield
Avis, William T.	Tailor	94
Bedell, Cadwallader	Accountant	98
Brant, David	Carman	112
Wood, Lawrence	Marketman	120
Blake, John A	Morocco Dealer	123
Bradley, L.	Marketman	124
Thompson, George A	Bookkeeper	131
Ackley, John A		143
Ackley, William B.	Lawyer	143
Alley, Joseph B.	Printer	Duffield nr
Fulton		
Woodward, Edw. F.	Merchant	Duffield nr
Fulton		
Foster, Charles	Ship carpenter	Duffield nr
Fulton		
Wiggins, Alfred	Grocer	Fulton c
Duffield		

Table 3
List of Residents on Duffield Street in 1850 [Source: US Census]

453-878		Kyte, Charles	Accountant
454-878	Duffield bet Will & Myrt	Schirley, J. W.	[
	Lumber] Merchant		
-879		Saxton, H. A?	[Furnace]
manuf			
455-880	134 Duffield	Ingraham, Richard	
	Lawyer		
456-881		Duryea, John C.	Manufacturer
457-882		Crocker, ?F. A.	Ship [chandler]
458-883		[Lillock, Daniel C]	Tailor
459-884		Hughes, Geo?	Shoemaker
460-885		Wood, Smith	Mason
-886		Cochran, Geo	Mason
461-887		Taylor, ?L. ?P	Prof of
music			
462-888		Murray, Charles	Purser USN
463-889		Morris, Charles A	Merchant
464-890		Whiting, Henry W	[
465-891		?Labine, ?Brentine	Merchant
466-892		West, Edw ?A	Merchant
467-893		Boyd, ?A	Merchant
468-894		Johnson, Adolph I?	Hatter
469-895		Stevens, James	Broker
470-896		Britton, Thomas	Presb Clergyman
471-897		?Lawrence W. P	Merchant
472-898		[illeg Milford]	Abm Sea
Captain			
473-899		[Burns] Charles	Merchant
474-900		Roberts, Joseph	Bookseller
475-901		Franklin, Cornell P	Customs
House			
476-902		?Firth, Thaddeus	Music dealer
477-903		Havens, J. ?H	C [sic]
Merchant			
478-904		[?Bowen, James R]	Sea
Captain			

Table 5
List of Residents on Duffield Street in 1860 [Source: US Census]

659-1310		Phillips, Henry	Merchant
600-1311		St. John, Haden	Merchant
661-1312		Ward, James ?	
Merchant			
662-1314		Sims, Thomas	Artist
-1315		? Husner, ?Srea	Artist
663-1316		Fleet, Samuel	
Retired			
-13	17	Fifer, Paul	[
Store] keeper			
		Brown, ?[Westley]	[
		Rhodes, Christian	
-1319			
Engraver			
-1320		Nashler, Henry	Painter
665-1321		Dolchir, L.	Grocery
store			
-1322		Mesrole, D.	
Shoemaker			
-1323		Nezel, Anthony	Tinsmith
-1324		Huse, Richard	
Milkman			
-1325	missing	Weeks, George	Shoemaker
-1326	211 Duffield	Wilcox, Margaret	
Housekeeper			
-1327	211 [Warm	Wickett, Jane	
Clerk			
-1328		Roberts, Geo	
Merchant			
-1329		Havens, Charles	Carpenter
-1330		Milline, John	
Carpenter			
670-1331	203 Duf	Whitney, Jesse	
Trunkmaker			

	-1332		Kidd, Raymond	Gilder
	671-		Unoccupied	
	672-		Unoccupied	
	673-		Unoccupied	
	674-		Unoccupied	
	675-1333		Alen [Aben], Charles	
	Jeweler			
	-1334		Helton, Francis	Clerk
	-1335		[Y] ester, M.	Clerk
			Carman, James	Butcher
	-1337		Greenleaf, Amos C.	
	Merchant			
	679-1338		Lewis, William	Telegr
agent	680-		Unoccupied	
	681-		Remsen, Geo.	
	Merchant			
	-1340	187 Duf	Carver, Thomas	Minister [PE]
	-	187 Duffield	Peck, Francis Rev.	
	Minister [PE]			
	683-1342	185 Duffield	Truesdell, Thomas	
	Broker			
		missing	Walsh, William	Jeweler
		181 Duffield	(?) Pergae, Alfred [Perego]	-----
[gents clothing]		179 Duffield	Wilkins, Edward	
	Seaman [shipmaser]			
	687-1346	Young, Frances	Housekeeper	
		Goodrich, William	Lawyer	
		Shepard, John	Sailor	
	690-1349	?[Hicks]Mecir, William	Lawyer	
		Ackley, Edward	Clerk	
		189 Duff	Swift, Hiram	Prof of
music				
		Carlin, Dolph	Retired	
		Gives, William	Sailor	
		Eveler, Samuel	Painter	
		Eee, Maria	Housekeeper	
		155 Duffield	Swift, John W.	
	Trunkmaker			
		Deflain, Jos	City weigher	

	Missing Seal, Harriet	
Housekeeper	[JohnM 149 Duff]Slater, Sarah	
Housekeeper		
	Hand, Richard	Clergyman [BC]
	Chapman, Daniel	Pilot
	Cumpeted, James	Fish dealer
	Warren, [William?]	Retired
	Ryan, Jas	School teacher
	Morgan, William	Clerk
	Mesenger, Samuel	Clerk
704-1369	Giffard, Catharine	Housekeeper
-1370	Winter, Henry	Merchant
705-1371	Buck Jas	Clerk

**List of Residents of Duffield and Stanton Streets
1860 from Brooklyn Directory**

Adams, Walter	Druggist	100 Duffield
Albonesy Anthony	tinsmith	215
Avila, Samuel A.	Sign painter	157
Avis William T.	cutter	157
Baker Charles	printer	174
Bouffler, James	bootmaker	80 Duffield
Brant David	carman	130
Brown Eliza	widow	116
Burge J.H.H. (MD)		138 Duffield
Burge, Lemuel	Rev	138
Burke, Pascal C.	clerk	108
Cairns William	clerk	95 Duffield
Carlin Delphy		163 Duffield
Carver, T. G.	Rev	187 Duffield
Castner Parmenas	builder	128 Duffield h 70
Prince		
Chapman Daniel C.	Pilot	145 Duffield
Conant J.	baker	122 Duffield
Comstock James	clerk	145 Duffield

	Coupland, Harriet	widow	149
Duffield	Cox, Orville M.	printer	205 Duffield
	Delancy, Elizabeth	widow	179
Duffield	Duflon, Jasper	weigher	153 Duffield
	Edwards, Thomas	carpenter	99 Duffield
	Emmens, John P.	Tailor	118 Duffield
	Gardner, Benj. A.	shipmaster	98 Duffield
	Gautier, Coster	hardware NY	109 Duffield
	Goldie, H. N. J.	merchant	180 Duffield
	Gosson, Margaret	widow	199
Duffield	Hamilton, Elisha B.	agent	91 Duffield
	Hamilton, Margaret		107 Duffield
	Hand, R. C.	Rev	147 Duffield
	Irwin, Robert J.	poultry Wash Markt	86 Duffield,
	Jarvis, Emilius	coachmaker	130
Duffield	Johnson, John E.	lighterman	100 Duffield
	Jones, Charles	livery	128 Duffield
	Kemp, Jacob	builder	97 Duffield
	Kirby, F. C.	baker	Mrytle av cor Duffield
	Lane, John	painter	Duffield n Tillary
	Lower, Richard	bookkeeper	114 Duffield
	MacKenzie, Charles F.	clerk	146 Duffield
	Mathewson, Thomas	artist	138 Duffield
	McAnally, Wm	lab	76 Duffield
	McAllister, Alexander	smith	72 Duffield
	McKinley, David	bootmaker	78 Duffield
	Meriam, Francis	clerk	146 Duffield
	Messenger, Homer	carpenter	131 Duffield
	Messerle Daniel	shoemaker	215 Duffield
	Middleton, John	carpenter	101 Duffield
	Miller, John A.	currier r 51 Stanton	h Newark, NJ
	Milne, John	carpenter	207 Duffield
	Montrose, Pheobe	wid	92 Duffield
	Mooney, Daniel	laborer	76 Duffield
	Moore, Samuel	mason	78 Duffield
	Morgan, J. W.	bookkeeper	131 Duffield

	Morrison, Edward	bookbinder	74 Duffield
	Morse, Geo. L.	architect	PO Bldg 136 Duffield
	Moseman, Geo H.	clerk	104 Duffield
	Mulligan, Margaret	widow	107
Duffield			
	Myers, J. T.	bootmaker	Johnson cor
Duffield			
	Norris, William H.	builder	202 Duffield h 78
Hoyt			
	Oakes, John	shipcarpenter	74 Duffield
	O'Horton, Isaac	milkman	Johnson cor Duffield
	Osman, Lucretia	wid	136 Duffield
	Parker, Thomas		84 Duffield
	Peck, Francis	Rev	187 Duffield
	Perry, John M.		94 Duffield
	Perry, Susan	wid	116 Duffield
	Pomeroy, Ella A.		193 Duffield
	Reeves, Jesse W.	carpenter	92 Duffield
	Reick, Jacob	Salesman	113 Duffield
	Reis, Adolph	bookkeeper	109 Duffield
	Rhodes, Alexander	carpenter	188 Duffield
	Rusher, Josephine	widow	186
Duffield			
	Ryan, J. E.	teacher	141 Duffield
	Smith, Aaron W.	clerk	138 Duffield
	St. John, B. B.	tailor	126 Duffield
	Swift, Hiram	teacher	189
Duffield			
	Taylor, Garham P.	clerk	110 Duffield
	Thompson, Mary	widow	96 Duffield
	Tice, Wm. H.	bookkeeper	Duffield c Tillary
	Tompkins, Eliza	widow	152 Duffield
	Truesdell, Thomas	broker	141 Pearl 185
Duffield			
	Wade, Stephen D.	mason	98 Duffield
	Wait, Christopher B.	clerk	174 Duffield
	Warren, William		141 Duffield
	Wickett, John M.	clerk	211 Duffield
	Wilcox, Margaret E.	wid	211 Duffield
	Wilkins, Edward	shipmaster	179 Duffield

Williamson, James	boatman	78 Duffield
Wright, Thomas H.	painter	72 Duffield
Wykes, George	shoemaker	213 Duffield
Yale, Maria Wade	wid	155 Duffield

Black Hugh	confectioner	8 Stanton
Brown Wm	pattern maker	36 Stanton
Bulsir Mary	wid	43 Stanton
Burcham George	coppersmith	42 Stanton
Burnett, John	paperruler	60 Stanton
Butts, Samuel		20 Stanton
Callaghan John	morocco dresser	49 Stanton
Cammeyer, John E		27 Stanton
Cardew, Charles	Agent	23 Stanton
Carnatin John	laborer	64 Stanton
Carton John	moroccodresser	38 Stanton
Cocks Peter (col)	laborer	r 56 Stanton
Coleman, Rosa	teacher	45 Stanton
Colgan Dominick		5 Stanton
Conner Thomas	machinist	38 Stanton
Conway Patrick	driver	r 37 Stanton
Cox Ellen	widow	19 Stanton
Davy Michael	gardener	59 Stanton
Dinnigan, Matthew	laborer	r 37

Stanton

Dixon, John H.	restaurant	34 Stanton
Donahue, John	clerk	41 Stanton
Doyle, James E.	tailor	35 Stanton
Doyle, John	shipsmith	38 Stanton
Dugan, John	tailor	57 Stanton
Dunham, Aaron	bookbinder	26 Stanton
Earl, William	engineer	1 Stanton
Emory, William (col)	porter	2 Stanton
Farrell, Margaret	widow	50 Stanton
Finlan, Thomas	tailor	59 Stanton
Finnan, Michael	laborer	47 Stanton
Freeland, Benjamin (col)	lab	r 54 Stanton
Galloway, James A.	engineer	19 Stanton
Gannon, John	gasfitter	36 Stanton

	Ginn, Andrew	laborer	r 37
Stanton			
	Glasse, Rachel	widow	33 Stanton
	Grant, James L.	printer	44 Stanton
	Grey, William	clerk	14 Stanton
	Henry, Cornelius (col)	porter	56 Stanton
	Hicks, Alexander (col)	barber	56 Stanton
	Hinck, Lawrence	grocer	Tillary cor
Stanton			
	Hodson, Hugh	painter	49 Stanton
	Hurley, James	seaman	1 Stanton
	Hyer, William E.	carpenter	43 Stanton
	Johnson, Elizabeth	wid	20 Stanton
	Jackson, Frence (col)	lab	r 56 Stanton
	Jones, James I.	iceman	42 Stanton
	Jones, Samuel K.	Artist	48 Stanton
	Kelly, Thomas	laborer	37 Stanton
	Kinney, Elizabeth	wid	52 Stanton
	Lake, Thomas	confectioner	1 Stanton
	Lynch, John	clerk	40 Stanton
	Maynard, Selden A.	cooper	r 56
Stanton			
	McCelland, Adam (Rev)		29 Stanton
	McCout, Wiliam	seaman	41 Stanton
	McGrath, Thomas	laborer	53 Stanton
	McGregor, David	brushmaker	45 Stanton
	McGuire, Barney	laborer	55 Stanton
	McHugh, Henry	carpenter	36 Stanton
	McManus, Peter	laborer	37 Stanton
	McMurray, Charles	printer	43 Stanton
	McMillan, Geo	baker	Tillary cor Stanton
	McNeil, John	cartman	8 Stanton
	Megill, John W.	messenger	17 Stanton
	Mitchell, William (col)	seaman	r 54 Stanton
	Moore, Richard	peddler	64 Stanton
	Morley, Aaron	moulding	39 Stanton
	Murray, Joseph	engineer	32 Stanton
	Nash, William H.	grocer	54 Stanton
	Noxon, Lydia	widow	17 Stanton

