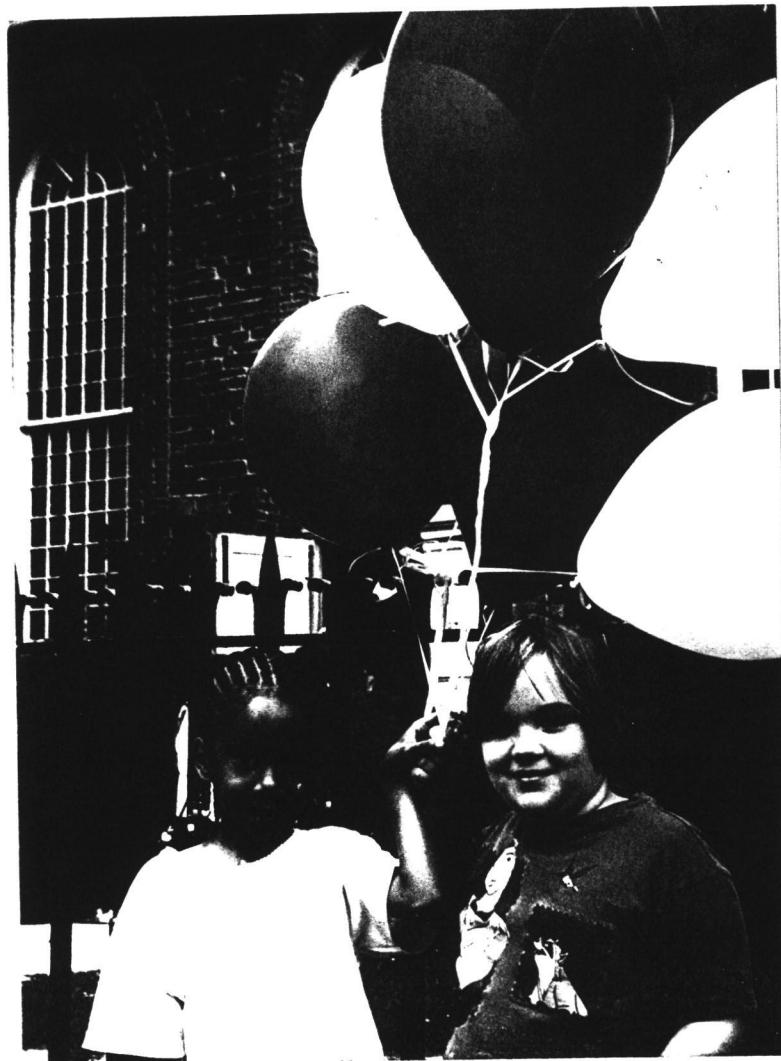


ETHNOGRAPHIC OVERVIEW AND ASSESSMENT
SAINT PAUL'S CHURCH NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE

FINAL REPORT



Submitted to
National Park Service, New England System Support Office
and
Saint Paul's Church National Historic Site

December 17, 1996

Laura J. Pires-Hester, Ph. D.
Ethnographer, National Park Service
555 Kappock Street, #18E
Riverdale, New York 10463
Tel/Fax: 718-548-7017

SAINT PAUL'S CHURCH NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE

ETHNOGRAPHIC OVERVIEW AND ASSESSMENT

FINAL REPORT: EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Laura J. Pires-Hester, Ph. D.

December 17, 1996

This Ethnographic Overview and Assessment was undertaken at the request of the New England System Support Office, National Park Service, to provide "baseline data on ethnographic resources within and adjacent to St. Paul's Church National Historic Site...[to] assist the National Park Service and its partners in protecting ethnographic resources, consulting with traditionally-associated groups and individuals, developing culturally-informed interpretive programs, and conducting effective community outreach and visitor services¹." The Site has a rich and varied history dating back to 1765 and its history is closely intertwined with the early beginnings of "Old Eastchester," in which Mount Vernon was the "center." Its ethnographic resources are similarly varied. The Church building served as worship/meeting/court house over the years. As a functioning church it produced the country's first Protestant Episcopal Bishop and in the 1960-1980's period saw significant African-American involvement; this latter association was documented for the first time in the research. The Cemetery contains over 8000 burial sites dating back to 1704 and including free and enslaved African-Americans and Hessian soldiers; the Site has recently catalogued and computerized the cemetery data, for greater usability. The building now used as Museum and offices formerly served as stable, Parish House, and even a renovated apartment after World War II. The rich source documents--including wills, deeds, histories, Ministers' commentaries and correspondence, records relating to the transfer from the Episcopal Diocese to the National Park Service in 1980 or to celebrations and special events--add to the ethnographic richness of the Site. The Project sought to show that these resources are significant to a broad network of individuals and organizations, some of whom were actually identified and connected to the Site during the research period.

Key findings of the ethnographic project were as follows.

- Despite its location--southernmost Mount Vernon, no longer the "center" of village life, surrounded by small industrial plants and huge oil tanks--the Site provides a positive experience to most who do visit (for example, 87% of a Mail Survey's respondents rated their visit as "very good" or "excellent") yet the diversity and volume of visitors and partners needs expansion.

¹ *Scope of Work: Ethnographic Overview and Assessment/Ethnographic Oral-and Life Histories, Saint Paul's Church National Historic Site.* National Park Service, New England System Support Office, 1996:1.

- The most common response to inquiry about the Site was the need for “opening up.”
- The Site has extensive historical research and documentation available, but there is need for expanded work on the 20th century experience of the Site, and for at least one comprehensive volume about the Site and its various significances.
- Archival and ethnographic research has identified a long-standing African-American presence for the Site; these must and can be made integral to the Site’s themes, materials, documentation, and display.
- There is a broad network of individuals and organizations with potential for partnerships and involvement in collaborative programming, special events, sharing of photos/artifacts/recollections, and promotion of the Site’s resources.
- Expansion of relationships and collaboration with the Board of Education and teachers can enhance the Site’s important educational function.
- Aggressive outreach, follow up, use of media promotion, invitational meetings, etc. will be needed in order to tap and actualize the Site’s potential. “*People-gathering*” is as important as “*data-gathering*.”

The *Final Report* has four major sections, following an *Introduction* which presents the study issues and acknowledgments. *Outcomes Related to the Research* cites the project outcomes which emerged during the research period itself because of an interactive research approach. This approach was made possible because of 1) the cooperation and openness of Site personnel and consistent access to the Site’s space, records, and resources; and the relatively small scale of the Site and its surroundings, 2) the objectives of the project (one of which was to help expand partnerships and associations) and 3) my own preferences. Thus from March through December 1996, individual and organizational contacts were shared and interim findings were mutually explored with Staff, and sometimes connections were made between Community Consultants and the Site. I participated directly in a Working Subcommittee appointed at a Site meeting with Superintendent Joseph Avery and community representatives, to recommend interpretive frameworks for the future; and was appointed to the Mayor’s Independence Day Committee (for the celebration traditionally held at the Site.). Outcomes included the excellent all-day Staff Development Conference focussing on the Native American experience in the County, which was co-sponsored by the Site and the Board of Education Office of Multiculturalism Office and resulted from an initial field contact. A videotape has also been co-produced with historian and educator Larry H. Spruill, in which he narrates his original book *When the Train Came...*, the story of Benjamin Turner, well-known free African-American of the early 19th century whose homestead adjoined the Cemetery until taken over by the City of Mount Vernon in the 1930’s. Copies of over 20 photos from individual collections are included in the *Report*.

The next section includes five *Briefing Papers*. *Ethnographic Resources and Associations* discusses the broad significances of the Site as a cultural, historical, political, religious and architectural, national/regional/local resource, emphasizing throughout the deeply important education function because its lessons are so many. A wide range of individuals and organizations with interest and investment in these significances are suggested, including those most closely associated with the Site's traditional connection (now questioned) to Freedom of the Press and with the process of making it a National Park Service Site, contemporary African-Americans who were worshipers in the 1960-1980 period, teachers interested in expanding their knowledge about the Site and enhancing the Site's educational function, as well as those potentially associated, such as American Indian persons or organizations and those from the many newer ethnic groups who have migrated into the city and county in the last 25-30 years, many of whom could benefit from what the Site teaches about the beginnings of not only this area but also this country. The section makes a distinction between "traditional" and "new" associations, which is part of the challenge to the Site.

Saint Paul's African-American Presence discusses the evidence and details of a long-standing presence, but one that has been comparatively more "hidden" than the more traditional Site stories. Field research found a reservoir of interest that can be tapped with aggressive outreach, display representation, follow up and creative programming. Dr. Spruill's works are again cited as a most valuable resource that should be incorporated into the Site's messages and references. It was here that the combination of archival and field research was most fruitful. For example, although it could have been presumed that 20th century former parishioners must have included an African-American presence, this was not readily evident. It was in the Cathedral's Saint Paul's Records that a chance reference to "Community of Christ the King" opened up the Church's 1960-1980 period as a functioning--though small and struggling--congregation, its relations with other "South Side" churches. This documentary source led in turn to contact and interviewing of several contemporary African-Americans who were parishioners of that era. Research Assistant Dora King followed up on important archival sources and leads, in seeking records and cross-references that might shed light particularly on African-American/White social relations, land ownership, residential patterns, etc. It was in such following up on "names" and *Journal of Negro History* volumes that she discovered that two "major characters" who are a part of the Site's standard--though separate--stories, Gloriana Franklin and Rebecca Turner, were apparently quite connected². The findings were valuable in that they also showed that much greater insights and connections can probably be revealed with continued work.

Potential Partners and Collaborations identifies by name and affiliation the individuals and organizations that can expand the Site's networks, indicating those relationships that have

² Harry Yoshpe, "Slave Manumissions in New York State," *Journal of Negro History*, 1941(26):78-109. The article showed the manumission of Rebecca Turner by Gloriana Franklin in 1810 (p. 97.)

already been established or explored, those seen as potential, and those individuals and organizations who should at the very least be added to the Site's mailing lists for regular communications about special events, etc. (The *Appendix's Community Consultants Directory* provides a complete listing.) Several Consultants responded positively to the idea of a possible "20th-21st century Descendants Day", more diversely defined than in the 1930's but perhaps equally powerful in generating support for the Site. Program and management recommendations are made in the next *Briefing Paper*, including a suggestion about reconsidering plans for a fence around the Site, which would seem to be counterproductive to the efforts to "open up" the Site. *Archival and Literature Review* assesses the holdings and relevance of key facilities outside the Site.

Appendices include the *Community Consultants Directory*, a *Bibliography*, *A Photo Gallery*, and *Other Documents*. *A Photo Gallery 1946-1996* includes copies of over 20 photographs not previously known to the Site, from African-American former parishioners as well as the family of a woman associated with the "name" associations of the Site. The photo journey shows the interweaving of these lives, and it reinforces again the reality of Saint Paul's diversity. Originals are available to the Site, and the family of a late parishioner (and former secretary to Rev. Weigle) has also donated valuable photo and memorabilia collections.

In the field research, over 70 persons were contacted for individual and/or group interviews, over 60 responded to a Mail Survey, and a few key persons became primary Consultants in the research process. The focus of the contacts was to ascertain the depth of knowledge, interest and/or association with the Site; to identify contemporary persons with specific associations with the Site; to explore possible relationships in the future; and also to invite persons to share photographs or items related to the Site (several did, as illustrated in the *Photo Gallery*; also a 4th-grade teacher also made copies of her videotape of the late Edward Williams leading a School Tour in the 1980's, and a Survey respondent indicated interest in organizing concerts, etc.) *Interim Reports I* and *II* contain interview summaries. Archival and documentary materials were reviewed at the Site itself, Eastchester Historical Society and Eastchester Town Hall, Mount Vernon Public Library, New York Historical Society, Westchester County Archives, and the Archives of Cathedral of Saint John the Divine.

Saint Paul's Church National Historic Site is often described in pessimistic terms because of its location, a "traditional" association with John Peter Zenger and Freedom of the Press that has been found to be tenuous, and removal of icons representing that connection (e.g., printing press.) As the *Report* shows, the pessimism is far outweighed by the possibilities. Many individuals and organizations have expressed interest in exploring relationships. Many have shared photographs that can augment the Site's exhibits and especially demonstrate the diversity of the Site's history; it should make a difference to African-Americans to see photos that include them as an **integral** part of the Site, and it can help promote the message of diversity. The summer's intense public meetings have led to increased interest and involvement, with two important additions to the Board and solid steps taken to clarify interpretive themes (especially

"diversity and dissent³") which can help represent the Site's full continuum of history and experience.

The Site's possibilities are great. The challenge is to plan creatively and dynamically so that these many stories, in all their variety and intersections, do not "go silently into the grave⁴."

I am grateful to all those who gave so generously of their time, photos, documents, and referrals. The project was assisted enormously by the many hours spent over the years by those who documented, transcribed, catalogued, and stored hundreds of important documents; they are named in the *Report* itself. I extend thanks and appreciation also to Site Administrator Julie Mirsberger and Interpretive Coordinator Sharon Mills for their cooperation and support; to New England System Support Office Senior Ethnographer Becky Joseph for her wise counsel and guidance; to Larry H. Spruill, who became primary Consultant in the Project; and to Dora King, Research Assistant whose work expanded the findings. Finally, I thank Joseph Avery, Superintendent Manhattan Sites, and Stevens Laise, Chief of Interpretation, for making the research possible and hope that it will be found helpful to their mission of protection and promotion of important cultural resources.

Laura J. Pires-Hester, Ph. D.

December 17, 1996

³ Dunkak, Harry M., Richard Forlano, Sharon Mills, Laura Pires-Hester, Larry H. Spruill. "Proposal for Interpretation of St. Paul's Church National Historic Site." August 9, 1996. Pages 1-5.

⁴ Margaret Mead: "too many stories go silently into the grave."

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PART I: INTRODUCTION	1
Study Issues and Methods	1
Format of the Final Report	2
Acknowledgments	3
PART II: OUTCOMES RELATED TO THE RESEARCH	5
PART III: BRIEFING PAPERS	13
Ethnographic Resources and Associations	14
African-American Presence and Associations	27
Potential Partners and Collaborations	39
Management Issues and Recommendations	46
Archival and Literature Review	53
PART IV: CONCLUSION AND PRIORITY RECOMMENDATIONS	69
 APPENDICES	
Appendix A Community Consultants Directory	73
Appendix B Bibliography	83
Appendix C Other Documents	94
Appendix D Saint Paul's in the Twentieth Century: A Photo Gallery 1940-1996	97
Photo Credits	98

*Cover Photograph: Vanessa Bullock and Maura Riley, July 4, 1996
Photographer: Herbert Remer*

A. INTRODUCTION

Study Issues and Methods

This Ethnographic Overview and Assessment Project was undertaken at the request of the New England System Support Office, Applied Ethnography Program, to provide “baseline data on ethnographic resources within and adjacent to St. Paul’s Church National Historic Site...[to] assist the National Park Service and its partners in protecting ethnographic resources, consulting with traditionally associated groups and individuals, developing culturally-informed interpretive programs, and conducting effective community outreach and visitor services¹. ” The Saint Paul’s Site is located in a southernmost section of Mount Vernon, New York which was in preceding centuries the central part of “Old Eastchester” and is now surrounded by small industrial plants and backed by huge oil tanks. The Church and adjoining cemetery have a history and associations dating back to the 17th century, as varied as the 1733 election in which Quakers were not allowed to vote and prefigured freedom of religion, the Revolutionary War, the country’s first Protestant Episcopal Bishop, and African-Americans residing as both enslaved and free tax-paying persons in the early 19th century. The 20th century establishment of the Site was a similarly complex process, including designation as an Historic Site in 1943 and transfer to National Park Service by the Episcopal Diocese in 1980. This rich history has resulted in correspondingly rich ethnographic resources which in turn have different significances for a wide variety of constituencies. Study issues for the Project are related partly to this complexity.

The *Scope of Work* identified especially the need to define the Site’s ethnographic resources, the existing and needed data about those resources, and the extent of articulated African-American involvement and/or association with these resources. At initial orientation to the Site it was also determined that priority issues for the baseline assessment seemed to be increasing and/or improving visitation, expanding outreach and partnerships, and identifying and growing the African-American presence and involvement. As the field research progressed, other findings affected the defined study issues. For example it was found early that there exists a broad and deep interest in the Site, co-existing with a sense of the need for “opening up;” that the Site’s African-American presence is a long-standing one but its articulation and reference needs to be expanded and contemporary involvement needs expansion; and that the need to expand the Site’s interpretive themes to be more inclusive and diverse would tap apparently long-standing tensions among the various publics traditionally associated with the Site and its resources. These combined concerns and perspectives formed the basic framework for the study.

¹ *Scope of Work: Ethnographic Overview and Assessment/Ethnographic Oral and Life Histories, Saint Paul’s Church National Historic Site*. National Park Service, New England System Support Office, 1996:1.

The research methods used in this Project included the standard ethnographic techniques of participant-observation, phone and personal interviews and structured group sessions, archival and documentary research, literature review, and a mail Visitor Survey. Participant-observation included attendance at events and activities to help define the public environment during this stage of the Site's evolution: for example, public events such as the Awards Ceremony for teachers for multicultural curriculum development; Police Commissioner installation; Mayor's Forum; public hearings on the Proposed Management Plan for the Site; Independence Day celebration; and three Site Board meetings. I participated directly in some of these events, as a member of the Mayor's Independence Day Committee and of the Working Subcommittee growing out of the public hearings and charged with exploring interpretation themes for the Site.

Phone, face-to-face individual, and group interviews were held with over 70 persons. Research Assistant Dora King, Doctoral Candidate in Anthropology at Columbia University², and I investigated archival and documentary materials in Eastchester Historical Society and Town Hall, Mount Vernon Public Library and its Virginia McLellan Moskowitz Local History Room, New York Historical Society, St. John the Divine Cathedral Archives, Westchester County Archives and the Site itself. Literature review included review of historical and anthropological literature related to museum and park interpretation, ethnicity, and systems of enslavement in New York State (for which the *Journal of Negro History* were especially valuable, see *Bibliography*.) A Visitor Survey was mailed out to over 60 persons who had visited the Site between June 27, 1995 and October 31, 1995, of which 64% were returned.

In addition to the traditional field methods, the research was also undertaken in an active and interactive manner. Since the research goals included expansion of partnerships and collaborations, new contacts and/or information were shared on an ongoing basis with Site staff, and Site Administrator Julie Mirsberger and Interpretive Coordinator Sharon Mills were gracious and generous in their receptivity and sharing. One result of this particular approach was the November 5, 1996 Staff Development Conference "We Are Still Here", co-sponsored by the Site and the Board of Education and focussing on the Westchester County/Eastchester Native American experience, and curriculum resources. The interactive research process also helped facilitate the increasing involvement of Dr. Larry H. Spruill, Mount Vernon City Historian and Director of Multicultural Education for the Board of Education.

Format of the Report

Following this Introduction, the Report contains four major sections: *Outcomes Related to the Research*, five *Briefing Papers*, *Conclusion and Priority Recommendations*, and *Appendices*. Each *Briefing Paper* is related to primary study issues, summarizes study findings, and makes key program recommendations. They are presented separately to facilitate usability

² Ms. King's resume is included in Appendix C.

for different purposes, and therefore key ideas are repeated. The *Conclusion* presents priority recommendations that are believed to be important to continue critical planning and implementation steps. The *Appendices* include a Photo Gallery for the period 1946-1996, the originals of which are all being made available to the Site, a bibliography, a listing of all Community Consultants, and other documents.

Acknowledgments

This ethnographic research could not have been carried out without the cooperation of the more than 70 persons who responded graciously to interview or other requests and who often recommended other resources and/or interviewees from their own networks. Their names and affiliations are included in *Appendix A: Community Consultants Directory*, and all will receive a copy of the Final Report Executive Summary. In particular, I want to thank community volunteer Evelyn Jones for contacts with other community organizations and helping to organize the special Video session with the Key Women and Keyettes; Director of Elementary Education Janice Rao for organizing the Roundtable with fourth-grade teachers; and Beverly Remer, Head of Volunteers for the Site, for organizing the Volunteers session. Thanks must also be extended to those persons who shared photographs and other items that can augment the Site's holdings: Harriet Bianchi, Ruth Harewood, Madeline Schaeffer, Gloria Harewood Santos, Lloyd and Paulette Shirley, and the family of Adeline Holly Vitkowski; and to Mary Anderson for sharing the videotape of a tour conducted by the late Edward Williams in the 1980's. Mr. Williams, interviewed on April 24, 1996, died in November 1996 after a long illness. His legacy lives on in the Saint Paul's School Tours which he started in the early 1980's, along with Virginia McLellan Moskowitz.

The important role played by Dr. Larry H. Spruill must be especially mentioned. As the primary Consultant, he provided invaluable access to his extensive research and publications as well as a consistent willingness to explore intellectual and program initiatives. It is gratifying to see his increased participation with the Site itself during the research period.

Special tribute must be paid to the various researchers--some formally trained, others trained by inclination, experience, and love of history--who over the years have assiduously collected, annotated, investigated, documented, and catalogued facts, connections, and records that together make up an ever-expanding "big picture" about the Site and its associations. These include Harriet Bianchi, the late Phyllis Knowles, and Madeline Schaeffer, who in 1964 started a transcription project which eventually became *Books I-XI* of the Eastchester Town Records, copies of which in turn form the basis of historical records at the Site. Only within the last year the original book of *Civil War Records* was found in the basement of Eastchester Town Hall, a valuable addition to the Town Records so lovingly overseen by Town Clerk Patti Dohrenwind. In the 1970's Virginia McLellan Moskowitz started working with Daisy Webb (long-time

parishioner born in the 1880's³ and "keeper" of so many Saint Paul's stories) at the Site, where she kept ongoing Church records and also annotated and organized other local historical records. Moskowitz initiated what would later become the Virginia McClellan Moskowitz Local History Room at the Mount Vernon Public Library. Saint John the Divine Cathedral's Archivist, Wayne Kempton, joins this group of persons who carefully preserve and share records and documents of years gone by.

Dr. Spruill attributes his passion for local history and for Saint Paul's partly to his first encounters in the 1970's with Ms. Moskowitz and the wealth of old photographs and records she had compiled. As cited in *Interim Reports I and II*, Spruill's comprehensive research and highly imaginative publications provide extraordinarily rich sources of data and insights. On an ongoing basis, Site personnel constantly add to the Site's knowledge base as they continue to mine the available records and explore new dimensions of the Site's history and associations--for example data suggesting intermarriage patterns between Eastchester's "first settler" American Indians and those "newcomers" who became the leading families (eg, Bartows, Pells, and Treadwells)⁴.

I want to thank Julie Mirsberger, Site Administrator, and Dr. Sharon Mills, Interpretive Coordinator of the Saint Paul's Church National Historic Site for their support and cooperation; and Dr. Becky Joseph, Senior Ethnographer of the New England System Support Office for her wise counsel and guidance in the Project. It has been a pleasure to work with them. I thank also Dora King, Columbia University Doctoral Candidate in Anthropology, whose patient and painstaking research assistance was a great help and who in fact found the Manumission record which showed the heretofore unknown relationship between two major characters in the Saint Paul's story (Rebecca Turner and Gloriana Franklin.) Elaine Page, Administrative Technician and Leroy White, Maintenance Manager, helped make my affiliation with the Site a most enjoyable one.

Margaret Mead once said that "too many stories go silently into the grave". I hope that this research project, in adding to Saint Paul's dynamic database, can avert that fate for the many important stories found at this historic and multi-faceted Site.

³ Bianchi and Schaeffer describe Webb as an important link in the Site's history, who "told stories from when she was young, of people she knew...and stories of the Revolution...she touched hands with those people" (Interview, September 24, 1996.)

⁴ Sharon Mills, November 5, 1996. Pages 1-3.

PART II: OUTCOMES RELATED TO THE RESEARCH

Outcomes	6
<i>Attachments</i>	
<i>Assigned Ministers to Saint Paul's Church, 1950-1980</i>	9
<i>Manumission Record for Rebecca Turner, 1810</i>	10
<i>"Native Americans: 'We're still here'" <u>Mount Vernon Argus</u>, July 5, 1996:2A</i>	11
<i>"We Are Still Here": Staff Development Conference, November 5, 1996</i>	12

OUTCOMES RELATED TO THE RESEARCH

This Ethnographic Project was carried out in an interactive manner. During the project period, the Ethnographer engaged in ongoing discussion and exploration with interviewees and Site staff about the Site's ethnographic resources, contacts, findings, materials and program ideas. This process yielded certain identifiable outcomes, which are summarized below.

- Documentation of parts of Saint Paul's history previously under-addressed, for example the Church's assigned ministers in the "post-Rev. Weigle-pre National Park Service" era (1950-1980: see page 9), its involvement in a "cooperative ministries" initiative (1967-1970), its relationship to current 20th-century Episcopal churches in Mount Vernon, and its long-standing African-American presence.
- Identification of and interviews with contemporary persons who were active parishioners, ministers, and Diocesan Bishop in the Saint Paul's Church of 1960-1980, including African-American persons.
- Documentation of a direct connection between two major characters in the Site's history: the recorded manumission of African-American Rebecca (known widely as "Becky") Turner by Gloriana Franklin (owner of 10 African-Americans as slaves, whose gravestone is in the cemetery) in 1810.
- Increased collaboration between the Site and Dr. Larry H. Spruill, historian and educator who has conducted extensive local historical research, including the African-American presence in the Mount Vernon/old Eastchester area and the Site itself (Spruill and Richard Forliano, Eastchester town Historian, were named to the Site's Board in November 1996.)
- Videotape produced in collaboration with Dr. Spruill, Key Women/Keyette Youth Group and the Site: October 19, 1996 special reading of Spruill's original *When the Train Came*, the story of Benjamin Turner, free 19th-century African-American (husband of Rebecca Turner) whose homestead near the Site became part of a controversial City takeover in the 1930's. In addition to its being submitted as part of this Final Report, copies are also being forwarded to the Board of Education, the Mount Vernon Public Library, and Key Women.
- Staff Development Workshop on the local American Indian presence ("We Are Still Here") held for Mount Vernon teachers November 5, 1996.

Native American Studies Specialist Sandy Sunderland was referred to me by BlackHawk Sancarlos (quoted in *Mount Vernon Argus*⁵ after a Powwow

⁵ *Mount Vernon Argus*. "Native Americans: We're Still Here." July 7, 1996:2A. (See attached.)

held in Yonkers on July 3, 1996) and in a subsequent meeting with Saint Paul's staff and Dr. Spruill, she agreed to arrange for native and non-Native American consultants for an all-day workshop to help teachers understand more about the local Native American presence, correct misperceptions about "Indians", and provide resources for crafts, storytelling and other educational aids (see attached program). An excellent program book⁶, compiled by Dr. Spruill and Ms. Sunderland, brings together valuable background information, other references, and curriculum resources for teachers. Approximately 100 persons attended the workshop. Costs were borne by co-sponsors Board of Education Office of Multicultural Education and the Saint Paul's Church National Historic Site. The Workshop also previewed the Spring 1997 Special Exhibit on *Lenape Indians* organized by Dr. David Oestreicher, which has been arranged by Site staff.

