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On the Landscape for a Very, Very Long Time: African American Resistance and Resilience in 19th and Early 20th Century Massachusetts

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**ON THE LANDSCAPE FOR A VERY, VERY LONG TIME:
AFRICAN AMERICAN RESISTANCE AND RESILIENCE IN 19th AND EARLY
20th CENTURY MASSACHUSETTS**

A Dissertation Presented

by

Anthony F. Martin

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of the requirements for the degree of

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20th CENTURY MASSACHUSETTS**

A Dissertation Presented

by

ANTHONY F. MARTIN

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DEDICATION

To my mother, father, sisters, and brother.

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My graduate school journey began when I retired from 20 years in the United States Army. Many people accompanied me along the way, and some staying until completion. There are many people that I would like to thank for their friendship, guidance, assistance and teaching. Dr. Warren Perry has been in my life since I retired from the military in 2006. That summer, I was able to begin to actually practice archaeology by participating in a Central Connecticut State University (CCSU) archaeological field school at Phelps Tavern, Simsbury, Connecticut. This was an enlightening experience. Dr. Perry helped me begin thinking differently about the world we live in.

That fall and the following summer I took a few of Dr. Perry's classes to refresh my anthropological knowledge. Upon his recommendations, I joined Rice University's field school on Gore Island, Senegal, and Syracuse University in Ghana, where I was able to hone my archaeological and laboratory skills.

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ABSTRACT

ON THE LANDSCAPE FOR A VERY, VERY LONG TIME: AFRICAN AMERICAN RESISTANCE AND RESILIENCE IN 19TH AND EARLY 20TH CENTURY MASSACHUSETTS

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Massachusetts is an ideal place to study Africans in New England during the 19th and early 20th century because the state abolished slavery in 1783, while surrounding states and the federal government did not. Although Massachusetts Blacks had certain rights and freedoms and the state became a haven for escaped captive Africans from surrounding states, it remained segregated White space and had racialized social, political, and economic structures to regulate and control the Black population. Yet, within adversity, the African Americans established their own communities and agitated for full citizenship, equality, and the end to African captivity. Their daily life has been elucidated with the documentary record and archaeology. The study takes as its entry point the materiality of African American lives as manifested in archaeological assemblages and their material spatial relations. This dissertation uses census data and other documents to explore facets of racialized space in the following Massachusetts cities and towns: Andover, Plymouth, Great Barrington, Pittsfield, Boston, and Nantucket. With these documents, forms of racialization also illuminate spatial separation and the intersection of education, occupation, race and gender. Through comparisons of thirteen archaeological assemblages spanning the eastern and western

parts of the state, along with one of the islands, it is apparent that the material culture reflects the existence of moral uplift, racialization, consumerism, and the transition from African to African American. This study underscores the long period of time that Black people have lived in the state. Additionally, it explores historically documented Black communities, thereby expanding the imprint of the population on the landscape. While Massachusetts has numerous sites, those in the 19th century and 20th century are mostly homesites and are concentrated in certain areas. Only one major city, Boston, has excavated multiple African American sites. There is a significant need for future archaeological research, for instance, in the Massachusetts towns and cities that host African American heritage trails, to learn more about people who have traversed this landscape for a very, very long time.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The main goal of this dissertation is to study the racialization processes affecting African Americans living in Massachusetts in the 19th and 20th centuries. I am particularly concerned with how the everyday life of people of African descent were affected by discriminatory social, political/legal, and economic structures that operated at the local, state, and federal level. The processes put into place during this period denied and continued to deny these marginalized people unobstructed access to the full rights and privileges this country has to offer.

The study takes as its entry point the materiality of African American lives as manifested in archaeological assemblages and their material spatial relations. Studying the material culture from homeplaces that have been the focus of archaeological investigation provides insights into women's lives, the transition from African to African American identities, and the power relations involved in consumerism.

African American archaeology in the United States began in Massachusetts in 1940 at Lucy Foster's Homestead (Black Lucy's Garden) in Andover. Since then several more sites have been intensively studied in Massachusetts (see Table 1.1) which have provided a wealth of information about individuals, institutions, and communities within the Commonwealth. The extensive documentary record and the increasing number of African American archaeological sites in Massachusetts provides a rich set of archaeological studies to study the racialization of space and the organization of power relations that affected African American people from the beginning of the 19th century to the early 20th century.

Table 1.1: African American Archaeological Sites in Massachusetts

Archaeological Site	Location	Source Material
Lucy Foster Site (Black Lucy's Garden)	Andover	Bullen and Bullen 1945
African Meeting House	Boston	Bower and Rushing 1980, 1982; Bower et. al. 1984; Bower and Crosby 1985; Bower and Charles 1986; Bower 1986, 1987; Landon et. al. 2007
Parting Ways	Plymouth	Deetz 1977, 1996
Cato Freeman Site	North Andover	Mrozowski and White 1982; Rotenstein, et. al. 2000
W.E.B. Du Bois Homesite	Great Barrington	Paynter et. al. 1992, 1994, 2008
Whydah Shipwreck Site	Cape Cod	Hamilton 1992
The Reverend Samuel Harrison Homestead	Pittsfield	Manning Sterling 2012
Peter Faneuil School Site	Boston	Clayton et. al. 1993
Abiel Smith School	Boston	Mead 1995; Pendery and Mead 1999, 2006
African Meeting House	Nantucket	Berkland 1999; Beaudry and Berkland 2007
The Royall House and Slave Quarter	Medford	Blake 1998; Chan 2003, 2007
Paddy's Alley and Cross Street Back Lot Sites	Boston	Cook and Balicki 1998
Mill Pond Site	Boston	Cheek and Balicki 2000
Polly and Nathan Johnson Site	New Bedford	Heitert 2005
Robert Roberts' House	Boston	No Report

Four questions frame the dissertation, which I intend to address with census data and the remains recovered archaeologically. They are:

1. What were the social, political, spatial, racial, and economic epochal structures used to racialize African American lives in the 19th and early 20th century and how did African Americans resist and navigate these structures?
2. What was the daily life of African Americans in Massachusetts like between 1800 and 1915, and especially African American women?
3. Is there any indication of a transition from African to African American identity?
4. Is there any evidence of participation in the consumer market?

My study begins with 1800 because it provides a good look at assemblages before the major 19th-century transition in African descent community identity and social thought. Starting in the 1830s Black communities in the North increasingly concerned themselves with formulating new strategies to gain equality with Whites and agitate for the end of African captivity. For example, by the 1830s, in both the naming of organizations and references to themselves, Black communities began to replace names like “African” with “Colored,” or “persons of color,” which would change again to “American” in the 1840s and 1850s (Alexander 2008; Horton 1993; Rael 2002; Sweet 2003). I use the end date of 1915 because that marks the end date of archaeological studies of the African American communities in my sample.

To study the racialization process in Massachusetts, I analyzed the archaeological assemblages and landscapes of eleven African American sites (See Table 1.2), drawing on other archaeologists who have studied the materiality of racialization and daily life of African Americans at these sites. Figure 1.1 is a map that illustrates the spatial landscapes of the sites in this study.

To study racialization and the daily life of African Americans in Massachusetts during the 19th and early 20th century, I used a modified version of Charles Orser’s (2007) racialization of space framework. By racialization, I mean the act of categorizing people into specific groups on the basis of phenotypes, which is used to essentialize particular traits of their culture (Winant 1994; Orser 2007). The racialization is manifested as a physical landscape, portable artifacts, and social, educational, political/legal, and economic practices. I am most concerned with the consumer goods in these assemblages to see if any of these sites can be applied to my analysis of racialized

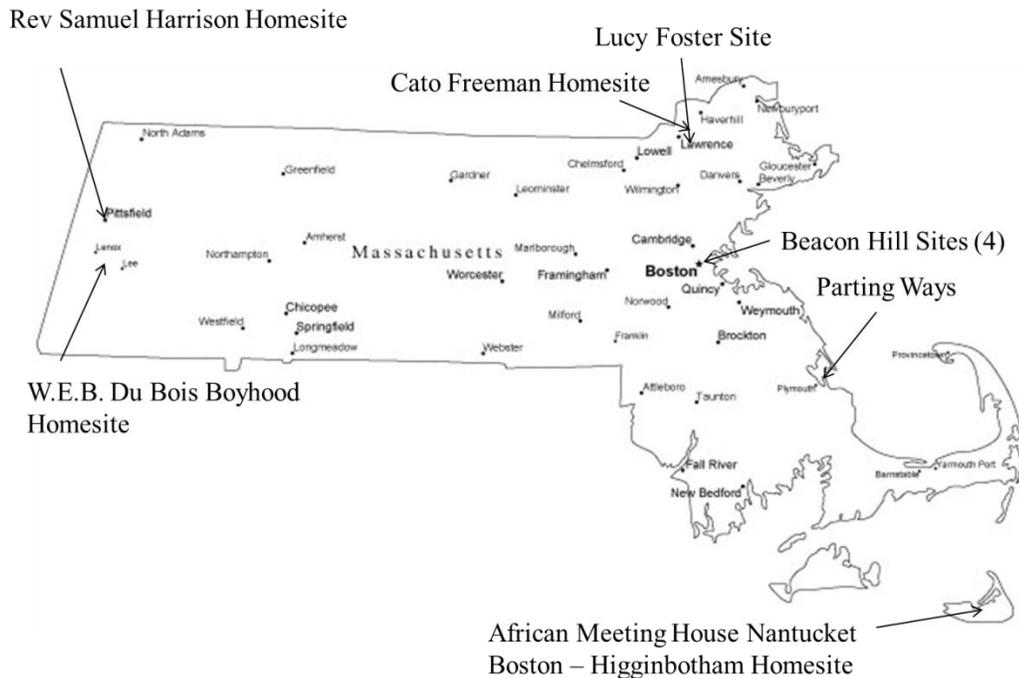
power relations and racialized space. This framework analyzes material culture by incorporating the theory of habitus with the social, political/legal, and economic structures constructed by the dominant society. Using Orser's framework, I will show how the material culture from archaeological sites and institutional structures figure in the materiality of social and ideological barriers created by the dominant society to deny African Americans equality and full American citizenship in the 19th and early 20th century. In addition to the artifact analysis, I will use census data to illuminate the communities within which these sites are situated.

The U.S. Marshals were responsible for gathering census data until 1870, after which the March 3, 1879 act replaced them with specially trained census enumerators (U.S. Census Bureau; Wright and Hunt 1900). Door-to-door acquisition of census data as a primary method was supplanted by mailing in 1960 (U.S. Census Bureau). The U.S. Marshals received some instructions from census acts and little training, and were not provided printed schedules until 1830 (U.S. Census Bureau; Wright and Hunt 1900). The time for gathering census data changed from six months up to 1870 to nine months in 1880 (Wright and Hunt 1900). This would explain the non-standardized formats encountered in the various towns and counties of this study. The census instructions required U.S. Marshals to visit every dwelling or make contact with the head of the household (Wright and Hunt 1900). This would change to making contact with all members of the household starting with the 1850 census (Wright and Hunt 1900). It is not known how each marshal conducted this data gathering. Because of this, the dissertation will guardedly assume the manuscripts are an imprecise measure of people living near one another.

Table 1.2: African American Sites Studied in this Dissertation

Lucy Foster Site (Black Lucy’s Garden)	Andover
Cato Freeman Site	North Andover
Parting Ways	Plymouth
W.E.B. Du Bois Boyhood Homesite	Great Barrington
Rev Samuel Harrison Site	Pittsfield
African Meeting House	Boston
44 Joy Street	Boston
Abiel Smith School	Boston
Peter Faneuil School Site	Boston
African Meeting House (African Baptist Church)	Nantucket
Seneca Boston-Florence Higginbotham House	Nantucket

Figure 1.2 Map of sites in this study.



Source: www.mapresources.com Map modified by author

Racialized power relations have a long history in the United States, a history that is manifest in spatial separation and in the things people used and discarded. Dominant societies put people who do not look, talk, and think like them on the margins. These marginalized groups of people, the “Other,” are often found on social and spatial fringes and reside separate from the dominant society. For instance, the historical and archaeological record confirms the existence of “freed” communities of people of African descent in the North in the 1820s (Deetz 1996; Egerton 2009; Greene 1969[1942]; Horton and Horton 1997; Paynter 1994). These communities disappeared from the landscape due to many factors; some did not create a second generation and died off due to malnutrition and disease (Lemire 2009), while others were dispersed after the land they lived on was appropriated for other uses, exemplified by the destruction of Seneca Village for the creation of Central Park in New York City (Alexander 2008; Rosenzweig and Blackmar 1992; Wall et al. 2008; Wall and Rothchild 2011) and the destruction of the “outsider community” in Hartford for the creation of Bushnell Park (Douyard 2005). However, most of these factors can be traced to an industrial capitalism/Industrial Revolution embedded with racism.

By the second and early third decade of the 1900s, Black communities such as Greenwood in Oklahoma City and Rosewood, Florida, faced the torch. Into the 1950s and 1960s, segregated neighborhoods were called blighted and torn down to make way for new interstate systems (Blas 2010); torn down for the Indiana University-Purdue University’s parking lots (Mullins 2006); destroyed by the expansion of the Naval Academy at Annapolis (Mullins 1996, 1999a); and by the expansion of Cape Canaveral into the Black community of Allenhurst (Paul 2010). The Gullah from South Carolina

lost their homes on the Sea Islands and coastal regions of South Carolina to gated communities and tourist attractions in the name of heritage preservation (Hargrove 2009). Racialization can be seen in material culture as well. Racialization is easily spotted in advertisements, literature, knickknacks, and toys.

Patterns of daily life intersect with racialization, the transition from African to African American, and consumer culture. The study of the daily life of African Americans, especially women, though often obscured in archival sources will provide clues into a relatively “invisible” demographic during this period because women are “visible” through the artifacts left behind. Peering into their daily lives will also provide indicators of resistance to the dominant cultural norms and most importantly provide clues to the resilience of a people.

Studying archaeological assemblages over the course of the 19th century can also provide insight into the transition from African to African American identity. One of the research questions in the New York African Burial Ground (Perry et al. 2006, 2009) research design was to examine/track the transition of Africans into African Americans. My study will contribute to the documentary record on this transition in Massachusetts after the abolition of African captivity.

The racialization process and the transition work hand and hand because marginalized groups use similar customs, traditions, behaviors, symbols, and phenotypes to solidify their socially constructed identity. Therefore, particular artifacts can set African Americans apart from the dominant culture and can be considered a form of resistance. This resistance can come tangibly and intangibly. Tangible forms include clothing, hairstyles, musical instruments, religious symbols, dwelling construction and

pattern settlement, and adornment articles from their homeland. Intangible forms include music, dance, and religion. Resistance may take other forms that might be hard to discern. Types of utilitarian subsistence articles can also be indicators of retaining traditional practices over adopting those of the dominant culture. Some of these artifacts would include the appearance of more bowls in the assemblage, which would be an indicator of meals that consume more soups and stews. Another indicator could be an abundance of canning jars, which indicates preservation of certain foods. However, we need a more contrapuntal look at the society to understand on the meaning of some of the forms of material culture.

To study how consumerism figured in the racialization process and in daily lives, I will use Paul Mullins' (1996, 1999a) analysis of consumer culture as evidence of resistance through the use of the national market by African Americans and disclosed in their assemblages in Annapolis, Maryland from 1850 to 1930. Mullins encountered a surprisingly large number of national and regional brand products in these assemblages, a feature that he argues was due to Black effects to resist the racist climate and practices of local White merchants. These products and other consumer goods were fashionable within this period. The presence of these artifacts will assist in exploring the climate of the color line using subsistence patterns and racialized advertisements of products available to consumers in Massachusetts between 1800 and 1915. The proposition guiding this work, developed by Mullins (1996, 1999a), is that African Americans in Annapolis circumvented local racialization by using nationally circulated goods when available. Although traces of such consumerism may be evident as early as the 1820s

(Sweet 2003), these patterns will be detectable in assemblages of the latter half of the 19th and early 20th centuries.

Why study racialization? Why study it in Massachusetts? As W.E.B. Du Bois stated, “The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line”; this continues to be a problem into the 21st century (Du Bois 1969: 54). This was also the problem of the 16th through 19th centuries in the European colonies and increasingly throughout the world. Although the scientific concept of race formed in the 18th century, the process of dividing people into groups based on the phenotypes begins in the 1500s with the advent of European exploration in Africa, Asia, and the Americas (Smedley 1999: 17, 158-160; Orser 2007). The social construction of “race” in the United States was solidified in 18th century and strengthened during the 19th century as a tool to justify African captivity and later the domination and exploitation of entire groups of people (Smedley 1999; Epperson 1994, 1997, 1999; American Anthropological Association 1998). Lee Baker (1998: 17) argues that race became a social construct with the signing of the U.S. Constitution and how we view it today was solidified and inculcated into the American consciousness with the help of science and the Jim Crow South in the 1890s.

Massachusetts is an ideal place to study racialization. Massachusetts legally abolished the institution of slavery by judicial decree in 1783 after a confluence of events that included the Revolutionary War, the state constitution of 1780 (which made no mention of slavery), people of color agitating for their freedom, a series of court cases in the 1770s and 1780s, pamphleteering, and changing social, political, and economic forces (Belknap 1891; Bell 2016; Breen 1997; Cushing 1961; Egerton 2009; Minardi 2010; Nash 1990; Paynter and Battle-Baptiste forthcoming; Piper and Levinson 2010; Sweet

2003, Zilversmit 1967, 1968). Two of the more famous cases by people of African descent involved Quock Walker and Elizabeth Freeman, against their captors. Massachusetts was one of the first states in the Union to eradicate the system. The only other state to legally abolish the institution that early was Vermont in 1777. However, the Vermont constitution of 1777 appears to have had a clause which allowed for the “binding out” of Black and White children (Melish 1998: 64). The legal abolition of slavery was done in Massachusetts eighty-two years before an amendment was passed to the U.S. Constitution banning the practice and, although many northern states adopted forms of gradual emancipation in the last two decades of the 18th century, each of these states had captive Africans recorded in the First U.S. Census of 1790. The abolition of slavery in Massachusetts and Vermont must be preceded with adjective “legally.” There is evidence that suggests that African captivity might have still been present in the state as late as 1790 with captors being told not to list enslaved workers as captives (Adams and Pleck 2010; Gomez 1998; Melish 1998). Emancipation in 1783 contributed to the process of racialization by the White population of themselves and people who did not look like them and this process is manifested in the social, political, and economic fabric of the state (Melish 1998; Paynter 2001).

Why study it through archaeology? Archaeology is in a unique position to illuminate the lives of people poorly documented, producing lines of evidence not usually pursued in studies. This research attempts to elucidate African American heritage in Massachusetts by using existing archaeological assemblages to understand the daily lives of African Americans as they were forced to navigate racialized power relations. This study is relevant not only to African Americans, but to Americans as a whole. Such work

has the potential to facilitate discussion, inform educational materials , and spark projects to vindicate African American heritage by correcting erasures and dispelling stereotypes that are still ubiquitous in our society. The list of the archaeological sites illuminates the fact that African Americans have been on the landscape for a very, very long time. It is a testament to the resilience of African Americans and their adversity over racialized power relations to gain access to all the rights and privileges of the United States.

My study is not focused on just adversity of people of African descent in 19th and early 20th century Massachusetts, nor is it focused on forgetting the past and transcending to a new beginning because that would be an erasure of history or what Gayatri Spivak termed “epistemic violence.” A myth this study can address is the idea that the North is White (Melish 1998). Dominant culture in Massachusetts, like many New England states, has erased from memory the presence of Native Americans and captive African populations by writing them out of the master narrative created during the early national period (Paynter 2001; Woodruff et al 2007). Because of this erasure, Native Americans are thought to have been mostly gone before European contact and African Americans arrived in the North in the Great Migrations from the South in the late 19th century and early 20th century (Paynter 1992, 2001; Paynter et al. 1994; Woodruff et al 2007). This study moves forward by providing valuable insight into how a people considered second-class citizens until fifty years ago navigated the racial landscape to provide for themselves and their families through forced labor, domestic work, business, and the military.

It is important to study racialization because the concept of an American nation was formed by the creation of myths that have been inculcated in the mind of the

American people since the creation of this nation-state. For instance, the United States is often spoken of as a “melting pot” of cultures, which would imply that everyone assimilates into American society (Booth 1998; Moya and Markus 2010), but this is not true historically or presently because not all groups, even those now considered White, have always been accepted as American and “White” and afforded all the rights and privileges conferred on the dominant culture (Barrett and Roediger 2005; Gomez 1998; Patterson 1997; Orser 2007; Roediger 1991). A deeper understanding of that myth is that multiple cultures inhabit this country and Native Americans, Europeans, and Africans first melded their cultures into an American culture that later added Asians (Horton and Horton 1997; Orser 2007). Total assimilation or the “melting pot” is not true and it is more appropriate to call the United States a “tossed salad” because not all cultures fully assimilate (Bachmann 2006). The problem with this dynamic is that hegemonic societies tend to appropriate and exploit the “Other” and take on these new acquisitions as their own, creating an erasure of the “Other’s” contributions.

Why study racialization with archaeology? Anthropological archaeologists are in a unique position to study racialization because they have the ability to use a four-field and holistic approach to a complex subject. Where documents are silent or misleading on the subject, archaeological assemblages from various sites around Massachusetts can yield distinctive insights beyond those to be found in the documentary record. The material culture studied from these sites might provide clues as to the racialization process and the numerous ways in which the “Other” resisted this nefarious process.

Naming

Organization of the Dissertation

This dissertation consists of twelve chapters. The next three chapters provide the general frameworks used in the dissertation. In Chapter II, “Literature Review,” I focus on the literature of archaeologists who conduct research about African Diaspora archaeology. I do this by discussing the viewpoints of processual archaeology, post-processual archaeology and structuralist archaeology as they pertain to the field of African Diaspora archaeology. In addition, I highlight a major theme in the field at its beginnings in the 1970s and 1980s, which centered on the quest for Africanisms in African American archaeology.

In Chapter III, “Theory and Method,” I present the theoretical framework and methodology of my research. This framework is a blend of Charles Orser’s (2007) racialization of space, with Pierre Bourdieu’s (1977) habitus theory, and Donald Donham’s (1999) and Fernand Braudel’s (1985) notions of epochal structures. The presentation of specific sites follows the logical flow of first looking at the background of the site; second, habitus (for their homeland-I will use a reimagined habitus for the African created in U.S.); and third, the epochal structures. Orser notes that a consideration of the epochal structures at a minimum should include social and political-legal structures. Donham included economic structures under his epochal structures, and so did I, using census data and the Boston City Directories, thereby providing insight into an important component in studying racialized power relations and the racialization of space.

Chapter IV, “A Historical Overview of Epochal Structures,” explores racialization using the social, political/legal, and economic epochal structures. This chapter presents

these structures using examples at the national, state, and local levels. The social structures illuminate how the marginalized population saw themselves and how the dominant culture viewed them. It focuses on social segregation in public transportation and public space and the impacts of political/legal structures such as the U.S. Constitution, the Naturalization Act of 1790, the Fugitive Slave Acts, the Negro Seaman Acts, warning out laws, segregation laws (schools), and the Dred Scott Decision. With economic structures, the dissertation, concentrates on the employment opportunities for people of African descent in Massachusetts pre and post-Civil War. Finally, I incorporate the work of historians that focus on the African diaspora and whose writings make use of the concept of habitus. The discussion then moves into the formation of social movements in response to this racialization.

The next six analysis chapters focus on the cities and towns where the sites are located. Using census data, I show that the majority of the African Americans in the towns considered here were relegated to the same jobs as they held in captivity: laborers and domestics. These locations are grouped into three sections: the rural east, the Berkshires, and Boston and Nantucket. The rural east consists of Andover (Chapter V) covering the Cato Freeman Site and the Lucy Foster's Homestead (Black Lucy's Garden) and Plymouth (Chapter VI) which compares James Deetz's interpretations of Parting Ways with reinterpretations by Karen Hutchins. I also use census data to help illuminate the Plymouth Black community spatially and economically. In addition, it discusses the Black community and situates the two sites in the context of the community. The Berkshires includes Great Barrington (Chapter VII) and Pittsfield (Chapter VIII), where I

analyze the W.E.B. Du Bois Boyhood homesite and the Reverend Samuel Harrison House.

Finally, the multitude of sites in Boston and Nantucket are discussed in Chapters IX and X. Four African American sites on Beacon Hill are covered in Chapter IX. These chapters are illuminating because it presents a range of sites from the 19th century in a concentrated area. This is the only city in the state that has undertaken numerous African American archaeological excavations and is singularly important because of the size and deep history of activism in the Black community, as well as the location of institutions supportive of African American history and archaeology. The ground is silent in other cities in the state. However, that is not necessarily due to the integrity of the sites or the lack of artifacts. Chapter X considers Nantucket, where again, I use census data to illustrate space, education, sex ratios, and occupations. Additionally, this chapter compares the African Meeting House on Nantucket and the Seneca Boston – Florence Higginbotham House sites.

The closing chapters are discussion and conclusion chapters. Chapter XI juxtaposes the data from all twelve sites. Here, I compare findings from all the analysis chapters. Next, it revisits the focus on homesites mostly of people well known in their communities versus a diversity of sites that tell the story of the African American existence across the state. In the concluding chapter, I outline possibilities for future research, including a listing of African American Heritage trails within the state, as good beginning points for the future archaeological work.

CHAPTER II
LITERATURE REVIEW
AFRICAN AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGY

Introduction

With any profession comes a multitude of literature concerning the salient points and the intellectual history of a particular field. Anthropological archaeologists study every period of humankind's existence. Archaeology as a discipline has been directly influenced with major political currents of the time. A central reason for this was because the early practitioners were White upper-class males viewing the world through a patriarchal hegemonic lens. Archaeology initially was not reflective or responsive; it was more along the lines of maintaining established dialogues about the past. This chapter situates the literature of African American archaeology within the major theories and methods in American archaeology from the mid-20th century into the 21st century. I then consider the development of African American archaeology to provide a context for the key concepts of the dissertation, which include racialization, daily life of African Americans, especially women, the transition from African to African American, and consumerism. Much of this literature on African American archaeology is centered on plantation archaeology or the period after emancipation, but not on the archaeology of the free North. As a result, there are few studies of African American archaeology of the North that focus on captivity, separate communities, homesites, and sites that support the Black community. Although my focus is on Massachusetts, I discuss African American archaeology in New England. Additionally, I incorporate works from contexts outside of the captive landscape.

An Overview of the Recent History of American Archaeology

Archaeology began in the 19th century, but did not become a professional discipline until the 20th century. As the field of archaeology matured in the 20th century, methodologies and theoretical frameworks developed to assist archaeologists in analyzing the material culture left behind by humans. By the 1960s, there was a push in the United States to align the discipline with the neoevolutionary approaches current in cultural anthropology and make use of qualitative methods and more scientific explanations. This shift in focus was known as the New Archaeology or more commonly known today as processual archaeology. This new framework was advocated by archaeologists like Lewis Binford and Kent Flannery (Binford 1962; Flannery 1967). Processual archaeology focuses on developing generalizations about cultural variation and change that emphasized the environment, subsistence, and demographics (often referred to as a functionalist approach), frequently using a systems theory for developing modeling and cultural systems.

The major themes of archaeology followed the currents of the United States' hegemonic dominant culture; therefore, studying marginalized people was overlooked (Patterson 1995: 105). However, the Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s and other movements it spawned transformed the paradigm from exoticizing marginalized groups to resonate with political liberation with African Americans, Latino/as, Native Americans, Asian Americans, and others. The 1970s witnessed another transformation as archaeologists tried to move beyond functionalist processualism (Renfrew and Bahn 2008: 491, 498). The discipline often lagged behind cultural anthropology and other social sciences in this country and in Europe. For example, the incorporation of feminist and gender studies was already researched and taught in

sociology, but was not adopted in the archaeology of the United States until the 1980s (Trigger 2006).

The first phase of post-processual focused on structuralism. Structuralism, influenced by the cultural anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss, studied the foundations of why some form or practice was adopted. It was centered on opposition binaries in “deep structures” such as male/female, culture/nature, day/night, etc. (Trigger 2006: 463, 511). Structuralists believed that human actions were constructed in beliefs and symbols and that the structures of these concepts should be studied. By the 1980s, Ian Hodder (1985) and other post-processual archaeologists were advancing a new methodology that believed material culture is “constructed and given meaning” within a historical and cultural context so archaeologists cannot overlook the thoughts and actions that created material culture (Hodder 1985: 4). In addition, Hodder stated that culture, history, and structures were an integral part of how humans reacted. Therefore post-processualists focused more on the agency of individuals and the symbols they created to govern their lives, which concentrated more on the person behind the artifact and how the person interacted with the artifact versus the heavy focus of processual archaeology on systems. However, structuralism did not last because it was never advanced past what Levi-Strauss developed (Trigger 2006: 466). Structuralism presented a culture as a static society and did not allow for change (Renfrew and Bahn 2008: 491, 494).

Marxist archaeology was another form of post-processualism. Marxist archaeologists follow the theories and methods of Karl Marx and study how capitalism has affected the post-contact world. The Marxist approach provides a lens for post-processualists to study the inequality of the created world.

Feminist approaches insisted that gender was important in the past and that it continues to structure the practice of archaeology in the present. However, the feminist critiques did not make room for the different ways gender reverberates with class and race. This "intersectional" analysis arose out of Black feminism, which has had an increasing impact on the field (Battle-Baptiste 2011; Franklin 2001; Patterson 1995: 136-137).

The passage of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1992 (NAGPRA) is reshaping relations with the Native peoples of the U.S. and the archaeological community. It is also reshaping archaeology's practices and increasing its thinking about how to work with and tell indigenous histories of the Western Hemisphere (Atalay 2012; Watkins 2005).

Early African American archaeology was part and parcel of the archaeological methodologies of the 1960s and 1970s and therefore evolved as the field did. At its founding, African American archaeology was conducted using a New Archaeology or processual archaeology during the 1960s and 1970s and structuralists' methods from the late 1970s into the 1980s. Although the field has grown and evolved over time, the subfield of plantation archaeology has dominated the discipline.

The History of African American Archaeology

African American archaeology began in Massachusetts with the excavation of the Lucy Foster's house in the 1943 by Adelaide K. Bullen and Ripley P. Bullen (1945). Lucy Foster was a woman of African descent who lived in Andover, Massachusetts from the 1770s until 1845, and in her own home from 1815 to 1845. It would take twenty years after their excavation before the subfield began to emerge because Black organizations in the 1960s and 1970s pushed for archaeology of African American sites

and it was not something that duty bound White liberal academics were driven to (Singleton 1995: 120-121). Leland Ferguson notes that the real genesis of African American archaeology came from the Civil Rights Movement and “a spinoff from ‘Lady Bird’ Johnson’s national beautification conference” (Ferguson 1992:xxxvi). Charles Fairbanks, credited with the beginnings of African American archaeology, excavated the dwellings of captive Africans on the Kingsley plantation in Florida in the late 1960s (Ferguson 1992:xxxvi; Mullins 2011: 116-117). Fairbanks’ work became the beginning of plantation archaeology; however, he did not use a processual approach in his analysis because he focused on the lifeways of the captive Africans (Ferguson 1992: xl). According to James Davidson (2015: 78), Fairbanks’ excavation at Kingsley Plantation was limited to just two cabins. The change in framework was also due in part to who conducted the archaeology and the analysis. Before the 1960s, the majority of archaeologists were upper-class White males. However, the G.I. Bill after WWII afforded many working-class/poor individuals the opportunity to attend college and get advanced degrees and created a new patriarchy into the field focused on science (Franklin and Paynter 2010; Marinna 1999: 153, Patterson 1995: 107). It is the Black liberation struggle of the 1950s and 1960s and the birthing of liberation movements in the late 1960s (e.g. the American Indian Movement, gay and lesbian rights, women’s rights, and peoples’ movements) that brought diversity to the field and along with it new studies of gender and nonwhite groups who had remained invisible or with a hegemonic lens (Ferguson 1992: xxxv-xxxvi; Franklin and Paynter 2010; Patterson 1995: 105).

Although African American archaeology did not begin with plantation archaeology, the latter consumes the intellectual thrust of the field. In keeping with the

processual ideology, Maria Franklin and Robert Paynter (2010: 103) argue, race was not even addressed in these early plantation studies. According to Anna Agbe-Davis (2007: 414), archaeological excavations of plantation quartering areas at Kingsley, Cumberland, Kingsmill, and Cannon Point forced museum plantations and Colonial Williamsburg to include captive Africans in their narratives. However, African American archaeology continued in different contexts in the North and has evolved into added dimensions of a theorization and practice on a diasporian perspective.

From the late 1960s and into the early 1980s, Northeastern archaeology focused on Black communities. Weeksville (an urban Black community in Brooklyn, New York, that flourished from the mid-19th to mid-20th century) was excavated in 1968 (Bridges and Salwen 1980). The next major excavation in the North was headed by one of the leaders of historical archaeology, James Deetz (1977, 1996), whose work at Parting Ways, Plymouth, Massachusetts, started in 1975, was one of the first to conduct major undertakings of a free African American community in New England and illuminated the lives of a small community of Revolutionary War pensioners in the early 19th century. During this same time, the African Meeting House in Boston began an excavation that spanned over 10 years. Archaeological excavations were conducted at the 19th century Black oystering community of Sandy Ground on Staten Island in 1971 (Schuyler 1980) and the 19th century community of Skunk Hollow along the New York-New Jersey border (Geismar 1980).

By the 1990s, the New York African Burial Ground (NYABG) provided another context in which to view a mostly captive population with New York City from the 17th century until about 1795 (Perry et al. 2006, 2009). The NYABG was the primary burial

ground for free and captive Africans from c. 1640s to 1795 (Perry et al. 2006: 239). The NYABG, although present on 18th-century maps as “Negroes Burial Ground,” was uncovered when construction workers digging the foundation for a United States General Services Administration 34-story federal office building in 1991 (LaRoche and Blakey 1997: 84). Excavations of the burial ground were conducted by cultural resource management firm Historic Conservation and Interpretation, Inc. (HCI) from 1991 to 1992 (LaRoche and Blakey 1997: 84). The African American community complained about HCI’s recovery procedures as well as the construction of the building on a burial ground (LaRoche and Blakey 1997: 84; Howson et al. 2006: 3, 5, 2009: 3). Historic Conservation and Interpretation, Inc.’s analysis plan for the skeletal remains and material culture was rejected, and the firm was replaced by Howard University and the CRM firm John Milner Associates (LaRouche and Blakey 1997: 85-86; Howson et al. 2006: 3, 5, 2009: 3). By the time the excavations were complete, 419 skeletons were removed from their places of internment. Of those 419 skeletons, only 301 were intact enough for analysis, with 130 being considered subadults (children) that ranged in age from 0 to 15 years old. It is estimated that only 4% of the ABG was excavated and that possibly 15 to 20,000 bodies are still buried underneath the city (Perry et al. 2009: 367).

Mark Leone et al. (2005: 591) argue that academics are intellectually conservative political liberals who need to shift the paradigm away from the study of captivity and oppression toward the study of resistance and freedom by focusing on Maroon and free Black communities. Leone (2005) contributed to the field with his “archaeology of liberty” using Foucauldian interpretations of what he terms the technologies of control in Annapolis, Maryland. He researched the linkage between architecture and landscape

design in power relations during the organization of Annapolis, examining both its baroque layout in colonial times and panoptical architecture of the federalist period (Leone 2005). In addition, he suggests that the printing press, with its standardization of type set and writing format, and the adaptation of proper forms of etiquette, were also technologies of social control used to help form the new nation-state.

Over time some archaeologists entered this nascent field and contributed to the understanding of the daily life of captive Africans in controlled space, exploring how they navigated exploited labor conditions and exploited sexuality by hegemonic society. Postprocessualists and structuralists procedures of analysis were used in the early study of African American archaeology. The field began to mature with the advent of post-processual archaeology in the mid-1980s. The structuralists, like James Deetz, focused on Africanisms and structuralist Marxists archaeologists like Mark Leone focused on ideology. As part of this evolution, the field gravitated toward a study of Africanisms not just on plantations but on homesteads as well. In his seminal work, *The Myth of the Negro Past* (1941) Melville J. Herskovits argued that African culture did survive the Middle passage and captivity in the Caribbean, Brazil, and Suriname. E. Franklin Frazier (1963) argued against this by espousing that captivity was so devastating that no elements of African culture survived the journey. This topic was revisited by Joseph E. Holloway (1991) and other scholars who focused on a data set from the southeastern United States where they found African survivals historically, religiously, linguistically, and in artistic elements of American culture.

Archaeologists entered this debate in the early 1970s using these Africanisms to highlight similarities found in the archaeological assemblages of different sites that

retained aspects of African culture believed to have survived the passage from Africa. Some anthropologists and archaeologists argue that captives were not stripped of their culture entirely, and readily practiced it in some areas of the country, especially the Deep South (Ferguson 1992). From the 1970s to 1980s there were three main signatures in archaeology that defined Africanisms: architecture, crockery, and foodways (Baker 1978, 1980; Deetz 1996; Ferguson 1992). Theresa Singleton, the first African American woman to receive a Ph.D. in archaeology, has published a large body of work on the subject, especially plantation archaeology. In the introduction to *"I, Too, Am America"* (1999) she notes that early African American archaeology centered on moral mission archaeology, which concentrated on housing, foodways, and personal effects categories, and while giving voice to the silent, it was "overly simplistic" (Singleton 1999: 2). Singleton posits that focusing on these categories "ignored the complex social relations involved in the formation and maintenance of the cultural identity of any group...particularly unsuitable for the study of African Americans" because they "were forced to occupy a subordinate social position" (Singleton 1999: 2). She charts the emerging focus of studying race, class, and gender and how they are employed for the analytical thought processes of acculturation, creolization, and "relations of power domination" (Singleton 1999: 4). However, Singleton notes that there have been few studies that compare middle-class African American communities with contemporary White middle-class communities (Singleton 1999: 4). Additionally, she argues against the problematic practice of looking for evidence of African cultural identity markers in material culture, which focused on architecture, foodways, ceramic, and spiritual systems and discusses how these topics can yield much more information than just identifying

them as African or African modified. For instance, the scope of foodways can be expanded to look at “differential access to food supplies, foods as expressions of cultural identity, and food as a means of social control” (Singleton 1995: 126). Additionally, she stresses that it is difficult to ascertain the meaning that a person might have ascribed to an object even with ethnographies and oral tradition, so at times there is a bit of speculation involved with analysis (Singleton 1995).

When African American archaeology links cultural retentions found in the historical and archaeological records back to Africa, it transitions to African diaspora archaeology. Traditional African religions and their symbols were added to the discussion in the 1990s. For instance, the BaKongo religion and the symbols associated with it (cosmogram and *minkisi* bundles) are found in many regions of the United States (Ferguson 1992; Fennell 2007a, 2007b). Robert Farris Thompson (1984) used artistic, ethnographic, linguistic, and documentary evidence to provide a detailed account of the BaKongo cosmogram, *minkisi* containers, and the deities within Kongo and Yoruba traditional religions. Leland Ferguson’s (1992) extensive writings discussing these symbols illuminate the practices of people of African descent in South Carolina, who in many regions of the state were the majority. In addition, his work on African-made colonoware pottery and possible spiritual and ritual practices associated with it is thought provoking and has elucidated its contextualization on plantation landscapes in South Carolina and Virginia (Ferguson 1992). Ferguson also cautions against the usage of easy linkages that do not take into account the “grammar” of African and African American history. Additionally, the deciphering of the meaning of symbols used by people of African descent teaches us about their social powers (Ferguson 1992: xliv). Ferguson has

also forwarded the concept of creolization of African culture with that of European and Native American cultures as a more general way to understand the cultures of the South.

Kenneth Brown and Doreen Cooper (1990) used a lens of acculturation and African cultural retentions to study spiritual and ritual usage on the Levi Jordan plantation south of Houston, Texas, during its captive African and tenant farming phases, stressing the need for archaeologists to know something about the culture they are studying and use context and association when interpreting assemblages. Brown and Cooper argue that archaeologists have an “insider” perspective because they use artifacts which afford the ability to make inferences by the context in the ground while historians use documents, which is an “outsider” approach. This framework was used to analyze five sets of artifacts from a “ritual tool kit” in a healer cabin that Brown and Cooper posit was laid out in the form of a cosmogram (Brown and Cooper 1990: 17).

Christopher Fennell (2007a, 2007b) elucidates the meaning of known African religious systems through symbols brought into the Americas by captive Africans. Fennell builds on Robert Farris Thompson’s (1984) work by illuminating religious symbols used throughout the Americas by using an interpretive framework focused on “core cultural symbols... public and group rituals,” and the “creation of new symbolic repertoires” (Fennell 2007a: 200). Fennell’s framework of ethnographic analogy provides a way to conceptualize the linkage of African spiritual systems with people of African descent around the world because it provides ethnohistorical data which can help discern the meaning of artifacts in the assemblages by linking them with groups on the African continent. Paynter (1994, 1999) argues that any site where African Americans worked as domestics, laborers, shopkeepers, builders, etc. could be considered an African

American site. Therefore, the White House, U.S. Capitol building, and many other government buildings in many states would actually be African American sites.

Paul Mullins (1996; 1999a, 1999b) has studied the strategies and tactics Black communities used to resist the racialized power relations of the dominant White culture from 1850 until 1930 by studying the consumption patterns of African Americans in Annapolis, Maryland, and what was once a segregated African American community buried under the parking lots of Indiana University-Purdue University, Indianapolis (Mullins 2006). His work has been instrumental in understanding how African Americans navigated the world of the mass market place, including the usage of various advertisements with racist caricatures that were used to sell products and push African Americans into certain professions and barred them from others (Mullins 1996, 1999a, 1999b). The use of caricatures of African Americans as the punch line of jokes and in stereotypical settings was an exercise in power relations by the dominant group (Boskin 1986: 141).

The Chesapeake region has witnessed economic racialization multiple times. Mullins (1996, 1999a: 112-117, 1999b: 29-32, 2001) found a steady decrease in fish remains in the basements of African American homes in the late 19th century which correlates to a decrease in African American fishermen in the Chesapeake at the same time. He attributes this decrease by the beginning of the 20th century in fisherman and the consumption of fish, once a large part of the diet, to the racialized caricatures that lampooned African Americans who fished as lazy and outside of the dominant culture's work ethic by turning independent work into "leisure."

Warren Perry (1996, 1999: 13-14; 2000: 97-99) has contributed greatly to the archaeology of the African diaspora with his insightful work in South Africa and Swaziland on the formation and expansion of the Zulu Nation due to social disruption caused by the encroachment of Boer and British settlers in the 19th century. His work on the African Burial Ground New York City (Perry et al. 2006, 2009) has been instrumental in illustrating displays of African culture during the American colonial period through burial practices.

Whitney Battle-Baptiste has expanded the framework of a Black feminist archaeology with the inclusion of multiple disciplines that include: anthropological theory, material culture studies, oral traditions, the narrative tradition, ethnohistory, Black and African descent feminism, and critical race theory (Battle-Baptiste 2011: 11). Her framework focuses on inclusive dialogue on people often invisible in the documentary record and provides a lens in which to turn invisibility into visibility. This framework consists of four components, identity formation through literature, gender illumination in the household, African Diaspora inclusion, and Black feminist thought (Battle-Baptiste 2011).