Pearsall, Oliver	marketman	44 Stanton
Pelham, Joseph	tanner	51 Stanton
Pels, John	machinist	45 Stanton
Peterson, Christopher	pilot	30 Stanton
Rensel, Charles W.	agent	5 Stanton
Richardson, John	tinroofer	r 37 Stanton
Shanwartz, Henry	cooper	50 Stanton
Sinclair, William T.	clerk	29 Stanton
Smith, Jacob C.	watchman	17 Stanton
Smith, William W.	shoemaker	8 Stanton
Spalding, Jas	laborer	53 Stanton
Steil, Conrad	baker	33 Stanton
Stimis, Christopher	carpenter	60 Stanton
Sutton, Rachel	widow	47 Stanton
Vanderbilt, Aaron	caulker	13 Stanton
Vorhies, Prime (col)	porter	54 Stanton
Wakenshaw, Jane	wid	28 Stanton
Wallace, William	laborer	53 Stanton
Warren, C.M.H.	seamstitching works	3 Stanton
Whiting, Elsie	wid	15 Stanton
Yates, James	baker	33 Stanton
Williams, W. (col)	carman	56 Stanton
Warren, A.F.	gold pen manuf	3 Stanton h 272
RBridge		

Whether Truesdell continued his anti-slavery activities is a subject for research. Probably he did, although he becomes a peripheral

figure. He is not listed or noted in any list of members or signers of petitions of abolitionists compiled by John B. Jentz.⁴⁷ The New York Anti-Slavery Society and the American Anti-Slavery Society had offices in Manhattan. The latter society conducted Agents Training conventions in the city after 1837. Rhode Island sent delegates to these conventions. This is probably where he met William Harned, an agent for the society. He maintained an association with William Lloyd Garrison and other abolitionists. From May 4--12 and August 4--September 20, 1838, Garrison, Henry C. Wright and William Adams, a delegate from Rhode Island, were guests in his home on the Heights.⁴⁸ Ruchames, the editor of Garrison's Letters, identified Truesdell as a "Negro abolitionist." This point is under investigation.⁴⁹ From May 12--22, 1840, Garrison and N. P. Rogers again resided with the Truesdell family. Rogers described his residence as a "beautiful home on Brooklyn Heights."⁵⁰ In 1854, Truesdell, Garrison and others, were guests at the home of Dr. Edward Rotton in Williamsburgh.⁵¹

In 1851, Harned and Truesdell moved to Duffield Street and for three years they were neighbors. Was this coincidence? Truesdell and Harned may have re-established a relationship with Simeon S. Jocelyn, a close friend of Lewis Tappan and Harned on the New York State Vigilance Committee. Jocelyn was secretary of Tappan's American Missionary Association and Harned, the assistant treasurer. Jocelyn relocated to Williamsburgh where he conducted an interracial church and probably continued his anti-slavery activities there, working with two prominent black ministers. Williamsburgh was also a center for colonization activities. As mentioned rescuing fugitive slaves and colonization may have been collateral movements. Two members of Jocelyn's church were passionately involved in the latter movement.

Undoubtedly, the event that brought Truesdell, Harned and Jocelyn together was the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. Certainly Jocelyn, most likely, Harned and Truesdell attended the great meetings of black citizens held in Williamsburgh and New York to return Hamlet to freedom. These meetings established the Committee of Thirteen, a black organization dedicated to rescuing persons captured under this act and sending slaves who fled the United States, if you will, on the underground railroad to Canada.

As shown in Table 3 below, Truesdell had two Protestant Episcopal ministers as neighbors. The history of Francis Peck and Thomas Carver require further study.

Harriet Truesdell. Wife of Thomas Truesdell. Possible abolitionist in her own right; probable member of the Rhode Island Women's Anti-Slavery Society where she met and married Thomas.

John Nelson Still. Brother of William Still, the famous Agent of the Pennsylvania Underground Railroad; John moved to Brooklyn by 1850; established successful tailoring and second-hand clothing businesses with John P. Anthony; both founding members of Siloam Presbyterian Church. Still argued for black self-reliance as a means of elevation. During the war, Still became actively involved with the Underground Railroad⁵²

Sampson V. White. Black Baptist minister from Virginia; founder of Concord Baptist Church; indistinguishable from a Caucasian, White personally escorted runaways out of the South as his slaves.

James N. Gloucester. One of three sons of John Gloucester's, the founder of black Presbyterianism, James came to New York City about 1841. As part of the Presbyterian church's home missionary program, he established a short-lived Presbyterian church in Weeksville and founded Siloam Presbyterian Church in 1847 at Prince Street near Myrtle Ave. Stated as a supply pastor, Amos N. Freeman succeeded him within the year. Moved to Brooklyn in 1857 where he and his wife, Elizabeth A., settled at 265 Bridge Street. Actually his wife was a shrewd and successful real estate investor. At her death, white newspapers remarked that she was the richest black woman in America. In the decade after 1856 they purchased numerous lots on the same street as Bridge Street AWME Church. Probably here the family assisted the church with fugitives.

Although James is noted for his debates with Henry Highland Garnet on the African Civilization Society, his anti-slavery activities are best known through his wife and John Brown. While James supported Brown's movement, his wife invited Brown to their residence to discuss plan's for the raid on Harper's ferry. There are extent letters between Elizabeth and Brown discussing their support for an impending war.⁵³

Another minor but interesting question, did Stanton Street play a part in the Underground Railroad? Who was it named for? Was it Henry B. Stanton, a noteworthy organizer and official of the American

Anti-Slavery Society,⁵⁴ or someone else? Stanton Street was opened to Nassau Street before 1833. In 1847, why was this street continued as Duffield Street?

Conclusion

There just is not enough time to reach an incontrovertible position on the existence of Underground Railroad stations and agents along Duffield Street. But by inference activity was definitely there. Your commission had two years and it concluded decidedly no. In three weeks and I have demonstrated the existence of a network and agents in Brooklyn and New York City. If they were anti-slavery activists then one can infer that they were active in the Underground Railroad. Despite the deplorable state of local historiography, however, I have shown that there is ample inferential evidence of a relationship of Duffield Street residents to the major churches in the area, and ultimately to the city and state network. Because of secrecy of the operation, no historian can comfortably deny its existence. Also because of secrecy, documentary evidence of such an operation needs to be ferreted out. This cannot be accomplished when our principal historical institution is closed. Another means of research that has promise, i.e., researching pro-slavery resources outside of the city and state, also requires time and manpower. You cannot decide this issue with existing resources, for which there are none. Therefore, I suggest a proposal for a grant to research the positive position with a longer time constraint when the Brooklyn Historical Society opens full time.

I want to conclude with a caveat. The black community and poor people have for so long been discriminated against such that they feel powerless to advance their own interests. Perhaps beginning with Robert Moses, municipalities have used eminent domain and the yoke of progress to stroke the cords of communal and racial impotence, thereby wiping out all vestiges of the historical black community. In Brooklyn, this governmental abuse continues. The black community in Manhattan fought back and, with the aid of responsive federal elected officials, saved the "African Burial Ground" from total anonymity.

This has to happen in Brooklyn. Except for Bridge Street Church and the few houses on Duffield Street, all vestiges of historical black Lower Brooklyn have been wiped out, succumbed to progress. Decades ago I joined a group to save Bridge Street Church. But personal self-interests, no black history sources, lack of any historical tradition, and

demagogic power struggles caused its collapse. Now the former church is private property. I understand that visitors and researchers are not allowed in the building. The only remnant of the historical black community in Downtown, perhaps all of Brooklyn is gone. Even Colored School Number Three in Williamsburgh is private property. Therefore, I suggest we do what the Weeksville Society did. That is not a comparable example because the Hunterfly Road Houses were never part of the historical black community. Black or white, the Duffield Street houses, apparently, are all that is left of Nineteenth century Brooklyn. Metrotech Plaza has virtually erased all icons of early nineteenth century middle income houses. These houses should be restored and preserved to remain as historical landmarks to remind people to remember the past. For at least half a century, 229 Duffield was a member and example of Booker T. Washington's National Negro Business League. This address has been completely overlooked.⁵⁵ If all cannot be saved then select one. Because it has the closest known link to the Underground Railroad, that one should be 227 Duffield. In any event, if the city has some concern for preserving the past and a commitment or good faith to remembering black tradition in Brooklyn, then move Polytech from the church to those Johnson Street houses that were relocated to Duffield Street, or build another building for the school and return Bridge Street Church to the black community.

REMEMBER: THIS IS STILL A WORK IN PROGRESS

**NAMES OF MEMBERS OF SECOND PRESBYTERIAN
CHURCH, 1850**

Abbott, Francis H	Merch 141 Front, NY	h
Joralemon n Court	Alanson, Traskg [rev names]	Merch 124
Maiden La	90 State	
Ames, Wm H		34
Joralemon		
Barbour, Wm W. missing	Wm S Barber bookbinder	22 High
Barnes, Henry	Merch	113
Henry		
Baylis, David B.	hardware merch	134 Atlantic

Baylis, Thomas builder Joralemon
 n Henry
 Brown, S. N. missing S.C. Brown 123 Duffield n Myrtle
 Brown, W. K. physician Montague
 Pl c Henry
 Brush, Jarvis merch 99
 henry
 Bullard, J.N. missing
 Bullard, Wm. missing
 Busnell, E. L. missing
 Chapman Lebbeus [Jr lawyer] 7 Tillary
 Clark, Charles broker 66 Wall 7 Tillary
 Cochran, Thomas (2) 52 Pacific Flushing n Graham
 Corning, H. K. Merch 167
 Hicks
 Corning, Jasper broker 130 Henry
 Crittenden, A. Pres Bklyn Female Acad
 Joralemon n Clinton
 DeLamater, B. W. [Delamatar] Pres LI Ins Co 79 Clark
 Deming, F. (2) Frederick Pres Union Bank [Ins agt] 37
 Monroe Pl [Jay c Will] Duryea, J. C. office 229
 Pearl NY Duffield n Fulton
 Fenby, A. M. missing
 Field, R. R. [Richard R] clerk 189 Adams
 Goodman, M. S. [Myron] Merch 23 Maiden La
 Fulton av op Bridge
 Harris, Wm. M Bklyn GasLt Co 39 Sands
 Hopkins, L. Lucius] merch 95
 Pierrepont
 Hubbard, Richard W. missing
 Hubbard, Samuel T. clerk Manh Bk 82
 Henry
 Hutchings, Waldo missing [RG merch 114 Henry
 Hutchinson, Samuel missing
 Jennings, A. G. missing
 Lawrence, John T missing (5)
 Lord, George P merch 103 Henry
 Marvin, A. S. [Azor] safe agt 1381/2 Water
 Livingston n Smith
 McLean, Jas missing

Meeker, J. C. missing
Merrill, Eli 75 Henry
Otis, Isaac grocer 96 Clinton
Pierson, J. S. [John] gold pen mkr 146 Jay h 286
 [sic]
Prentice, John H. furrier 116 Water 22 Remsen
Rowland, Henry missing
Sands, W. M. [William] Henry c Remsen
Spencer, W. [William] merch Remsen c
Clinton
Steele, Joseph ? [carpet merch 71 Main--Clinton nr Dekalb]
Stone, Sumner merch ny 128 Henry
Talbot, George A. merch 155 Maiden La 106 Willow
Townsend, Geo. A. merch 79 Maiden La
 8 Remsen
Trask, A.G. [Asa] shoe mer[sic] 124 Maiden La 34 Monroe
Pl
Wickham, J.B. [Joseph P] gry good 164 Pearl 31
Monroe Pl
Wilde, Jas. Jr. merch 64 Nassau 60 Baltic nr
Clinton

[Spencer, I S, DD, pastor 2d P{resby Church h 104 Pineapple}]

Churches

1850

Bridge St Cong. Bridge bet Johnson and Myrtle,

pastor I. N. Sprague h 293 Pearl; sexton Anktil Pogue 97

Duffield

**Second Presbyt Clinton n Fulton
Pastor I.N. Sprague, sexton Joseph Miller 13 Clinton**

1851

**Bridge Street Cong, Bridge bet Johnson and Myrtle,
[no pastor listed], sexton Rueben Johnston h Johnson c Bridge**

1852

**Bridge Street Cong, Bridge bet Johnson and Myrtle,
[no pastor listed], sexton Reuben Johnston h 3 Debevoise**

1853-1854

**Bridge Street Cong.
Pastor N.H. Eggleston; sexton: Reuben Johnston h 3 Debevoise**

1853

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NOTES

¹Please note: as stated in the title, this paper is largely in outline form; it was hastily completed to meet a city deadline; to preserve my copyright, references or citations for most of the information is not provided, but will be fully documented upon formal presentation and development into a longer document. Full citation of references is found in the Bibliography.

Therefore, I alone am responsible for any errors in fact, judgment, or grammar.

²Johnson, *Black Manhattan*; Phelps-Stokes, *Iconography of Manhattan Island*; Ottley and Weatherby, *Negro in New York*; McManus, *History of Negro Slavery in New York*; Hodges, *Root and Branch*; Harris, *In the Shadow of Slavery*.

³See my forthcoming book, Swan, *New Amsterdam Gehenna; Segregated Death in New York City, 1630-1801*.

⁴Still, *Underground Railroad*, 705.

⁵Child, *Letters From New York*, 175-78; 259n5.

⁶*Anti-Slavery Record*, 1, 10 (Oct., 1835), 117.

⁷Siebert, *The Underground Railroad*, 124.

⁸Ripley, *Black Abolitionist Papers*, 2: 281n.

⁹Swan, "Origin of Black Bedford Stuyvesant," in Van Der Zee, *Introduction to the Black Contribution*, 73.

¹⁰Lucille Salitan and Eve Lewis Perera, eds., *Virtuous Lives; Four Quaker Sisters Remember Family Life, Abolitionism, and Women's Suffrage* (Rev. ed., 1937: Continuum Publishing Company.) 99.

¹¹Barrows, *Henry Ward Beecher*, 114.

¹²*Church in History*, 26, 27-28, 31-32, 33-34.