- Other additions to the Site's photograph and video holdings:
 - Video of Mount Vernon/Saint Paul's tour for fourth-graders in the 1980's by former Mount Vernon principal the late Edward Williams (interviewed April 24, 1996, see *Interim Report I*); tape made by teacher Mary Anderson, participant in special Roundtable discussion with 4th-grade teachers 10/8/96, who also gave copies to her 16 other Roundtable colleagues
 - Pictures from the Church's pre-transfer period to expand the Site's photo exhibit beyond the 1940's, including (see Appendix C):
 - late 1970's church service, with African-American parishioners participating as readers: Rev. Albert Lott, Winston Belle, Paulette Shirley, and Violet Turner (originally included in Interim Report II)
 - mixed group at special event in the 1970's, held in the former Parish Hall; parishioners and choir in early 1970's
 - Harriet Bianchi and Madeline Schaeffer as 1970's guides in colonial dress⁷

⁶ *We Are Still Here: A Primary Education Teacher Training Program on The History and Culture of the Native Peoples of the Northeast Woodlands. Superintendent's Staff Development Conference. Mount Vernon Public Schools and St. Paul's Church National Historic Site.* November 5, 1996.

⁷ Interestingly enough, a significant number of teachers participating in the October 8, 1996 Roundtable discussion agreed with a colleague's recommendation that colonial dress (by Saint Paul's guides, or dressing the visiting children, with explanations) would enhance the fourth-graders' understanding of the Site's significance and

- weddings of Anne Vitkowski/Howard Krebaum and Gloria Harewood/Donald Santos on August 8, 1975 (Diocesan records show that the last wedding before the official transfer occurred in 1980 [2 weddings], as did the last baptism⁸); also the 1940's wedding of Elizabeth Weigle (daughter of Rev. W. H. Weigle)
 - other pictures donated by the family of Adeline Holley Vitkowski (1940's-1970's), including for example, the young Anne Vitkowski, Thomas Vitkowski, III and William Jackson, Jr. as worshipers and/or participants in annual Independence Day celebrations; the Vitkowskis and Rev. Weigle inside the former Parish Hall being renovated as living quarters for returning Veteran Thomas Vitkowski, Sr., in 1946 (Adeline Holley had been Rev. W. H. W. h. weigle's secretary); other Vitkowski family pictures, etc..
- Initial exploration of other possible partnerships and collaborations (see *Potential Partners and Collaborations*, in *Section II: Briefing Papers*).
 - Bibliography (see *Appendix B*) combining variety of references, and categorized for possible use as Site resource file.

add to the visit itself, i.e. what were the children's lives like, what did they do as chores, for play, etc.? Periodically current Site staff do don colonial articles of clothing and/or dress one or two of the children during the visitation.

ASSIGNED MINISTERS TO SAINT PAUL'S CHURCH (1950-1980)⁹

1950	None listed
1951	G. C. Graham
1952-1956	Howard D. Perkins, Priest-in-Charge
1957	("Perkins" crossed out, no replacement)
1958	None listed
1959	Leslie John Alden Lang, Vicar
1960-1961	Leslie John Alden Lang, Vicar (Rector, St. Peters, Bronx)
1962-1967	Jonathan Leroy King, Vicar (Rector 1958-67, Saint John the Divine)
1967-1970	Robert Nelson Willing, Vicar (Rector, Saint John the Divine and Saint Clement's); also Coordinator, Community of Christ the King
1971	none listed
1972	Harold A. Young, Community of Christ the King
1971-1974	Albert Osborne Lott, Priest-in-Charge, Saint Paul's and Saint John the Divine
1975	Albert Osborne Lott, Vicar (Rector, Saint John the Divine)
1976-1979	John G. Zacker, Vicar (Rector, Saint John the Divine)
1980	William Gannon, Supply Priest

⁹ "Rectors" are assigned to "parishes", which are self-supporting; "vicars/priests-in-charge" to "mission" churches which receive almost full Diocesan support; and "supply priests" are temporarily-assigned (Bishop J. Stuart Wetmore (June 10, 1996.) This listing was originally compiled by Archivist Wayne Kempton and supplemented by further examination of Diocesan *Journals of Convention* and other Episcopal directories; cross-checking did show some inconsistencies which are apparently not unusual in these records.

RECORD OF SLAVE MANUMISSIONS IN NEW YORK 97

Place of Record and Remarks

years from that date she will "be permitted to go free. Or should he husband, Joseph Franklin, return within the above time and was to purchase the remaining part of her servitude, "this shall be granted for a reasonable compensation."

7 Consideration, \$50.
45. Consideration \$50. The balance due, \$50, was advanced by H. Non Hendriks, to be paid out by Everitt "in labor."

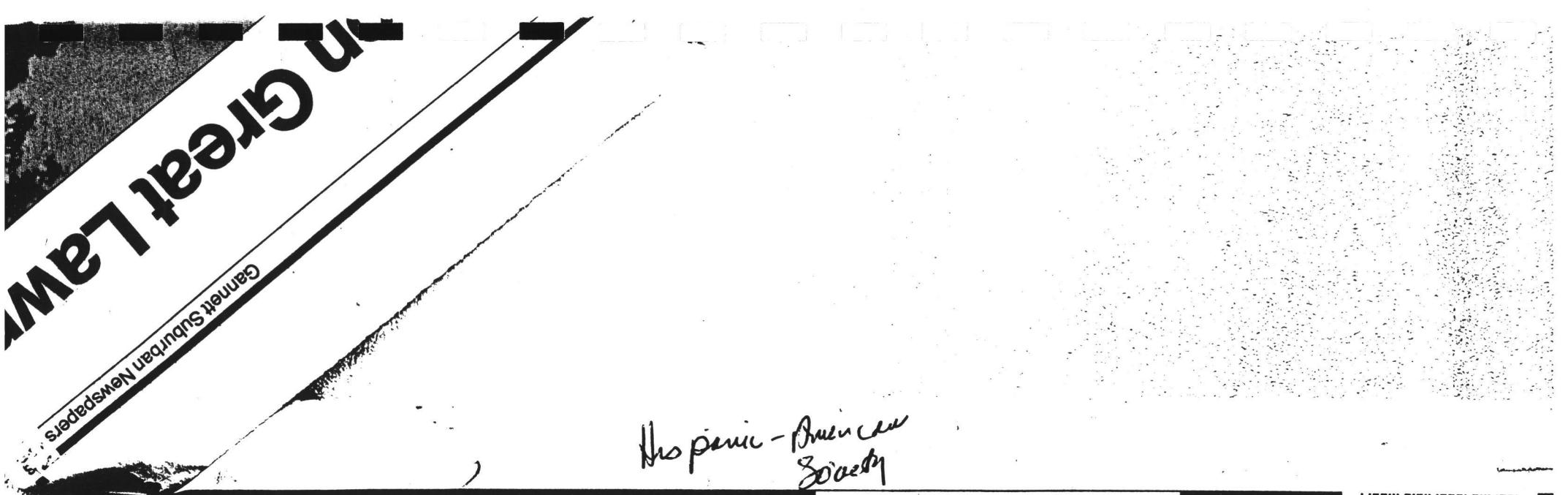
76
47
8
41

62
85 Bill of sale. De rrest, in consideration of \$57, corresponds Jane to Richard Jaques for a term of 16 years after which ter she "shall and may become free and manumitted by these presents."

8
3
65
96
39
39
8

1
1
93
3
15 Elizabeth Finch certifies that Margaret remains with her for 8 years and behaves "as she always has done orderly manner as a servant ought to do, he will free her. But should Margaret behave contrary to the above agreement," his obligation is to "void and of no effect."

<u>Owner</u>	<u>Slave</u>	<u>Date of Instrument</u>	<u>Place of Record and Remarks</u>
Fisher, Leonard Folger, William H. Ford, Benjamin Franklin, Glorianna Gibson, Solomon D. Glover, John G. (Exrs. of) Goslin, William	Peter Edwards Andrew Nan Cummings Rebecca Turner Freeman Godfrey Catherine Henry Bartow, his wife, Jane, and their children, Jack, Charles, and Sarah	Aug. 23, 1816 Oct. 2, 1810 Jan. 11, 1814 Apr. 3, 1810 Apr. 2, 1817 Dec. 6, 1808	R, 28 I, 46 I, 73 I, 21 R, 59 I, 5
Griffin, Edward D.	Samuel Skudder	Jan. 13, 1821 Apr. 22, 1807	I, 81-83. Articles of agreement. Griffin promises that if Samuel "behaves well" for 10 years, he will free him. Griffin also agrees "to send him away with as good clothes as he brought with him. And if I give him more, he must pay for them." Should circumstances, for which Samuel is not to blame, require that Griffin or his heirs sell Samuel, the latter "shall by no means be sold for life, but only till April 1, 1817."
Hall, John and Ann Handasyde, Charles Hart, Ephraim Hawland, Sally B. Heime, Ann Henry, Delia	Maria Charles Brown Silvia Lewis, 28 Phillis Wall Hannah Remsen	Apr. 7, 1812 Jan. 15, 1796 Jan. 30, 1818 Apr. 28, 1818 Nov. 25, 1815 Sept. 12, 1815	I, 52 I, 27 R, 110 I, 96 I, 95. She is to be free after Sept. 1, 1819.
Hoffman, Elias	James, 27, and child, Jin, 2½, 1812	I, 48. Manumission effective Jan. 1, 1815.
Hoffman, Elias	Tamer, 27, and her child, Jim, ½	Jan. 25, 1812	I, 62. They are to be free Jan. 1, 1815.
Holdron, John Hopper, Ann, widow (of N. J.) Hoyt, Goold Hunter, Gilbert Huylar, Peter Jaille, Loussique francois	Jane Smith (mulatto)	Oct. 18, 1817	R, 100
	Hager Berry David Evans Hose Betsy Brown Mulatto slave, 24, and her child, 9	Sept. 10, 1811 Apr. 2, 1817 Mar. 28, 1818 May 19, 1818 Apr. 26, 1798	I, 52 R, 58 R, 113 R, 119 I, 11. He bound them out to Pierre Mauvin for \$240 for a period of 15 years, after which they were to be free.
Jay, Nancy Jones, William	Hannah, 23 Thomas Stilwell, a boy	Feb. 15, 1815 Dec. 1, 1812	I, 77 I, 62. He conveyed this boy to Mary Stilwell for \$200. She was to have him until he attained the age of 28, which will be in 1819.
Keesee, William, attorney at law	Rachel (mulatto)	Mar. 28, 1809	I, 44



2A Friday, July 5, 1996

MV

Black Hawk
Sancarlos

Indians San Carlos Indians
HQ Co. 1, New York

Local News

MV 07/05/1996

Native Americans: 'We're still here'

Pow-Wow on Hudson is lesson in culture

By Laurel Babcock
Staff Writer

Martin Prauda thought of Quarropas Street and the malls in White Plains yesterday and reminded himself that the land now traveled by thousands of shoppers had once belonged to someone else.

"We all don't realize this was all the land of the Indians," said Prauda, a White Plains resident, thinking of the Quarropas tribe of Native Americans. "It's something to learn."

For members of the Native American Warrior Society, BlackHawk Band — an intertribal nonprofit group based in Mount Vernon — Prauda's words

The society launched its third annual Pow-Wow on the Hudson in Yonkers yesterday, a three-day event designed to remind people that Native Americans did not disappear after the days of "Dances with Wolves."

"We want people to know we're still here, without having to talk with an anthropologist," said Mount Vernon resident BlackHawk Sancarlos, an event organizer.

With music, song, dance and crafts, the pow-wow served as a colorful lesson. Tents and vendor tables circled the grassy plaza near the Yonkers City Pier on Main Street, creating a rim of activity around the "Sacred Hoop," a roped-off circle considered religious ground by Native Americans.

stage where tribe members performed Native American dances and songs, with occasional participation by pow-wow visitors.

Cooled by the breezes off the Hudson River, children played in a nearby sculpture garden as their parents browsed tables laden with Native American jewelry, hand-tool leather goods, incense, spices and various crafts.

"The spirit of this has always been community," said Queens resident Lonnie Moon Fire, a Seminole Indian and a member of the Drum Circle Singers. "As long as people respect our traditions, everyone is welcome."

"I hope people get an appreciation of our culture, the things we do, how we take care of our children," said Distarti Squires, 78, the mother of BlackHawk

depicted as savages. We're nice people. We're like everybody else, we just have a different culture."

For Prauda — a Hungarian — and his wife, Mary — from Scotland — the pow-wow also served as a particularly appropriate way to celebrate the July 4 holiday.

"This is America, you know," said Mary Prauda. "This is it."

The pow-wow continues today and tomorrow, from 9 a.m. to 6 p.m., behind the Larkin Plaza railroad station.

Admission is free, but donations are requested.

Blackfeather Smith performs the Pipe Ceremony yesterday during the first day of the Pow-Wow on



WELCOME AND OPENING REMARKS

Janice Rao

Mt. Vernon Director of Elementary Education

Steve Lacie

National Park Service

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW: OLD EAST CHESTER

Dr. Larry H. Spruill

Mt. Vernon Director of Multicultural Education

Mr. Richard Fiolriani

Eastchester City Historian and Educator

WERE STILL HERE

Mr. James Revey

Member of the Lenape Peoples

WHAT TEACHERS SHOULD KNOW

Dr. Adrian Cook

New York State Education Department

WHAT CHILDREN SHOULD KNOW

Ms. Sandy Sunderland

Consultant for Native American Culture

WAMPAGE AND ANN HUTCHINSON: A CLOSER LOOK

Dr. David Oestreicher

Curator of Lenape Exhibition

TRADITIONAL INDIAN STORYTELLING

David Blue Wolf Chavez

Consultant for Native American Culture

NATIVE AMERICAN AUTHORS

Ms. Frieda Gates

Consultant for Native American Literature

LOCAL NATIVE AMERICAN CRAFTS

Ms. Rita Benson

Consultant for Native American Crafts

WERE STILL HERE

Dr. Sharon Mills

The Settler Burial Grounds at St. Paul's Church

Black Hawk Sancarlos

A surviving Native American Living in Mount Vernon

CLOSING REMARKS

Ms. Julie Mirsberger

Administrator of St. Paul's Church National Historic Site

Dr. Larry H. Spruill

Mount Vernon School District

FEATURING

MAPS OF OLD INDIAN VILLAGES

THE ANN HUTCHINSON MASSACRE

NATIVE LANGUAGE SPEAKERS

DEMONSTRATIONS ON NATIVE CRAFTS

NATIVE STORYTELLERS AND AUTHORS

TRADITIONAL NATIVE DANCERS

ARTIFACTS FROM ARCHEOLOGICAL DIGS

AUTHENTIC LOCAL TREATIES AND DEEDS

EXPLOSION OF MYTHS AND STEREOTYPES

INDIAN NAMES ON OUR MAPS

SAMPLE LESSON PLANS AND ACTIVITIES

CURRICULUM INFUSION PROCESSES

RECOMMENDED FIELD TRIPS

RECOMMENDED BIBLIOGRAPHY

RECOMMENDED VIDEOGRAPHY

RECOMMENDED DISCOGRAPHY

VENDOR OF NATIVE AMERICAN BOOKS

LIVE RECORDING OF CONFERENCE



We Are Still Here



AN PRIMARY EDUCATION TEACHER TRAINING
PROGRAM ON THE HISTORY AND CULTURE OF THE
NATIVE PEOPLES OF THE NORTHEAST WOODLANDS

Siwanoy, Wecquaesgeek, Sint Sink,
Wappinger, Kitchawank, Manhattan,
Mamaroneck, Lenape, Mahican
peoples of Westchester County.

Tuesday
November 5, 1996
MOUNT VERNON HIGH SCHOOL
100 CALIFORNIA ROAD

SPONSORED BY

The Mount Vernon Board of Education
Office of Multicultural Education
and

The National Parks Service
St. Paul's Church National Historic Site



PART III: BRIEFING PAPERS

ETHNOGRAPHIC RESOURCES AND ASSOCIATIONS	14
SAINT PAUL'S AFRICAN-AMERICAN PRESENCE	27
POTENTIAL PARTNERS AND COLLABORATIONS	39
MANAGEMENT ISSUES AND RECOMMENDATIONS	46
ARCHIVAL AND LITERATURE REVIEW	53

ETHNOGRAPHIC RESOURCES AND ASSOCIATIONS

I.	Background	15
II.	Selected Significances of the Site	17
A.	Cultural	17
B.	Historical	18
C.	Religious and Architectural	18
D.	Political	19
E.	National/Regional/Local	20
F.	Institutional Change	20
III.	Existing and Potential Associations	20
IV.	Recommendations	23

Attachments

<i>1980 Transfer Ceremony Program</i>	24
<i>Church of St. John and St. Paul, After the Fire</i> <i>February 28, 1988</i>	25
<i>Sts. John, Paul and Clement Episcopal Church</i>	26

ETHNOGRAPHIC RESOURCES AND ASSOCIATIONS

I. Background

The concern with and for ethnographic resources at National Park Sites, defined here as “cultural and natural features of traditional significance to contemporary peoples and communities¹⁰,” inherently calls attention to the variety of perspectives which different people, different situations, and different times bring to the same resource. “Urban parks” add another layer of challenge:

Urban parks pose special challenges to the identification and assessment of culturally-influenced patterns of user values and behavior due to the cultural and socio-economic diversity of historic and contemporary populations, and the disparate characteristics of their relationships to park resources, larger political and social systems, and each other¹¹.

A site such as Saint Paul’s Church National Historic Site certainly does present “special challenges” to those charged with identifying, describing and communicating its wide range of cultural and natural resources, and two of those challenges deserve special reference.

Saint Paul’s physical location itself is usually mentioned first as the biggest challenge: the southernmost section of Mount Vernon which in previous centuries was the “center” of village life and traffic of “Old Eastchester” but today is characterized by small industrial plants and huge oil tanks. Thus “location, location, location...” carries insurmountable burdens in the minds of many. Perhaps just as challenging however is the Site’s complicated history itself. Its transfer to the National Park Service was fought hard¹² and the pre-transfer debates rested partly on the different views held toward the legitimacy of the Site’s “John Peter Zenger association¹³. ”

¹⁰ *The Applied Ethnography Program*. Department of the Interior, National Park Service.

¹¹ *Ethnographic Needs Assessment: Jamaica Bay/Breezy Point Unit, Gateway National Recreation Area, Final Report*. Tracy Fisher, Caroll Jimenez, Suzanne Scheld, and Dana Taplin, The Graduate Center, City University of New York. Under the Supervision of Dr. Rebecca Joseph, Senior Ethnographer, New England System Support Office, National Park Service. Cooperative Agreement CA 1600-9008. October 15, 1995. Pages 1-74.

¹² *New York Times*. “U.S. Aide Opposes Church as a Monument to Zenger.” May 5, 1976.

¹³ As interpreted for the public in 1980, this “association” was as follows:
The church stands on the grounds of the old village green where, during the election of 1733, 38 Quakers were prevented from casting ballots. Zenger, writing about the event in his New York Journal, accused the British Crown of tyranny. Tried and jailed for seditious libel as result, he was later acquitted. The case became a foundation for the First Amendment of the Bill of Rights. ‘The people of this area recognized their responsibility to the preservation of the site,’ said Mayor Thomas E. Sharpe of Mount Vernon (*New York Times*, “Historic Church in Mount

This direct connection has been explicitly challenged and the National Park Service's *Proposed Management Plan* asserts the need for re-evaluation because "historians no longer concur with the significance stated in the establishing legislation (page 129)¹⁴." As reported in *Interim Report II*, this debate and its apparently long-standing tensions resurfaced publicly in the summer of 1996 and spawned NPS public hearings--an "explosion" which was actually advantageous in diversifying public interest and involvement with the Site. Also the Site has been many different things in its history, not the least of which is as a small but functioning church less than 20 years ago.

Saint Paul's setting and its complicated and contradictory history are realities. Surely it could be interpreted as "obsolete...[in a sprawling 'non-community']...in the wrong place and the wrong time". But another way of looking at it is to see the Site as having *multiple* communities and associations, some already identified and linked explicitly with specific Site resources, others with potential linkages that can be identified and developed. Benedict Anderson's concept of "imagined communities" is relevant here, in conceptualizing and legitimating the kinds of non-local, boundary-crossing ties which more and more link people together in networks of comradeship and loyalty. The National Park Service *Proposed Management Plan* itself suggests that "ethnographic resources may or may not be tied to other cultural or natural resource values or to people and/or events officially commemorated by the site...(page 16). As an example, the Jamaica Bay/Breezy Point *Ethnographic Needs Assessment* finds that Floyd Bennett Field "is a symbolic resource for the Black Pilots Association of New York, even though few members have actual flight experiences there¹⁵.

These special challenges thus can also be viewed for their opportunities. The real challenge is how maintenance, protection, expansion, and promotion of the Site's rich resources can be accomplished *within* its complex current context.

"Vernon Is Given to Park Service," November 2, 1980:42.)

As shown in the attached Transfer Ceremony Program, this view "won out" and was incorporated into the public rationale for the Site.

¹⁴ National Park Service, Manhattan Sites. *Proposed Management Plan*. 1996. "Overall Management Objectives and Actions," pages 14-20, and "Purpose of and Need for the Plan," pages 129-154. See "The 1733 Eastchester Election, the Zenger Trial, and Freedom of the Press" by Bro. H. M. Dunkak (1985:1-43) for analysis of this tenuous association, although Dunkak does conclude that "the Zenger case indicated for the very distant future a new spirit (p.42.)"

¹⁵ Laura Shore Piccone, "St. Paul's Church: Vital Link to America's Past," Unpublished, undated manuscript, 1977; Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London and New York: Verso, 1983); *Ethnographic Needs Assessment: Jamaica Bay/Breezy Point Unit, Gateway National Recreation Area, Final Report.*, by Tracy Fisher, Caroll Jimenez, Suzanne Scheld, and Dana Taplin, under the supervision of Dr. Rebecca Joseph, Senior Ethnographer, New England System Support Office, National Park Service, Cooperative Agreement CA1600-9008, October 15, 1996, pages 1-74.)

II. Selected Significances of the Site

Most of the Site's ethnographic resources are well-identified, and the Site's numerous primary source documents and interpretations over the years describe their historical details. The multi-faceted Site has cultural, historical, religious, architectural, political, national, regional, and local significances, with an extremely important educational role.

A. Cultural The Site's cultural significance can be seen to incorporate its various specific aspects (historical, political, religious, etc.) but its *authenticity* makes it an especially important cultural resource and culturally significant. It is not a constructed replica of anything. The church building is not the original church building but it is the actual building built in the late 18th century, and served at different times as hospital, as firewood, as meeting house, as courthouse. The current museum and offices served as stables, parish hall, and renovated apartment for a returning War veteran and his wife and then his young family. The bell and organ are the originals, not created replications. The cemetery contains grave sites and gravestones dating back to 1704. All these original constructions and their alternative uses over time are the result of human beings responding to--and sometimes competing over--their cultural environment and challenges, and that story has universal cultural significance.

In addition the Site has the unusual potential for representing the continuum of history and experience of this new Republic, with all its diversities, different perspectives, imperfections, inequalities, diversities, and dissensions as well as all of its distinctions. That potential makes the uncovering, articulating, and displaying this diversity of experience even more crucial, so that the communicated "stories" can effectively interpret the cultural truth of the "whole"¹⁶. The *Photo Gallery* in this Report's Appendix--using what must be only a "tip" of a much larger "iceberg" of possible photographs and artifacts--in fact demonstrates the interweaving of these many different strands in the Site's 20th century "whole" history and experience, for example, the ethnic strands shown by the same-day weddings (August 8, 1975) of Anne Vitkowski (White) and Gloria Harewood (African-American), both Saint Paul's parishioners; the secular and sacred strands by combined worship and special events of the small congregation continuing at the same time as the historic tours and commemorations, etc..

The Site's long-standing but not generally explicit African-American presence is one example of this larger potential which must be mined further. The American Indian association is another example and one which is currently being addressed, with the Staff Development Conference which grew from a field research contact and documentation of this association¹⁷.

¹⁶ One of Freeman Tilden's six principles of interpretation was that Park interpretation should seek to "provoke" and to present a "whole" rather than a "part" of the meaning of a Site (*Interpreting Our Heritage*, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1977, page 8.)

¹⁷ Sharon Mills, November 1996; Sandy Sunderland, "Siwanoy Sachemdom," Compiled from numerous sources for Siwanoy Elementary School's Native American Program, 1995-1996, pages 1-5.

The Site's cultural and educational potential is enormous.

B. Historical An early description asserted that the "history of the early settlement [of Old Eastchester] is virtually that of the church," and the traditional and critical documentation supports that assertion¹⁸. The present Church edifice dates back to 1765. It saw usage as a hospital during the Revolutionary War (the area saw key battles in this conflict) and its wood was chopped for firewood during the same war. Like most colonial settlements in the northeast, it functioned also as the village's meeting house and courthouse. Its impressive restoration in the 1930's was made possible by the determination of Rev. W. H. Weigle, who crafted a winning campaign out of the Site's ambiguous association with Freedom of the Press and won the support of powerful personages of the day (eg, Sara Delano Roosevelt). Families associated with the Church were leading figures of Old Eastchester. At the same time the Site was also the center of social and economic interaction between African-American and White residents and the cemetery therefore contains not only well-known "leading figure" burial sites but also those of free and enslaved African-Americans. The renovated former Parish Hall has also seen several usages including as living quarters in the 1940's. The Site's annual Independence Day celebrations date back to the 1880's, and the ceremony's format has remained virtually the same during that time and its dignified commemoration and social gathering is itself a major cultural resource.

The Project confirmed that the Site's 20th century (post-Weigle) history and its African-American presence need further articulation in material, theme, and representation. The *Archival and Literature Review* section identifies data sources that can be mined much further. Follow up by Research Assistant Dora King in *Journal of Negro History* volumes unearthed, for example the record of manumission of Rebecca Turner by Gloriana Franklin in 1810, two "major characters" in the Site's stories whose relationship had not been previously documented.

C. Religious and Architectural The religious beginnings of Saint Paul's Church are emblematic of part of this country's religious heritage founded on dissent and difference from the colonially-imposed religion and religious forms. Many recorded stories of the first assigned ministers, their communications with the English religious hierarchy and the independent responses of the area's first European settlers have become part of the Site's standard interpretation. The *architectural* aspects of the Church also incorporate a number of religious traditions, for example the Ten Commandments tablets donated by a member of the family of Mother Elizabeth Seton, the physical layout following the Presbyterian/Congregational style, the Sanctuary Light and Menorah candlesticks donated by Arthur Sulzberger, etc.. (These candlesticks can be seen in the photograph of the wedding of Elizabeth Weigle, see *Appendix D*:

¹⁸ "The Story of a Living Shrine," in Saint Paul's Church National Historic Site. Dunkak's "A Colonial and Revolutionary Parish in New York" (*Anglican and Episcopal History*, LVII(4):397-426) discusses in greater detail the historic significance of the Church, and Spruill takes "another look" at the Site's broad significance and reinforces the need to "keep the entire community within the focus" of interpretation (*St. Paul's Church and National Historic Site: Taking Another Look*, Submitted to Superintendent Joseph Avery, Site Staff and the National Parks Service Task Force, August 1996:3.)