In the 21st century, the discipline has also addressed issues of collective action. Dean Saitta (2007: 5) defines the archaeology of collective action “as the group behavior of individuals united by particular life experiences, existential anxieties, and strategic interests in concrete historical (political, economic, and cultural) circumstances.” Studying maroon communities is not new to this century (see Orser 1992). However, maroon studies here in the continental United States are beginning to add to our understanding of the African Diaspora experience. For instance, Terrance Weik (2007)

navigates the Seminole landscape using archaeology to elucidate the African Seminole town of Pilaklakaha by exploring relationships between people of African descent and Seminoles. Weik, contending with multiple ethnicities that included Seminoles, African Seminoles, and mixed African and Seminoles, uses ethnogenesis theory, which encompasses studying “creation, change, and fissioning of distant sociocultural groups from culture contact situations” (Weik 2007: 322). Weik was able to show through archaeology that Pilaklikaha was an African Seminole town, confirming the documentary record. In this way archaeology has been helpful in challenging and debunking the Eurocentric thought process that has claimed the Seminoles had enslaved escaped Africans, or that they formed the lowest class of Seminole society.

Daniel Sayers (2012) provides an argument for a reconceptualization of how we perceive marronage in the United States. In this reconceptualization, Sayers illustrates that in the US under the “capitalist enslavement mode of production (CEMP)” maroons were thought to exist in an “intra-limital” context, meaning they escaped but remained within the boundaries of a captive holding state or territory. Sayers argues that we need to expand our thinking to also include an “extra-limital” context, which is captive Africans escaping into free states or territories (Sayers 2012: 139). Additionally, Sayers views terms as “freedom seeker” and Underground Railroad (UGRR) as problematic and limiting because they compartmentalize resistance and the African and African American existence in the diaspora. Sayers contends that “freedom seekers” like Harriet Tubman, Frederick Douglas, Sojourner Truth and countless other escapees are maroons and the UGRR is marronage (Sayers 2012: 142).

African American Archaeology in New England

The beginning of African American archaeology in the United States started in Massachusetts in 1940 at Lucy Foster's Homestead (Black Lucy's Garden) in Andover. Several sites in Massachusetts, such as W.E.B. Du Bois Homesite in Great Barrington (Paynter et. al. 1992, 1994, 2008); The Reverend Samuel Harrison House in Pittsfield (Manning Sterling 2012); Parting Ways in Plymouth (Deetz 1996); the African Meeting House Boston (Bower and Rushing 1980, 1982; Bower et. Al. 1984; Bower and Crosby 1985; Bower and Charles 1986; Bower 1986, 1987; Landon et. al. 2007); the Peter Faneuil School Site (Clayton et. al. 1993), the Robert Roberts' House and the Abiel Smith School in Boston (Mead 1995; Pendery and Mead 1999, 2006); the African Meeting House Nantucket (Berkland 1999; Beaudry and Berkland 2007); the Polly and Nathan Johnson Site in New Bedford (Heitert 2005); the Cato Freeman Site in North Andover (Mrozowski and White 1982; Rotentstein, et. al. 2000); the Royall House and Slave Quarter in Medford (Blake 1998; Chan 2003, 2007); and the Whydah Shipwreck site on Cape Cod (Hamilton 1992) are examples of the wealth of information about individuals, institutions and communities within the commonwealth of Massachusetts.

In 1806, the African Meeting House opened on Beacon Hill as the largest Black space in Boston serving the Black community as a Baptist church, a meeting house, a school, a home, and a community center. The 1975-1985 excavations at the African Meeting House focused on the yard and surrounding alleyways. The excavations revealed information about 19th-century architecture as well as the preparation and consumption of foodways for events at the meeting house.

Robert Paynter (1990, 1992, 1994, 2001), a Du Boisian archaeologist that links class and race and makes use of Marxian social theory, as early as the 1990s, focused on

political economy. Paynter argued for the need to look at African American archaeology in the North through a different lens and not one focused on cultural survivals and plantation studies. Paynter (2000) argues that capitalism should be an important point of study for post-contact archaeologists because it is compliant with race, class, gender, colonialism, and imperialism and that you cannot understand the existing world without understanding the capitalist influences on it. Recognizing that African American archaeology in the North was different from plantation archaeology in the South, Paynter (1990, 1992) did not find evidence of Africanisms in the archaeological record at the W.E.B. Du Bois boyhood homesite in Great Barrington, Massachusetts. In fact, the household resembled a White middle-class household (Paynter et al. 1994). He argues that thinking in terms of Africanisms narrows the presence of African Americans on the landscape because it misses places where African Americans lived and worked in their quest for equal treatment and full citizenship in the United States (Paynter 1990: 53). He espouses a different interpretation as to what constitutes an African American site and what questions should be asked from the data recovered from these sites (Paynter 1990: 53). Additionally, Paynter et al. (1994) cautions against the conflation of artifacts to the lived experience and assuming White and Black middle-class households experience the landscape in the same way.

In relation to this, Paynter and McGuire (1991) maintain that archaeologists must search for the effects of power relations in the homes of the working class as well as in the homes of the ruling elite. In addition, Paynter has also explored issues of race with his longtime research at the W.E.B. Du Bois site (Paynter 1992, 1994) and the racialization process of Whites in western New England (Paynter 2001). Paynter

advocates for a more detailed study of Whiteness in the North. He also argues that hegemonic historical narratives have normalized what is perceived as Euro-American culture and erased the hybridity of European American, Native American, and African American culture that archaeology has discovered across the New England landscape (Paynter 2001: 132, 141). One of the examples Paynter uses for this hybrid culture is the caterer who lived in the basement apartment of the African Meeting House in Boston, who served the European American elite thereby “setting the cultural taste” for this dominant group (Paynter 2001: 132). Paynter also notes that identity stems “from the complex flux of kin, tribute, and capitalist relations” (Paynter 2001: 133). Franklin and Paynter posit “in order to challenge racial inequality we must both de-essentialize race while recognizing how race nevertheless structures societies in very tangible and destructive ways” (Franklin and Paynter 2010: 105).

Perry has continued his research on people of African descent in New England, the most notable project being a provisioning plantation in Salem, Connecticut; Phelps Tavern in Simsbury, Connecticut (Woodruff et al. 2007); and the Black Governor’s site in Derby, Connecticut. Perry and his colleagues have crisscrossed the state researching the usage of African spiritual systems, especially from the BaKongo religion and its use of the cosmogram in Connecticut (Woodruff et al. 2007: 171-179).

Key Concepts for the Research

Warren Perry stresses the need to look at African diaspora sites in the U.S. “through African eyes” (Woodruff et al. 2007: 156). Additionally, Perry and Paynter suggest that archaeologists must use multivalency when analyzing African American sites. They define multivalency as the way “an object or set of objects takes on strikingly

different meanings for different social groups, with dominating groups often totally ignorant of the meaning system of subordinated groups” (Perry and Paynter 1999: 303).

Charles Orser has contributed a large body of work to plantation studies (1988, 1990) and historical archaeological theory (1996, 2004, 2007). For over a decade, Orser has written extensively on set of life opportunities and theory and method in historical archaeology by advocating for a push for archaeologists to understand their work is embedded in the four haunts of historical archeology: Eurocentrism, capitalism, colonialism, and modernity (Orser 1996: 22). Most recently Orser discusses the links between historical archaeology and heritage, but he seems to provide a warning that “heritage is a construction that is often used to promote national ideologies, factional perspectives, and even pernicious world views” (Orser 2010: 131). We should pursue a critical view of heritage that questions current portrayals.

Racialization

Racialization is fundamentally about power relations as lived and as thought about. By racialization, I mean the act of categorizing people into specific groups on the basis of phenotypes, which is used to essentialize particular traits of their culture (Winant 1994; Orser 2007). Since “race” is socially constructed, a major factor about racialization is who gets to set the terms by which the word is understood, the powerful, the powerless, or some kind of dialectical interaction between the two. The theory that it is the most powerful, as Orser (1996: 166) points out in considering Mark Leone’s (1984) interpretation of William Paca’s Garden, is the strong version of the “dominant ideology thesis,” which states the ruling culture’s ideas are dominant and this class controls the ideas and intellectual life of everyone because this garden radiated a message of power and control to all who walked passed it. Orser (1996: 164-166) notes a weak

interpretation of the “dominant ideology thesis,” in Mary Beaudry et al.’s (1991) analysis of the Boott Mills factory, where they conclude that the ruling classes are visible; however, marginalized people are active and present, but do not have the public institutions that allow their voices to be heard. He argues that parts of these interpretations are problematic because with the Boott Mills analysis it is not known whether workers were under twenty-four hour control or if they had twelve hours to themselves to drink as Beaudry et al. suggest Leone’s interpretation at Paca’s Garden claims marginalized people do not have a voice (Orser 1996: 167-170). However, Orser maintains that the subaltern- people of color, women, and the poor- can speak through the material culture they leave behind and by understanding the four haunts of the modern world (Orser 1996: 178).

Paul Mullins suggests that although archaeologists have not ignored race, they tend to define it as “one dimension of identity and detached from dominant transnational processes that have significantly structured all lives” (Mullins 2008: 109). Noting that, Mullins (2008: 111) presses the need for informative, objective, and evidence-driven vindicationist archaeologies that attempt to link the African diaspora to “specific historically distant racialized structures,” which he finds can be problematic because the field is “committed to linking experiences of racism to systemic structures.” However, vindicationist archaeologies are necessary to confront erasers in history. Vindicationist archaeologies are geared at making invisible people visible; they form a counter to racist narratives.

Charles Orser (2007) has conducted insightful work on racialization that is manifest in space, among African Americans, Irish, and Chinese (discussed in detail in

Chapter III). Orser's (2007) racialization of space consists of blending Pierre Bourdieu's habitus doxa with Donald Donham's (1999) and Fernand Braudel's (1985) epochal structures. The entire framework looks at the background of the site, habitus (from their homeland), and the epochal structures of which Orser used social and political-legal.

African and African American Lives

Racial discourse continues at multiple levels; however, the focus of discourse on feminist issues differ in White middle-class feminist circles from those of Black feminist and other feminist of color. This discourse is a microcosm of a larger racial discourse. Chandra Mohanty in her critique of two feminists (Robin Morgan and Bernice Johnson Reagon) contended that Morgan in her 'Planetary Feminism' advocated for all women to transcend history and form a new union focused on sisterhood to develop their own "herstory," which Mohanty noted is a White middle-class framework that erases various issues that women of color have endured throughout history and continue to face (Mohanty 1992: 81). This transcendence is an erasure of history and what Gayatri Spivak defined as "epistemic violence" (Spivak 1988: 283). Reagon's 'Coalition Politics' advocated a coalition focused on "cross-cultural commonality of struggles, identifying survival, rather than shared oppression" (Mohanty 1992: 84). Mohanty agrees with Reagon's process of tearing away Eurocentric frameworks centered on self and emphasizing engagement versus transcendence (Mohanty 1992: 89).

In "A Black feminist-inspired archaeology?", Maria Franklin (2001) advocates adopting a Black feminist inspired perspective to address the invisibility of African American women in the historical record and produce scholarship for social change. Franklin (2001: 110) posits that Black feminist theory developed in the 1980s as a counterpoint to race, gender, and class hierarchy oppression that was not addressed in the

second and third feminist waves. She argues feminism's second wave was hijacked by White middle-class females who focused only on the issue of sexism and were not as concerned about the intersection of race and class in the daily lives of women of color (Franklin 2001: 110). The third wave consisted of a unification of multiple factions bent on dispelling stereotypical myths about women of color (Franklin 2001: 111). In advocating the need for a Black feminist perspective in a historical archaeologists' approach to analyzing archaeological assemblages, Franklin is not arguing that only Black feminists can write about Black issues, instead, she contends the door is open for all sexes, "races," and ethnicities who understand the intersections of race, class, and gender (Franklin 2001). For example, see Laurie Wilkie's work on captive Africans and African Americans (1994, 2000a, 2000b, 2000c, 2003, 2004a, 2004b) and the earlier mentioned work by Leone, Paynter, and Mullins to mention a few.

Franklin (2001: 112) contends that in her initial work on plantations she did not take a Black feminist inspired view of the material culture. She notes her research questions concerning her study of the Rich Neck plantation "quarter neighborhood" in Virginia centered on "a household-oriented study, and considered the intersection of race and culture in the emergence of Afro-Virginian identity formation" (Franklin 2001: 111). Franklin suggests that she failed to look at how captivity, race, and gender factored into the agency of African American woman (Franklin 2001: 112). In this article, Franklin's blueprint shows historical archaeologists how they can articulate a Black feminist perspective centered on looking for gender differences in the areas of the archaeological record that we know was the domain of women - foodways, cottage industries, and household maintenance (Franklin 2001: 113-114).

Battle-Baptiste (2007) built on the notion of the homeplace advanced by Franklin (2001) when she studied the “quarter neighborhood” at the first Hermitage. Her interpretation of a Black feminist-inspired archaeology extends to the landscape where she was able to see the extension of socialization outside of the home and into what she called “yardscape.” In her excavations around the kitchen quarters, fire pit, and cabins, Battle-Baptiste posits that the yards were swept every day because they functioned as extensions of the living rooms where many social activities took place (Battle-Baptiste 2007: 245).

Diana diZerega Wall’s multifaceted work integrates well with my study because she has focused on gender (2004), the construction of domesticity (1991, 2000: 134-136), and her work with Nan Rothchild on Seneca Village (2008, 2011). Wall (1991, 2000) suggests that middle-class White women assisted in the construction of their place in the “Cult of Domesticity” through their consumption patterns as well as the socialization practices that helped shape White upper and middle-class lives in the late 19th century. Many of these practices such as tea parties, family dinners, and formal dinners required specific material sets of material culture.

Laurie Wilkie (2004a, 2004b) has written extensively on a range of African American archaeological landscapes, including plantations and free homesteads, in which she has illuminated the lives of women and children. Wilkie has an uncanny ability to extrapolate information from historical documents and the contemporary literature to help identify the multivalent uses of artifacts found in archaeological assemblages. Wilkie (2004a) applied this approach to an archaeological assemblage related to Lucrecia Perryman, an African American midwife, in Mobile, Alabama, during the last decades of

the 19th century. Wilkie (2004a: 76) provided a history of midwives in African American culture starting with the antebellum South and its progress into the early 20th century, by dispelling many of the myths that surround African American participation in the practice. She views gender as a “personhood,” which is “socially situated and performed identity that is the sum of a person’s achieved and ascribed statuses” (2004a: 76). Wilkie contends that many captive women on plantations had to rely on the care and treatment from captive African midwives, but she stressed that these women had generational knowledge in birthing and caring for infants born on plantations. Wilkie’s discussion on the artifacts found in the Perryman’s well can be used to possibly confirm or deny that she was a midwife from the various medicine bottles and other hygienic and home medical care devices found on the premises. Additionally it helps dispel the myriad of myths concerning women of color, which counters the reasons used to force African Americans out of the profession. Her use of literature to infer the possible uses of artifacts can also be used to elucidate African American midwife competency in the profession (Wilkie 2003).

Archaeologists can do damage to the image of various groups of people by misinterpreting the material culture they are analyzing. For example, Wilkie (2004a: 75) points out that the archaeologist James Delle has perpetuated a myth about African women by claiming they were promiscuous because of the amount of pessaries found on a plantation he was excavating, together with an analysis of birth records. She notes that he did not understand the breeding mentality of plantation owners. She also cites the erroneous identification of a pessary for contraceptive use, when most captive African

women used it “as a treatment for prolapsed uteruses, not contraception” (Wilkie 2004a: 75).

Wilkie (2000a, 2000b) has also used toys found in archaeological assemblages to help analyze the indoctrination of children into society. She observes, “While toys are the artifacts most stereotypically associated with children’s activities, they are greatly under-used in historical archaeological interpretative frameworks” (Wilkie 2000a: 153; 2000b: 106). Using the European-American toys found from the post-Civil War period of the Oakley Plantation as an example, she postulates that some of the toys in the assemblage of the Freeman family (domestic servants for the spinster Mathews sisters) were gifts from their employer (Wilkie 1994; 2000a; 2000b). She also suggests the toys might have been a mechanism to help enforce domestic servant roles in the Jim Crow South, especially when the toys were items like tea sets. Wilkie argues that the provenience (underneath the raised cabin floor) and condition of the toy tea set pieces, porcelain doll head, and limb fragments are an indication that the Freeman children had discarded the toys with the rest of the trash (underneath the house), and were rebelling against acculturation and the roles being dictated to them (Wilkie 2000a: 153; 2000b: 106). Wilkie (2000a: 153) points out “we should listen carefully to the ways that children spoke to adults and one another through the attainment, maintenance, use of, and discard of toys.” Additionally, she notes marbles that were found during the sharecropper period at the Riverlake plantation were probably purchased from the plantation store, which was stocked by plantation owners who might have been trying to foster communal play because it helped train future sharecroppers in the facets of communal work gangs

(Wilkie 1994b: 13-20; 2000b: 106). It should be noted that marbles are a universal item of play used by adults and children.

Wilkie (2000c) has looked at the possible selection of certain items because the images were similar to their religious symbols. For instance, Wilkie's analysis of consumer goods purchased by captive Africans on the Clifton plantation on New Providence, Bahamas, found a "grammar-based creolization model" in the ceramics and clay pipes that resembled the designs of African cultural traditions, which provided "the potential to convey African aesthetic sensibilities" in the form of birds, spiritual symbols, and a possible BaKongo cosmogram, creating "African-based identities" for those who purchased the items (Wilkie 2000c: 23). Another example of African American consumerism comes from the medicine choices of the Freeman household at Oakley Plantation. Wilkie (2000a: 233) notes the usage of products similar to traditional recipes such as Vaseline, where "they chose products that matched their ethnomedical needs and conformed with an established ethnomedical grammar."

Amy Young (2004: 133) in the edited book *Engendering Archaeology* uses two data sets, documentary and archaeological records, to study how gender structured the daily life of captive Africans and how they in turn structured their own gender roles as well as ideologies. She found that the quarter community shared and gifted many items, which fostered a sense of solidarity and equaled a sense of protection (Young 2004: 147). Among these various facets of daily life in the free North and plantation contexts and the reimagined African culture evolved into African American culture.

Transition from African to African American

Historians have discussed the transition from African to African American (see Chapter IV). Archaeologists address African cultural survivals and identity rather than

actually dealing with transition. This question might not be as important to archaeologists as it is to historians. Some of this might relate to how archaeologists view African Americans regionally, with the southern plantation as the dominant force and the northern focus centered on the 19th century (Bower 1991: 55). Beth Ann Bower argues that people of African descent in the 17th and 18th centuries North are overlooked, which is a mistake because this area had a heterogeneous African population that arrived in Massachusetts from the Caribbean, West Africa, and East Africa (Bower 1991: 55-59). However, at times the subject is addressed within large frameworks. For instance, Leone found that African Americans living in Annapolis, Maryland, in the 19th and early 20th century lived in two different worlds because the outside of the house reflected that of dominant culture while the inside was clearly African American (Leone 2005: 234). However, the material culture is testament to a culture very distinct from European and Native Americans, which can lead to multiple interpretations of identity. Consumerism is another indicator of transition and the participation or lack thereof in the mass marketplace.

Role of Consumerism

In the last decade of the 20th century, some archaeologists began to focus on racialized power relations. One of those power relations is consumerism. As mentioned earlier, Mullins has addressed consumerism with African Americans. Mullins (2011: 2) notes the heart of consumption “resolves around the acquisition of things to confirm, display, accent, mask, and imagine who we are and whom we wish to be.” Anna Agbe-Davies (2007) argues that consumerism is important to understand and just because people purchased the items of the dominant society does not mean they bought into the dominant ideology; we should also consider contemporary thoughts on how the purchase

of mass-market items gives agency. Singleton (1988), studying Mitchelville, a permanent Post-Civil War settlement of “freed” African Americans in South Carolina, found the community was integrated into the local cash economy in ways that allowed access to commodities both local and global, whereas the material culture of the temporary African American settlement on Colonel’s Island was not part of the local cash economy (Singleton 1988: 359-362). In addition, Mullins’ research in Annapolis, Maryland, discovered class distinctions within the African American community, finding the middle-class spent their money on practical items and the poor on various bric-a-brac (Mullins 1996, 1999a). So when people have access to cash and are integrated into local and international economies, they purchase what they desire. Mullins notes this is when power relations play out because White dominant culture reacted to post-Civil War “freed” African Americans’ entry into the mass-market place by creating Jim Crow laws to curtail Black movement into White space (Mullins 1999: 48). Mullins’ model has not yet been applied to the Northeast region of the United States.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I provided an overview of the major theories and methods in American archaeology from the mid-20th century into the 21st century. It is clear that the field was first dominated by the ruling class. It was not until after WWII, when working-class and poor Whites entered the field, did it see a major transformation. Next, the Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s and Black Power Movements of the 1960s and 1970s led other previously marginalized groups to transform the field of historical archaeology (Franklin and Paynter 2010). Additionally, I illustrated that African American archaeology literature and its evolution over time from plantation archaeology to studies of African American communities and resistance then

concentrates on the key concepts of the dissertation to include racialization, daily life of African Americans, especially women, the transition from African to African American, and consumerism. Much of this literature on African American archaeology centers on works from a captive landscape of Southern models and not a free context because that is where the bulk of the written sources focus. There are other archaeologists besides the Bullens, Deetz, and Paynter, who have contributed to the archaeology of Massachusetts. Their work is discussed in more detail in the analysis chapters of this dissertation.

CHAPTER III

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY

Introduction

Theoretical frameworks are tools used to help people make sense of the physically constructed world and the natural world around them. To study racialized power relations and daily life of African Americans in Massachusetts during the 19th and early 20th century requires a specific framework to help in understanding the formation, execution, and maintenance of these structures. I draw on Charles Orser's (2007) discussions of racialization of space, and especially his suggestions about how archaeologists can draw upon a blending of Pierre Bourdieu's theory of habitus and doxa with Donald Donham's (1999) and Fernand Braudel's (1985) ideas about epochal structures to interpret the material world. Out of this entire framework emerges, a practical method of study that first looks at background information on the site; second, the habitus characteristics of residents; and, third, the epochal structures which are the historical contexts for the lives of the people at the sites.

Theorizing the Process of Racialization

By racialization, I mean the act of categorizing people into specific groups on the basis of phenotypes, which is used to essentialize particular traits of their culture (Orser 2007: 9; Winant 1994: 59). There were many phases in the process of racialization. The first phase began in the 16th century with racialized captivity of Africans. A second stage was the creation of race to justify the captivity of an entire group of people. The scientific creation of "biological" races developed in the 18th century; however, the process of dividing people into groups based on the phenotypes began in the early 1500s with the advent of European exploration in Africa, Asia, and the Americas (Melish 1998;

Orser 2007; Smedley 1999: 17, 158-160). The social construction of “race” in the United States was solidified in the 18th century and strengthened during the 19th century as a tool to justify slavery and later the domination and exploitation of entire groups of people (Smedley 1999; Epperson 1994, 1997, 1999; American Anthropological Association 1998). Lee Baker (1998) suggests that race became a social construct with the signing of the U.S. Constitution; however, race as we know it today, was solidified and inculcated into consciousness with the help of science, including anthropology with its craniological studies, the “Lost Cause” narrative, and the Jim Crow South in the 1890s (Baker 1998: 17).

A key concept in the way Orser discusses racialization is Bourdieu’s theory of habitus. Bourdieu’s (1977) habitus framework has three components. Its first component consists historically of individual and collective agency and is a durable structure with dispositions. These dispositions are perceived notions embedded into the structure of the mind at an early age, usually through formalized education, which allow the individuals to function in society. Second, it does not govern all the actions a person will execute in their lives (Bourdieu 1977). Rather it is the source of what are not necessarily coherent understandings and practices that individuals draw upon to engage in routine and extraordinary actions that they need to take to act in the world. Lastly, it consists of “structured structures presupposed to function as structuring structures” (Bourdieu 1977: 72). This phrase means that people learn their place in society through a socialization process, thereby creating another structure that cycles back into the original structure (Orser 2007: 58; Swartz 1997: 103).

Habitus is inculcated in youth and works in combination with what Bourdieu termed doxa, which he defined as “those things we take for granted” (Bourdieu 1977: 169). Doxa surrounds all individuals and is acquired through socialization starting in childhood, but mostly inculcated through schools, so that everything learned in this process becomes the “universe of the undiscussed” (Bourdieu 1977: 169). Habitus is created in childhood with dispositions (socialization processes) that provide possible perceptions and actions for individuals. However, these are not necessarily fixed in childhood as they are built upon mostly through schools and possibly added to, throughout their lives as situations provoke a rethinking and reappraisal of the doxa of a given habitus. As a result, within an individual, as well as a community, there are multiple dispositions and they consist of learned and perceived “truths” (Bourdieu 1977).

Social constructions are part of the doxa, for example, race, gender, and class, as well as political ideologies like nationalism, imperialism, capitalism, and hegemony. At certain points in time, a society or parts of a society will have discourse and practices opposing those beliefs in the doxa. This discourse occurs in the “universe of discourse,” and exists because there is more than one truth and this challenge to established thought questions the doxa, thereby creating a heterodoxy (Bourdieu 1977: 168).

Dominant culture does not always recognize the discourse in the heterodoxy. Bourdieu suggested an orthodoxy formed by constructing a new meaning on top of the doxa, thereby creating an “imperfect substitute” or “straightened opinion” (Bourdieu 1977: 169). Bourdieu does not seem to create a different doxa, but discourse either is straightened out or is substituted in this orthodoxy. However, I view doxa as changing within a society; for example, at one time in this country it was perfectly acceptable to

own another human, but now it is not. I do not see this as new orthodoxy, but a new doxa. Some might argue that the dominant culture's transference of views from captive Africans to free African Americans is a watered down version of the doxa, so it would be an orthodoxy. However, emancipation was a major change in the society of the United States. Gramsci suggested that old hegemonies are destroyed and newer ones are formed and therefore become a way to conceptualize a new doxa (Mouffe 1979: 190-191).

The final component of Orser's racialization of space framework is epochal structures based on Donald Donham's and Fernand Braudel's work. The cultural anthropologist Donald Donham's (1999) and historian Fernand Braudel's (1985) epochal structures were adapted from Marx's structures (sociocultural relationships, social organizations, behaviors, and institutions) and superstructures (values, beliefs, symbols, ideologies, and culture). Donham (1999: 131) notes "according to Marxist theory, the distinctive feature that demarcates social types of historical epochs is the nature of productive inequalities. Power differences grounded in material life define epochal structures." Although he modified Marx's theory regarding the formation of social inequalities, their reproduction and their evolution in stratified societies over a period, Donham adapted his framework with the non-stratified Maale kingdom in southern Ethiopia, which is significant because the framework was really designed for stratified societies. Epochal structures created in the United States at the federal, state, and local level will be addressed in Chapter IV.

Orser (2007) used his framework to study the racialization of an Irish immigrant community in New York City and a Chinese Laundry in Stockton, California. To execute his framework, he described the habitus of Ireland and China. Irish immigrants

were mostly rent paying tenant farmers whose lives were controlled by a hierarchical system of based lord and manor (Orser 2007: 82-87). Most Chinese immigrants that came were peasant farmers from Guangdong province existing in tenant land-lord arrangements under a sociopolitical system based at the family and village level (Orser 2007: 133-137). The Irish were fleeing the “Great Hunger.” Chinese immigrants were fleeing the Taiping Rebellion and Second Opium War (Orser 2007: 137). This methodology presents a problem for people studying African Americans because at times the ethnicity of captive Africans is unknown or has been lost. It is more logical to look at the conceptualized habitus that was created by people of African descent once they arrived in this country due to their contact with other ethnic groups from the African continent and the adoption of some Native American and European practices that were similar to their culture after their arrival on this continent in captivity (Gomez 1998; Horton and Horton 1997).

When Africans first arrived on this continent, they came from multiple ethnic groups like Yourba, Mande, Asante, Wolof, etc.; these heterogeneous groups were transformed into a homogeneous group under the all-encompassing term of Africans by Europeans (Gomez 1998; Sidbury 2007). Ogundiran and Falola’s (2007: 19) “transformation” interpretation provides a way to bridge the gap between Africanisms and Creolization, which takes into account the disruption of cultures on the African continent in response to massive human trafficking for labor and the recontextualizing of ethnic cultures from Africa because of the fusing of various ethnic groups with the cultures present in the Americas. Additionally, this transformation takes into account all the conditions that people of African descent encountered from “challenges of daily life

under slavery, emancipation, and racism, from slavery to peasantry, from plantation isolation to urban intermixing” (Ogundiran and Falola 2007: 19).

In studying the lives and material culture of ‘marginalized’ people, it is important to keep clear the difference/connection/codependence of the internal and external influences on identity. Thus, as Orser (2007: 73) notes at a minimum, the discussion of epochal structures needs to include a discussion of these social and political-legal structures. One structure that Orser does not include in his framework is the economic structures in relation to the archaeological assemblages studied. Donham’s studies of the Maale in Ethiopia included economic relations-in considering his epochal structures. Given the importance of the economy in understanding racialized power relations, this dissertation will include a consideration of the economic dimensions of the habitus in developing an understanding of the epochal structures. When the economy and its “production inequalities” are included, a clearer picture of how space is racialized, daily life among African Americans, especially women, the transition from African to African American, and consumerism will emerge; so I include economics in my analysis of epochal structures. The political-legal structure consists of the legal apparatus that is established to racially separate the marginalized person from the dominant society. In addition, for this study I have added racialization and spatial epochal structures to the framework. This requires a study of historical documents to find periods of crisis and change to match them to the material culture from the proper period.

Orser (2004: 182) notes that Bourdieu’s practice theory does not lend itself to the study of space. Space is socially constructed (Lefebvre 1991; Orser 2004, 2007). Because of this, Orser incorporates Henri Lefebvre’s (1979, 1991) studies on space into

his framework. Lefebvre (1991; Orser 2004: 182) argued space is a social construction, involves social action, and is never constructed out of innocence. Lefebvre's conceptual framework assumes that "(1) space embraces a vast array of social interconnections, each of which maintains specific location, and (2) that a conceptual triad existsof the following elements: spatial practice, representations of space, and representational spaces" (Orser 2004: 183). He posits there is "unitary theory" of space linked by "three 'fields' of spatial practice: the physical, the mental, and the social" (Orser 2004: 182). Orser (2004: 182) notes the archaeologist "James Delle (1998: 38-39) refers to these three spaces as...material, cognitive, and social."

Spatial practice is "perceived space." It is the interconnected relationships of the physically constructed landscape. For example, on the 19th century landscape it would consist of the road networks and buildings linked by this network. "Representation of space" is conceptual spaces that can be modified, for instance, advertising and media. These mediums were and still are racialized. Examples of representations of space include: racialized advertisements that were used to market products in the 19th and 20th centuries and TV shows and movies that lack people of color or portray them stereotypically. Representational spaces are symbols, associated images, and mythical narratives that can include ideologically charged places such as establishments of worship. This study addresses two places of worship, the African Meeting House Boston and Nantucket. Material culture is associated with all of these kinds of spaces.

Census documents provide a blueprint for physical racialized space and the data on these documents assist with understanding the social construction of race. Other forms of racialization might be found in the presence of tin cans in an assemblage,

hotelwares, and the decline in fish bones in residences. Additionally, the presence of White doll fragments, proprietary medicine bottles, haircare products, hair combs, and accoutrement are also a source of racialization. These items can provide indicators of daily life and consumerism. Racialized items are possible indicators of the transition from African to African American. Sometimes material culture, as simple as bottle caps when put into the proper context, is an indication of racialization as interpreted by Paul Mullins (2006: 68). He has studied the segregated African American neighborhood that is now buried under Indiana University-Purdue University, Indianapolis, parking lots as an example of racialized space. Mullins' (2006: 68) team recovered milk bottle caps from the segregation era and after engaging former community members found that the bottle caps had great significance. The bottle caps were used for admission and rides on Negro Day at the local amusement park (the park was only open one day a year for African American usage). This example demonstrates how a single item was used in the racialization process and had multivalent usages. Perry and Paynter suggest that multivalency "exists when an object or set of objects takes on strikingly different meanings for different social groups, with dominating groups often totally ignorant of the meaning system of subordinated groups" (Perry and Paynter 1999: 303). Because of the multivalent quality of objects, an effective study of racialization must, as Warren Perry insists, see the world through African eyes (Woodruff 2007: 156), a key methodological approach that runs throughout the dissertation.

Methodology

Phases Of The Project

As listed earlier, these are the research questions that drove my research with more detailed explanations as to what I hope to address:

1. What were the social, political, spatial, racial, and economic epochal structures used to racialize African American lives in the 19th and early 20th century and how did African Americans resist and navigate these structures?
2. What was the daily life of African Americans in Massachusetts like between 1800 and 1915, and especially African American women?
3. Is there any indication of a transition from African to African American identity?
4. Is there any evidence of participation in the consumer market?

The research methodology consisted of five phases: 1) creating site selection criteria, 2) site determination, 3) reading reports, documents and historical records, 4) comparing assemblages, and 5) analysis and writing.

Phase 1, Creating Site Selection Criteria

Phase 1 was the development of the criteria used to determine which sites were used to study the racialization of space, patterns of daily life, transition, and consumerism. In this phase, I used the Massachusetts Historical Commission Archaeological Division's CD (MHC) that lists all state approved public property excavations. The MHC is the repository for all permitted archaeological excavation reports and site data on public lands, historical sites and reports, archives, and also curates some of the archaeological collections. In addition, there is resident knowledge within the MHC of private excavations conducted in the state. For example, Boston University's excavations at Robert Robert's house (71 Joy Street, Boston). The agency also has some Master's theses from the University of Massachusetts, Boston and Boston University on file.

To determine what sites were available for this study, I conducted a word search for African American, Black, Negro, and slave using the MHC CD that lists archaeological report abstracts of permit excavations within the state. Not all archaeological sites are listed in this database because private excavations do not require a state permit. The MHC archaeological division was a great source for additional site

reports not on file with MHC. Other potential sites came from historical records that confirmed the existence of African American homesteads and communities and the structures themselves, like Wizard's Glen in Dalton, Massachusetts. It is also possible that some other African American excavated sites might exist, but the words African American, Black, Negro, and slave might not have been used in the report abstracts. To compensate for this, I talked with archaeologists at MHC and UMass Archaeological Services at the University of Massachusetts Amherst and included reports in the initial search where I knew there was an African American historical presence. For example, the site reconnaissance survey of Walden Pond in Concord and the reports from archaeological excavations in Oak Bluffs on Martha's Vineyard. Additionally, the UMass Archaeological Services library proved beneficial because the organization conducted excavations at some of the sites in my study and provided access to the reports, though no sites were located using this method.

Initially, all archaeological sites with people of African descent present were added to the list in Phase 1 of this study.

The archaeological site report abstracts compiled in Phase 1 were:

- W.E.B. Du Bois Boyhood Homesite, Great Barrington
- Rev Samuel Harrison House, Pittsfield
- Parting Ways, Plymouth
- Lucy Foster Site, Andover
- African Meeting House, Boston
- Smith School, Boston
- African Meeting House Nantucket
- Boston/Higginbotham House, Nantucket
- Polly and Nathan Johnson Site, New Bedford
- Peter Faneuil School Site, Boston
- Prince Hall Mystic Cemetery, Arlington
- Uxbridge Almshouse Burial Ground in Uxbridge
- Woodbridge-Jenkins Center, Andover
- Cato Freeman Site, North Andover

- MBTA/Charles Connector Project, Boston
- Westminster Proposed Business Park, Westminster
- Commonwealth Right of Way Project Orleans and Brewster
- Paddy's Alley and Cross Street Back Lots
- Royall House and Plantation
- Mill Pond Site, Boston
- Whydah Shipwreck Site, Cape Cod
- Boston African American Historic Site
- Walden Pond, Concord
- Oak Bluffs, Martha's Vineyard

Phase 2, Site Determination

Upon reading the archaeological report abstracts, I determined which site reports merited further attention for this study. Given this study's focus on sites occupied by free people of African descent, any sites prior to 1783, the year slavery was abolished in Massachusetts, were excluded unless the occupation of the site by people of African descent extended at least into the 19th century. For instance, the Royalls' Plantation, located in Medford, neither fit the time period of this study nor had a population of "freed" people of African descent.

Typically, if a site had an occupation before 1800 with captive Africans present and a continuous occupation into the 19th century after northern emancipation, it remained on the list for further consideration. Sites that fit this criteria included Mills Pond Site and Paddy's Alley and Cross Street Back Lots Site, Boston, Massachusetts.

In addition, archaeological sites occupied by free people of African descent with occupation dates prior to 1800 were included if the occupation of these sites spanned into the 19th century. For example, The W.E.B. Du Bois Homesite in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, might have been purchased by the Burghardts in the 1790s and had a physical occupation until the second decade of the 20th century (Paynter et al. 2008), so it is among the sites selected for this study.

The following are the archaeological sites selected for report readings:

- W.E.B. Du Bois Boyhood Homesite, Great Barrington
- Reverend Samuel Harrison House, Pittsfield
- Parting Ways, Plymouth
- Lucy Foster Site, Andover
- African Meeting House, Boston
- Smith School, Boston
- African Meeting House Nantucket
- Boston/Higginbotham House, Nantucket
- Polly and Nathan Johnson Site, New Bedford
- Peter Faneuil School Site, Boston
- Cato Freeman Site, North Andover
- MBTA/Charles Connector Project, Boston
- Westminster Proposed Business Park, Westminster
- Commonwealth Right of Way Project Orleans and Brewster
- Paddy's Alley and Cross Street Back Lots
- Boston African American Historic Site
- Walden Pond, Concord
- Oak Bluffs, Martha's Vineyard (X 2)

Phase 3, Reading the Reports

Once the list was set, I proceeded to read the various reports to see if there was enough material culture to address my research questions and if the analysis of the assemblage was detailed to study racialization, daily life, transition, and consumerism. Some sites that spanned the 18th and 19th centuries were not selected because too few artifacts survived to sustain a coherent analysis or to make a distinction between the captive African servants from their captors. Nor was there data that took the site into the period after the abolition of slavery, for instance, Mills Pond Site and Paddy's Alley and Cross Street Back Lots Site, Boston, Massachusetts. Additionally, many of these eliminated sites only had a Phase I cultural resource management (CRM) excavation and recommended possible further excavations, but no additional excavations have been conducted as of this date.

The state of Massachusetts requires a permit for any non-destructive or destructive investigations on any land controlled by the state. Destructive investigations are divided into four categories: reconnaissance survey, intensive survey, site examination, and data recovery (950 CMR). A Phase 1 report, which would fall under a non-destructive or a destructive -reconnaissance survey investigation, is disqualified from my research because that phase concentrates on reconnaissance or limited survey procedures. A reconnaissance focuses on back ground research, walking over the site, and might entail a limited excavation to assess archaeological potential. This type of survey would not provide an assemblage that would answer my research questions. However, the structure itself might help answer the racialization of space question. For instance, the Nathan and Polly Johnson House in New Bedford, Massachusetts, had a limited site examination for the archaeological monitoring program, which consisted of a few test trenches designed to answer structural questions; a limited number of artifacts were retrieved, mostly associated with the construction workers who moved the house in the 1850s (Heitert 2005). The destructive investigations that use reconnaissance surveys and intensive surveys are not conducive to answering questions about consumerism and daily life; however, they can be used to help answer the racialized space question because most are probably in a segregated to semi-segregated enclave. Site examination and data recovery excavations are more likely to assist in answering all three questions.

After reading the reports and using the established criteria, I selected the following sites for my research:

- W.E.B. Du Bois Boyhood home, Great Barrington
- Rev Samuel Harrison House, Pittsfield
- Parting Ways, Plymouth
- Lucy Foster Site, Andover

- African Meeting House, Boston
- 44 Joy Street residence, Boston
- Smith School, Boston
- African Meeting House Nantucket Boston/Higginbotham House, Nantucket
- 56-58, 64, and 68 Joy Street (Peter Faneuil School Site), Boston
- Cato Freeman site, North Andover (tentative – phase 1 & 2 archaeology, but some disturbance)

Additionally, there are many historical sites across the state, primarily in Boston, that help study the racialization of space in the state and give a window into the locations of early social movement organizations in Boston. Historical buildings provide a large above-the-ground artifact that assists in highlighting a more detailed account of racialization practices across the state and information for possible future archaeological excavations. Historic structure reports and local historical resources documenting the families who lived in these dwellings also help with this process.

- North side Beacon Hill, Boston:
 - Lewis and Harriet Hayden
 - John Coburn House
 - Smith Court Residences (5)
 - Charles Street Meeting House
 - George Middleton House
 - John Smith House
 - Phillips School
 - African American Churches of Beacon Hill
 - George and Susan Hillard House
 - David Walker and Maria Steward House

There are also areas that had Black communities, but no archaeology. These places may/or may not have much in the way of documentary records, but might possibly lend themselves to an above ground archaeology, especially studies in racialized space. This analysis is focused on known structures or a known location of African American habitation. Ideally, this study is more focused on communities with African American

archaeological sites. However, Appendix F provides a listing from census records of most cities/towns in the state that had African Americans.

Claudia Milne (2002) provides a useful template for finding Black communities in cities and towns. She notes that artifacts from the Five Points area of New York City date to the 1850s when it was occupied by a majority of Irish immigrants. However, her research focused on the free-Black community that lived in the area from 1810 to 1834. To locate the earlier Five Points, Milne concentrated on using maps, tax records, police reports, newspaper accounts, city directories, and censuses to discern the daily life of the inhabitants before the encroachment of Irish immigrants into the neighborhood (Milne 2002: 131). She notes that due to the importance of the Black church in the community, once it is located, the rest of the neighborhood will take shape. During this time period, Black churches were not only places of worship. The church functioned as the rallying point of the Black community and was the center of gravity, serving as mutual aid associations, banks, meeting houses, schools, and fraternal and sorority organizations (Horton 1993).

Diana diZerega Wall et al. (2008) used a similar methodology to conduct a comparative study of Seneca Village and Little Africa in New York City using the 1850 Federal Census.

By 1850, the population of Seneca Village inhabitants had changed from a separate Black community to one with a mixture of Irish and Germans. Using the census data, Wall, et al. (2008) concluded that Seneca Village was a more established community, which was formed in the 1820s and had an infusion of other Black people when their community at York Hill was destroyed, whereas Little Africa was formed in

the 1830s as the Black population migrated from Five Points after it was heavily populated with Irish immigrants. Seneca Village's Black inhabitants consisted of a middle-class that was wealthier and owned its homes, whereas Little Africa might have been the first stop for new residents in New York City and consisted of unskilled workers who rented. The authors note the differences between the Black and White middle-classes; jobs by laborers, barbers, and coachmen were considered Black middle-class jobs within the Black community (Wall et al. 2008: 97-107).

Phase 4, Comparing the Assemblages

The criteria for racialized power relations consisted of analyzing specific artifacts using the general categories under the functional artifact typology originally created by Stanley South (1977), but modified by Orser and again by Paynter: foodways, personal, information, and work (non-food) (see Table 3.1). I used these particular categories because Paynter's modified general categories include a set of groupings more fitting to archaeology in the North. Orser's (1988) general categories for artifact categories went beyond what Stanley South (1977) had developed in the 1970s, which was based on sherd analysis, historical documents, and artifacts found in the archaeological assemblages. South's groupings were divided into kitchen, bone, furniture, clothing, personal, tobacco pipes, and activities group (South 1977). Paynter's general categories are concentrated more on an environment in which people were required to work to subsist in society. His general categories are foodways, personal, household/structural, information, work (non-food), transportation, native artifact, natural, and unknown (Paynter 2004, 2008). These general categories are further separated into specific categories and then examples of the types of artifacts (Paynter 2004, 2008).