¹³Knox, *Beecher*, 140-41; 75-76; Hillis, "Henry Ward Beecher," in *A Church in History*, 30-31.

¹⁴Source: Freeman, Rhoda Goldin, "The Free Negro in New York City in the Era Before the Civil War," (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1966), 375-423.

¹⁵Cox, *Quakerism in New York*, 69.

¹⁶*First Annual Report of the New York Committee of Vigilance, for the year 1837*, printed in Aptheker, *Documentary History of the Negro People*, 161-63.

¹⁷Griswold, Stephen M. *Sixty Years with Plymouth Church* (NY: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1907), 75-76; Plymouth Church, comp., *A Church in History; the Story of Plymouth's First Hundred Years . . .* (Brooklyn: 1945).

¹⁸Stiles, Kings County.

¹⁹Child, Lydia M., *Isaac T. Hopper: A True Life* (Bost: John P. Jewett and Co., 1854), 313-19; *Long Island Star*, Oct 18, 1838: Indictments Barney Corse, David Ruggles, Isaac T. Hopper, James S. Gibbon for conspiracy.

²⁰Child, Lydia M., *Isaac T. Hopper: A True Life* (Bost: John P. Jewett and Co., 1854), 313-19; *Long Island Star*, Oct 18, 1838: Indictments Barney Corse, David Ruggles, Isaac T. Hopper, James S. Gibbon for conspiracy.

²¹Siebert, *Underground Railroad*, 415.

²²William Hayes Ward, "Sixty Years of the Independent," *Independent*, Dec. 10, 1908, 1345-51; Stiles, *Kings County*, 1178.

²³Ripley, *Black Abolitionist Papers*, 2: 115, 118n.

²⁴*A Church in History*, 30-31.

²⁵Still, *Underground Railroad*, 185, 705, 710.

²⁶Cox, John Jr., *Quakerism in the City of New York 1657-1930* (NY: Privately printed, 1930), 37.

²⁷Stiles, *History of Brooklyn*, 3: 741-44; Stiles, *Kings County*, 1060-61.

²⁸Kings County, Real Property Division, Books of Conveyance, Deed, Liber 342, page 42; Bridge Street AWME Church, "History of Bridge Street Church," 180th (?) Anniversary Bulletin.

²⁹Stiles, Kings County, 1017n.

³⁰Okoli, "Request for Permission to do Exploratory Digging at the Bridge Street A.M.E. Church," dated Nov. 4, 1970, in author's possession; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, May 29, 1931.

³¹Linda K. Kerber, "Abolitionists and Amalgamators: The New York City Race Riots of 1834," *New York History* 48 (Jan., 1967), 28-39; reprinted in Robert V. Haynes, ed., *Blacks in White America Before 1865* NY: David McKay Co., 1972), 360; Leonard A. Richards, *Gentlemen of Property and Standing: Anti-Abolition Mobs in Jacksonian America* NY: Oxford UP, 1970), 120-21.

³²*Dictionary of American Biography*, 2: 481-82.

³³Stiles, *History of Brooklyn*, 2: 263; 3: 742.

³⁴Still, *Underground Railroad*, 185, 705, 710.

³⁵*Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, Nov 28, 1886, 12:1.

³⁶Ripley, *Black Abolitionist Papers*, 2: 115. On Bibb see 2: 109-10.

³⁷Stiles, *History of Brooklyn*, 2: 661-63.

³⁸*Long Island Star*, Oct. 6, 1830; *The Churchman*, VIII, 17 (July 7, 1838), 3:3; 46, (Jan 23, 1839), 2; IX, 12 Jun 1 1839), 22.

³⁹Still, *The Underground Railroad*, 717-18.

⁴⁰Pennington, James W. C. *The Fugitive Blacksmith; or Events in the History of James W.C. Pennington*, . . . (Repr. ed., 1850; Westport, Conn.: Negro Universities Press, 1971), 40-45, 53-54.

⁴¹*Genius of Universal Emancipation*, Jan 1; Feb 12, 1830.

⁴²*Graham Journal*, vol. 1, issue 1, dated Apr 4, 1837.

⁴³Susan Strane, *A Whole Souled Woman; Prudence Crandall and the Education of Black Women* (NY: W.W. Norton, 1990), 35, 61, 73-82.

Interestingly, six black girls from New York, including one from a family in this outline, attended that school.

⁴⁴John S. Gilkeson, *Middle-Class Providence, 1820-1940* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1986), 35; John L. Myers, "Antislavery agencies in Rhode Island, 1832-1835," *Rhode Island History* 29, 3-4 (Aug. and Nov., 1970), 86; Myers, "Anti-Slavery Agencies in Rhode Island, 1835-1837," *Rhode Island History*, 30, 1 (Feb. 1971), 27.

⁴⁵The 1836-38 New York directory lists a Thomas Truesdell, a locksmith at 24 Canal and 47 Pearl Street.

⁴⁶Jane Ash, one of the elite of black Brooklyn lived at 41 Hicks since 1822; James and Henry C. Thompson were two of the founders of black Brooklyn; they lived next door at 43 Hicks; they disappear from directories after 1842.

⁴⁷Jentz, "Artisans, Evangelicals and the City: A Social History of Abolition and Labor Reform in Jacksonian New York" (Ph.D. dissertation, CUNY, 1977); Jentz, "The Antislavery Constituency in Jacksonian New York City," *Civil War History* 28, 2 (1981) in John R. McKivigan, ed. *Abolitionism and American Reform*. NY: Garland Publishing, 1999, 185-206.

⁴⁸Louis Ruchames, ed., *The Letters of William Lloyd Garrison, Vol. II: A House Dividing Against Itself 1836-1840* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 350, 378; Wendell Phillips Garrison, et al., *William Lloyd Garrison 1805-1879; The Story of his Life Told by his Children, Vol II: 1835-1840* (NY: Century Co., 1885), II: 356.

⁴⁹Ruchames, *Letters*, II: 353; IV: 323; Ruchames' sources for this note are *Life*, II: 356 (as noted below, this is a letter of N. P. Rogers, which mentions nothing about Truesdell being a Negro) and a "reference card" in the Rare Book Room of the Boston Public Library. While Ruchames probably confused Truesdell with Thomas Van Ransselaer, mentioned in the same letter of Rogers, according to Joy Chatel, a descendent of the family, there is a possibility that Truesdell and his wife, Harriet may have been light enough to successfully pass for white.

⁵⁰Ruchames, *Letters*, II: 614-15, 627; Garrison, *Life*, II; 356, 359.

⁵¹Ruchames, *Letters*, IV: 321.

⁵²Ripley, *Black Abolitionist Papers*, 4: 111n3.

⁵³Pease and Pease, *They Who Would be Free*, 292-93; Ripley, *Black Abolitionist Papers*, 4: 377-79.

⁵⁴*Dictionary of American Biography*, 9: 524-25.

⁵⁵On 229 Duffield Street see, *New York Age*, 1905, *passim*.

MY ORAL HISTORY

BY

JOY M. CHATEL

My adventure at 227 Duffield Street began forty years after my husband's family purchased the house in 1948. While working long hours in the salon, on slow days, Albert would pass the time telling stories about his previous wife's (Vera Jacob Chatel) family, the community and the street's involvement with the Underground Railroad. Knowing I was a history buff these stories would intrigue me and hold my fascination for hours. Albert spoke about the abolitionist activities on the block; how they sold only to people who were evolutionarily aggressive and intermarried with people of like minds.

Vera Jacob-Chatel was born at 235 Duffield Street in 1915. Her family owned 235, 233, 231, 229 and finally 227 Duffield Street. This information can be ascertained through city records and documents in my possession. Vera's family's names were Hyams, Hyman, Kaiser, Gordon, Jacob, Jacobson and Hodges. Paul P. Hyman, born July 24, 1841 was one of the major players in obtaining property in the area. Not only did Paul own Duffield, Fulton Streets and Coney Island property, but various other holdings throughout the city in several different corporate accounts as posted on city records, post cards, their homes and business transactions as well.

Many people visited 227 Duffield Street. In 1988, Brother Hadari, a high priest and close friend in the community, found out I was on Duffield Street and came by. Brother Hadari said "Sister, do you know where you are?" I said "What do you mean do I know where I am?" He said no disrespect intended sister, what I meant to say is , you are living on holy ground." I said "What?" Hadari said

“Yes, sister. Our ancestors passed through here.” He asked if he could bless the house. I told him just a minute and when to get Al. My husband had never met Brother Hadari because Albert never came out to the drummer’s circle in Prospect Park where Brother Hadari and I are affiliated. I introduced them and told Albert what he had said.

Al ask him some questions as to how he knew about this place. Hadari said it was his business to know about these things. Al said “Oh really? Just what kind of business are you in?” Brother explained himself to Al and told him what he knew of this house, other houses on this block and the area in general. Albert said “The man knows what he’s talking about.”

The place could use a good blessing or two. We laughed, however Brother didn’t see the humor.

I’ll never forget the summer of 1991. Fred Laverpool approached me in the drummer’s circle at Prospect Park. Fred interrupted my playing. He looked quite serious. I said “Brother, is everything okay?” He said, “Yes. Everything’s fine.” “Well, why did you stop me from playing? I thought something was wrong with you.” Fred said “Joy I have some students here, would it be okay if I brought them over to meet you? And get a tour of your basement?” I said “You have to ask Albert about the tour of the basement. As for me, I’ll tell them as much as I know.” A few years earlier, Fred came by and spoke to Al and I about renting some space in a small room we had in the back of the shop.

I said “Why?” Al did too. Fred replied, what better place to run my Tour, “Braggin’ About Brooklyn,” then here one of the sites for the underground rail road. Fred, Albert and I talked for hours, about the underground rail road. He took me to the Lafayette Church on a personal tour. I was amazed they knew him so well and the greeting he received was great, it didn’t bother them to open the church for just two people, it was a wonderful experience. One I’ll never forget.

*Attached you'll find the synopsis Fred wrote about Duffield street and the community to The City Planning.

Professor Richard Green another close friend was at a function We gave and started speaking on the community and the Duffield street tied in . He spoke to us about Vinegar Hill "It ends at the corner of your street Joy" he said, Vinegar derived from the the words Vi-nigger which is of Dutch origin . The Dutch had no problem calling black people nigger." " I see," " Nor did they have a problem buying and selling human beings." Albert said.

Brother Abukadeka (known to most as Sonny Carson), Willie Jones PH.D. (one of the only left hand drummers I knew) (I'm also a jazz buff), Jim Cuffee community historian and grandson of Paul Cuffee the shipping magnet, who coined the phrase "Taxation without representation" you know the rest. Calvin Smith, we called him Calvin, a jeweler, and Brothers Ali and Jackie Lamont from The Committee of Black Heroes an Sheroe. You see Calvin's mother Georgia Warre lived on the top floor at 227 Duffield. Vera help her get another place on State Street were she stayed a few years. That's how Calvin new about this area, from Vera and Albert talking to his mother about the street's history. Soon after 233 had an opening ,a guy that went by the name "Brother Roots Man" moved around the corner on Willoughby Street. Calvin saw his chance to rent on this block and took it.

I first met Ali at my home through Abukadeka who came over to ask if the children could perform at one of the functions for The Committee to Honor Black Heroes and Sheroes, one of the many functions they needed African drummers and dancers for. Ali said, "I've been here before. I dated a woman who lived on the top floor." He described the steps and the book case too. Ali said "But there was a white woman living here at the time I remember Georgia was very close to her." Albert told him she died and I was

his new wife. I told Ali that I knew Miss Georgia from her work in the community and her activist work. He said, 'Yea she was into everything. That's why we broke off our relationship. She wasn't a stay at home type of woman.' Albert said, 'Yes, she was very active in the community. Always going and coming.' We continued reminiscing and then went on with the business at hand, the children performing for the committee. Jackie Lamont didn't belong to the group but his brother Ali did.

Queen Mother Jordan told us how she got spanked for playing in the tunnels when she was a young girl. 'How different the street looked then. She often visited us. Mother still does, whenever she is able, or I would go to see and pick her up for different cultural events. She's sick most of the time now.

Mr. & Mrs. Emery and Georgia Myrick who owned Gems Beauty Supply changed the name to E&G Beauty Supply was there for about fifty years at 225 Duffield. He was the person who told me about the tunnel in the back of his business, which led to the parking lot. Mr. Myrick said they paved over it in order to park cars. His wife's beauty salon, 223 Duffield Street, was the location of another tunnel in front of the building. I literally helped Emery seal the entrance. He thought someone working in the subway was climbing through and stealing his products. When I told my husband what I was doing at Emery and Georgia's place, how it fascinated me, he was unimpressed with the story. You see it should have taken fifteen minutes to place the order for supplies. I was gone for over an hour. He was not a happy camper. Albert looked at me disappointedly and said, 'Sweetie there's no subway on Duffield Street.' I asked 'Al are you sure? Because someone really did rob his shop. I saw how they left his business.' Al looked at me and said, 'Sweetheart, that was an inside job.' Sure enough it was. I never thought to ask him about the tunnel I helped seal. Albert was too upset about the length of time I stayed away from the business.

An eloquent Black/Native American man being interviewed by the United Nations New, caught my eye while I was sitting waiting for my turn to speak. I wonder if he was? No. It couldn't be. My turn came, he and the rest of the group waited until I was finished. The man said you know I use to own a book bindery at 223 Duffield Street. Down stairs was a small basement. You roll back the stove and there were tunnels. I said, "Francois?" He replied, "Do you know me?" "Know you," I said, not only do I know you but I still have a Christmas card you sent me years ago." Your Francois Scott, you bind fine and rear books. He said, "Yes." "Brother, I have been looking for you since this whole eminent domain business started. The person who took the store after you moved to Florida and you were the only one who knew about the tunnels other than him. He said, "Yes." And you are ? "Brother. I'm Joy" he said "Joy." "Oh my God it's been years." "Fifteen to be exact." We hugged then went on to our meeting, exchanging phone numbers and talking about the block and how it changed.

