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Bridgehampton in 1800: Isolated or Connected?

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Like today, Bridgehampton inspired contradictory appraisals from visitors two hundred years ago. Schoolmaster Stephen Burroughs thought its residents were simply "illiterate." Arriving in the hamlet from New Hampshire in 1791, he wrote that they "are the genuine picture of ancient times...." He explained in his Memoirs that their "insular situation" on the south fork of Long Island was the cause. (1) Another New England visitor misleads in what he left unsaid. The president of Yale College and Congregational minister, Timothy Dwight, traveled from East Hampton through Bridgehampton on horseback in May 1804 on a trip from New Haven to record local customs on Long Island. He observed that Bridgehampton's "surface is agreeably undulating; the soil better, or better cultivated, than any tract, of the same extent, on our journey; and the houses are in more instances neat in their appearance." (2)

The flamboyant Burroughs, who taught and organized a subscription-based library in the hamlet in 1793, no doubt chose to exaggerate the ignorance and isolation of its residents in order to enhance the significance of his civic contributions.(3) Dwight imposed an equally partial framework on his observations when he implied that Bridgehampton's houses compared favorably even to those of Huntington, and ranked its farm fields the best on Long Island. Like Burroughs' judgments, Dwight's visual assessment of material life in the community fit a larger purpose.(4)

He traveled into New York State because lands along its eastern border and on Long Island had been heavily populated by New Englanders during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As one recent historian has suggested, he sought in his travels to document the "transformation of the wilderness into a civilized society. ... Christianity and private property were the means through which to transform the 'savage' into 'civilized men.'"(5) Thus, given Dwight's assumptions about wilderness and the cultures of Native Americans and New England settlers, Bridgehampton's well-tended landscape and dwellings were the achievements of advancing civilization. Commercial activities and ships were not visible from the vantage point of a horseback rider headed west on the "Main Road to East Hampton," today's Montauk Highway. (6) Yet Dwight's elevated view would influence later scholars. The Yale president's picture, together with Burroughs' image of a tradition-bound and isolated community, helped convince the eminent historian, James Truslow Adams, writing in 1916, that Bridgehampton was "an isolated little country village in 1793." These perspectives continue to color our understanding of the hamlet's social history.(7)

In what ways was Bridgehampton in 1800 cut off from surrounding settlements and means of communications? More generally, how should we think about the isolation and

connectedness of a community relative to the presence, or movement, of people, goods, and ideas? For Burroughs and Dwight, comparisons to earlier experiences in New England served to define their perceptions of the issue. A less subjective assessment requires the study of many facets of contemporary experience, preferably in comparison to neighboring towns, villages and hamlets.(8) That task is complicated for Bridgehampton by the lack of modern studies of Long Island communities comparable to the flurry of books on New England towns published during the 1970s.(9) To begin to address the dilemma, this paper will sketch a framework for a social history of Bridgehampton based on documents from the years 1790 to 1805, that is, after the American Revolution but before the whaling boom. It surveys the hamlet's layout, population, certain economic activities and transportation routes, the institutions that supported its intellectual life, the religious environment, and aspects of its political culture. In doing so, it also explores the material and cultural circumstances that linked residents to outside events and places.

When Dwight wrote in 1804 that "We saw no village in this parish," his standard for comparison was, no doubt, Sag Harbor, or East Hampton where he had just visited with Lyman Beecher, the local Presbyterian minister . These two villages boasted densely laid out house lots along main streets. Dwight counted "about one hundred dwelling houses. ... compactly built...." along East Hampton's main street. In contrast, Bridgehampton, also known as Bull Head, was spread out. The homesteads noted by Dwight were scattered throughout five distinct settlements.(10) Sagaponack and Mecox were communities oriented toward the Atlantic Ocean beach. While the largely forested land eventually succumbed to clear-cutting and highway construction, the land north of the dunes provided a cartway for settlers' use in farming and fishing. The lands known as Hayground, Scuttle Hole, and Huntington Hills were each distinguished by a commons. The concept of Bridgehampton, in evidence in documents by the start of the eighteenth century, included all of these settlements. In 1800 the name was already 100 years old. People felt a sense of belonging to both their settlement, such as Sagaponack or Hayground, and to the hamlet of Bridgehampton.(11)