For the purposes of this study, I amended these categories in the following ways. Under the foodways category, I was particularly interested in artifacts under the specific category including procurement, preparation, service, remains, and alcohol. In the personal category, I focused on the specific groupings including clothes, shoes, cosmetic, decorative, medicinal, and recreational (see Tables 3.1 and 3.2). In these first two categories, I wanted to highlight the usage of any national and regional brand items and study their acquisition, abundance in the assemblages, and usage patterns. In the third general category, information items from the specific groupings of production and storage were important in studying daily life, especially writing instruments, inkwells, and books. With the fourth general category, work (non-food), I focused on the specific groupings including domestic, tools, arms/weapons, fishing gear, container, and any miscellaneous items. In this phase, I visited the facilities that curate these artifacts, which included MHC, Boston University, The Peabody Museum, Andover, and CRM firm Public Archaeology Lab Associates in Pawtucket, Rhode Island. I was not allowed access to the UMass Boston African Meeting House and 44 Joy Street assemblages because they were still being analyzed.

Table 3.1: Functional Artifact Typology

General Category	Specific	Examples
Foodways	Procurement	ammunition, fishhooks, fishing weights
	Preparation	baking pans, cooking vessels, large knives
	Service	fine earthenware, flatware, tableware, include alcohol glasses, large spoons, large bowls
	Storage	coarse earthenware, coarse stonewares, glass bottles, canning jars, bottle stoppers

General Category	Specific	Examples
	Remains	fauna, flora
	Alcohol	Alcoholic beverage containers
	Unknown	
Personal	Clothing	fasteners, e.g., buttons, eyelets, snaps, hook and eyes
	Shoes	soles, uppers
	Cosmetic	hairbrushes, hair combs, jars
	Decorative	jewelry, hairpins, hatpins, umbrella parts
	Medicinal	medicine bottles, droppers, spectacles
	Recreational	smoking pipes, toys, musical instruments, souvenirs
	Other	clothes hangers pocketknives,
Household/Structural	Architectural	nails, window glass, spikes, mortar, bricks, slate
	Hardware	hinges, tacks, nuts, bolts, staples, hooks, brackets
	Furnishings	furniture pieces, decorative fasteners, flower pot
	Heating	stove parts, coal and its by products
	Lighting	lamp parts, lightbulbs
	Plumbing	chamber pot, wash basin, pipes, lavatory porcelain
	Electrical	wire, insulators
	Other	modified wood
Information	Communications	telephone parts, mailbox
	Money	coins
	Production	computer parts, fountain pens, pencils, inkwells
	Storage	Books
Work (Non-Food)	Agricultural	barbed wire, plow blades, scythe blades
	Industrial	machines, pig iron
	Domestic	needles, pins, scissors, thimbles
	Tools	hammer, saw, plane
	Arms/Weapons	gun part, gun flint, sword
	Fishing Gear	rod, reel, hooks
	Container	non-food container, barrel hoop
	Misc	wire, metal with rivet, adhesives
Transportation	Motorized	car parts, oil cans, gas containers
	Animal powered	animal shoes, harness pieces
	Human powered	bicycle parts

General Category	Specific	Examples
	Water	boat and ship parts
Native Artifact		flake, point, pottery, etc
Natural	Fauna	
	Flora	
	Inorganic	
Unknown	Material	only raw material is known, unidentifiable metal, glass, plastic, stone
	Unknown	
	Historical	historical period artifact of unknown function and material

Source: Paynter et al. Archaeology at the W.E.B. Du Bois Homesite (unpublished site report, 2008).

Data mining the work of William Pierson (1988) illuminates what he termed “Black Yankees” cultural traditions in New England during the 18th century. The activities and artifacts listed in Table 3.2 can be used in concert with Paynter’s modified general categories to assist in the analysis of New England African American archaeological assemblages.

Table 3.2: Material Culture used by African Americans in 18th century New England “Black Yankees”

Activity (Tangible)	Artifacts
Paw Paw (game)	four cowrie shells
Musical instruments Making /Playing	banjos, flutes, tambourines, drums, fiddles (3-string), idiophones, drumming boards, clarinets, brass horns
Stick fighting	wooden stick
Basket making	grass (would not survive)
Whistle making	
Housing	
Canes	
Burial sites/funeral rites	
Money strings	

Charms	
Use of hoes	

Along with these material manifestations, Pierson (1988: 7, 9, 11, 31-33, 35, 40, 66-70, 75-82, 84-85, 89, 91-92, 97-105, 120-124, 129, 136, 147, 151, 154-155, 157) describes distinctive intangible retentions, including variolation, manners, choice of soil, religious expression, believe in rebirth, wandering souls, living dead, oaths, fear of thunder, religious rites and images, sacred circles, healing, conjuring, divination, fear of spirits, cooking, sexual mores, naming, counting, head carriage, spinning, herbalism, herding, hunting, mining, memory skills, ideal of beauty, markets, gambling, dance, holiday style, and sports.

As Table 3.3 illustrates, the artifact assemblages from all of these excavations are curated and stored in different locations. Table 3.4 provides an indication of sites that might assist in answering the research questions.

Table 3.3: Curating Locations

Site	Curating Location
Du Bois Homesite	UMass Amherst
Rev Samuel Harrison House	MHC
Parting Ways	MHC, UMass Boston, Plymouth Library
Lucy Foster Site	Peabody Museum, Phillips Academy, Andover
African Meeting House, Boston	City Lab, Boston UMass Boston, NPS (1999)
44 Joy Street residence	UMass Boston
Smith School	NPS (Lowell.MA)
African Meeting House Nantucket	City Lab, Boston
Boston/Higginbotham House	UC Berkley
Polly and Nathan Johnson Site	PAL
56-58, 64, and 68 Joy Street (Peter Faneuil School Site)	BU
Cato Freeman Site	MHC (1982 Excavation) PAL (2000 Excavation)

Table 3.4: Sites and Research Questions

Site	Racialized space	Daily Life, especially women	Transition	Consumerism
Du Bois Homesite		X	X	X
Rev Samuel Harrison House		X	X	X
Parting Ways	X	X	X	X
Lucy Foster Site		X	X	X
African Meeting House, Boston	X	X	X	X
44 Joy Street residence	X	X	X	X
Smith School	X	X	X	X
African Meeting House Nantucket	X	X	X	X
Boston/Higginbotham House, Nantucket	X	X	X	X
56-58, 64, and 68 Joy Street (Peter Faneuil School Site)	X	X	X	X
Cato Freeman site	X	X	X	X

Other relevant data included census data, which provided information about population numbers, sex ratios, occupations, and racialized landscapes. To assist in answering the racialization of space question, I used Federal Census data and sometimes state census data. The United States Census is a useful document because it is a tool of social control and a racialized document that provides clues into racialized space. For example, it nationalized racialization by categorizing people into races and ethnicities. All U.S. Censuses have used race and later ethnicity to keep track of the population. One of the reasons for the constitutionally mandated census was to determined representation

in the House of Representatives, hence the three-fifths rule, a formula for counting three out of five captive Africans. Moreover, the struggles over the ambiguous and powerful notion of race can be seen in changes in the terms to describe “races” as well as in the instructions to the census-takers e.g. (Wright 1887). The U.S. Censuses are documents of racialization.

The U.S. Censuses in 1790, 1800, and 1810 used racialized categories of “free white males,” “free white females,” “all other free persons except Indians, not taxed,” and slaves. By 1820 there was a little modification: “free white males” and “free white females” was retained and the age categories for males was six and females five; foreigners not naturalized was added; male and female slaves were tracked with four age categories; the category free colored persons that included the same age categories as slaves; and a final type category of “All other persons except Indians not taxed.” These categories were retained for 1830, but there was an increase in age categories for White males and females to 13. Free colored persons and slaves were tracked with six age categories for each sex. There was also still a column for aliens – foreigners not naturalized. The only change with the 1840 census was the elimination of the aliens’ column. The 1850 census is the first to treat everyone equal, at least on paper. It recorded the names of everyone in the house, race, sex, age, occupation of people over 15, birthplace, value of real estate owned, value of personal property, marital status, school attendance for those of school-age, and if a person over the age of 29 could read or write. The races and ethnicities available in this document include: white, black, and mulatto. Mulattos, if any, were rolled into the total Black population.

The instructions for the 1850 and 1860 Federal Censuses had three reporting colors: white, black, mulatto (Wright and Hunt 1900: 147, 152, 154). By 1870, Chinese and Indian were added to the category (Wright and Hunt 1900: 154). However, these additions conflated nationality with color. This same form was used in 1880.

Instructions for the 1880 Federal Census noted that enumerators had to make sure the color of the person was filled in and to pay particular attention to the use of the term mulatto, which was considered generic (Wright and Hunt 1900: 171). Further instructions for racializing someone as a mulatto included “quadroons, octoroons, and all persons having any perceptible trace of African blood. Important scientific results depend upon the correct determination of this class in schedules 1 and 5” (Wright and Hunt 1900: 171). In other words, this “important scientific” information was put in the hands of an enumerator.

The 1890 Federal Census instructions to the enumerators gave more “colors” that included: “white, black, mulatto, quadroons, octoroons, Chinese, Japanese, of Indian” (Wright and Hunt 1900: 187). It is illuminating that enumerators were provided detailed instructions on how to list people with African blood:

Be particularly careful to distinguish between black, mulatto, quadroons, and octoroons. The word “black” should be used to describe those persons who have three-fourths or more black blood; “mulatto,” those persons who have from three-eighths to five-eighths black blood; “quadroon,” those persons who have one-fourth black blood; and “octoroon,” those persons who have one-eighth or any trace of black blood (Wright and Hunt 1900: 187).

In 1890 the government felt the need to keep track of the amount of Black blood inside people by adding quadroon and octoroon. The 1900 census returned to a color category that only tracked White, Black, or Mulatto; however, census takers did use the old system of recording Chinese, Japanese, and Indians.

Eventually the censuses began to track occupations, first in broad categories that later evolved into tracking all occupations within a household. The 1820 Federal Census recorded three categories: agriculture, commerce, and manufacturing. The 1830 Federal Census did not retain this practice. The 1840 census increased the professions tracked to seven: mining; agriculture; commerce; manufacturing and trades; navigation of the oceans; navigation of canals, lakes, and rivers; and learned professions and engineers. In 1850, people were not grouped into broad categories, but listed with their individual occupations. I grouped these individual occupations into Horton and Horton's (1999) three occupational groupings for Boston with some modifications from W.E.B. Du Bois' groupings in *The Philadelphia Negro* (1973) concerning occupations not listed by the Hortons. In addition, I added Elizabeth Pleck's usage of Stephen Thernstrom's list of African American menial occupations for Boston from 1860-1920. Horton and Horton's three occupation groups are professionals, skilled and entrepreneurs, unskilled and semiskilled, and grouped according to how they were viewed in antebellum Black Boston (see Appendix A). Du Bois grouped the Black population into six categories (see Appendix B) that included: entrepreneurs, in learned professions, in skilled trades, clerks, semi-professional and responsible workers, servants, laborers (select class), laborers (ordinary class), and miscellaneous (Du Bois 1973: 100-104). He also divided women into four categories: entrepreneurs, in learned professions, skilled trades, clerks, semi-professional and responsible workers, laborers, and servants (Du Bois 1973: 103-104).

Conclusion

This chapter presents the theoretical framework used to answer my four research questions concerning racialization, daily life of African Americans, especially with women, the practices and ideas of transition, from African to African American, and

consumerism. I rely on the racialization of space theoretical framework created by Charles Orser to study racialized space, which consists of the background information on the site; second, the habitus characteristic of the residents; and, third, the epochal structures. In this chapter I discussed the concepts of habitus and doxa along with a brief overview of epochal structures. Chapter IV discusses a reimagined habitus and epochal structures at the federal, state, and local levels in more detail. This chapter also described my research methodology carried out in four phases, the sites that will be useful in this dissertation, and some guiding principles for interpreting artifacts.

CHAPTER IV

A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF EPOCHAL STRUCTURES

Introduction

In chapter III, I presented the theoretical tools used in this dissertation, drawing extensively on Orser's racialization of space frame work, Donham's notion of epochal structure, and Bourdieu's concept of habitus. Chapter III also laid out the rationale for the choice of archaeological sites and the methods by which the material assemblages and the information on the communities in which the sites are located will be related to the abstract theoretical concepts to address the questions of structural change in the African/African American communities, daily life with attention to learning from the material record about the life of women, the transition from African to African American, and the role of consumerism in African American life. In this chapter, I discuss reimagined habitus and the economic, racial, spatial, political/legal, and social epochal structures that were created in the early National period through the end of the 19th century.

Some form of these racialized structures were present before the United States formed. And over this same lengthy period these spatial, political/legal, and economic structures have been supported, as George Lipsitz points out, by the "possessive investment in whiteness" involving an embrace of "people of color and their cultures in condescending and controlling ways" (Lipsitz 2006: 118). The dominant culture often created the idea that people of color were "sources of inspiration or forgiveness for whites, and the white fascination with certain 'primitive' authenticity among communities of color" (Lipsitz 2006: 118). He (2006: 4-5) observes that once these

racialized structures of White privilege were established they had to be reimagined and maintained throughout the nation's history.

Donald Donham (1999: 131) coined the term epochal structures because he was attempting to study "schematic models of central tendencies in social orders, considered over whole epochs." Donham's idea of an epochal structure is useful for this dissertation as I consider changes in African American life as observed in the archaeological record of Massachusetts. In this chapter, I provide context for epochal structures affecting the lives of African Americans in Massachusetts that are generally characteristic of life in the United States, using historical examples at the local, state, and federal level. The chapter considers their creation in the colonial period, their reimagining in the early National and antebellum periods, and their solidification in the last decades of the 19th century. I start with economic structures followed by racialization, spatial, political/legal, and social.

Before discussing these structures, I want to underscore their dynamic nature. In Orser's (2007) framework, studying the epochal structures affecting the immigrant's habitus begins by first detailing the habitus of the immigrant's homeland. However, Orser (2004: 153) elaborates on the unfeasibility of using the originating habitus for ethnic groups from the African continent because it is reconstituted in the Americas into new habitus composed of the various ethnic groups. He also notes that some of the habitus of the dominant culture concerning Africans was contrived. It is more logical to look at the reconceptualized habitus that was created after arrival to the New World. Contact with other ethnic groups from the African continent, Native Americans, and Europeans continued to influence daily practices that were similar to their culture, but markedly different after a time on this continent (Gomez 1998; Horton and Horton 1997).

Although focused on the South, Michael Gomez (1998) provides baseline data on how to conceptualize the arrival of Africans into this country. Through Gomez's and James Sidbury's (2007) work, we learn that people did not arrive here from Africa as a homogeneous people but as a heterogeneous population of various ethnicities from various parts of West and Central Africa. These ethnic groups became racialized into the singular African category by Europeans and later Americans. Here, in what became the United States, they merged their cultures with those of Native Americans and European Americans to create a new reimagined identity that Sidbury defined as the African created in America (Sidbury 2007: 12-13).

Economic Structures

The beginnings of production inequality in the Americas started with the captivity of Native Americans, and then moved to the captivity of Africans and indentured servitude to do the work of White elites. To understand the epochal structures in the United States we have to go back to their arrival. According to Lorenzo Greene (1969 [1942]: 17-18), there is some contention over when people of African descent first entered Massachusetts. The date normally given is 1638, but Greene (1969 [1942]: 16) contends that people of African descent possibly entered the colony between 1624 and 1638 because "Samuel Maverick, apparently New England's first slaveholder, arrived in Massachusetts in 1624 and according to Palfrey, owned two Negroes before John Winthrop... arrived in 1630." Greene notes that 1638 is used because John Winthrop's journal mentions the return of a ship from Providence Island in the West Indies that carried captive Pequots to trade for captive Africans (Greene 1969 [1942]: 16-17). Since there is more evidence for the 1638 date, Greene uses that one (Greene 1969[1942]: 18). Maverick was also the first known breeder of captive Africans, on one of Boston's

Harbor Islands (Adams and Pleck 2010: 37). In 1641, Massachusetts became the first colony to legalize African captivity (Greene 1969 [1942]: 20). By 1644, the colony started importing their captive Africans directly from Africa into Boston, beginning the city's rise as an importer of captive human labor separate from indentured service (Greene 1969 [1942]: 20). In fact, in the 17th century, Massachusetts was the center of the trade in captive Africans in New England (Greene 1969 [1942]: 22).

Between the 1740s and 1750s, Massachusetts began importing captive Africans directly from Africa instead of obtaining surplus and unwanted captives from the Caribbean (Gomez 1998: 26, Horton and Horton 1997: 13; Wright 2000: 88). New Englanders had an affinity for young Africans because they felt they could be trained easier (Gomez 1998: 26). Captive Africans mainly came from Senegambia, Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, Bight of Benin, West Central Africa, and Bight of Biafra, which meant that numerous ethnic groups such as the Mande, Yoruba, Ibo, Fante, Wolof, Asante, and BaKongo all came together in concentrated locations (Gomez 1998). An ethnic group consists of people with shared customs and traditions, language, religion, and territory. This conglomeration of ethnic groups became more common under the homogenizing term of African (Gomez 1998). For this reason it is not feasible to use the habitus of captive African ethnic groups in the continental United States because it is often not known and the African in the United States is a reimagined African (Gomez 1998; Sidbury 2007). This process can become even more confusing when whalers and sailors of color mixed into the population in the 18th and 19th century and southern African Americans and Afro-Caribbeans migrated into the urban and rural landscape of Massachusetts after the Civil War and into the 20th century, especially in Boston.

The number of captive Africans imported into North American colonies and later the United States was lower than the number sent to the Caribbean and Latin America. During the Atlantic trade in captive Africans, there were approximately 481,000 captive Africans imported into North America (Gomez 1998: 18). By 1700, there were less than 1,000 captive Africans imported into New England (Piersen 1988: 16). The trade had decreased by 1750 and had ended in the region by the American Revolution (Piersen 1988: 19). This American creation of an African would later migrate to Canada and Great Britain and join populations in the Caribbean and West Africa (Sidbury 2007: 12-13). This is why it is more advantageous to look at a reimagined habitus here in the United States than the habitus of a particular ethnic group on the continent of Africa.

During the age of sail, captive and free Blacks served on merchant, whaling, and warships of all nations because experienced sailors were hard to find (Bolster 1997; Horton and Horton 1997). By 1803, Black sailors accounted for 18% of the American sailors. Port cities along the East Coast of the U.S. supported large populations of Black sailors. In 1850, Boston boasted 29% of the city's Black population was sailors, but that number decreased to 19% by 1865 (Bolster 1997: 220). However, Black sailors rarely advanced above the lowest rating (Byers 1987: 159) unless they served in all-Black crews, which was preferred (Bolster 1997: 221). There were also ancillary jobs associated with sailing, such as dockworkers, rope makers, sail making, ship building, carpentry, caulking, and carting the merchandise. Black mariners and those who worked in the supporting jobs helped establish and support Black communities with their monetary patronage of shops, restaurants, and churches. They also provided an undeniable link not only to the Atlantic world, but also to other parts of the world as they

sailed the oceans on warships, merchant ships, and whaling ships by providing news and letters throughout the African Diaspora (Bolster 1997: 36, 215, 230, 232). After the Civil War, African American sailors were Jim Crowed out of the profession (Bolster 1997: 6).

People of color were primarily employed in menial labor jobs (see Appendix A for the list of occupations available to Blacks in the 19th century). Jobs in government and industry, including factory work, were closed to the majority of Blacks (Pleck 1979; Lewis 1993; Cromwell 1994; Levinson 2006). Often they flocked to the urban enclaves from rural landscapes to seek out better opportunities and employment. However, Blacks were always faced with the “first fired and last hired” practice (Cromwell 1994: 233). It is important to note that people of African descent wanted to start businesses, but acquiring capital proved to be a challenge, and even if an enterprise was established it was difficult to find customers in the White community. Without White patrons, most businesses could not hope to survive (Sweet 2003).

With economic downturns, minorities and the poor were often the hardest hit and needed to change their lives to navigate new economic challenges. For instance, the ebb and flow of capitalistic economies affects employment opportunities; hence, the cash flow needed to participate in the marketplace. According to Eric Hobsbawm (1976: 79), there were periods of a crisis in capitalism “between 1815 and 1848, between 1873 and 1896, and between 1917 and 1948.” Reinhart and Rogoff (2009), using various sources, compiled a list of banking crises that affected certain regions of the country, if not all of it, and at times had global effects. Table 4.1 presents the dates of these bank crises and their most likely impact.

Table 4.1: Banking Crises

Year	Type
August 1814	banks suspended specie payments
1818-1819	46 banks insolvent
January 1825	crisis in England brings all U.S. banks to verge of suspension
1836-1838	bank failures
1841	possibly just shareholders
1857	almost global crisis
1861	gold and retail prices rise
1864	panic
1873-1877	recession
1884	runs on banks in mostly NY
1890	bank runs
1907	nationwide
1914	stock exchange closures
1929-1933	the Great Depression
1984-1991	savings and loan failures

Reinhart and Rogoff 2009: 389-390 (Table A.4.1)

Surprisingly, all leave out the Embargo Act of 1807, which had a devastating impact on New England economies (Horton and Horton 1997: 182). In general, since people of color were mostly relegated to menial and unskilled jobs, these economic downturns more likely affected them earliest, hardest, and for the longest period of time. The historians James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton (1997: 110) note the difficult times faced by dock workers in Boston, “black workers were selected last and for the least desirable jobs, a slight decrease in port business resulted in an immediate decline in jobs for blacks.”

The historian Michael Sokolow (1998) provides a poignant example of the effects of economic collapse on a society in his research on African Americans in Salem during the mid-19th to early 20th century. Sokolow brings together census data and community records to illustrate a Black community in decline after the maritime trade shifted from

the small port of Salem to larger ports along the Atlantic seaboard. The trade with South America dried up, and inflation set in during the Civil War. Since Blacks were heavily employed as seafarers or laborers supporting the maritime industry, this caused economic hardship for not just those who worked on the ships and on the docks, but also had reverberations throughout the community as Black owned businesses, such as restaurants, barbershops, hair salons, vendors, boarding houses, and other small businesses lost their clientele and were forced to close. With the economic collapse, Sokolow contends, the African American population moved to other regions of the state (Sokolow 1998). The arrival of industrial factories did not relieve the economic hardships within the Black community. Citing Barbara N. Soloman's work, Sokolow notes that factory jobs went to White immigrants (Sokolow 1998; Soloman 1959).

A study of the occupations and wages during the time in question can provide an understanding of what the working class endures when there is an economic downturn.

Sokolow (1998: 221) notes that during the Civil War, Northern cities experienced large rises in inflation, "yearly expenses for a family of four rose from an 1860 level of \$590 to over \$700 by 1863...to over \$800 the following year. Wages for seamen and laborers...averaged only \$450 per year." Horton and Horton (1997: 114) also provided an indication of what the daily wages were like for Blacks in the 1840s Philadelphia. Although the city is different from Boston, it provides a framework for understanding the racial differences in wages. They write, "a female servant could make from fifty cents to one dollar and a quarter for a day's work...black women's wages averaged sixty cents" compared with Black male laborers, who made an average of "one dollar and fifteen cents per work day." In addition to working as domestic servants, Black women also

supplemented their families' income by bringing work such as laundry services or seamstress work into the home. Sokolow notes that in 1864 Essex County, a domestic live-in servant made \$1.25, which was "nearly as much as a day laborer's wage of \$1.38" (Sokolow 1998: 221). Studying Boston from 1860 to 1920, the historian Elizabeth Pleck used Stephan Thernstrom's separation of jobs from the same city (see Appendix B), but Pleck's and Thernstrom's occupational classifications separations are not as detailed as the Hortons; however, since Thernstrom and Pleck studied different periods, there are few newer jobs that are added to the list. According to Pleck (1979: 213), "the typical menial working man earned \$8 to \$10 a week...skilled or clerical...made...\$10 to \$18 a week....average female domestic...turn of the century...weekly wage of \$5;...the few black women employed as bookkeepers or schoolteachers...about \$3 or \$4 a week more."

Racialization Structure

Part of racialization involved how the dominant society viewed people they considered not part of the dominant power group. According to the historian Joanne Pope Melish (1998), White people in New England after emancipation racialized themselves in order to separate themselves from people of color and in the process people of African descent aided in this racialization process by solidifying themselves under the auspices of their categorization. This process of racialization also required concomitant social, political, and economic structures to achieve its intended goals. These structures included laws and practices that denied full citizenship, rights, and privileges to people of African descent. Racialization also included the transference of the doxa of "those things we take for granted," used to define captive Africans to "freed" Africans, thereby justifying this inequitable landscape. Overtime, those structures were reimagined and

transformed at various points in American history by members of the dominant culture (Lipsitz 2006: 4–5).

Hegemonic groups create structures to control their populations, especially those marginalized. For instance, Native Americans, were enslaved, killed, and dispossessed of their land. In the case of captive and “freed” Africans, the dominant culture had no egalitarian designs towards them because they had not envisioned them equal to poor Whites and women in the new republic. To keep poor Whites and women in a subservient state of existence required providing them with a “false consciousness” that set the institutional structures of privilege for White above people of color and not at the bottom of the society, thereby providing “a sort of public and psychological wage” (DuBois 1962 [1935]: 700). Pem Davidson Buck (2007: 34-35) contends that this “psychological wage” of White privilege was created after Bacon’s Rebellion in 1676 to keep poor Whites from allying with captive and “freed” Africans.

Melish (1998: 5-6) has studied the process of racialization in New England in which, “whites ‘racialized’ themselves and people of color in response to concerns about citizenship and autonomy posed by emancipation and post-Revolutionary dislocation in their own region.” In doing this, the Whites of the late 18th and early 19th centuries drew on structures of racialization that were already present from colonial slavery and many of the laws were carried over from a slave to “free” society. However, racial cleansing worked better for the dominant culture. Melish (1998) contends that the removal process occurred in three symbolic forms and four literal forms. The symbolic forms included graphic, literary, and corpse removal. The literal forms of removal

consisted of “warning out,” taxation, racial cleansing, and armed attacks and raid against Black institutions and communities (Melish 1998: 164-165).

These graphic and literary representations mocked Black dress, culture, and speech patterns (Melish 1998: 164-165). Graphic examples of removal include stereotypical iconography in the form of broadsides known as “Bobalition broadsides,” which satirized Black celebration of the Abolition of the Slave Trade that took place in many cities starting in the first decade of the 19th century. The broadsides also lampooned Black domesticity, sexual morals, and the respectability agenda (Sweet 2003: 378-384). This was also an earlier example of Whites targeting Blacks for dressing and trying to advance above their station. Mullins (1999a) found this same practice in Annapolis, Maryland, after emancipation when African Americans entered into the consumer marketplace and began purchasing merchandise the White community felt was not their right to purchase creating and reimagining barriers like Jim Crow laws to stay in power.

Another form of this graphic and literary form was minstrelsy. These shows started as one man shows in the 1820s, but with the economic downturn in the 1840s, the single acts pooled their resources and became minstrel troupes (Dunson 2004: 17-18). By the 1840s, there were hundreds of minstrel shows playing around the country. One of the most famous characters was called Jim Crow, a caricature of a southern captive African, performed by actor Thomas Dartmouth “Daddy” Rice; Zip Coon was the urban equivalent. The shows also included Black song and dance, but had few Black performers; the most notable was William Henry Lane (whose stage name was Master Juba), a singer and dancer (Dunson 2004: 10-11; Horton and Horton 1997: 159-160; Lott

1995: 113). Eric Lott (1995: 6-8) argues that the White working-class infatuation with blackface minstrelsy was due in part to their love of Black culture, but the lampooning style of minstrel shows helped the working-class reinforce their precarious hold on their own whiteness and contributed to the solidification of a “false consciousness” that placed them higher than people of color. Horton and Horton (1997: 165) suggest that Whites--shut out of Black celebrations in the 1820s--started to create their own portrayals of Black culture by dressing up in black face and mimicking Blacks in shows and at militia training days.

Blacks were not new to advertisements in the post-Civil War United States. Advertisements for the sale of captive Africans and escape notices were placed on broadsides and in newspapers starting in the colonial period. Racialized advertisements began to appear during the 1860s, which portrayed people of African descent with exaggerated facial characteristics and derogatory labels: nigger, pickaninny, darkie, dusky, or Mammy (Kern-Foxworth 1994: 30-31). Lampooned African Americans were in advertisements and toys as the brunt of jokes and stereotypical caricatures (Kern-Foxworth 1994: 30). With the establishment of Black newspapers in the 19th century, companies advertised their products in these newspapers using images of Blacks in domestic service (Kern-Foxworth 1994: 30). People of African descent were lampooned on all types of products including trading cards, advertising cards (postcards), advertising stamps, blotters (precursor to the ballpoint pen), bottles, boxes, tins, coal, and many paper products (Kern-Foxworth 1994: 35-37). By the late 19th century, these stereotypical characteristics and derogatory labels matured into actual characters like Aunt Jemima, Uncle Ben, and Uncle Rastus. Lynching post cards of the post-Reconstruction and early

20th century were another form of iconographic othering. Graphic and literary forms of removal continued well into the 20th century.

Corpse removal was the raiding of graveyards for poor Black and White cadavers for medical study (Washington 2006: 133). For example, in 1810, some justification for moving Harvard Medical School from Cambridge to Boston included a closer proximity to the source of cadavers - the burial grounds of Blacks and poor Whites (Washington 2006: 133). Another example was cadaver removal from the African Burial Ground New York City (ABGNYC) (Howson et al. 2009: 52; Washington 2006: 123, 125).

Warning out origins lay in 16th and 17th century Europe and started in Massachusetts in the 1730s and then spread to other New England colonies (Dayton and Salinger 2014: 4). According to Cornelia Dayton and Sharon Salinger (2014: 4), warning out determined whether welfare funds for those whose legal settlement was outside Massachusetts came from the town or province. Warning out created lists of non-legal residents as well as some longtime residents for towns and cities, and even included some from the wealthier class that did not have many prospects (Dayton and Salinger 2014: 4). In Massachusetts, most people did not actually leave the places where they were warned out (Dayton and Salinger 2014: 50). In December 1816, the 'Back to Africa' movement under the American Colonization Society (ACS) formed with the professed goal of ending slavery by removing "freed" people of African descent from the U.S. and relocating them to Africa, a position always rejected by the majority of Black people. The practice was essentially racial cleansing. Raids into Black communities occurred in Boston in 1816 and 1828 (Sweet 2003: 179) and into the 1830s (Horton and Horton 1997: 243).

I would include incarceration to the list of literal forms of removal. Litwack (1961: 95), citing an 1830 study, noted people of color comprised "one seventy-fourth of the population" in Massachusetts in 1826, but they constituted one-sixth of the state's prison population.

The historian Bruce Laurie (2005: 85-88) suggests a nuanced understanding of White attitudes towards people of color in Massachusetts, which consisted of three groups: paternalists, segregationists, and exclusionist/colonizationalist. Laurie (2005: 87) contends paternalism was very prevalent in rural Massachusetts where Black populations were lower than in the cities and the occupants more dispersed and less organized. However, he further notes that most Whites in Massachusetts "preferred segregation and some preferred exclusionism" (Laurie 2005: 87). Laurie (2005: 87) argues that paternalists and exclusionists were two extreme ends with segregationists in the middle. Paternalism's roots can be found in religious and governing doctrines of New England Puritans (Laurie 2005: 88-89). The practice was manifest in many of the other epochal structures. Paternalists thought Black people were intellectually and socially inferior; however, they were entitled to some basic rights, and some of them, with the proper education and economic opportunities, could be improved morally, intellectually, and economically (Laurie (2005: 95). This led paternalists to support trade schools, Black-owned businesses, Black laborers (for some it was cheap labor, which is similar to the hiring of undocumented people today), allowed residence on unowned land and sometimes with agreements that controlled their behavior, and dole payments (Laurie 2005: 97-105). Lucy Foster (Chapter V) experienced this in the form of living on unwanted land she did not own and receiving assistance from her church and the town of

Andover. The inhabitants of Parting Ways (Chapter VI) experienced this paternalism by the town providing them with land to live on. Reverend Samuel Harrison (Chapter VIII) experienced this in his early life in the form of education and the establishment of the church he ministered in Pittsfield. The residents of Beacon Hill (Chapter IX) were part of this political system of paternalism as they moved with the times and supported the Whigs, then the Free Soil Party, then the Know-Nothing Party, and then the Republican Party.

Spatial Structures

Spatial segregation was a common feature of the 19th century landscape. In Massachusetts, people of African descent lived in clusters in the various towns and cities. However, these were not homogenous clusters. The census data for all towns/cities in this study reported a few White families living amongst them. Another aspect to consider here is environmental infrastructure. Marginalized people tend to live in the areas that the dominant society has no use for, including near railroad tracks, electrical power stations, and landfills. Being on the fringe of the society often leaves such people without infrastructure, like sewerage or electricity. For instance, a large proportion of Salem's population of color resided around the swampy drainage system of Mill Pond. Sokolow, citing the Salem Gazette, notes that the "pond's 'stench,' which was variously blamed on poor flood-gates, insufficient drainage, and dead fish...unsafe bridges" (Bentley 1914: 383; Sokolow 1998: 210-211). The U.S. Supreme Court in *Plessey vs Ferguson* (1896) made spatial segregation legal between Whites and Blacks, ruling that as long as facilities had equal infrastructure it could be – "separate but equal."

Political/Legal Structures

The political-legal structure consists of the legal apparatus established at the federal, state, and local level to racially separate marginalized people from dominant society. While more lenient in racialized laws than many states in New England, Massachusetts did have its share of oppression in the form of social segregation. The adoption of the production inequality of human captivity extended this economic epochal structure into North America. The construction of race worked in conjunction with the economic structure. The 1641 legalization of slavery started being confronted beginning in the 1770s as some captive Africans challenged the legality of slavery by bringing lawsuits against their owners. For example, in 1772, two cases in Nantucket on the length of servitude imposed by a will led to their freedom in 1773. In the late 1770s, John Cushing, Massachusetts Supreme Court Chief Justice, freed one of his captive Africans who he had promised freedom when faced with a lawsuit because he had failed to honor a promise of manumission (Sweet 2003: 248). In 1781, a similar case entered the court. Quock Walker was promised freedom from his owner Nathaniel Jennison. When he did not receive it, Walker left the Jennison residence and found employment. Jennison found Walker, severely assaulted him and dragged his beaten body back to his property. *Walker v. Jennison* was more than a case of manumission, but one of natural rights. In 1783, Chief Justice Cushing ruled in favor of natural rights (Edgerton 2009: 105-107; Sweet 2003: 248). Another important case at the same time was *Brom & Bett vs. J. Ashley Esq.* Mum Bett (who later changed her name to Elizabeth Freeman) and her sister were captive Africans of Colonel John Ashley. Elizabeth and her sister were working in the kitchen one day when the mistress of the house attempted to beat Elizabeth's sister with a hot poker iron. Elizabeth got between the two and put her arm

up to protect her sister, thereby taking the blow of the hot poker iron on her arm. After this incident, Elizabeth left the Ashley home, walked to Theodore Sedgwick's law office, and filed a lawsuit with another person attempting to gain freedom. This case was decided in favor of the plaintiffs. Colonel Ashley's house still stands today as a historic house museum in Sheffield, Massachusetts, and although moved down the street from its original location is an above ground artifact. In 1783, the Massachusetts Supreme Court ruled the institution of slavery illegal because the institution was not addressed in the state Constitution of 1780; therefore it was argued the institution could not exist (Egerton 2009: 104-107).

During the war, Vermont abolished slavery (1777), but there were provisions within the state constitution that suggest young children, White and Black, could have been held in captivity under certain circumstances. Other states in New England and the rest of the North passed legislation that provided for gradual emancipation. However, this did not mean all captive Africans were eligible for emancipation under law. According to David Menschel (2001: 183-222), for example, Connecticut's gradual emancipation law of 1784 did not free all captive Africans after a certain period of time. It freed all males and females born after March 1, 1784, when they reached the age of twenty-five (Menschel 2001: 186). This law did not free any captive Africans born before that time period and made it so no one would gain freedom until after March 2, 1809. Additionally, he notes that not all males and females who reached the required age were manumitted as the law stipulated. In fact, Connecticut did not actually abolish slavery until 1848. Menschel (2001) concludes that gradual emancipation laws prolonged slavery in the state and forced people of African descent into situations where

they were separated from their families and bound out for their labor and it also created a system where Blacks, especially females, found themselves indentured after their release dates because their economic prospects were dismal. This made Massachusetts a haven to the North for captive Africans in Connecticut and a haven to the east for captive Africans in New York, which officially abolished slavery in 1827.

Emancipation in the North transformed the habitus of the region, although Blacks were still not considered equal to Whites. Abolition did not mean equality in 18th-century Massachusetts, nor would it mean so for the millions of African Americans with the establishment of Black Codes, followed by Jim Crow Laws, and Supreme Court Decisions enacted in the 1880s and 1890s nullifying the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments to the U.S. Constitution and other laws (1868 and 1870). For example, the Civil Rights Act of 1875 was ruled unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1883.

Although the U.S. Constitution abolished the Slave Trade in 1808, the union was sealed with slavery with the three-fifths clause, the fugitive slave act, and the Northwest Ordinance, which allowed African captivity south of the Ohio River and in the western territories (Collier and Collier 1998). The Naturalization Act of 1790 limited American citizenship to “any alien, being a free white person.” In Massachusetts, many of the political/legal structures concerning captive Africans were transferred to the emancipated landscape. For instance, in many areas of the state, public schooling, if established, was segregated. Transportation from stage coaches to ships were segregated, not by law, but custom, so it was only natural to apply the practice with the arrival of railroads. Since 1705, interracial marriage was illegal.

After emancipation, laws were designed to police Blacks and their communities in the North, including those in the Midwest and the territories of the West. The process of creating structures to deny free people of African descent equality started with the U.S. Constitution and then continued into the 1820s with various types of federal and state legislation that either curtailed or denied citizenship (cemented after the Dred Scott Decision in 1857); curtailed, denied, or put restrictions on voting rights; denied the ability to get western land grants; continued colonial laws forbidding interracial marriage; continued laws forbidding giving evidence in court in some places; continued segregation; denied postal delivery work; limited movement of free people of African descent; and denied enlistment in militias (Litwack 1961: 31-32). If laws were nonexistent or ineffectual in dealing with people of African descent, social segregation was used to resolve issues in favor of the dominant society.

Laurie (2005: 95) posits that paternalists in Massachusetts agreed that “freed” Blacks had the right to some space; however, they could not decide on the amount. Even after emancipation, most states in the North created laws that curtailed the “freedom” of people of African descent. For instance, not all people of African descent were given manumission papers (Greene 1969 [1942]; Lemire 2009; Melish 1998), which restricted any “freed” Africans from entering into Massachusetts (Wright 1993); and also restricted their movements to staying where they were known or even kept them in the same towns where they had been held captive because they did not have a required pass to move about freely (Greene 1969 [1942]; Lemire 2009; Melish 1998).

“Freed” people of African descent also found it hard to move about because of “warning out” laws communities used against poor people who entered their towns and

had no work. Poor White people, “freed” Africans, and Native Americans were “warned out” of town before they became a burden on the new community. For example, on December 6, 1790, Salem warned out most of the town’s Black population and only gave the listed individuals 15 days to get out of town (Historic Institute 1915:(44): 93). Historians Adams and Pleck (2010: 160-161) contend that “warning out” in all New England states consisted of informing poor people and people of African descent if they could not afford to care for themselves, they would have to leave town. As for Rhode Island, there was violence associated with implementing the measure (Adams and Pleck 2010: 150; Melish 1998: 131-132). In addition, violence was extended to people in Massachusetts as Emilie Piper and David Levinson (2010) attest in the case of Northampton resident Philemon Lee who was “warned out” in 1766 and fled to Simsbury, Connecticut. Upon his return to Northampton, he was jailed for two weeks, released under the condition of never to return, and subsequently returned and jailed again for almost six months (Piper and Levinson 2010: 142). Massachusetts ended “warning out” in 1793 (Piper and Levinson 2010: 141-142). There were also laws that prevented interracial marriage in the state, restricted education, and “prohibited” Blacks from owning certain items (Greene 1969 [1942]; Litwack 1961). Adams and Pleck (2010: 160) argue that the process was used sometimes to target Blacks more in the 1790s as a form of surveillance, but not as an act of removal. Dayton and Salinger (2014: 5) argue that warning out was not a tool of social control. The “warner” Robert Love, however, had very detailed warnings, which could have been used as surveillance. Another law that targeted the poor and dependents in the Commonwealth in the mid-19th century included indenturing these people out to families (Laurie 2005: 92-93). This

practice was cheaper for towns because it only required paying a subsidy to the family taking in an indentured person or persons (Laurie 2005: 92-93). Such a practice was a form of captivity because it provided free labor to the household in addition to the subsidy (Laurie 2005: 92-93).

Laurie (2005: 93) recounts an incident with Mason and Susan Shaw, formerly of Amherst, Massachusetts, who had two African American indentured laborers age 17 and 10 from Boston and Amherst. The Shaws traveled back and forth to the South and had recently purchased a home in Georgia. In 1840, before one such trip, 10-year-old Angeline overheard Susan Shaw reading a letter from Mason, probably to her daughter, revealing that he planned to sell her on the next trip to Georgia and claimed she had escaped. Angeline had a grandmother in Amherst, who she and the 17-year-old indentured laborer visited before the departure to Georgia. Angeline was able to get word to her half-brother Lewis Frazer. Frazer, with friends William Jennings and Henry Jackson, appealed to the Board of Selectmen, but the appeal fell on deaf ears. Frazer, Jennings, and Jackson then took matters into their own hands by rescuing the girls from Susan's daughter's house in Belchertown, and all those involved went into hiding. The three rescuers were successfully defended by Edward Dickinson (Emily's father) an antislavery Whig, who disliked abolitionists (Laurie 2005: 94). However, when the three would not reveal Angeline's whereabouts, the judge sentenced them to three months in jail during which they were free during the day (Laurie 2005: 94).

Black males in Massachusetts had the right to vote, but political office appointments and elected officials were rare. Those elected were usually only from heavily Black districts, and at the national and state level, political power was minimal

(Cromwell 1994: 231). Having the right to vote in Massachusetts afforded the community the ability to support candidates and parties that supported antislavery and equal rights. Much of this hard work of petitioning, protesting, voting for the right groups paid off through alliances with White abolitionists and political parties. In the 1840s, with these alliances, people of African descent witnessed a progressive decade (Horton 1993; Horton and Horton 1999; Kantrowitz 2012). For example, miscegenation was repealed, schools were integrated, and with support for legislation against social segregation on public transportation mounting, the practice was abandoned in 1843, and Personal Liberty Law was passed in 1843 (Latimer Law) as a counterweight to the Fugitive Slave Act. Despite these successes, Whites and Blacks had different agendas, with the former focused on overturning the 1705 law against interracial marriage and the latter focused on the desegregation of the schools and public transportation (Rael 2002; Sweet 2003). The law banning interracial marriage was repealed on February 24, 1843. Further advancements towards full citizenship and entry to militia units waned with the rise of the Free Soil Party in 1848, which was antislavery in the territories, but not where it already existed (Horton 1993: 18, 1999: 103; Laurie 2005: 175). During their time in office, the party passed a weaker Personal Liberty Law in 1852. In 1855, the Know-Nothing Party (American Party) gained the Massachusetts governorship and control of both houses of the legislature (all seats in the state senate and a majority in the house). Even as it transitioned into the Republican Party, its antislavery message was larger than that of equality (Laurie 2005: 292). In 1858, the party weakened the 1855 Personal Liberty Law (Laurie 2005: 292). Any space Black people forced Whites to carve out in Massachusetts was due to their tenacity to achieve the rights and privileges denied them.