Everyone wanted my husband to allow them to tape the basement especially after Abukadeka and Ali saw the arch in the house next door to us 229 and Jackie saw the connection between 233 and 235. Carlvan took Jackie and Ali in the sub-basement.

Albert didn't want anyone else digging and poking around on our property in any case. The gentlemen Mr. Forsyth and his son made such a mess in the back yard when they dug in our privy, looking for things from the civil war, until it left Albert totally turned off. Mr. Forsyth gave us maps which we acquired from Patty Haggan. Other things Mr. Forsyth confiscated from the Duffield Street properties were all types of bottles laudanum and other Civil war artifacts .

Willie Jones was very annoyed and said to Albert, "It's because this is dealing with Blacks and their struggle for freedom!" Albert said, "Black or white I don't give a damn who they were, or what your intentions are! My insurance will not cover this kind of thing!" Old Willie was furious by this time. He was known for having a short temper. It wasn't until then, Brother Cuffee stepped in and said, "My brother do you remember the school of commonsense. You heard me speak about certain things time and time again? Well this is another one of those times for thought." He went on to say, "If you have your hand in a lion's mouth you don't yank it out. You pull it out cautiously and with great care. Now, the man said he didn't want us poking around his property. His words should be respected. The thing to do is investigate a way we can protect his insurance and preserve our history.

Albert was very impressed with Jim. Jim Cuffee owned a lot of property himself. He was the one who told Willie Jones, Abukadeka and the rest of the men when they were younger, "A man without property was a man of no worth." Mr. Cuffee taught that in his school of commonsense.

Albert agreed with Jim's theory. "There has to be a way we all could benefit from this situation." Abukadeka came up with young Denizulu and Mitch Pendelton names, who did a lot of filming for him over the years. So, they settled on an agreement that most of them could live with; but there was still an attitude problem from Willie which was to be expected, given his nature.

Rather than feed into the unpleasantness over the agreement, Abukadeka wisely directed focus towards the people who were the property owners in the community and how he had heard the Truesdells were Abolitionist. Albert said his first wife's family talked about it; especially, his first wife's father and grandfather. Albert said, throughout this neighborhood were abolitionist. So it didn't seem strange he heard the same thing. He said that President

Jefferson's Vice President, Burr had a servant by the name of George DeGrasse who was an agent for the underground railroad .

Albert showed Abukadeka and the rest of the gentleman some of the things he had. They all were talking for hours. Al even showed Sonny his papers. That was also my first time ever seeing any of those things.

All of these men had a great respect for my husband; and came back to visit with him on several occasions. Sonny always told Al and I, when he found his ancestors remains he wanted my grandchildren to perform for the procession in The Prospect Park Drummers Grove ceremony.

Also for future reference purposes, note that during this time, upon Abukadeka discovery of his ancestral remains in the Brooklyn Navy Yard, he did called for my children to do African drumming and dancing for the procession throughout the prospect park drummers circle. Before his ancestor's remains were laid to rest at home in Mother Africa, and because of this action of returning the body of Samuel Carson, Gullah's Island is now known as "The Gate of Return". He was as good as his word .The news covered it. It was also my youngest grandson's first experience with his picture in the news papers. He was very excited.

When Albert passed in October of 1996 , we had a procession following his casket from our house while African drummers and dancers were marching through the streets with a police escort down to Saint Boniface Church. "I have never seen anything like this in my life!" stated Father Mark; who officiated at the mass for my husband. I'm sure he would be more than happy to substantiate what he saw that day. He said it was absolutely amazing.

A lot of people in the community prospered from their relationship as employees of Al and Vera ,and just about all of them who new

of his death showed to pay their last respects. Abukadeka, Jim Cuffee, Willie Jones were also present for Albert's home going. All except Carlvan, who took his son Criss down south to meet his family. When he found out, he cried like a baby. "I spent a lot of time with that elder." Carlvan said. "He taught me and my mom about our history down here. Ms. Joy you know how I felt about certain people, but Al was unique, he never BS me. He always told it like it was. No matter what. I wanted to buy that building (he pointed to 233) because of what Mr. Albert and Ms. Vera said about the block. My mom said yes, it would be a great investment, get it. You know she lived at 227 on the top floor before she moved to State Street in the 70's?" "I know baby." I said to him. I reminded him that he and Ali Lamont had told me many times before. "Remember Sweetie, it was around the time your mom and Ali were dating." "Oh I'm, sorry I keep forgetting things" "It's alright." I told him, "I forget things myself." It was truly clear Carlvan couldn't remember things very well, he was extremely sick. Not too soon after, I believe it was before his birthday in February of 1997, Carlvan passed.

Many loved and respected Al in our community and respectfully paid their condolences to this wonderful man's memory. Albert was a great man who cared less about racial color barriers, but in people period. May we not forget Al's first wife, Vera, who if not for her direct family lineage, this story of the flight for freedom through the Underground Rail Road and what it stood for could not have been told.

The only way I know to tell the story is the way it was told to me by my husband and others. Some things Albert told me I was able to check out. I'm still working on the others.

Thomas Truesdell had a grocery store, and then became a cotton broker in Providence RI. In 1830, he was very good friends with William Lloyd Garrison; and was an agent for Benjamin Lundy, and Garrison's paper The Genius.

It was also said he founded Rhode Island's Anti-Slavery Society in 1833. Thomas with the aid of other men from Providence published a journal for health. He was a member of The Providence Society for Abolishing the Slave Trade. It was believed this is how he moved slaves seeking freedom; by establishing relationship with the cotton merchants down south and moving these people through bails of cotton.

Albert said, when he and his father-in-law was talking about it one day in the back yard they thought it seemed likely Thomas would get into the cotton business :

1. It was a lucrative business and he did have a head for business. He worked in or was the director of a bank, so they say.
2. To establish relationships with the bureaucracy in the Southern States.
3. They used ships to move cotton most of the time. Brooklyn at that time was covered in water. You could travel undetected.
4. Truesdell had a cotton mill in upstate. I believe Al or someone said it was in Washington New York.
5. His son-in-law was a cotton broker from Nova Scotia, which had a large Negro community (that's how they spoke in those day. My husband and his family called black people Negroes) so they could ship the bails of cotton with slaves in them.
6. Their house keeper at the time was a Negro (Elizabeth Harris). I found out she was from Edenton North Carolina. Why would they employ a negro when you could obtain an Irish servant for little or nothing. It was said she moved around the same time the Truesdell's daughter Mary and her husband Charles Fredrickson left to go up north on business.
7. Thomas Truesdell never did anything to call attention to his house because of the activity of moving freedom seekers . All abolitionist papers, journals, etc. was sent to his place of business at 141 Pearl street. Most of their friends had businesses on Pearl Street.

8. It was said, there was training in New York for Underground Railroad agents. Thomas came down from Providence to attend the training with Garrison and a few other men from their society. They had some unpleasant words with William Harned, what I don't know.
9. Albert said, soon after the agent's meeting, Thomas and Harriet moved to Brooklyn to be closer to the action. The house was on Hicks Street in 1838. Later moved to Liberty Street in Brooklyn Heights around three or four years later. Then the Truesdells moved to Willoughby, where they stayed until Harriet bought 227 Duffield Street in 1850 from Bonnell, Of Bonnell and White.
10. His son-in-law, Charles Fredrickson, ran for some kind of City position in the 11th Ward.
11. Bonnell and White a mason and a builder bought a large section of Block 2077 build on it and sold it off .White sold 123 Duffield to William Harned and Bonnell sold 227 to Harriet lee-Truesdell. This was around the time of the Fugitive Slave Act in 1850. It was stated that Bonnell an White build lot 2077 for the purpose of hiding freedom seekers. These houses where like the houses in Brooklyn heights all around The Plymouth Church. On Willow Street you can see the similarities. (even today I was told of a tree falling into a tunnel in Brooklyn height)
12. It was said, a meeting took place at 229 Duffield street, Rev Peck's house. The people who attended was, Rev. Peck, Tappen , Bowen, Truesdell, Harned, Hawes, Battries, Baldwin and some other abolitionist . The meeting was called to try and handle the influx of freedom seekers fleeing to Brooklyn after the Fugitive Slave Act, and the incidents in five points.

Harriet Lee-Truesdell was a militant abolitionist. Even when she moved to Brooklyn Heights on 14 Hicks Street in 1838, she continued with her work. Harriet was a true fighter for the cause. She was on The Providence Woman's Anti-Slavery Society. Harriet stared as treasurer, and then became the secretary. She was

on the planning committee for the Philadelphia Anti-Slavery convention, held at Pennsylvania Hall May 18, 1838. As far as we know she remained active. *Attachments.

Other women included in the committee were: Juliana A. Tappen; whom Harriet named her daughter after, Maria W. Chapman, Sarah M Douglass and Angelina Grimke Weld. Albert said he was told that woman would beat the streets getting people to sign Anti-Slavery petitions. Everyone knew Ms. T. as she was known in those days. It was said that Harriet and Thomas were going to divorce. He didn't want any attention brought to the new house, because of their activity with the underground rail road, it was said they had several disagreements about it. This was her life, and she wasn't about to give it up. They stayed together until her death in 1862. They never divorced.* More research needs to be done regarding the petitions and correspondence in reference to her duties as secretary for the Woman's Anti-Slavery Society. She was clearly in residence at 14 Hicks street Brooklyn New York, during the convention in Philadelphia. There is no mention of her giving up her duties to the Society after moving to Brooklyn.

Next door to her lived Rev. Francis Peck, a known abolitionist and Underground rail road participant. He retired from Calvary Church and was also affiliated with St Marks church where he preached before coming to Calvary. Rev. Peck and Harriet Lee-Truesdell's daughter Juliana L Batteris, married to R. Batteris esq., are listed on Harriet Lee-Truesdell's Last Will and Testament as signers in 1855. *Attachment.

Thomas and Harriet were members of the 1st Baptist church in Providence and in Brooklyn. It appears the Truesdell's belonged to many Baptist churches in Brooklyn heres some of the names; 1st

Baptist, Concord, Zion Shiloh. One of the churches relocated to 165 Duffield Street when the Truesdell's lived there. It was demolished when Metro tech put up the Chase Bank building. I witnessed it. You couldn't miss it. The church was directly across the street from St. Boniface Church where I've been attending since 1990. The Truesdell's were baptized in Providence RI. at the 1st Baptist Church. Thomas was baptized and then expelled because he became a Quaker.

Albert said he was a Quaker; but I had to check it out, just to make sure. I wrote to Deborah Van Broekhoven; the author of The Devotion of These Woman in February of 2006. She sent an e-mail of apology and forwarded my email address to Mr. Stanley Lemons, Historian, FBCIA.* Enclosed are the e-mails I received from them on May 24, 2006.

My husband said Truesdell became a Quaker because they had the most underground railroad agents, and they moved the most freedom seekers . Albert said, "It wasn't because they liked black people. No. Don't misunderstand . They are taught that the light of God is in everyone, even the slaves. So they would help them leave the city or country. They didn't like the idea of black people becoming Quakers either. They had separate meeting halls. In their case it was strictly religion that prompted them to assist the Negroes."

Albert said one of the most famous abolitionists, by the name of Harned, (Al couldn't remember his first name) we now know now his name was William Harned, was once a Quaker in Philadelphia. He was occasionally known to have a horrible attitude with people. A lot of abolitionist didn't want to meet with him. Especially the Negro Abolitionists, Albert said. Vera's grandfather said, Harned and Lewis Tappen where friends. It's really funny the relationships

that formed with these abolitionist. This is the group as far as he knew, Al said, Truesdell and Garrison were friends. Garrison married Benson's daughter Hellen. Lundy and Garrison got Truesdell started with The Genius. Then Truesdell met Harned at the agent training which made him want to move to New York where the action was. Next Author Tappen who bailed Garrison out of jail and gave Lundy \$100 toward the News paper The Genius. Bowen married Lewis Tappen's daughter Juliana, Fredrickson married Truesdell's daughter Mary and so on, they married people of like minds.

Albert said he had found out they all lived in the Connecticut area. Up around the Woodstock, Thomas Truesdell's brother John build Bowen's cousins house. Al didn't know the cousin's name but given enough time I'll find out.

Truesdell, Bowen, Benson, Garrison, The Tappen brother which Lewis Tappen and William Harned where close associates. Last but not least Rev May and Rev. Peck, we know were Underground rail road participant. Then the intermarriages with these people. How could Truesdell not be an Underground rail road participant? Henry Bowen's sister was the a corresponding member in Connecticut. Lewis Tappen established a news paper on Hicks Street, that later became the Brooklyn Eagle. There was a printer by the name of R. Tappen on Duffield Street around that time.

Now who lived on Hicks street with some experience with news papers? Thomas Truesdell 14 Hicks Street to be exact. Plus, The main topping on this cake is Thomas Truesdell becomes a Quaker. These things are not coincidental. Why would the man give up the Baptist faith to become a Quaker? His family where still practicing Baptist. During this time in Brooklyn. His daughter Mary Truesdell Fredrickson got married in the Pierrepont Baptist church.

Harriet Lee-Truesdell along with Juliana Tappen-Bowen, said to be her close friend, attend a meeting in Philadelphia together, Harriett was on the planning board for The Woman's Anti-Slavery and Abolitions Convention held at Pennsylvania Hall in 1838. She lived in Brooklyn, Ny. How can she be denied as a participant.

It was also said, Bowen started the 1st Congregational Church , which is now none as the AWM Church or the Bridge Street 309 Church. It lasted for at least ten years . Bowen started the Plymouth Church and ask Beecher to the pulpit. As you know Beecher out shined the other church he was an eloquent speaker and drew congregants. To Bowen it was advantages to sell the 1st Congregational church and since he knew the black abolitionist where looking for a church of their own, he sold to them, but Bowen still remained on the board of trustees along with ten other people with the Church. *Attachment from the Bridge Street Church Centennial 1818-1918.

The Truesdell's daughter Mary married Charles Fredrickson at the Pierrepont Baptist Church; corner of Pierrepont and Clinton . Rev. E.E.L. Taylor officiated. Charles Fredrickson was from Nova Scotia.