A Photo Gallery.)

Part of the Site's 20th century religious history that was documented for the first time in the field research was the Church's involvement with other "south side" Episcopal parishes in the period following Rev. Weigle's tenure and its role in the "cooperative ministries" of Community of Christ the King. References to this initiative, found first in the Archives of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, were actually the first to make the African-American association with the Site (other than with enslavement) visible, and led to further inquiry of contemporary persons and written records of the dynamics of the initiative and its results. *Interim Report II* provides a more detailed chronology of this initiative, which was officially short-lived (1967-1970). However this initiative also forecast "mergers" of the 1980's: there was a "consolidation agreement"¹⁹ between Saint Paul's and St. John the Divine (Mount Vernon) in August 1980, and merger with St. John the Divine and St. Clement's in 1981. St. John was burned to the ground in February 1988 and Saint Paul's as a functioning church lives on in the "surviving congregation" of Sts. John, Paul and Clement Episcopal Church at 126 South 9th Avenue (photos, pages 24-25, also show the combined name of the parish "St. John and St. Paul".) (The "surviving congregation" characterization was used by St. John the Divine Cathedral Archivist Wayne Kempton.)

D. Political In addition to the political conflicts represented by the establishment of the new congregation and in the War itself (when split family loyalties reached down to the family level), the "village green" area was also the site for the 1733 election in which the Quaker refusal to swear on a Bible in order to vote led to religious freedom (a much clearer association than that between the Zenger trial and freedom of the press). The earliest forms of government and self-government also resembled New England governance structures and created similar mechanisms for social welfare, as chronicled in *Overseers of the Poor: 1778-1824*²⁰.

E. National/Regional/Local The Site is a significant ethnographic resource at national, regional, and local levels: associations and representation of United States colonial beginnings and expressions of early forms of governance; its value and role as the intersection of Old Eastchester's commercial, social, economic and political life in the colonial and Revolutionary War period; and its value as an important "city" (of Mount Vernon) resource. As discussed in the public hearings of 1996 its "national significance" is an essential feature of its NPS designation and the summer theme discussions explored the ways in which the Site's interpretive themes can reflect the unique "American spirit" and the ways in which a wide range of people lived together, governed, took care of each other, handled conflicts, etc. in colonial and Revolutionary War periods. Its lessons are many.

¹⁹ "Consolidation Agreement between St. John the Divine and St. Paul's Mount Vernon." August 19, 1980:1-8, in St. John the Divine Cathedral Archives.

²⁰ Transcribed by the Eastchester Historical Society. Eastchester, New York. February 1965.

Regionally and locally, the summer 1996 public hearings sparked a revitalization of the Site's ties with Eastchester, thus beginning to rejoin communities formerly part of the "Old Eastchester" (Eastchester, Mount Vernon, Bronxville and Tuckahoe.) Eastchester's Town Historian participated in the discussions and was elected in November 1996 to the Site's Board, along with Mount Vernon City Historian Larry H. Spruill, and these additions should help the Site expand its programming and associations. The field research found much interest within the Mount Vernon community itself--at Mayoral, community-based organizations, neighborhood levels, etc.--in exploring connections with the Site. Several possibilities have already been explored and are identified in *Potential Partners and Collaborations*.

F. Institutional Change The Site is also significant as an example of how contemporary institutions change to meet demographic, technological, information, and communications changes, and how to bring together public and private partners (including the unusual co-sponsorship by a local organization) in productive collaborative arrangements.

III. Existing and Potential Associations

The field research confirmed that the Site's range of associations can indeed be expanded and diversified, and that for some the traditionally-recognized associations may unintentionally have had an effect of closing off new associations. The need for "opening up" of the Site was the most common response to field inquiry.

Associations with the Site and its resources can probably be defined as "traditional" and "new":

- ***traditional***, meaning most likely connected or passionately interested in the "traditional history" of the Site and/or intimately or by organizational descent involved with the successful campaign to have the Church "deconsecrated" and the Site transferred to the National Park Service;
- ***new***, meaning those groups, individuals, or organizations whose actual association with the Site is also real but not so readily visible in Site materials, themes, or integral display, and/or those with potential association. The National Park Service acknowledges the changes that evolve as new information is learned, as times and conditions change, and as different constituencies enter the interpretive process, as demonstrated in the Plymouth Plantation Williamsburg Sites.

It should be pointed out that like any such distinctions, these are not mutually exclusive. However, the distinction is one that it is fair to say would probably be a general opinion. Furthermore the distinction also stresses the point that **generally speaking** the two categories could also reflect a basic ethnic dividing line. That is, the traditional associates would tend to be White--for example, those with ancestral or historic preservation interest in the Site, or those directly involved with the campaign for transfer. The new associates would be, for example, contemporary African-American persons who were actual parishioners in the 1960-1980 period

and essentially “lost” their place of worship²¹; or African-American persons or organizations not personally connected with the Site but connected because of the Site’s long-standing (but somewhat “hidden”) African-American presence; or American Indian persons and/or organizations interested in reconstructing/documenting of the American Indian presence in the area; or persons from any of the growing number of Asian, Caribbean, Hispanic populations who have become a part of Mount Vernon in recent decades etc..

Changing local demographics has yielded the latter possible constituencies with perhaps limited association with what the Site commemorates explicitly but who can certainly benefit from the Site’s presentation of United States history, experience, and stories that they did not grow up with but need to know about. Larry Spruill has stated for example that 49% of the Mount Vernon High School students/”newcomers” did not go to Mount Vernon schools and many never got those “early myths” (Interview, June 11, 1996.). The integrated continuum of history which can be interpreted at and by the Site can help demonstrate how different peoples over the centuries have struggled to live and flourish together.

This distinction is also not a judgment on the history which produced this divide or the contemporary persons involved today with the Site²². It is another way of understanding part of

²¹ At the deconsecration service in 1980, long-time parishioner Ruth Harewood (born in Guyana of Trinidadian parents, migrated in 1947, commuted from Bronx after joining Saint Paul’s in the early 1960’s) was quoted “I always felt a church was built for the good of the community, to help people....I would have liked to save it some other way, but we couldn’t” (*New York Times*, “Historic Church in Mount Vernon is Given to Park Service”, November 2, 1980.) In 1996, Ms. Harewood expressed the same feeling that a “house built for the worship of God” should not be “deconsecrated” (Interview, September 27, 1996.) Interestingly enough, Dunkak has cited a “facetious” comment by Rev. Samuel Coffey that expressed perhaps a similar sentiment in 1865, warning against destroying its “identity.”

If my spirit, after it leaves this world, shall be ever given to enjoying itself in haunting I shall certainly seek that man who shall make the proposition, or the workman who shall engage to remove this time hallowed House of God (“Important Rectors,” Draft, undated:26.)

²² The ethnographer has been involved in a restoration/programming effort which has some similarities in the challenge to sustain fidelity to a multi-ethnic heritage and significance, as co-leader of a six-year effort to repair and repatriate an 1894-launched Gloucester Schooner from the newly-independent Cape Verde. The Schooner had illustrious histories as Arctic explorer, Grand Banks fishing, World War II reconnaissance ship, before being bought in 1947 by a Cape Verdean and subsequently making transatlantic trips with people and goods between the islands and New England. In the late 1960’s two separate groups began to seek its return for the bicentennial celebration: one group affiliated with its important North American history and the other invested in its symbolizing the long Cape Verde/U.S. connection and the Schooners bought and used by Cape Verdeans since 1892 for transatlantic crossings. The effort culminated in the 1982 crossing, led by a Cape Verdean captain with crew 50% Cape Verdean and 50% American--but not without tensions probably quite related to the economic and social differences between the two groups. Fully Coast Guard-certified today, it requires constant vigilance to represent its full and diverse histories and meanings in educational, cultural, recreational, staffing, and visitation terms, for that is its unique value.

the underlying contradictions and/or tensions resurfacing in the summer 1996 debates about interpretation of the Site. Also it illuminates the challenges faced by Site staff as they continue to expand the Site's associations and involvements.

Within this context, then, those with existing or potential associations with the Site include the following:

- former parishioners, including African-Americans who made up the backbone of the parish in the 1960-1980 period
- ministers assigned to the Church in the post-Weigle era (1950-1980)
- descendants of those buried in the cemetery (including e.g., Underhill Family Association, Rev. Jonathan King, Helen Jonsen, Vitkowskis)
- local community-based organizations that can cooperate in programming with the Site and which can help promote the Site's offerings to different constituencies
- the Mount Vernon Board of Education, especially but not limited to the 4th-grade segment currently mandated to visit the Site as part of the "local history" sequence
- organizations with historic research/preservation/promotion interests (Eastchester Historical Society, Scarsdale Historical Society, Hudson River Museum, Thomas Paine Museum, etc.)
- elected officials, with interest in identifying and enhancing positive perceptions of local resources
- volunteers and Board members affiliated with the Site, several of whose association dates back to involvement with the Site's transfer campaign
- American Indian persons and/or organizations
- researchers and "practicing" academics interested in making local history relevant to local interests and communities
- newer ethnic populations coming into city and county, potentially attracted to Site as place and setting to learn this country's early beginnings and its "stories."

The next section, *Saint Paul's African-American Presence and Associations*, focusses on the challenges and opportunities of expanding the Site's diversity. *Potential Partners and Associations* follows with a specific description and directory of associations that have already been explored and/or established from both "traditional" and "new" categories.

IV. Recommendations

- Compile a comprehensive edited volume that would treat the numerous and diverse facets of the Site. This volume could be drawn from review and screening of existing articles or proceedings of a specially-organized seminar, or a combination of both.
- Organize an interdisciplinary seminar to discuss the Site and its many significances with special attention to the interpretive issues posed by the Site.
- Continue to flesh out the Site's interpretive themes within the "diversity and dissent" policy framework, and especially the programmatic and budgetary options that emerge and might receive NPS or other funding support.
- Develop a 2-3 year program plan, perhaps building on "We Are Still Here" theme.
- Expand the Museum's photo exhibits beyond 1940's: *A Photo Gallery* includes copies of not only generous donated collection (November 1996) from family of Adeline Holley Vitkowski (Rev. W. H. Weigle's secretary), but also photos collected from African-American former parishioners (these would explicitly display the African-American association as an integral part of the Site's "story.")
- Consider resuming special events/activities such as the summer "listen and lunch" concerts/Gift Shop, etc..
- Aggressively seek out new visitation pools, volunteers, and public usage (expand its perception and use as a "City resource" e.g., as site for Mayor's Forum etc.)
- Organize workshops with teachers (targeting 4th-grade teachers but not excluding other grades) in order to deepen their knowledge of the Site's rich historical and ethnographic resources and incorporate them as guides and promoters. The *Briefing Paper: Potential Partners and Collaborations*, includes teachers' programming recommendations. Expansion of the Site's relationships with the Board of Education and perhaps with Boards of nearby localities can expand its crucial educational function.

COMMITTEE

HONORABLE RICHARD L. OTTINGER
United States House of Representatives

THE SOCIETY FOR THE PRESERVATION OF THE
BILL OF RIGHTS
THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

Called the birthplace of American civil liberty, St. Paul's Church and village green commemorate this nation's historical struggle for basic freedoms outlined in the Bill of Rights. Here Anne Hutchinson fled in search of religious tolerance and here a Protestant community successfully resisted the taking of their church and meeting house. Most significantly, this was the setting for an event, "The Great Election of 1733", which led John Peter Zenger to strike out for the freedom of the press.

As a result, Zenger was tried on a charge of libel. After 9 months imprisonment, Zenger was found not guilty. This decision helped to set the precedent in New York for the establishment of a press free from governmental interference and oppression.

In response to citizens' longstanding interest in preserving the site, Congressman Richard L. Ottinger offered legislation to incorporate St. Paul's Church into the National Park System. The 1978 National Parks and Recreation Act authorized the Secretary of the Interior to accept transfer of the site from the Episcopal Diocese of New York and the City of Mount Vernon to the National Park Service, a final stage in a process which had begun many years earlier.

The site will be operated under a cooperative agreement with the National Park Service by the Society for the Preservation of the Bill of Rights, a non-profit corporation of local organizations and citizens. Immediate plans include the development of a program for the maintenance, protection and interpretation of the site. Today's ceremony is the first step in reacquainting Americans with the struggles which took place here for the freedoms we enjoy today.

A special thanks to all who over the many years have worked so hard to make this day possible.

PROGRAM

NATIONAL ANTHEM

Charles L. Reid, Organist
St. Paul's Church

OPENING PRAYER

Reverend Kenneth E. Schnepp, Jr.
President
The Interfaith Clergy of Mount Vernon

MASTER OF CEREMONIES

Duane R. Pearson, Superintendent
Manhattan Sites, National Park Service

REMARKS

Bishop J. Stuart Wetmore
Episcopal Diocese of New York

REMARKS

Honorable Thomas E. Sharpe, Mayor
Mount Vernon, New York

REMARKS

John House, President
The Society for the Preservation of the
Bill of Rights

PRINCIPAL SPEAKER

Honorable Richard L. Ottinger
Congressman
U.S. House of Representatives

REMARKS

Steven H. Lewis, Deputy Director
North Atlantic Region,
National Park Service

REMARKS AND PASSING OF THE DEED

Honorable Thomas E. Sharpe
and
Bishop J. Stuart Wetmore
to
Steven H. Lewis

CLOSING PRAYER

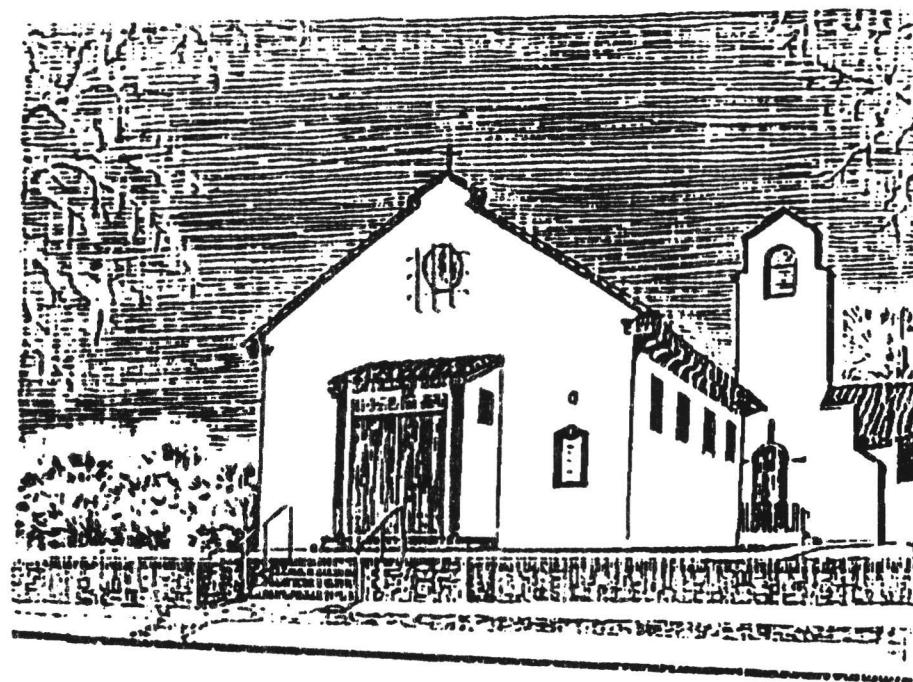
Bishop J. Stuart Wetmore

RF



AFTER THE FIRE, FEBRUARY 1908
CHURCH OF ST. JOHN AND ST. PAUL
SOUTH COLUMBUS AVENUE

*STS. JOHN, PAUL & CLEMENT
EPISCOPAL CHURCH*



*126 So. 9th Avenue
Mt. Vernon, NY 10552*

SAINT PAUL'S AFRICAN-AMERICAN PRESENCE
With the Assistance Dora King, Research Assistant

I.	Background	28
II.	Archival and Documentary Research and Possibilities	29
III.	Ethnographic Research and Possibilities	30
III.	An Important Base: The Contributions of Larry H. Spruill	31
IV.	Visitation, Involvement, and Representation	32
VI.	Recommendations	32

Attachments

<i>Manumission Record of Rebecca Turner, 1810</i>	33
<i>"A Retrospective Look at Trinity Church," 1996</i>	34
<i>"Worshipping at Saint Paul's in the 1970's" (photo)</i>	36
<i>Diagram of "Turner Lot"</i>	37
<i>"Family Tree" of Benjamin and Rebecca Turner</i>	38

SAINT PAUL'S AFRICAN-AMERICAN PRESENCE

I. Background

As stated in *Study Issues and Methods*, Saint Paul's Church National Historic Site's African-American presence was a major presenting issue for the Ethnographic Overview and Assessment. The field and archival research found an imbalance of information, materials, and theme emphasis related to the "prominent families/colonists" perspective as compared to the African-American perspective. At the same time the research confirmed a long-standing African-American presence and simultaneously many possibilities for expanding the Site's explicit attention to this presence.

It must be emphasized that attention to this imbalance is not to ignore the other populations and significance of the Site. Surely in numerical terms the comparative demographics alone (for example, 25 of 314 total population in 1710 were enslaved, 106 out of 713 in 1800 in Eastchester, and in 1910 Mount Vernon's total population of 30,919 included 1,345 African-Americans) would not warrant such an approach, and it would be an intellectual and social disservice to the Site's history and experience. Rather, the goal of such attention is to bring together the different segments of the Site's "common" experience and by so doing to also identify and develop a broader network of associations with the Site. This expansion of networks was also of course a study issue for the Ethnographic Project, and it is congruent also with the population changes, in which Mount Vernon's 1990 population was at least 55%²³. The Project and the Reports have attempted to demonstrate further that the African-American presence is integral to the Site and area's social history--not a separate story at all--and the challenge is to capture and interpret that continuum. Hopefully, the *Reports* communicate that important intersection.

It should also be noted that the status and possibilities regarding the African-American perspective of the Site can also stand in for other even less visible populations, for example the American Indian, Hispanic, Asian and even other diversities within the larger "African-American" segment such as Central Americans, Caribbean groups, etc.. This is especially important with the rapidly-growing in-migration of diverse populations into the Mount Vernon and the County area. For example, Mount Vernon's population includes persons with ancestries from over 90 nations; it is estimated that 49% of Mount Vernon High School students did not attend early grades in Mount Vernon; and growing numbers of Japanese families and children from Tuckahoe have been making use of Eastchester Historical Society resources²⁴.

²³ *St. Paul's Church National Historic Site*, Compiled by the Staff of Saint Paul's Church National Historic Site (1995):23; Larry H. Spruill, *A Time to Remember*, Mount Vernon: Afro-American Workshop, 1993:144.

²⁴ *Mount Vernon Centennial Journal*, 1992; Larry H. Spruill Interview, June 11, 1996; Harriet Bianchi and Madeline Schaeffer Interview, September 24, 1996.

Interim Reports I and II have presented data, interviews, and references to support the finding of extensive African-American presence and associations with the Site. This *Briefing Paper* will summarize how the research has demonstrated the possibilities of further expansion using archival, documentary and ethnographic research, the issues involved in expanding visitation and involvement, and recommendations.

II. Archival and Documentary Research Findings and Possibilities

The historical presence of African-Americans at the Saint Paul's Site is easily apparent in the Site's source documents where one might expect to find it, that is in the often-cited *Book of Coloured People* or *Index of Slave Owners*. The Project found that there is much more evidence and details of that presence--including details of social interrelationships--that can be revealed in these archival and documentary sources, and that these can lead to other evidence of not only historical but also contemporary presence. The work of Dora King, Research Assistant, helped especially in uncovering more of these possibilities.

One example can show the benefits of more intensive and concentrated work with these sources and cross-checking references and leads. In this example an important apparently unknown connection was established between two "major characters" in the Site's standard "story": Gloriana Franklin, owner of 10 African-Americans as slaves, and Rebecca Turner, cited by Rev. Samuel Coffey in his famous 1865 *Commemorative Discourse* as the well-known "good old Aunt Becky" and the wife of Benjamin Turner, immortalized by Dr. Larry H. Spruill in his research and publications regarding the "Turner Lot" adjoining the Cemetery and the subject of a controversial City takeover in the 1930's to make way for industrialization of the area .

In following up on several references in *Journal of Negro History*, Ms. King found a listing of manumission records in a 1941 article, including the record of a "Rebecca Turner" manumitted by "Gloriana Franklin" on April 3, 1810 (see page 32.). This in itself was a valuable find but it also suggested what other possibilities might be revealed through more intensive work. *Index of Slaves and Owners* also cites "Rebecca" as owned by Gloriana Franklin, and *Book of Coloured People* cites a "female child" born to "Rebecca" in 1806²⁵. The absence of surnames had hidden this connection, but the Yoshpe reference gave more reason to review these standard documents again. Ms. King examined a number of archival documents in search of evidence regarding land ownership, inheritance or other social relations, and her "Research Summaries" (see *Bibliography*) also suggest other connections and leads for further follow-up. She also constructed "narratives" of social interrelationships and chronologies from the details found in the key documents, similar to those found in Stephanie Swanson's manuscript²⁶.

²⁵ Harry Yoshpe, "Slave Manumissions in New York," *Journal of Negro History* 26(1941):97; *Book of Coloured People*, page 27.

²⁶ *Anthropology Field Research*, Undated manuscript, Saint Paul's Church National Historic Site.

The recent cataloging and computerization of the Cemetery's burial sites is an excellent resource, which can assist the Site in better identification of the African-American burial sites, including those of Veterans back to the Civil War.

Another example of the untapped richness of archival and documentary sources was found in the Saint Paul's Records stored in the Archives of the Cathedral of Saint John the Divine. Review of 20th century records of Saint Paul's revealed no evidence of African-American contemporary presence. The area's changing demographics, the lists of names in Church records, and correspondence suggested that there were African-American "characters" in Saint Paul's story but no confirmation. In the Cathedral's Archives a chance finding of a reference to the "Community of Christ the King"²⁷ initiative (1967-1970) led to exploration of this interesting period in the Church's history through other records and interviews with contemporary African-American persons in the area. This initiative was one in which Saint Paul's was part of a multi-church effort to combine and share resources. As shown in *Ethnographic Resources and Associations*, it also forecast the 1980's mergers which produced first the Episcopal Church of St. John and St. Paul at South Columbus Avenue (burned to the ground February 28, 1988) and the "surviving congregation" of Sts. John, Paul, and Clement at 126 South Ninth Avenue²⁸.

These examples emphasize that the story of the African-American presence at Saint Paul's is a very diverse one, and not just that of enslavement. That reminder, with its solid archival and documentary evidence and details, is one that has general application.

III. Ethnographic Research Findings and Possibilities

Ethnographic research was especially crucial in locating and documenting details of the 20th century African-American presence and associations at the Site. The first lead was the Community of Christ the King (CCK) reference cited above, and a chance encounter and inquiry at a public "Open House" at City Hall led to contacts and interviews with Winston Belle, Lloyd Day, Dulcie King, Ruth Harewood, Paulette and Lloyd Shirley and others. These interviews, summarized in *Interim Reports I and II*, confirmed that indeed in the "functioning Church" of the 1960-1980 period African-Americans were numerically the predominant part of the body. It was a period of struggle as the small congregation attempted to survive, and it was also the period when efforts to transfer the Site increasingly accelerated. Bishop J. Stuart Wetmore

²⁷ *The Daily Argus*, "South Side Churches Adopt Plan for Coordinated Joint Operation," January 10, 1968:19-20; *The Episcopal New Yorker*, Volume 4,3(March 1968):1; "Report by Rev. O. Waldron, Rector of Sts. John, St. Paul, and St. Clement," (1983). The phrase "surviving congregation" was used by the Cathedral's Archivist Wayne Kempton.

²⁸ "Consolidation Agreement between St. John the Divine and St. Paul, Mount Vernon," August 19, 1980:1-8 (the first vestrymen of this consolidated parish included African-Americans Winston Belle, Lloyd Day, Dulcie King, and Paulette Shirley, along with Adeline Vitkowski and William Jackson and others);

suggests that the Site's eventual transfer was probably a foregone conclusion even dating back to the 1950's (see *Interim Report II*, pp. 5-8), but discussions with varied Consultants about this period demonstrate that feelings also ran high and there were quite different perspectives. "Saving" an important historic site was an important perspective supported by a robust network of supporters, but that "salvation" also meant "losing" a place of worship to some, regardless of the improbabilities of financial survival.

The 1950-1960's were clearly a period of dramatic change not only for the local congregations but for the area as well. A visit to Trinity Church, one of the "South Side" congregations reluctantly involved in the CCK initiative, newsprint on the walls attested to the period's intensity. The pages were the results of a recent planning session, in which church leaders had taken a retrospective look in order to move ahead. The "timeline" showed the changes: 1960: "parish begins to change;" 1961: "1st Black vestryman;" 1971: St. Paul's grave decline," 1977: "St. Paul's Nat'l Landmark," etc. (see pages.)

These Community Consultants made available a number of photographs which illustrate visually the Site's African-American presence, and examples are included in *Appendix C: A Photo Gallery 1946-1980*. The photos show African-Americans in worship in the Church, getting married, and in special events alongside stalwart White parishioners in the Parish Hall. Juxtaposing these photos along with those donated by the family of the late Adeline Holley Vitkowski also reveals other interesting connections: Gloria Harewood and Anne Vitkowski were married on the same day, and the white headpieces worn by 1970's choir members going into worship were the same shown in Vitkowski pictures going back to the 1940's (they were made by Adeline Vitkowski, as shared by Anne Vitkowski Krebaum in November 1996.) Although these pictures are not many, their inclusion in the Site's Exhibits will explicitly demonstrate the African-American presence, and reinforce the diversity of the Site.

The historical conditions of Saint Paul's worship by African-Americans has been quite difficult to ascertain: did enslaved/Free African-Americans sit in the balcony, for example? Ms. King's archival research found no greater detail. However in what can perhaps be seen as combined archival and ethnographic research, Sharon Mills recently located a Site document that perhaps sheds some light on traditions (or perhaps **changes** in those traditions, that remains to be seen.) A letter to Connie Cullen (former Site Administrator who apparently requested her recollections about Rev. Samuel Coffey, who served from 1852-1909) from Ethel Fuller contained this poignant narrative:

There was a small black woman who attended services regularly--all dressed in black she entered the last moment. I think in order to avoid meeting anyone and quietly slipped in seat closest to the entrance door--(this was long before integration). When all but she had received Communion...he motioned her to come forward. She knelt, received, and returned to her pew, quietly left and fled²⁹.