Education

In 1789, Massachusetts became the first state to require all cities and towns with 50 households to establish public primary schools and those with 200 households to also create public grammar schools for children between ages 7 and 14 (Kaestle 1983: 10; Moss 2009: 133-134; White 2009: 3). Although Horace Mann, secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education from 1837 until 1848, believed in an integrated school system, he also knew that the education system was really designed for the White population to be functional citizens and work in industry and factories, spaces closed to people of color (Moss 2009: 149). According to Hillary Moss (2009: 162), the thought process in antebellum Massachusetts concerning Blacks was guided by two principles. First, there were no plans to allow Blacks space in the White body politic, so they could be schooled separately (Moss 2009: 162). Second, Blacks were not allowed into the industrial sector, so they did not require the same quality of education provided to White children (Moss 2009: 162).

Until 1808, Boston's children of color were schooled in the basement of homes, when a school was established in the basement of the African Meeting House. In 1835, the school moved next door to Abiel Smith School (Mead 1995: 8). By 1821, Boston established the first public high school in the nation (Moss 2009: 138). However, the city barred attendance of children of color in high schools and increased the attendance age for the Smith School (see Chapter IX) (Moss 2009: 138). This meant that children over the age of 14 were still attending the Smith School because they could not enter White high schools. Although there was a law that formed high schools in the state, many towns could not afford such an undertaking.

In the 1840s, the standardization of the education system in Massachusetts was a perfect example of the foundations of a local habitus. For instance, the curriculum not only taught reading and writing, it also provided moral teaching (with a heavily Protestant focus) and a nationalistic component that trained children to be Americans (Jeyes 2007: 147-150; Moss 2009: 13, 157-158). The establishment of a standardized curriculum coincided with large numbers of Irish immigrants flooding into the country and state. It also was the period of the Know-Nothing Party (American Party), which was formed by Republicans advocating a nativist platform targeting the massive influx of Irish immigration. In 1852, Massachusetts became the first state to pass a compulsory education law requiring all children in the state between the ages of 8-14 to attend school for 12 weeks a year with six of those weeks being consecutive or face a \$20 fine.

By the 1840s, people of color agitated for full inclusion in a system that was not originally designed for them. Nantucket started the protest in 1840, when Eunice Ross requested and was denied entry into the high school (Moss 2009: 151). After large protests, desegregation in Massachusetts public schools started in Nantucket in 1843, but was reestablished from 1844 to 1847 (Beaudry and Berkland 2007: 403; Karttunen 2005: 85; White 2009: 68). What happened in Nantucket energized the rest of the state. In 1842, parents in Salem, Massachusetts, started boycotting the African School, leading to desegregation by 1844 (Moss 2009: 152-153). By 1845, public schools were desegregated in New Bedford, Salem, Lowell, and Worcester (Litwack 1961: 143). Boston with its large Black population had a harder struggle with the city not desegregating the school system until 1855. There were a multitude of protests and court cases that argued against the city's segregated schools. For instance, in 1847 Benjamin

Roberts sued the city because it refused to admit his daughter Sarah to a White school. He lost his case because Boston already provided a school for Black children (Kendrick and Kendrick 2004; Moss 2009). However, some places within the state had desegregated schooling far earlier than 1843. Another reason for the early desegregation was due to small populations of Black children and monetary issues. Horace Mann remained silent throughout the desegregation debate (Moss 2009: 151-152). Although education was desegregated in the state in the 1840s and in Boston in 1855, schools in Boston became segregated again by the turn of the 20th century due to the adoption of residential schools (Cromwell 1994). Another example of racialized education comes from Sheffield, where in 1903 the school committee voted to segregate schooling by giving “New Guinea” a Black school with a Black teacher. The Black community protested, but the school was in existence for a few years (Levinson 2006: 57).

Negro Seaman Acts

Another piece of legislation that hit Black communities hard was the Negro Seaman Acts. These acts were first implemented after a planned revolt around Charleston, South Carolina, in 1822, led by former captive African Denmark Vesey, was foiled. The acts required the imprisonment of Black sailors in the city jail at the ship captain’s expense for the duration of the ship’s stay in port (Bolster 1997: 206-207; Horton and Horton 1997: 113). Other southern states drafted their own seaman acts after Nat Turner’s revolt in Southampton County, Virginia in 1830 and sailors from northern ports were caught distributing David Walker’s *Appeal* (1829, 1830) into southern ports. This insightful pamphlet was a call to action for Black people to resist White racism using any means at their disposal, and was considered subversive by Southern state

governments. Many captains passed the incarceration fee on to their Black sailors (Bolster 1997: 206-207; Horton and Horton 1997: 113; Litwack 1961: 51-52).

The Negro Seamen Acts were disastrous for Black mariners and Black communities in Massachusetts, including Gloucester, Salem, Boston, New Bedford, Westport, and the islands of Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard, that sailed to Southern ports because they relied on sailor's income to support community businesses. Many states loosened their laws towards Black sailors in the 1850s (Bolster 1997: 208-209). Bolster notes that even with southern states passing Negro Seaman Acts, Black sailors still flooded into southern ports aboard ships.

Fearful or not, African American sailors resisted the degradation of southern laws by filing lawsuits, manipulating shipmasters against the state, and spiriting fugitive slaves to freedom. But the plight of at least ten thousand free men jailed under the Negro Seaman Acts highlighted the increasing racial animosity in seafaring. Whereas black labor once had been crucial to maritime industry, and maritime labor vital to the support of northern free black communities, blacks' employment aboard ship had become less steady and less remunerative by mid-century (Bolster 1997: 214).

The 1850s was a turbulent decade for Black people free and captive. In 1850, the United States averted the secession of Southern states with the Compromise of 1850. This compromise, conceived by Senator Henry Clay of Kentucky, established the entry of California into the Union as a free state; abolished trade in captive Africans in Washington D.C.; and enacted a stricter Fugitive Slave law. The Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 was stricter than the 1793 law. The Fugitive Slave Act of 1793 had varying degrees of success for captive African holders trying to recover lost property. However, the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 made free Blacks susceptible to kidnapping and required extra vigilance from those pursuing captive Africans. With its passage any Black person could be accused of being an escaped captive and seized and sent to the South. There

was no right to trial by jury. The accused could not speak in their own defense, nor could any other Black person. Only a White person could speak for the accused (Horton and Horton 1997: 253).

At times, federal laws were not enforced at the state and local levels. For example, people of color were not considered citizens by federal law and this point was solidified in the 1857 U.S. Supreme Court case *Dred Scott v. Sandford*, where the court ruled that Black people were not citizens of the United States. However, the practices of some states, like Massachusetts put this into question (Litwack 1961). For instance, Massachusetts allowed Black males the right to vote and in Boston some even ran for office. Another contradiction between federal law and actual practice was the former did not allow people of color to deliver the mail (Litwack 1961). However, they often drove the wagons transporting the mail over long distances (Litwack 1961). The Reverend Samuel Harrison (1899) recounts a visit of agents arriving in Pittsfield to apprehend an escaped captive African female (see Chapter VIII). Even before the Fugitive Slave Act 1850, agents were present in the North recovering escaped captive Africans for their owners and sometimes they took free Blacks. Many communities had groups organized to thwart fugitive agents, and these groups were often mixed-race (Horton 1993: 32).

Leonard Levy (1952) provides an account from Boston in 1836 that became known as the “Abolition Riot.” In that year, two women of African descent, Eliza Small and Polly Ann Bates, arrived in Boston on the *Chickasaw*, a ship from Baltimore. Once the ship docked, Matthew Turner, an escaped African catcher, boarded the ship and demanded the women be turned over to him because they had escaped from their owner in Baltimore. The two women were detained on the ship until a court hearing that would

address the legality of their internment aboard ship not whether they were fugitives from captivity. There are different newspaper accounts with one mentioning that Eliza and Polly had papers stating they were free and that Turner had taken one woman's papers, so the other refused to turn hers over. Other accounts do not even mention that the ladies had papers and had confirmed their fugitive status. Levy notes Chief Justice Shaw ruled that the captain of the *Chickasaw* did not have the right to detain Eliza and Polly. Turner then indicated he would make a fresh arrest under the Fugitive Slave Law, but before he could get his answer, Sewell, the attorney for the women, might have instructed the women to leave. At that point, someone yelled for the women to go and most of the people in the courtroom, White and Black, raced forward, grabbed the two women, hustled them out of the court room into a carriage that sped them out of town, only to slow down enough to throw money into the toll booth and away from the pursuing posse. The women made their escape, never to be heard from again (Levy 1952: 85-92).

Transportation

Public transportation in the form of rail cars, stagecoaches, and steamships were segregated space in Massachusetts. However, no state law actually governed this practice. It was a holdover from the period of African captivity. Stagecoaches and passenger ships were segregated and this system transferred to the railroad, when it arrived in the state in 1836 (Ruchames 1954: 62). According to Louis Ruchames (1954: 62), the Black car was referred to as the "dirt car" in 1838 in Worcester and by 1841 Massachusetts became the first state to attach the term "Jim Crow" to the Black segregated railcars. In 1841, the first suit against separate cars came from David Ruggles, an abolitionist from New York, after he was physically removed from the White traincar in New Bedford (Ruchames 1954: 63). The presiding judge upheld the

conductor's right to control where people sat (Ruchames 1954: 63). Others would protest railcar segregation by sitting in White space, including Frederick Douglas, only to be removed, often physically from White train cars (Ruchames 1954: 63). Blacks and Whites agitated against segregation and both groups were often put off trains and other law suits followed the Ruggles' law suit. Eventually the Massachusetts Legislature became involved and threatened a law to end segregation. In 1842, the bill was defeated in the state senate. However, the bill was reintroduced the following year and passed the state senate, but maneuvering in the House of Representative postponed the vote (Ruchmaes 1954: 74). Due to all of this attention, the railroad companies desegregated on their own by the spring of 1843 (Ruchmaes 1954: 74). Often times, the abolitionist newspaper *The Liberator* warned citizens about which trains were unsafe to ride due to physical altercations that happened to previous riders (Litwack 1961; Kendrick and Kendrick 2004).

Social Structures

Within social structures, I illuminate the creation of an African American habitus and how a people agitated for their own rights and the abolition of slavery. Five major issues faced people of African descent during the early Republic: identity, abolition of the slave trade and slavery, full citizenship, moral uplift, and emigration (Alexander 2008). Massachusetts abolished the institution of slavery by judicial decree in 1783. However, that did not mean that all people of African descent in the state were immediately freed, and some remained captive after 1790 (Adams and Pleck 2009: 154-155; Melish 1998: 76). While some had advanced into a Black upper and middle-class, had freedom of movement, and did not live in totally segregated neighborhoods, they did not enjoy the same equality and access to all the rights and privileges afforded the dominant culture. In

this light, it is important to understand how the formation of social movements facilitated people of African descent's navigation of the racialization process and advocated for their civil rights in the 19th century, over a hundred years before the national Civil Rights movement.

During the early National period, northern people of African descent agitated for space in the White body politic. From 1810-1820, discourse within the African American community centered on a strategy of moral uplift as a way of achieving equality, identity, and full citizenship (Alexander 2008:xviii). The arguments were all formed using republican virtues and religious values of the day (Rael 2002: 130). Discourse from 1820-1830, still focused on identity and the strategies employed to gain equality and full citizenship, but also the addition of the abolition of slavery and repudiation of emigration of the American Colonization Society (Alexander 2008:xviii-xix).

By the 1830s, in response to racial backlash, economic downturns, and punishing laws due to slave revolts, people of African descent established National Colored Conventions that tried to meet yearly to discuss the relevant issues concerning Black people with some of the old issues still haunting the discourse, such as emigration (Alexander 2008: xix; Horton and Horton 1997; Johnson 1993; Litwack 1961; Rael 2002; Reed 1994; Sweet 2003). Conventions were held annually until 1835 and then periodically after that year and addressed a number of issues that effected the Black committee to include moral uplift, abolition, full citizenship, emigration, and ending segregation (Alexander 2008:xx, 79-84). All of these issues were not addressed at every convention nor had the same level of importance. In fact, in the mid-1830s, the

Philadelphians advocated a platform of racial uplift and temperance as main agenda items, while New Yorkers focused on anticolonization and abolition (Alexander 2008: 32). The rift between the delegates from both cities grew wider when the Philadelphians continued to push for moral uplift and added changing the names of organizations and institutions from African and Colored and pushed for integration of Black organizations and assimilation (Alexander 2008: 84). New Yorkers viewed these issues as “trifling” and refused to attend any conventions in the 1840s (Alexander 2008: 84).

Black Americans in the North became more nationalistic in response to second class citizenship and the retention of human bondage. According to Waldstreicher (1997: 10), “Nationalism, the ideology of the “imagined community,” is certainly an abstraction, but it is imagined and practiced locally in distinct, changing ways by different groups for a variety of purposes.” He contends this nationalism consisted of various celebratory acts and print that indoctrinated the populace into forming an ideology. Waldstreicher contends free Blacks in the North “used the tools of American nationalism to create black nationalism” (Waldsteicher 1997: 325). Additionally, Rael posits that Blacks used the tenants of American nationalism, however diverged from it and used it to unite a people (Rael 2002: 239). In this way, the Black population was using the social and political/legal structures constructed by the dominant culture’s habitus against it and demanded more space in the White body politic.

Into the 1840s, the convention attendance decreased over differences in agenda platforms, when New Yorkers and Philadelphians split over platform agendas concerning moral uplift, which the latter wanted to continue and the former felt was not achieving stated goals (Alexander 2008; Horton 1993). However, the Philadelphians returned to the

conventions in the 1850s, during a time when life for people of African descent became worse with the passage of the Compromise of 1850, the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, and the Dred Scott Decision of 1857 (Alexander 2008: 130-131). Alexander posits people of African descent began to speak with a united voice in the 1850s. However, with this turbulent decade came a reemergence of emigration discourse that resulted in the majority of the population rejecting this course of action (Alexander 2008: 130-132).

According to Leon Litwack (1961), by the beginning of the Civil War, people of African descent in Massachusetts had gained more advances towards equality than in any other state. Black males had achieved the right to vote early in the century. However, they still did not have full citizenship, full equality, and were relegated to menial jobs. It was not until the 1850s that people of African descent were allowed to serve on juries in some cities (Litwack 1961).

Well into the 20th century, socially interracial marriage was disapproved and African American professionals theoretically had the right to join professional associations, but rarely did. Lodges and secret societies were segregated and occupational, reform, and social groups were only integrated in the most liberal organizations. Social mobility between European American and African American groups was not permitted (Cromwell 1994).

Identity

Many historians have developed different time frames for the transition from an African to African American identity. The documentary record provides a window into how people of African descent viewed themselves, especially by studying naming and parading practices. Benjamin Quarles suggests that by 1774 people of African descent had formed a distinct identity separate from the Africans that arrived in North America.

According to Quarles (1983: 286), the term acculturation is not accurate for people of African descent; instead he used transculturation because this implies “a process of exchange and not a one-way street.” On the other hand, Patrick Rael (2002: 21, 87, 89) posits that by the mid-18th century people of African descent in the North were American born or mixed; therefore the population was more acculturated and displays of African culture were not overtly present. Additionally, these new “Afro-Americans” were listening to the rhetoric of the American Revolution and sought to use those arguments to achieve a better life for themselves. Adding to the identity debate, Sterling Stuckey and William Pierson came to different conclusions. Stuckey (1987: 119) contends that people of African descent in New England retained African cultural practices until 1828. Pierson (1988: 143), concentrating on the 18th century notes that “Black New Englanders had become part of the wider Yankee culture, but at the same time maintained an identity of their own.” Alexander (2008: 140), whose focus was on New York City with its larger population, posits displays of African identity were visible well into the 19th century. Although historians are saying that there was an adoption of elements of the dominant culture and its habitus, African Americans did retain elements of their own culture and did not fully assimilate. A way to interpret this is what Du Bois (1968) called a “double consciousness,” which was a system of living in the White dominant culture and the Black community. What would this “Black Yankee” assimilation/retention identity look like in a New England archaeological assemblage? European and American made products repurposed?

The act of naming is a power relation and those who control the naming process of people and objects have power over those they named. This process continues today.

For example, in an attempt at inclusivity of all the color hues the “Black” community adopted the term African American at the close of the 20th century. At the close of the 18th century, people of African descent in the American North used individual and collective agency to gain control of their lives and form an identity. From the end of the 18th century into the 20th century, people of African descent have gone through the process of naming and redefining who they are, often to counter derogatory names given and used against them by the dominant society. According to Rael (2002: 92-93), in the 18th century the term Negro at times was synonymous with “nigger” and was a real possibility for use by the Black community. The term African was chosen by the Black community because it had a way of linking all Black people faced with oppression in the United States into a racially solidified group (Alexander 2008: 83; Horton 1993: 146-157; Horton and Horton 1997: 178-179; Rael 2002: 92-93). Additionally, a federal law in 1790 explicitly linked an American with being a naturalized White person. The Black elite played a major role in organizing the Black community, solidifying the group by defining themselves as Africans (Horton and Horton 1999; Sweet 2003). As early as the 1820s, the Boston Directory, a document prepared by Whites, used “people of colour.” However, in the 1830s, the Black population changed to “colored” or “people of color” in an attempt to move towards a more integrationist platform in response to a lack of real gains on attaining equality or ending slavery (Alexander 2008: 83-84; Horton 1993: 159-160; Rael 2002: 102). The term “colored” was not without its baggage, as with most defining terms of the time. The term “people of color” or “colored” actually had its birth in the Caribbean as a moniker to distinguish the mulatto class (Rael 2002: 102). In the United States, it became an identifying term for free and captive Blacks. Into the 1840s

and 1850s, Blacks were defining themselves as Americans in an attempt to legitimize their claims on full equality and citizenship. This actually coincides with the rise of the nativist movement within the country in response to the Irish immigration (Kantrowitz 2012). In Boston, people of color joined the Know-Nothing Party (American Party), which had a nativist anti-Irish platform, allowing Blacks to espouse the tenets of American nationalism and emphasize their military service in the Revolution and the War of 1812. This was also the time period that White Americans were solidifying an American identity. Marable and Benedict Anderson suggest that the birth of nationalism coincided with the emergence of capitalist social formations (Marable 1985: 54).

Imagined Communities and Social Movements

Benedict Anderson (1981) and Manning Marable (1985) provide excellent frameworks that can be incorporated into the idea of habitus to help visualize the Black community during the gradual emancipation period in the North. According to Anderson the definition of a nation:

...is an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign...It is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion (Anderson 1981: 6).

The American Republic is no different as the hegemonic culture grappled with the formation of the new nation and dealt with Native Americans and people of African descent. The “imagined community” White Americans (meaning White Anglo Saxon Protestants) created was a nation founded by White people and to attain citizenship in the nation required Whiteness (Melish 1998: 5-6; Paynter 2001: 126, 135; Rael 2002: 212; Sweet 2003: 313). However, the first thing that had to be created was Black and White and later other people of color. Much of this racialization was due to colonialism and

imperialism because people of color had things Europeans and later North Americans wanted—land, raw materials, and labor (Paynter 2003).

The United States used the mechanisms that Anderson addresses to legitimize its nation, which included print (novels and newspapers) to write the narrative, standardization of American English, and creation of maps of the new nation to define its boundaries. People of African descent also engaged these mechanisms as they established their own “imagined communities.” In 1827, the first Black newspaper *Freeman’s Journal* started in New York City; publishing by the Civil War at least forty Black newspapers were in circulation (Tripp 1992: 9). According to Bernell Tripp (1992: 9), the establishment of Black newspapers was in “opposition to slavery” and afforded Blacks an outlet to express their dislike of African captivity. Black newspapers were a way of creating racial solidarity because they were not just for local consumption, but had multi-city distributions. For example, W.E.B. Du Bois, at age 15, became the Great Barrington correspondent for the *Springfield Republican* and for the Black newspaper *New York Globe*, which became the *New York Freeman* and later the *New York Age* (Du Bois 1968: 88, 95; Lewis 1993: 38-39, 47). The papers focused on unity, equality, pride, and the state of the race. The messages were more focused on the Black community in the North because it was felt or believed the papers would not reach the South. Other prominent Black newspapers in the antebellum period included *The Weekly Advocate*, *The Colored American*, and *The North Star*.

The *Freedom’s Journal* consisted of four pages with four columns printed on 10-by-15 inch paper and printed weekly, usually on Fridays (Tripp 1992: 13). The cost was \$3 a year with half in advance, or if the subscription was paid in full it was \$2.50 (Tripp

1992: 14). As with White newspapers, it had original articles and some taken from other newspapers. Current news was a small portion of the paper with the remainder focused on moral uplift, personal profiles, poetry, and advertisements. The moral uplift articles were sermons and religious scriptures. These papers also kept readers abreast of national and international news, the state of the Black community, and threats it faced from the outside. Additionally, the papers also announced ship departures, arrivals, and other miscellaneous data to keep the people informed.

As people of African descent found themselves on the outside of or relegated to the bottom of the social, political, and economic structures of the new republic, social movements were formed to counter the exclusion. Freedom brought a new discourse to the Northern landscape and destabilized the habitus of the time and forced a new orthodoxy and associated new heterodoxies.

Manning Marable (1985: 11-12) stated that Black politics begins “at the historical moment when groups of such individuals find a common strategy, social vehicle, or mode of resistance that contradicts the dominant coercive apparatuses.” Marable contends one of the ways this plays out is in the creation of social movements. Marable defined a social movement as:

a series or combination of different historical modes of class struggle. This social class conflict, the struggle to assert and to achieve greater power, can be within the economy, within political institutions, in social and cultural relations, in the ideological sphere, or in all spheres simultaneously (Marable 1985: 13).

All classes are involved in these struggles, but are usually led by a small group of intellectuals (Marable 1985: 14; Rael 2002). For example, the American Revolution was led by an intellectual elite, while the majority of the fighting was done by the lower classes. A social movement requires focused goals on “immediate, perceptible

grievances, problems which affect the whole class or social function” with initial confrontations intent on educating the masses; a sense of purpose with the masses; and clarity of action (Marable 1985: 16). Marable (1985: 13) points out there are “various modes of social insurgency” that include religious protest, the establishment of all-Black communities, and the organization of trade unions. Social movements have one focused goal, and use various means to achieve it, including marching, protest, picketing, economic boycotting, and demonstrations (Marable 1985: 16). These social movements can be used to define the Black social, fraternal, sororal, and mutual aid organizations that formed in the North during the early National and antebellum eras. Table 4.2 provides a list of some of these organizations. These organizations worked in concert with the Black church to assist the Black community in racial pride and moral uplift. The adult and youth moral uplift organizations included literary, educational, and musical. Mutual aid organizations assisted those in need who could not get help from the White community.

Table 4.2: Boston social, mutual aid, fraternal, and sororal organizations

Social	Mutual Aid Organizations	Fraternal	Sororal
Adelphic Union Library Association	African Society	Odd Fellows	Afric-American Female Intelligence Society
Histrionic Club	Afric-American Female Intelligence Society	African Mason Lodge # 459	Temperance Society
Boston Philanthropic Society	New England Temperance Society of People of Color		Daughters of Zion
Young Men's Literary Debating Society			Female Benevolent Firm
Juvenile Garrison Independent Society			
Garrison Juvenile Choir			
Primary School Number Six Choir			
Baptist Singing Society			
Homes Waltz and Vaudeville Band			
Attucks Glee Club			

Source: Horton and Horton 1999: 28-34

The American Revolution was such a social movement that operated simultaneously through social, political, and economic structures. People of African descent were not oblivious to the rhetoric of liberty and freedom in the American Revolution. Many took advantage of wartime confusion to self-emancipate. For example, in *Walden*, Henry David Thoreau makes mention of the people of African descent that lived in Walden Woods long before his arrival (Thoreau 1991). Elise Lemire (2009) meticulously searched old documents to piece together the lives of the inhabitants

of Walden Woods in Concord, Massachusetts, from the American Revolution into the 1830s. During this period, many of the inhabitants relocated to larger cities, died off due to poor nutrition, and left an older population behind that could not create a second generation in the town. Lemire illustrates the lives of those in Walden Woods by providing as much detail as she could glean from the documentary record on Zilpah, her brother Brister Freeman, and other people of African descent living in the woods. Many in this community, including Zilpah and Brister, self-emancipated themselves from the Chambers-Russell plantation and other places in and around Concord, when their Loyalist owners fled to British occupied Boston and eventually evacuated the city with the British in March 1776. Additionally, Lemire did provide insight into the inhabitants of the other two enclaves in Concord: the Caesar Robbins Family in the Great Meadows area and the Dugan Family living on their own six acres along the Old Marlborough road (Lemire 2009: 128). These other enclaves were occupied into the 20th century (Lemire 2009). This work is important because it illustrates how people of African descent lived after the Revolutionary war and after the abolition of slavery in Massachusetts in 1783, and navigated life in a town that afforded them few opportunities.

The story of Brister Freeman is of interest because he owned his plot of land and received an inheritance after the passing of his previous owner (Lemire 2009: 151). However, White paternalism did not allow Brister control of the money his former owner left him because it was administered by a town board (Lemire 2009: 152). Lemire notes Brister refused to pay his taxes or was unable to, which could have been paid by the paternalistic townsmen who controlled his inheritance, but this was not done, so Brister eventually lost title to his land (Lemire 2009: 151-153). However, he was allowed to stay

on the land. Lemire (2009: 152) posits that the town merely wanted him off the voting register in an attempt to take away his voting power. After his death, a hill on what was believed to be his property was named for him and still bears his name today. However, an archaeological survey suggests that this might not be the actual location.

In 2003, Thomas Mahlstedt, an archaeologist, conducted a walkover reconnaissance in the proposed Brister Hill Interpretive Site searching for evidence of Brister's cabin or the Stratton Farm in Walden Woods. No evidence was found. Mahlstedt recommended two other locations for the possible homesite, but also recommended no further archaeological investigations should be undertaken (Mahlstedt 2003: 3-4). He did note that Brad Dean, a scholar at the Thoreau Institute, thought he had found Thoreau's bean field and the remains of Zilpah White's cabin (Mahlstedt 2003: 2). Unfortunately, Brad Dean passed away before a more intensive survey was conducted (personal communication with Edward Bell). To date, no further investigations have taken place.

Another example of an Early Republic community of color is Wizard's Glen in Dalton, Massachusetts. Here in the 1820s, people of African descent, many with Dutch names, possibly fleeing captivity in New York, and others freed after the American Revolution, settled in hills like the Saddleback and Lanesboro Gulf and eventually moved down out of the mountains to Wizard's Glen (Larson and Friedberg 2010: Section 8: 5). The Greek Revival Fitch-Hoose House in Dalton, Massachusetts, is an above ground artifact that is evidence of one of these families constructing a house in 1846 and building a life in the community (Larson and Friedberg 2010: 8.1). This was not the only area that "freed" and escaped people of African descent settled in the Berkshires. In

1903, *The Berkshire Hills* printed a story of earlier Black settlers settling in “primitive” cabins in the Hoosac, Greylock, and Taconic Mountains, as well as the foothills, where they were safe from recapture (*The Berkshire Hills* 1903; Dalton Historical Commission 2005; Larson and Friedberg 2010: 8.2). Sheffield also had an enclave of possible self-emancipated captive Africans from New York dwelling in the “New Guinea” section of the town that was separate from the established population of color (Drew 2004: 53).

Many scholars conflate the social movements of the early 19th century and those of the early and late 20th century. There is no doubt that some Black Nationalists borrowed their arguments from early 19th century advocates. However, there is a difference between the platforms during the different periods. While Martin Delany, the highest ranking Black officer in the U.S. Army during the Civil War, is considered a father of Black nationalism, his focus centered on a strategy of emigration and uplifting and civilizing Africans. The Black Nationalism espoused by Marcus Garvey, dressed as a European emperor, also focused on the civilizing element under the cloak of “universal Negro improvement,” which included racial pride and emigration to Africa. However, this form of Black Nationalism encompassed the ethnocentrism and tapestries of European imperialism and colonialism. It also supported the wave of African American self-adopted materialistic consumer patterns prevalent in the 20th century. During the 19th century and early 20th century, African Americans claimed an ancestral link to Africa, but viewed ancient Egypt and Ethiopia as the civilized regions of the continent. Their opinions of Africans being “heathens” and “uncivilized” mirrored those of Whites. The spiritual and cultural link to Africa was reborn in the late 1950s and 1960s with the Civil Rights Movement and African nations achieving independence from their European

colonizers. Importantly, late 20th century Black Nationalism does not have an emigrationist agenda, but a separatist one that agitates for a separate nation within the borders of the United States.

By the early National period, African Americans added abolition to their social movement using the same arguments espoused in American legal documents, for instance, *The Declaration of Independence*. The early National era witnessed the creation of Black social movements in the form of “Black electoral politics,” and in Massachusetts, this would have been exercised mostly in Boston.

Black social movements are multi-class organizations and are not formed to “overturn the basic dictatorship” of capitalists over workers, but to use various modes of social insurgency, which include religious protest, trade union organizing, and the development of all-Black communities to affect change (Marable 1985: 13).

Historical Modes of Resistance

According to Marable (1985), there are seven historical modes of Black resistance against the dominant culture. The first mode was “the struggle to assert power” to resist the trade in captive Africans in the Middle East and on the African continent by revolting against the powers enslaving them (Marable 1985: 24). For example, Marable notes that in the 18th century, West Africa semi-feudal states like the Baga, in what is now the Republic of Guinea, organized an alliance with other local groups to thwart the efforts of some of the captive African trading feudal states. However, a coalition of European traders and African states trading in captive African defeated the alliance. Another example was when the King of Dahomey sent his soldiers to seize coastal forts and camps associated with the trade in human cargo, thereby reducing the flow of captives for

a period of time (Marable 1985: 24). This resistance was also carried out into the 19th century with resistance to European colonization (Marable 1985: 24-25).

The second mode of resistance consisted of the disruption of production capabilities employed by captive Africans in the Caribbean and the Americas. This would have consisted of including multiple forms, faking sickness, destroying crops, breaking tools, poisoning, and insolence (Bush 1990). Revolts of captive Africans were another way to disrupt production capabilities. For instance, Herbert Aptheker notes there were 250 “slave revolts” with over 10 people between 1733 and 1856 (Aptheker 1993). Two major revolts in the United States were the aforementioned Denmark Vesey revolt around Charleston, South Carolina, in 1822 and Nat Turner’s rebellion in Southampton County, Virginia, in 1830. The threat of revolt always loomed over societies that employed the practice. Massachusetts, in the late seventeenth century and 18th century, was not immune to this fear (Aptheker 1993: 21(11n), 87, 167, 201). For example, fear of revolt lay in the tensions of the Battles of Lexington and Concord on April 19, 1775, when some residents in Framingham were frightened their captive Africans would seize the opportunity to revolt (Aptheker 1993: 21(11n); Philbrick 2013: 159, 330; Temple 1887: 275). No revolt took place.

Third was abolitionist groups, first Black and then multi-racial, that advocated the end to the slave trade and slavery through non-violent means of oration, print to disseminate protest agendas, and the use of the Underground Railroad (UGRR) to deny owners their forced labor, thereby disrupting production. The UGRR is justly celebrated for the involvement of Whites. Too often overlooked, especially in the popular culture, was the central role of Black Americans in this institution (LaRoche 2013; Quarles 1969).

Many towns in New England like to claim UGRR locations as part of their heritage and attempt to show their towns were on the right side of history, not noting that the majority of the town was not a stop on the line. Benjamin Quarles (1969), for instance, attests to the fact that many of the pioneering abolitionists were Black. Most of the first Underground Railroad stops would have also been located in Black spaces because of trust levels, and this might be why they are not always found because they were not documented and given a congratulatory distinction like the sites in White spaces (Horton 1993: 62-63). Cheryl LaRoche, using historical documents and physical sites in the Midwest, contends that there was a link between the Underground Railroad, the Black Church, Black freemasons, and the Black community (LaRoche 2013: 1-2).

After the abolition of slavery in Massachusetts, many people of African descent were resold into bondage and some “freed” Blacks were even kidnapped and sold into captivity. For example, in 1784, Benjamin Swetland had 92 people of African descent on 82 acres of land he owned in Longmeadow, Massachusetts, and of that amount of acreage, 62 acres were unimproved and four acres unimprovable (Carvalho 1984: 15). The wealthiest man in Longmeadow at the time only had three people of African descent on 366 acres (Carvalho 1984: 15). Carvalho (1984) notes that it was assumed Swetland was selling captive Africans down the river in Connecticut.

The fourth mode of resistance was Marronage and the formation of separate Black communities by force or through peaceful means. It is noteworthy that Marable included Marronage and the formation of separate Black communities in the same mode. Archaeologist Dan Sayer has made a similar argument (see Chapter II) that we should think in “extralimital” terms, meaning captive Africans escaping into free states or

territories are Maroons (Sayers 2012: 139). An example of a separate Black community would be the 19th-century oystering community of Sandy Ground on Staten Island. In the mid-19th century, African American oystermen from Snow Hill, Maryland, who exploited the waters of the Chesapeake for their livelihood, were forced out of the community by White oystermen, and relocated to Sandy Ground (Schuyler 1972, 1980; Askins 1985, 1988, 1991). By the early 20th century, pollution from industrialization had destroyed much of the oysters in the waters off Staten Island, ending the economic stability of Blacks and Whites in Sandy Ground (Schuyler 1972, 1980; Askins 1985, 1988, 1991).

In addition, I would add bell hooks' establishment of homeplace as a form of resistance. Cultural critic bell hooks (1990: 42) writes that establishing homeplace is a political statement because it is "one site where one could freely confront the issue of humanization, where one could resist." It is also a "construction of a safe place where black people could affirm one another and by so doing heal many of the wounds inflicted by racist domination" (hooks 1990: 42). The establishment of homeplace meant that after a day of dealing with the hegemonic patriarchal culture, a person could retire to their home, close the door, and live their life free from oppression.

Although writing about the daily chores of rural western Massachusetts, J.E.A. Smith (1869) provides insightful information on the duties servants had to perform in households. However, these chores can be applied to the necessary functions for the establishment of homeplace across the state. These daily duties included: washing, cooking, sewing, fetching water, cleaning, spinning, weaving, brewing, soap making, and candle making (Smith 1869: 51-52). Additionally, many places like Lucy Foster's had a

garden, a cow, and most likely would have had chickens. This would have added gardening, milking and caring for livestock to the list. In addition, Smith erased the abstractness of these chores by elucidating the process. Labor was strenuous and involved lifting the large cooking pot onto the crane out-swing over the fire, using the iron-wrought shovel to place and remove food for baking into the brick oven, using the heavy pestle to pound and wash clothes in the washing barrel, drawing water from wells or cisterns and carrying it in buckets, and scrubbing floors and other surfaces (Smith 1869: 51-52).

Marable's (1985: 33) fifth mode was an insurgence of independent rural Black farmers or peasants. In the 1880s and 1890s, independent farmers formed economic and political organizations to acquire land and counter sharecropping relationships (Marable 1985: 33). These organizations included the largest called the Coloured Farmers' Alliance, which was allied with the Southern Alliance, a White farmers' organization. The Coloured Farmers' Alliance organized cooperatives throughout the South (Marable 1985: 33). In addition, the alliance lobbied Congress for the Lodge Federal Election Bill of 1890, which failed to pass (Marable 1985: 33). The bill, introduced by Republican Representative Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, sought to protect the voting rights of African Americans by military force, if necessary. It passed the House of Representatives, but failed to pass in the Senate in 1891.

The sixth mode was development of Black religious belief systems and institutions. Some were based with their beginnings in Africa and also were continued or reimagined in the Americas, with many separate Black institutions forming in the late 18th and early 19th century. The first black church was created in Silver Bluff, South

Carolina, in the 1770s, but many were founded after that to include the Free African Society in Philadelphia. African Methodist Episcopal, African Methodist Episcopal Zion, and Baptist Churches formed in the 1790s and 1820s, and the fraternal organization, the African Masonic Lodge in 1787 in Boston (Bracey et al. 1970).

The final mode was the organization of labor movements to protect the rights of workers (Marable 1985: 35-39). African Americans had to form their own trade organizations because they were not allowed to join White organizations. For example, In New York City, master chimney sweeps, unable to join White trade unions, formed their own trade union called the United Society of Chimney Sweeps (USCS) in 1816. With every city council measure and attempt to gain control, master sweeps framed their arguments around the egalitarian ideals argued in the American Revolution that advocated their trade organization was equal to that of any White trade organization, and reminded the council of the service that many master sweeps provided to the nation in the American Revolution and the War of 1812. The USCS did not win every battle against new legislation, which required more inspections, fines for noncompliance or if a fire started within a certain amount of time after the chimney was cleaned, and licenses (Gilje and Rock 1994).

Displays of African Cultural Practices

Studying displays of African cultural practices are instrumental in assessing the transition from African to African American. This transition would look different in every northern state because of the different routes taken to emancipation. An indicator of that transition is the transformation of Negro Election Day to parading celebrations. Anderson's (1981) "imagined communities" include open displays of African cultural practices, for instance, Negro Election Day and Military Training Day. According to

Joseph Reidy (1978: 102-117), *Negro Election Day* provides an insight into the interaction between people of African descent and European American cultures in the social and political arenas of New England cities and towns. He believes that it first started in Massachusetts and is not sure if it was adopted by other towns or it formed independently. In New Hampshire and Massachusetts, kings were elected because they were royal colonies with appointed governors, whereas Rhode Island and Connecticut elected governors because those colonies had elected governors (Piersen 1988: 118). The observance dates of *Negro Election Day* differed with each colony/state. Massachusetts celebrated the event “on the last Wednesday in Easter” and later moved it to the “last Wednesday in May” with the festivities running from the Monday before the election to Saturday (Piersen 1988: 119).

The larger the city, the more formally organized the festival was, and in larger cities the governor’s served for a full year. Whites also took part in the celebrations, especially since owners footed the bill and allowed their captive Africans to dress up, sometimes in their clothes or borrowed clothes and horses from their owners. It was very prestigious for a White owner’s captive to be elected governor or king. Earle (1894: 225), referring to it as “Nigger ‘Llection,” noted the Black governor held a lot of power and was therefore useful in “many petty ways.” Lorenzo Greene (1968 [1942]: 255) agreed with this interpretation, noting the practice reflected “the gradual adoption of the master’s culture,” showed the paternalistic nature of New England society, and “was a subtle form of slave control.” However, Melville Herskovits (1941: 159-160) disagreed, noting Hubert H. S. Aimes’ earlier research that viewed *Negro Election Day* as a survival of African legal institutions and not an imitation. Reidy (1978: 106-107) noted that

elements of White election day influenced Negro Election day from the titles, date of the event, law enforcement, to the practice electing. However, Reidy (1978: 106-107) contended the “countless number of similar customs among blacks throughout the New World also suggests African roots.” Horton and Horton (1997: 23, 32) and Piersen (1988: 126-128) agree with these African Diasporic roots. Piersen (1988: 117) agrees with Herskovits that Negro Election day was not an imitation of White custom, but a time for the expression of “Black awareness” and provided an opportunity to lampoon White society “as much as it imitated Euro-American institutions.”

The historian Shane White (1994) contends that although they are derogatory, the only written accounts of Negro Election are White observations that divulged aspects of a culture separate from theirs. For instance, the description of the “Guinea dance provides the best-documented and clearest example of the enormous impact of African culture on the music and dance” of northern captive Africans (White 1994: 24). White (1994: 23) notes “Through their music and dancing, more than through the structure of the festivals, northern slaves conclusively revealed their distinctive culture.” White (1994: 23) illuminates some of the material culture associated with the musical aspects of this festival such as the fiddle, which he points out was “ubiquitous in eighteenth-century African-American life,” as well as the banjo, Jew’s harp, drums, and fish horns.

Reidy seems to agree with these latter observations and gives examples of similar practices taking place in other regions of the African Diaspora, such as carnival in the Caribbean. The festivities were a blend of African and Euro-American activities that included parades, music, dance, gunfire, paw paw, pitching pennies, quoits, jumping contests, African wrestling, stick fighting, and running races (Piersen 1988: 119). Places

in the Caribbean and Africa had a king and queen; however, British North America and later the United States only had kings (Piersen 1988: 127). In New York and New Jersey, captive Africans celebrated Pinkster, a similar form of Negro Election day (Alexander 2008; White 1998).

Reidy posits that Negro Election Day was able to survive for three reasons. First, Blacks constituted a small portion of the population and were not viewed as a threat. Second, it was felt that festivals contributed to the social order and allowed captives the ability to blow off steam under the paternalistic eyes of their owners. Finally, it gave towns a quasi-legal system to deal with petty crimes among Blacks. For example, Piersen (1988: 134-135) reports governors and kings did not just have ceremonial duties. In larger towns and cities they were given a judicial function in the Black community where they administered justice on minor infractions (Piersen 1988: 134-135). Additionally, Reidy (1978: 112) suggests that the practice provided Blacks with political leadership that they were able to capitalize on during the American Revolution.

In time many areas celebrated Negro Election Day along with Abolition of the Slave Trade and other celebrations. For instance, Boston was celebrating Negro Election Day and the Abolition of the Slave Trade, derisively called Bobalition Day by Whites in 1817. Eventually, Negro Election Day was phased out in many places. In Massachusetts it disappeared within the first decade of the 19th century (White 1994: 31). However, some areas retained the festival well into the mid-19th century. New Haven and Humphreysville, Connecticut, continued to observe Negro Election Day until 1850 and 1856 respectively (Reidy 1978: 103). The longevity of this festival is most likely attributed to Connecticut not abolishing slavery until 1848.

With the transformation of political/legal and social structures by the late 18th and early 19th century, many cities and towns witnessed an evolution from Negro Election Day celebrations to parading in ceremonies observing Abolition of the Slave Trade starting in 1808, Emancipation Day, West Indian Emancipation Day, Crispus Attucks Day, and John Brown Day (Buffalo, New York). As the nation was constructing its “imagined community” around a White Republic narrative in the early National period, so too was the marginalized Black community. According to David Waldstreicher (1997: 1, 12, 173), “parading is politics” and that is how Americans formed their nationalist ideology through the organization of parades for Washington’s Birthday, Fourth of July celebrations, and other national holidays. Embedded in these parade structures were heavily scripted processions on who could march and the order of procession. Parades ended with a church service that contained speeches on moral uplift, full citizenship, and abolition. These celebrations all included orations and the reading of important documents to inculcate the masses in the national symbols and narrative of the nation-state. These events were recorded in newspapers and disseminated to an even larger audience that was not able to actually view the parade. As northern Whites continued to racialize people of African descent, many of the celebrations, such as the Fourth of July, became closed to Blacks due to violence perpetrated against them by working class Whites (Horton and Horton 1997; Kachun 2003; Melish 1998; Roediger 1991; Sweet 2003). These attacks led Blacks to organize their own celebrations to commemorate the Fourth of July and then later, the abolition of the slave trade, and various emancipation days. Much of this parading evolved from the Pinkster, Negro Election Day, and Military Training Day celebrations that took place in northern colonies and then states.