Fredrickson ran for Canvasses for ward 11 in October 20, 1857. * Attachment . His sister started a chapter in Nova Scotia. Albert said, when Charles and Mary L.T. Frederickson left around 1860's Elizabeth Harris left too. And the other rumor was she married a man by the name of Jackson who won some type of citation . Fredrickson and his father-in-law Thomas Truesdell had a business 141 Pearl street in New York and remained business partners even after her mother's death.

William Lee Truesdell their son became Colonel William Truesdell in the union army and solicited the aid of a actress. He trained her and sent her behind enemy line to spy on the confederacy. He couldn't have done any of this if he hadn't been

trained from a child certain strategies. * Attached –he’s mentioned in “Amazing woman of the Civil War” by Webb Garrison said to be related to William L. Garrison. It make sense to me since the abolitionist were such a closely knit people.

I have to look at the Garrison papers, which I intend to do. Albert said two mine blowing things, the first was, Garrison wrote letters to Mrs. Truesdell each time he stayed over their house . The second statement. In the 20th century the publisher of “The Garrison letters,” Louis Ruchames , wrote a footnote describing Thomas Truesdell as a negro abolitionist and refers to volume II as told by his children . Now everything made sense, he was a mullatto .

Albert said there were a lot of light skin negroes in this area. Jefferson’s Vice President Burr live down on Duffield street, he Had a servant by the name of George DeGrass who had two boys John and Isaiah. Isaiah studied for one year in a Seminary until they found out he was a negro, They through him out.

A woman who befriended me when we attended keyspan gas company’s program for grandparents raising grandchildren. Came pass my house to see why I wasn’t attending the meetings. Lavern was in her mid-eighties ,She said, it was very hard for her to come down Duffield street because her grandmother lived next door to the church at 163 Duffield street. Lavern said her grandmother was very mean to her mother because the man her mother was dating was white and she through Lavern’s mother out of the house with no where to go. She described her grandmother as a proud free black woman from North Carolina who own the house at 163 Duffield street . Her grandmother’s trade was tailoring. I ask Lavern if she minded helping me ascertain papers at the Bridge street church. She said, “Joy it’s very painful but I’ll do the best I can.” The reason I bought this up was Lavern’s grandmother was mullatto and lived on Duffield street around that

period .She was also a member of the Bridge street church. So it was highly likely Lavern's grandmother helped freedom seekers who escaped through the back of the Bridge street church on to Duffield Street. Lavern is of mullato coloring also *Attachment for Bridge street documents.

This area was full of mullattos ,I was told by many sources. In regard to the Truesdell's it made sense why they didn't get written up a lot. Also why they worked so diligently try to free enslaved people, they let their color work for them.

Respectfully Submitted
Mrs. Joy M. Chatel



AND DAILY TRANSCRIPT.

PHILADELPHIA, FRIDAY, MAY 18, 1836.

SCANDALOUS OUTRAGE AGAINST LAW AS WELL AS AGAINST DECENCY.—The Pennsylvania Hall was attacked on Wednesday evening, by a mob of disorderly persons, apparently about three thousand, who demolished the windows of the edifice, and wounded several of those assembled within it.

If the citizens of Philadelphia are resolved upon maintaining a regular government of laws, and saving their fair city from the anarchy which disgraces some other portions of our common country, they have but one course in this emergency. This course is, to strain every nerve for discovering and apprehending the perpetrators, and for inflicting upon them, after conviction, the utmost penalties of the law: and also to adopt the most vigorous measures for preventing a renewal of such outrages. If the right of discussion upon any subject, a right made common to all by our constitutions and laws, both State and Federal, may be invaded with impunity, all freedom among us is abolished, and we are the slaves of the very worst of all tyrants, *the mob*. Is this the destiny of Pennsylvania? We trust that the citizens of a commonwealth founded upon the broad and deep foundations of democratic liberty and Christian benevolence, have spirit enough to defend their fair heritage against the devastating incursions of wolves and tigers in human shape.

From the symptoms manifested throughout the city we cannot but entertain strong apprehensions of further violence. Let every citizen who would maintain the laws buckle on his armor for fighting in earnest. Let our Mayor, who never flinches from duty because danger is in his path, call upon the military to aid the civil arm; and

NEW ORLEANS.—On Sunday the cabin of the ship Ohio, Philadelphia, lying in the port was entered and robbed of, containing his papers, &c. was taken on deck, and only contained nothing but drugs, with the desk only.

THE GIRARD BUILDINGS. received additional common subject, which we shall not publish for making which has yet a witness be published with Persons on either side of the not expect us to lay their the public under our same, main concealed from all but not approve of showing a ne public, as a stalking horse in private, while the parties concerned say to the editors, &c.

We repeat that if the common fair can furnish proof that a of the Girard Buildings be another tenant, because he us that the commissioners have, we will publish such proof, we witnesses, provided the proof of common sense would consist and the witnesses be credible for the purpose of punishing a tent and ridiculous, we will logies and histories of all the who can be convicted of unjust pretension. And we further commissioners will deny their own hands, and will dence that shall roll in calumny, and will show for wishing to remove, will publish such dem

2nd pg
maintain the laws buckle on his armor for fighting in earnest. Let our Mayor who never flinches from duty because danger is in his path, call upon the military to aid the civil arm, and let our volunteer companies, under direction of the civil authority, be upon the spot with bayonets and ball cartridges. Better is it that all the ruffians in our city even were they a hundred thousand instead of three thousand, should bite the dust, and leave their blood to creep in the streets, than that the great principle of freedom of speech and the press be surrendered. In our revolution, this principle cost our country a hundred thousand valuable lives. Then surely the sacrifice of a hundred thousand ruffians is a cheap price for its defence.

We learn that the assailants objected to a promiscuous association of blacks and whites in this Hall. This is an affair of taste. Every citizen has the right to choose his own company, and if he prefer black to white, however others may condemn his preference, no one has a right to assail that preference with violence to his person. So far as taste is concerned, we are decidedly opposed to any mingling of the two races and shall never choose our own associates among the worthless or disagreeable, be they of whatever color they may. But while we leave to others to follow their own tastes, and claim the right of refusing any association with those who tolerate degrading companionship, we insist that every person has a right to legal protection in such affairs, and that all violent interference should be severely punished.

EXPLOSION, FIRE, AND LOSS OF LIFE. — An explosion took place on Wednesday at noon in New York City, in a fire works factory on Bowery Hill, at the junction of Broadway and Bowery, by which four men engaged in the building were blown up; two of them killed and burnt to a cinder and the other two were carried to the

calamity and will for wishing to remove, will publish such denials one or all, as they wish. persons or parties in this for great principles true and to mankind, than all though their number are millions.

THE LECTURE OF M. since we published, we account of a lecture de Price, before the Wash the account of the lectu correspondent. A few the following communities the lecture, which want us from publishing some

Messrs. Editors. — In ye ing 1851, and I observed me delivered before the 3d emanon, of W. D. W. student, who has taken the to the student.

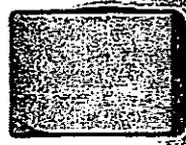
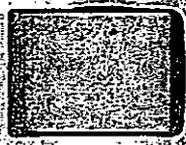
The object of the lectur trace the institution of chation into America, to race to be recognized be the were introduced as a spu spirit of those southern ta the time set apart for the admit a sketch of the w laws as prescribe the th chens, and other favor with the common law, but ing similar offences, and though night assemblages be by the blacks in the e libited from the Irish p severe penalties. Other were quoted, for the purp rights and privileges of a guaranteed to them, with and privileges of the peac These laws, &c. were n pose of vindicating Amer friend to the system — bu query into its real natur minds of my hearers, and which the asphyxiated ph studiously endeavored to

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PUBLIC OPINION.
THE PENNSYLVANIA HALL BURNED.
 We stop the press to announce that between
 9 and 10 o'clock last evening, a mob of several
 thousand persons assembled at the Pennsylvania
 Hall, in Sixth street, above Cherry, and com-
 menced an attack upon the building. The doors
 were broken open, the windows demolished, and
 the building set on fire and burned to the ground,
 amidst the shouts of the populace. A store in the
 building, which was filled with abolition works,
 was also broken open, and all the books and pa-
 pers thrown into the street. The firemen repair-
 ed to the spot, and drew their engines up in front
 at the surrounding buildings on which they con-
 tinued to pour an overwhelming stream of water,
 which prevented any injury being done to them,
 but on the Hall itself not a drop of water was
 thrown. Shavings were brought up from the
 cellar, and spread on the speaker's platform, and
 then set fire to. The building continued to burn
 till a late hour in the night, thousands of persons
 of both sexes who had been attracted to the spot
 remaining to see the end.
 A meeting was to have been held in the Hall
 last evening, but apprehending some violence
 from the acts of the preceding evening, the in-
 tention was abandoned.
 During yesterday the saloon of the building
 was occupied by a convention of several hundred
 ladies from all parts of the Union, who had met
 for the condition of the African race, and provi-
 ding measures for its amelioration.
 By a law passed by the late legislature, it is
 provided that the injury done to any property from
 the violence of mobs, is to be compensated for
 out of the public funds of the district; so that
 this act is, in effect, destroying our own property.
 The cost of the building we understand to have
 been about \$10,000.

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[The page contains dense, illegible handwritten text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side. The text is arranged in several columns and is written in a cursive style.]



The above instruments were at the date thereof subscribed by the
Honorab^{le} Harriet A. Marshall in and presence, and in the presence
each of us, and was at the same time declared by Mr. B. to be
last Will and Testament and we at his request, and in his pres-
ence, and in the presence of each other, subscribed our names to
an attesting witness.

Francis Cook 187 Duffield St.
Julius A. Patton 125 Duffield St.

King County Surrogate's Court

In the matter of proving the
last Will and Testament of
Harriet A. Marshall late of
the City of Brooklyn deceased.

King County, to wit:

Francis Cook of the City of Brooklyn being duly sworn
and examined before Edward C. Channing Surrogate of the County of
King, doth depose and say, that he was well acquainted with
Harriet A. Marshall now deceased and that the subscription of the name
of the said Harriet A. Marshall deceased at the end of the within
instrument now shown to this deponent and signed for her by the
last Will and Testament of the said Harriet A. Marshall deceased
and bearing date the 15th day of August 1852, to the sum of
thousand eight hundred and fifty five was made by the said
deceased in the presence of Julius A. Patton and of the de-
ponent, that at the time of making such subscription the said
Harriet A. Marshall deceased declared the said instrument or in-
scribed by her to be her last Will and Testament and that there-
upon this deponent signed his name as a witness at the end of
said instrument at the request of the said Harriet A. Marshall
deceased and that the said Harriet A. Marshall deceased at
the time of executing the said instrument was not the age of ten
or more years of sound mind and memory and yet would say certain

Subscribed and sworn to
15th day of August A.D. 1852 }
W. C. Channing }
Surrogate

Francis Cook




of the former congregation. The pastors, Rev. Messrs. Gumbart and Folwell, have arranged their vacations so that one will be in town to take charge of the services and attend to general pastoral work while the other is absent.

Despite the absence in Europe of Dr. S. M. Haskins, his church, St. Mark's, will not be closed. The morning service will begin at 10:30, as usual, but the hour of afternoon service has been changed to 4:30 o'clock. Rev. Francis Pack, formerly pastor of Calvary F. R. Church, officiates as rector for the present.

The European tour that Vicar General Keegan had in contemplation for this Summer has been postponed until next year, in consequence of the pressure of clerical duties.

Rev. Henry A. Powell has resolved upon another European tour this year. The closing of his church, the Lee avenue Congregational, is compulsory by reason of the repairs to be made on and in it and that have long been sadly needed.

Rev. Lorenzo S. Russell, of 84 South Fifth street, has assumed the pastoral functions of Dr. Darlington during the absence of the latter in Europe, and will undertake funerals, christenings, marriages and administration of the sacrament to those in extremis while the Summer is passing.

Rev. Cornelius L. Twing, of Calvary Church, V.S., ex-member of the army and a man of ready patriotism. He therefore proposes to celebrate to-day with a special service, to include singing of national songs by the Sunday school children and other interesting features.

POST OFFICES IN BROOKLYN.

Brooklyn Post Office.

337 and 339 Fulton st. (Freeman Buildings).

Office open from 7 A. M. to 8 P. M. Sundays from 8:30 to 9:30 A. M. and from 12 to 1 P. M. Mail Arrangements.—The mail for New York closes at 7 A. M., 1:45 and 7:45 P. M. On Sunday at 7 A. M., 12:30 P. M. and 7:45 P. M. The mail from New York arrives at 7:30 A. M., and 2:30 P. M. Sundays at 8:30 A. M. The mail for Williamsburgh and Greenpoint (via New York) closes at 1:45 P. M., and 7:45 P. M. (Saturday and Sunday excepted) On Saturdays at 1:45 P. M., and on Sundays at 7:45 P. M. only. The mail from Williamsburgh arrives at 7:30 A. M. and 2:30 P. M. The mail for Flatbush, Flatlands, Canarsie, New Utrecht and Fort Hamilton, closes, daily (Sundays excepted) at 2:45 P. M. in Winter, and 4:45 P. M. in Summer. Arrives daily (Sundays excepted) at 10 A. M. in Winter and 8:30 in Summer. The mail for Cresco and Gravesend, closes daily (Sundays excepted) at 2:45 P. M. in Winter, and 4:45 P. M. in Summer. Arrives daily (Sundays excepted) at 10 A. M. The Long Island Rail Road mail closes daily (Sundays excepted) at 7:45 A. M. Arrives daily (Sundays excepted) at 3:30 P. M. Carriers leave the Office daily (Sundays excepted) at 8 A. M. and 3 P. M. for the delivery of letters, &c.

DANIEL VAN VOORHIS, Postmaster.

Williamsburgh Post Office.