²⁹ Letter to Connie Cullen from Ethel L. Fuller (April 1, 1985):5. In Saint Paul's Archives.

IV. An Important Base: Contributions of Larry H. Spruill

The most intensive and extensive research into the African-American presence in Mount Vernon and the surrounding area has been done by local historian and educator Dr. Larry H. Spruill, and his contributions must be specially cited. He has fortunately become much more involved with the Site during this past year, and his works will hopefully be soon incorporated into the collections and reference sources of the Site. Key works are cited here.

A Time to Remember presents a comprehensive and detailed history of African-Americans in Mount Vernon, allowing “the African-American community [to] return to its roots and recall in graphic detail the people who shaped it (p. iv.)” The volume asserts an African-American presence at Eastchester’s beginnings, through an historical document recording the sale of a “neager woman about 30 years of age” (p. 3) by Eastchester’s Moses Hoitte to a Fairfield CY resident, thus suggesting that she (and perhaps others) had made the pioneering journey with the original 10 families who had come to Eastchester in 1664. *Making Progress: The Mount Vernon School Board 1894-1994* commemorates the Board’s 100 years and identifies the diverse actors at all levels of the system. His children’s story *When the Train Came* weaves together macro- and micro-level themes. It chronicles the transformation of the Eastchester village by the coming of the railroad in 1849, as told through the perspective of Benjamin Turner, tax-paying, well-known free African-American of the early 19th century. The “Turner Homestead” adjoined the Saint Paul’s cemetery (see page) and was the focus of a controversial takeover by Mount Vernon in the 1930’s. Spruill’s reading of his story to members of Key Women and Keyette Youth Group is the focus of a special Video co-produced with him as part of this *Final Report*. He has followed up this story with further research on and creative treatment of “Libbie” Nelson, a Turner descendant grandchild, who died in Nyack in 1941 (see attached “Family Tree of Benjamin and Rebecca Turner,” page).

Down by the Creek is a *tour de force*. The [Eastchester] “creek” serves as the guiding metaphor for unfolding the richness and diversity of Eastchester’s history and experience. Spruill has integrated an enormous amount of historical and contemporary data, ranging from the *Book of Colored People* and *Overseers of the Poor* to local histories and Eastchester Town Minutes to early cookbooks covering New England, African-American, southern and other family cuisines. Synthesizing this data, he has connected recipes to real historical characters and other sociocultural information. The work invokes Site-related characters ranging from those found in Sexton, burial and cemetery records as well as 20th-century figures such as Daisy Webb and Harriet Bianchi. Finally Spruill has woven together past and present in his invitation to join the over 114 year tradition of gathering “down by the Church, Cemetery and the Creek each 4th of July [where] the Bannings still read the entire Declaration of Independence, there is

plenty of patriotic music, and punch and cookies have replaced the clambake (p.150)³⁰."

V. Visitation, Involvement, and Representation

The highest contemporary usage of the Site can be said to be the predominantly African-American 4th-graders, whose visit is mandated as part of the "local history" curriculum sequence. There is still a major gap in usage and association when defined in terms of adult visitation, involvement as volunteers, interorganizational partnerships or support networks. Targeted outreach, special events, and follow up will be required to develop these associations. *Potential Partners and Collaborations* identifies a number of individuals and organizations which have indicated interest in exploring relationships with the Site, and *Management Issues and Recommendations* makes several recommendations for expanding the visitation and volunteer pools.

An important strategy in expanding African-American and other ethnic association and involvement in the Site is related to the messages conveyed in its materials and displays. As illustrated in *Appendix C: A Photo Gallery*, Consultants have made available numerous photographs which show the diversity of the Site. These can be professionally reproduced and mounted so that any visitor recognizes immediately the diversity of the Site.

VI. Recommendations

- Incorporate the Spruill materials into Site's reference documents.
- Revise Site brochure to expand the Site's African-American presence as part of the Site's interpretive themes.
- Develop outreach strategy as part of a Site 2-5 year plan, including perhaps invitational meeting with members of community-based organizations to explore possible programming collaborations.
- Explore possible outreach strategies with other Manhattan Sites.
- Follow up the "We Are Still Here" American Indian emphasis with event focussing on the African-American "We Are Still Here" theme, as part of ongoing series.
- Expand the Museum photo exhibits to include representation of the African-American presence.

³⁰ Spruill, Larry H., "Black Saga: Mount Vernon, New York." *Mount Vernon Centennial Journal 1892-1992*, (New York: The Mount Vernon City Centennial Committee, 1992); *A Time to Remember*, (Mount Vernon: Afro-American Workshop, 1993); *Down by the Creek*, Unpublished manuscript, 1995; *When the Train Came*, Unpublished manuscript, 1996; *Libbie: The Secret Writings of Sarah Elizabeth Turner Nelson*, Unpublished manuscript, 1996.

RECORD OF SLAVE MANUMISSIONS IN NEW YORK 97

Place of Record and Remarks

years from that date he will "be permitted to go free. Or should her husband, Joseph Franklin, return within the above time and was to purchase the remaining part of her service and "this shall be granted for a reasonable compensation."

67

7 Consideration, \$50.
45. Consideration, \$50. The balance due, \$50, was advanced by Isaac H. H. to be paid out by Everett 'in labor.'

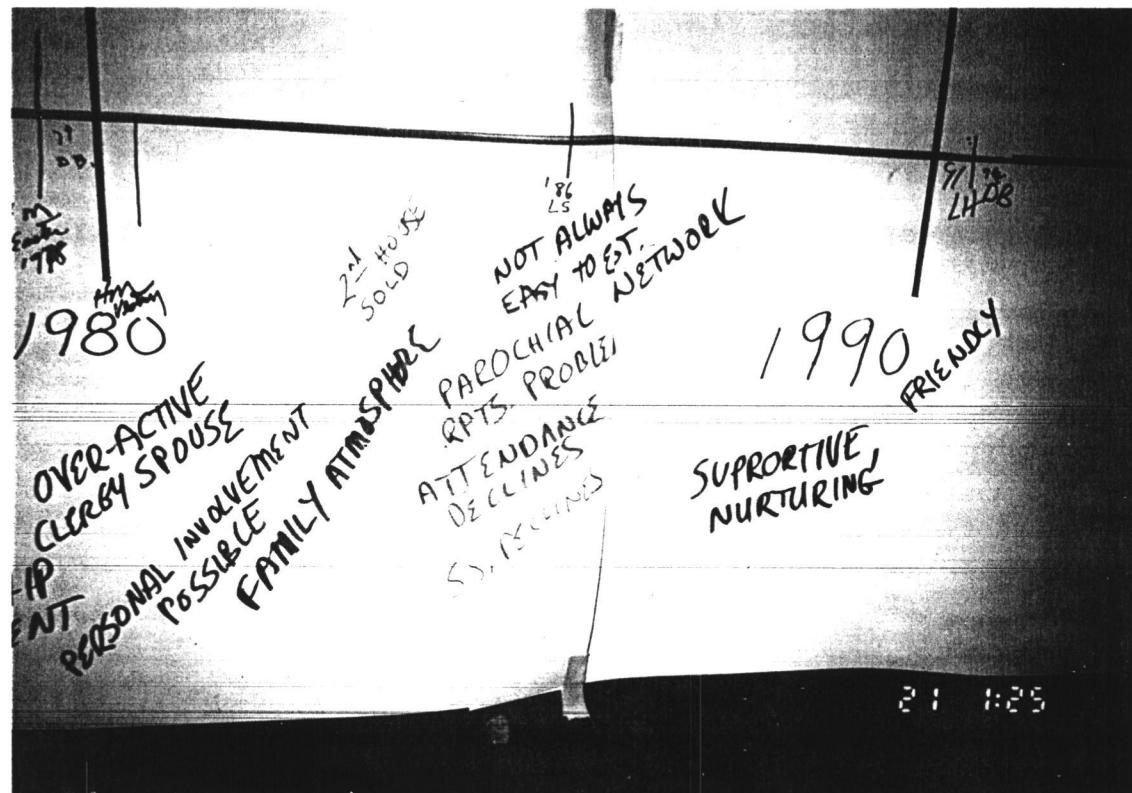
76
47
84
41

62
85. Bill of sale. Deposit, in consideration of \$57, given Jane to Richard Jaques or a term of 16 years after which she "shall and may become ready and manumitted by these presents."

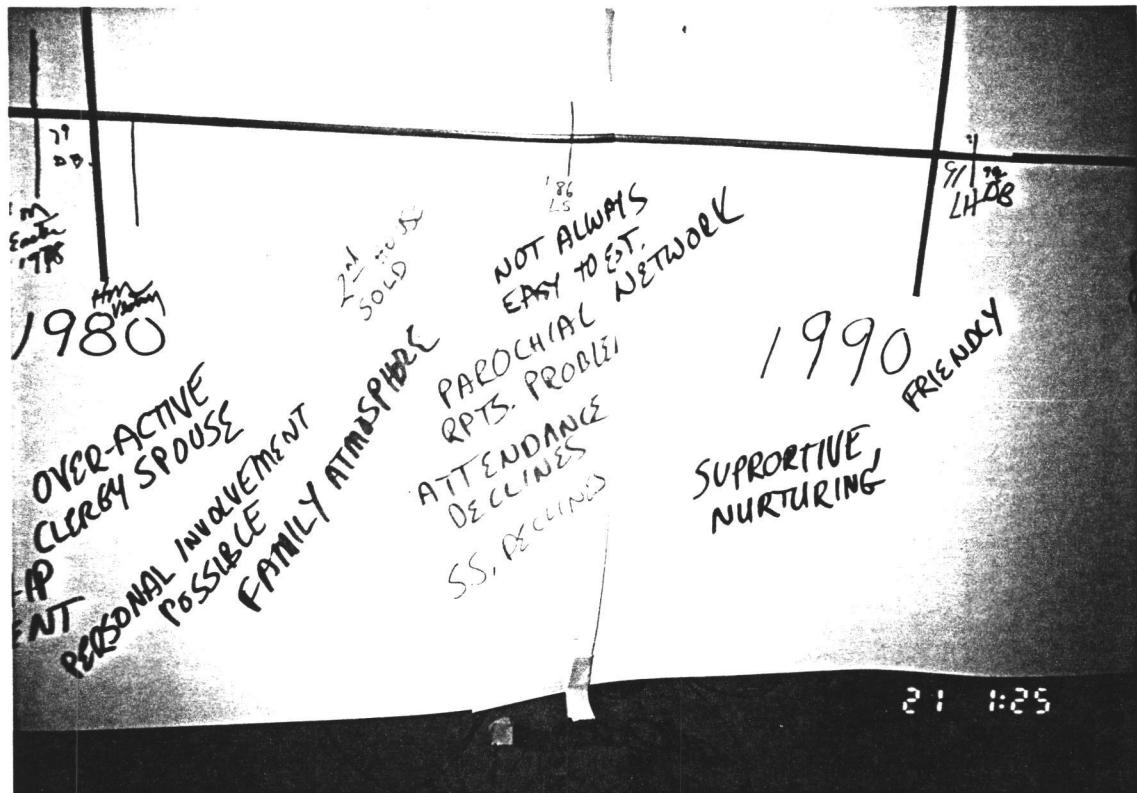
82
39
65
96
39
85

11
10
93
3
19 Elizabeth M'Nertifies that Margaret remained with her for 12 years and shaves "as she always has done in a orderly manner as a servant" and ought to obtain her freedom. But should Margaret behave contrary to the foregoing agreement, his obligation is "void and effect."

<u>Owner</u>	<u>Slave</u>	<u>Date of Instrument</u>	<u>Place of Record and Remarks</u>
Fisher, Leonard Folger, William H. Ford, Benjamin Franklin, Glorianna Gibson, Solomon D. Glover, John G. (Exrs. of) Goslin, William	Peter Edwards Andrew Nan Cummings Rebecca Turner Freeman Godfrey Catherine Henry Bartow, his wife, Jane, and their children, Jack, Charles, and Sarah	Aug. 23, 1816 Oct. 2, 1810 Jan. 11, 1814 Apr. 3, 1810 Apr. 2, 1817 Dec. 6, 1808	R, 28 I, 46 I, 73 I, 21 R, 59 I, 5
Griffin, Edward D.	Samuel Skudder	Jan. 13, 1821 Apr. 22, 1807	I, 81-83. Articles of agreement. Griffin promises that if Samuel "behaves well" for 10 years, he will free him. Griffin also agrees "to send him away with as good clothes as he brought with him. And if I give him more, he must pay for them." Should circumstances, for which Samuel is not to blame, require that Griffin or his heirs sell Samuel, the latter "shall by no means be sold for life, but only till April 1, 1817."
Hall, John and Ann Handasyde, Charles Hart, Ephraim Hawland, Sally B. Helme, Ann Henry, Delia	Maria Charles Brown Silvia Lewis, 28 Phillis Wall Hannah Remsen	Apr. 7, 1812 Jan. 15, 1796 Jan. 30, 1818 Apr. 28, 1818 Nov. 25, 1815 Sept. 12, 1815	I, 52 I, 27 R, 110 I, 96 I, 95. She is to be free after Sept. 1, 1819.
Hoffman, Elias	James, 27, and child, Jim, 2½, 1812	I, 48. Manumission effective Jan. 1, 1815.
Hoffman, Elias	Tamer, 27, and her child, Jim, ½	Jan. 25, 1812	I, 62. They are to be free Jan. 1, 1815.
Holdron, John Hopper, Ann, widow (of N. J.) Hoyt, Goold Hunter, Gilbert Huylar, Peter Jaillé, Loussique francois	Jane Smith (mulatto)	Oct. 18, 1817	R, 100
	Hager Berry David Evans Hose Betsy Brown Mulatto slave, 24, and her child, 9	Sept. 10, 1811 Apr. 2, 1817 Mar. 28, 1818 May 19, 1818 Apr. 26, 1798	I, 52 R, 58 R, 113 R, 119 I, 11. He bound them out to Pierre Mauvin for \$240 for a period of 15 years, after which they were to be free.
Jay, Nancy Jones, William	Hannah, 23 Thomas Stilwell, a boy	Feb. 15, 1815 Dec. 1, 1812	I, 77 I, 62. He conveyed this boy to Mary Stilwell for \$200. She was to have him until he attained the age of 28, which will be in 1819.
Keesee, William, attorney at law	Rachel (mulatto)	Mar. 28, 1809	I, 44



WARDEN BROWN AND LLOYD DAY AT
TRINITY CHURCH (SUMMER 1996)

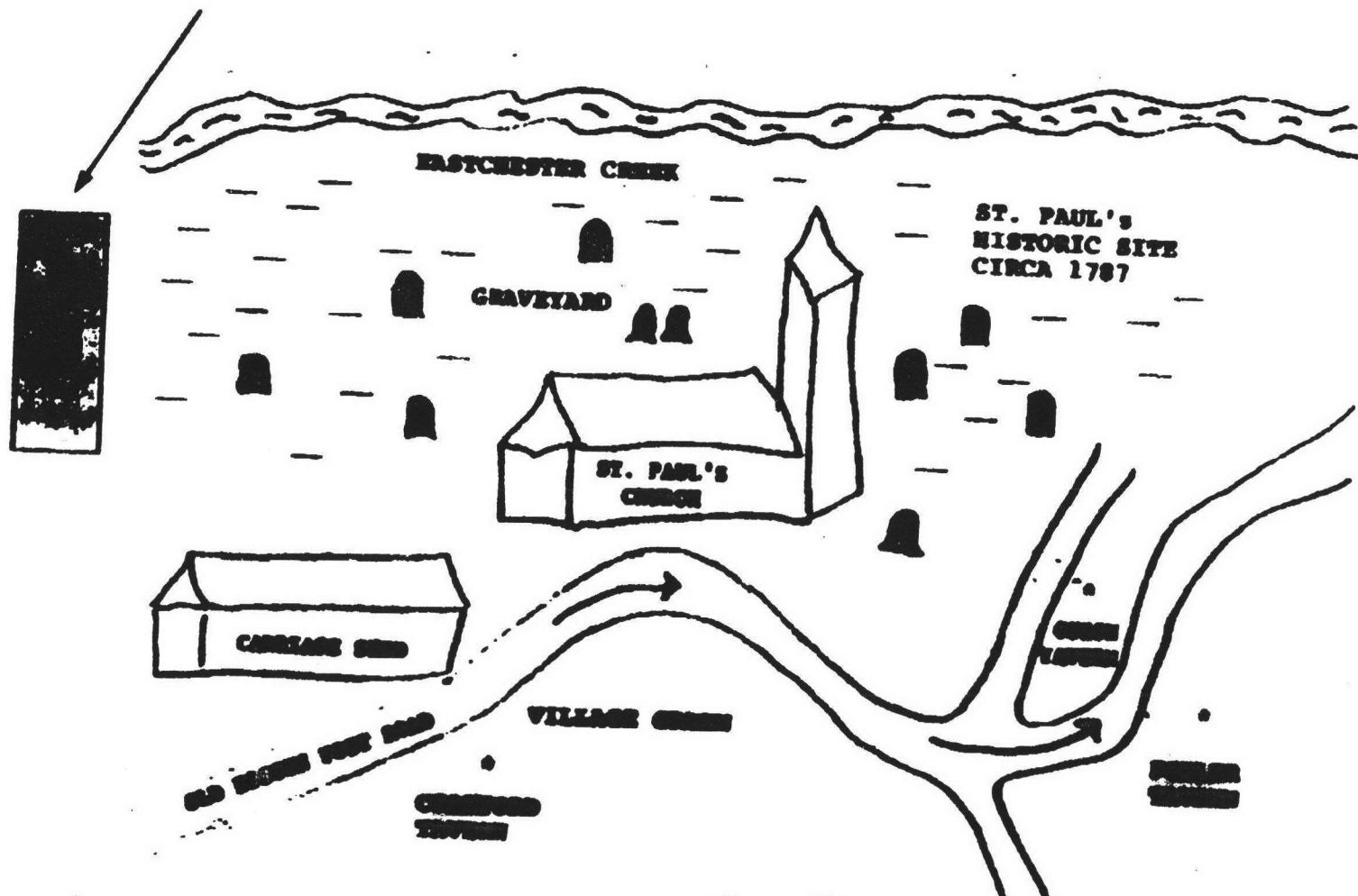


WARDEN BROWN AND LLOYD DAY AT
TRINITY CHURCH (SUMMER 1996)



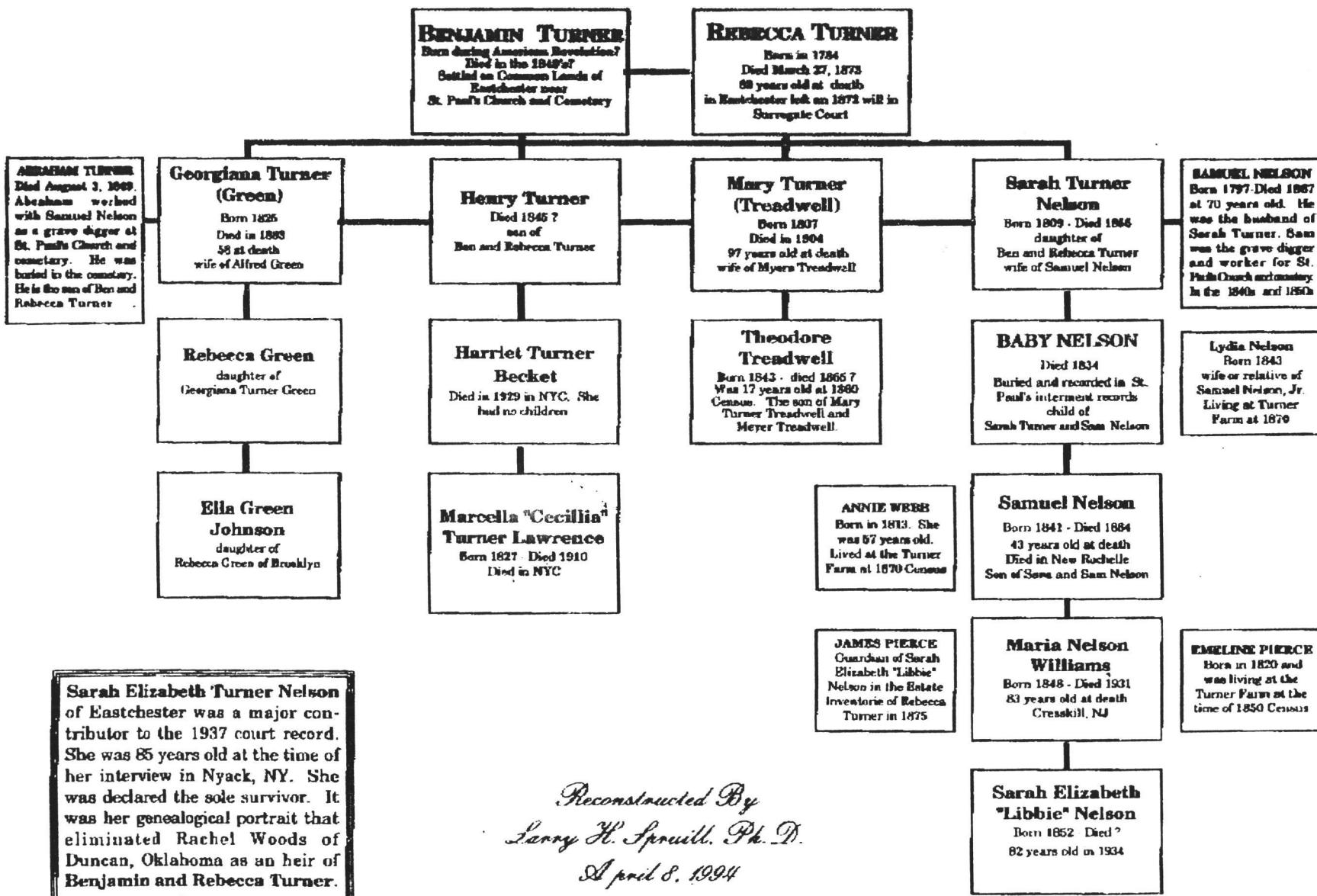
SAMUEL NELSON

a man of African descent and the church
grave digger and groundskeeper lived in the
Turner homestead just behind the graveyard.



From: Down By THE CREEK
HARRY H. SPRUILL

FAMILY TREE OF BENJAMIN AND REBECCA TURNER



POTENTIAL PARTNERS AND COLLABORATIONS

I.	Background	40
II.	Relationships Already Explored/Initiated	40
	A. Individuals	40
	B. Community-Based Organizations/ Teachers/Neighbors	42
III.	Potential Relationships and Programming	44
	A. Special Events	45

POTENTIAL PARTNERS AND COLLABORATIONS

I. Background

The Ethnographic Overview and Assessment Project confirmed the need to expand Saint Paul's Church National Historic Site's range and diversity of partnerships and collaborations. Several potential collaborations were explored during the research and shared with Site personnel and some initial relationships have been established (or re-established). At least three levels of collaboration were identified: 1) relationships which have been *already* explored and/or initiated; 2) those recommended as *potential* relationships; and 3) collaboration at the level of *information* about the Site and its activities.

This briefing paper includes contacts in the first two categories. Appendix A provides a comprehensive listing of all contacts and it is recommended that they will all be placed on the Site's mailing lists and receive regular communications.

II. Relationships Already Explored/Initiated

A. Individuals

Jeff Corsello

Teacher, Mount Vernon High School and Coordinator, Public Access TV (18)
800 California Road
Mount Vernon, New York 10552
914-665-5366

Mr. Corsello expressed interest in collaboration around video documentation and/or promotion for regular and special programs of the Site. He and his students videotaped the November 5, 1996, Staff Development Workshop, copies of which will be available to the Site.

Dr. Harry Dunkak, Professor of History, Iona College
Poughkeepsie, New York 10801
914-633-2000

An Iona College professor and colonial historian, Professor Dunkak re-established his earlier connection with the Site and this will hopefully be expanded. He has published papers on the Church's colonial history, including the "Zenger connection", and also offered to facilitate other relationships with Iona College (eg, interns, computer services, etc.). Dr. Dunkak participated in the Site Working Subcommittee which developed the "Proposal for Interpretation...³¹" during 1996.

Melvin Garrett, Past President, VFW Post 6396
130 Pelham Road
New Rochelle, NY 10805 914-235-6285

Mr. Garrett was previously unaware of the number of veterans and African-American

³¹ Harry M. Dunkak, Richard Forlano, Sharon Mills, Laura Pires-Hester, Larry H. Spruill. "Proposal for Interpretation of St. Paul's Church National Historic Site," August 9, 1996, Pages 1-5.

veterans buried in the Cemetery and would like to follow up on identification and appropriate commemoration services. For the last several years he has organized and led the "presentation of colors" at the Independence Day ceremonies.

Dr. Michael Gillespie

Head of Teacher Education, Bronx Community College/Director, Corridor of Excellence
718-220-6450

Dr. Gillespie was born in Mount Vernon and would be most interested in pursuing program collaborations with the Site, has recommended contact people in districts/schools closer to the Site.

Baldwin Hurns, Teacher, Mount Vernon High School
100 California Road
Mount Vernon, New York 10552
914-665-5307

Mr. Hurns has a High School senior class in Science Research, in which he encourages and teaches students to pursue research topics by working with adult mentors whom he identifies. He would like to explore collaboration possibilities with the Site. He could be a possible resource for High School Interns.

Evelyn Jones, Community Volunteer
454 South 2nd Ave.
Mount Vernon, New York 10550
914-668-4610

Ms. Jones was a resource person for contact with other groups, and helped facilitate the special session with Key Women/Keyettes, in which the Spruill videotape (of his reading of *When the Train Came*) was produced. Over 80 years old, Ms. Jones maintains an active volunteer life.

Wayne Kempton, Archivist, St. John the Divine Cathedral
Amsterdam Avenue and 110th Street
New York City, New York 10027
212-316-7419

Mr. Kempton's helpfulness and familiarity with the more than 15 cartons of St. Paul's files and numerous other resources in the Cathedral's Archives were invaluable assists in the project and he is eager to continue be of help. Dr. Mills also visited the Archives this summer and located some relevant photos and other items.

David Pizarro
29 Pearl Street
Mount Vernon, New York 10550-2707
914-699-4259/769-1559/699-4259

A professional organist, Mr. Pizarro expressed interest (in Survey response and again in phone and personal conversations) in organizing (and/or performing in) concerts at St. Paul's. He attended the 1996 July 4th celebration. He has apparently also done concerts for the Steuben Society, which is represented on the Board of the Society.

Black Hawk Sancarlos
Mohawk/Mescalero, Director of Native American Warrior Society
3330 Gunther Ave., Bronx, NY 10469
718-655-5560

Mr. Sancarlos was the key contact which led to organizing of the important Staff Development Conference in November 1996 (by his referral to Sandy Sunderland,) and would like to continue his contact with the Site. He also indicated that he participated in exterior painting of the Church in years past.