These emancipation day celebrations involved parades, speeches, and dinners, and were just as structured as the Independence Day celebrations of dominant society (Alexander 2008; Kachun 2003; Rael 2002: 71-73; Waldstreicher 1997: 328). Many of these same elements were incorporated into emancipation festivals with displays of African heritage during the parades, which consisted of African music, African dance, and African dress, but also fraternal organizations, aid societies, church groups, and militia units marched as well (Alexander 2008; Kachun 2003). After the Civil War, African Americans in many southern cities adopted Emancipation Day celebrations. Much of this survival was due to changes in the celebrations over time.

With the transition from Negro Election Day and Military Training Day to parading celebrations, Black elites wanted parading terminated and displays of African heritage toned down (Alexander 2008). However, in many places the masses disregarded the sermons and lectures and continued their celebrations (Alexander 2008; Rael 2002). Many of these celebrations survived into the early 20th century, including places like New Bedford, Massachusetts (Kachun 2003).

Displays of spiritual beliefs are another important form for the development of an African and African American identity. Spirituality/religion was a mixture of retained African practices and beliefs, often merged with Christianity. People of African descent did not discard the religions of their ethnic groups and many who became Christians incorporated aspects of African religious practices such as the “wandering funeral procession,” which was banned in Boston in 1741 (Piersen 1988: 152). Many Blacks still practiced divinity, herbalism and kept charms to ward off disease, sorcery, and accident (Piersen 1988: 84-85). Additionally, many captive Africans were Muslim, thus

introducing the religion to the Americas (Gomez 1998: 59-87). Material cultural associated with African spiritual systems have been found in the United States (Brown and Cooper 1990; Ferguson 1992; Leone 2005).

Military Service

Military service was important to people of African descent during all periods prior to the Civil Rights Movement because service was viewed as a way to claim equality and full citizenship. This service to the country was so important that it was often mentioned in arguments for equality with Whites during the full citizenship discourse. Many of these men, exemplified by the minister Lemuel Haynes, would go on to provide leadership to the struggle for equality and the abolition of slavery. Haynes, a Revolutionary War veteran and minister to a White congregation in Rutland, Vermont, merged republican ideology and New Divinity theology in his sermons and numerous essays to advance the cause for equality and full citizenship for all people of African descent (Saillant 1994). He wove his military service in the first year of the war and those of other Blacks into his sermons to strengthen his case (Saillant 1994).

The Revolutionary War was a time of upheaval, especially for captive Africans. George Levesque suggests that the American Revolution was probably more meaningful for Blacks than Whites because it signaled political freedom and personal liberty (Levesque 1994: 13). Using individual agency, some Blacks joined the military of one of the combatants in hopes of gaining their freedom after the war; however, many others chose self-emancipation. People of African descent fought at the battles of Lexington and Concord and saw service in every major land and sea engagement of the war (Lanning 2000: 19, 176; Quarles 1996). Most scholars estimate that 5,000 Blacks served in the American Revolution (Lanning 2000: 177; Quarles 1996 [1961]:xix, xx).

However, the National Society Daughters of the American Revolution's 2008 study noted that the numbers are inconclusive and their study lists the names of 6,611 African and Native Americans (Grundset 2008: 706-707). Of the 68,000 soldiers from Massachusetts that fought in the American Revolution, 1,700 were of African descent or Native American (Grundset 2008: 79).

Once General George Washington assumed command of the Continental army in Cambridge during the summer of 1775, he began to purge the army of fighting men of color. As Quarles (1996, [1961]: 13) notes, "within ten months after Lexington and Concord a pattern of exclusion had developed." By January 1776, manpower shortages forced Washington to reverse his earlier order and allow the enlistment of "freed" Blacks. By 1777, continued manpower shortages forced Washington to amend this decision and allow captive Blacks to fight, but the issue seesawed back and forth with him and states' legislatures throughout the war. For instance, in February 1778, with parts of Rhode Island occupied by the British, the state General Assembly passed a law permitting captive Africans to join the army in exchange for freedom (Greene 1952). Because Rhode Island had a large captive African population and Newport was a major captive African trading port before the British captured it, arming captives was a hotly debated issue (Greene 1952). The legislature changed hands in May and the new legislature forced a four-month recruiting window on the state, which stopped all enlistments of captive Africans after June 10, 1778 (Greene 1952). The First Rhode Island Regiment 1779 was a segregated regiment of Blacks and Native Americans, but would become integrated later in the war. Another example was when Congress on March 29, 1779 recommended South Carolina and Georgia raise 3,000 Blacks to help defend those two

states (Egerton 2009: 81-82; Quarles 1996 [1961]: 60). Lieutenant Colonel John Laurens, an aide to General Washington, had recommended the raising of 5,000 captive Africans early in the war, but his suggestions were ignored (Egerton 2009: 81-82; Quarles 1996 [1961]: 61). As with Rhode Island, owners were to be compensated monetarily for their lost labor. Both states rejected the request even with Savannah and much of Georgia in British hands, since December 1778. Charleston fell to the British on May 12, 1780. Many Black men would serve until the end of the war and their enlistments were often longer than White males (Lanning 2000: 177).

Both the Americans and British courted the free and captive Black community to help achieve their war aims. Quarles (1996, [1961]: 119) estimated that between 10,000 and 20,000 captive Africans fled to the British during the war. The numbers could have been as high as 100,000 (Horton and Horton 1997: 60; Lanning 2000: 176). Some people of African descent had sought to support the British before the war even started. For instance, in September, 1774, captive Africans offered their services in exchange for freedom to General Thomas Gage, the British Royal Governor of Massachusetts and Commander-in-Chief for British forces in North America, in the event of conflict (Aptheker 1993: 87, 201). However, this was too early for the British to call for the service of Black people.

British calls for support from people of African descent came early. The first call came on November 7, 1775, when the royal governor of Virginia, John Murray, Earl of Dunmore, forced out of Jamestown to a ship in the James River by rebels, issued a proclamation that promised freedom to captive Africans, if they joined the British forces. Those who joined became the Ethiopian Regiment, whose motto was “freedom to slaves”

(Quarles 1999 [1961]: 19). On June 30, 1779, Commander-in-Chief of British forces in North America, General Sir Henry Clinton issued the Philipsburg proclamation, which made a distinction between captive Africans of rebels who escaped to the British lines versus those taken during military operations or from rebel plantations, accepting the former into British service (Egerton 2009: 84; Frey 1991: 121; Lanning 2000: 134; Quarles 1999 [1961]: 113). From the start of the war, the British used people of African descent extensively in logistical support as laborers to support their large war machine. These semi-free Blacks served the British in such occupations as teamsters, foragers, smiths, wheelwrights, coopers, cooks, carpenters, orderlies, artillery auxiliaries, engineer laborers, scouts, spies, messengers, pilots, and municipal workers (Quarles 1996, [1961]: 134-135, 142-143; Frey 1991: 121; Lanning 2000: 135, 139-140, 145).

The Black Bostonian William Cooper Nell in *The Colored Patriots of the American Revolution* (1848) illuminates the lives of Black men who served in the Revolutionary War by providing their biographies of service. His work was two-fold, first, reinforcing Black pride and second, ameliorating White understanding of the contributions of Blacks during the struggle for independence in an attempt to gain full equality and citizenship. Some Blacks from this military generation received pensions in land or monetary payment for their service in the 1820s.

Black people served in the War of 1812 and before, which is the last war that Americans fought together in integrated units until the Korean War. Some of this experience was gained in the Quasi War with France in 1798 and against the Barbary pirates in the first decade of the 19th century (Cohn and Platzer 1978: 120; Lanning 1997: 19). W. Jeffery Bolster in *Black Jacks: African American Seamen in the Age of*

Sail, notes that 20% of the U.S. Navy during the War of 1812 were people of African descent (Bolster 1997: illustrations). Altoff put the number between 15 to 20% (Altoff 1996:XVI, 52). Lanning (1997: 22) put the number between 10 and 20%. However, Altoff notes this is a conservative number because accurate records were not always kept on every vessel; for instance, not all ships' crew lists ascertain the racial identity of those on board; and some sailors, White and Black, were missing from the records completely (Altoff 1996: 21). On privateers, the percentages were often higher than those recorded on U.S. naval warships and Blacks sometimes had the majority in numbers (Altoff 1996: 28). Attempts to deny Black men the privilege to serve on naval warships were not as strong as in the army because sailing was a highly skilled trade and the need for manpower was a concomitant factor in allowing Blacks to serve.

According to Altoff (1996: 65, 69), the army had a different policy on the service of Black men, which in the first two years of the war denied them the right to serve in the regular army and many militias, especially in the North. As in the American Revolution, personnel shortages forced a reversal of government policy against Black enlistment in the regular army in 1814 (Altoff 1996: 69).

Blacks answered the call to defend the nation again during the Civil War with 200,000 serving in Union forces. Massachusetts contributed two infantry regiments, the 54th and 55th Massachusetts Regiments (Coloured) and the 5th Massachusetts Cavalry Regiment (Coloured). These Massachusetts regiments included men from all over the North. In fact, because there were so many volunteers, the 55th Massachusetts was created. One individual who fought in the 29th Connecticut Infantry Regiment (Coloured) later lived near the W.E.B. Du Bois site (see Chapter VII). Reverend Samuel

Harrison served as the chaplain in the 54th Massachusetts (see Chapter VIII). The African Meeting House served as a post of the Grand Army of the Republic in the latter half of the 19th century (see Chapter IX).

The Subject of Emigration

According to John Bracey et al. (1970), the most significant form of Black Nationalism is emigration, which is a territorial separatism from the dominant society by establishing all-Black towns (notably in the South and Southwest), founding all Black states, or creating a separate Black nation comprising several states from the United States. Discourse on emigration started in 1789, when it was proposed by the Free African Society of Newport to the Free African Society of Philadelphia and started under Paul Cuffe in 1815 (Bracey et al. 1970::xxxi). Cuffe, the son of a Black father and Native American mother, fought against the political structures of Massachusetts that taxed Black and Native American males, but disenfranchised them from, 1778 until 1780 (Horton and Horton 1997: 70; Sweet 2003: 329). In addition to arguing against “taxation without representation,” Cuffe also noted the economic structures of captivity did not afford them the ability to accumulate wealth like Whites and argued against discrimination, which was present in all the structures (Sweet 2003: 210, 329).

Paul Cuffe, family members, and partners owned shipyards, fishing and whaling schooners with all-Black crews, a windmill, a gristmill, and 200 acres in Westport, Massachusetts (Horton and Horton 1997: 181). In 1810, Paul Cuffe sailed for West Africa to conduct a reconnaissance of Sierra Leone for potential markets and suitable colonization sites (Horton and Horton 1997: 182). Next, Cuffe sailed to England to meet with the African Institution to discuss trade with West Africa and financing, and then returned to Sierra Leone by the end of 1811 (Horton and Horton 1997: 182). The War of

1812 prevented another voyage until 1815, when he transported goods and people to Sierra Leone (Horton and Horton 1997: 186). In December 1816, the American Colonization Society (ACS) formed and immediately sought assistance from Paul Cuffe because he supported emigration and had been to West Africa (Horton and Horton 1997: 187). In 1817, Cuffe died before he could return to Sierra Leone (Horton and Horton 1997: 188).

According to Leslie Alexander (2008:xviii), during the first decade of the 19th century, there were a multitude of “warring ideas” within the Black community about how to confront their exclusion from the “imagined community” of the emerging American nation. One position counseled for an overall strategy of moral improvement as the means to attain equality and American citizenship; the other offered emigration to Africa, Haiti, and Canada. In the 19th century, New York elites and masses began to reject the platform of moral improvement and began to embrace early forms of emigration to Africa or Haiti. By the 1820s, due to unfulfilled promises by the Haitian government, the island nation was no longer seen as a viable option for emigration. From 1820 to 1830, discourse on emigration persisted; however, it was more sophisticated as issues of the long-term ramifications of emigration were discussed, key among them was that such a plan would entail the abandonment of fighting for the freedom of captive Africans left behind and the struggle for full citizenship in the United States (Alexander 2008). In the 1850s, there was a reemergence of an interest in emigration with the dramatic political and legal setbacks of the Missouri Compromise of 1850, the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, and the Dred Scott Decision of 1857 (Alexander 2008: 122-123).

Actually, the largest emigration of people of African descent from the United States came at the end of the Revolutionary War. This massive exodus of people departed with the British from New York City, Savannah, and Charleston, in 1783. Most of the three thousand Blacks that evacuated New York City settled in Nova Scotia establishing Black communities, thereby spreading American born people of African descent to Canada and later to Sierra Leone (Quarles 1996; Schama 2006; Sidbury 2007). It is estimated that between six and ten thousand captive/“freed” Africans were evacuated from Charleston (Frey 1991: 177; Schama 2006: 135). The numbers of captive Africans evacuated from Savannah were also estimated between five and six thousand (Frey 1991: 106). However, many in these groups belonged to Loyalists or were resold into captivity in the West Indies, Bermuda, or the Bahamas (Frey 1991: 173-175; Quarles 1996).

According to Sidbury, American Southern Black Baptist churches were the progenitors of Black churches throughout the British Atlantic Empire including Canada, Sierra Leone, and in British possessions in the Caribbean (Sidbury 2007: 9). These organizations helped create the foundations for an African identity that formed in the U.S. and was transported around the Atlantic world through emigration and the repeated contact amongst leaders, friends, families, and by other mechanisms such as newspapers, pamphlets, letters, and mariners. More American Africans emigrated to Liberia, the colony established by the American Colonization Society during the first few decades of the 19th century, creating not an African nation, but an African American nation (Sidbury 2007: 182, 187-189). Tracing identity, Sidbury situates the American born African throughout the Atlantic world, showing a network of linked communities through church, press, correspondence, and identity (Sidbury 2007).

Conclusion

In this chapter, I discussed the economic, racial, spatial, political/legal, and social epochal structures that governed daily life in the United States and Massachusetts. These epochal structures frame the study of the Black community and material culture of sites addressed in this dissertation. The economic structures might provide indicators as to racialization, daily life, and consumerism. The social structures provide indications of racialization, daily life, consumerism, and most notably the transition from African to African American. All of these structures are interlinked. However, this intersection is not easily predictable. How these structures interact is very much contingent on specific people at specific locations at specific times. What is more certain is that an analysis that does not consider the intersections will likely miss important features of these people's lives. Along with this, Battle-Baptiste (2011: 70) posits Black Feminist Archaeology is useful because it "considers the direct connection of the past with contemporary issues of racism and sexism in ways that allow researchers to see how the past influences and shapes contemporary society and perhaps forces us all to be more sensitive to the larger implications of our research."

Although Massachusetts was a leader in abolishing slavery and much more lenient towards people of African descent in other respects, it did and still has not created a state with full equality for all its citizens. In shaping an identity and agitating for freedom and equality, African Americans were operating in and against the universe of discourse and practice that was the habitus of White culture. Eventually this heterodoxy weakened some of its dispositions, specifically the legalization of slavery, thereby forming a new orthodoxy that, however, was only a watered down version of the old doxa, one that still dominated African American life. Initially, the arguments of the

African descent community against the universe of discourse were not known or understood by the dominant culture. In the universe of the undiscussed, “those things we take for granted,” White dominant society operated on a series of dispositions towards people of color. Importantly, the new dominant culture retained the dimensions of the old doxa that did not extend equality and citizenship to people of color. Their doxa was not dismantled and the orthodoxy that emerged still maintained the economic, racial, spatial, political/legal, and social structures that exist today.

CHAPTER V

WHITE SPACE, BLACK SPACE: ANDOVER, MASSACHUSETTS

Introduction

In the 18th and early 19th century, Andover, Massachusetts, was home to a large African American community. However, we only know about a few of the inhabitants from the documentary record and archaeology. Only two African American homesites have been excavated: Cato Freeman and Lucy Foster (Black Lucy's Garden). Selective acknowledgement and acceptance of a few African Americans by past and present communities have allowed for ignoring the larger African American community and their identity creation and the racialized social, political/legal, and economic structures, a lack of recognition that eventually led to their exodus from Andover in the 1850s. This chapter returns Lucy Foster and Cato Freeman to the racialized landscape, putting them into the larger African American community context using archaeological data and documentary records, including census, town, and church. I will also discuss my attempt to find an area of the town once colloquially known as Guinea Street. Lucy Freeman and her site became known to the archaeological community initially through the work of Adelaide and Ridley Bullen (1945), work that was furthered by Vern Baker (1978, 1980), the late Eugene (Gene) Winters (former museum curator at the Peabody Museum in Andover), Barbara Brown (1999), the retired deputy director of the Immigrant Museum (Winters and Brown (2012), and then finally by Whitney Battle-Baptiste (2011). The efforts of Stephen A. Mrozowski and Steven R. White (1982) and David S. Rotenstein et al. (2000) brought the Cato and Lydia Freeman site to the attention of archaeologists.

Andover

Andover, Massachusetts, was founded by Europeans in 1642 and incorporated in 1646. The first English settlement was situated in what is now North Andover with the Merrimack River as its northern boundary. Eventually the settlement expanded south and that area became South Parish. West Parish was established early in the 19th century, when the town expanded to the west. It is important to note that until 1855, Andover consisted of the present town and North Andover. North Parish became North Andover and South and West Parish remained Andover with the Merrimack River as the northern boundary. The town was an agricultural community. However, the river provided opportunities to industrialize with the establishment of a number of mills and factories along the river in the late-eighteenth and nineteenth century (Poore 1863a: 282, 289- 291, 1863b: 52). The Lowell railroad running from Wilmington to Andover arrived in August 1836 and gas power by 1840s (Poore 1863c: 306). South Parish was wealthier than North Parish. In addition, South Parish was also home to a bed of abolitionism and Underground Railroad safehouses even before Harriet Beecher Stowe took up residence in the town in the late 1850s (Forsyth-Vail 2000: 18). However, these abolitionist feelings were not town wide. For instance, North Parish was not a land of abolitionists and had no known Underground Railroad safehouses (Mofford 1974). Andover was also home to two prestigious private schools, Phillips Academy (established in 1778 for boys) and Abbott Academy (founded in 1828 for girls). The schools merged in 1973. This chapter provides an analysis of the Lucy Foster and Cato Freeman archaeological assemblages. It will also use census data to illuminate the Andover Black community, thereby putting Ms. Foster and the Freeman family in the social context within which they spent most of their lives.

Black Inhabitants

Although the information is limited, Andover did have a Black community. According to the 1790 Federal Census, there were 93 “freed” people of color in the town. This population would likely have been a mixture of individuals that were both African and American born. Some had been captive labor while others were born free. Might this lead to clues of a transition from one group to another? Andover provides a perfect landscape to study racialization, the daily life of African Americans (especially women), the transition for African to African America, and consumerism. Looking at the Black community in Andover helps address these questions using census data, the documentary record, and archaeological assemblages. To understand Lucy Foster and Cato Freeman requires putting them inside Black space – the Black community, and looking outward. Andover, with its paternalism and social spatial segregation, had an underlying racialization. This racialization was manifested in the structures, especially economic, and was most likely a factor in the exodus from the town. The 1860 Census shows no Black people in Andover. Illuminating the lives of some of the known Black Andoverans is a way to begin to understand the Black community of which Lucy Foster and Cato Freeman were members.

One member was Pompey Lovejoy who was held captive by Captain William Lovejoy (Abbott 1901b: 107). After overcoming racial problems that hindered his obtaining a marriage license, Pompey married Rose Chadwick on December 26, 1751 (Andover Vital records 1912b: 358; Abbott 1901b: 107). Pompey gained his freedom at the death of William Lovejoy in 1762 (Abbott 1901b: 107). Over the course of his lifetime, Pompey had an eclectic resume that included making his famous “lection cake” and beer on town-meeting days, running a bake cart that provided beef critters and other

items, conducting fishing trips on the Merrimac River, fiddling at social engagements and slaughtering (Abbott 1901b: 107; Bailey 1880: 39; Poore 1863a: 289, 1863b: 62). In addition, Pompey had woodworking skills and a three legged chair attributed to his workmanship is on display at the Andover Historical Society. Rose had accolades of her own. She was considered a great cook and helped her husband with the bake cart (Abbott 1901b: 107). A piece of cloth believed to be part of Rose's wedding dress is curated at the Andover Historical Society. According to Alfred Poore (1863b: 62), Pompey and Rose lived in a cabin that burned down in 1773 on land owned by William Lovejoy (now called Pomp's Pond). A second cabin was built and Pompey and Rose lived in the dwelling until his death on February 22, 1826, at age 102 and hers on November 8, 1826, at age 99 (Andover Vital Records 1912b: 358; Poore 1863b: 62). Pompey's headstone reads "born in Boston a slave, died in Andover a freeman" (Andover Vital Records 1912b: 358).

Barzillai Lew was also another long term resident of Andover. This Barzillai Lew was the son of Brazillai Lew from Dracut, Massachusetts. Census enumerators never seemed to get his name right. In 1830, he was listed as Barzilla Low, in 1850, Brayilla Lao, and 1860, Barselia Lew (Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Federal Censuses). In some town documents, his name is spelled Barzilla. According to the 1790 census, Barzillai Lew had three people in his household. At this time Barzillai might have been married to a woman named Dorcas, and the two of them had two children, Barzillai (born August 28, 1805) and Zimry (born November 18, 1809) (Andover Vital Record 1912a: 245). It appears that Dorcas died sometime before 1825 because Barzillai Lew lived a long life in Andover, which is summarized in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1: Brazillai Lew Family Information

Date	
1790	Barzillai Lew had three people in his household. At this time Barzillai might have been married to a woman named Dorcas, and the two of them had two children, Barzillai born August 28, 1805 and Zimry born November 18, 1809.
1810	The Lew household counted nine people. It appears that Nancy Ralley or Riley from Boston might have been a second wife, which he married on September 3, 1823.
1830	There were four people in the household. Barzillai and Nancy in age groups “of 26 and under 55” and “of 24 under 36.” There was also one male under ten years of age and one female “of 10 under 24.”
1840	No change in numbers. Two people were listed in agriculture, most likely the two males.
1850	Three individuals in the household; Barzillai age 73 listed as a farmer worth \$300, his wife Nancy age 66, and Ruby Francis a daughter age 47. Ruby is only listed as Francis on the 1850 census and Ruby on the 1860 census.
1855	Massachusetts State Census - Barzillai and Nancy were listed as mulattos. There was also a Ruby Francis and Henry V. Francis, her 18-year-old son. Also listed as mulattos.
1860	No change in census numbers. Barzillai (Barselia) was listed as 83, Nancy age had been revised to 72, and there was a Ruby Lew age 60.
1864	Barzillai died February 22, 1864

Source: Andover Vital Record 1912b: 218, 245

Background of the Lucy Foster Site

Lucy Foster acquired her acre on the death of Hannah Chandler in 1812. Hannah Chandler’s Will dated December 15, 1811, bequeathed \$150 (money she claimed she owed Lucy), an acre of land, a cow, and \$40 to Sarah Dunklee (formerly Sarah Gilbert), even though Hannah’s estate was insolvent (Baker 1978: 5, 1980: 31; South Parish Church Records (SPCR); Winter and Brown 2012: 2). The probate court allowed Lucy Foster to live on the property until her death in 1845. Local historian and journalist Charlotte Helen Abbott (1901b: 107) contended that Joshua Ballard provided the \$150

for the construction of Lucy's cabin and others donated money as well. Lucy lived on the property from 1815 until her death in 1845.

Background of Lucy Foster

Although limited, there is documentary information about Lucy Foster. She first enters the record with her baptism in the South Parish Church on July 14, "Sarah a Child given to Job Foster & Lucy a Negro Child was Baptized" (Battle-Baptiste 2011: 123–125; South Parish Church Records (SPCR); Winter and Brown 2012: 1–2). The Andover Vital Records confirms this information by listing a child named Lucy baptized on July 14, 1771, under the section titled Negroes (Andover Vital Records 1912a: 390).

Charlotte H. Abbott in her 1901 *Andover Townsman* article "Africa in Andover," notes that Sarah Gilbert and Lucy were two young girls who had been given to the Fosters (Abbott 1901b: 107). Lucy had a son, Peter, who entered the documentary record in October 20, 1792, when he was baptized in the South Parish Church (Andover Vital Records 1912a: 390; Baker 1978: 4, 1980: 31; Battle-Baptiste 2011: 126; SPCR; Winter and Brown 2012: 3). After this, the records are silent, so it is not known when Peter departed the household. Lucy Foster joined the South Parish Church congregation on September 22, 1793 (Baker 1978: 4, 1980: 31; Battle-Baptiste 2011: 126; SPCR; Winter and Brown 2012: 3).

Lucy Foster was born in Boston in 1767 and arrived at Job and Hannah Foster's domicile between that date and 1771, when she was baptized in the South Parish Church (Battle-Baptiste 2011: 123–125; SPCR; Winter and Brown 2012: 1–2). Lucy was warned out of Andover in 1791 (personal communication for Eugene Winter and Barbara Brown 2010; Battle-Baptiste 2011: 125; Winter and Brown 2012: 3). The census data might reveal that Lucy may not have followed Hannah to her new husband Philemon

Chandler's residence in 1789 because the 1790 census does not list any "freed persons of color" in the household. If Lucy did not move with Hannah to Philemon Chandler's household, it is possible that Lucy was subsisting on her own with a child, which might have triggered her warning out notice in 1791. She probably did not leave Andover after being warned out. What this warning in fact did was put her on a list that allowed her to start receiving a dole in 1827 from the Overseers of the Poor. Philemon died in 1798 and by 1800 Hannah was probably living back at the old Foster house along with two "freed persons of colour," according to the 1800 and 1810 Federal Census. It is not known who the other "freed" person of color was. One of these people is definitely Lucy. Although it is not known if the other was Peter, he would have been around ten in 1800.

Hannah died in 1812 and by 1815 Lucy Foster had established her own homeplace. By 1830, Lucy was living by herself with three African American women living nearby. Lucy Foster died of pneumonia on November 1, 1845 (Andover Vital Records 1912b: 540; Baker 1978: 6; Bullen and Bullen 1945: 27; SPCR). The Andover Vital Records (1918: 440) listed asthma as the cause of Lucy's death.

Lucy Foster has an illuminating story because she is one of two people of color in the town with a documentary record and archaeology to tell her story. Others in the town have a documentary record, such as Pompey Lovejoy, Flora Chandler, and Dinah, but no archaeology associated with them. During Lucy's early years, Andover still had a population of captive and "freed" Blacks that came from Africa and the West Indies. So Lucy would have had contact with these people as a young child, especially if they shared the balcony of the South Parish church to worship on Sundays. In Lucy's case she was still a young child when she came to live with Job and Hannah Foster along with another

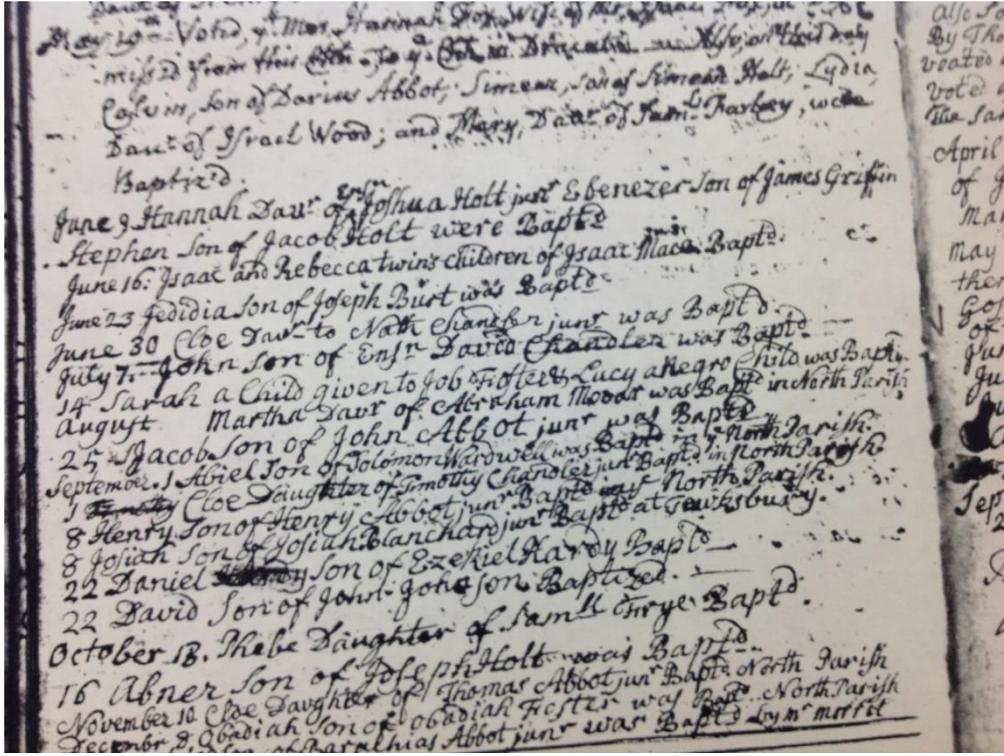
young girl named Sarah (see Figure 5.1). For her to enter into the care of the Fosters, she most assuredly was separated from her parents by their death or a separation orchestrated by an “owner” selling her. Therefore the Fosters supported the system of taking children from their parents, evidenced by the arrival of Sarah Gilbert and Lucy Foster.

The passage in the South Parish Church Records is what confused the Bullens and will confuse future generations because of their misinterpretation (see Figure 5.1). The Bullens concluded that Sarah was Lucy’s daughter by Job (Bullen and Bullen 1945: 26). Vernon Baker repeated this mistake (Baker 1978: 3). Sarah was the young child in the Foster’s care that was baptized at the same time as Lucy in South Parish Church in 1771 (Battle-Baptiste 2011: 123–125; SPCR; Winter and Brown 2012: 1–2). Sarah was placed into indentured servitude until the age of 18 (Battle-Baptiste 2011: 123–125; SPCR; Winter and Brown 2012: 1–2).

In the 1990s, Barbara Brown, Deputy Director of The Immigrant Museum in Lawrence, Massachusetts, began to correct the record of Lucy Foster (personal communication Barbara Brown, see Addendum to Baker 1978 on file at Peabody Museum, also see Battle-Baptiste 2011). Lucy, as many other women of color during this time, would have had limited options available to her. She might have had to return to work for Hannah.

Did Hannah assume a mothering role for young Lucy? There are many layers to their relationship and what Hannah bequeaths to Lucy in her will may illuminate some of those layers. Lucy might have been like a daughter to Hannah as well as a long trusted domestic.

Figure 5.1: Lucy Foster and Sarah Gilbert South Parish Church Baptismal Record July 14, 1770.



Document from South Parish Meeting House Records, Andover Historical Society

One of Vernon Baker's (1978) research questions focused on Lucy's limited wealth. He found Lucy on two dole lists: the Overseers of the Poor and South Parish Church. According to Baker (1978: 7), Lucy Foster's dole from South Parish Church's Fund for Relief of Indigent Persons from 1813 until her death in 1845 totaled \$70.50. There were no records for 1829. In addition to the South Parish Church dole, Baker notes that Lucy also received fire wood and supplies from the Overseers of the Poor between January 1827 until November 1845 and listed those expenditures in his Appendix 1. During those 18 years and 9 months, the total amount of money reimbursed to Thomas Manning, Capt. Stephen Abbot, and to Capt. Joshua Ballard for delivering supplies and firewood totaled \$197.70 (Baker 1978: 6, 115-116). This led him to assume she was poor

and ask the question: How did Lucy obtain all of her ceramics and the other items found in the households? Some came from Hannah. Were others gifted to Lucy? Did she purchase some of the items? As will become clear, this interpretation of “poverty” based on the documentary record is significantly at odds with the archaeologically recovered materials, especially the ceramics, as will be seen below.

Background of Cato Freeman Site

Rotenstein et al. (2000: 4-13) provided the history of the chain of title for the property (see Table 5.2). From 1764 to 1765, the property passed from Richard Barker to Richard Barker Jr. On October 31, 1765, Richard Barker Jr. in turn sold the property to John Austin. John Austin would hold the property until October 13, 1820, when he sold it to Henry Osgood, who on the same day sold it to Cato Freeman. Cato Freeman would own the house and property until November 8, 1848, when he sold the property to Stephen Barker et al., and move to another location in town. The property would trade hands multiple times in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. On May 11 1945, the City of Lawrence Municipal Airport purchased the property.

Table 5.2: Cato Freeman Site Chain of Title

Date	Grantor	Grantee
11 April 1764	Richard Barker	Richard Barker, Jr.
31 October 1765	Richard Barker, Jr.	John Austin
13 October 1820	John Austin	Henry Osgood
13 October 1820	Henry Osgood	Cato Freeman
8 November 1848	Cato Freeman	Stephen Barker et al.
1867	Nathan Barker	Edmund Briarly
1872	Edmund Briarly	William Sutton
30 November 1881	William Sutton	Bradford H. Barden
16 July 1892	Bradford H. Barden	James Finegan
14 November 1928	James Finegan	Agnes Finegan et al.
11 May 1845	Agnes Finegan, et al.	City of Lawrence Municipal Airport

Source: Rotenstein et al. 2000: 4-13

Cato Freeman Family History

Cato Freeman was born in Andover on May 26, 1768, to Salem and Rhema (sometimes listed as Rama, Ream, or Rema), both captives of Reverend Samuel Phillips of South Parish Church (Andover Vital Records 1912a: 389; Rotenstein et al. 2000: 4-4). Alfred Poore noted that Salem and Rhema came from Africa (Poore 1863c: 306). Salem and Rhema were married on October 16, 1760 (Andover Vital Records 1912b: 358). Abbott (1901b: 107) also asserts that the two came from Africa and had two other sons, Cyrus or Caesar (Cesar) born in November 1770, and Titus born November 24, 1774 (Andover Vital Records 1912a: 389, 391). The Vital records listed Cyrus as the son of Salem and Rama, servants of Reverend Samuel Phillips (Andover Vital Records 1912: 389). This might have been a mistake or it was later changed to Caesar. After Reverend Phillips' death, Reverend Jonathan French assumed ownership (Andover Vital Records 1912a: 391). Abbott reports that after the abolition of African captivity, Salem and Rhema became pensioners and lived in a leaky cabin on the parish grounds (Abbott 1901b: 107). Salem and son Cato were known for fiddling. Salem passed away in the alms house in 1814 at age 90 (Abbott 1901b: 107). Rhema's death date is unknown.

Cato stayed with his "owner" past emancipation and established his own homeplace in 1789, when he married Lydia Bistrow on December 24, 1789 (Andover Vital Records 1912b: 357; Rotenstein et al. 2000: 4-4). Cato wrote a letter thanking his former "owner" for his care and upbringing (North Andover Historical Society; Rotenstein et al. 2000: 4-4). A document illuminating his "high esteem" in the community was his permit to graze cows on the town common (North Andover Historical Society; Rotenstein et al. 2000: 4-4). Cato and Lydia had nine children: Mahala, Rocena (Sena), James Honestus, Dorcas, Zadock Lew (Zadoc), Deborah, Nathaniel

Sherlock Milton, Jacob Kimball Holden, and Peter (Andover Vital Records 1912a: 390; Rotenstein et al. 2000: 4-4). The first five children were born between 1790 and 1797 (Andover Vital Records 1912a: 390; Rotenstein et al. 2000: 4-4). The 1810 Federal Census count of six in the household becomes a bit of a mystery because four more children were born between 1801 and 1808 (Andover Vital Records 1912a: 390; Rotenstein et al. 2000: 4-4). To understand the family better, I constructed a family tree in Figure 5.2 and a Freeman family listing in Table 5.3.

The Freeman family moved to what is now the corner of Osgood and Sutton streets by 1820 - possibly earlier. This would have left mother and father with four of their children, which was still a curious number. Was there a miscount by the census taker? Mahala's Andover story ends when she married Zimri Lew of Dracut on August 31, 1811, at age 21 (Dracut Vital Records 1912: 208). This was the second link between the Freemans and Lews. The first was when Cato and Lydia named their fourth child Zadock Lew Freeman in 1797. There was already an adult Zadock Lew residing in Dracut, Massachusetts, at this time (Dracut Vital Records 1912: 286).

Roccena, born in 1792, would have been 18 by 1810 and might have been out of the household (Andover Vital Records 1912a: 390). Information on her is limited. Did she leave town for a period of time? Was she working in a White household? Roccena (listed as Sena and Rosena) died on September 29, 1822, and was still listed with the last name of Freeman, so she was probably not married (Andover Vital Records 1912b: 574).

Cato and Lydia took in a ward, Lydia Ann, in 1822 and baptized her on October 6, 1822 (Andover Vital Records 1912a: 390). James H. might have also departed the house because he was 17. Another daughter, Dorcas, age 15, might not have been in the

household and Zadock (Zadoc) Lew would have only been 13. Did Deborah, born in 1801, survive? Her trail goes cold.

Could James H. and Dorcas have been apprenticed or bound out? One example of this practice is found in *Gretchen Gerzina's Mr. and Mrs. Prince: How an Extraordinary Eighteenth-Century Family Moved Out of Slavery and into Legend*, which illustrates how Abijah and Lucy Terry Prince from Deerfield, Massachusetts, and later Guilford and Sunderland Vermont, indentured their 10-year-old son Caesar to a skilled worker to learn a trade with free room and board. Nancy Freeman, future wife of Black Governor Quash Freeman of Derby, Connecticut, provides another example. At the age of nine, she was bound out by her parents to a White family. Her contract offered her one cow if she stayed until age 18 and a cow and feather bed if she stayed until 19 (De Forest 1890: 538). She stayed. According to Jane De Forest Shelton (1890), emancipation in Connecticut left a deficit in household labor once former captive Africans had reached an elderly age. Because of this deficit, binding out of free children was practiced with unwritten laws that provided males with \$100, if they stayed until age 21. If a girl stayed until 18, she was given a cow. The children received clothing, room and board, and some schooling – usually enough to read the Bible (De Forest 1890: 538). Did Deborah, born in 1801, survive? Her trail goes cold. Abbott also puts her racialized spin on the subject when she noted that the children of Cato and Lydia could not live up to the “heavy” names they were given (Abbott 1901b: 107).

In 1830, the household numbers decreased further to three individuals (two males and one female) as many had grown and left the household to establish their own or died early deaths (Fifth Federal Census). Lydia Ann had left Cato's household (Fifth Federal

census). Two of Cato's and Lydia's sons Zadock and James had established their own homeplace next door to their parents (Figure 4.4). James Freeman's household was the largest with eight, which would have been James, his wife Deborah, and their six children: Ann, Zelok, John, James, Hannah, and Maria (Mrozowski and White 1982: NS: 3: 6/1/22). Zadock was listed with three individuals, one being a White woman who was most likely Zadock's wife or partner. This would have been an illegal union, since intermarriage was not allowed in Massachusetts until 1845. However, if she was Irish, she would not have been considered White. Abbott identified her as Judith and the daughter as Lydia Ann (Abbott 1901b: 107). I am not sure of the accuracy of this information because the vital records list Lydia Ann as a ward of Cato and Lydia at her baptism on October 9, 1822. Could Lydia Ann really be the daughter of Roccena?

The 1840 Federal Census listed Cato Freeman's household with only four people. Cato and Lydia still lived there along with two males between the ages of 24 and 36, possibly Jacob and Peter. It is unknown what happened to Cato's and Lydia's ward Lydia Ann. Jacob died on April 8, 1841 (Andover Vital Records 1912b: 573). Peter, a cordwainer, died on July 1, 1846, at age 38 (Andover Vital Records 1912b: 574). Zadock's household decreased to two individuals, he and his daughter between the ages of 10 and 24. This is probably an indicator that Lydia Ann was the daughter of Roccena. Zadock spent his life as a laborer and died on July 13, 1849, at age of 51 (Andover Vital Records 1912b: 574).

Cato's household decreased by one in 1850 with real estate valued at \$550, leaving only Cato age 82, Lydia age 84, and their daughter Dorcas age 54 (Seventh Federal Census). In the 1850 Federal Census, James, age 59, was listed in the alms

house. Cato died at age 85 in 1853 and Lydia the following year at the age of 87. This left Dorcas with very few options. According to the 1855 Massachusetts State Census, Dorcas was 55 years old and living with an elderly White woman, as her servant. She is also racialized as a mulatto. By 1860, Dorcas (listed as Darcas on the census) was the only second generation Freeman left above ground in Andover. At age 64, she was listed as a servant to an elderly White woman (Eighth Federal Census).

Figure 5.2: Freeman Family Tree

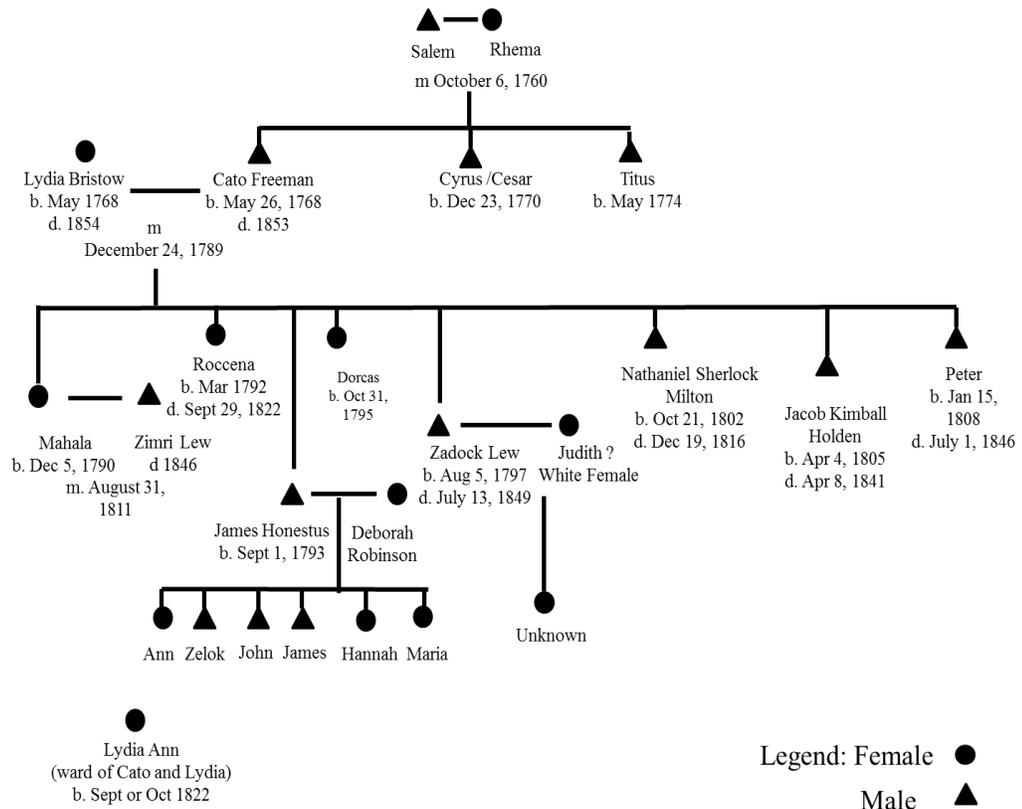


Table 5.3: Cato Freeman Family Information

Date	
October 16, 1760	Salem and Rhema were married.
May 26, 1768	Cato Freedom was born in Andover.
1770-1774	Salem and Rhema (Rama) had two additional sons, Cyrus or Caesar (Cesar) born in November 1770, and Titus born November 24, 1774
December 24, 1789	Cato Freeman married Lydia Bistow (b. May 1768) and established homeplace.
December 5, 1790	Mahala is born.
March 1792	Roccena is born.
September 1, 1793	James Honestus is born.
October 31, 1795	Dorcas is born.
August 5, 1797	Zadock Lew
October 21, 1802	Nathaniel Sherlock Milton
April 4, 1805	Jacob Kimball Holden
January 15, 1808	Peter
August 31, 1811	Mahala married Zimri Lew
1814	Salem passed away.
December 19, 1816	Nathaniel Sherlock Milton died.
1820	Family moved to what is now the corner of Osgood and Sutton streets, possibly earlier.
September 29, 1822	Roccena died.
October 1822	Lydia Ann is born.
April 8, 1841	Jacob died
July 1, 1846	Peter died.
July 13, 1849	Zadock Lew died.
1853	Cato died at age 85.
1854	Lydia died at the age of 87.