Where, and how many, people lived in the hamlet's scattered homesteads and settlements? The 1800 federal census holds some clues. In that year "South Hampton" Town numbered fewer than 3700 "Free" men, women, and children, slaves, and "Others Free." This last category referred, primarily, to African Americans. But it also included those Native Americans, such as the Stephen Cuffee family of Bridgehampton, who resided outside the land leased in 1703 by the Shinnecock tribe from the Town for a thousand years. (12) The Shinnecoeks who lived on the tribal land were not counted.

The census used the town's governmental boundaries, making the contours of a hamlet within the town a challenge to define. But based on the work of local historian William D. Halsey in the 1920s, and evidence from nineteenth century map-makers, the acknowledged boundaries enclosing about twenty-five square miles appear to be, on the west, Noyack Path, lower Deerfield Road and the eastern edge of Mecox Bay, today's Town Line Road on the east, separating Bridgehampton from the Town of East Hampton, the ocean on the south, and Huntington Hills on the north.(13) The Hills separated the

hamlet from bustling Sag Harbor and its growing wealth, fueled by maritime trade and whaling, and their spin-off industries, shipbuilding and rope-making. By cross-referencing households recorded in the 1800 census with a historical street map of homeowners from the same year, the population of Bridgehampton in 1800 likely numbers 1257 and includes 52 free African Americans and 42 slaves.(14) Its roughly 235 households average 5.3 members. In other words, Bridgehampton was a substantial hamlet for its time. In comparison, Concord, Massachusetts numbered roughly 1570 people when it led the American Revolution. Sag Harbor counted only about 850 residents around 1800 and East Hampton's village totaled perhaps 1400.(15)

Residents spent most of their time in a household economy. They farmed, raised horses, cattle, and sheep, fished, tended crafts, and cared for children, the elderly, and the ill. They often bartered for goods and services locally. By the early nineteenth century, the hamlet's fields, meadows, and barnyards had rebounded from the devastating abuse suffered under British occupation from 1776 to 1783. The transformation is reflected in Dwight's picture of a well-maintained rural landscape, its agriculture made abundant by the flatness of the Bridgehampton terrain, largely covered with rich, rock-free, loam, in stark contrast to most of the land in New England. Even Stephen Burroughs' observation, so contrary to Dwight's tone, that the "people are at the lowest ebb in their improvements, [sic] either in agriculture, manufacture, or domestic economy," rings true.(16) For example, advancements in agricultural techniques on eastern Long Island, like New England, did not occur until well into the nineteenth century.(17)

A few Bridgehampton families, however, benefited from large scale enterprise. They took advantage of the hamlet's location along the Main Road. It provided the means for people to learn about urban life "abroad" and to travel in the region, all along exchanging information about business opportunities. Roads and paths led north to the harbors of Long Island Sound, a gateway to New England and the Caribbean. Early in the eighteenth century, merchant Edward Howell, a grandson of the wealthiest among the founders of Southampton Town, opened Merchant's Path from Poxabogue, an area north of Sagaponack, through the woods to Northwest Harbor. He and his three partners sought access to the harbor for their "Whale Company." Other settlers from Sagaponack began to keep small ships at "the harbor of Sagg." Merchants sailed from this soon-to-be-called "Sag Harbor" to trade agricultural products, such as beef, corn, and pork, for molasses, rum, and sugar. They sold whale oil and bone, and other products in Boston for cash, or in exchange for manufactured goods. (18) Their crews observed port life and the array of exotic goods displayed in shops. In telling their stories, these merchants and mariners, like the soldiers and refugees returning from the Revolutionary War, informed the hamlet's residents about life in other places and broadened their horizons.