Dr. Larry H. Spruill
Director, Office of Multicultural Education, Mount Vernon Board of Education, and City Historian
Board of Education
Mount Vernon, New York 10552
914-665-5220

As City Historian, Board of Education administrator, and professional historian, Dr. Spruill is a very important partner and it is gratifying to see his growing association with the Site.

Sandy Sunderland, Native American Studies Specialist
6 Caterson Terrace
Hartsdale, New York 10530
914-683-6743

Ms. Sunderland, referred to me by BlackHawk Sancarlos, has done extensive research on American Indians of New York, including the Siwanoy/Lenape/Wecquaesgeek groups most closely related to the Westchester County area. She is a consultant to schools and libraries and was the key organizer of the November 1996 Staff Development Workshop (*"We Are Still Here"*) co-sponsored by the Site and the Board of Education.

B. Community-Based Organizations/Teachers/Neighbors

Key Women and Keyette Youth Group
Lucille Mitchell, President
234 Bedford Avenue
Mount Vernon, New York 10553
914-668-5970

Michelle Whipper and Cheron Press
318 South Ninth Avenue
Mount Vernon, New York 10550
914-664-7484

Through Evelyn Jones, the Key Women organized the October 19, 1996 visit to Saint Paul's, and we arranged for the videotaping of Dr. Spruill reading *When the Train Came to Keyettes and Key Women*. The long-standing service organization has a membership of 44, and 16 Keyettes. Ms. Mitchell is resigning this year, but she and Ms. Whipper (who leads the

Keyettes, assisted by Ms. Press) both expressed interest in exploring joint activities/projects with the Site. It is possible that such connection could also tap into new volunteer pools.

B. Teachers

The 10/8/96 Roundtable Discussion (arranged by Janice Rao, Director of Elementary Education, 914-665-5000) with 17 fourth-grade teachers (about 1/3 of whom had visited more than 10 times) confirmed the rich possibilities for strengthening the Site's schools program. Most teachers did not know each other and had not previously shared their common experiences, curriculum ideas (eg earth science projects after a visit) and/or followup activities with each other. Their recommendations included:

- more information about what children's lives were like, what chores they did, what games they played, what school was like (most were not familiar with the Schoolhouse at Eastchester Historical Society), what they wore, what was a typical day like for a child of the colonial or Revolutionary War periods
- more hands-on opportunities (they used the Scarsdale Historical Society visit as example, where children make a period-appropriate toy and/or cook/bake something)
- do a restoration of part of the Site, perhaps highlighting the Turner homestead
- have periodic Teacher Workshops, to learn more about the Site and relations between its historic populations (many were surprised about African-Americans attending schools/paying taxes, as in the Ben Turner story), share curriculum ideas, become more familiar with the primary source documents, etc.
- "tie in" the Site to other historical sites in the region
- use teachers as trained guides
- have pre-visit session in classrooms, with slide presentation
- have more consistency of information (between visits, among guides, etc.)

Previous contacts with Ms. Rao (Elementary Education Director) suggested that expansion of the Site's collaborative programming with the Board of Education could also be further explored, especially the possibility of building more integration between the Scarsdale Historical Society visit and the Saint Paul's tour and perhaps exploring joint funding possibilities.

C. Immediate Neighbors

Al Cheuning, Plant Engineer, Semi-Alloys
89 Edison Ave
MTV, New York 10550
914-664-2800

Electrical Instrument Service
25 Dock Street
Mount Vernon, New York 10553
914-699-9717

Mel Goldstein, Owner, Dab-O-Matics
896 South Columbus Avenue
MTV, New York 10550
914-699-7070

August Petrillo
Petrillo Stone Corporation (Columbus Diner and Texaco Car Wash are leased by Corporation)
610 South Fulton Avenue
Mount Vernon, New York 10550

Informal conversations with several persons from nearby commercial establishments indicated a sincere interest in the Site; some have already collaborated in some ways (for example providing parking space for celebrations, attending past lunchtime concerts, etc.) and making program contributions. Owners/managers and others engaged in casual inquiry remembered the lunchtime concerts with pleasure, and indicated they would be pleased to see resumption. There was a definite receptivity to further involvement and to providing possible small-scale program support.

III. Potential Relationships/Programming

William H. Howard, Executive Director, AC-BAW
Center for the Arts
128 South Fourth Avenue
Mount Vernon, New York 10550
914-667-7278

AC-BAW is a community-based gallery founded over 20 years ago by a group of local artists, including Dr. Larry Spruill. The street-level facility is located in a section of Mount Vernon which was formerly the busiest commercial area of the city. It would be an ideal location in which to explore community-based displays/exhibits or collaborative programming that could help generate broader interest and participation in the Site, i.e., "point the way to Saint Paul's" as an integral part of the community; Mr. Howard is open to such exploration.

Michael Reaux, Director, Doles Center
250 South Sixth Avenue
Mount Vernon, New York 10550
914-665-2446/665-2420

Doles Community Center is a City-owned, highly-regarded multi-service facility operated by the Recreation Department and housing services and programs for young children, adolescents, adults and senior citizens. It is a 3-story attractive facility holding also a 335-seat Theater; space is available for rental by community groups. At the November 20, 1996 "Open House", Mr. Reaux indicated definite interest in exploring joint programs with the Site. This year the Center has been an internship site for Brenda Plaskett Mowat, who had recently inquired at Saint Paul's (and followed up with Dr. Spruill) about information relating to the late Rev. Shelton Doles. Her draft summary of his life was part of the Open House informational booklet.

Charlotte Morgan-Cato, Director of Internships, Lehman College Black Studies Program
718-960-8000

Dr. Morgan-Cato was referred by Ms. Mowat as a contact person to discuss possible intern assignments at the Site.

A. Special Events--Descendants and Former Parishioners

A number of the family descendants, former parishioners, and former ministers have been identified during this project period, and most have expressed an interest in some kind of association with the contemporary Saint Paul's. As in any human situation, there are many cross-connections and ties among people: for example, the same-day weddings of Anne Vitkowski and Gloria Harewood; Rev. Jonathan King's (Saint Paul's 1961-1967) descendancy from two families intimately involved with the Site's histories (which he learned only when his mother visited for the first time); 4th-grade teachers having such distinct memories of the tours led by the late Edward Williams; Anne Vitkowski having babysat for Rev. King, etc.. These associations and positive recollections could form the basis for special events.

For example, a hypothetical 20th-21st-century "Descendants' Day"--more broadly defined than the 1931 Day--piqued the interest of several interviewees, and could serve several purposes. It could bring together persons who have lost touch. It could rekindle an interest in the Site and its possibilities in the next century. It could help augment the Site's holdings (ask people to bring photos, videos, artifacts from their own association with the Site). It might generate possible volunteer resources, and it could promote upcoming programs and themes. Furthermore it would definitely reach out to a multi-ethnic audience and hopefully be a basis for continued association with these broader constituencies. Such an event could dramatically convey the important Site themes of "we are still here" and "diversity and dissent".

Appendix A: Community Consultants Directory includes all persons contacted and identifies their affiliations.

MANAGEMENT ISSUES AND RECOMMENDATIONS

I.	Visitation and Usage Patterns	47
	A. Recommendations	48
II.	Signage and Security Recommendations	49
III.	Site Linkages with National Park Service "Manhattan Sites", and Recommendations	49
IV.	Staffing and Other Support Resources, and Recommendations	49
V.	Board Expansion, and Recommendations	50
<i>Attachment</i>		
	<i>Summary Results of Mail Survey 1996</i>	51
	<i>Mail Survey 1996</i>	52

MANAGEMENT ISSUES AND RECOMMENDATIONS

I. Visitation and Usage Patterns

The issue of visitation and visitor response must always be of interest and concern to those with responsibility for program and management of an historic and cultural facility, and actual data and perceptions are both important in helping to make program and/or management decisions. During the project period, especially in the public meetings around the proposed Management Plan, it became apparent that several different positions were held about visitation and usage patterns and that some of these perceptions were not supported by actual data (for example, "noone will come without the printing press, etc."). Some of the perceptions seemed related as much to individual ideas about what should be going on at the Site as to direct observation.

Visitation and usage are also related to the larger issue of diversity of association for the Site. From interviews and participant-observation, it was apparent that the Site is regarded widely as a positive resource but simultaneously one with a great deal of unexploited potential. The most common response had to do with the need for "opening up", and many of this Report's recommendations are related to that imperative. Following are selected findings about visitation and key recommendations.

- A mail survey (41 responses out of 62 mailed out) of visitors from 6/27-10/31/95 showed overwhelmingly positive response, whether one looked for "educational" or "enjoyment/entertainment" value³²: all the ratings were "good" to "excellent" and over half of these were "excellent", with uniformly positive assessments of staff service (see attached "Summary Results of Mail Survey 1996" and Survey form, pages 51-52.)
- The pace of visitation (excluding scheduled school visits) seems to have accelerated in 1996. The Visitors Log shows approximately 80 visitors in the 4-month period covered in the Mail Survey, as compared to 350-400 visitors for the 12-month period 11/95-11/7/96 period (almost twice the pace of the earlier period). Interestingly enough, Site visitation records for January through October 1996 show only a slight

³² Defining and achieving the right "balance" between education/enjoyment in cultural interpretation are continuing issues for museum and historical sites practitioners. Freeman Tilden, regarded as the founder of modern Park interpretation, argues in *Interpreting Our Heritage* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1977) for "not instruction but provocation,...to stimulate the reader or hearer" and emphasizes the earlier view of presenting a "general but inclusive" story (page 32) at National Park Service Sites. In the 1995 *British Museum Occasional Paper Number 118, Delight in Diversity: Display in the British Museum* (Edited by John Cherry and Susan Walker, March 1995), which helps explain the British Museum's visible shifts in presentation, at least one seminar participant argued that 80% of all museum visitors seek "entertainment" (page 26) (the British Museum has 6 million visitors annually). Interestingly enough the main reason for historical travel in the United States, "surpassing education, is entertainment," according to the Travel Industry Association (Steve Wilson, "Patriot Games", in *Travel Holiday*, December-January 1997, Volume 179(10):72.

projected increase in annual visitation over 1995 (4,563 projected for 1996, as compared to 4,328 for 1995³³).

- School visits alone (included in the “total visitation” calculations) for 1996 did show a healthier increase over 1995: 1645 to 2011, or 22%; records showed a 62% increase in school visits from 1993-1996, as compared to a 44% overall increase in total visitations³⁴.
- While actual visitation records suggest more *volume* than commonly perceived, it is still probably true that--*except for the regularly-scheduled school visits*--the Site’s regular visitation by African-American or other persons reflecting the broad diversity of its immediate area (Mount Vernon) *and* beyond needs expansion, north and south. Outreach is required, and the recently-expanded Board could perhaps help focus on this (a recent meeting included beginning discussion in this area).

A. Recommendations

- A promotional campaign could include setting up presentations (in addition to responding to such requests) over a 6-month period at churches, synagogues, CBO’s, etc..
- Reconsider re-opening Gift Shop (Volunteers expressed interest, and Dr. Spruill has offered to facilitate production of calendars etc, using desktop publication, etc.) as a marketing strategy (disseminating its message into more homes, with attention paid to cost of items for schoolchildren).
- Use Visitors Log to add to Mailing List for communicating about Site updates, special events, etc. .
- Use every opportunity to broadcast the actual visitation and usage of the Site and promote increased usage by different audiences.
- Increase the usage of local and regional press, and public-access TV, to “get a message out about Saint Paul’s” especially to communicate the developing programs and themes and to urge broader participation. A commonly-heard comment during the Project period was “we didn’t know about it”, even from persons considered “close” to the Site.

³³ “Total Visitation” and “School Groups Only.” Saint Paul’s Church National Historic Site. November 1996:1-2.

³⁴ Ibid.

- For special events do telephone follow-up to written invitations, especially to targeted audiences.

II. Signage and Security Recommendations

- Signage linking Mount Vernon City Hall/Eastchester Town Hall/key community-based locations and the Site could be considered, to take advantage of the different kinds of traffic at each of these locations, to promote Saint Paul's as an important local and national resource and simultaneously an integral part of the local scene.
- Throughout Mount Vernon and all parts of "Old Eastchester" signs promoting and pointing the way to the Site need to be added or modified. Existing signage is either misleading or entirely absent.
- The decision to build a fence around the Site had apparently been made prior to the beginning of this research period and has not been widely discussed in any meetings which I attended. At the same time there has seemed to be no major vandalism at least during this past year³⁵, and the most common theme expressed by Consultants was the need for the Site to "open up". A fence would seem to be a contradiction.

The few persons queried about this aspect of planning for the Site did not see it as a positive sign (although this might indeed be an area where opinion might split along ethnic or "traditional"/ "contemporary" lines) and suggested other options, for example 24-hour security officers, enhanced electronic/lighting systems, as well as of course expanded programming and activity, etc..

III. Site Linkages with other National Park Service "Manhattan Sites", and Recommendations

It might be quite useful to explore common themes and activities between and among the "Manhattan Sites", especially as Saint Paul's moves toward diversifying its program and audience base and as it explores connections that can be made with schools and community-based organizations in the Bronx area. This could be done by at the least including Site staff in regional NPS meetings, and/or Saint Paul's inviting others to an "interpretation" seminar.

IV. Staffing and Other Support Resources, and Recommendations

Increased outreach and collaborative programming may well require additional staff and other support resources. At present the Site is staffed by four full-time persons: Site

³⁵ Rev. Jonathan King, who served Saint Paul's during the 1960's when vandalism instances were more common, compared the two time periods as very different for the Church: "we had one service Sunday morning and there was noone around most of the rest of the week", whereas now the cars and people would discourage such activity (November 11, 1996).

Administrator, Interpretive Coordinator, Administrative Technician, and Maintenance supervisor. Volunteers assist periodically in conducting tours; currently two men are assisting on a fairly regular basis on school tours. Increases in the number of "drop-in" visitors, special events, off-site presentations and/or attendance at other community events, and on-site use by other researchers could put pressure on Site Administrator and Interpretive Coordinator who must be consistently available for historical and cultural information and guidance. Additional staff needs will depend upon the pace and volume of expansion, and some of the outreach could be facilitated by hosting focussed and targetted meetings and gatherings at the Site itself..

In addition, the Site's technological resources need upgrading, especially if increased mailings, publications, promotion and marketing are to be accommodated. Dr. Spruill has estimated that an investment of \$6,000-\$10,000 and staff training could equip the Site with appropriate hardware and software.

V. Board Expansion, and Recommendations

The Site's Board, the Society of the National Shrine of the Bill of Rights at St. Paul's Church, Eastchester, Inc. (incorporated name), is in the process of recruiting new members and in November 1996 the Board added Richard Forlano and Larry H. Spruill. There is explicit awareness of the need to diversify the Board. At the same time the co-sponsorship relationship with the National Park Service probably needs clarification, especially since the last "Cooperative Agreement" has apparently not been signed by both parties, as of the November meeting. Clarification and diversification could benefit the efforts to engage other partners and expand the circles of involvement and perhaps financial support.

It should also be stated that, although the summer 1996 public meetings at the Site were sometimes awkward, these meetings were also a healthy signal to the Board and to the Site's "public" of the Service's interest and support. If not already done so, annual or other periodic, special gatherings could help sustain and grow this common interest and investment.

**SAINT PAUL'S CHURCH NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE
SUMMARY RESULTS OF MAIL SURVEY 1996**

Visitation time period covered: 6/27/95--10/31/95

Approximate number of visitors recorded in Visitors Log: 80

Number of responses to 62 mailed surveys (those with sufficient addresses):
40 or 64%

How heard about Saint Paul's (25% lived in Mount Vernon or nearby)
(n=35):

referred/brought by family member	16 (46%)
driving by/work nearby	6 (17%)
newspaper/radio/TV	6 (17%)
National Park Service flyer	6 (17%)
school trip	1 (3%)

Mode of transportation (n=37):

by car	33 (94%)
by foot	4 (11%)

Reasons for visiting (n=38):

for historical or ancestral information	23 (60%)
jazz concert	5 (13%)
looking for Zenger information	4 (10%)
to get passport stamped	1 (3%)
other miscellaneous	5 (13%)

Assessment of visit (38):

good	5 (13%)
very good	11 (29%)
excellent	22 (58%)

Would they bring someone else to visit (n=38)?

yes	35 (92%)
no	3 (8%)

Sample comment:

A strange thing happened to me yesterday. In the morning, as I was dressing, I recalled the pleasant visit we had to Historic Saint Paul's Church some time ago. Then, later in the day, when the mail was delivered we received a questionnaire regarding that visit....It is a nice memory to have and to treasure....

52

Laura J. Pires-Hester, Ph.D.
555 Kappock Street #18E Riverdale, New York 10463
Tel: 718-548-7017 • Fax: 718-548-7017

APRIL 14, 1996

DEAR VISITOR:

AS PART OF A SPECIAL PROJECT WITH THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE, I AM WRITING TO ASK YOU A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR RECENT VISIT TO SAINT PAUL'S CHURCH NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE IN MOUNT VERNON, NEW YORK (897 SOUTH COLUMBUS AVENUE). YOUR RESPONSE TO THE SHORT SURVEY BELOW CAN HELP US CONTINUE TO SERVE VISITORS FROM NEAR AND FAR. I HOPE THAT YOU WILL TAKE A FEW MINUTES RIGHT NOW TO ANSWER THESE QUESTIONS AND RETURN IT TO ME BEFORE 5/15/96, IN THE ENCLOSED STAMPED ENVELOPE.

I THANK YOU IN ADVANCE FOR YOUR TIME AND CONSIDERATION.

SINCERELY,

LAURA J. PIRES-HESTER, PH. D.
(YOU MAY TEAR OFF HERE.)

VISITORS' SURVEY
(TO ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE, Mount Vernon NY)

1. How did you hear about St. Paul's? friend family National Park Service flyer newspaper
 radio/TV other (please explain) _____
2. How did you get here? by car by bus/train/cab on foot
3. What was your reason for visiting? a) friend told me about it b) saw a flyer c) looking for ancestral burial site d) d)
d) looking for the Zenger grave e) looking for other specific information f) saw the sign out front f) other (please explain) _____

(If you answered c), d or e), please go to question 4. If not, skip question 4 and continue with question 5.)

4. Did you find what you were looking for? yes no somewhat
5. Did you pick up any material on your visit? yes no (if yes, what was it?) _____
6. How would you describe your visit to St. Paul's? excellent very good good fair poor
7. Would you bring someone else to visit St. Paul's? yes no
8. Any other comments (use back of page, if necessary)?

(The information below is optional.)

Name _____ Phone _____

Address (street/#) _____

(city, state) _____ (zip code) _____

ARCHIVAL AND LITERATURE REVIEW
With the Assistance of Dora King, Research Assistant

I.	Background	54
II.	Saint Paul's Church National Historic Site	54
III.	Eastchester Historical Society and Eastchester Town Hall	55
IV.	Archives of Cathedral of Saint John the Divine	56
V.	New York Historical Society	57
VI.	Virginia McLellan Moskowitz Local History Room, Mount Vernon Public Library	57
VII.	Westchester County Archives	58
VIII.	Recommendations	59

Attachments

<i>Research Summaries, by Dora King</i>	60
<i>Resources for Genealogy/Grave Search, Saint Paul's Church Historic Site</i>	66
<i>Series I: Records of the Town of Eastchester</i>	67
<i>Saint Paul's Records, Saint John the Divine Cathedral Archives</i>	68

ARCHIVAL AND LITERATURE REVIEW

I. Background

There are several archival and literature sources that illuminate and augment the ethnographic resources of Saint Paul's Church National Historic Site and relationships between them and historic and contemporary populations. Archival sources include the following: the Site itself; the Eastchester Historical Society and Eastchester Town Hall; the Archives of the Cathedral of Saint John the Divine; the Virginia McLellan Moskowitz Local History Room of the Mount Vernon Public Library; the New York Historical Society; and the Westchester County Archives.

Research Assistant Dora King also examined archival sources, following up on questions relating to African-American presence and African-American White social relations and land ownership. Her "Research Summaries³⁶" provide a valuable summary of key documents she consulted at these facilities and is attached (page 60.) Also attached are outlines of records found at Saint Paul's, Eastchester Town Hall, and the Cathedral of Saint John the Divine Archives.

II. Saint Paul's Church National Historic Site

The Saint Paul's Site contains a wide variety of primary source documents, as well as copies of historical documents and records which have been compiled from various other sources. The documents chronicle and describe the various aspects of this historic Site, including for example, the phases of physical construction; the Church's early beginnings as a "dissenting" church; its evolution into one of the oldest Protestant Episcopal churches; contributions of key ministers; its role in the center of village life and in the Revolutionary War; the cemetery containing grave sites dating back to 1704; the variety of headstones and the cultural significance of this variety; Church Vestry and visitation records; and the important Eastchester Town Records. A computerization of data of persons buried in the cemetery prepared at Iona College in 1985 (organized by Harry Dunkak) is available on hard copy at the Site but Site staff has found some discrepancies so generally find the original sources more reliable for inquiries.

Completion of two other projects will add to the Site's resources, especially for responding to inquiries and "mapping" of the physical area including and adjacent to the Site. A detailed map of land and dwelling ownership of the area is being prepared by an outside colleague and will be at the Site. A cemetery map with names and numbers has been alphabetized, computerized and catalogued and should increase accessibility to cemetery information.

As pointed out throughout this research, the Site's documents and records can be plumbed further for explicit and articulated details and context of its African-American presence, and leads from these important primary sources followed up with investigation

³⁶ July 1996. Pages 1-8.

of other archival sources. As an example, the very important “companion documents” *Overseers of the Poor* and *Book of Colored People* have further potential as ethnographic resource. These have been initially explored for example by Stephanie Swanson’s³⁷ narrative reconstructions of the lives, social situations, and interrelationships of selected families and co-residents, White and African-American. Ms. King also used them as basis for reconstruction (see “Research Summaries” attached).

The Site’s vast array of information is used to create and continually update the Site’s interpretation and materials and also to respond to genealogical, research, or other historical inquiries. Site Administrator Julie Mirsberger and Interpretive Coordinator Sharon Mills have deep familiarity with the materials and are also able to identify resources for phone and personal inquiries. Holdings include files, books, photos, tapes, slide presentations, and other artifacts which are stored in cabinets and shelves in both the Museum and the Church. Some of the files have been indexed and organized (for example, the several drawers of “Moskowitz files” stored in the Church) by volunteers over the years. These hand-written documents could usefully be transcribed and electronically stored for easier access and reference. Many of the documents and photographs are also in need of restoration and preservation. A long-term project would involve the indexing, cataloguing, and organizing of the materials so that outside researchers and/or inquirers could work independently with the materials. The bibliography provided in this Final Report could be one part of an evolving reference/resource directory. Besides the written report, a computer disk is being provided to the Site so that if desired the Bibliography can be augmented over time.

In addition to organizing and preserving of materials and exploiting the documents further, the photograph holdings (and exhibit) need to be brought forward into the second half of this century. Several have been identified during this research and are being made available to the Site.

III. Eastchester Historical Society and Eastchester Town Hall

The Historical Society, located just at the border of Mount Vernon and Eastchester, is staffed (volunteer staff) essentially by Harriet Bianchi and Madeline Schaeffer. They conduct the school tours of the adjoining Marble School House (the first

³⁷ *Anthropology Field Research*. Unpublished, undated manuscript. Pages 1-62. Swanson uses Site’s documentary sources, Spruill’s work, and 19th and early 20th century newspapers to “reconstruct an idea of how Blacks and Whites interacted on a daily basis (p.11) manifestations of the African-American presence in the Mount Vernon area as well as relations with and comparative behaviors of White residents. Although the paper is limited in clear attribution or references, her conclusion is still an important reinforcement of the necessity for the kind of research that continues to challenge the “strange dichotomy between who, as history records, Black Americans are, and what society as a whole feels they are (p. 48).”

public school built in Old Eastchester in the early 18th century and moved to its current site in 1835), which provides a simulation of schooling in the 19th century. Bianchi and Schaeffer, along with the late Phyllis Knowles, are responsible for the monumental transcription of Eastchester Town Records, which form over ten Books (see attached) of information ranging from *The Book of Strays..*, to *Town Minutes from 1644-1835*, to *Book of the Colored People 1795-1822*.

These documents form a major part of the Saint Paul's important primary source documents and are lovingly overseen by Town Clerk Patti Dohrenwind. Dohrenwind reports that the Town Hall basement holds over 700 cubic feet of records, even after having thrown away over 1000 cubic feet. Only within the last year the collections yielded the unexpected book of original *Civil War Records*; this has been preserved. She has suggested many leads that could be fruitful, including for example "Dock records" that are within the Volume X "Miscellaneous Records", and the *Civil War Records* which have not yet been investigated thoroughly. There are still many unexplored stories within these records. References and referrals are periodically shared between Site staff and Dohrenwind, and Bianchi also arranges for Eastchester school groups to visit Saint Paul's after visiting the Marble Schoolhouse.

IV. Archives of Cathedral of Saint John the Divine

As the official repository of historical and ongoing records of the Episcopal Diocese, the Cathedral's Archives are of prime significance in providing information relevant to the general and ongoing life of the Diocese and its churches, including the Mount Vernon parishes, as well as the experience and history of Saint Paul's Church itself.

Of general importance are for example the annual *Journal of Convention* (dating back to 1785) which include the official records of the Diocese's annual conventions and records from all the parishes (income, expenditures, marriages, baptisms, ministerial assignments, etc.); the annual *Diocese of New York Directory* and *Episcopal Clerical Directory* (both of 20th-century origin); and issues of *Episcopal New Yorker*. The assigned ministers for Saint Paul's in the post-Weigle era were for example compiled (initially by Archivist Wayne Kempton) from the *Journals* and the *Directories*. *Episcopal New Yorker* issues of the 1960's-1970's provided additional perspectives on Saint Paul's as a 20th-century functioning parish and its relations with other Mount Vernon Episcopal parishes.

The Cathedral's Archives has specific value in its preservation of at least fifteen cartons of records that were transferred from the Site at the time of the official transfer to the National Park Service in 1980. These cartons had been reviewed by Dr. Harry Dunkak in 1985, resulting in an outline of the contents of each carton. My focus was on 20th century items, and additional files were located that related to this specific interest.

Box # 8 referred to the Community of Christ the King initiative (1967-1970) which had been unknown to me, leading to boxes #242 and 243 with more details, and subsequently leading to focussed ethnographic inquiry in the Mount Vernon area. This confirmed the African-American parishioner presence in the 1960's, which could have been presumed but not specifically identified in the Site's materials.

Diocesan and parish correspondence scattered throughout these cartons provided more (still incomplete) "pieces" of this interesting part of the Site's history. Box #1 was also of interest in providing previously-unearthed Rev. Weigle correspondence. His enormous vision and determination was especially apparent in a 9-page 1965 letter in which he recounted his accomplishments and chastised the Bishop for not listening to his decades-earlier insistence on a fence around the Site, even around Mount Vernon itself.