Source: Andover Vital Records 1912a 1912b; Fifth through Eighth Federal Censuses; Rotenstein et al. 2000.

Economic Structures

In the 18th century and early 19th century, Andover, Massachusetts, was home to a large community of people of African descent. Massachusetts legalized African captivity in 1641 and within 25 years of the Andover's founding in 1642 captive Africans were bought and sold for more than a hundred years (Bailey 1880: 39).

In New England, it was common practice to separate young children from their parents and sell them (Adams and Pleck 2010: 34-35; Gomez 1998: 26). For example, Sarah Loring Bailey provides two examples of young girls, Candace and Dinah, both five who were sold by her "owner" in Dunstable to a person in Andover (Bailey 1880: 39-41). There was a benefit to purchasing captives as young children. First, captive infants were relatively cheaper. Second, acquiring them at an early age provided the "owner" with the opportunity to instruct them in their daily duties (Adams and Pleck 2010: 34). The duties these captive children were trained to perform varied with the wealth of their "owners." A captive African woman in a wealthy household had more specialized training and might have assisted with dressing, bathing, combing hair, and mending clothes of the mistress (Adams and Pleck 2010: 34). Additionally, captive women would have polished silver and furniture; possibly shaved the male "owner;" traveled to the store to pick up domestic items; swept; carried water; emptied chamber pots; brewed; washed dishes and clothes; spun; baked and cooked; looked after younger children; carded; knitted; sewed; milked cows; and fed chickens (Adams and Pleck 2010: 34-35). Captive women as well as men might have found themselves doing what was considered the opposite gender's type of work (Adams and Pleck 2010: 34). Most captive males were laborers, but some were put to work as "butchers, bakers, and candlestick makers...rum distillers,

locksmiths, cabinet makers, stone polishers, and leather tanners” and as apprentices to wigmakers (Adams and Pleck 2010: 34).

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the river afforded the town opportunities to industrialize with the establishment of a number of mills along the river in the late-eighteenth and nineteenth century that included: grist, saw, paper, powder, nail, cider, cotton, carding, and fulling (Poore 1863a: 282, 289- 291, 1863b: 52). The town also had a foundry, a locomotive factory, a flannel factory, a brick factory, a soap factory, a tannery, machine and file manufacturing, carriage manufacturing, worsted manufacturing, and a small shoe manufacturing industry for a time (Poore 1863a: 290, 1863b: 52, 54, 58, 1863c: 309, 1863d: 288). Poore contended that Andover was the first place to produce delaine (dress fabric/wool) in a factory with imported machinery in 1845 (Poore 1863b: 52). The Lowell railroad running from Wilmington to Andover arrived in August 1836 and gas power by 1840s (Poore 1863c: 306). However, these areas of employment were mainly White spaces. Andover provided racialized job opportunities which relegated males to mostly labor roles and women to the domestic sphere. In 1850, there were only two farmers in the unskilled and semiskilled category (Seventh Federal Census). By 1870, there were no male or female professionals, one entrepreneur, a barber/hairdresser, and ten male and six female unskilled and semiskilled workers, which constituted 94.1% of the Black workforce. The majority of these jobs were laborers and servants. By 1880, the African American workforce as reported in the census had decreased to four females and eight males, all in unskilled jobs. However, enumerating occupations can be misleading because Allen Hinton, an ice cream manufacturer, was reported as a “farm laborer” along with his step-son and his wife as

“keeps house” on the 1880 Federal Census, although at this time most of the family was involved in selling treats to Phillip’s Academy students and making and selling ice cream from a wagon (Graves 1895: 485; Putnam 1980). Allen Hinton and his son Edward received the title “ice cream manufacturers” on the 1900 Federal Census. They were two of three entrepreneurs listed. The other 29 male workers were in the unskilled category and semiskilled with 17 being laborers. The town had one African American female professional, a nurse; the other 30 females were in the unskilled and semiskilled category, with the majority serving as servants and laundresses.

Even with the return of African Americans to Andover after the Civil War, their economic plight had not changed. The pie charts in Figures 5.3 to 5.9 highlight the relegation of Andover African American males and females to unskilled and semiskilled occupations (also see Table 5.4). Percentages of males in unskilled and semiskilled labor were at 100% in 1850 and 1880 (Eighth and Tenth Federal Census). Those percentages decreased to 91% in 1870 and 1900 (Ninth and Twelfth Federal Census). In 1870 and 1900, skilled and entrepreneurial jobs had increased to 9% of the workforce (Ninth and Twelfth Federal Census). African American female numbers were similar. Unskilled and semiskilled labor was at 100% in 1870 and 1880 (Ninth and Tenth Federal Census). However, by 1900, African American female unskilled and semiskilled labor had decreased to 97%, and they entered the professional ranks at 3%. The domestic service of females was most likely more stable employment than male laborer jobs. This occupational landscape was a continuation of racialized structures originally created before the Revolutionary war and still present after the Civil War. As noted earlier, mills

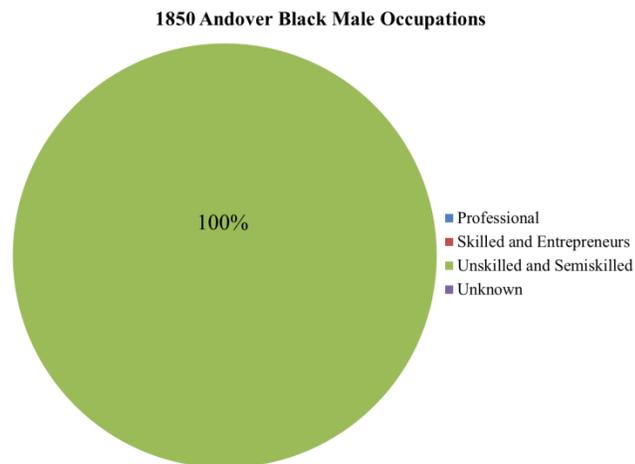
and factories was immigrant labor space not African American. Domestic work and laborer was African American space for a time.

Table 5.4: Andover Black Occupational Categories

Census Year	Professional	Skilled and Entrepreneurial	Unskilled and Semi-Skilled
	Female/Male	Female/Male	Female/Male
1850	0/0	0/0	0/2
1860	0/0	0/0	0/0
1870	0/0	0/1	6/10
1880	0/0	0/0	7/11
1900	1/3	0/3	30/29

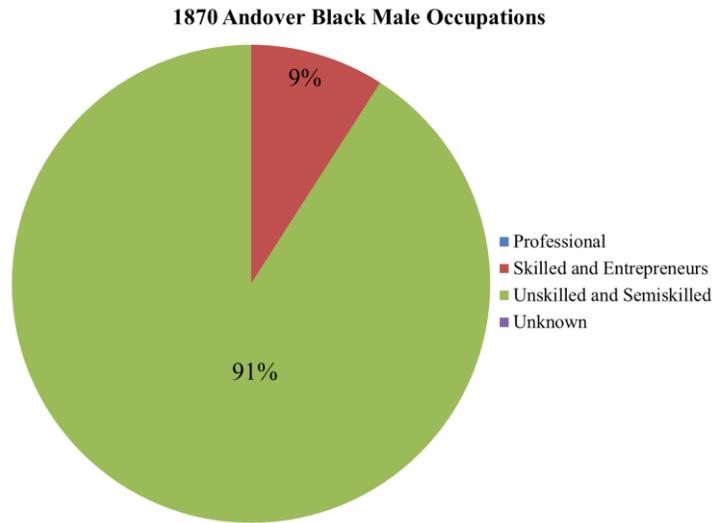
Source: Seventh through Twelfth Federal Censuses

Figure 5.3: 1850 Andover Black Male Occupations



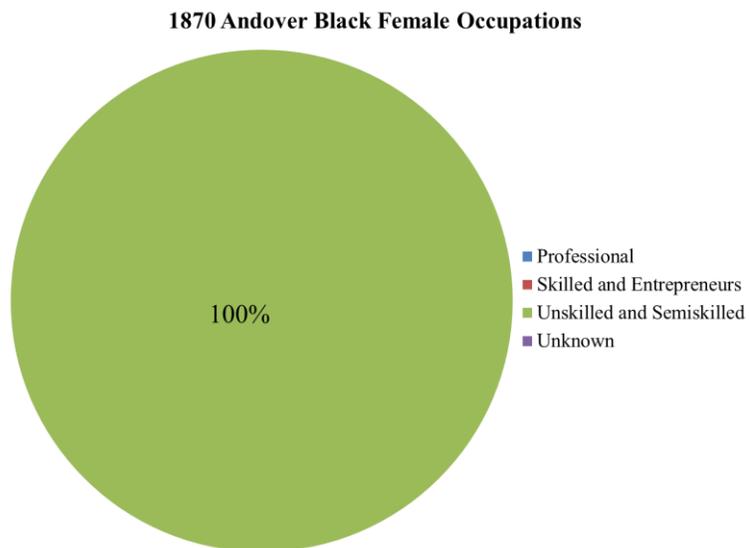
Source: Seventh Federal Census

Figure 5.4: 1870 Andover Black Male Occupations



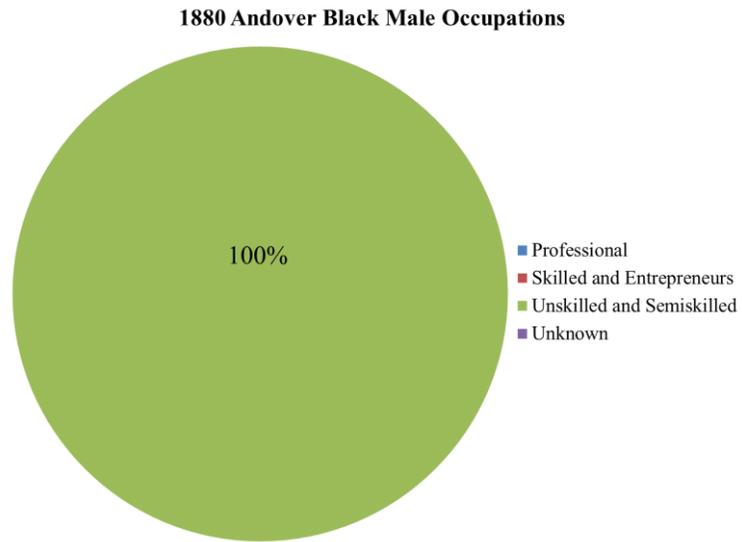
Source: Ninth Federal Census

Figure 5.5: 1870 Andover Black Female Occupations



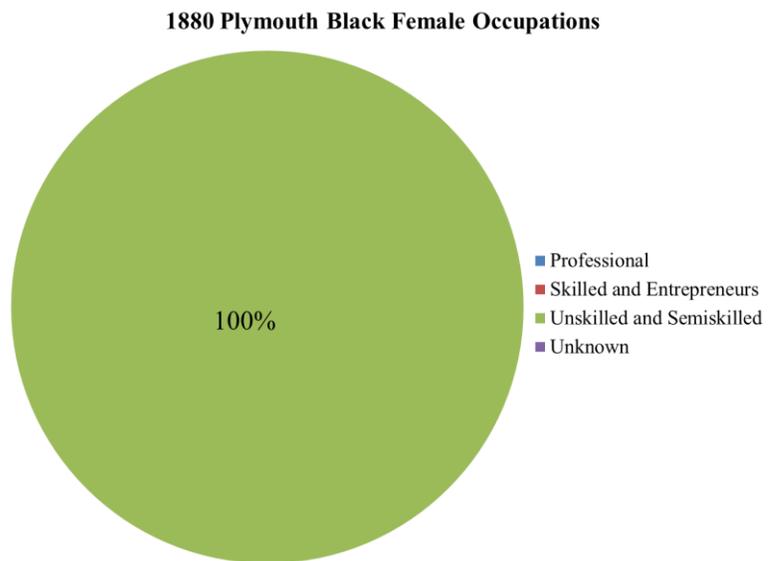
Source: Ninth Federal Census

Figure 5.6: 1880 Andover Black Male Occupations



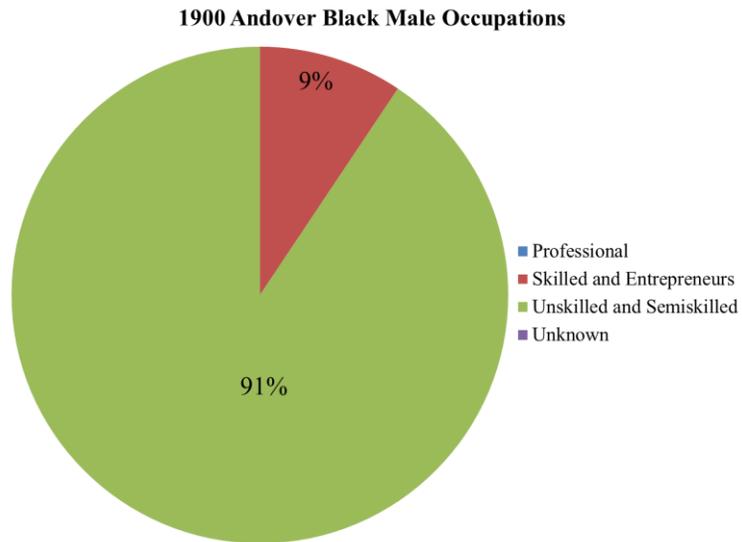
Source: Tenth Federal Census

Figure 5.7: 1880 Andover Black Female Occupations



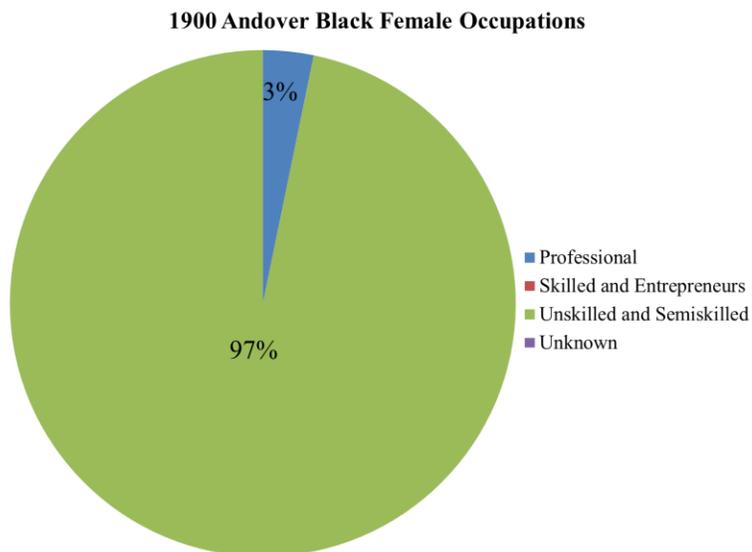
Source: Tenth Federal Census

Figure 5.8: 1900 Andover Black Male Occupations



Source: Twelfth Federal Census

Figure 5.9: 1900 Andover Black Female Occupations



Source: Twelfth Federal Census

Racialization Structures

There are many examples of racialization and othering of Andover's community of color, including ridiculing, naming, spatially, physically, and in documentation. For example, Cato Freeman's father Salem was shaped as a juvenile Black male at the turn of the century by Charlotte Abbott, when she recounts a story about someone catching Salem fiddling away in his cabin with rain dripping on his head and was asked, "Why don't you fix that roof, Salem?" to which he replied, "Can't massa it rains...But when the sun shines again. Don't need to then" (Abbott 1901: 107). His son Cato would encounter his own accusations of operating in a childish and clowning manner in a poem, when he played his fiddle as the choir loft fell to the floor (Mofford 1975: 112-114).

Naming was also a form of racialization. It was common practice to give captive Africans classical or biblical names. The act of naming something is a method of control and widely used by colonial powers and the settler nations they created to control the people they were colonizing.

Religious men sanctioned captivity and benefited from the institution. According to Robert Romer (2009), many reverends and preachers in western Massachusetts owned captive Africans. In fact the Reverend John Barnard had captive Blacks and even sold a young captive African girl named Candace in 1730 for 60 pounds (Bailey 1880: 39-40; Mofford 1975: 84-85). At his death in 1752, he bequeathed a captive maid to his wife (Mofford 1975: 87). He was not alone. Reverend Samuel Phillips of South Parish owned Salem and Rhema, the parents of Cato Freeman.

As mentioned in an earlier chapter, the census itself is part of the racialization process. The 1820 Federal Census for Andover only totaled people of color on the last page. This is an indicator that the dominant culture did not view them as important

enough to keep controlling data on. Additionally, the vital records recorded Lucy Foster's death under the section for "Whites" not "Negroes" and the Barzillai Lew family are not listed under "Negroes."

Spatial Structures

Joanne Pope Melish (1998) addressed racialization and removal of people of African descent in New England during the early National period. Bruce Laurie (2005: 87) addresses this as well, noting that the dominant culture knew that they had to provide space on the landscape for "freed" people of African descent; however, that space remained in abstract form. This space was not just a spot on the ground. It was linked through the epochal structures of the United States. Cultural critic bell hooks' (1990: 42) notion that the establishment of homeplace is a political statement because it is an example of resistance against the racist paternalistic dominant culture outside the door is a way of looking at Black space carved out of White space. hooks (1990: 42) posits homeplace is "one site where one could freely confront the issue of humanization, where one could resist." It was also a "construction of a safe place where black people could affirm one another and by so doing heal many of the wounds inflicted by racist domination" (hooks 1990: 42). Additionally, place names in the documentary record provide clues to Black space. Over time, captive Africans became imbedded into the Andover landscape. For instance, some landmarks had names of Africans; Marr's Swamp was named for an African who owned and lived on the property (Poore 1863: 51.306). Another example is a street near present-day Salem Street, one known as Dinah's road (Poore 1863: 51.306).

The U.S. Census contains a wealth of information about the "freed people of color" in Andover, including: population numbers; African American households; sex

disparities; plight of women; and locational data. From the First Federal Census in 1790 until the Eighth Census in 1860, the African American population of Andover, Massachusetts, steadily decreased due to various factors. These factors could have ranged from migration due to a racialized climate after the abolition of slavery in the state in 1783, lack of employment opportunities, lack of potential spouses, and mortality due to old age and limited access to healthcare. Much of the population decrease by 1820 was due to 17 people dying between 1810 and 1819, and there were six births during that period, leaving possibly 13 relocating out of town or possibly not counted (Andover Vital Records). By the 1870 Federal Census, the African American population returned and grew gradually throughout the last decades of the 19th century (see Table 5.5).

From 1790 to 1900 (except 1860), the majority of the Black population lived in independent homes, although, the establishment of homeplace fluctuated throughout the century with 1800 and 1900 being the largest years. By the 1900 census, the African Americans population had risen to 99 with the majority coming from the American South. No less than 50 people are listed with origins from southern states. The next largest group came from Canada – 22. Probably a multitude of factors led to the return of African Americans to Andover at the turn of the 20th century. One of the biggest reasons might have been the availability of jobs. Figure 5.10 is a comparison of the White and African American population of Andover from 1850 to 1900.

Table 5.5: Andover Black Population and Households 1790 to 1900

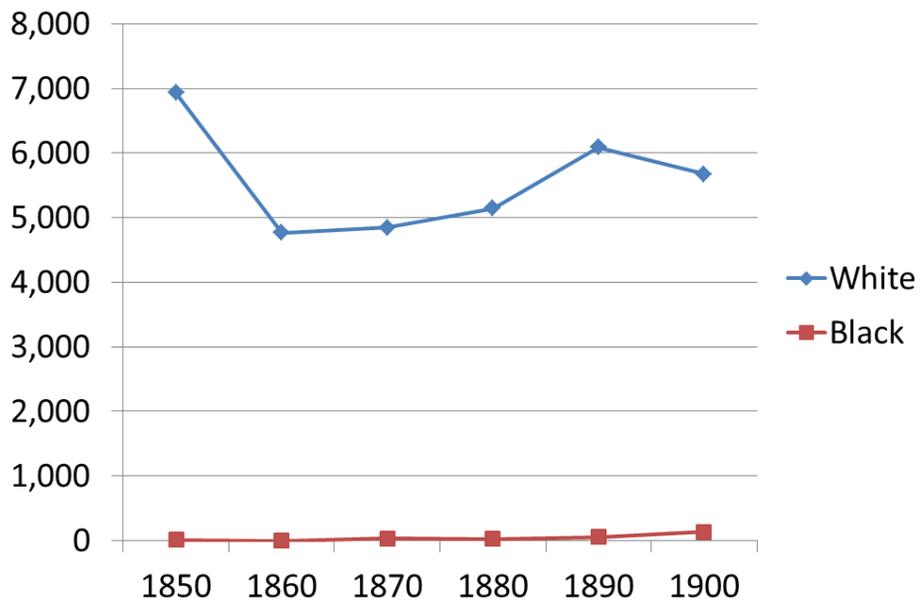
Year	Population	Total # of Black Households	Total # of Black People in Black Households	Total # of White Households with Blacks	Total # of Black People in White Households	Total # of Black Female Headed Households
1790	94	14	54(57.4%)	28	40(42.5%)	1
1800	83	16(17)*	51(61.4%)	16	23(27.7%)	3
1810	83	13	50(60.2%)	14	33(39.7)	1
1820	61	No Data		No Data		No Data
1830	54	9	34(62.9%)	10	20(37%)	4
1840	23	5	15(65.2%)	2	8(34.7%)	2
1850	13	3	8(61.5%)	3 (1 is alms house)	5(38.4%)	1
1860	0	0	0	0	0	0
1870	30	5	17(56.6%)	8**	13(43.3%)	0
1880	27	4	17(62.9%)	6	10(37%)	1
1890	52	No Data		No Data		No Data
1900	99	20	72(72.7%)	22	27(27.2%)	2

Source: First through Twelfth Federal Censuses

*There might be 17 Black-led households.

**Not included in this count were three hotel workers living at their place of employment and one student at Phillips Academy.

Figure 5.10: Andover White and African American Population 1850 to 1900



Source: Seventh through Twelfth Federal Censuses

The 1790 census reveals people of African descent dispersed throughout the town. The alphabetized organization of the 1800 and 1810 census data did not allow for usage in ascertaining whether people of African descent were clustering into certain areas of the town. However, the 1830 census reveals that Lucy Foster was not isolated from other people of color. According to this census, Flora Chandler and two other Black women were living together next to Lucy (see Figures 5.11a and 5.11b). Two women were in the same age bracket as Lucy, 36 and under 100, and the third woman was in the “24 & under 36” age group. So Lucy lived within a day’s walk from Flora Chandler and to other women of color. There is not much information on Flora Chandler. Charlotte Abbot notes that Flora had two sons, Damon and Pomp (Abbott 1901b: 107). According to the Andover Vital Records (1912b: 389), her son Pomp was baptized on July 5, 1778. Flora Chandler does not appear on the 1840 Federal Census sheets from Andover. She probably passed away by that time because she was listed as 84 years of age on the

that is where the Black population of the town lived before he was born. This is of interest because it alludes to a concentration of African Americans into a certain area of the town. But where was “Guinea Street” located? In searching 19th-century maps, none lists a Polisher Hill, which means that this might not have been an official name.

The Black community of “Guinea Street” may have been in present-day North Andover on what is now called Sutton Street. The evidence for this conclusion rests on the 1830 Dorman map of Andover (Figure 5.12) and with census data. Cato Freeman is located on the map at the corner of what are now Osgood and Sutton Streets. No less than a little over half a mile down the road to the west was Barzillai Lew’s house, which on the map is B. Low. The 1830 Federal Census listed him as Barzilla Low. In between Cato Freeman and Barzillai Lew were two Black households headed by Zadock and James Freeman, sons of Cato, as well as two White families living along the road. By the census, there were 17 people of color living along this street. Cato Freeman had a household of three, Zadock had three (one a White woman), James had eight, and Barzillai had four (Figure 5.13a, 5.13b).

Figure 5.12: Partial 1830 Dorman Map with arrows depicting the Barzilla Low (Barzillai Lew) and Cato Freeman homes.

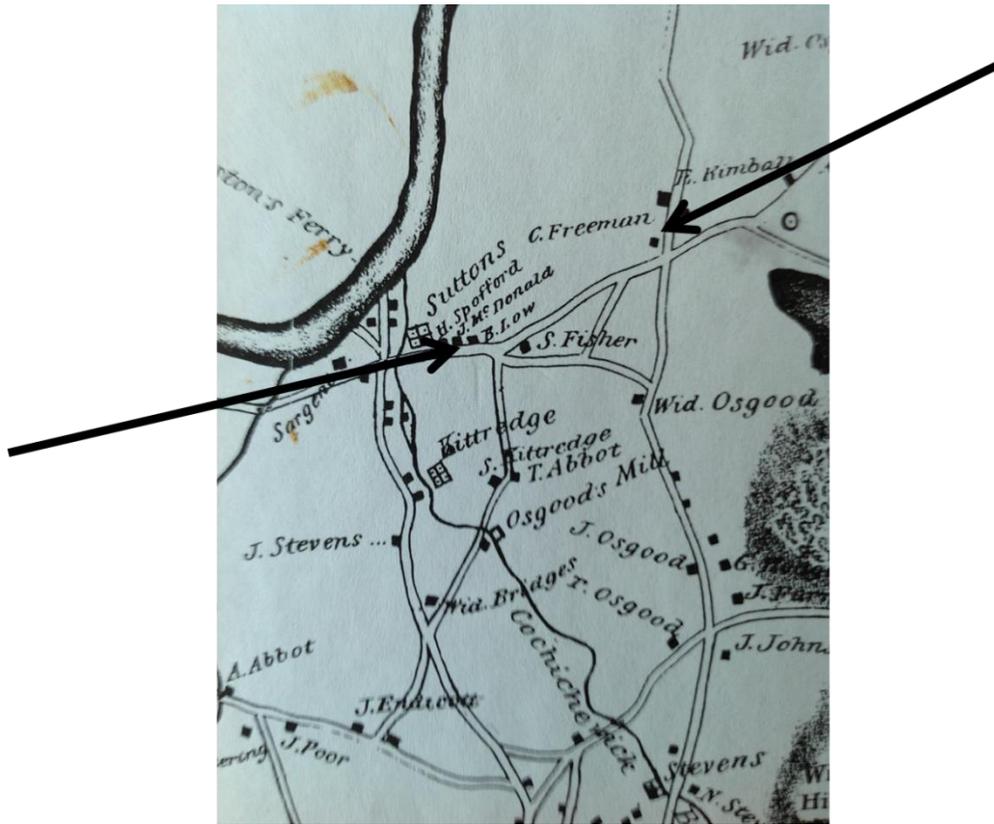


Photo by author

Figure 5.13a and 5.13b: 1830 Federal Census for Andover with Cato Freeman and his sons Zadock and James living next door.

163 SCHEDULE of the whole number of Persons within the Division allotted to *George*

HEADS OF FAMILIES.

NAME	FREE WHITE PERSONS, (INCLUDING HEADS OF FAMILIES)																			
	Males																			
HEADS OF FAMILIES.	FEMALES																			
	Under 5 years of age	5 to 10	10 to 15	15 to 20	20 to 25	25 to 30	30 to 35	35 to 40	40 to 45	45 to 50	50 to 55	55 to 60	60 to 65	65 to 70	70 to 75	75 to 80	80 to 85	85 to 90	90 to 95	95 to 100
Joseph Bradley																				
Jonathan Bradley	1																			
Emoch Kimball																				
Mrs Elizabeth Cogoo																				
Samuel Cogoo																				
John Austin																				
Solomon Wood	2																			
Cato Freeman																				
Zadock Freeman																				
James Freeman																				
John Nickony																				
Samuel Fisher																				
Barzillai Low																				
John M. Donald	1																			
Henry Spofford	2																			
Samuel Livingston																				
David M. Cann	1																			
William Reid	1																			
Jeremiah Bradley																				
Norm Arnold	1																			
John Schell	1																			
Robert Burrell	2																			
Henry Murphy																				
John Greenbank	1																			
Ezekiel Hardy	1																			
James Buckley																				
Jonathan Buckley	1																			
Thomas M. Fee																				
	15	6	7	8	13	8	2	1												

would have been part of the dominant society due to her captivity and then future employment, but she would have also been a part of the marginalized Black community.

From 1790 until 1900, the Andover African American community's population never numbered over 100. It rose in the 1870s and continued to grow; however, this population was mostly southern born. For example, the 1900 Federal Census reports all adults, except for Mary Jane Hinton, came from New Jersey. All the other adults came from southern states or Canada. It also seems that the African American community of Andover looked increasingly to Lawrence for its spiritual, social, and economic livelihood.

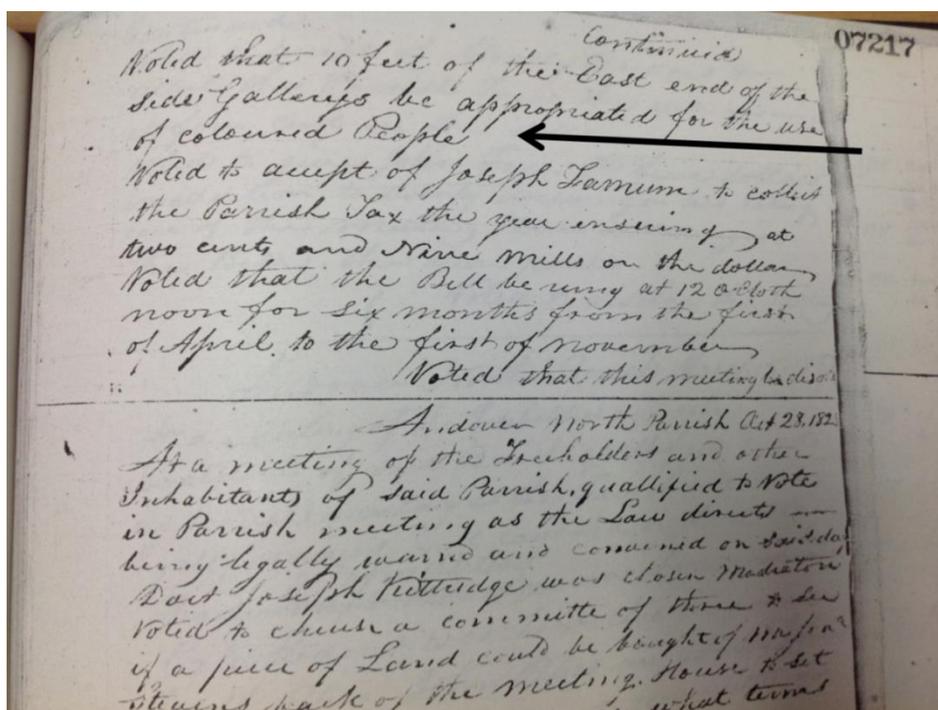
Political/Legal Structures

Massachusetts was the only state that continuously enfranchised Black males, since 1780. It appears that some of the males paid taxes on some type of property, which would have allowed them to vote. For instance, Pompey is present on a 1780 Andover tax list (Andover Town Records). The seating structure of Andover churches elucidates the social structures that were constructed by Whites during the enslavement of Blacks and how those structures were maintained after the abolition of slavery in 1783. A physical representation of racialization was the worship of God in church. By looking at how the people of Andover worshipped we can extrapolate some of the social, political/legal, and economic structures in existence. For instance, in 1753, people of African descent had to worship in isolation under the eaves of the Andover Meeting House (Mofford 1975: 84). In fact, Cato Freeman experienced the same treatment in the North Parish Church until 1824. People of African descent in North Parish Church petitioned the church leaders in 1797 and 1803 to move from the balcony and sit in the pews (North Parish Church Records). This petition was rejected until 1825, when it was

“voted that ten feet on the east end of the side galleries be appropriated for the use of coloured people” (Mofford 1975: 158; North Parish Church Records). However, this move to the floor still left them segregated in the sanctuary (see Figure 5.14).

It also appears that the 1705 law against interracial marriage might have been violated at times because on March 17, 1766, North Parish Church “voted that all the English women in this parish who marry or associate with negro or melatto men be seated in the meeting house with the negro women” (Bailey 1880: 450; Mofford 1975: 84; North Parish Church Records).

Figure 5.14: North Parish vote to allow People of Color into the Gallery



North Parish Church Records on File at North Andover Historical Society

Education

The documentary record is silent on the education of Andover’s people of color prior to 1850. The education data for African Americans in the latter half of the 19th century is illuminating and an indicator of access to occupations and to White and Black

space. There is no information available about the educational practices for Black children in antebellum Andover. It can be assumed that those who attended before 1860 went to integrated schools, especially with such a small population. In 1850, there were no children of color attending school, even though there were two between the ages of 5 and 14 who were eligible. By 1870, the number of eligible children of color increased to eight, but only half attended school. By the next census, the number of eligible children of color between 5 and 18 had decreased slightly to seven with five in attendance. However, in 1900, the African American population increased to 12 with 9 children attending (see Table 5.6).

Table 5.6: Education Patterns in Andover from 1850 to 1900

Census Year	Eligible / Attending	Eligible / Attending	
		Female	Male
1850	2 (Ages 5-14)/0	0/0	2/0
1860	0	0/0	0/0
1870	8 (Ages 5-18)/4(50%)	5 (Ages 5-18)/2(50%)	3 (Ages 5-18)/2(50%)+
1880	7 (Ages 5-18)/5(71.4%)*	3 (Ages 5-18)/2(40%)	4 (Ages 5-18)/3(60%)
1900	12 (Ages 5-18)/9(75%)**	5 (Ages 5-18)/4(44.4%)	7 (Ages 5-18)/5(55.5%)

+ One of the males was an 18-year-old student at Phillips Academy

*There were two males listed as students (26 and 29 years old) not included in these counts.

**There were also three males in their 20s in the Phillips Academy not included in these counts.

Source: Seventh, through Twelfth Federal Census

Social Structures

Looking at the Black community of Andover brings puzzlement because it does not seem to exhibit any of the seven historical forms of a resistance (“the struggle to

assert power,” the disruption of production capabilities, abolitionist groups, marronage and the formation of separate Black communities by force or through peaceful means, insurgence of independent rural Black farmers or peasants, development of Black religious belief systems and institutions, and organization of labor movements to protect the rights of workers) put forth by Manning Marable that was discussed in Chapter III. However, outward appearances may be deceiving. The historian Melvin Wade (1981: 213-214) in his study of New England Negro Election Day festivals argues that large urban areas along the seacoast and rivers afforded African Americans the opportunities to create formal networking institutions including: churches, lodges, schools, mutual aid organizations, trade organizations, and fraternal and sororal organizations. Additionally, he notes that the rural towns would have had communications networks constructed by Blacks in their daily work space. These networks would have also materialized in the segregated worship space of White churches in rural towns. We should consider families as another form of networking with these bonds extending into surrounding towns and cities. Mahala’s marriage to Zimri Lew of Dracut, Massachusetts, is a perfect example.

Negro Election Day was another day that tied people of African descent together. There is evidence that Danvers, Lynn, North Bridgewater (now Brockton), Salem, and Boston conducted festivities (Piersen 1988: 118). Although Andover does not appear to have had its own celebrations, it was close to towns that did. Some of the towns that held these celebrations were only a few hours walking distance: Danvers 14.4 miles and Salem 17.6 miles, and less by some waterways. Others might have required other modes of transportation: Lynn 20.6 miles, Boston 24.4 miles and North Bridgewater 48.2 miles, but not impossible to get there. By the early 19th century, Negro Election Day in

Massachusetts had evolved into Abolition of the Slave Trade parade (derogatorily called Bobalition Day by Whites) and West Indian Emancipation by 1834.

Military Service

Black males, free and captive from Andover, fought in the American Revolution. According to William Cooper Nell, Salem Poor, Titus Coburn, Barzillai Lew, and Alexander Ames fought at the Battle of Bunker Hill on June 17, 1775 (Nell 2010: 16). However, as mentioned earlier, this Barzillai Lew was not from Andover. He was from Dracut, Massachusetts, and was most likely the father of the Barzillai Lew born about 1777 and later settled in Andover. Charlotte Helen Abbott, a local genealogist, contended that 30 people of African descent fought in the American Revolution (Abbott 1901b: 107). Her numbers are a bit high. A National Society of Daughters of the American Revolution study published in 2008 listed 23 African Americans from Andover fought in the American Revolution with another two possible (Grundset 2008: 99-150). This was a lengthy study and is probably more accurate. Titus Coburn was not listed in this study. There were some soldiers named Titus, but they were either from other towns or did not have a town of enlistment recorded (Grundset 2008: 133).

Sex Ratios

The sex disparities for people of color in Andover are especially important because of the declining population from 1790 until 1860. From 1820 to 1850, Black females outnumbered Black males in the overall population (see Table 5.7 and Figure 5.15). According to the 1830 Federal Census, there were 35 (64%) females and 19 (35%) males. This was a huge disparity and might be a reason for the population dropping by almost half in the subsequent decade. Additionally, this might also be an indicator of limited opportunities available to women of color trapped in domestic jobs in which they

often had to live in White households. For instance, 20 people (16 females and 4 males) were living in White households. This was 51% of the Black female population and 31% of the Black male population. In the critical mate acquisition and childbearing age categories, the males and females were even in the “10 & under 24” age group and there was a slight disparity in the “24 & under 36” age group with five females and two males (see Appendix E, Tables 5.1 to 5.8).

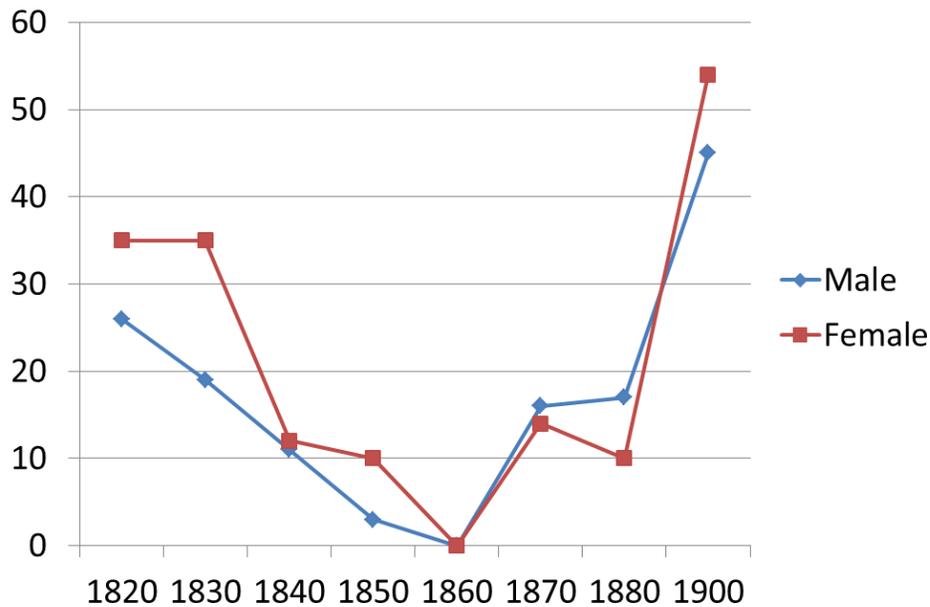
In 1850, the majority of this population was elderly with five over 70 years of age, three over 50, and two over 40. Sex parity does not exist until 1870, but is erased by 1880. This disparity is really pronounced in the critical 19-39 age group, which counted ten males and five females. At the turn of the century, there was a slight disparity within the overall Black population, which was also evident in the critical 19-39 age group where there were 34 females and 30 males. Andover was the only town in this study that had a Black population that decreased to zero and then repopulated after the Civil War.

Table 5.7: Andover Numbers and Percentages of total African Americans 1820 to 1900

Year	Female	Male
1820	35(57.3%)	26(42.6%)
1830	35(64%)	19(35%)
1840	12(52.1%)	11(47.8%)
1850	10(76.9%)	3(23%)
1860	0	0
1870	9(52.9%)	8(47%)
1880	10(37%)	17(62.9%)
1890	No Data	No Data
1900	54 (54.5%)	45(45.4%)

Source: Fourth through Twelfth Federal Censuses

Figure 5.15: Andover Numbers of Black Population by Sex 1820 to 1900



Source: Fourth through Twelfth Federal Censuses

Material Culture of Lucy Foster and the Cato Freeman Family

There were two Black homesteads in Andover and North Andover excavated in the 20th century. In 1943, Adelaide and Ridley Bullen excavated the homestead of Lucy Foster (Black Lucy's Garden) in Andover, Massachusetts. In 1982, Massachusetts Historical Commission granted Osgood Associates a contract to conduct an intensive survey of an area near the Lawrence Municipal Airport entrance to search for prehistoric remains before the construction of an office park. The site would become the Cato Freeman Site and, in 2000, Public Archaeology Laboratory (PAL) conducted a phase II archaeological excavation to determine whether the property was eligible for National Register of Historic Places designation. It was deemed not eligible.

I had been exposed to the Lucy Foster site early in my graduate career reading Baker's *Black Lucy's Garden*. In the summer of 2010, I accompanied my adviser Whitney Battle-Baptiste to The Immigrant Museum, Lawrence, Massachusetts. She was

working on the Lucy Foster chapter of her book *Black Feminist Archaeology* and, with the Peabody Museum at Phillips Academy in Andover closed for renovations; she could not view the Foster collection. We were fortunate that one of the museum curators, the late Eugene (Gene)Winters, and the Acting Deputy Director of the Immigrant Museum, Barbara Brown, hosted us in Lawrence and provided a slide briefing on Lucy Foster. It was here that I learned Lucy's true history and was able to see in color pictures of the assemblage. Two years later, in the summer and fall of 2012, I was granted access to study the collection at the Peabody Museum. It was a rewarding time going through the entire collection of ceramics, personal items, and glassware. At times I was fortunate that I was there the same time as Gene, who would sit and talk with me about Lucy Foster. Barbara Brown, since retired, stopped by a few times, and it was at one of these meetings that Gene stated that the two of them needed to write an addendum to Baker's work that was commissioned by the Peabody Museum in the 1970s.

Lucy Foster Site

The Bullens excavated five areas of Lucy's acre, which she occupied from 1815 to 1845. These excavated areas included: the cellar hole, dump, well, vegetable cellar, and lumbermen's shack (Bullen and Bullen 1945: 17). The Bullens noted the artifacts recovered from the well represented two distinct occupations: Lucy Foster's and the lumberman's shack. The lumberman's shack dated to the late 19th century and will not be addressed. They were able to discern that the cellar hole, well, and dump represented the same occupation time because ceramic sherds from these locations were used to reconstruct five plates and bowls in the assemblage. Additionally, parts of reconstructed drinking glasses came from the cellar hole, dump, and vegetable cellar.

Racialization

Earlier in this chapter, I note the racialization of space in Andover. Andover, like much of Massachusetts, practiced “racial paternalism” of which Lucy was a recipient (Laurie 2005). Space was racialized in places of worship and employment. However, the assemblage does not show evidence of racialized power relations. Nor is the house situated in racialized space.