Three men of substance who engaged in trade beyond Bridgehampton were clearly market oriented and looked to commerce, as well as agriculture, in their pursuit of wealth. Ebenezer White was the grandson of a 1692 Harvard graduate who had been Bridgehampton's first permanent minister. This grandson was an artisan weaver, a merchant, and a lumberer. He recorded his business transactions in an account book which he kept for over sixty years, until his death in 1802. Now visible only in a faint but

clear hand, we learn that he wove cloth to customer order. One customer was Uriah Rogers of Southampton, a major in a Suffolk County regiment who escaped to Connecticut with his family during the Revolutionary War. On October 10, 1786, Rogers purchased "tee Cops" and "1 pound of suger." Glasses and sugar pots frequently appear in White's accounts. (19) He probably acquired his goods from traders in Sag Harbor. In 1769 he supplied "timber for a briganteen," perhaps being built at one of the shipyards near the harbor. In a much later entry, he was paid for the "Carting of bords ... [to] the wharf." In 1801 White was among the four elders elected in the evolving Presbyterian organization of Bridgehampton's main church. (20)

Deacon David Hedges also lived in Sagaponack. A large farmer, confirmed by Burroughs as "a man of extensive property," Hedges was made deacon in 1767 and elected elder the same year as Ebenezer White. Unlike White, he owned slaves, three in 1800, down from the four listed in the census a decade earlier. In 1805, the Deacon had the birth years of his slaves' youngest children recorded in the Southampton

Town Record in compliance with a recent New York State law. It required slave-owners to register all slave births that occurred after July 4, 1799 since male slaves were to be emancipated at age twenty-eight and females at twenty-five. The Town Record shows that Jehu, Voilet, and Kingston were born in 1801, 1803, and 1805, respectively. Their names suggest that their parents came from the French and British West Indies. Like Anthony and William, free blacks listed as heads of household in the Bridgehampton portion of the 1800 federal census, the Southampton town clerk neglected to record the children's surnames, if they had any. (21)

One task Hedges apparently demanded of his slaves was the digging of ditches in Sagg Swamp. Ditches served to drain the wetland and steer the water into a stream. Helped by a dam, the stream powered a water mill. In 1793 the town Trustees granted Hedges and Moses Howell the right to build a fulling mill, or a grist mill, on the body of water called "Sagg Mill pond stream....," the same location where the Town Meeting had required a mill owner to "full [,] Tenter & press the towns cloth" nearly fifty years before. Hedges and Howell built a new fulling mill to wash, stretch, and press the woolen fabric brought to them by household weavers and, perhaps, by the owners of the woolen mill at Calf Creek on Mecox Road, not far away. (22)

As a dairyman, Hedges processed large quantities of cheese which he often sold on the New York market. It was probably transported by packet boat on Long Island Sound from Sag Harbor to New York. The Deacon gained political prominence, as well as prosperity. Southampton's Town Meeting elected him Supervisor during some of the same years when he was representing Suffolk County in the New York State Assembly, in the late 1780s and, again, in the early 1800s. (23)

A third man of means, Captain Nathan Post, also engaged in multiple economic activities, as local magistrate, merchant, and farmer. Post was a militia officer and privateer who had fled Bridgehampton for Connecticut early in the British occupation of Long Island. During the 1790s he assumed part ownership in a brig that engaged in the

West India trade. The investment resulted in substantial profits for Post who, no doubt, used them to expand his farming activities. (24)

During this period, some of Bridgehampton's most important institutions of education and culture had grown along with its wealth, especially after Burroughs' arrival. To many families, the future required an education for young people to prepare for business activities and citizenship. During the school year 1792-93, Burroughs taught an "evening school," in addition to the day school. His adult students studied "mathematics, geography, and rhetoric." (25) Three years later, parents paid for 39 boys and 12 girls to attend the day school for the October-January term and for 46 boys and 8 girls to attend the January-March term. When mapped against an estimate of the available youth population, these figures indicate that over 20% of eligible children were in school for one or more terms during the year. (26)