141 Grand street, near Fifth.

Office open daily (Sundays excepted) from 7 A. M. to 8 P. M. from April 1st to October 1st, and from 7:30 A. M. to 8 P. M. from October 1st to April 1st. Sundays from 8:30 to 1:30 P. M. Mail Arrangements.—Mail closes daily, except Sundays, at 1:45 and 7:55 P. M. On Sundays at 7:55 P. M. only. The mail arrives daily (Sundays excepted) at 8:30 A. M., and 3:30 P. M. Sundays 8:30 A. M. The mail for Greenpoint closes every day, except Sundays, at 9 A. M. and 4 P. M. Arrives daily (Sundays excepted) at 11 A. M. and 5 P. M.

JAMES MURPHY, Postmaster.

Green Point Post Office.

Franklin st., corner Java.

Office open daily (Sundays excepted) from 7 A. M. to 9 P. M. in Winter, and from 8:30 A. M. to 9 P. M. in Summer. Summer Arrangements.—Mail closes at 8:30 A. M. and 3:30 P. M. Mail arrives 10 A. M. and 5 P. M. Winter Arrangements.—Mail closes at 9 A. M. and 3 P. M. Arrives at 10:30 A. M. and 4:30 P. M.

ISAAC K. SNELL, Postmaster.

CHURCHES IN BROOKLYN.

Baptist.

ATLANTIC STREET. Atlantic street, near Powers. Rev. M. G. Hodge, Min.

BUSHWICK AVENUE. Bushwick avenue, near Prospect street (E. D.). Rev. Joshua B. Pendleton, Min.

CENTRAL. Bridge street, near Myrtle avenue. Rev. John W. Scales, Min.

CONCORD STREET. (Colored.) Concord street, near Gold. Rev. Simon S. Bandick, Min.

EAST BROOKLYN. Bedford avenue, near Myrtle avenue. Rev. Stephen Remington, Min.

FIRST. Nassau street, near Fulton. Rev. O. W. Briggs, Min.

FIRST (Williamsburgh.) 5th street, corner South 5th (E. D.). Rev. Samuel Baker, D. D., Min.

FIRST GERMAN. Remsen street, corner Graham avenue. Rev. W. Fashing, Min.

GREENPOINT. Leonard street, cor. Calyer. Vacant.

PIERREPONT STREET. Pierrepont street, corner Clinton. Rev. J. S. Holme, Min., No. 76 Court street, between Schermerhorn and State streets.

SECOND. (Williamsburgh.) Leonard street, near Grand. Rev. Mr. Berg, Min.

STRONG PLACE. Strong Place, corner De-graw street. Rev. E. E. L. Taylor, D. D., Min.

THIRD. (Colored.) Stagg street, corner Lorimer (E. D.). Rev. J. Leonard Black, Min.

WASHINGTON AVENUE. Washington avenue, corner of Gates avenue. Rev. ———— Anable, Min.

WEEKSVILLE (Colored.) Warren street
Weeksville. Rev. Robert Going, Min.

Congregational.

CENTRAL. Ormond street, corner Jefferson, Bedford. Rev. Henry W. Parker, Min.

CLINTON AVENUE. Clinton avenue, corner Lafayette avenue. Rev. William I. Badington, Min.

ELM PLACE. Elm place, near Fulton avenue. Rev. Samuel D. Cochran, Min.

FIRST. (Williamsburgh.) Eleventh street, corner South 3d (E. D.). Rev. Simcon S. Jocelyn, Min.

NEW ENGLAND. South 9th street, near 6th (E. D.). Rev. Mr. Tompkins, Min.

PACIFIC STREET. Pacific street, corner Clave Road, Bedford. Rev. E. Carpenter, Min.

PARK. Carlton avenue, corner De Kalb avenue. Rev. Francis E. M. Bachelet, Min.

PILGRIMS CHURCH OF THE. Henry street, corner Remsen. Rev. Richard S. Storrs, jr., D. D., Min.

PLYMOUTH. Orange street, near Hicks. Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, Min.

SAVIOR CHURCH OF THE. (First-Unitarian.) Pierrepont street, corner Monroe place. Rev. Frederick A. Farley, D. D., Min. John T. Bailey, sexton, 152 Myrtle avenue (W. D.).

SECOND. (Unitarian.) Atlantic street, cor. Clinton. (Athenæum.) Rev. Samuel Longfellow, Min.

SOUTH. President street, corner Court. Rev. Westcott, Min.

THIRD. (Unitarian) Trimmer's Alley, near Min.
WARREN STREET. Warren street, near Min.

Episco-

ST. ANTHONY. (Catholic) Kent street

ST. BARNABAS. (Catholic) Vacant

ST. CATHARINE. (Catholic) Th. E. P. street

ST. CHRISTOPHER. (Catholic) Garrison street

ST. CLARE. (Catholic) William Waller street

ST. GEORGE. (Catholic) Broadway, E. 1st E.

ST. JOHN. (Catholic) 1st Madison street

ST. JAMES. (Catholic) 1st street, corner

ST. MICHAEL. (Catholic) 1st street, corner

ST. PETER. (Catholic) Court and Hill

ST. THOMAS. (Catholic) 1st street, corner

ST. VALENTINE. (Catholic) 1st street, corner

ST. WASHINGTON. (Catholic) Myrtle avenue

ST. ZEPHYRUS. (Catholic) Myrtle avenue

ST. GEORGE'S. (Catholic) St. Ann's Wash.

ST. ANN'S. (Catholic) Washington Court

ST. JAMES. (Catholic) Avenue (E. D.) Reg.

ST. JOHN'S. (Catholic) John's Reg. Thomas F.

ST. JEROME. (Catholic) City Reg. Rev. Jacob

ST. MARK'S. (Catholic) Place Reg. Francis E.

ST. MARY'S. (Catholic) 1st Reg. Rev. Samuel

ST. MARY'S. (Catholic) Avenue Rev. Daniel

ST. MICHAEL'S. (Catholic) Rev. Evas M. Johnson

ST. PAUL'S. (Catholic) Capri and Henry. Rev. Isaac

ST. PAUL'S. (Catholic) Union street, (E. D.) Rev.

ST. PETER'S. (Catholic) State John A. Paddock, Rec.

Methodist.

FIRST. Lawrence's Mr. Hatch, Min.

Methodi

Long Island Distric
siding Elder

BUSHWICK. Cook
avenue, (E. D.) To B.

CHURCHES IN BROOKLYN.

Baptist.

ATLANTIC STREET. Atlantic street, near Powers. Rev. M. G. Hodge, Min.

BUSHWICK AVENUE. Bushwick avenue, near Prospect street (E. D.). Rev. Joshua B. Penhleton, Min.

CENTRAL. Bridge street, near Myrtle avenue. Rev. John W. Sarles, Min.

CONCORD STREET. (Colored.) Concord street, near Gold. Rev. Simon S. Buidick, Min.

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THIRD. (Colored.) Stagg street, corner Lorimer (E. D.). Rev. J. Leonard Black, Min.

WASHINGTON AVENUE. Washington avenue, cor. of Gates avenue. Rev. C. W. Anable, Min.

WEEKSVILLE. (Colored.) Warren street, Weeksville. Rev. Robert Going, Min.

Congregational.

CENTRAL. Ormond street, corner Jefferson, Bedford. Rev. Mr. French, Min.

CLINTON AVENUE. Clinton avenue, corner Lafayette avenue. Rev. William I. Badington, Min.

ELM PLACE. Elm place, near Fulton avenue. Vacant.

FIRST. (Williamsburgh.) Eleventh street, corner South 3d (E. D.). Rev. Simeon S. Jocelyn, Min.

NEW ENGLAND. South 9th street, near 6th (E. D.). Rev. Mr. Tompkins, Min.

PACIFIC STREET. Pacific street, corner Clove Road, Bedford. Rev. Mr. Relyea, Min.

PILGRIMS, CHURCH OF THE. Henry street, corner Remsen. Rev. Richard S. Storrs, jr., D. D., Min.

PLYMOUTH. Orange street, near Hicks. Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, Min.

SOUTH. President street, corner Court. Rev. Rufus W. Clark, Min.

WARREN STREET MISSION. Mission Hall, Warren street, near Hicks. Rev. Samuel Bayliss, Min.

Episcopal Protestant.

ASCENSION, CHURCH OF THE. (Greenpoint.) Kent street. Rev. M. H. Welman, Min.

CALVARY. (Free) Pearl street, near Nassau, vacant.

CALVARY. (Free.) North 5th street, near 5th (E. D.). Rev. T. P. Bausman, Rec.

CHRIST CHURCH. Clinton street, corner Harrison. Rev. E. H. Canfield, D. D., Rector; William Wallen, Sexton.

CHRIST CHURCH. Bedford Avenue, near Broadway (E. D.). Rev. A. H. Partridge, Rector; Peter Dalton, Sexton.

IMMANUEL CHURCH. (Free.) Court street, corner Union. Rev. Mr. Dezing, Min.

GRACE CHURCH. (Free.) Conselyea street, near Lorimer (E. D.). Rev. Alyah Guion, Min.

GRACE CHURCH. Brooklyn Heights, corner Grace Court and Hicks street. Rev. Jared E. Flagg, Rector.

HOLY TRINITY, CHURCH OF THE. Clinton street, corner Montague. Rev. Wm. H. Lewis, D. D., Rector. Assistant Minister vacant.

MESSIAH, CHURCH OF THE. Adelphi street, near Myrtle Avenue. Rector vacant.

REDEEMER, CHURCH OF THE. Pacific street, corner of 4th avenue. Rev. W. W. Seven, Assistant Min.

ST. GEORGE'S, Greenwood, vacant.

ST. ANN'S. Washington street, corner Sands. Rev. Benjamin C. Cutler, D. D., Rector.

ST. JAMES'. (Colored.) Remsen n. Union avenue (E. D.). Rev. Samuel V. Berry, Min.

ST. JOHN'S. Johnson street, near Washington. Rev. Thomas T. Guion, Rector.

ST. LUKE'S. Clinton avenue, near Fulton avenue. Rev. Jacob W. Diller, Rector.

ST. MARK'S. Fleet street, near Hudson avenue. Rev. Francis Peck, Rector.

ST. MARK'S. 4th street, corner South 5th (E. D.). Rev. Samuel Haskins, Rector.

ST. MARY'S. Classon avenue, near Myrtle avenue. Rev. Daniel V. M. Johnson, Rector.

ST. MICHAEL'S. High street, near Gold. Rev. Evan M. Johnson, Rector; Rev. T. F. Cox, Assistant Minister.

ST. PAUL'S. Carroll street, between Hicks and Henry. Rev. Isaac P. Labagh, Rector.

ST. PAUL'S. Union avenue, corner South 2d street (E. D.). Rev. W. A. W. Maybin, Rector.

ST. PETER'S. State street, near Bond. Rev. John A. Paddock, Rector.

Methodist Congregational.

FIRST. Lawrence street, corner Tillary. Rev. S. A. Baker, Min.

Methodist Episcopal.

Long Island District, Rev. Buel Goodsell, Presiding Elder.

BUSHWICK. Cooke street, corner Bushwick avenue (E. D.). To be supplied.

CENTENARY. Johnson street, corner Jay. Rev. Heman Bangs, Min. House, 229 Jay street.

DEKALB AVENUE. DeKalb avenue, near Franklin avenue. Rev. G. Dunbar, Min.

EIGHTH. Carlton Avenue, near Myrtle Avenue. Rev. G. A. Hubbell, Min.

Subj: RE: Great Woman Abolitionist of the Late 1800's
Date: 5/23/2006 1:44:33 P.M. Eastern Standard Time
From: Deborah.VanBroekhoven@abc-usa.org
To: Jcjam11201@aol.com

Dear Joy Chatel,

Please accept my apologies for not responding sooner to your request. February, March, and April I was focused on moving our collections (in Rochester NY) safely to a new location—and the size of the collections (two gyms full, roughly) made this a complicated project. Only this month am I able to go back through older emails to respond to those I had tagged as needing research before I could reply.

I do mention Harriet Truesdell in my book, *The Devotion of These Women* (p. 86) as the treasurer of the newly formed Providence Female Antislavery Society. I suspect I might have other references to her buried in the cartons that contain my research notes for the book—ten years worth of reading. I did not follow the Truesdell family when they left RI, but while in RI, they were definitely Baptists—something varied for the Brooklyn Historical Society (?) some years back when I put a researcher there in contact with Dr. Stanley Lemons, historian for First Baptist Church of America. If my memory is correct (and I had intended to try and check this fact), Dr. Lemons verified that the Truesdells were members of this church.

Since my calendar is not getting any less crowded, I am writing now to tell you what I do know "off the top of my head," rather than waiting longer until that time when I have more free time to dig through my files.

I wish you well in your efforts to nominate your home for landmark status and to use the house to help educate the general public about an important chapter in our history.

Sincerely,

Dr. Deborah Bingham Van Broekhoven, Executive Director
American Baptist Historical Society
P.O. Box 851
Valley Forge, PA 19482-0851
610-768-2378
610-768-2269
610-768-2266 (fax)

From: Jcjam11201@aol.com [mailto:Jcjam11201@aol.com]
Sent: Tuesday, February 14, 2006 5:20 PM
To: VAN BROEKHOVEN, Deborah Bingham
Cc: UGRSAFEHOUSE@aol.com
Subject: Great Woman Abolitionist of the Late 1800's

My Dear Ms. VanBroekhoven,

Sunday, June 11, 2006 America Online: Jcjam11201

I am inquiring in reference to Harriet Lee Truesdell, wife of Thomas Truesdell.

Harriet Lee Truesdell was the treasure of the Providence Ladies Antislavery Society in 1834, Then made secretary by the time she came to Pennsylvania hall in 1838 .

Mrs. Harriet Lee Truesdell bought my house in 1850 and my husbands family said it wasn't by mistake. That was the year The Fugitive Slave Act came about.

My question to you Madame Is, are there any reference made to her in any of your books, or do you have any information about her. I'm trying to find out what religion she was. Based on my research they, my husbands family, said she was Baptist and went to the church down the street from our house. But others seem to think she was Seven Day Adventist.