Apart from the records themselves, Archivist Wayne Kempton is probably the most important resource at the Archives. Ms. King and I found him consistently gracious and generous in his assistance, and his familiarity with the records is invaluable.

V. New York Historical Society

New York Historical Society is cited often as a valuable archival resource, as it should be. However, both Ms. King and I, on different and repeated attempts, found the records difficult to access because of poor archival staffing. Reference personnel seemed to have the barest knowledge about the archival holdings and had to be prodded to search beyond what they initially thought they knew (or did not know). I sought especially any documentation which might shed light on the conditions of worship by 18th-19th century African-Americans that might have existed at the Site (either from extrapolation or direct reference), but this was limited to the Rev. Bartow references already existing at the Site. The so-called "Hawks transcripts" (cited by Edgar McManus³⁸) of letters to the Society for Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts from ministers assigned to the colonies, have apparently been transferred to Austin Texas. Dr. Dunkak has reported that the Brown University and Harvard Libraries contain more extensive holdings in this area.

VI. Virginia McLellan Moskowitz Local History Room, Mount Vernon Public Library

Named for the former City Historian and painstakingly careful organizer of Saint Paul's Church and Site records and documents, the Local History Room Was essentially created by Ms. Moskowitz who served as its Curator from about 1976 to 1985. Its

³⁸ *A History of Slavery in New York State*, Foreword by Richard B. Morris (Syracuse: Syracuse University, 1966.) McManus provides a superb set of annotated references on slavery in New York, "Bibliographical Note", pages 201-212.

holdings are very diverse and unfortunately staff cutbacks during the last few years limit accessibility. Nonetheless Shirley Garrett, support staff person, has been assigned to establish specific appointments for visitation; she was very responsive and helpful at each encounter. The "Saint Paul's" drawer is disappointing, containing no primary documents but rather news articles, pictures, brochures, etc.. The "Black History" drawer included a reference to Samuel Nelson, Jr., African-American Civil War soldier buried at the Site. More fruitful was the "Churches" drawer which contained notes, articles and other references to the Community of Christ the King and relations among Mount Vernon churches from 1933 to 1985. These helped flesh out the very scattered picture of the Community initiative and reference points with Community Consultants.

The Public Library itself appears very well-used by a very diverse group of residents, and its Westchester County, Eastchester, Mount Vernon selections appear quite comprehensive. Staff is very helpful, both by phone and in person.

VII. Westchester County Archives

Self-described as "the memory of the County Government and its citizens"³⁹, the Archives includes wills, deeds, school records, birth and death records, assessment rolls, and land records that are invaluable in both individual genealogical research and background research related to the Site. While this writer was visiting, at least two people found ancestral records that were completely surprising to them. Ms. King spent approximately 1 ½ days at the facility, looking specifically for records that could show actual land/dwelling ownership patterns of 18th-19th century African-Americans and documentation suggesting White/African-American social relations (tracing surnames, etc.). Some microfiche land maps were found and copies of deeds available elsewhere but this value was limited by the fact that original copies (therefore citations) were not available. Much more time would be required to follow up on the possible connections.

All these archives provide very important and diverse materials to work with, and they help to flesh out the data tapestry for Saint Paul's Site, especially the areas of comparatively greater weakness at the Site, its 20th-century functioning and its long-standing African-American presence. Spruill has investigated many of these sources and his works have brought together many important findings from them; these need to be explicitly added to the Site's readily-accessible sources. They have been discussed in greater detail in *Interim Report II* and are cited in this Report's bibliography. In addition, several Intern assignments could be fashioned from the archival leads found especially in Cathedral Archives and Eastchester Town Hall Records relating to social interrelationships, land ownership, 20th century experience of the Site, etc.. Other recommendations follow.

³⁹ *Westchester County Archives: Committed to Memory.* (Brochure.)

VIII. Recommendations

- Convene a seminar of Archivists to brainstorm key issues/questions related to Saint Paul's and its data needs and questions in order to determine how different resources can add to Site's data and knowledge base, develop Intern/Volunteer assignments, etc.
- Incorporate all Spruill works into the reference/resource library and bibliographies at Saint Paul's Site.
- Forward recent Site materials to Local History Room's holdings and central index (eg 1996 Ethnographic Reports, "We Are Still Here" program book, etc.) also send program announcements for posting on Library Bulletin Boards.
- Add 20th-century photographs to Museum exhibits.
- Explore Marble Schoolhouse offerings (what children's schooling was like, games etc.) that might augment Saint Paul's interpretations, especially for children's tours.

600

RESEARCH SUMMARIES

DOEA KING, RESEARCH ASSISTANT
AUGUST 1996

Research Summary from Westchester County Historical Society

Sources Consulted:

Index to Deeds (Grantee Index) Microfilm

Index to Westchester County Historical Society

Department of Commerce and Labor. Bureau of the Census. Heads of Families at the 1st Census of the U.S. Taken in the Year 1790 Washington Government Printing Office, 1908.

File Microcopies of Records in the National Archives, No. 19 Roll 112. Second, Third, Fourth and Fifth Census of the U.S. 1830. Population Schedules, NY. Vol 29. Westchester and Kings Counties. The National Archives, Washington, 1943.

Elizabeth Gwen Fuller. Index to Westchester County Names in Federal Census 1790-1840

Scharf, I Thomas. History of Westchester County, N.Y including Morianes, Kingsbridge and West Farms. Camden, Maine: Picton Press.

From: Index to Deeds (Grantee Index)

Hannah Franklin from Jesse Lyons January 10, 1828. Liber 29 pg. 284

Samuel Nelson from William Bowne and Wife. August 11, 1849 pg. 140, 232 (copied) States that Samuel Nelson is a colored man from town of Westchester in the county of Westchester, and for the sum of \$150 purchased land lying in the northerly side of Willow Lane. The land begins at the end of a stone fence bordering Stephen Doty's and Peter Jones' land.

Samuel Nelson from William Bowne and Wife. February 10, 1851 pg. 1
Not copied. Original has excessive water damage. Seems this land bordered the previous land purchased.

"This indenture made the first day of November Eighteen Hundred and Fifty between William H. Bowne of the town of Westchester in the County of Westchester and State of New York and May his wife of the first parte and Samuel Nelson of the same place of the second part. Witnesseth that the said parties of the first part and in consideration of the sum of one hundred and twenty five dollars to them duly paid have sold and by these presents do grant and convey to the said party of the second part all that certain lot piece and parcel of land situate lying and being in the town of Westchester aforesaid bounded and described as follows to wit beginning at the Southerly corner of the said Samuel Nelson's land on the northerly side of Willow lane road so called hence northwesterly along the said Samuel Nelson's land by a broad fence three hundred and thirty feet six inches to a stone fence thence along the said stone fence by the center thereof Southwesterly fifty four feet eight inches to William Makers lot thence along the said Makers lot southwesterly

three hundred and thirty four feet to the Willow Lane Road aforesaid thence along the said Willow Lane Road northeasterly fifty four feet six inches to the place of beginning containing all the lands withence the said bounds be the same more or less with the appurtenances and all the estate title and interest of the said parties of the first part therein and said William A Bowne doth hereby covenant and agree that at the delivery hereof is the lawful owner of the premises above granted and leased of a good and indefeasible estate of inheritance herein clear of all incumbrance by way of mortgage otherwise and that I will and defend the above granted premises in the quiet and peaceable of the said party of the second part his heirs and ... for use in ... whereof the said parties of the first part have herewith and their hands and seals the day and year first above written sealed and delivered in the presence of Claibourne Ferris"

From Census Records - Those indicated as black or Prominent owners of slaves

1790 - Town of Eastchester

Mary Pell - 2 Slaves

Phoebe Pell - 3 Slaves

1800 - Town of Eastchester

Joseph Pell - household contained 1 free person and 4 Slaves

Glorianna Franklin - 10 Slaves

Thomas Pell - 2 Free Persons

Elizabeth Gwen Fuller. Index to Westchester County Names in Federal Census 1790-1840 p.199
and corresponding pages in census rolls on Microfilm

1820 census

Henry Johnson p. 205

Jack Pell p. 198

Anthony Smith p.204

Jeremiah Southan p.200

Benjamin Turner p.199

**William Turpin (White) re: Joseph Thomas Turpin buried in 1835 at St. Paul's graveyard
p. 210**

1830 Census

Nathaniel Franklin p.134 who had 8 free person (colored) in his household

Thomas Johnson p.131 had 6 free person

Samuel Nelson p.137 had 4 persons

Benjamin Turner p.137

Maps:

Map of The Township of Eastchester containing areas Surveyed and Drawn by Christopher Colles
B Morgan, Supervisor. 1797.

Research Summary from New York Historical Society

Sources consulted or identified

Bolton, Robert. History of Westchester County, New York. New York?: Alexander S. Gould, 1845.

History of Protestant Episcopal Church in the County of Westchester from its Foundation AD 1693 - AD 1853. New York: Stanford and Swords, 1855

Historical Documents Collection, Queens College, Queen, NY

Lincoln, James Minor. Cemetery Inscriptions of St. Paul's Church, Eastchester 1909.

Manumission of Slaves. May 8 1787 - April 11 1816. Liber A. Westchester Town Records.
Microfilm Reel TWC 2 Roll 5.

Manumission Society, New York City - Records of 1807 - 1817

Manumission Society, New York City - Minutes of the Committee of Ways and Means. 1810 - 1838.

Manumission Society, New York City - Records of 1817-1842.

Manumission Society, New York City - Minutes of 1798 - 1814

Manumission Society, New York City - Register of Manumission of Slaves in N.Y. City June 18, 1816 - May 28, 1818.

Map of the Village of Mt. Vernon in the Town of Eastchester, County of Westchester. Andrew Finlay, Surveyor. June 7, 1851

Turpin, William. The Last Will and Testament of William Turpin. New York: R & G.S. Wood, 1835

Westchester County, New York. Assessment Roll of the Town of Eastchester for 1855. Bound Copy.

- Reference to Rebecca Turner's House and Lot valued at \$200

Westchester County, New York. Assessment Roll of the Town of Eastchester for 1858. Microfilm

- Reference to Turner House and lot in Rebecca Turner's name valued at \$185 \$100 - 6HS, 1862

Summary of Major Characters

Samuel Nelson - Grave digger at St. Pauls

Born 1799 Died 1869 Aged 70. Burial Records of St. Paul's Church, Eastchester - Series II, Vol III, Section I 1973

Bought two pieces of Property from William Bown in 1849 and 1951 for \$150 and \$125 respectively.

Ben and Rebecca Turner

- Rebecca listed as slave of Glorianna Franklin in Index of Slaves Names and Owners. *7 Oct 1800*
- Turner house and lot listed in Rebecca's name in Town property records of 1855 and 1858. The Assessment Rolls valued the property at \$200 and \$185 respectively.
- Rebecca delivered of Female child named Mary on 9/11/1806 while servant of Glorianna Franklin (from Miscellaneous Records of the Town of Eastchester, 1794-1834, Series I, Vol X, Section I, p 27).
- Rebecca Turner manumitted by Glorianna Franklin on April 3, 1810. Manumission Society New York City - Indentures 1809-1829.

Nathaniel and Hannah Franklin

Slaves of James and Glorianna Franklin. At his death in 1793, James Franklin left fifty pounds for Nat and Hannah to be used to purchase land or a house. Also provided that his slaves be freed after his wife's death and that they be maintained by his estate in the event of misfortune or incapacity.

Glorianna willed \$750 to Nat and Hannah for the purchase of a farm, \$70.45 fro the purchase of a pair of oxen. She also left them furniture, bedding and clothing. (1812)

In 1828, Hannah and Nat purchased land with a house barn and other buildings from Jesse Lyons for \$500. This land bounded Stephen Jones' land to the south, on the west and north by the old Boston Post Road, and on the east by Stephen Pell's land.

In 1836, seems "two undivided sixth parts of the said undivided half part of" this land was sold to James Hay for \$58 by William Minott Mitchell, acting as guardian of the heirs of Hannah Franklin.

It seems then that the rest of the Land should have stayed in the hands of the descendants of Hannah and Nat.

Joseph Thomas Turpin

William Turpin listed in 1820 census as having four free colored males under fourteen years, 1 free colored male between 14-26, and two free colored males between 26-45, one free colored female under 14 and 1 free colored female between 14-26. Federal Census - 1820

J. Turpin buried in 1835 (would be the same year of William Turpin's death). Is he the same J. Turpin from New York city?

Further Research Possibilities

The themes that seem to shape the African American presence at the site:

- Ownership of property either through inheritance from white benefactors or through individual enterprise. Samuel Nelson, Thomas Pell.

- The relationship between blacks and whites. How were these relationships shaped?

How much were these relationships shaped by the activities or strucure of St. Paul's church? William Turpin referred to J. Turpin in his will as "my faithful friend". What was the nature of their friendship?

-Follow up on Turpin relationship to Eastchester, and Joseph Thomas Turpin's grave at St

Paul's. If Joseph Turpin owned property in New York City why was he buried at Eastchester? Did William Turpin own property in Eastchester?

The New York Historical Society has the least helpful staff, but may have the some resources worth following up on (See sources consulted). The maps I looked at were not very detailed and did not shed any light on the black owners of property. I looked through almost all the volumes of the Manumission Society's records but did not find any references to blacks other than Rebecca Turner.

-Maps -

Several Maps archived at the Westchester County Historical Society may prove fruitful in locating the exact location of the properties of Samuel Nelson, Hannah and Nat Franklin and their descendants. Unfortunately, I could not find the citation for the other two maps copied. The xeroxed copies were illegible and the Society apparently does not hold the original copies of the maps.



Saint Paul's Church National Historic Site

897 South Columbus Avenue, Mount Vernon, New York 10550

(914) 667-4116



bb

RESOURCES FOR GENEALOGY/GRAVE SEARCH

1. St. Paul's Burial Records, A-F, G-P, Q-Z
Includes City Burials
Has earliest dates up to about 1909, a few later
Some entries are not buried here
Does not have some burials (Rachel Gee)
2. Records of City Burials
Indexed
1892 - 1935, front of book, maybe paupers
1892 - 1907, back of book, maybe non-indigents
3. St. Paul's Interment Book
1824 - 1855, back of book
1841-1861 - "made up from Sextons' (Augustus Lawrence and Theodosius Hunt) diaries. Made more complete by transcripts from tombstones and matter furnished from family records" Coffey
Samuel Nelson
by mistake 1855 - 1948, front of book
4. Register of Interments
1948 - 1988
5. Inscriptions from St. Paul's Churchyard, Francis F. Spies
Up to 1928
6. Card File
7. Folders on Families
8. Records of ST. Paul's Church
Deacon's Book 1826 - 1841
Sexton's Book 1842 - 1850, 1 part of Vol II, 1 separate
Sexton's Book 1850 - 1851
9. Interment Register, included in St. Paul's Interment Bk.
1853 - 1857, card says 2 of 4 vols
1908 - 1925, card says, 3 of 4 vol
10. Record of Burials
1923 - 1936, included in St. Paul's Interment Bk.



EASTCHESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY

TOWN HALL - 40 MILL ROAD

EASTCHESTER, NEW YORK

MAILING ADDRESS
BOX 37
EASTCHESTER, N.Y. 10708

SERIES I

RECORDS OF THE TOWN OF EASTCHESTER

- | | |
|-----------|---|
| BOOK I | Minutes of the Town of Eastchester 1664-1835 |
| BOOK II | Minutes of the Town of Eastchester 1664-1835 |
| BOOK III | Minutes of the Town of Eastchester 1664-1835 |
| BOOK IV | Minutes of the Town of Eastchester 1664-1835 |
| BOOK V | The Book of Strays and the Alterations of Roads 1761-1862 |
| BOOK VI | Overseers of the Poor 1788-1824 |
| BOOK VII | Minutes of the Trustees of Public Lands 1878-1899 |
| BOOK VIII | Town Property 1855, 1855, 1858 |
| BOOK IX | Minutes of the Town of Eastchester 1835-1870 |
| BOOK X | Miscellaneous Records of the Town of Eastchester 1794-1834
Book of the Colored People 1795-1822
Dwelling Houses in the Town 1798
Road Commissioners Reports 1801-1841
Elections Records 1803-1834
Oaths and Subscriptions of Officers of Westchester
School Records 1815-1835 |
| BOOK XI | Poll, Militia and Civil War Records |
| BOOK XII | Birth Records of the Town of Eastchester 1881-1913 |

Books transcribed and published as of 9/1994

Also Vestry Minutes

St. Paul's--Eastchester
 Archives of St. John the Divine Cathedral
 Report prepared by Bro. H.M. Dunkak, PhD
 June, 1985

1970's
 → 1978

Boxes labeled:

- 1) #1-5: Mainly Baptisms; Confirmations; Burials
- 2) #6-14: Financial Reports
- 3) #15-36: Vestry Minutes for 1834-1857

Records for 1787 to 1836

Many financial reports

- 4) #37-49: Vestry Minutes (1918-1966)

- 5) St. Paul's Misc.: Sermon by Rev. Bartow--1722

• Sermon by Rev. Johnson-1755

Two Church service record books-20th Century

• Misc. publications from Coffey Era

List of subscribers-1787

Newspaper reprint of Bartow Sermon

Agreement to build pulpit

Old Document--not readable

Sermon by Rev. Wilkins-1707 1807

Burr Letter

Old Map of Eastchester-1797

- 6) Box #8: Misc.

Newspaper Clippings (1930-1970's)

Publications (1930's; 1940's; 1970's)

Press releases (1940's)

Records of various groups; e.g. Women's Aux. ✓

- 7) Box (no number): Old books-most belonged to Coffey Era

- 8) Box--no number--Book of Common Prayer-1715

Prayer Book--1795

- 9) Box--no number--Bible-1759

- 10) Box #2--letters, documents-vast majority from Weigle Era

- (1) Box #1 Edmonds' painting of "St. Paul before Felix" ✓

Edmonds was a vestryman or warden of Church

WPA radio scripts - Photo of interior when painting was in place ✓

A. Weigle's ~~base~~ Shore Piccone-1977 ✓

✓ 3) Text of Congressional Resolution (1975) ✓

4) Play about A. Hutchinson for Station WJZ ✓

5) Anne Hutchinson-in Memoriam-by Anna Weigle ✓

6) Many financial reports ✓

- 2) Box #9: Special Events-Programs; Brochures

Letters about Stained glass windows-from Tiffany & others

✓ Folder containing info & letters on organ

- 13) Box 11: Parish Correspondence

Letters documents, brochures speeches--mainly from Weigle Era

- 14) Box-No Number: Documents, letters and papers that deal with restoration of St. Paul's Church

- 15) 8 loose books on the shelf including Minutes of Vestry for 1857-1918

Box 243 - CCK

Box 242 - re St. Clement's, St. John, Paul, Clement

CONCLUSION AND PRIORITY RECOMMENDATIONS

I.	Summary Conclusion	70
II.	Priority Recommendations	70

CONCLUSION AND PRIORITY RECOMMENDATIONS

I. Background

This Ethnographic Overview and Assessment confirmed the richness of the Site's ethnographic resources and also the broadly-based potential interest in association with the Site. Within the broad base of Community Consultant networks, it found a widespread sense of the need for "opening up" and many suggestions for how this could be done. Participant-observation, interviews, casual inquiry, mail survey, group discussions, all confirmed that overwhelmingly those who do visit the Site have a positive experience, but it is also true that there needs to be planned efforts to reach out to different audiences who should know about and get involved with the Site's vast ethnographic resources.

The research confirmed an imbalance in the treatment of the African-American presence but it also revealed many different mechanisms--exploiting archival and documentary resources further, materials and exhibit development, seeking of partnerships with receptive individuals and organizations--to offset this imbalance. The Site has extraordinary potential for communicating important messages about our nation's beginnings and how diverse peoples have struggled to live, worship, govern themselves, settle conflicts, etc.. Important steps have been taken to crystallize a policy framework to guide development of interpretive themes that can convey the Site's full cultural and historical continuum. They will require aggressive outreach, follow up, and utilization of a variety of promotional materials and media. This section emphasizes key priority recommendations that can help continue this important process.

II. Priority Recommendations

- Expand the Museum exhibits to include 20th century photos selected from collections made available by Community Consultants, with special attention to illustrate the diversity of associations with the Site.
- Incorporate all Spruill materials into the Site's reference and source files.
- Develop 2-5 year plan to implement the "diversity and dissent" interpretive theme emphasis presented as policy framework during 1996, including outreach and marketing strategies, budget options, etc.
- Augment the *Lenape Indian* Exhibit scheduled for Spring 1997 in order to attract wider audiences (with other displays or presentations, media promotion, using it as point of re-orientation to the Site ["we're still here"], etc

- Convene invitational meeting targetting community-based organizations in Mount Vernon and surrounding towns with focus on introducing (or re-introducing) them to the Site and its resources, with special theme emphasis and seeking collaboration.
- Reconsider plans to build a fence around the Site.
- Plan a comprehensive volume of articles related to the Site's history and resources, based on existing works and also proceedings of possible interdisciplinary conference (academics, museum educators, Community Consultants, etc.)
- Use the press and/or Public Access TV to invite persons in the area to share photographs or other items of association with the Site (this could perhaps be a Volunteer assignment).
- Make it a practice to record (photographs, videotape, audiotape, etc.) special events, periodic tours, etc., in order to augment the Site's records for the future.

APPENDICES

A.	COMMUNITY CONSULTANTS DIRECTORY	73
B.	BIBLIOGRAPHY	83
C.	OTHER DOCUMENTS	94
D.	SAINT PAUL'S IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY: A PHOTO GALLERY 1946-1996	97
	Photo Credits	98

Appendix A

COMMUNITY CONSULTANTS DIRECTORY

COMMUNITY CONSULTANTS DIRECTORY

Over 70 persons were consulted in this Ethnographic Project, for an estimated total of 165 hours of personal and/or phone contact. Time spent with Consultants ranged from one-time phone or personal contacts of less than ½ hour, to approximately 8-10 hours with Evelyn Jones in “life history” interviews and follow-up for other referrals, to 20-25 hours with the Project’s main Consultant Dr. Larry Spruill; excluding these latter key Consultants the average time spent with most persons was just under two hours. All Consultants are grouped into these categories: former parishioners and ministers; representatives of community-based organizations, and neighbors; cultural, educational, and historical resource persons; Saint Paul’s volunteers and board; and Mount Vernon officials. Many have already been cited in *Potential Partners and Collaborations*; this Directory lists them together in one directory for greater usability as a resource file.

I. Former Parishioners, Ministers and Descendants

Winston R. Belle (also designated Liaison from Episcopal Diocese to the Board)
3410 Dereimer Avenue, #2L, Bronx, NY 10475
718-379-3203

Lloyd Day
448 S. Columbus Avenue, Mount Vernon, NY 10553
914-667-7641

Nancy Fitch
267 Bedford Ave., Mount Vernon, NY 10550
914-699-3275

Susan M. Underhill Gervais, Underhill Family Association
32 Wildwood, Cary, IL 60013
847-634-0426

Ruth Harewood
3451 Ely Ave., Bronx, NY 10469
718-881-2417

Dulcie M. King
34 Beekman Ave., Mount Vernon, NY10553
914-664-1479

Rev. Jonathan King, also Rhinelander/Heathcote descendant
340 Godwin Avenue, Ridgewood NJ 07450 201-444-6105

Gloria Harewood Santos
3451 Ely Ave., Bronx, NY 10469
914-664-1479

Paulette and Lloyd Shirley
38 Farrell Ave., Mount Vernon, NY 10553
914-699-1649

Anne Vitkowski Krebaum and Dr. Howard Krebaum
37 Bellewood Ave., Centerreach, NY 11720
516-981-6021

June Underhill Steffen, Underhill Family Association
402 W. Dorset, Prospect Heights, IL 60070
847-255-8559

Thomas Vitkowski, Jr.
718-324-1439

Bishop J. Stuart Wetmore (Ret.)
10 Meadowview, Millbrook, NY 12545
914-677-6821

Rev. Robert N. Willing
Saint Mary's Church, White Horse Pike and Green Street, Haddon Heights NJ 08035
609-547-3240

Rev. Albert Osborne Lott (not contacted)
7411 No. Mowry Place, Tucson, AZ 85741

Rev. John G. W. Zacker (not contacted)
9 Sixth Street, Locust Valley NY 11560
516-674-2261(O)/516-674-4042(H)

II. Community-Based Organizations and Neighbors

Michael Reaux, Director, Doles Center
250 South 6th Avenue, Mount Vernon, NY 10550
914-665-2446/665-2450

Key Women

Mary Davis
778 S. 5th Ave., Mount Vernon, NY 10552
914-664-6093

Ella B. Jones
9 Harrison Street, Mount Vernon, NY 10550
914-668-3090

Lucille Mitchell, President
234 Bedford Ave., Mount Vernon, NY 10553
914-668-5970

Cheron Press
330 South 2nd Ave., Mount Vernon, NY 10550
914-699-2186

Elizabeth Thomas
205 East Sidney Ave., Mount Vernon, NY 10550
914-667-5367

Diane Watts
39 South 7th Ave., Mount Vernon, NY 10552
914-667-6363

Michelle S. Whipper, also Board of Education administrator
318 South 9th Ave., Mount Vernon, NY 10550
914-667-7484

Keyette Youth Group (led by Dr. Whipper and Ms. Press)
Vanessa Cowan
Erica Laurent
Asia Moore
Mariah Moore
Collette Walker
Rosetta C. Whipper

Neighbors
Al Cheuning, Plant Engineer, Semi-Alloys
89 Edison Avenue, Mount Vernon, NY 10550
914-699-9717

Mel Goldstein, Owner, Dab-O-Matics
896 South Columbus Avenue, Mount Vernon, NY 10550
914-699-7070

August Petrillo
Petrillo Stone Corporation (Columbus Diner and Texaco Car Wash leased from Corporation)
610 South Fulton Avenue, Mount Vernon, NY 10550 914-668-8561

III. Cultural, Educational, and Historical Resource Persons and Organizations

Harriet H. Bianchi, Eastchester Historical Society
108 Siwanoy Boulevard, Eastchester, New York, NY 10707
914-337-1770

Jeff Corsello, Teacher, Mount Vernon High School and Coordinator, Public Access TV (18)
100 California Road, Mount Vernon, NY 10552
914-665-5366

Patti Dohrenwind, Town Clerk, Eastchester Town Hall
40 Mill Road, Eastchester, NY
914-771-3300

Dr. Harry Dunkak, Professor of History, Iona College
Poughkeepsie, NY 10801
914-633-2000

Melvyn Garrett, Past President, VFW Post 6396
130 Pelham Road, New Rochelle, NY 10805
914-235-6285

Dr. Michael Gillespie, Head of Teacher Education, Bronx Community College/ Director of Corridor of Excellence Program
Bronx, NY
718-220-6450