Not only did Burroughs help improve local education, he spear-headed the most significant event in the hamlet's intellectual life around 1800, the founding of its first library in 1793. Located in a private house on Ocean Road, not far from the school, the library's books reflected the compromise list negotiated between the local minister, the evangelical Aaron Woolworth, and the free-thinking Burroughs. Roughly forty households subscribed to the library that predated the founding of the first public lending library in Concord, Massachusetts by two years. (27) Burroughs' secular books, stressing history and geography, and Woolworth's choices, emphasizing ethics, formed its core holdings. The library also offered religious treatises and novels. In reading fiction, the wealthier, literate locals, like other Americans, were often learning the manners and practice of civility that might improve their social standing. For example, Bridgehampton's new library circulated Samuel Richardson's *Clarissa Harlowe*, a source of helpful social rules and advice. (28)

Readers could fulfill their desire to remain informed of political and international events by reading Frothingham's *Long Island Herald*, Sag Harbor's weekly newspaper from 1791 to 1798, and the first newspaper published on Long Island. (29) Moreover, the federal government responded to the personal needs of the growing, literate portion of the local population, and to the communications requirements of mercantile activity, by establishing a post office in Bridgehampton in October 1794. (30)

Like intellectual life and commerce, religion drew a growing number of participants after the Revolution. An earlier period of religious enthusiasm saw the building of a new meeting house, in 1737. It was more than twice the size of the old one and may have accommodated as many as 350 parishioners. It stood within a half mile of the hamlet's first school, built a few years earlier on the Triangular Commons near the highway. Pastor Aaron Woolworth led "Meetings" at this church until his death in 1821. A 1784 Yale graduate and former student of Timothy Dwight, Woolworth had been ordained after the Revolutionary War, apparently on Long Island, and immediately contracted with "Subscribers" from the "Parish of Bridge Hampton" to serve as minister. By 1790 and for at least a decade, he owned one slave, a domestic servant, no doubt, rather than an agricultural worker. He married Mary Buell, daughter of Samuel Buell, another Yale graduate and the influential revivalist minister at the East Hampton Presbyterian Church.

In 1792 Buell maintained that his congregation had experienced "four harvest times ... of the flocking of souls to Christ." (31) During the 1790s Woolworth, like his father-in-law, was leading his congregation into the revival in evangelical faith associated with the second "Great Awakening," the movement championed by Dwight and others in New England to bring reborn Christians into the church.

Friendship and mutual interest in revivalism continued to bond church leaders in Bridgehampton and East Hampton. After Buell's death in 1798, young Lyman Beecher, another former student of Dwight at Yale, assumed the ministry. Woolworth and Beecher, like Dwight and Buell, saw conversions as a measure of their success as ministers. (32) Their mutual support encouraged their efforts. In an anonymous diary, a young woman living in Bridgehampton in 1805 wrote: "this day I have ben to meeting and Mr beacher preacht Mr wolworth being absent...." (33) Another entry captures her evangelical feelings:

[April] 14 Sunday this day I have ben to meeting and Mr Aron spoke from prover[b] very well .... we are quilty of grose sins ... that we have had set forth before us to day in such a manner as to make the stoutest heart ... tremble (34)

The young woman attended meeting regularly, enjoying the social occasion. She lamented when she was unable "to go to meeting [...] so I shall not be blest with those that I want to see so much...." (35) Years later, Woolworth recalled his congregation's enthusiasm at the revivals that took place in the Meeting House on Sagaponack Road: when under the influence of the Holy Ghost this house for three successive weeks was every evening crowded with hearers solemn as the grave, and listening as for their lives to the message of Salvation. (36)

These local leaders of the Great Awakening aroused the feelings of believers concerned with salvation and a sense of community. They were connected with New England in a communications network of both the written and spoken word. Like mariners, soldiers, large farmers, merchants, and magistrates, preachers also benefited from a wider world of trade and contact.