If you have any information please get back to me at jcjam11201@aol.com. If there are any books I can purchase or information you can share from the historical society or both, it would be gratefully appreciated. I'm trying to get her house landmark.

I look forward to hearing from you at your earliest convenience.

Thank you in advance,

Peace

Joy Chatel

PS Attached are pictures of our basements and it's abnormalities. these houses have opening in the front, of the sidewalk as you will see, so the enslaved people could move from one house to the other and my neighbor Mr. Greenstein basement is almost identical to the Levi Coffin House, His house is know as the Thomas Edward House who was also an abolitionist and builder.

Subj: re: Harriet Truesdell
Date: 5/23/2006 8:21:07 P.M. Eastern Standard Time
From: jslemons@cox.net
To: Jcjam11201@aol.com
CC: Deborah.VanBroekhoven@abc-usa.org

Dear Ms. Chatel:

Deborah Van Broekhoven forwarded your inquiry about Harriet Truesdell to me. I can say, yes, Harriet Truesdell was a member of the First Baptist Church in America in Providence, RI.

She was baptized by Rev. Stephen Gano during a big revival on April 7, 1816 and then January 30, 1840 she transferred her membership to the First Baptist Church in Brooklyn, NY. Her husband Thomas was a grocer and director of the Weybosset Bank in Providence.

Her husband Thomas was also baptized during a great revival on April 1, 1820, but he was expelled from FBC on July 3, 1823 because he had become a Quaker.

Stanley Lemons, historian, FBCIA

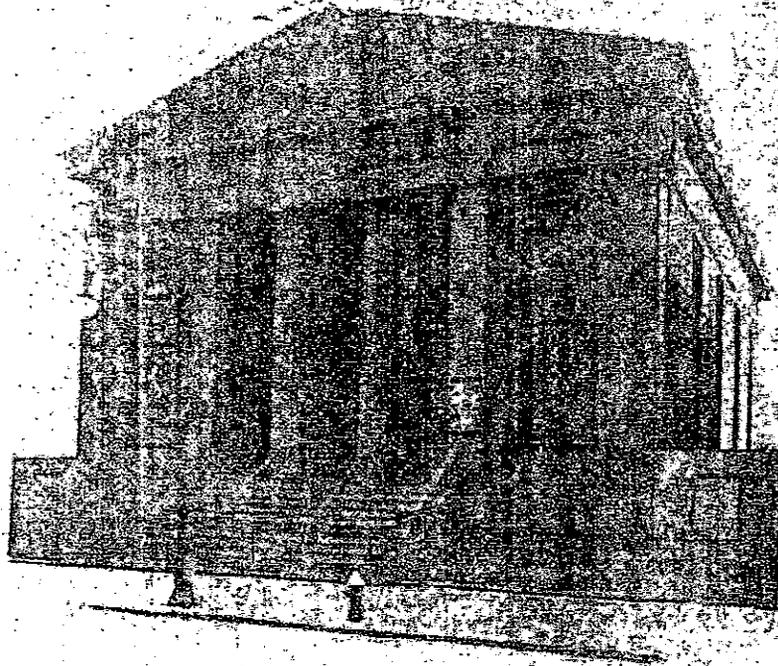
Sunday, June 11, 2006 America Online: Jcjam11201

1918

Centennial Anniversary Celebration

of

Bridge Street A. M. E. Church
BROOKLYN, NEW YORK



Rev. W. Spencer Carpenter, Pastor
Rev. James E. Manning, Pastor's Assistant

Sunday, February 3rd to Sunday, February 10th, 1918

Come ye and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of
Haran; and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths:
for out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word
of the Lord from Jerusalem.

Bridge Street A.M.E. Church
Centennial Commemorative Booklet
Restored & Reprinted Courtesy of the
Black Enterprise Magazine
Black Wealth Initiative

History of the
African Wesleyan Methodist Episcopal Church
Brooklyn, New York
High Street and Bridge Street
1818 to 1918

HENRY SYLVESTER ROBINSON, *Historian*

Negroes in Brooklyn, like other large Northern towns, followed their natural instinct whenever they got a chance and that was to go to church or some place where religious services were held.

We find that they went to the first and only Methodist Church in Brooklyn whose congregation was entirely white. This church was organized by Bishop Asbury, the same Bishop who ordained Richard Allen as Bishop in Philadelphia in 1816. As early as 1812 they discussed among themselves the matter of having a church of their own.

The same here as in Philadelphia, the gallery of the white Methodist Church was the only place to worship. We became so conspicuous by the rapid increase in the number of those attending service that the majority of the negroes decided to hold a meeting on May 14th, 1817

to see what could be done in regard to getting a place to worship. At this meeting negroes of Brooklyn formed themselves into a society to raise funds to buy land and a building for a church. They agreed to pay fifty cents a month into the treasury for a building fund. A delegation was appointed to go to see Bishop Richard Allen as to sending a preacher for this new church among negroes, also to ordain several of the delegates as local preachers.

In the Fall of 1817 a grand rally was held, \$130.00 was collected and two lots were bought on the east side of High Street, between Bridge and Jay Streets.

On January 12th, 1818 the male members of the African Wesleyan Methodist Episcopal Church in the Village of Brooklyn, County of

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Kings, State of New York, met, after being legally notified, for the purpose of choosing trustees in accordance with the law of the State of New York, whose duties were to take full charge of the temporal affairs belonging to the church or religious instruction.

At this meeting Messrs. Peter Croger and Benjamin Croger were chosen as Inspectors of Votes and the Election proceeded by use of the ballot.

The canvassing of the vote cast showed that the following gentlemen had been duly elected as trustees:

Peter Croger	Benjamin Croger
Israel Jemison	John E. Jackson
Caesar Springfield	

In compliance with the rest of the Statute of New York State on the 19th day of January 1818 Peter Croger and Benjamin Croger went before Mr. Justice John Garrison of the then Court of Common Pleas in Kings County and filed with him the certificate of Election; after examination of same Judge Garrison declared the said Election was held fairly and im-

partially without any fraud or deceit" and ordered same recorded.

At half past four o'clock in the afternoon of February 7th, 1818 Peter and Benjamin Croger filed this certificate of election approved by the Court of Common Pleas with the Clerk of the County of Kings, thus the first African Methodist Episcopal Church in New York State and Village of Brooklyn was incorporated.

From this time on African Methodism marched steadily on with a fixed principle of loyalty to obligation and discipline. No records were kept weekly. At the quarterly conferences officers and members were tried, silenced, fined, etc. for telling untruths, sleeping, failure to pay debts, imprudence, intoxication, telling business of official meetings, insubordination and numerous other trivial offences.

Members of quarterly conferences up to 1822 were:

James Thompson, Local Preacher
Peter Croger, Local Preacher and Leader
Benjamin Croger, Local Preacher and Leader
Titus Roosevelt, Local Preacher and Leader

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William Hollon, Exhorter and Leader
Nesat Springfield, Exhorter and Leader
Israel Anderson, Exhorter and Leader
Job Titus, Exhorter
The Jackson, Leader
Michael Thompson, Leader
John Coston, Steward

The church advanced so rapidly financially that at one of the quarterly meetings in 1823 special emphasis was placed on the amount \$20.69 raised that quarter.

On February 17th, 1824 Peter Croger was elected delegate to the General Conference which was held in the same year at Baltimore, Md.

The spread of the gospel among our people kept growing so in the Village of Brooklyn that on November 9th, 1830 the quarterly conference decided that from that time on preaching would be every two weeks at the Flatbush branch of the A. W. M. E. Church and thus save the people from that section the walk to High Street.

In 1840 the membership of High Street had grown to 195 members.

THE FLATBUSH PROPERTY

From the best information obtainable, the Flatbush property was first either rented or leased, as it was not until October 24th, 1835 that the African Wesleyan Methodist Episcopal Church purchased from Abraham and Susan Brown and Henry C. and Lucinda Thompson for the sum of \$176.50 the tract of land in the Town of Flatbush known as part of the woodland owned by Richardson and James Johnson, who in turn had acquired same from Stephen B. Schoonmaker.

The church enjoyed the use of this property without molestation, both as a church and cemetery, until the 80's.

A Ground Steward was appointed to look after the property whenever the church was to be used.

Some of the members thought that they should have another and independent church, locating same on this property. This was contrary to the majority of the members of Bridge Street but apparently persuasion with this minority was useless as they withdrew from Bridge Street.

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banded themselves together and worshipped in the Flatbush building. They refused to vacate and finally it became necessary to depose them.

It was the practice of the church to sell graves and plots in the cemetery to its members. Whenever funeral services were to be held in this building on this property the church would loan the key to whoever wished it.

On one occasion in the year 1867 the key was borrowed by the Ground Steward on pretence of a funeral and not returned and on demand refused to give the key up, contending that as they owned practically all of the cemetery by individual purchases they had organized themselves into a church known as the St. Pauls Congregational Church of the Town of Flatbush and that they would neither vacate nor release the property, or the building as it was theirs by legal right of purchase.

It became necessary on December 15th, 1887 to sue the St. Pauls Congregational Society of Flatbush to sustain the church's legal right to this property.

The Supreme Court of the State of New York rendered a verdict in favor of the A. W. M. E. Church on June 5th, 1888.

St. Pauls Church appealed from the decision and carried the case to the Circuit Court which Court on June 24th, 1889 unanimously upheld the lower Court in the verdict in favor of our Church.

The Church's interest in these actions were very ably taken care of by our own learned Counsel T. McCant Stewart.

This property was sold on November 13th, 1903 to Mr. William G. McDonald for \$2250.00. The bodies were removed from the cemetery by Mr. W. G. Overton and deposited at Pine Lawn, Long Island, among their wives:

- | | |
|--|--------------------|
| Priscilla C. Johnson, Co. F., 26th Regt. | Ellen Beckman |
| Corporal J. A. Johnson, Co. A., 26th Regt. | Susana Pierce |
| Corporal C. Holmes, Co. F., 26th Regt. | Carolina Jones |
| Private Wm. Anderson, Co. E., 26th Regt. | Mary A. Schank |
| Constance Paterson | Elizabeth Dickson |
| Isabella Paterson | Samuel Warren |
| Cyrl Major | Thomas M. Williams |
| Maria Oliver | Frances M. Hicks |
| Sarah Brown | Francis A. Hicks |
| Joseph Clarkson | Thomas Williams |
| Peter Jackson | Elizabeth Williams |
| Edna J. Jackson | Edmund Freeman |
| Samuel Jackson | |
| Jessie Mandy | |
| Joseph H. Hall | |
| Paula Ryan | |

The spot where the present Church stands was known as the Doctor Duffield Estate, who sold same in 1829 to the Pierrepoint Estate.

On July 7th, 1854 Edward and Margaret Pierrepoint assigned same to the following trustees of the First Congregational Church which was then occupying the property:

- | | |
|---------------------|----------------|
| Simon B. Chittenden | Henry C. Bowen |
| Chas. G. Stedman | Edward Conway |
| Chas. P. Baldwin | Luther Eams |

On July 12th, 1854 these trustees sold on behalf of the Pierrepoints this Church for \$12,500 to the African Wesleyan Methodist Episcopal Church of Brooklyn, during the pastorate of Rev. J. Morris Williams.

Either on the fourth Sunday in July or the first Sunday in August, 1854 Rev. Williams marched from the High Street Church to the new Church on Bridge Street with a membership of 292, included in the procession were such patriots as:

- | | |
|---------------------|------------------|
| Edward Crosby | Alvin Harris |
| Willis Jones | Alvin Flood |
| Isaiah Huber | Robert Jackson |
| Enoch C. Harrington | Enos Waterford |
| Abraham Brown | Robert H. Cousm |
| Isaac Cappie | Francis Cumming |
| Capo Oliver | William Anderson |
| James Overton | Ellen Jones |
| Michael Thompson | Hannah Legg |
| Samuel Anderson | Janes Canover |
| Lavi Harris | Charles Hicks |

The first quarterly conference in the new home was held on August 20th, 1854 presided over by the pastor, who had so successfully led his flock into the new fold, Rev. James Morris Williams. At this meeting the conference very fittingly put itself on record as to how pleased it was with the new edifice.

The Church went on and at various times made small payments upon the mortgage but the record shows very vividly that it was a struggle. The serious and crucial point was reached in 1871 when it became necessary for the officers and members to bind themselves closely together in order to save the Church as the mortgages threatened them with a dispossession, foreclosure, etc. It became necessary for each member to pay \$1.00 per month to keep the Church.

Finally in 1872 the foreclosure notice was tacked on the Church and it was then that Robert Jackson, Willis Jones, Ellen Jones, Robert Cousin, Stephen Overton, Alvin Spenser, came forth with their own money, paid what was necessary to keep Bridge Street from foreclosure sale. It is to these noble fathers we

all the everlasting indebtedness for their sacrifices in purchasing, temporarily, the A. W. M. E. Church or what is commonly known as Bridge Street Church.

On September 11th, 1872 the Church repurchased herself from Willis and Ellen Jones et al. for the sum of \$7,975.00 and thus Bridge Street started on again. Pastors came and went, paying at times on the mortgage until the pastorate of the Rev. Wm. D. Cook when the final dollar was paid in 1899 and the mortgage was very befittingly burned by the oldest member and the very woman who had put her dollars in same, Ellen Jones, better known as Mother Jones. Thus Bridge Street was free and clear with \$600.00 over in the bank.

Due to improvements and other things which caused the trustees to be hampered by an accumulation of unpaid bills, it became necessary to borrow \$2,000.00 from Lauretta Webster on September 29th, 1900 and this was repaid in November 1905.

During the pastorate of Rev. M. C. Brooks it was impossible to rent a suitable place as a parsonage; the corporation therefore decided that the economical way would be to buy a place. On August 29th, 1904 John D. Nixon purchased from Annie Aaron the present parsonage, 182 Duffield Street, and on August 30th the Church took title to same, the cost being \$6,000.00. The final dollar on this place was paid during the pastorate of Rev. C. P. Cole in 1914.