Daily Life

As mentioned in a previous chapter, J.E.A. Smith (1869) provides insightful information that can be applied to Lucy Foster in Andover. These daily duties included: washing, cooking, sewing, fetching water, cleaning, spinning, weaving, brewing, soap making, and candle making (Smith 1869: 51-52). Additionally, Lucy had a garden, a cow, and most likely would have had chickens. This would have added gardening, milking and caring for livestock to the list. Lucy’s labor at her homeplace would have been strenuous and involved lifting the large cooking pot onto the crane out-swing over the fire, using the iron-wrought shovel to place and remove food for baking into the brick oven, the use of the heavy pestle to pound and wash clothes in the washing barrel, drawing water from wells or cisterns and carrying it in buckets, and scrubbing floors and other surfaces (Smith 1869: 51-52). Much of the material culture used for these daily duties were found in Lucy Foster’s assemblage.

In addition to the massive ceramics collection, the Bullens recovered an abundance of buttons -55 (ten iron, five silver, five wood, one bone, one shell, and the rest were metal) (Bullen and Bullen 1945: 25). The holed buttons were made of shell, bone, wood, and four of the iron buttons had holes. The shell button had a cut decoration (Bullen and Bullen 1945: 25). Some of these buttons were cloth covered and two had

complicated incising (Bullen and Bullen 1945: 25). Many of the recovered buttons were gilded and two were datable. One button was embossed with “L.H.S. Scovill Extra Rich, Waterbury, CT” and dated from 1811 to 1827 (Bullen and Bullen 1945: 25). The other button was embossed with “R. & W. Robinson Best Extra Rich Jones & Co, Attleboro, MA” and dated from 1831 to 1843 (Bullen and Bullen 1945: 25).

Other accoutrements were found related to sewing: three round headed pins, small scissors, and a thimble. These things all relate to knitting and sewing, two of the household duties Adams and Pleck (2009) note as responsibilities of captive African women. Lucy would have been able to mend her own clothes and others. Maybe she did sewing and mending for White families in the town. Figures 5.16a and 5.16b are a pair of scissors and a thimble, some of the items required for repairing and making clothes. Might we conceive of sewing circles and quilting bees among Lucy Foster, Rose Lovejoy, Flora Chandler, Dinah, and other women as we look to the domestic artifacts of her assemblage?

Figure 5.16a and 5.16b: Scissors and Thimble



Artifacts from Peabody Museum Lucy Foster Collection, photo by author.

There were also many white clay pipe stems recovered. One pipe was red with a raised floral design on its bowl. Lucy might have been a smoker or it might have been used by someone else in the household or visitors. Lucy's personal items included a small brooch pin, which was plain glass surrounded by a brass frame, parts of eye glasses (Figure 5.17), a belt buckle, and the leather heel and sole of a shoe. Household items were also recovered including: seven escutcheons, six pulls, and one key, all brass from a chest drawers; two candle holders; the bottom of a salt shaker; a larger container for possibly storing firewood; gun flints for starting fires; cooking containers; parts of a hoe and two shovels; grindstone; and a ramrod for a rifle (Bullen and Bullen 1945: 25). Four types of drinking glasses were also recovered along with knives, five table and one kitchen; eight two-tined forks; pewter spoons; two teaspoons; three large spoons; and two large bowls (see Figures 5.19 to 5.21).

Figure 5.17: Eyeglasses



Artifact from Peabody Museum Lucy Foster Collection, photo by author

Vernon Baker conducted a detailed analysis on Lucy Foster's ceramics and other parts of the assemblages. Such an abundance of ceramics is thought-provoking and where Lucy acquired it might not be as important as what did she use them for? There were 113 reconstructed ceramics, including 25 plates, 21 bowls, 17 cups, 23 saucers, 5 mugs, 4 pitchers, 3 teapots, 7 pans, 4 pots, and 4 jugs with "serving bowls" representing "41%...while flatwares and other shapes comprise 51% and 8% respectively" (Baker 1976: 112). Most of these ceramics have floral motifs. Baker's conclusions on Lucy's ceramics were that 38% of the ceramic assemblage was teawares. Lucy did not have a matching tea set. Pearlwares dominated the assemblage followed by the less expensive creamware and redware. Lucy's pearlware consisted of 51 tablewares, including 16 plates, 4 bowls, 12 cups, 15 saucers, 2 mugs, and 1 pitcher. Her creamware tableware totaled 35, including 9 plates, 12 bowls, 5 cups, 6 saucers, 2 pitchers, and 1 mug. The redwares in her assemblage totaled 20 tablewares, including 2 bowls, 2 mugs, 2 teapots, 7 pans, 4 pots, and 3 jugs (see Figure 5.18 for a pitcher photo). Other tablewares included 2 deftware bowls, 1 hardwhite ware pitchers, 1 jackfield ware teapot, 1 stoneware jug, and 1 porcelain bowl and saucer (Baker 1978: 109).

Figure 5.18: Pitcher



Artifact from Peabody Museum Lucy Foster Collection, Photo by author

Figure 5.19: Forks



Artifact from Peabody Museum Lucy Foster Collection, Photo by author

Figure 5.20: Knives



Artifact from Peabody Museum Lucy Foster Collection, Photo by author

Lucy Foster's assemblage raises many questions, especially the 113 kitchenware items, many acquired after her establishment of homeplace. Note that these are just the ceramic vessels that were reconstructed. Maybe the question is: what did she do with it all? Was she a collector? Battle-Baptiste (2011) posits since Lucy's cabin was on the main road from Boston, it might have been a focal point for travelers along the road (Battle-Baptiste 2011: 130). Additionally, she argues Lucy might have been an unnoticed participant in the Underground Railroad (Battle-Baptiste 2011: 130). Lucy's assemblage might reflect someone who socialized and entertained people in her community. Items that are indicative of socialization include the plates, soup plates, bowls, eight forks, five knives, and drinking glasses (see Figure 5.18 for photos of the forks and knives). That they are not a full matching set is an indicator that they were not acquired at the same time. Why else would a person who supposedly lived alone need all the plates, bowls, cups, mugs, teapots, forks, knives, spoons and glasses? Maybe her place was a focal point for the South Parish Black community or maybe all of the parishes. Only a small

portion of forks and spoons were recovered, so maybe not everyone at these social functions had their own eating utensils. Maybe they brought their own. Or maybe they did not need them if they had stews as Baker posits. Perhaps, if communal eating was the norm, utensils would not have been necessary.

Adams and Pleck note that it was not uncommon for New Englanders to establish taverns in the front room of their house in New England (Adams and Pleck 2010: 35). Could Lucy have done this in her cabin or even used the lawn in nice weather? Or what Whitney Battle-Baptiste called “yardspace” from her excavations around the quartering area of the Hermitage, where she found that the yards were swept every day because they functioned as extensions of the living rooms where many social activities took place (Battle-Baptiste 2007: 245).

Figure 5.21: Container



Artifact from Peabody Museum Lucy Foster Collection, Photo by author

Transition

Vernon Baker provide three possible conclusions towards Lucy's ethnicity, which were the usage of bowls for serving stews, chopped faunal remains, and the 12' X 12' dimensions of her house. The high number of bowls in the assemblage along with chopped faunal remains led Baker (1978) to conclude that stews were being consumed. If any of these are in fact ethnic markers, Lucy would have acquired them from the Black community because she was separated from her parents at a very young age. This would mean a link to the Black community. If Lucy Foster's house was indeed a 12' by 12' and had a possible porch on the west side, then this might be an indicator that Black people built the house for her, which would mean a link to that community and an existence in Black space. She most likely would not have had the institutional knowledge of African house structures, but others in the Black community from Africa and the West Indies would have. While the Bullens did an analysis on the type of artifacts and their context and Baker concentrated on the ceramics and linking the faunal material and architecture to African survivals, none of them actually focused on finding out who Lucy might have been through her artifacts. They never fully saw her as a woman and what her daily life might have been like. In addition, she is not thought of in Black space, only a White. The Bullens' lens is a White one putting a person of African descent in White space and leading the reader to not visualize Lucy Foster in Black space. Baker attempts to put Lucy Foster into Black space. However, he is hampered by inaccurate information put forth by the Bullens on Lucy's identity, which has him attempt to construct her daily life around African cultural survivals. Additionally, Baker used the ceramic methodologies that Otto (1984) developed for the study of Cannon Point Plantation. Doing so is problematic because it is a methodology for a captive landscape instead of a free one.

The Northern Black community makes no appearance in Lucy's world in these previous archaeological studies.

Consumerism

In 2011, Whitney Battle-Baptiste (2011) reinterpreted the Lucy Foster assemblage using her Black Feminist Archaeology framework. Battle-Baptiste argues that this is a story about gender, race, and class and their intersection. Her focus was on the total assemblage in an attempt to glean out the facets of Lucy Foster's daily life. Additionally, she forces a reconsideration of how we define "poor" in early 19th century Massachusetts by pointing out the abundance and stylistic characteristics of the ceramics. Moreover, how did Lucy acquire these? Did she purchase them? Were they given to her? From their dates of manufacture, it is clear that some of these ceramics were acquired after Hannah's death in 1812. Some of these ceramics were on the amended probate inventory conducted after Job Foster's death in 1787 (Bullen and Bullen 1945: 26). This assemblage had no tin cans, which means this index of participation in the growing mass consumerism cannot be used to assess Lucy Foster's participation in the national market.

Cato Freeman Site

The 1982 excavations found no house foundation, but architectural materials that consisted of nails and window glass were recovered. Ceramic fragments, pipe stems, and bowl fragments were also recovered. The only personal item reported was a brass sleeve button (Mrozowski and White 1982: 26). However, there was a piece of a mouth harp that was recovered. The three research questions that guided the 2000 Cato Freeman Site excavations were:

1. Identifying the African-American Landscape
2. Determining the Role of Material Culture in the African-American Response to Domination

3. Foodways as an Indicator of ethnicity and/or economic Status (Rotenstein et al. 2000: 3-1-3-3).

It was clear by these questions that Rotenstein et al. (2000) had hoped to do a comparison with Parting Ways and the Lucy Foster Site. According to Rotenstein et al. (2000: 6-14), with “no sealed deposits” and with the “integrity of the site compromised,” arrived at the same conclusions concerning the Cato Freeman Site assemblage that Mrozowski and White discovered in 1982, which was the “assemblage is notable in large part for the robustness of its fragmentation.” With the majority of the assemblage in small pieces, many of the research questions could not be answered completely. Even with these conclusions, the excavators did provide an analysis of the material culture found at the site. No foundation was ever found in the 1982 or 2000 excavations. However, they recovered architectural material in the form of machine and square nails, window glass, slate roofing, an iron door hinge, and some brick fragments. With the first research question, Rotenstein et al. (2000) were attempting to ascertain whether the site location was actually the home of Cato Freeman.

Racialization

There were not enough artifacts that represented a cross section of the assemblage to answer Rotenstein et al.’s (2000) dominance question. There were most likely racialized power relations taking place in Andover and the consumer marketplace due to the types of employment available to people of African descent in Andover during the 19th and early 20th century that limited the ability of the residences to purchase such items. However, the assemblage is not helpful in addressing the issue of racialization.

Daily Life

During the 2000 excavation, 1,540 ceramic sherds were recovered. The majority of these sherds were “domestically produced redwares,” which comprised about 57% of the assemblage (Rotenstein et al. 2000: 6-10). Rotenstein et al. (2000: 6-11) concluded that the abundance of redware might have been the reason for the mean ceramic date of 1779, which was outside of Cato Freeman’s occupation from about 1820 to 1849. The analysts also suggest that the high percentage of redware had a “pragmatic and utilitarian orientation” focused on function rather than aesthetics. Creamware and whiteware were the next highest percentages at 18% and 15% (Rotenstein et al. 2000: 6-11). Pearlware, untyped earthenware, semi-graniteware, ironstone, domestic stoneware, yellowware, porcelain, English white salt-glazed stoneware, graniteware, Rockingham/Bennington, buff tin glaze, and unidentifiable ceramics were also recovered, but in much smaller quantities (Rotenstein et al. 2000: 6-11). The extreme fragmentation within the assemblage negated most efforts at reconstruction and obtaining a minimum number of vessels count. However, two teacups were counted by handle fragments, a stoneware jug or bottle from rim fragments, “a pearlware plate/saucer and two whiteware plates/saucers, a porcelain plate, and at least two redware vessels, possibly a platter and jar, through the identification of rim fragments”(Rotenstein et al. 2000: 6-11). Additionally a “perforated pearlware plate” and “a white salt glazed stoneware tobacco jar were also tentatively identified” (Rotenstein et al. 2000: 6-11). This diversity of ceramics is illuminating. It does provide clues as to the possible daily life of the family. The ceramics are indicators of food preparation, consumption, serving, and possibly storage. The teacups are an indicator that there was a familiarity with dominant customs and Victorian values, as is further discussed in Chapter VIII in considering the habitus of the Harrisons. With the

Freeman's site, we are probably seeing more of Lydia Freeman than Cato in the assemblage. The ceramics were most likely her domain.

Personal items included a mouth harp, shoe buckle, harness buckle, scrap of leather. The mouth harp was identified by the PAL collection manager Heather Olsen when I was analyzing the assemblage during the summer of 2012. Cato was a musician and the mouth harp might have belonged to him or someone in the Freeman family (see Figure 5.22). Other artifacts associated with the household included lamp glass fragments, a glass stopper, and several clear, amber and green molded bottles. Of the 15 pipe stems between 4/64 and 5/64 recovered, only one was marked, "McDougall" datable from 1847 to 1870 (Rotenstein et al. 2000: 6-12).

Figure 5.22: Partial Mouth Harp from Cato Freeman Site



Artifact located at PAL, Photo by Author.

Transition

Rotenstein et al.'s (2000: 3-1-3-3) third question concerning foodways as an indicator of ethnicity and economic status was undeterminable because the faunal assemblage was heavily fragmented. Additionally, there are no other artifacts in the assemblage that provide clues as to the transition from African to African American.

Cato Freeman, like his father Salem, enjoyed playing the fiddle. William Piersen (1988)

contends this was a display of African cultural traditions in New England during the 18th century. However, the only trace of an instrument in the assemblage is the fragment of the mouth harp pictured above.

Consumerism

The Freemans were probably not major consumers and the majority of redware in Lydia Freeman's ceramic collection is probably an indicator. However, there were some fancy ceramics in the assemblage. Similar to the Lucy Foster Site, this assemblage had no tin cans, which means this index of participation in the growing mass consumerism cannot be used to assess Cato Freeman's participation in the national market.

Conclusion

There are clearly racialized power relations shaping the consumer practices in Andover because of the types of employment available to people of African descent during the 19th and early 20th century that limited the ability to purchase residences where they wished and to purchase consumer items. We know that racialized paternalist structures did exist when we look past the benevolent White treatment of Lucy Foster in assisting her in building her house and consider the South Parish Church dole, the Overseers of the Poor payments, and Cato Freeman's permission to use the town common to graze his cattle. Opportunities for advancement were limited for all, but even more so for Black women. Cato Freeman and his family and Lucy Foster were Americans, if I may use that term before the nation actually considered people of African descent as citizens. I say that even though Cato's parents were captive and then later "freed" Africans. When we match their assemblages with the Stuckey chart of African cultural practices in the Americas and Piersen's *Black Yankees* cultural practices in 18th century New England chart Chapter III, we find that there are no matches. Were

European American items repurposed? Or is it more likely that we are witnessing an American culture encompassing elements of African, European, and Native American cultures? We surely see this with Lucy Foster's assemblage. Putting Ms. Foster and Mr. Freeman back into the Black community might provide better resolution on the daily life of that community. By the documentary record and archaeological analysis we are left to imagine the Freemans and Lucy Foster in only White spaces and not where they spent much of their lives – in Black space.

CHAPTER VI

PLYMOUTH

Introduction

Plymouth, on the shores of Cape Cod Bay, is best known as the earliest permanent English settlement in New England. However, for purposes of this study, what is noteworthy is that by the 19th century Plymouth retained some of the practices and ideas of its long rural past, but had grown to be a thriving seaport with an array of maritime businesses and mills in the economic mix. In terms of the White community's racial views was some of transference of the doxa "those things we take for granted" from captive Africans to "freed" Africans. However, this chapter will show that this rural community made changes in the "universe of discourse" and the heterodoxy that created a diluted doxa forming a new way of thinking and living that opened some White spaces to people of African descent. Plymouth retained the spatial segregation in areas of the town and upheld the paternalistic control of that granted space, for example Parting Ways. Dominant culture also blocked access to certain jobs, such as mills and factories. This chapter discusses the archaeological site of Parting Ways and also the Black community of Plymouth using census data and other documents. Parting Ways first came to the attention of the archaeological community with the excavations of James Deetz in the 1970s (Deetz 1977, 1996). It was reinterpreted by Karen Hutchins-Keim (Hutchins 2013, Hutchins-Keim 2015). Since my study is a comparison of 19th and early 20th-century African American archaeological sites, one aim of this chapter is to compare the findings of Deetz and Hutchins re: Parting Ways and assess them using my research questions and compare it to other sites.

Plymouth

What is now the southeastern portion of Massachusetts was and still is inhabited by the Wampanoags. The first English settlement in the state was founded at Plymouth in 1620 with considerable assistance from a Native American community that had been decimated by disease. At the turn of the 19th century, the major industry in Plymouth was fishing and whaling. Within the first few decades, cordage (ropemaking) became a major international industry with the establishment of the Plymouth Cordage Company and the business lasted into the 20th century. The 19th century also witnessed the arrival of mills and factories. Conducting a careful analysis of an 1846 map, an 1857 Walling map, an 1874 Beers Atlas map, and a 1903 Plymouth map illustrates the industry of the city. By 1846 there were four schools including a high school in the city. There was also a railroad depot. The mills (Rolling Mill and Plymouth Mill), cotton factory, and a nail factory received their materials from 10 wharfs. The town also had a furnace and forage. The 1857 Walling map was more detailed. Ten wharfs continued to support merchant, mill, and factory interests. The railroad still operated. The factories and mills linked Plymouth's economy with the South's economy. D. Hamilton Hurd (1884b) noted that anti-slavery sentiments slowly took root in the city. However, eventually those who sold their labor to those who owned the means of production split in their thoughts on the "peculiar institution" (Hurd 1884b). This difference manifested itself in how ship owners and mill and factory owners (capitalists) conducted commerce with southern states. Although some of the Black population participated in the seafaring economy, most did not benefit in the industries and local businesses that made the city economically viable. The Black population fluctuated throughout the 19th century. In 1790, the Black inhabitants of Parting Ways were the only ones to establish their own homeplace.

However, the largest Black community in Plymouth, although short-lived, was a community east of Herring Pond. By 1860, the Black population was diverse with 25.5% being southern born and one person listed as African (Eighth Federal Census). As shown below, maps help illuminate the Black community on the Plymouth landscape.

Background of the Site

Parting Ways was named for the fork in the road that led from Plymouth to Carver on one road and Plympton on the other (Deetz 1996: 188). James Deetz (1996) was instrumental in illuminating the daily lives of the small Black community of Revolutionary War pensioners in early 19th century Plymouth, Massachusetts, with excavations that started in 1975. Karen Hutchins' (2013) dissertation on Parting Ways and Plymouth is an important source for understanding the material culture and paternalistic nature of the town. Hutchins provides a detailed account of the African descent people who lived at the site - Plato Turner, Cato Howe, Prince Goodwin, and Quande Quash (son Quomony Quash) and their families. I will not repeat it all here (see Deetz 1996 and Hutchins 2013). However, I will highlight some major points.

Hutchins notes that the property of Parting Ways was home to transient White families before the arrival of Turner, Howe, Goodwin, and Quash (Hutchins 2013: 8). Plato Turner purchased his house from Job Cushman in 1779 and would later construct another house on the property (Hutchins 2013: 112). Previously, this property had changed hands between five people: Seth Fuller, Samuel Bartlett, Elizabeth Bartlett, Archippus Fuller, and Elijah Leach (Hutchins 2013: 102-104). See Table 6.1 for the property chain of custody. The property would pass to Plato's son James and then his grandson Benjamin Johnson Washington in 1863 (Hutchins 2013: 104). Quash Quande, who was the only one of the original four not a veteran, moved to Parting Ways around

1779 (Hutchins 2013: 108). His son, Quamony, arrived after his enlistment ended in 1783 (Hutchins 2013: 126). Cato Howe and his wife Althea lived at Parting Ways from about 1783 until her death around 1820 (Deetz 1996: 190; Department of Veterans Affairs 1819/1858; Hutchins 2013: 134). Cato married Lucy Prettison in 1821 and continued to live at Parting Ways until his death on March 2, 1824 (Deetz 1996: 190; Department of Veterans Affairs 1819/1858; Hutchins 2013: 133). Prince Goodwin did not arrive until 1790 and the census reports his household consisted of eight people (First Federal Census; Hutchins 2013: 135). This would have been his wife Nettie, their five children, and one unknown (Hutchins 2013: 135). The 1790 Federal Census was the only census that showed the majority of the Parting Ways (always known as “New Guinea”) residents together at the end of the town schedule. Quande Quash is not listed as a separate household on the 1790 Plymouth manuscript census. However, he is present on the 1790 Kingston manuscript census with five people in his household because at this time his parcel of Parting Ways was just across the town line (First Federal Census; Hutchins 2013: 108). Although there was a 1792 town law that allowed people to live on the land and clear and use it, including the sheep pasture that encompassed the 94 acre parcel of poor land known as Parting Ways, it did not pertain to the plots of Howe, Turner, Quash, and Goodwin (Hutchins 2013: 109,111). By the time of this law, the Parting Ways residents were all in place and the town permitted them to continue to use the land. According to Hutchins (2013: 109), the town retained ownership of Parting Ways, and after the deaths of Cato Howe and Prince Goodwin in the 1820s, their plots were reclaimed (Hutchins 2013: 109,111).

Table 6.1: Chain of Custody for Fuller-Turner-Burr Property

Date	Seller to Buyer	Value	Source
November 18, 1767	Seth Fuller to Samuel Bartlett	L9 18s	Plymouth County Records 53: 260
October 5, 1773	Elizabeth Bartlett, widow of Samuel Bartlett to Archippus Fuller	L 9 18 s 2d	Plymouth County Records 57: 186
October 5, 1773	Archippus Fuller to Elijah Leach	L 21 6s 8d	Plymouth County Records 57: 186
Date Unknown	Elijah Leach to Job Cushman	Unknown	Plymouth County Records 60: 165
March 5, 1779 (July 6, 1779)	Job Cushman to Plato, “a Negro Man”	L 60	Plymouth County Records 60: 165
January 9, 1863	James Turner to Benjamin Franklin Washington	Real estate valued at \$250.00	Plymouth County Records 104: 277 and 109: 40

Source: Hutchins 2013: 104

Family Histories of Parting Ways Residents

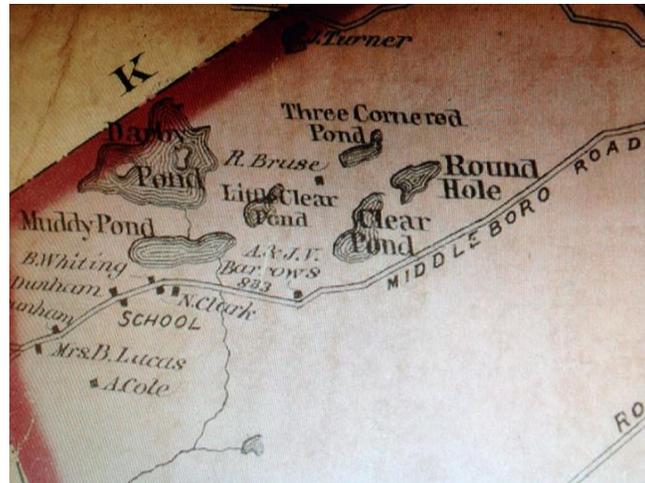
Karen Hutchins’ dissertation provides detailed information on the families at Parting Ways, which I briefly provided here to assist with my comparison of all the sites in this study. Plato Turner was listed alone on the 1810 Federal Census, dying in 1819 just before the 1820 census (Plymouth Vital Records, Hutchins 2013: 117). According to Hutchins (2013: 116), in 1818, Nathan Hayward petitioned the town council to appoint a guardian for the four Parting Ways males, declaring them “‘incapable of taking care’ of themselves by virtue of ‘imbecility of body and mind.’” Additionally, Plato received his military pension in 1818 after the town sheriff and member of the Overseers of the Poor, Nathan Hayward, and probate judge Joshua Thomas assisted the Parting Ways veterans with submitting their applications (Hutchins 2013: 115). It is significant to note, Nathan

Hayward picked up the monthly \$8 pension from Boston and paid Plato's creditors (Hutchins 2013: 116).

Rachel lived until 1824, and in the 1820 census, she is listed as a White female "Of 45 and upwards" living with a Black male "Of 26 and under 35." This most likely was her son James. The Turner family would continue living at Parting Ways until the second decade of the 20th century. The Turner family history is outlined in Table 6.2. As with the Samuel Harrison family in Pittsfield (Chapter VIII) and the Burghardt family in Great Barrington (Chapter VII), the Turners/Johnsons racial classifications on the census would change throughout the later part of the 19th century. For instance, the 1850 Federal Census lists James Turner, age 54, as a mulatto and his common-law wife Nancy Hollis, age 46, was White. However, their three children were racialized differently with Oliver, age 13, listed as White, Henry Drew, age 6, a mulatto, and Rachel, age 5, White. Racialization is fluid. It is an indicator that the census enumerator most likely saw the whole family and decided their races by physical appearances and not the rule of hypodecent. Even if James was not the father of Oliver, he was clearly that of Henry and Rachel, so Rachel should have been listed as a mulatto. She must have looked White to the enumerator who made a conscious effort to list her as such. James' occupation was listed as a farmer. On the 1860 Federal Census, James Turner, age 50, was listed as Black, a laborer with real estate valued at \$50, and could not read or write. His 15-year-old daughter Rachel, was listed as a mulatto, and a housekeeper. She had not attended school in the last year. On the 1857 Walling Map, James Turner is listed as J. Turner near the border of Plymouth and Kingston (see Figure 6.1). By the 1870 Federal Census, James Burr, Plato's grandson, age 45, was living at Parting Ways. He was listed as Black

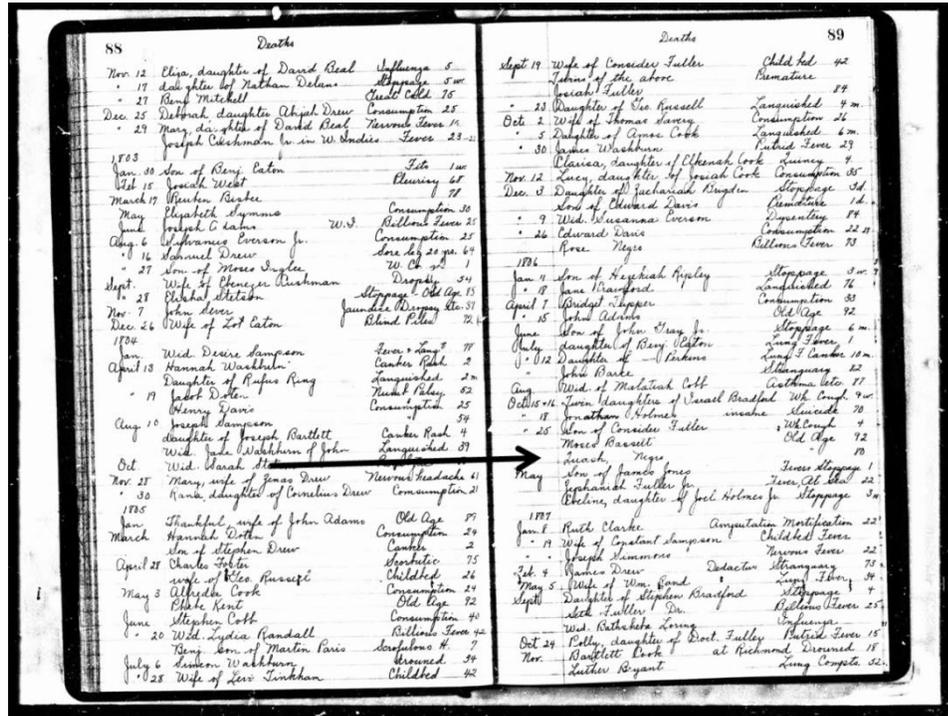
and a farm laborer with 300 dollars of real property. His niece, Rachel (Turner) Johnson, age 30, was also living there along with her one year old son, Nathaniel, and listed as “keeping house” (Ninth Federal Census). James Burr died of heart disease at age 74, on February 28, 1896 (Plymouth Town Records).

Figure 6.1: James Turner (J. Turner) on 1857 Walling Map



Quash Quande died in October 1806 (Plymouth Vital Records; Hutchins 2013: 124). See Quash’s death notice in Figure 6.2 and his family history is listed in Table 6.3. On the 1810 Federal Census, Quash’s wife Phillis was living in the house as head of household with her son Quamony. Phillis died in the Plymouth Almshouse in 1819 (Hutchins 2013: 126). Quamony married Ellen Stephens in 1812 and they would have three children before his death in 1833 (Hutchins 2013: 126). Ellen lived at Parting Ways until her death in 1875 (Hutchins 2013: 126). Although not covered in detail, Table 6.4 provides the family history of the Prince Goodwin Family at Parting Ways from 1790 to 1824 and Figure 6.3 is Prince Goodwin’s marriage notice.

Figure 6.2: Quash's death notice



Source: Plymouth Town Records

Table 6.2: Turner Family Parting Ways Occupation History

Time period	Occupants
1779-1803	Plato Turner (1746-1819), Rachel Colley Turner (died 1824), Plato, Jr. (born 1779), James (1796-1863), Sarah (born 1797), Rachel (born 1798).
1803	Plato, Jr. leaves, marries, and moves to Bridgewater, MA
1803-1810	The other three children move away.
1810-1819	Plato and Rachel living alone, until Plato dies in 1819.
1819-1824	James Turner returns to Parting Ways and lives with his mother until her death in 1824.
Ca. 1830-1852	James lives with common-law wife, Nancy Hollis. They have at least four children: unnamed female, Steven Drew (born 1837), Henry (born 1844), and Rachel (1845-1928). Nancy dies in 1852.
1852-ca. 1860	James appears to live alone following Nancy's death.
1860-1862	James lives with his daughter Rachel, prior to her marriage to Peterson in 1862.
1862-early 1863	James becomes ill and is tended by his nephew Benjamin, son of Rachel (Turner) Washington until his death in January 1863.
Ca. 1863-1910s	Rachel Turner Johnson returns to Parting Ways without her husband and raises her son at Parting Ways: Nathaniel (born 1869), Henry (born 1872), and Jesse (born 1888).
Ca. 1865-1896	James Thurston Burr, Plato Turner's grandson and son of Sarah Turner Burr, arrives and lives with Rachel and her son until his death of heart disease at age 74 on February 28, 1896.

Source: Hutchins 2013: 114; Plymouth Town Records

Table 6.3: Quande/Quash Family Parting Ways Occupation History 1779 to 1875

Time Period	Occupation
1779-1790	Quande Quash arrives around 1779; his wife, Phillis, arrives after that, possibly with two unnamed children. Quamony arrives after his war service in 1783.
1800-1806	Quash family consists of Quande, Phillis, and Quamony. Quash dies in 1806.
1806-1812	Quamony lives alone with his mother.
1812-1833	Quamony married Ellen Stephens and lives at Parting Ways; they have three children; Quamony dies in 1833.
1819	Phillis dies in the Plymouth Almshouse.
1833-1847	Ellen Quash lives with her children at Parting Ways
1847-mid-1860s	Ellen marries and lives with Peter Talbot until he is sent to a mental institution. He dies in 1867.
Mid-1860s-1875	Ellen lives alone at Parting ways until her death in 1875.

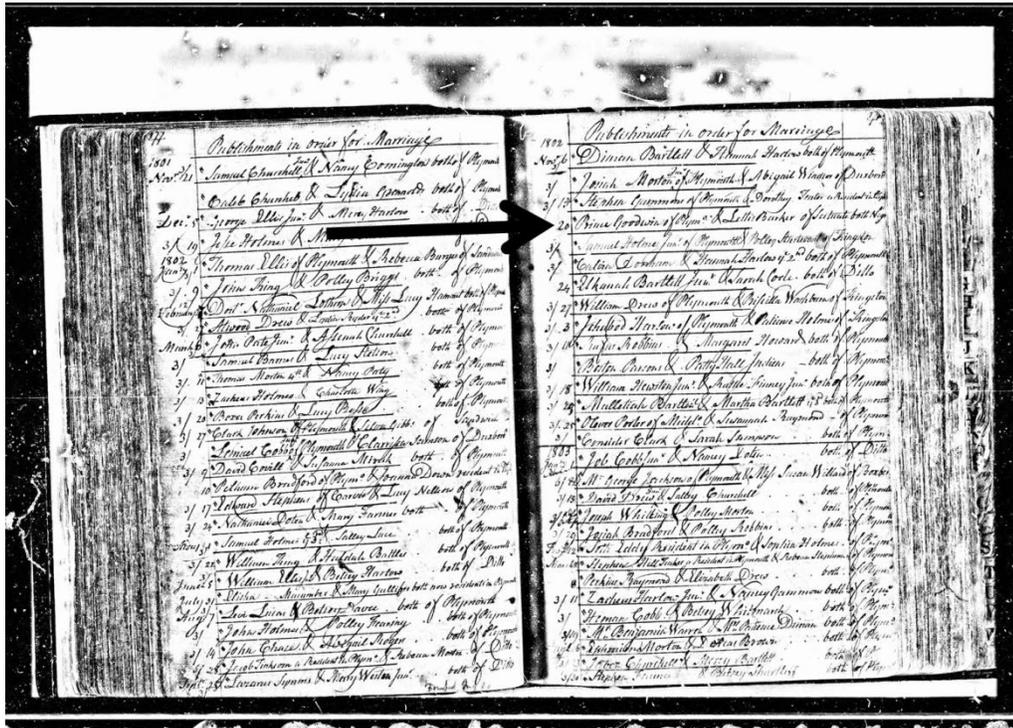
Source: Hutchins 2013: 126

Table 6.4: Prince Goodwin Family Parting Ways Occupation History 1790 to 1824.

Time Period	Occupation
Ca. 1790-1801	Prince Goodwin lives at Parting Ways with his wife, Nettie, and their 5 children—Lucretia, Elisha, Midian, Prince, Ephraim until Nettie and Prince, Jr. die in 1801.
1802-ca. 1810	Goodwin remarries to Lettice Barker. Sometime Between 1802 and 1810 all of Goodwin's children leave the home.
1810-1821	Goodwin and Lettice live at Parting Ways until Goodwin's death in 1821.
1821-1824	Lettice may still be living at Parting Ways before the town reclaims the land.
1833	Lettice dies at Plymouth Poorhouse.

Source: Hutchins 2013: 135

Figure 6.3: Prince Goodwin and Lucretia Marriage Notice



Economic Structures

Census data from Plymouth provides information about the epochal economic structures that prevailed in Plymouth in the mid-19th to early 20th century. The 1820 Federal Census started tracking three categories: agriculture, commerce, and manufacturing. However, occupations for people of color in Plymouth were not tracked until 1850. By this time there were numerous places of employment, including a furnace, forge, mills, factories, the railroad, and wharfs supporting the fishing industry, as well as merchants, mills, and factories.

On the 1850 Federal Census, only four occupations were listed for African Americans with most being laborers and seamen (see occupations Appendix C). James Turner was listed as a laborer on this census. Women's occupations were not tracked in this census, but this did not mean they were idle. This tracking changed with the 1860

Federal Census, when 11 women were recorded with occupations, all in the service industry (i.e. washerwoman, servant, and house keeper). Rachel Turner was listed as a house keeper. Listed occupations doubled from four to eight with new occupations including “housekeeper,” “washerwoman,” “farm laborer,” “hostler,” and “servant.” The 1857 Walling Plymouth County Map, with the accompanying business directory for Plymouth, provides a window into the industries present in the city at the time and, when juxtaposed with the 1850 and 1860 Federal Censuses, highlights the plethora of businesses closed to the Black community (see Table 6.5).

Table 6.5: Plymouth Businesses from the 1857 Walling Map

Business	Number
Printing (Plymouth Rock & Old Colony Memorial)	2
Grain Dealer	2
Grocer	1
Furnishing Store	1
Book and Stationary Store	1
Variety Store	2
Millinery and Fancy Goods	1
Dry Goods and Groceries	2
Whole Sale Grocer	1
Grocers	4
Boots, Shoes, and Rubbers	2
Hardware Store	2
Auctioneer	1
Shoe Kit & Findings	1
Furniture Dealer	1
Coal Dealer	2
Lumber Dealer	2
Jeweler	1
Drug Store	4
Wheel Wright	1
Cordage Companies (Robbins Cordage, Plymouth Cordage, & Cordage Manufacturer)	3
Iron Works	1
Rivet Manufacturer, Zinc Rivet Manufacturer, & Rivet Milla	3
Clothing Manufacturer	1
Gas Co.	1

Boot and Shoe Manufacturers	8
Blacksmith	1
Hairdresser	1
Daguerran Artists	2
Periodical	1
Oyster and Ice Cream Saloon	1
Livery Stable	1
Express Offices	3
Oil Factory	1
Markets	3
Law Offices	3
Hotels (Samoset House & Mansion House)	2
Iron Foundry	1
Planing Mill	1
Gymnasium	1
Fish Houses	5
Fish Counting House	1
Packing House	1
Fish Market	1
Lumber Yard	1
Rail Road Depot	1
Wharfs	10
Bowling Alley	1

The occupations increased to 13 in 1870. In Plymouth, African Americans worked in the mills and factories. Three were listed as working in the cotton mill and two in a shoe factory. The number of occupations for Blacks doubled with the addition of “domestic/domestic servant,” “barber,” “huckster,” “teamster,” “preacher,” “clothes dresser,” “works in cotton mill,” “works in shoe factory,” and “works in iron works.” Some occupations saw their exit in this new decade. Seamen/mariners were no longer present, as well as washerwomen and the hostler. Even with the increase of occupations for African Americans in the 1870s, the majority still worked in unskilled and semiskilled occupations. However, Table 6.6 reveals many businesses and industries in Plymouth that were probably closed to Black residents.

Table 6.6: Plymouth Businesses from the 1874 Beers Atlas

Business	Number
Wharfs	9
Lumberyard	2
Iron Foundry	1
Old Colony Railroad	1
Oil Factory	1
Shoe Factory	1
Hotels (Samoset House & Old Colony House)	2
Livery Stable	2
Bowling Alley	1
Woolen Mill	1
Stores/shops	4
Fish Curing Ground	1
Gas Works	1
Store Houses	11
Fish Yard	2
Saw and Plowing Mill	1
Coal Yard	1
Laundry	1
Iron Company Works	1
Tack and Rivet Manufacturer	1
Rivet Work	1
Various Companies	2
Steel Shrunk and Hammer Manufacturers	1
Fish House	1
Slaughter House	1

In 1880, the number of occupations remained 13 and the work force only grew by one to 76 (Tenth Federal Census). The largest occupations included house keeper and laborer, followed by domestic servants and servants. If a woman cared for her own family, she was logged as keeps house and if she earned wages she was listed as a house keeper (Wright and Hunt 1900: 172). If there were daughters in the house doing the same function, the occupation was left blank (Wright and Hunt 1900: 172). The instructions did not list house work or keeps house, but they were used as well. The biggest increase from the previous census was the number of laborers, which more than doubled from 11 in 1870 to 24 in 1880. Two individuals found mill and factory work.

However, it is unknown what job the two actually performed inside those establishments. By 1900, occupations increased to 22, but the African American workforce decreased by two to 74 (Twelfth Federal Census). This workforce was still relegated to domestic service and laborer. The majority of the jobs were laborer, servant, house keeper, and farm laborer.

Table 6.7 provides an overview of the African American occupational numbers broken out in the three categories: professional, skilled and entrepreneurial, and unskilled and semiskilled. These are also represented in pie charts from Figures 6.4 to 6.12, which highlight the relegation of Plymouth African American males and females to unskilled and semiskilled occupations. In 1850 and 1860, Black males in unskilled and semiskilled labor were at 97% with the remaining 3% in the skilled and entrepreneurial category (Seventh and Eighth Federal Census). There appears to be a slight movement up in 1870 with Black males decreasing to 94% in unskilled and semiskilled labor, and increasing to 4% in skilled and entrepreneurial professions with entry into the professional field at 2% (Ninth Federal Census). The census year 1880 witnessed continued decrease in unskilled and semiskilled labor to 90% and increase to 8% in skilled and entrepreneurial jobs, while professional occupations remained at 2% (Tenth Federal Census). At the turn of the 20th century, African American male workers were still relegated to unskilled and semiskilled labor registering 94%, while skilled and entrepreneurial professions decreased to 3% and professionals increased to 3% (3% of jobs were not legible) (Twelfth Federal Census). African American females remained at 100% in unskilled and semiskilled labor from 1850 to 1900. Their domestic service was most likely more stable employment than male laborer jobs that were often seasonal and

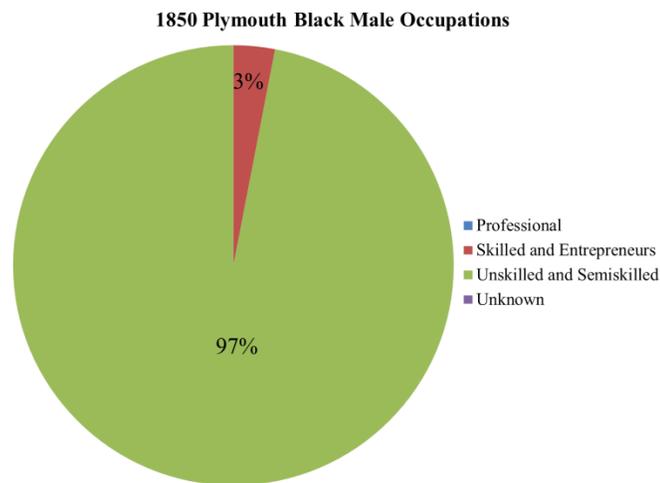
not steady. This occupational landscape was a continuation of racialized structures created before the Revolutionary war and still present after the Civil War. It is noteworthy that some African Americans were allowed to work in the mills and factories of Plymouth. This was still unskilled and semiskilled labor and it is not known what jobs they did in these establishments.