From Bridgehampton's earliest settlement in 1656, political authority rested with town government in Southampton. Officers were elected annually at the Town Meeting. They levied property taxes, judged civil and criminal cases, regulated relations with the Shinnecocks, ensured care for the poor, maintained school houses, constructed highways, and defended land boundaries through the annual election of a Fence Viewer, charged with seeing that the fences and hedges that marked property boundaries were not moved. (37)

Occasionally, residents were drawn into expressing their views on national issues. One such event came in 1798. With John Adams as president and John Jay as governor of New York, both Federalists, the United States government was launching preparations

for war with France. The French had been attacking American merchant ships in retaliation for the Jay Treaty that favored France's enemy, Great Britain. Local opposition to the government's actions rested on the memory of the harsh British occupation and on merchants' need for trade with the French after Britain closed both its home market and its West Indian colonies to American vessels. Readers of the Herald already found arguments to defend Republican positions against the Federalists, who had begun to levy new taxes for the war effort. (38) Moreover, in July 1798, Congress passed the Sedition Act, severely restricting public criticism of the government's policies. Soon Republican opponents of these policies from Bridgehampton and surrounding communities followed the example of other New York Republicans during the preceding months. (39) With growing support throughout Suffolk County, Republicans organized a political rally to defend "Liberty." It was called for Wednesday, December 19th on the Triangular Commons, a central location in Bridgehampton.

This Commons anchored the new center of the hamlet. In 1700, residents had worshipped at a meeting house located a mile or so to the south of the Commons, closer to the ocean and adjacent to the bridge that connected the Mecox and Sagaponack settlements and gave Bridgehampton its name. The school and new meeting house, built near the Commons, reflected confidence in a future oriented toward commerce, as well as agriculture. Mercantile activity was becoming more valuable than ocean fishing, and travel along the cartway north of the dunes lessened. Merchants now depended on the deep harbors built on the bays to the north. (40) The new center, closer to Sag Harbor, had been cleared of forest during the seventeenth century. It was adjacent to the crossroads of the Main Road to East Hampton, running east-west, and the north-south intersection of "Beach Road" and the "Sag Harbor Road." Militia companies from Bridgehampton, Sag Harbor, Southampton, and East Hampton had trained there prior to the Revolution because it was centrally located on the south fork. By the 1790s, Bridgehampton could boast that it had a church, school, library, tavern, post office, grist mill and store, all within a half mile radius of its center. (41)

Hundreds of people converged on the commons for the rally. Three days later, an account of the events that took place on December 19th was published in Greenleaf's New York Journal and Patriotic Register.(42) While warding off the chill from a northwest wind, the rally celebrants raised a seventy-six foot "Liberty Tree," shorn of its branches. A vane on the top read "Liberty" on one side and displayed an eagle, an American flag, and a "Liberty Cap" on the other. Mottoes, apparently carved into the trunk, read, "No unconstitutional act, no unequal taxes, Liberty of the Press, speech, and sentiment...." (43)

Aaron Burr, the New York City lawyer, Republican, and former United States senator, attended with his client, Ebenezer Dayton. In a bizarre case initiated some months earlier, Dayton, a peddler residing in Connecticut, had sued East Hampton Town for injuries he incurred after a beating by angry, local youths. He had been accused of sparking a measles epidemic by attending church, after having been warned that he was contagious. Several people died. Burr won the case and Dayton was awarded \$1,000 in

damages.(44) Burr, now the leader of the Republicans in the New York State Assembly and the next vice president, may even have addressed the rally.

According to the newspaper account, the crowd sang the "celebrated song of the 'Liberty Tree' " and its leaders raised their glasses and delivered "patriotic toasts," perhaps enjoying rum bought at nearby Wick's Tavern. They toasted "The Tree of Liberty.... The People of the United States.... [and] The Constitution...." and they honored George Washington and those who had lost their lives in the Revolution. The most cheers were reserved, however, for a toast to Thomas Jefferson, our worthy Vice-President; may his republican Virtues, bless our Country, by raising him soon to the first office of government and may the tongue and hand of the slanderer who would injure his honest fame be palsied. (45) The rally thus expressed early support for a Jefferson campaign for President in 1800.