William H. Howard, Executive Director, AC-BAW
Center for the Arts
128 South 4th Ave., Mount Vernon, NY 10550
914-667-7278

Baldwin Hurns, Teacher, Mount Vernon High School
100 California Road, Mount Vernon, NY 10552
914-665-5307

Evelyn Jones, Community Volunteer
454 South 2nd Ave., Mount Vernon, NY 10550
914-668-4610

Wayne Kempton, Archivist, Saint John the Divine Cathedral
110th St. and Amsterdam Avenue, New York, NY 10027
212-316-7419

Dr. Charlotte Morgan-Cato, Director of Internships, Lehman College Black Studies Program
Bronx, New York
718-960-8000

David Pizarro
29 Pearl Street, Mount Vernon, New York 10550-2707
914-699-4259/769-1559/4259

Janice Rao, Director of Elementary Education, Mount Vernon Board of Education
165 North Columbus Ave., Mount Vernon, New York 10552
914-665-5226

Black Hawk Sancarlos
3330 Gunther Ave., Bronx, New York 10469
718-655-5560

Dr. Larry H. Spruill, Director, Office of Multicultural Education, Mount Vernon Board of Education and City Historian
165 North Columbus Ave., Mount Vernon, New York 10552
914-665-5220

Sandy Sunderland, Native American Studies Specialist
6 Caterson Terrace
Hartsdale, New York 10530
914-683-6743

Ruth Roberts Warner, Afro-American Workshop
628 S. 6th Ave., Mount Vernon, New York 10550
914-664-2818

Virginia McLellan Moskowitz Local History Room
Mount Vernon Public Library
28 South First Avenue
Mount Vernon, New York 10550 914-668-1840

New York Historical Society
2 West 77th Street
New York, New York 10024
212-873-3400

Westchester County Archives
2199 Saw Mill River Road
Elmsford, New York 10523
914-592-1925

Fourth-Grade Teachers
Mary E. Anderson, Lincoln School
914-623-4561

Wayne Barbalato, Pennington School
914-967-7026

Cynthia Curran, Lincoln School
1 Field End Lane, Eastchester, New York
914-793-7945

Keith Dembo, Graham School
7 Thornwood Court, Wappingers Falls, New York
914-838-2794

Barbara Foley, Longfellow School
322 Hutchinson Boulevard, Mount Vernon, New York 10552
914-664-7376

Diane Fulva, Pennington School
914-665-5703

Mary Ann Hogan, Columbus School
250 Gramatan Ave., Mount Vernon, New York 10550
914-665-5090

Tisa Kearns, Parker School
324 E. 4th Street, Mount Vernon, New York 10553 914-665-9605

Patricia Monahan, Traphagen School
472 Gramatan Ave., Mount Vernon, New York 10552
914-667-5204

Donna Pluchino, Graham School
7909 Chelsea Cove Drive, Hopewell Junction, New York 12533
914-227-8815

Frank Pluchino, Graham School
7909 Chelsea Cove Drive, Hopewell Junction, New York 12533
914-227-8815

Ed Randall, Hamilton School
86 Great Hill, Newtown, CT 96470
203-426-6054

James Reid, Thornton School
30 Trinity Ave., Spring Valley, New York 10977
914-356-7045

Anne Schick, Columbus School
250 Gramatan Ave., Mount Vernon, New York
914-665-5090

Mildred F. Shannon, Holmes School
55 Lathers Park, New Rochelle, New York 10801
914-632-6397

Jeannie Sullo, Williams School
48 Coolidge Ave., Yonkers, New York 10701
914-375-0877

Maria Valente, Lincoln School
145 E. Lincoln Ave., Mount Vernon, New York

Saint Paul's Volunteers and Board
Volunteers
Adele Z. Arpadi
70 Frederick Place, Mount Vernon, New York 10552
914-664-2619

Blondena H. Furtick
354 S. 1st Ave., Mount Vernon, New York 10550

914-667-4045

Christina Lucey
420 Fowler Ave., Pelham, New York 10803
914-738-5912

Beverly Remer and Herb Remer
97 Frederick Place, Mount Vernon, New York 10552
914-668-1260

Mollie Vogel
394 Summit Ave., Mount Vernon, New York 10552
914-668-9829

Board Members

Winston R. Belle
3410 Dereimer Ave., #2L, Bronx, New York 10475
718-379-3203

Christina Lucey
420 Fowler Ave., Pelham, New York 10803
914-738-5912

Madeline D. Schaeffer, Eastchester Historical Society
1279 California Road, Eastchester, New York 10709
914-337-9032

David Treacy, Board Chairperson
623 Francis Street, Pelham, New York 10803
914-738-0939

Mount Vernon Officials
Mayor Ernest Davis
914-665-2360

Leslie Alpert, Assistant to the Mayor
914-665-2360

Rosemarie Cornacchio, Office of the Comptroller
(Co-Chairperson, Independence Day Committee 1996)
914-665-2312

Doris Faulkner, Deputy Commissioner
Office of Assessment
914-665-2300

Ruth Hassel-Thompson, Council President
914-665-2352

Mark Stellato, Planning Director
Department of Planning and Community Development
914-699-7230

H. Gaylord Worrell, Director, Veterans Service Agency
914-665-2319

APPENDIX B

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I.	Bibliographic Categories	84
II.	History of Saint Paul's Church National Historic Site	85
III.	Saint Paul's 1950-1980: Functioning Church, Transfer, and Present	87
IV.	Saint Paul's African-American Presence	89
V.	Historical and Contemporary Mount Vernon	90
VI.	American Indians in Westchester County And Related References	91
VII.	Other References	92

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. Bibliographic Categories

This Bibliography is grouped into five sections. It can be used as a resource for other researchers and perhaps also as organizing categories for the Site's many available materials and source documents. Following are the categories used here:

- *history of Saint Paul's Church National Historic Site*, including historical references related to not only the Site but also "old Eastchester" and surrounding histories, archival references and unpublished materials
- *Saint Paul's Church 1950-1980*, including materials relating to the Church's more contemporary history, especially its experience and history as a functioning parish, especially in the "post-Weigle era", its involvement in the "cooperative ministries" effort of Community of Christ the King (1967-1970) and post-1980 existence through "surviving congregations", the transfer period and some contemporary references
- *African-American presence and associations at Saint Paul's*, including archival materials, references that help define the larger context of for example Northern enslavement systems, and the important contributions of Larry H. Spruill, local historian and educator
- *historical and contemporary Mount Vernon*, including a municipal planning document and Spruill references, providing more specific local context
- *American Indians in Westchester County and Related References*, including materials prepared for the 1996 Conference "We Are Still Here" (co-sponsored with Board of Education) as well as references discussing larger issues (ethnicity and classification, identity, African-American/Hispanic/Indian intergroup relations etc.)
- *other references*, including methodological guides and references dealing with museum and Park interpretation and display issues.

II. History of Saint Paul's Church National Historic Site

Coffey, Rev. Samuel. *Commemorative Discourse*. 1865:1-56.

Dunkak, Bro. H. M. "Important Rectors,". Draft manuscript, undated. Pages 1-49.

Dunkak, Bro. H. M. "St. Paul's Eastchester: Archives of St. John the Divine Cathedral". Report prepared June 1985.

Dunkak, Bro. H. M. "The 1733 Eastchester Election, the Zenger Trial, and Freedom of the Press." Westchester Historical Society, 1988.

Dunkak, Harry M. "A Colonial and Revolutionary Parish in New York." *Anglican and Episcopal History* (1988) LVII(4):397-426.

Eastchester Historical Society. *A Tour of Eastchester Sponsored by the Eastchester Rotary and Historical Society*. Eastchester, New York. Pages 1-23.

Eastchester Historical Society. "The Marble School House". Eastchester, New York.

"Eastchester Remembered: Its People and Places in Photo History." Town of Eastchester. September 24, 1989. Pages 1-4.

Index of Slave Names and Owners. Saint Paul's Church National Historic Site.

Judd, Jacob. "William Cosby v. Lewis Morris: A Chapter in the Struggle between Crown Appointees and the Local Aristocracy for Political Control in Colonial New York." Unpublished manuscript, 19?: 1-17.

Miscellaneous Records of the Town of Eastchester 1794-1834. Transcribed by Eastchester Historical Society, 1994. In Town of Eastchester Clerk's Office.

New York Times. "Historic Church Aids in Solving a Housing Problem." Page 14.

New York Times. "Area Young People Help at Historic Site." May 15, 1956.

Overseers of the Poor: 1778-1824. Eastchester New York: Eastchester Historical Society. Transcribed by the Eastchester Historical Society. February 1965.

Piccone, Laura Shore. "St. Paul's Church: Vital Link to America's Past." Unpublished manuscript (1977).

Report on Causes of Death (Sorted by Cause, Name). Iona College Computer Run of Database Available at Iona College, Based Upon Saint Paul's Records. Saint Paul's Church National Historic Site (1986):1-22.

"Resources for Genealogy/Grave Search." Saint Paul's Church National Historic Site.

Saint John the Divine Cathedral Archives. (Especially Boxes 1-49, 242, 243: see Dunkak index for basic inventory).

Sharf, J. Thomas. *History of Westchester County.* Volume 2, pages 720-772.

Spruill, Larry H. *Down By the Creek.* Unpublished Manuscript (1995).

Spruill, Larry H. *When the Train Came.* Unpublished Manuscript (1996).

Spruill, Larry H., Ph. D. "St. Paul's Church and Historic Site: Taking Another Look." Submitted to Superintendent Joseph Avery, Site Staff and the National Parks Service Task Force. Unpublished manuscript (August 1996):1-24.

"St. Paul's in the 20th Century." Saint Paul's Church National Historic Site. 1996:1-6.

The Daily Argus. "Neglect Endangers Historic National Site." April 5, 1956.

The Daily Argus. "Backward Looking." March 22, 1962.

The Daily Argus. "St. Paul's: Spirit of Independence." June 30, 1962.

The Daily Argus. "A(nother) Historic Moment for old St. Paul's Church." November 2, 1980:A1,A2.

The Eastchester Record. "Daisy Webb: Legends of St. Paul's Relived." June 18, 1964.

Ultan, Lloyd. "Letter to Connie Cullen." November 21, 1983:1-2.

Weigle Correspondence and Records, 1935. Saint Paul's Church National Historic Site.

Weigle, Rev. W. H. "Letter to the Right Reverend Horace W. Donegan, D. D." Saint John the Divine Cathedral Archives and Saint Paul's Church National Historic Site. July 20, 1965:1-9.

III. Saint Paul's 1950-Present: Functioning Church, Transfer, and Present

Allen, Maury. "July 4th 'was such a wonderful holiday'." *Gannett Suburban Newspapers*. July 3, 1996. Page 5A.

"Consolidation Agreement between St. John the Divine (Mount Vernon) and Saint Paul's Mount Vernon." August 19, 1980. Pages 1-8. (Obtained by Archivist Wayne Kempton from Ed Newcomb, Director of Property Support, Saint John the Divine Cathedral.)

"Declaration" (pronounced at November 30, 1980 service deconsecrating Saint Paul's Church). November 30, 1980. Pages 1-2. Saint John the Divine Cathedral Archives.

Dunkak, Bro. H. M. "St. Paul's Eastchester: Archives of St. John the Divine Cathedral." Report prepared June 1985.

Dunkak, Harry M., Richard Forliano, Sharon Mills, Laura Pires-Hester, Larry H. Spruill. "Proposal for Interpretation of St. Paul's Church National Historic Site." August 9, 1996. Pages 1-5.

Forliano, Richard. "Update on the Controversy over Saint Paul's." August 6, 1996:1-6.

Gannett Suburban Newspapers. "Battle is on to keep a church's ties to U.S. history." June 2, 1996.

Goldman, Ari L. "Gaining Funds but Losing Its Function Is Choice Given an Old Church by State." *New York Times*. November 1975.

"Moskowitz Files." Saint Paul's Church National Historic Site. (Especially Files # 42, 110, 163, correspondence relating to transfer.)

Mount Vernon Argus. "Reporter to speak at church ceremony." July 2, 1996. Page 5A.

Mount Vernon Argus. "A patriotic 4th." July 8, 1996. Page 1.

New York Times. "Area Young People Help at Historic Site." May 15, 1956.

New York Times. "Unity Plan Keeps Rector on the Run." February 4, 1968.

New York Times. "U.S. Aide Opposes Church as a Monument to Zenger." May 5, 1976.

Pires-Hester, Laura J. "20th-Century Themes." In *Interim Report II: Preliminary Ethnographic Overview and Assessment*. Unpublished manuscript (September 1, 1996.) Pages 44-51.

“Saint Paul’s Drawer.” In Virginia McLellan Moskowitz Local History Room, Mount Vernon Public Library.

Spruill, Larry H., Ph. D. *St. Paul’s Church and Historic Site: Taking Another Look*. Submitted to Superintendent Joseph Avery, Site Staff and the National Parks Service Task Force. Unpublished manuscript (August 1996):1-24.

St. John the Divine Cathedral Archives. (Especially Boxes #242, 243, on Community of Christ the King initiative.)

The Daily Argus. “July 4 Fete Draws Record Crowd of 500.” July 6, 1959: 1.

The Daily Argus. “Record-Breaking 1000 Persons Attend Event.” July 6, 1961. Page 1.

The Daily Argus. “Record Crowd of 2,300 Hails 4th.” July 6, 1965:1.

The Daily Argus. “South Side Episcopal Churches Adopt Plan for Coordinated Joint Operation.” January 10, 1968. Pages 19-20.

The Daily Argus. “City Salutes 4th (about 600 attend).” July 6, 1976:1.

The Daily Argus. “Officials decry U.S. ‘seizures’ at historic site.” June 1996:1, 2A.

The Episcopal New Yorker. “Shared Ministry Plan Develops in Diocese.” March 1968, Volume 3(4).

The Episcopal New Yorker. “St. Paul’s, Eastchester Now ‘Bill of Rights’ Shrine.” January 1981.

The Pelham Sun. “Knapp Chapter Gets Ready for Bicentennial: Local DAR Group Sets Projects for St. Pauls.” December 23, 1974.

“Total Visitation,” and “School Groups Only.” Saint Paul’s Church National Historic Site. November 1996:1-2.

Weigle, Rev. W. H. “Letter to the Right Reverend Horace W. Donegan, D. D.” July 20, 1965. Pages 1-9. Saint John the Divine Cathedral Archives and Saint Paul’s Church National Historic Site.

Wrightson, Karolyn. “Zenger’s role now in dispute.” *Gannett Suburban Newspapers*. June 8, 1996.

Wrightson, Karolyn. "St. Paul's has much to offer kids." *Gannett Suburban Newspapers*. June 15, 1996.

Yonkers Herald Statesman. "St. Paul's: Spirit of Independence." June 3, 1962:8.

Yonkers Herald Statesman. "Church wins designation as national park." November 14, 1978.

IV. African-American Presence and Associations

"Book of Colored People: 1795-1822." *Miscellaneous Records of the Town of East Chester, NY 1794-1834, Series I, Volume 1, Section I:1-47*.

Fuller, Ethel L. "Letter to Connie Cullen." (April 1, 1985):1-8. Saint Paul's Church National Historic Site.

Index of Slave Names and Owners. Saint Paul's Church National Historic Site.

Manumission Society New York City-Indentures 1809-1829. New York Historical Society.

McManus, Edgar J. *A History of Slavery in New York State*. Foreword by Richard B. Morris. Syracuse: Syracuse University, 1966.

Olson, Edwin. "Social Aspects of Slave Life in New York." In *Journal of Negro History*. 1941(26):66-77.

Olson, Edwin. "The Slave Code in Colonial New York." In *Journal of Negro History*. 1944(29):147-165.

Pires-Hester, Laura J. "The African-American Presence at St. Paul's: Expanding Possibilities." In *Interim Report II: Preliminary Ethnographic Overview and Assessment*. September 1, 1996. Pages 33-43.

Quarles, Benjamin. *The Negro in the American Revolution*.

Riddell, William Renwick. "The Slave in Early New York." In *Journal of Negro History*. 1929(1):53-86.

"Saint Paul's Church Archives." In Mount Vernon Public Library Virginia McLellan Moskowitz Local History Room.

Selections from Hawks Transcripts: "Rev. Bartow to the Secretary 1702-1714;" "Letters to the Secretary from Thomas Standard 1725-1735;" "An Account of the Endeavors Used by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, to Instruct the Negroe Slaves in New York, Being an Extract from Dr. Humphrey's Historical Account of the Incorporated Society from its Foundation to the Year 1728." New York Historical Society.

Spruill, Larry H. "Black Saga: Mount Vernon, New York." In *Mount Vernon Centennial Journal 1892-1992*. New York: The Mount Vernon City Centennial Committee.

Spruill, Larry H. *A Time to Remember*. Mount Vernon: Afro-American Workshop, 1993.

Spruill, Larry H. *Down By the Creek*. Unpublished manuscript (1996.)

Spruill, Larry H. *Libbie: The Secret Writings of Sarah Elizabeth Turner Nelson*. Unpublished manuscript (1996.)

Swanson, Stephanie. "Anthropology Field Research (African-American presence at Saint Paul's)." Unpublished, undated manuscript. Pages 1-62.

The Daily Argus. "Queen Anne's Lane: A Battle Royal." March 7, 1963.

Vibert, Faith. "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts: Its Work for the Negroes in North America Before 1783." In *Journal of Negro History*. 1933(18):171-212.

Williams-Meyers, A. J. *Long Hammering: Essays on the Forging of an African-American Presence in the Hudson River Valley to the Early Twentieth Century*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, Inc., 1994.

Yoshpe, Harry. "Slave Manumissions in New York." In *Journal of Negro History*. 1941(26)78-109.

V. Historical and Contemporary Mount Vernon

Hufeland, Otto. *Early Mount Vernon*. Mount Vernon, NY: Mount Vernon Public Library, 1940.

Mount Vernon 21st Century Commission Action Plan, Mount Vernon: A Vision for the 21st Century. Prepared with the Technical Assistance of Buckhurst Fish Hutton Katz and Jacquemait Inc., New York. In Association with Ferrandinao and Associates, Elmsford, New York. (October 1992):1-67.

Mount Vernon Argus. "Festival celebrates Hispanic culture." July 8, 1996: 5A.

Mount Vernon Argus. "Festival celebrates diversity of cultures." August 19, 1996:5A.

National Park Service. "Purpose of and Need for the Plan." In *Proposed Management Plan for Saint Paul's Church National Historic Site*. New York, 1996. Pages 129-154.

Spruill, Larry H. "Black Saga: Mount Vernon, New York." In *Mount Vernon Centennial Journal 1892-1992*. New York: The Mount Vernon City Centennial Committee, 1992.

Spruill, Larry H. *A Time to Remember*. Mount Vernon: Afro-American Workshop, 1993.

Spruill, Larry H. *Down by the Creek*. Unpublished manuscript, 1996.

"Unit 5: Local History." In *Fourth Grade Social Studies Curriculum Guide. Dr. William C. Pratella, Superintendent of Schools*. Mount Vernon, New York, 1993. Pages 256-313.

VI. American Indians in Westchester County and Related References

Babcock, Laurel. "Native Americans: We're Still Here: Pow-Wow on Hudson is lesson in culture." *Mount Vernon Argus*. July 5, 1996:2A.

Forbes, Jack D. "The Hispanic Spin: Party Politics and Governmental Manipulation of Ethnic Identity." In *Latin American Perspectives*. Volume 19, Number 4, Issue 75. (Fall 1992):59-78.

Forbes, Jack D. *Africans and Native Americans: The Language of Race and the Evolution of Red-Black Peoples*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993.

Mills, Sharon. Saint Paul's Church National Historic Site. Unpublished manuscript, November 5, 1996. Pages 1-3.

Sunderland, Sandy. "Siwanoy Sachemdom." Compiled from numerous sources for Siwanoy Elementary School's Native American Program 1995-96. Pages 1-5.

Sunderland, Sandy. "Observations of Bias in Children's Literature." Presented at New York State PTA PARP Conference, April 28, 1993. Pages 1-4.

"We Are Still Here": A Primary Education Teacher Training Program on the History and Culture of the Native Peoples of the Northeast Woodlands. Mount Vernon Public Schools and St. Paul's Church National Historic Site. Superintendent's Staff Development Conference, Mount Vernon High School, November 5, 1996.

VII. Other References

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities*. London and New York: Verso, 1983. Presentation of provocative way of defining modern "communities" that defy traditional physical or psychological boundaries and that inspire deep "comradeship" across these boundaries; important guideposts for field research in contemporary societies.

Arensberg, Conrad. "The Community Study Method." In *The American Journal of Sociology* (1954). LX(2):102-124. Classic field methods for study of United States communities.

Delight in Diversity: Display in the British Museum. British Museum Occasional Paper, Number 118. Seminar 1995. Proceedings of important Seminar in which "outsiders" examined the British Museum's display effectiveness from four perspectives: what is communicated, how is it communicated, with whom, and with what success (p.21). The changes in display and presentation (with an emphasis on diversity) were very evident in 1996.

Ethnographic Needs Assessment: Jamaica Bay/Breezy Point Unit, Gateway National Recreation Area, Final Report. Tracy Fisher, Caroll Jimenez, Suzanne Scheld, and Dana Traplin, The Graduate Center, City University of New York. Under the Supervision of Dr. Rebecca Joseph, Senior Ethnographer, New England System Support Office, National Park Service. Cooperative Agreement CA1600-9008. October 15, 1995:1-74. Useful reference for comparative analysis and assessment of contemporary urban park sites.

Gable, Eric and Richard Handler. "After Authenticity at an American Heritage Site." In *American Anthropologist* 1996(3):568-578. Examination of the impact of interpretation and presentation changes at the Colonial Williamsburg Site (partly to tell "a new story...including the total colonial community" [p.569],) suggesting that the changes may only be "relabeling"; useful as backdrop for looking at the "authenticity" issues posed by the "Zenger association" debates, theme discussions, and plans for outreach and diversification at Saint Paul's Church National Historic Site.

Scope of Work: Ethnographic Overview and Assessment/Ethnographic Oral and Life Histories, Saint Paul's Church National Historic Site. National Park Service, New England System Support Office. 1996. Pages 1-7.

Pires-Hester, Laura J. *Interim Report I: Preliminary Ethnographic Overview and Assessment, Saint Paul's National Historic Site*, May 29, 1996, pages 1-32; and *Interim Report II: Preliminary Ethnographic Overview and Assessment, Saint Paul's Church National Historic Site*, September 1, 1996, pages 1-66. Submitted to New England System Support Office, National Park Service and Saint Paul's Church National Historic Site. Reports summarize field research carried out from March to September 1996 and include interview summaries, participant-observation at public events and meetings, archival research and assessment and program recommendations.

Singer, Milton. *Semiotics of Cities, Selves, and Cultures: Explorations in Semiotic Anthropology*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1991. Section on revisiting Newburyport (William Lloyd Warner's "Yankee City") almost 50 years later, focussing especially on the "cultural performances" inherent in public celebrations and rituals, such as Independence Day celebrations ("The symbolic and historic structure of an American identity," pages 129-145.) His "Analysis of cultural performances" (pages 31-38) describes Singer's methodology for defining and analyzing the patterns of cultural performances.

Tilden, Freeman. *Interpreting Our Heritage*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press 1977. Introduction to the growth of interpretation tradition within National Park Service; posits six principles of interpretation: revelation of a larger truth; not information but revelation based upon information; combines many arts; chief aim is provocation; present a whole rather than part; and children's and adult presentations are fundamentally different (p.8).

Vlach, John. *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery*. Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1993. A pictorial presentation of enslavement systems "from the bottom up," or as seen from the vantage point--and dwellings--of African-Americans on the plantations, as contrasted with the usual owner/elite perspectives.

Wilson, Steve. "Patriot Games." In *Travel Holiday*. December-January, 1997. Volume 179(10):72. Wilson asserts that entertainment is the main reason for historical travel in the United States.

Appendix C

OTHER DOCUMENTS

DORA KING 610 West 115th Street, #64 • New York, NY 10025 • 212-678-9716

EDUCATION

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
Doctoral Candidate, Cultural Anthropology

UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
MA, Black and Feminist Liberation Theology, 1992
Thesis: Against Feminism: Religious Ideology and Cultural Identity among Creole Women in Sierra Leone

BEREA COLLEGE
BA, Political Science, 1989
Thesis: Morality and the discourse of Self-Interest in American Foreign Policy

FELLOWSHIPS AND AWARDS

- Sheldon Scheps Research Grant, 1995
- Presidents Fellowship, 1994 and 1995
- Union Theological Seminary Fellowship, 1989-92

RESEARCH AND TEACHING EXPERIENCE

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
Teaching Assistant "The Interpretation of Culture" Spring, 1995
Research Assistant 1994-1996

UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
Research Assistant 1989-1991

- Freetown, Sierra Leone Summer, 1995
Conducted Fieldwork on the role of women in the democratization process
- Harare Zimbabwe Summer, 1994
Began research on a project on prisons and the repression of political prisoners.

OTHER EXPERIENCE

MANHATTAN VALLEY YOUTH PROGRAM AT CATHEDRAL OF ST. JOHN THE DIVINE
Case Worker 1992-1993
Worked with teenage mothers and at-risk high school students. Served as an advocate for public services, educational advising and health care.

WORKING PAPERS

- Feminism or Female consciousness: Gendering Democracy in Postcolonial Sierra Leone
- Desire and the State- Power and Resistance in Postcolonial Africa
- Civil War and Adolescent Soldiers in Liberia and Sierra Leone

**National Park Service
St. Paul's Church National Historic Site
Ethnographic Assessment Project**

Release Form

I consent to this interview as part of a research project being conducted for the National Park Service about the St. Paul's Church National Historic Site in Mount Vernon NY. I understand that my remarks/photographs/other materials are to be used for research and/or documentation purposes. If at any time I decide that I do not want to be quoted, I shall so indicate and my wishes will be respected.

My name can be referenced in the report. yes no

Name _____

Address _____

Phone _____

Date _____

Interviewer _____

Location _____

Time _____

Appendix D

SAINT PAUL'S IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY: A PHOTO GALLERY 1946-1996

PHOTO CREDITS

Thanks and appreciation are extended to all who contributed photographs from their collections.

Lloyd and Paulette Shirley

A 1970's Worship Service: Rev. John Zacker, Violet Turner, Winston Belle, and Paulette Shirley (Readers)
 Celebrations in the Parish Hall, 1970's

Ruth Harewood and Gloria Harewood Santos

"Going to Worship...", 1970's
 "Leaving Worship...", 1970's
 Wedding of Gloria Harewood and Donald Santos, August 8, 1975

The Family of the late Adeline Holley Vitkowski

Rev. W. H. Weigle, Adeline Holley (Vitkowski) and Thomas Vitkowski, Sr.