Thus from a small handful in High Street over a century ago to a membership of over a thousand on Bridge Street, the first African Wesleyan Methodist Episcopal Church stands in Brooklyn with a valuation of over \$80,000.

Not only is our Church the oldest of churches in this city and the Mother of A. M. E. Churches but it is one of the historic spots of the Country and the North.

It was in this building in the days of John Brown that the Abolitionists smuggled the slaves from the South into the Underground Railroad Station of the North, Bridge Street Church. These slaves were housed, fed, cared for and slept on the floor of the basement. Whenever there was fear of their being detected in the building they were put into the cellar of the church where the brick walls (which are still intact) acted as strong barriers against the Southern trackers. In their idle moments they carved a man into the stone floor in the cellar and he is still there. After they were safely brought to Brooklyn the next move was to get them into Canada at an opportune time.

The rights of Negroes have been championed from the rostrum of this Church with more fervor than from any other spot in this section of the Union.

In Church circles the Church holds a National reputation in contending for what it thought to be right and at times it might have appeared that the contention was carried too far.

In June 1863 Bishop D. A. Payne changed the New York Annual Conference from Bridge Street to Sullivan Street as he supposed the brethren knew the difficulties existing at the Bridge Street Church; one faction left and organized the Fleet Street Church (Lampton Digest—188).

The building has been remodelled inside and outside a number of times. The cumbersome coal stoves removed from the auditorium and vestry for two large hot air furnaces and these discarded for a modern steam plant in 1900.

A stationary organ was put up in the gallery which was purchased from a Roman Catholic Church in Brooklyn. This served its purpose well until it was destroyed by fire on Sunday night, January 19th, 1883, which burned the entire west side of the Church. The building proper being only insured the insurance company restored the building at a cost of \$2,800.00.

The Church repaired the interior for the sum of \$3,600.00 including a new organ which was erected by Geo. Jordine & Son for \$2,500. The organ builders made a proposal to the Church that if upon completion we paid \$800.00 they would give the Church an additional credit of \$500.00 and make the net cost to the Church \$2,000.00. The Church took advantage of their offer.

STEWARDESSES

The first Stewardess Board was organized by the Rev. W. H. H. Butler during his first year as pastor of the Church in 1892.

The first members of the board were:

Mrs. Lydia Jackson, *Chairman*
Mrs. Ruth Baynard, *Vice-Chairman*
Mrs. Sarah Keeling, *Secretary*
Mrs. Lucinda P. Williams
Mrs. Hannah L. Williams
Mrs. Susan Joseph
Mrs. Mary Jane Brown
Mrs. Mary Ulling
Mrs. Martha Christian

Stewardesses 1918

Mrs. Hester A. Turpin, *President*
 Mrs. Ruth Smith, *Vice-President*
 Mrs. Jane Mosely, *Secretary*
 Miss Delia Bailey, *Treasurer*
 Miss Jennie McCullum
 Mrs. Martha Rooks
 Mrs. Ida Williams
 Mrs. Rosa Brown
 Mrs. Nancy Harrison

USHER BOARD AND AUXILIARY

The Usher Board was organized in October 1897 by Lewis Hamilton with a membership of nine. Mr. Hamilton was its President for a number of years. The present membership consists of 18 and Mr. Fred Stokeley is the President.

The Auxiliary was organized on August 15th, 1915 by Mr. Stokeley and the President is Mrs. M. Foy.

THE JUNIOR BOARD OF STEWARDESSES

The Junior Board of Stewardesses was organized the 16th of October 1917 by the Reverend W. S. Carpenter. The officers are:

Mrs. Mary Belle Cooper, *President*
 Mrs. Charity Ferguson, *Vice-President*
 Mrs. Martha D. Clinton, *Secretary*
 Mrs. Grace Richardson, *Treasurer*
 Mrs. Anna Robinson
 Mrs. Mammie Rooks
 Mrs. Mollie McCullers
 Mrs. Elizabeth Hawley
 Mrs. Catherine Fissett

THE RUTH MITE MISSIONARY SOCIETY

The Ruth Mite Missionary Society was organized under the Pastorate of the Rev. H. C. Atwood on April 23rd, 1901, with the following officers:

Mrs. Alice Atwood, *President*
 Mrs. Maggie Munroe, *Vice-President*
 Miss Adeline Jones, *Secretary*
 Mrs. Florence Derby, *Career Secretary*
 Mrs. Ellen Williams, *Treasurer*

At that time they had enrolled 67 members. The Society is in a prosperous condition and at present has 70 members.

The present officers are:

Mrs. Susan Abel, *President*
 Mrs. Henrietta Edwards, *Vice-President*
 Mrs. Hester A. Turpin, *Treasurer*
 Miss Rosa Brown, *Secretary*
 Mrs. Jennie McCullum, *Asst. Secretary*

THE FLORAL CLUB

The Floral Club was organized seventeen years ago under the pastorate of Rev. M. C. Brooks, for the purpose of supplying the pulpit with flowers, carrying flowers to the sick and any other floral decorations, besides helping anywhere needed.

The first President was Mrs. Hannah L. Williams ably assisted by the Stewardess Board of that time.

It was reorganized under the Rev. A. R. Cooper and at that time Miss Addie Freeman (deceased) was made President.

The present officers are:

Mrs. Emma J. Bryan, *President*
 Miss Delia Bailey, *Vice-President*
 Miss Katherine Powell, *Financial Secretary*
 Mrs. Lauretta Epps, *Recording Secretary*

THE RISING STAR CLUB

The Rising Star Club was organized November 19th, 1907 by Mrs. Mary Reddick at No. 31 Fleet Street, Brooklyn, N. Y., for the purpose of assisting the Stewards and Trustees financially under the pastorate of the Rev. A. R. Cooper.

The officers were:

Mrs. Mary Reddick, *President*
 Mrs. William McCann, *Treasurer*
 Mrs. Bertha Baskerville, *Secretary*
 H. C. Wadkins, *Advisor*

This Club has done noble work financially around the church since its organization. Mrs. Mary Reddick, the organizer of the Club, departed this life on Thursday, April 1st, 1915. Out of respect for her the Club was inactive for six months and at the expiration of that time it was reorganized by H. C. Wadkins, its Advisor, at the Parsonage, No. 182 Duffield Street, Brooklyn, N. Y., on the tenth day of September, 1915, under the pastorate of the Rev. C. P. Cole, with Mrs. Henry S. Robinson as President.

Mrs. William McCann, *Treasurer*
 Miss Mammie Smith, *Secretary*
 Miss Ethel Johnson, *Asst. Secretary*
 Henry C. Wadkins, *Advisor*

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THE MARTINIQUE CLUB

The Martinique Club was organized in July 1911 by the Rev. C. P. Cole.

This Club was organized specifically to work for the Bridge Street Church, in rallies, fairs or in whatsoever place they were needed.

They have long since outgrown their boundaries and have spread their efforts in helping anywhere they can, so long as it was for God and humanity.

In six years the Club has raised more than \$5,000.00 and has increased its membership from thirty-five to ninety-one.

The Club has an annual spread and in that way tries to make its members know that they must play some as well as work, and in that way keep a happy union.

Their motto has been, "Keep a Going" and have done their best to live up to it.

The officers are:

Mrs. A. Q. Martin, *President*
Mrs. Willie E. McCann, *Vice-President*
Mrs. B. A. Cole, *Secretary*
Mrs. Elaine Martin, *Asst. Secretary*
Mr. M. P. Saunders, *Treasurer*

THE LINEN SHOWER CLUB

The Linen Shower Club No. 7 was organized March 18th, 1913 under the Pastorate of Rev. C. P. Cole with 27 members by Miss Ester Bradley of Concord Baptist Church, who presented the Club with a copy of by-laws on Linen Shower Clubs. Rev. Cole was elected Advisor and Mrs. Ellen Vander Murray, President.

The first Shower was tendered Rev. and Mrs. C. P. Cole.

The Club was organized to keep socially in touch with one another to comfort those in distress, to do all in their power to alleviate the suffering of worthy people and the uplift of fallen humanity.

The Club meets every second Thursday in each month at the residence of one of its members. They charge ten cents to join and five cents a month for dues. They have fifty financial members and a substantial bank account.

The officers are:

Mrs. Ellen V. Murray, *President*
Mrs. Rosa Wright, *Vice-President*
Mrs. Eleanor A. Fugim, *Treasurer*
Mrs. L. L. Taylor, *Financial Secretary*
Mrs. M. E. Williams, *Recording Secretary*
Mrs. A. Walker, *Marshal*
Mrs. F. Ballard, *Chaplain*

THE BRIDGE STREET RELIEF SOCIETY

It was the custom of the Church that whenever a member of the Church died without sufficient means to pay the funeral expenses, the pastor at the funeral would have a collection plate placed on the coffin. As the friends passed around to take leave of the remains they were asked to deposit something in the plate to assist in paying the funeral expenses.

In 1889 one of the young Ladies of the Sunday School and a member of the Church, married a young man not a member of the Church. One month from the date of the wedding her funeral was held in this Church. As the husband could not pay the expenses, the pastor, Rev. John S. Brown, had the plate placed on the coffin and enough was collected to settle the bill.

At the close of the services the undertaker, Mr. Wiley C. Overton, spoke to the pastor and suggested that something should be devised whereby a member would not be embarrassed in such cases, also he would give the matter some study. A few days later he presented his plan of a Beneficial Society before the Board of Trustees of the Church of which he was the Secretary, and after thoroughly explaining the details authority was given for the organization of the Bridge Street A. W. M. E. Church Relief Society on January 16th, 1890.

The first officers were:

W. C. Overton, *President*
J. A. Jacobs, *Vice-President*
T. A. Wilson, *Financial Secretary*
Rev. I. H. Bolden, *Treasurer*

The Society charges \$1.00 initiation fee, 25 cents per month for dues and 50 cents for each death. It pays \$3.00 per week sick benefit for the first six weeks, \$2.00 per week for the next four weeks and \$50.00 at death.

The present membership of ninety has a cash balance of \$1,200.00.

The present officers are:

J. L. Edwards, *President*
Mrs. Grace A. Stewart, *Vice-President*
Mrs. Mary M. Williams, *Treasurer*
H. S. Robinson, *Financial Secretary*
Miss Rosa Brown, *Recording Secretary*

THE GEORGE W. BATUM THANKSGIVING COMMITTEE

Organized about 1893, by George W. Batum, then leader of Class No. 4. At first the Thanksgiving contributions were limited to the leader and Class 4 members, he donating poultry and the members vegetables.

Brother Batum died March 16, 1909, his young request being that Mrs. Narcossus C. Hadley continue the work of the Committee, which trust is being performed faithfully by her to this day.

THE AUXILIARY TO TRUSTEE BOARD

The Auxiliary to the Trustees was organized during the pastorate of the Rev. A. R. Cooper in April 1907. They have always assisted the Trustees financially and helped in every other work of the Church.

The officers are:

Mrs. C. V. Hunter, *President*
Mrs. E. Howe, *Vice-President*
Mrs. N. Hadley, *Secretary*
Mrs. Geo. Paterson, *Treasurer*

THE CEDAR CIRCLE CLUB

This Club was organized in 1905 by Miss Amanda Payne, who was its first President. Its first object was literature, but later changed into a regular church club.

The present officers are:

Mrs. Lillian Johnson, *President*
Mrs. Alice Clark, *Vice-President*
Mrs. P. B. Rose, *Treasurer*
Mrs. M. M. McCreweater, *Rec. Secretary*
Mrs. Jennie McCullum, *Fin. Secretary*
Miss Rosa Brown, *Corres. Secretary*

THE DAUGHTERS OF ALLEN

The Society was organized by Rev. W. Spencer Carpenter July, 1917, at Bridge Street A. W. M. F. Church, its purpose being to aid the pastor in his work among the sick and poor, and for general church purposes.

Since its organization it has given one entertainment, at which time \$148.42 was raised.

Out of this sum, three wheel chairs were purchased for disabled persons of the Church, the chairs being the sole property of the Church, to be used by its several members.

The Club also purchased a pulpit lamp.

The Dollar was given toward the Thanksgiving Gifts for the aged of the Church.

SPENCERIAN DRILL CLUB

This Club was organized by Rev. Carpenter on September 12, 1917 as a Trustee Auxiliary. It has a membership of 26 lively, wide-awake young women of Brooklyn and it is undenominational. Its insignia is a gold pin with the Club's initials "S. D. C."

The Club, broad in its conception, is three-fold in object, namely: the physical, mental and military training of women.

The officers are:

Rev. W. Spencer Carpenter, *Drill Master*
Mrs. Viney K. Abbott, *President*
Mrs. Minnie Aydlotte, *Vice-President*
Mrs. Margaret E. Marable, *Secretary*
Mrs. Cecelia Fields, *Treasurer*

The motto of the Club is "Efficiency."

THE LITTLE SUNSHINE CLUB

The Little Sunshine Club was organized September 1913 by the Rev. C. P. Cole and Mrs. Hattie Abbott for the purpose of assisting the poor and aged of the Church not otherwise provided for.

During its existence the Club has raised more than \$100.00 and makes a special visit to the Home for the Aged for Colored People, carrying cheer and sunshine to the inmates. Many have been the kind deeds done by these little workers.

The officers are:

Flarella Polno, *President*
Dorothy Kolsa, *Vice-President*
Samuel A. Walker, *Secretary*
Canfield B. Cole, *Treasurer*

The Guardians are:

Mrs. Hattie Abbott
Mrs. Brittemore A. Cole

The honorary members are:

Mr. M. P. Saunders
Miss. Maria J. Saunders
Mr. Charles H. Turner

To those who through their toil, suffering and sacrifices have made possible this first centennial we doff our hat and shower encomiums and those who are now beginning to contribute and those who will join as decades roll on to make the second centennial a greater success we extend to them our congratulations for their golden opportunity and trust the services they render will be like their predecessors, the best there is in them.