In their toasts, local Republicans also expressed a degree of optimism and engagement uncharacteristic of isolated men. Some may have been troubled by a collective rhetoric or commitment which declared an intent to paralyze the "tongue and hand" of any "slanderer...[of Jefferson's] fame." Surely, this was a rough metaphor to use in a public place in defense of the Vice President's reputation. (46) However, most present were expressing intense national political feelings in their attacks on the Federalists, as their cheers bear witness. On that day, the Triangular Commons was serving as a central meeting ground for jubilant, focused Republicans just as it had for militiamen before 1776 and independence celebrants after 1783. Once again, Bridgehampton was connecting the Hamptons and Sag Harbor in a purpose reflective of its name.

While not a center for any unique intellectual movement, political event or economic development, Bridgehampton nonetheless enjoyed an expanding communications and transport infrastructure by 1800 that kept pace with its residents' changing needs. Contact with Boston, ports on the southern New England shore, the West Indies, Albany and New York City created a web of connectedness. For many people, the network made an escape from illiteracy and isolation possible. For a few, it led to migration. Nathan Sanford, born in Scuttle Hole, educated at Clinton Academy in East Hampton, and at Yale, began his accomplished political career in 1803 when he was appointed United States Attorney for the Southern District of New York by President Jefferson.(47) Others followed. For most, however, home was in Bridgehampton, the place where residents' awareness of a wider world was not always obvious to the visitors who observed their everyday rural life.

(1) Stephen Burroughs, *Memoirs of the Nortorius Stephen Burroughs of New Hampshire* (New York: The Dial Press, 1924), 271-72, 279.

(2) Timothy Dwight, *Travels in New England and New York*, ed. Barbara Miller Soloman, 3 vols. (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1969), 3: 222.

(3) Burroughs, 255, 276-79. The year is derived from an analysis of the seasons referred to in these pages.

- (4) Dwight, 3: 222.
- (5) Solomon, "Introduction," in Dwight, 1: x, xxxvii.
- (6) "Map extending from Water Mill to Wainscott--- About the year 1800," in William Donaldson Halsey, *Sketches from Local History* (Southampton, NY: The Yankee Peddler Book Company, 1966), n.p. Originally published in 1935.
- (7) James Truslow Adams, *Memorials of Old Bridgehampton* (Port Washington, NY: Ira J. Friedman, Inc., 1962), 171. Originally published in 1916. For frequent historical references to the isolation of the villages from Southampton to Montauk, see Mark Ciabattari, "The Literary East End," Lecture Series, 2 Oct 2000 - 21 May 2001.
- (8) I have avoided the use of the terms "town" and "village" in regard to Bridgehampton because they denote forms of local government in New York State. Bridgehampton is a non-self governing hamlet within the Town of Southampton.
- (9) Examples include Philip J. Greven, *Four Generations: Population, Land and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970); John Demos, *A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970); Bruce Daniels, *The Connecticut Town: Growth and Development, 1635 - 1790* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1979).
- (10) Dwight, 3: 217-18, 222. Lyman Beecher was the minister in East Hampton from 1799 to 1810.
- (11) Nathaniel S. Prime defines Bridgehampton as "including Sagg, Mecocks, the Hay Ground and Scuttle Hole" in *A History of Long Island , from Its First Settlement by Europeans, to the Year 1845* (New York: Robert Carter, 1845), 199.
- (12) "Federal Census, 1800, Suffolk County, Long Island, New York," *The New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* Vol. LVI, No. 2 (April 1925): 127-37. The exact population was 3,672. Native Americans on the leased land were noted in the column heading, "Others Free, except Indians, not Taxed." See "Census, 1800," 127, 137. For the Shinnecoeks, see James Truslow Adams, *History of the Town of Southampton* (Bridgehampton, NY: Hampton Press, 1918), 40; John A. Strong, "We Are Still Here!": *The Algonquian Peoples of Long Island Today* (Interlaken, NY: Empire State Books, 1996), 17.
- (13) See Map, 1800 in Halsey; Halsey, 16. I have excluded Wainscott on the east and the land on Halsey's map that is west of lower Deerfield Rd. and around the Water Mill commons. Boundaries are confirmed, although for a somewhat later period, in John Homer French, ed., *Gazetteer of the State of New York* (Syracuse, N.Y.: R. Pearsall Smith, 1860), 638, note 11: Bridgehampton extends "from East Hampton to the W[estern] part of Mecox Bay."
- (14) We can assume that, for the most part, the census-taker went door-to-door, recording names of the "heads of families" and noting the number of family members by gender and age category. Using the map of households for 1800 from Halsey and the territorial boundaries suggested, 118 names appear on the street map as neighbors, in roughly the same order as on the census. An additional 100 family names appear in the census, but not on the map. They are preceded and followed in the census list by the names that appear on the household map. 17 additional names are on the map, but not in the census, making a total of 235 households. See Map, 1800 in Halsey. Writing in 1910, Henry Hedges estimated the population at 1220 in 1776, using a local census. For the town east of Water Mill, the population was 1432 and to the west, 1349, or fewer residents than the