Viewing Renovations in Progress, 1946, *Religious News Service Photo*

Wedding of Elizabeth W. H. Weigle, April 4, 1946

Wedding of Adeline Holley and Thomas Vitkowski, Sr., 1946

Vitkowskis at Home in renovated Parish Hall, 1946, *Religious News Service Photo*

Adeline Holley Vitkowski and the "Liberty Bell", *Wide World Photo*

"Anne Hutchinson and daughter Suzanne..." or Adeline Holley Vitkowski and Daughter Anne, 1957, *Photographer Marrone, Westchester County Publishers*

Anne Vitkowski, Daisy Webb, and Grace Howland, June 30, 1962, *The Daily Argus*

Wedding Photos of Anne Vitkowski and Howard Krebaum, August 8, 1975

Thomas Vitkowski, III and William Jackson, Jr. on Independence Day 1979, *The Daily Argus*

Ed Whitcomb and Wayne Kempton, Cathedral of St. John the Divine

St. John the Divine Church (Church of St. John and St. Paul Episcopal) after the fire of February 28, 1988

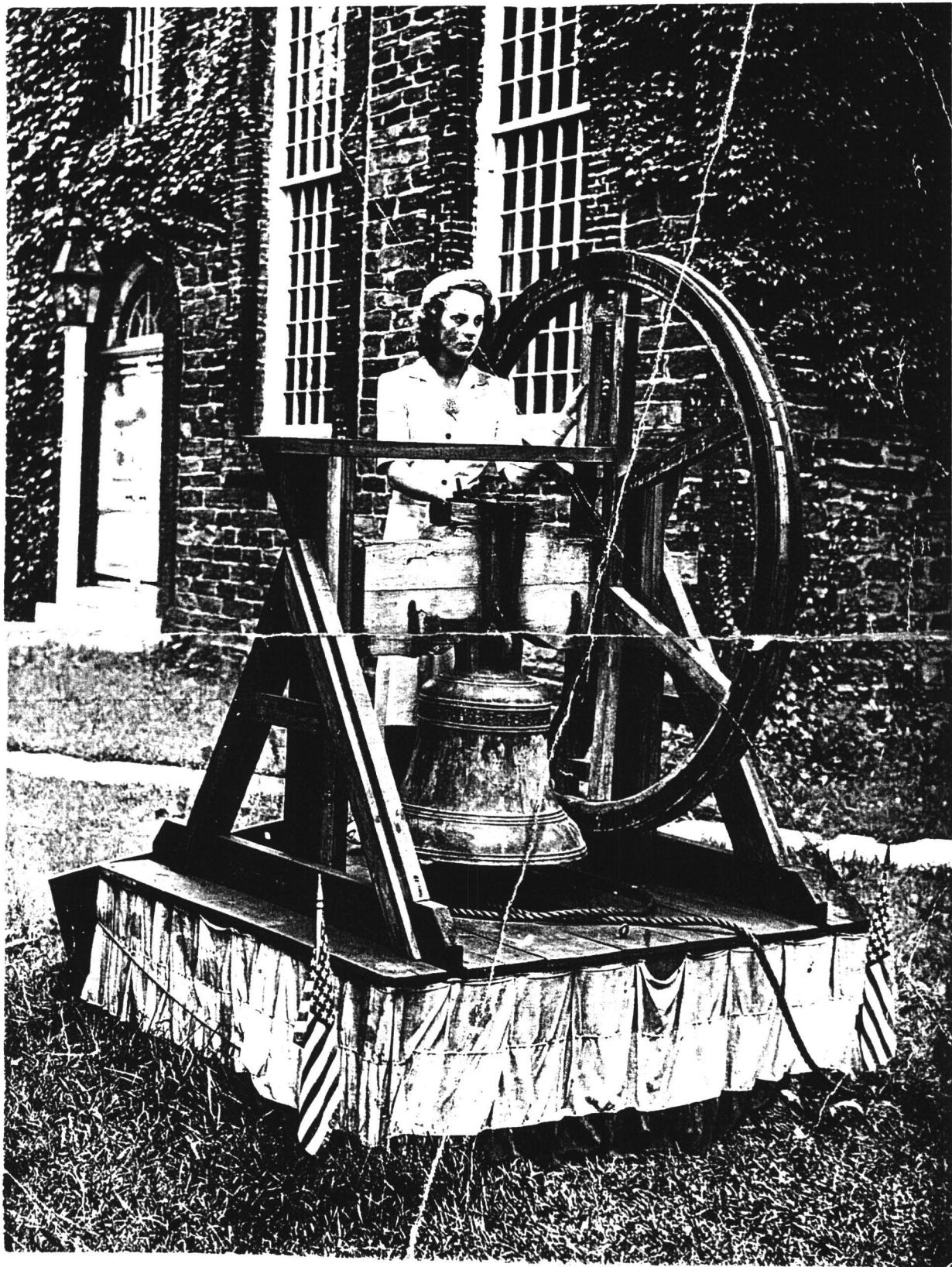
Herb Remer

Independence Day 1996 (including cover photo of Vanessa Bullock and Maura Riley)

Following photos by Laura Pires-Hester:

Bishop J. Stuart Wetmore and Frances Wetmore at Home, Millbrook NY
 (June 10, 1996)

When the Train Came: A Reading by Dr. Larry H. Spruill (October 19, 1996)
 "We Are Still Here" Staff Development Conference (November 5, 1996)



ADELINE HOLLEY VITKOWSKI AND "LIBERTY BELL"



REV. WEIGLE, ADELINA HOLLEY (VITKOWSKI), THOMAS VITKOWSKI, JR
(RENOVATIONS OF PARISH HALL, 1946)



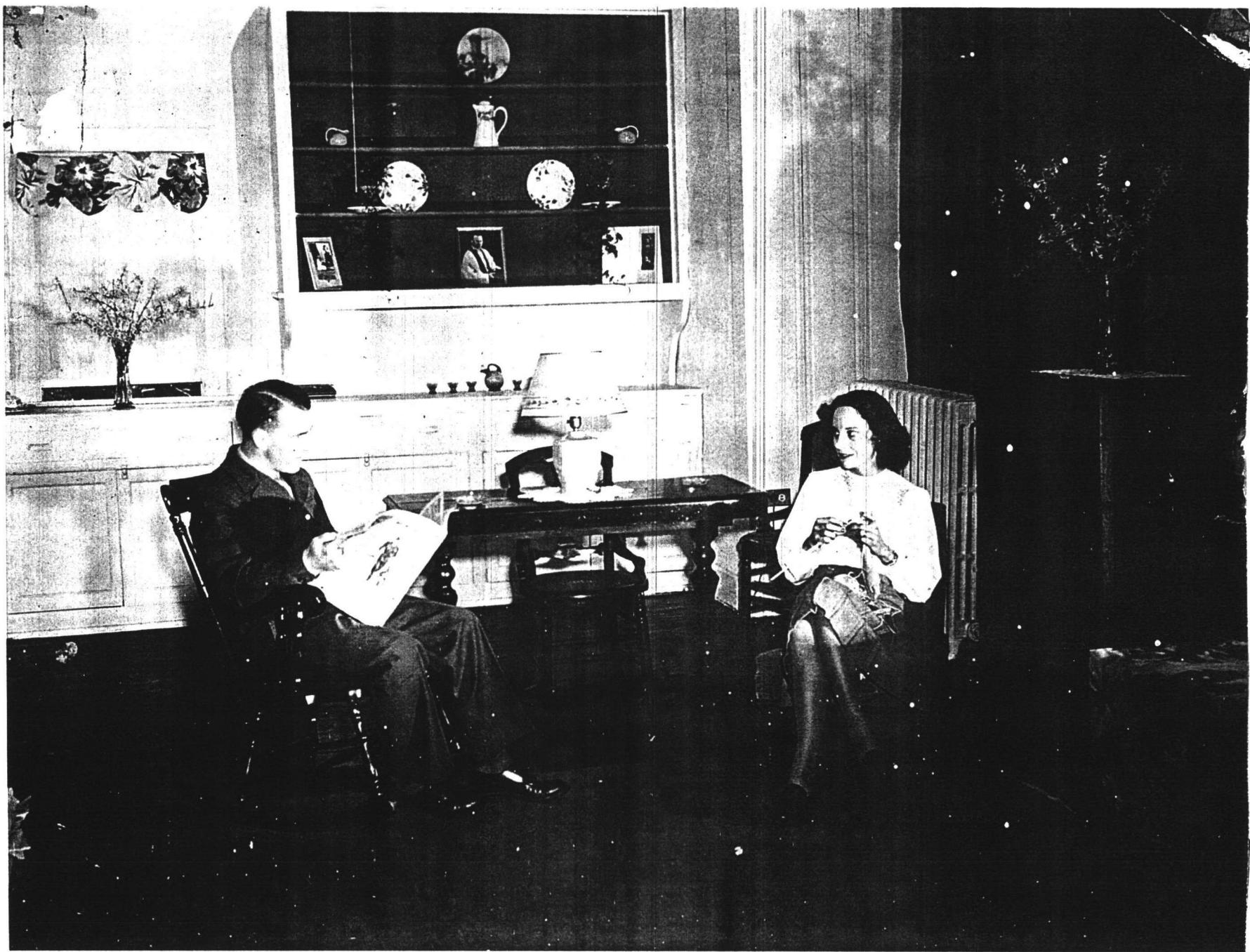
ANNE VITKOWSKI, DAISY WEBB (WITH CANNONBALL FIRED BY
HESSIANS), AND GRACE E. HOWLAND

JULY 1959



"ANNE HUTCHINSON AND DAUGHTER SUZANNE..."

ADELINE HOLLEY VITKOWSKI AND DAUGHTER ANNE
JUNE 1962



THOMAS VITKOWSKI SR. AND ADELICE HOLLEY VITKOWSKI
AT HOME (IN RENOVATED PARISH HALL), 1946

WEDDING OF ELIZABETH WEIGLE, 1946



WEDDING OF ELIZABETH WEIGLE

APRIL 14, 1941

OFFICIATED BY REV. WEIGLE



WEDDING OF ELIZABETH WEIGLE
APRIL 14, 1941
OFFICIATED BY REV. WEIGLE



WEDDING OF ANNE VITKOWSKI
AND HARVEY KREBAUM
AUGUST 8, 1975



WEDDING OF
GLORIA HARWOOD AND DONALD SANTOS
AUGUST 1975

OFFICIATED BY REV. ALBERT O. LOTT



"GOING TO WORSHIP ... 1970's "



"LEAVING WORSHIP" ... 1970's



HARRIET BIANCHI AND MADELINE SCHAEFFER

1970's



A BAPTISM CELEBRATION AT PARISH HALL, 1910's



ADELINE
VITKOWSKI?

WILLIAM
JACKSON, SR.

MRS.
NARAL

PAULETTE
SHIRLEY

REV.
JOHN
ZACKER

CHARLES
REID?





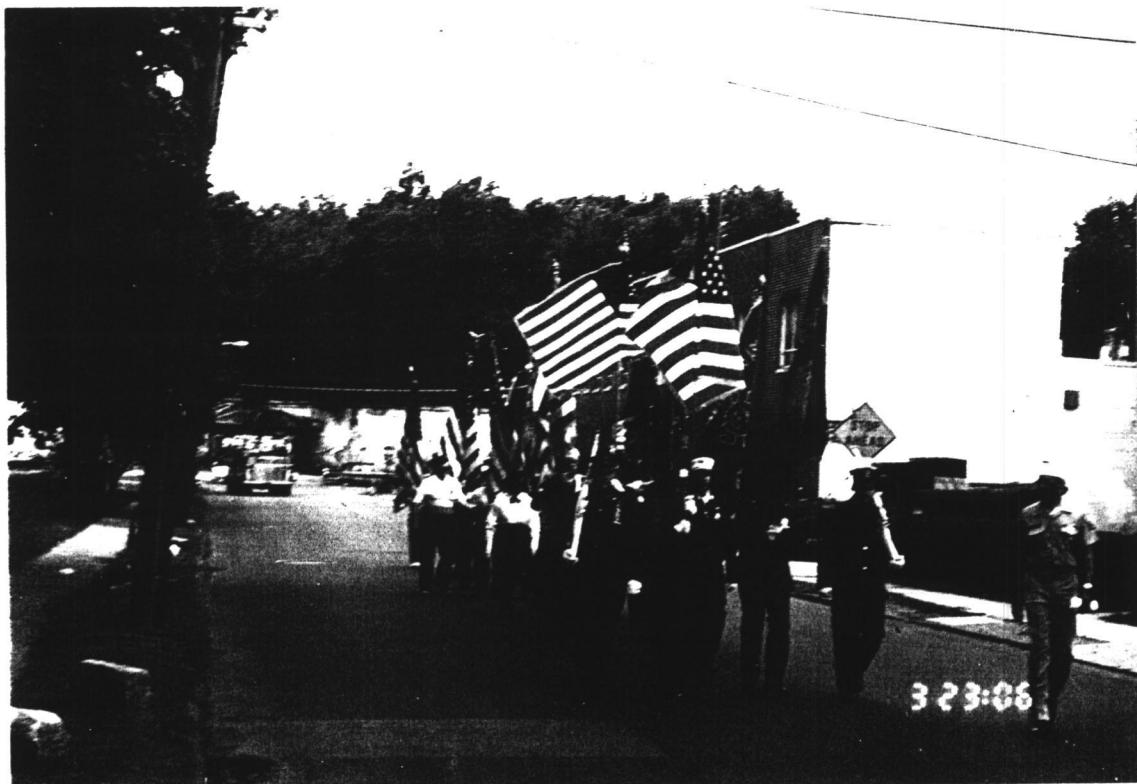
WILLIAM JACKSON, JR. AND TITOMAS VITKOWSKI, JR.
(COUSINS)

JULY 1979

INDEPENDENCE DAY 1996



"DOC" RANDALL AND MUNICIPAL BAND



VETERANS ASSOCIATIONS

(Rgt.) MELVIN GARRETT



MAYOR ERNEST DAVIS AND
SPEAKER HELEN JONSEN



MAYOR ERNEST DAVIS AND
FLAG-BEARER EVELYN JONES



RABBI MORRIS BARZILAI et al...

VANESSA BULLOCK
AND — POST

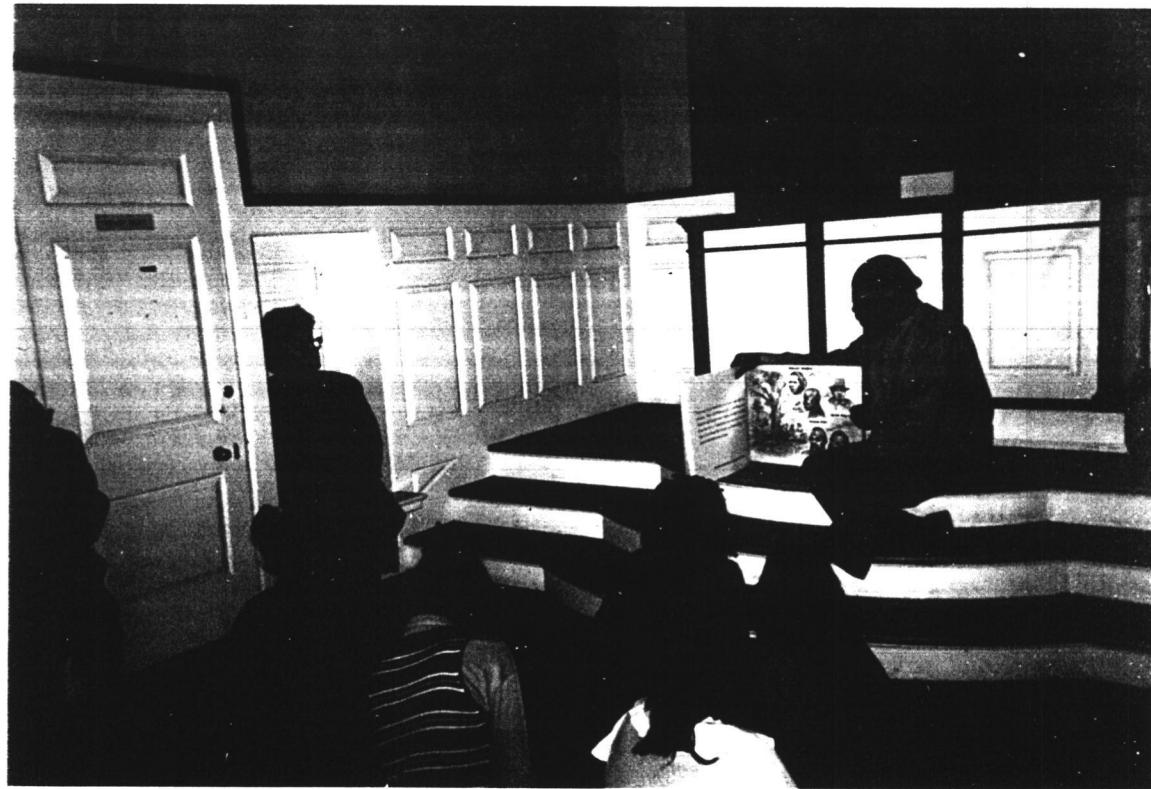
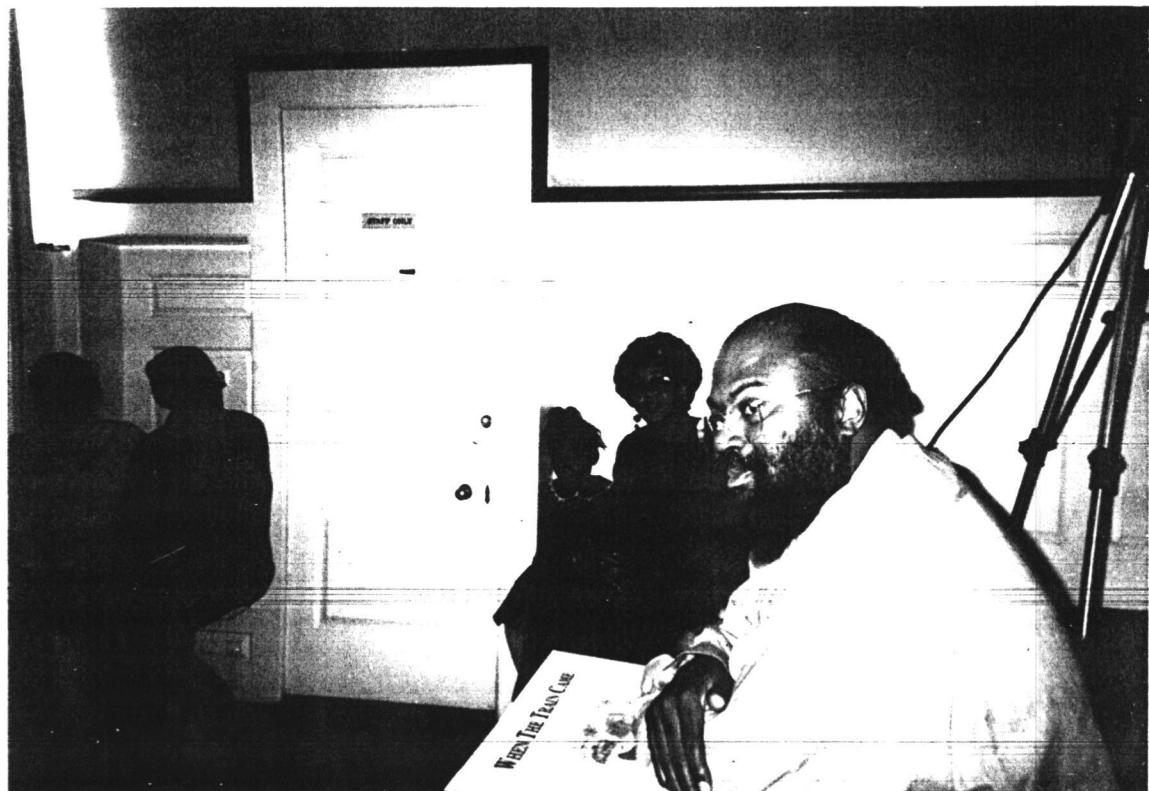


BLONDINA FURTICK (VOLUNTEER)
LAURA PIRES-HESTER
BEVERLY REMER (HEAD
OF VOLUNTEERS)



WHEN THE TRAIN CAME...

A READING



DR. LARRY H. SPRUILL AND
KEY WOMEN / KEYETTE YOUTH GROUP



K24 WOMEN AND KEYETTE YOUTH GROUP



LARRY H. SPRINGER, LAURA PRICE-HESTER, SHARON MILES

BISHOP (RET.)
J. STUART WETMORE
AND FRANCES WETMORE
AT HOME IN
MILLBROOK, NY
(JUNE 1996)

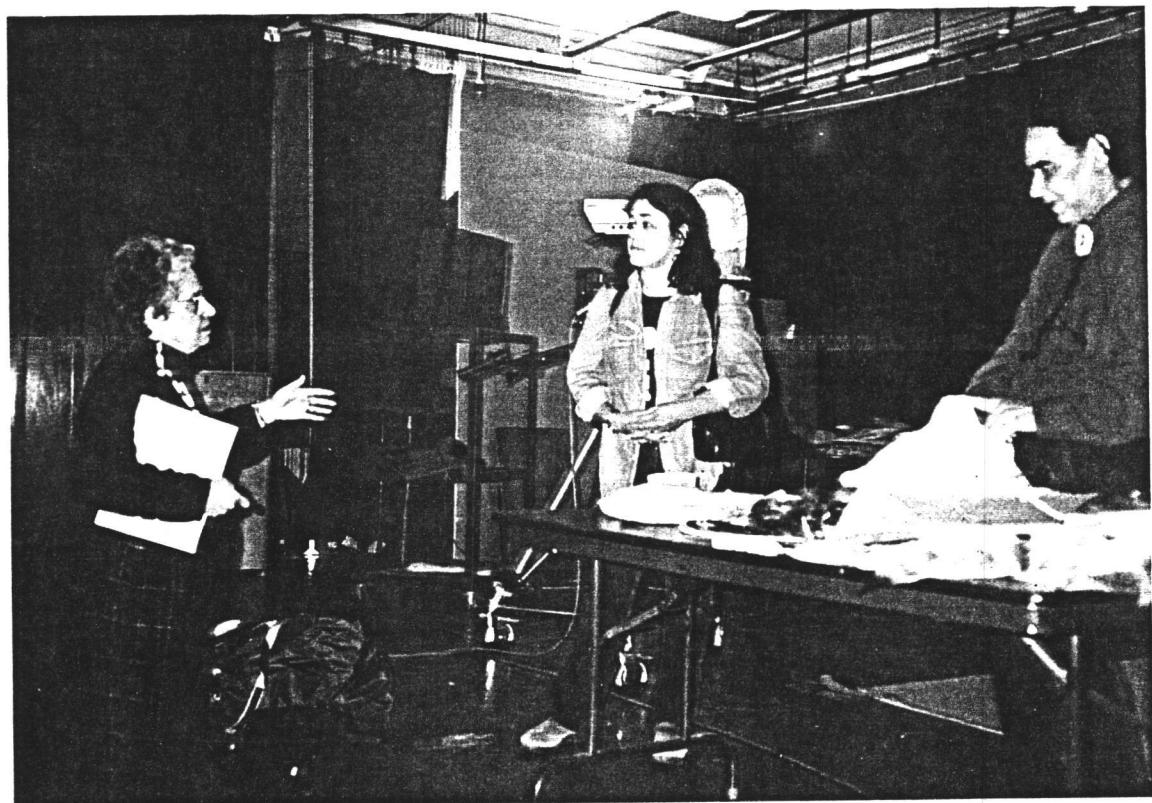


"WE ARE STILL HERE..." - Nov. 5, 1996



RITA BENSON

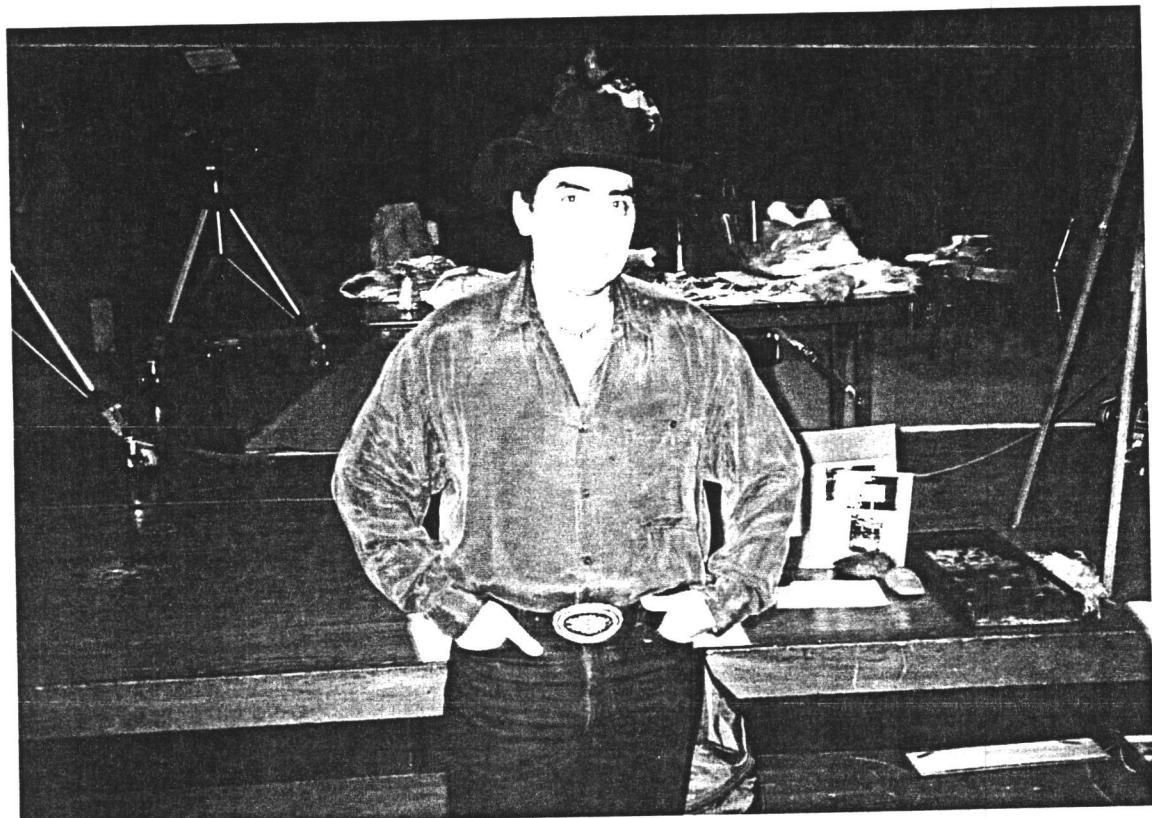
JAMES REVEY



SANDY SUNDERLAND

RITA BENSON

JAMES REVEY



DAVID BLUE WOLF CHAVEZ



LARRY SPRUILL

THOMAS PINE
MUSEUM STAFF

DAVID BLUE WOLF
CHAVEZ