eastern half. See Henry P. Hedges, *Tracing the Past, Writings of Henry P. Hedges, 1817 - 1911, Relating to the History of the East End*, ed. Tom Twomey (New York: Newmarket Press, 2000), 345.

(15) See Richard W. Wilkie and Jack Tager, *Historical Atlas of Massachusetts* (Amhurst: University of Massachusetts Press, ©1991), 140; *Dwight*, 3: 216. My estimate of the population of the village portion of East Hampton Town deducts 150 people from the total of 1549 in the 1800 census to account for Amagansett, Montauk and the part of Sag Harbor located in the Town. See the table, "Size and Population of Towns in Suffolk County, 1650 - 1930," *The East Hampton Star*, 17 November 1933. The population of the Village of Southampton as late as 1870 was only 943. Hedges, 345.

(16) *Burroughs*, 271-2

(17) Soloman, in *Dwight*, 1: xxx, n. 43. The east end of Long Island tended to mirror New England developments in agriculture.

(18) See Hedges, 182; Adams, *Southampton*, 83, 140-142, 232 note.

(19) For Pastor White, see Hedges, *Tracing*, 96-97. For Ebenezer White identified as a farmer, see "List of Persons taking Oath of Allegiance, 1778," Class 5, Vol. 1109, Colonial Office Papers, Public Record Office, London, copy, assigned 7. Rogers appears on a 1783 list owning a ten acre Town Lot worth £500, reproduced in Adams, *Southampton*, 174. For the granting of a pass to Rogers by the Committee of Southampton on 31 August 1776 to evacuate his family, see *The Third Book of Records of the Town of Southampton, Long Island, N.Y., ...*, transcribed by William S. Pelletreau (Sag Harbor, N.Y.: John H. Hunt, 1878), 409. Ebenezer White's Ledger, MVL 114, Bridge Hampton Historical Society, Bridgehampton, N.Y., 105, 107.

(20) *Ledger*, 47, 105; Hedges, 103.

(21) *Burroughs*, 268; Frederic Gregory Mather, *The Refugees of 1776 from Long Island to Connecticut* (Albany: J. B. Lyon Co., 1913), 393; Hedges, *Tracing*, 65, 103. For slaves by household, see *Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790*, New York (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1908), 167; *Census, 1800*, 138. For the 1799 New York law, see Edgar J. McManus, *Black Bondage in the North* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1973), 177; *Town Records*, 374; *Census, 1800*: 132-33; *Map, 1800*, in Halsey.

(22) The ditching of Sagg Swamp by slaves is quoted in Paul H. Curts, ed., *Bridgehampton's Three Hundred Years* (Bridgehampton, N.Y.: The Hampton Press, 1956), 120; *Town Records*, 112-13, 366.

(23) *Burroughs*, 268. For ships to New York, see Adams, *Southampton*, 213. For political offices, see *Records of Southampton Town Meetings*, 4 April 1786, 2 April 1799, 5 April 1803, 3 April 1804, 1 April 1806, 7 April 1807, in *Town Records*, 312, 356, 365-66, 375, 381; Franklin B. Hough, *The New York Civil List from 1777 to 1858* (Albany: Weed Parsons & Co., 1858), 163-65, 177, 179-80.

(24) See Adams, *Bridgehampton*, 137-38. On trade, see *Burroughs*, 269-70. The British West Indies were partially reopened to American trade in the 1790s. Post's gravestone in Poxabogue Cemetery, Sagaponack, NY, reads in part, "respectable Magistrate...a good Patriot."

(25) *Burroughs*, 278.

(26) See Halsey, 35, 37. The total for the male and female age category, 10-15, among Bridgehampton families is about 170. See *Census, 1800*: 127-37. I've added 50 children

to address the ages 16 and 17. The number is based on assuming that somewhat fewer children of that age category would attend school than the average 28 children of each age from the 10 to 15 group.

(27) The subscription price was £1 and the total subscription about £40. See Burroughs, 279-80; Halsey, 115.

(28) For a version of the original 1793 book list, see Halsey, 116-17. The library survived into the early nineteenth century. For a discussion of the dissemination of books on manners and the influence of novels, see Richard L. Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992) 29-30, 36.

(29) For an analysis of the newspaper's contents, see Beatrice Diamond, *An Episode in American Journalism: A History of David Frothingham and His Long Island Herald* (Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1964), 68-91. Sag Harbor had no newspaper from December 1798 until 1802, when the Herald's publisher launched a new paper. See Steven R. Coleman, "Political Journalism in the 1790s: Frothingham's Long Island Herald," *Long Island Historical Journal*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (Fall 1991): 101.

(30) Ernest S. Clowes, *Wayfarings* (Bridgehampton, N.Y., 1953), 263-4. The Sag Harbor post office dates from 1794. Coleman, 97. The Southampton post office dates from 1804. Adams, *History*, 215.

(31) See Hedges, 93-95, 98; Adams, *Bridgehampton*, 191, 203; Census, 1800, 133; Buell is quoted in Timothy Breen, *Imagining the Past: East Hampton Histories* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., Inc., 1989), 203.

(32) For references to revivals in Bridgehampton and East Hampton in 1804, see Dwight, 222; Soloman in Dwight, I: xviii.

(33) Anonymous Diary, 1805-06, LI Doc 75, Hampton Library, Bridgehampton, NY, assigned 63.

(34) *Ibid*, 31.

(35) *Ibid*, 37.

(36) Quoted in Hedges, 111, and referring to events of 1800..

(37) See examples in *Town Records*, 358, 372-73, 376, 406; Adams, *Southampton*, 97-102.

(38) Coleman, 98-100.

(39) Alan Taylor, *William Cooper's Town, Power and Persuasion on the Frontier of the Early American Republic* (New York: Vintage Books, 1996), 263-65.

(40) For meeting house and beach travel, see Adams, *Bridgehampton*, 185-86, 190-91. The first known school was built in 1720 and faced the Triangular Commons, close to the Main Road.

(41) See Halsey, 70. By 1800 the Commons was enclosed by the Main Road on the north, Beach Road on the east- southeast, the cemetery, Mill Hill, and the school on the west-southwest. See Halsey, *Map*, 1700, n.p., *Map*, 1800, n.p.

(42) Henry Dering had ceased printing the Herald two days earlier, concerned about the political atmosphere that had developed in response to the Sedition Act. See Coleman, 101.

(43) Quoted in Diamond, 50-51. The Republican-leaning New York Journal supported Thomas Jefferson and other opponents of the Federalists.

(44) Diamond, 50; "He Visited Long Island with War and Pestilence," *Waterbury Republican*, 31 January 1932, 3.

(45) Quotes are from the New York Journal, see Diamond, 50-51. For a discussion of public entertainment devoid of refinement, see Bushman, 49.

(46) See Taylor's discussion of "rhetorical violence," 181.

(47) Grover Merle Sanford, *The Sandford/Sanford Families of Long Island* (Baltimore: Gateway Press, Inc., 1975), 27; Nathan Sanford Appointment Letter, 18 November 1803, Box 13, RG59, Appointment Records, Administration of Jefferson, 1801-09, National Archives, Washington.