Table 6.7: Plymouth Occupational Categories

Census Year	Professional	Skilled and Entrepreneurial	Unskilled and Semiskilled
	Female/Male	Female/Male	Female/Male
1850	0/0	0/1	0/32
1860	0/0	0/1	11/31
1870	0/1	0/2	25/47
1880	0/0	0/4	25/46
1900	1/1	0/1	26/45

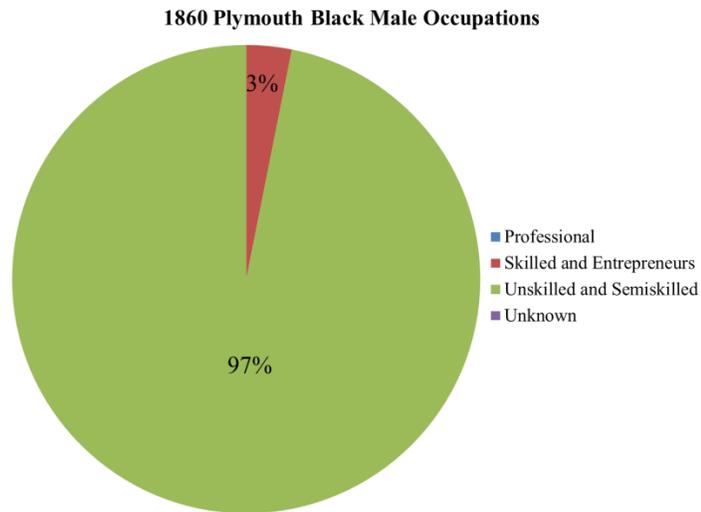
Source: Seventh through Twelfth Federal Census

Figure 6.4: 1850 Plymouth Black Male Occupations



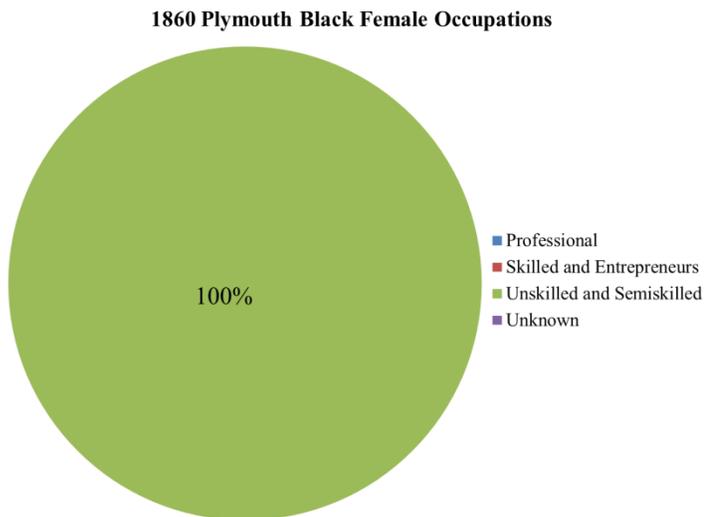
Source: Seventh Federal Census

Figure 6.5: 1860 Plymouth Black Male Occupations



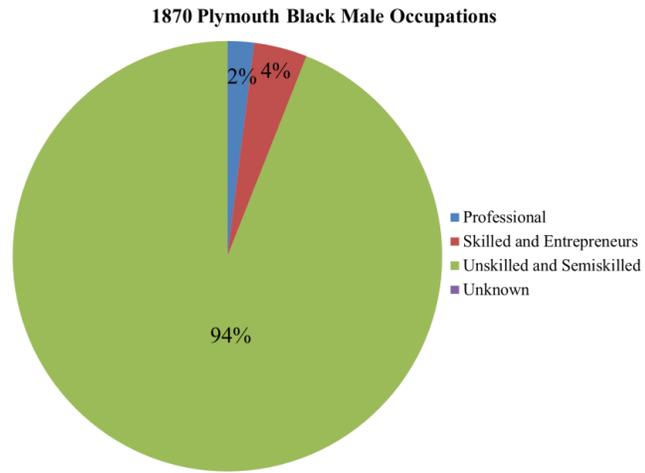
Source: Eighth Federal Census

Figure 6.6: 1860 Plymouth Black Female Occupations



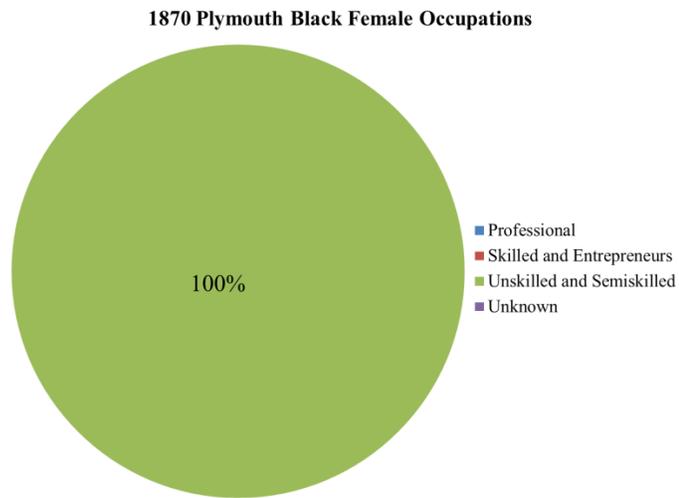
Source: Eighth Federal Census

Figure 6.7: 1870 Plymouth Black Male Occupations



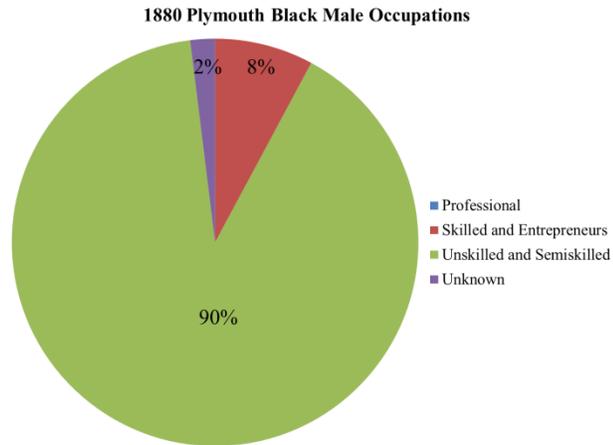
Source: Ninth Federal Census

Figure 6.8: 1870 Plymouth Black Female Occupations



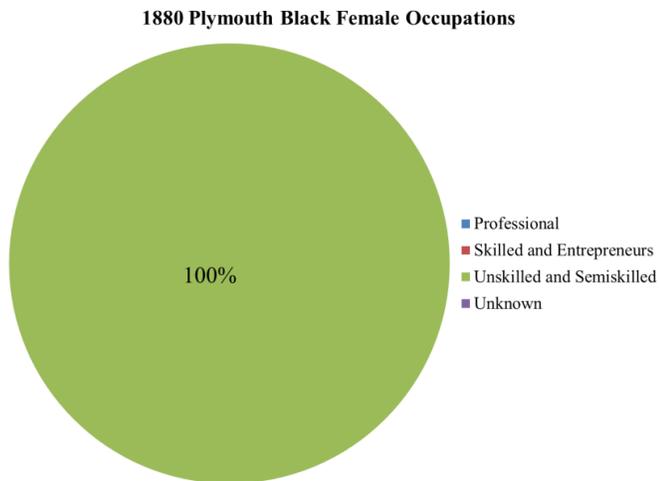
Source: Ninth Federal Census

Figure 6.9: 1880 Plymouth Black Male Occupations



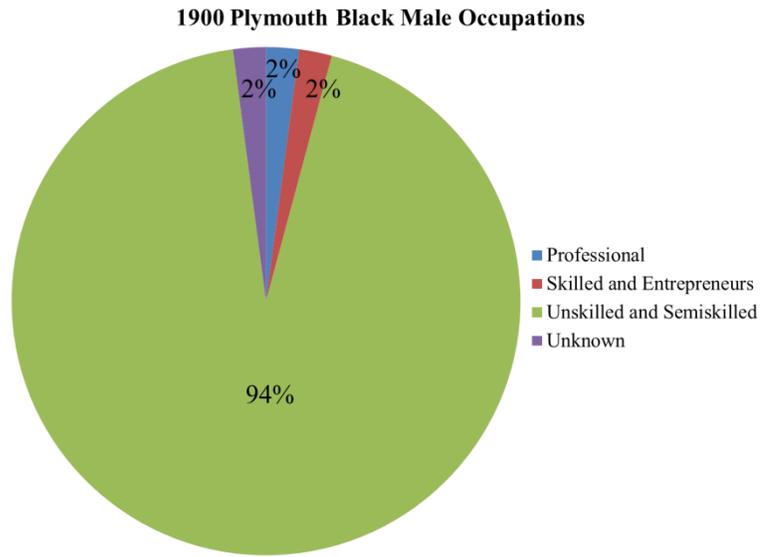
Source: Tenth Federal Census

Figure 6.10: 1880 Plymouth Black Female Occupations



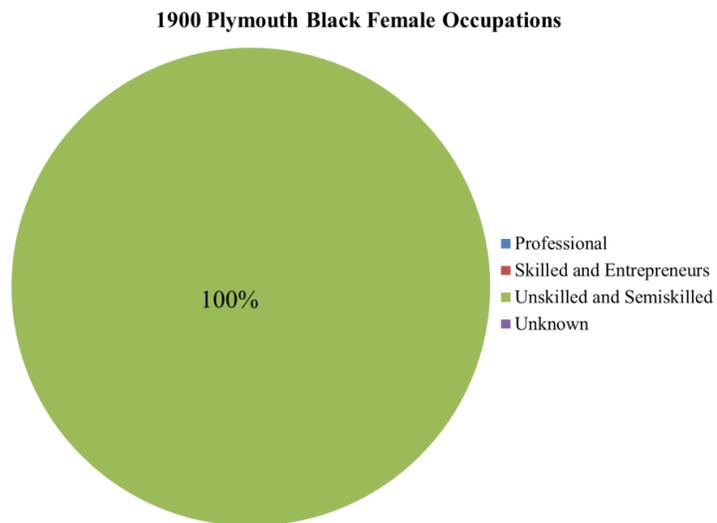
Source: Tenth Federal Census

Figure 6.11: 1900 Plymouth Black Male Occupations



Source: Twelfth Federal Census

Figure 6.12: 1900 Plymouth Black Female Occupations



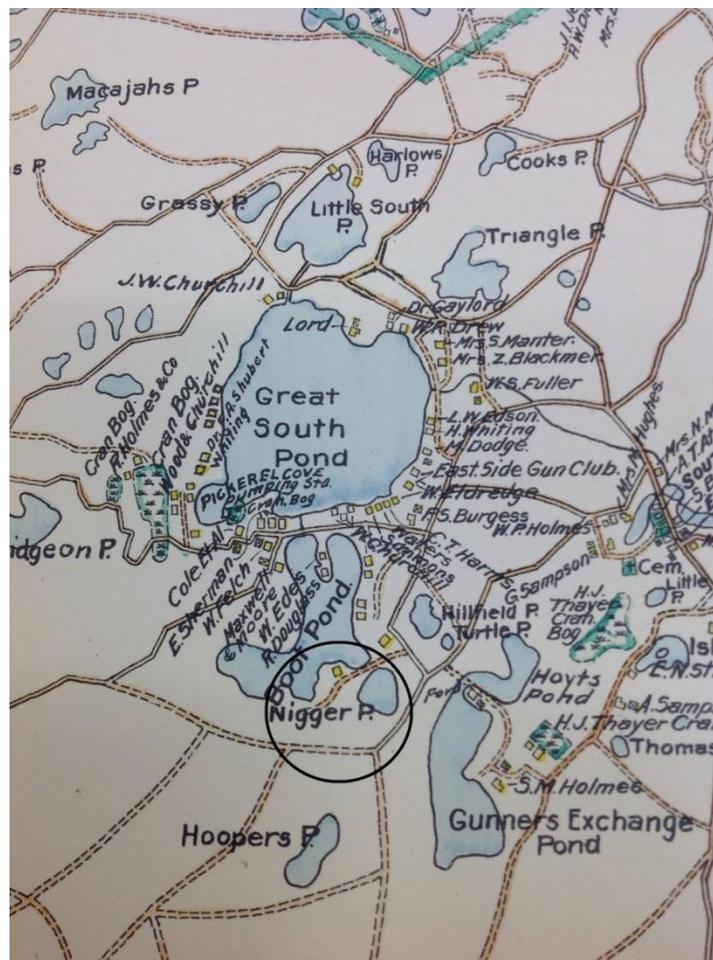
Source: Twelfth Federal Census

Racialization

The Plymouth White community transferred their paternalistic views from captive Africans to “freed” people of African descent. In other words, the doxa was watered down, but the hegemonic structures that were created during the colonial period were maintained and restructured in the early Republic. As discussed in an earlier chapter, after emancipation Whites in New England racialized themselves in order to separate themselves from people of color and in the process people of African descent aided in this racialization by solidifying themselves under the auspices of their categorization (Melish 1998). This is evident in the landscape of the Plymouth, in education, and in occupations. Using Bruce Laurie’s (2005: 87) division of White society in Massachusetts into three groups consisting of paternalists, segregationists, and exclusionist (colonizationalist), Plymouth had the first two. The Massachusetts landscape evidenced the practice of “racial paternalism” which was especially prevalent in rural Massachusetts where Black populations were lower than the cities and the occupants more dispersed and not as organized (Laurie 2005: 93, 290). In Plymouth County, as in other places across the state, space to worship was segregated (Hutchins 2013: 214). For example, the North Bridgewater (Brockton) meeting house segregated seating in the house of worship well into the 19th century (Hurd 1884: 567-569). Church members voted to build a porch and place pews there and in the Belfree [sic] “for the negroes” (Hurd 1884: 567). In 1800, people of color argued for better seating, which was denied (Hurd 1884: 567). On December, 5, 1826, the congregation voted to give people of color the back seats in the church (Hurd 1884: 569). Brockton was the last town in the area where the Black population remained segregated to the corner seats until the church was remodeled in 1874 (Hurd 1884: 599). Paternalism was very prevalent in Plymouth as witnessed by the

way the town provided the 94 acre parcel of poor land to Cato Howe and town officials managed Plato Turner's pension. The clusters of Blacks in small areas of the town are another indicator of the existence of spatial and social segregation. The transference of the doxa was evident as late as 1903, when on a Plymouth map; a body of water in the town was listed as Nigger Pond (see Figure 6.13). The 1846 map, the Walling Map 1857, and the Beers 1874 Atlas did not provide a name for the pond.

Figure 6.13: 1903 Plymouth Map



Spatial Structures

Census data helps illuminate the space and homeplace for people of color in Plymouth. Though Parting Ways was the first cluster of people of African descent that

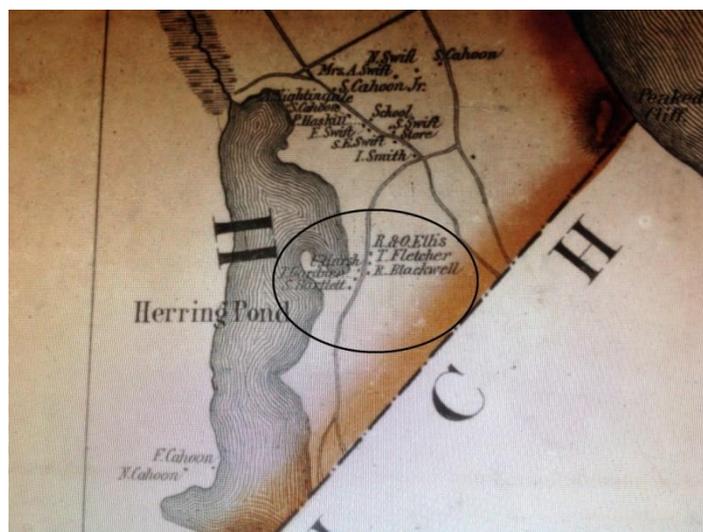
had established a homeplace, and is now well known thanks to the work of James Deetz and others, it would not be the only one and was not where the majority of Plymouth's people of African descent lived. The most Blacks living in White households were in 1790 and 1900. The 1790 Federal Census counted 54 "all other freed persons" in the town. There were three Black-led households in Parting Ways totaling 13 people (24%): Cato Howe had three people in his household, Prince Goodwin had eight, and Plato Turner had three (First Federal Census). The other early census data cannot be used to find clusters of people of color. The 1800 Federal Census manuscript schedules rolled up the majority of "all other freed people" at the end of the town schedule and the 1810 and 1820 Plymouth manuscript censuses were alphabetized.

The Black population of Plymouth fluctuated in the first half of the 19th century, but increased after 1860. This increase saw a large influx of southern African Americans. Thirty-three people or 38.3% were not born in Massachusetts and 22 (25.5%) came from southern states: 17 from Virginia (51.5%), four from Maryland, and one from Georgia (Eighth Federal Census). One member of the Black community had Africa listed as a birthplace (Eighth Federal Census).

In 1850, there were four Black/mulatto clusters in Plymouth (Seventh Federal Census). The largest of these clusters numbered 42 people, which was 38.1% of the Black Plymouth population (Seventh Federal Census). Using the Walling 1857 Plymouth County Map and the 1850 Federal Census, it is possible to identify a location for this cluster. Some names from the 1850 Federal Census are located on the map around Herring Pond (see Figure 6.15a and 6.15b). These are Black and White families. For instance, a White family was headed by Reuben Ellis. On the 1857 map (Figure 6.14),

east of Herring Pond, R & O Ellis is on the east side of the road. Next to him was a T. Fletcher (Thomas Fletcher with a household of eight was listed as Black and his wife and children as mulattoes) followed by R. Blackwell (household of three mulattoes). Is R. Blackwell, Ralph Black? On the west side of the road is a C. Hursh, followed by T. Gardiner (Thatcher Gardiner had a household of eight mulattoes) and S. Bartlett (Solomon Bartlett had a household of two mulattoes). After dwelling number 811, there are three White households with the third being Freeman Cahoon. There is an F. Cahoon and N. Cahoon on the west side of Herring Pond. These were two “mulatto” households totaling 13 people. Although there is a seven year difference between the 1850 Federal Census and the Walling 1857 Map, a large portion of the 42 people might have continued to live east of Herring Pond. This was the last major grouping of Black people in 19th-century Plymouth. In addition to these clusters, there were two others consisting of one with two households totaling 16 Black and “mulatto” people and another with four households of 16 Black people.

Figure 6.14: The 1850s Black Community east of Herring Pond



Source: 1857 Walling Map

Figure 6.15a: 1850 Plymouth Manuscript Federal Census with a Black Cluster east of Herring Pond

SCHEDULE I.—Free Inhabitants in Plymouth in the County of Plymouth State of Mass enumerated by me, on the 24th day of Aug, 1850. J. W. Deane Ass't Marshal

The Name of every Person whose usual place of abode on the first day of June, 1850, was in this family.			DESCRIPTION.			Profession, Occupation, or Trade of each Male Person over 15 years of age.	Value of Real Estate owned.	Place or Birth: Naming the State, Territory, or Country.	Marr'd within the year.	Attended School previous to 1st of June, 1850.	Whether deaf and dumb, blind, insane, idiotic, pauper, or convict.	
Dwelling-house, and other real estate owned by the head of the family.	Family number in this order of visitation.	The Name of every Person whose usual place of abode on the first day of June, 1850, was in this family.	Age.	Sex.	White, or Color.							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
		Amos Knight	25	M		Farmer		Mass				
		Edmund "	22	M		Farmer						
		Charlotte "	17	F								
		Carson "	16	M		Student					/	
		William "	12	M							/	
		Lucy "	10	F							/	
		George "	7	M							/	
		Mary "	4	F								
002 1048		Reuben Ellis	77	M		Farmer	1400					
		Olivia "	55	F								
		Anna "	116	F								
		Abigail C. "	20	M		Farmer						
		E. L. Smith	64	M		Farmer						
003 1049		William Carter	40	M	B	Farmer						
		William Thompson	24	M	B							
		Samuel "	23	M	B							
004 1045		Thomas Hitchcock	35	M	B	Carpenter						
		Martha "	30	F	B							
		Georgeanna "	10	F	B							
		Elizabeth "	17	F	B							
		Abigail "	14	F	B							
		Mathew "	12	M	B							
		Augustus "	8	M	B							
		Sarah "	6	F	B							
005 1046		Rolph Black	40	M		Farmer						
		Sally "	40	F								
		Simon "	15	M							/	
006 1047		Hutchins Gardner	40	M		Farmer						
		Martha "	112	F								
		John C. "	22	M								
		Phoebe "	19	F								
		Ellen "	15	F							/	
		Isabella "	12	F							/	
		Ellen "	10	F							/	
		Russell "	7	M							/	
007 1042		Abner Bartlett	70	M								
		Andrew Ball	25	M								
008 1044		Lycia Brooks	75	F								
		Ephraim S. Watson	45	M								
		Salome "	46	F	B							
		Anthony "	12	M	B							
		Joseph "	11	M	B							

9 - 10 - 14

Figure 6.15ba: 1850 Plymouth Manuscript Federal Census with a Black Cluster east of Herring Pond

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SCHEDULE I. Free Inhabitants in *Plymouth* **in the County of** *Plymouth* **State**
of *Mass* enumerated by me, on the *29th* day of *Aug* 1850. *John Perkins* Ass't Marshal.

Dwellings in the order of valuation.	Families numbered in order of valuation.	The Name of every Person whose usual place of abode on the first day of June, 1850, was in this family.	DESCRIPTION.			Profession, Occupation, or Trade of each Male Person over 15 years of age.	Value of Real Estate owned.	Place of Birth. Naming the State, Territory, or Country.	Married within the Year.	Attended School. (Indicate over 2 1/2 years.)	Whether deaf and dumb, blind, insane, idiotic, pauper, or convict.	
			Age.	Sex.	Color.							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
		<i>Catharine Parker</i>	<i>46</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>B</i>							
		<i>David "</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>W</i>							
		<i>not named</i>	<i>42</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>W</i>							
<i>013 111</i>		<i>Simon Wood</i>	<i>53</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>Subsist</i>						
		<i>Abigail "</i>	<i>52</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>W</i>							
<i>010 112</i>		<i>Joseph Ackerman</i>	<i>40</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>W</i>							
		<i>Love "</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>W</i>							
		<i>Robert C "</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>W</i>							
		<i>Abigail "</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>W</i>							
		<i>Harriet "</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>W</i>							
<i>011 113</i>		<i>Mary Joseph</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>W</i>							
		<i>Sarah "</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>W</i>							
<i>012 114</i>		<i>Sam'l. Pickerson</i>	<i>60</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>Farmer</i>	<i>1100</i>					
		<i>Lucia "</i>	<i>52</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>W</i>							
		<i>Robin "</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>Student</i>			<i>1</i>			
<i>013 115</i>		<i>Sam'l. Wood</i>	<i>70</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>Farmer</i>	<i>250</i>					
		<i>Sarah "</i>	<i>65</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>W</i>							
		<i>Anna "</i>	<i>40</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>Farmer</i>						
		<i>Mary "</i>	<i>37</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>W</i>							
		<i>Joseph "</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>W</i>							
		<i>James "</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>W</i>				<i>1</i>			
		<i>Mary "</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>W</i>							
		<i>Anna "</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>W</i>				<i>1</i>			
		<i>James "</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>W</i>				<i>1</i>			
		<i>Susan "</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>W</i>				<i>1</i>			
<i>014 116</i>		<i>William C. Cabron</i>	<i>55</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>Farmer</i>	<i>1000</i>					
		<i>Rebecca "</i>	<i>50</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>W</i>							
		<i>Andrew "</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>Student</i>				<i>1</i>		
<i>015 117</i>		<i>Mark "</i>	<i>60</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>Farmer</i>	<i>750</i>					
		<i>Marietta "</i>	<i>50</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>W</i>							
		<i>Mark "</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>Blacksmith</i>						
		<i>Key "</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>W</i>							
		<i>Mathew "</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>Student</i>				<i>1</i>		
		<i>Sam'l. "</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>W</i>					<i>1</i>		
		<i>James "</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>W</i>					<i>1</i>		
		<i>Marietta "</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>W</i>					<i>1</i>		
		<i>Mary Swift</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>W</i>							
<i>016 118</i>		<i>Joseph Pickerson</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>Farmer</i>						
		<i>Abigail "</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>W</i>							
<i>017 119</i>		<i>Thomas Hardock</i>	<i>54</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>Farmer</i>						
		<i>Mary "</i>	<i>52</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>W</i>							
		<i>Betsy "</i>	<i>26</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>W</i>							

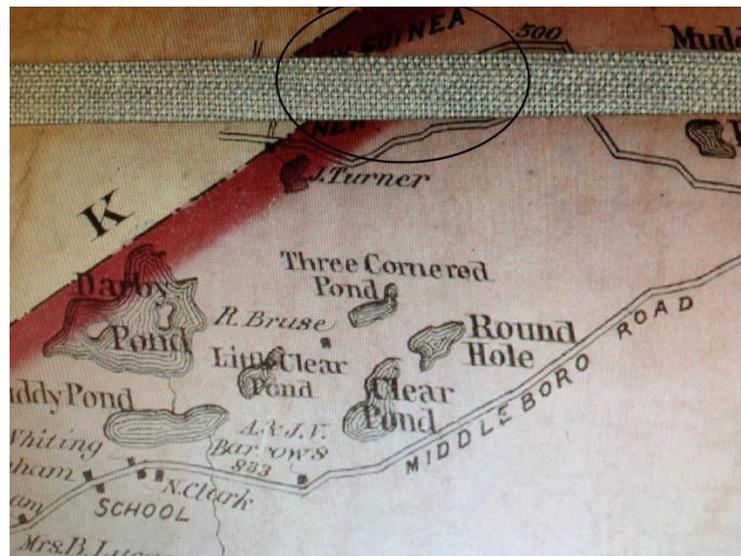
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In addition to noting the clustering, 1860 also marks some interesting shift in people's place of birth. The majority of the Black population was born in Massachusetts. However, some came from five northern states, one came from Nova Scotia, and 18

(15%) came from southern states (Ninth Federal Census). These included Maryland and Virginia with 12 and 11 having the most (Ninth Federal Census).

The 1880 Federal Census reported one cluster of African Americans living in a group of five houses numbering 13 people. The only other African Americans living next door to each other was a group of two houses totaling 14 people. New Guinea and James Turner's house (listed as J. Turner) are listed on the Beers Atlas 1874 map of Plymouth (see Figure 6.16).

Figure 6.16: New Guinea



Source: 1874 Beers Atlas

At the turn of the century, the shape of the African American community had changed because there were no real clusters. All of the four districts reported African Americans. District 1139 had the lowest numbers with seven, and five of these individuals were servants in White households. The largest number of African Americans, 58, resided in District 1140, and 11 people lived in White households as servants and hotel workers. Districts 1141 and 1142 were tied at 40 each with seven African Americans in the latter working in White households as servants and domestics.

This reveals a pattern of the city's layout. District 1139 was a predominately White area with most of the African American population living in White households as servants. District 1140 and 1141 had the largest concentration of Blacks with a small portion in 1140 living in White households and working in the hotel industry. Throughout the 19th century the establishment of homeplaces by the Black community steadily increased, especially after 1850 with the largest number reaching 35 in 1900. From 1810 on, the majority of the Black population lived in their own homes (see Table 6.8 and Figure 6.17).

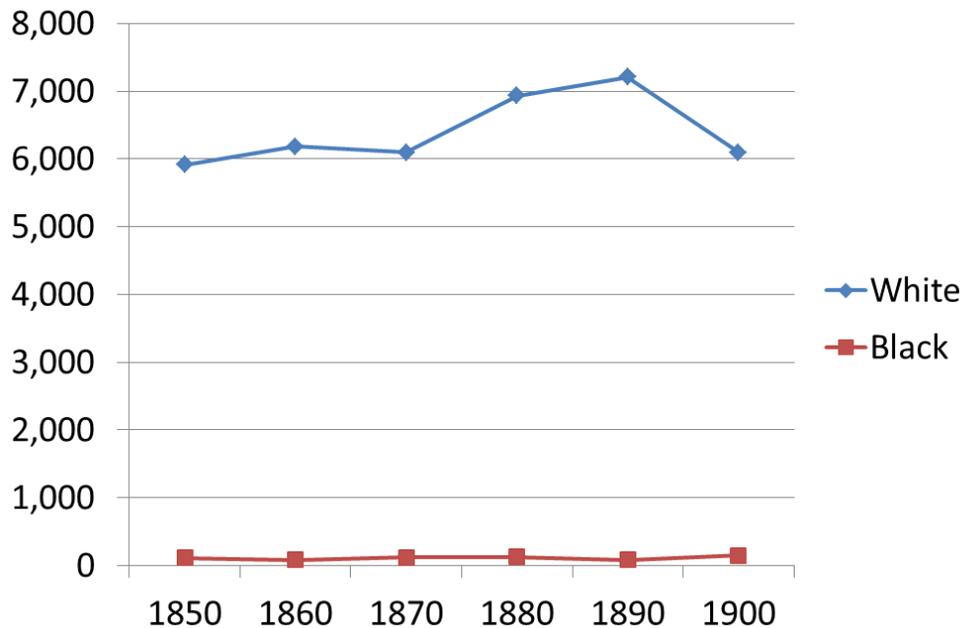
Table 6.8: Plymouth Black Population and Households 1790 to 1900

Year	Population	Total # of Black Households	Total # of Black People in Black Households	Total # of White Households with Blacks	Total # of Black People in White Households	Total # of Black Female Headed Households
1790	54	3	13(24%)	26	41(46%)	0
1800	55	No Data		No Data		No Data
1810	34	8	20(58%)	11	14(41.1%)	3
1820	46	8	33(71.7%)	5*	13(28.2%)	2
1830	43	7	34(79%)	5	9(20.9%)	0
1840	26	3	15(57.6%)	7	11(42.3%)	1
1850	110	23	106(96.3%)	3	4(3.6%)	4
1860	86	25	74(86%)	9	12(13.9%)	5
1870	119	29	110(92.4%)	6	9(7.5%)	6
1880	131	28	121(91.6%)	9	11(8.3%)	11
1890	87	No Data		No Data		No Data
1900	146	34	120(82.1%)	19	25(17.1%)	12

Source: First through Twelfth Federal Censuses

*No exact count can be obtained because many of the manuscript sheets are damaged.

Figure 6.17: Plymouth White and Black Population 1850 to 1900



Source: Seventh through Twelfth Federal Censuses

Political/Legal Structures

Laurie (2005: 87) contends that paternalism had its roots in the religion and governance of Puritan society and the practice was very prevalent in rural Massachusetts, where Black populations were smaller in number than in the cities and the occupants more dispersed and less organized. Plymouth practiced a form of this paternalism concerning the families of Parting Ways. According to Hutchins (2013: 225), this paternalistic relationship with the Black residents was meant to “assist” and “help,” but “also challenged their independence.” She notes with the:

implementation of guardianships and the management of veterans’ pensions for the residents of Parting Ways, the town leaders provided the residents at Parting Ways with economic benefits while reclaiming control over their finances, infantilizing them by treating them as dependents, and literally calling them imbeciles (Hutchins 2013: 225).

Education

There is no documentary record on the community's attitude towards the education of Blacks in Plymouth. However, census data detailing schooling and occupations can extrapolate the intersection of epoch economic, political, and social structures. According to Moss (2009: 162), when possible, it was policy in Massachusetts to school Black children separately because dominant society limited access to the White body politic and education was geared for a population targeted for the industrial sector, a group that did not include Blacks. A high school was established in Plymouth before 1850 (one is listed on an 1846 map along with three other schools). As mentioned in Chapter IV, Massachusetts passed a compulsory education law in 1852, requiring all children in the state between the ages of 8 and 14 to attend school for 12 weeks a year with six of those weeks being consecutive or face a \$20 fine. According to the *Beers Atlas* 1874, there were no less than seven schools in Plymouth.

From 1850 to 1900, Black children of school-age (5 to 18) fluctuated between 35 and 44 students (see Table 6.9). However, due to various reasons, not all eligible children attended school. In the first two tracking years of the Federal census, 1850 and 1860, school attendance for Black children was below 50 percent. Attendance rose above 70% in 1870 and 1900 and only dipped to 68% in 1880. Attendance was usually from Black children in independent Black households, while those in White households did not attend (Seventh through Twelfth Federal Census). Throughout the second half of the 19th century, Black female attendance was above 50% and most years above 60%. For males, the numbers were different, registering below 30% in 1850 and 1860, but rose above 60% in subsequent years (Seventh and Eighth Federal Census).

Table 6.9: Education Patterns in Plymouth from 1850 to 1900

Census Year	Eligible /Attending	Eligible/Attending	Eligible/Attending
		Female	Male
1850	35(Ages 5-18)/ 17(48.5%)*	18/12(66.6%)	17/5(29.4%)
1860	22(Ages 5-18)/ 9(40.9%)	13/7(53.8%)	9/2(22.2%)
1870	35(Ages 5- 18)/25(71.4%)	16/10(62.5%)	19/15(78.9%)
1880	41(Ages 5- 18)/27(68.5%)*	15/10(66.6%)	26/17(65.3%)
1900	44(Ages 5- 18)/31(70.4%)	26/20(76.9%)	18/11(61.1%)

*Four-year-olds were counted as eligible and attending, if they were in school.

Source: Seventh through Twelfth Federal Census

Social Structures

To fully understand the social structures requires an analysis of how marginalized people conceptualize themselves and how the dominant society viewed them. As mentioned in an earlier chapter, Negro Election Day and the Emancipation Day celebrations united people of African descent. Currently there is no evidence of Negro Election Day celebrations in Plymouth. However, one place in Plymouth County did celebrate, North Bridgewater (now Brockton) (Piersen 1988: 118). This town is about 48 miles from Plymouth and might have been difficult to attend. Boston, not much farther is 51 miles. It is hard to believe that the Black community of Plymouth would not have heard of these events. As Massachusetts transitioned to Emancipation Day celebrations, Antislavery Picnics, and Church Commemorations, Plymouth County, but not Plymouth town participated (see Table 6.10).

Table 6.10: Plymouth County Church Commemorations and Antislavery Picnics

Year of Celebration	Place of Celebration in Plymouth County, MA	Type of Celebration
1842	Meeting House, Scituate	Church Commemoration
1842	Willard Hall, Hingham	Antislavery Picnic
1844	Tranquility Grove, Hingham	Antislavery Picnic
1846	Island Grove, Abington	Antislavery Picnic
1847	Springfield and Island Grove, Abington	Antislavery Picnic
1848	Island Grove, Abington	Antislavery Picnic
1849	Island Grove, Abington	Antislavery Picnic
1850	Island Grove, Abington	Antislavery Picnic
1854	Island Grove, Abington	Antislavery Picnic
1856	Island Grove, Abington	Antislavery Picnic
1857	Island Grove, Abington	Antislavery Picnic
1858	Island Grove, Abington	Antislavery Picnic
1859	Island Grove, Abington	Antislavery Picnic
1860	Island Grove, Abington	Antislavery Picnic

Source: Kerr-Ritchie 2007: 57, 60

That Plymouth was a port town might explain why it had people of color from Canada, Africa, and other states in the union, including southern states. This was present prior to the American Civil War. It provides evidence of the heterogeneity of the African diasporic in this Massachusetts port city. As in Great Barrington and Andover, the migration of southern African Americans after the Civil War might have led to the formation of a Black church on Sever Street. The African Methodist Episcopal Church (now Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church) was formed in 1866 and church members purchased the old gymnasium in 1870. The church is a one and a half story Greek-Italian revival and still stands today. The gymnasium is on the Walling 1857 maps and is an African church on the Beers 1874 map.

Military Service

Blacks in Plymouth did serve the cause. According to the National Society Daughters of the American Revolution (2008) study, no less than 25 people of African descent from Plymouth served in state militias and regiments, the Continental army, aboard warships, and there were possibly five others whose identity was uncertain (Grundset 2008: 99-150). This service for the creation of the nation would be used as a reason for demanding equal rights and full citizenship. In Plymouth, four Revolutionary war veterans, Cato Howe, Plato Turner, Prince Goodwin, and Quamony Quash, Quash Quande's son, lived at Parting Ways. However, there is no actual record of Quamony Quash in the DAR study, so he might have enlisted under a different name (Grundset 2008; Hutchins 2013: 136). Military service assisted arguments by people of African descent in the first few decades of the 19th century as they advocated for full citizenship in the American Republic.

Sex Ratios

Studying the sex demographics of a community provides insight into occupations and the ability to acquire mates. The ratio of females to males is important because it is an indication of the Black community's ability to perpetuate the Black population. A sex disparity can help account for a declining population. The ability to acquire mates and find employment to provide for that mate and any offspring is important for a population within a town or city.

According to the 1820 Federal Census for Plymouth, Massachusetts, there really was no major sex disparity. This was also evident in the 14 and under 26 and 26 and under 45 categories. Male and female parity was present again in many census years except for 1830, 1860, 1880, and 1900 (see Table 6: 11 and Figure 6.18). Viewing

critical mate gathering and childbearing age categories of 10 to 24 and 24 to 36 in 1830, shows parity within those age groups (Fifth Federal Census). However, in 1840, it was more pronounced with males outnumbering females by a multiple of three with six to two in the 10 to 24 age category and almost reverses in the 24 to 36 category with five females and two males (Sixth Federal Census).

In 1850 in the critical 19 to 39 age group for the Black population, males led females 18 to 14 (Seventh Federal Census). The 1860 Federal Census reported 17 females and 14 males in the 19 to 39 age category. In 1870, this disparity grew in the 19 to 30 age category with 25 females to 18 males (Eighth Federal Census). By 1880, parity returned to the 19 to 39 age group with 23 Black males and 21 Black females (Ninth Federal Census). The 1900 Federal Census reported the African American population in the critical dating and birthing years was even with 28 females and 28 males.

Throughout much of the 19th century, the African American population of Plymouth was less than one hundred. It was not until 1870 that the population increased to over one hundred. This increase also included sex parity and allowed a continuation of the Black population. However, Plymouth, as the other cities and towns (except Nantucket) in this study was not an isolated island, and people were coming and going throughout the century and continue to do it today, so some of these places will always have a Black community. A key factor that keeps people in a place is a job.

Table 6.11: Plymouth Sex Numbers and Percentages for African American 1820 to 1900

Year	Female	Male
1820	22(47.8%)	24(52.1%)
1830	24(55.8%)	19(44.1%)
1840	14(53.8%)	12(46.1%)
1850	54(49%)	56(50.9%)
1860	46(53.5%)	40(46.5%)
1870	60(50.4%)	59(49.5%)
1880	61(46.2%)	71(53.7%)
1890	No Data	No Data
1900	79(54.1%)	67(45.8%)

Source: Fourth through Twelfth Federal Censuses

Figure 6.18: Plymouth Sex Numbers for African Americans 1820 to 1900



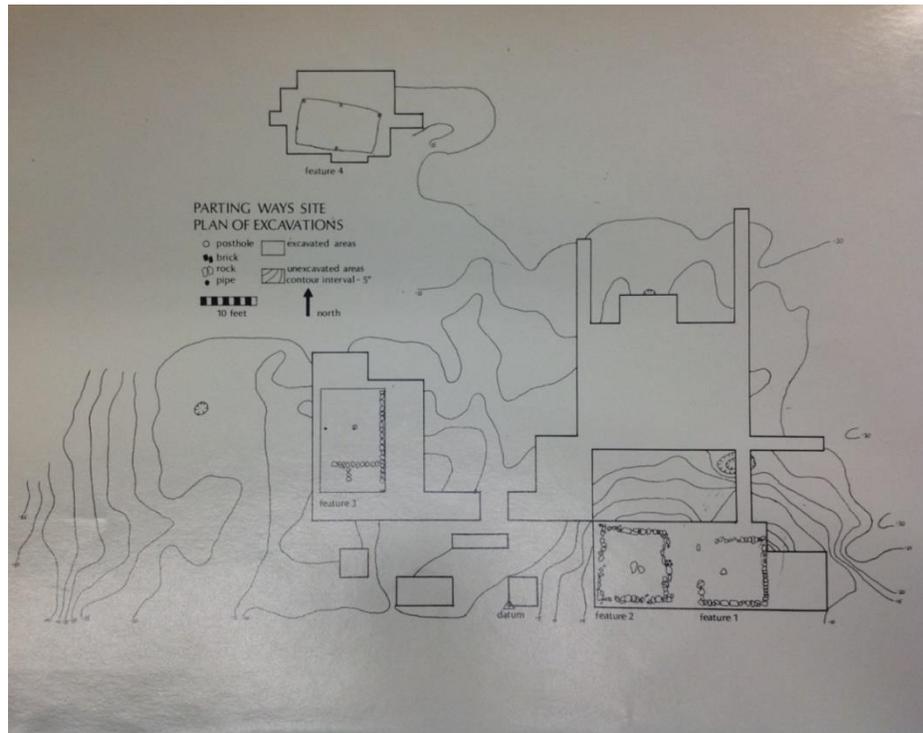
Source: Fourth through Twelfth Federal Censuses

Material Culture Assemblage of Parting Ways

Parting Ways was excavated by James Deetz from 1975 to 1978, followed by Stephen Mrozowski from the University of Massachusetts, Boston in 1989. Deetz's excavations and findings were significant for African American history. It was one of the first excavations and interpretations of a free Black community in the North. The 1975 to 1977 excavations concentrated on four features attributed to Plato Turner. Deetz posited

that the foundation in Feature 1 was built by the Turner family in 1830s and Feature 2 was an addition to the house constructed in the 1860s (Deetz 1977: 144-145). The fieldwork in 1977 also focused on Feature 3, which Deetz contended was also a Turner house that was abandoned in 1840 (Deetz 1977: 144-145). In 1978, excavations moved south across the Plympton Road to the Quash property (Hutchins 2013: 143). After analyzing the artifacts, deeds, court records, town histories, census data, and probate inventories, Hutchins (2013: 154) provides different interpretations of the landscape and the material culture. She argues Feature 3 is actually the house constructed by Seth Fuller and later purchased by Plato Turner (Hutchins 2013: 185-186). Additionally, Hutchins contends Feature 1 and 2 are the house Plato Turner built in the 1820s or 1830s (Hutchins 2013: 185-186). Hutchins argues that materials from the house in Feature 3 were used to construct the Turner house in Feature 1 and 2 and refuse was dumped into Feature 3 (Hutchins 2013: 191). Figure 6.19 is the Deetz excavation site plan. The University of Massachusetts, Boston excavations opened units around Features 1, 2, and 3, which provided a clearer picture of the cultural and natural stratigraphy (Hutchins 2013: 167). This excavation team also spread into the Cato Howe property (Hutchins 2013: 143). No excavations were ever conducted on the Goodwin property. Karen Hutchins (2013) reanalyzed the artifact assemblage from both excavations and did detailed documentary research that has provided a more nuanced understanding of the archaeology site and the town of Plymouth. The collection is curated at the Massachusetts Historical Commission, Boston, Massachusetts. I viewed the collection in October and November 2012.

Figure 6.19: Parting Ways Site Plan



According to Hutchins (2013: 185-186), Feature 3 is actually the house constructed by Seth Fuller and later purchased by Plato Turner and Feature 1 and 2 are the house Plato Turner built in the 1820s or 1830s.

Site Plan for Parting Ways Collection, Courtesy of Massachusetts Historical Commission

Racialization

As noted above, spatially it appears the landscape had degrees of segregation. For instance, in 1850, there was a large cluster of 9 Black/mulatto households that numbered 42 people. This was the group that lived east of the Great Herring Pond mentioned earlier. This would have been a larger neighborhood than the Parting Ways community, which numbered no more than 18 at its peak. There were no all-Black neighborhoods in Plymouth over the next few decades. However, there were all-White neighborhoods, which is an indication of class and spatial segregation. This was evident in 1900, when District 1139 had only seven African Americans and five of these individuals were

servants in White households. The largest number of African Americans lived in District 1140 – 58. However, 11 of the 58 lived in White households as servants and hotel workers. So really, District 1141 had the most African Americans living in their own households numbering no more than 40 people by census count. District 1142 also had no more than 40 African Americans, but seven lived in White households as servants and domestics (Twelfth Federal Census).

There is a small white ceramic figurine sherd in the collection (see Figure 6.20). It is not known if this was a statue or functioned as a doll. It is even possible that it had multivalent functions. In adult spaces, it might have been a decorative figurine on a table or mantle. In children's spaces, it might have functioned as a doll, when parents were not present. If it did function as a doll, it was not a representation of the people in the household. The availability in the mid-19th century of positive image Black dolls was limited, expensive, and out of reach for most African Americans until the first mass marketed dolls appeared in the first decade of the 20th century (see Chapter VII).

Figure 6.20: Figurine or Doll.



Artifact from Parting Ways Collection, MHC, photo by author

Daily Life

According to Hutchins' (2013) documentary research, no less than three White families had lived in the Turner house until the mid-18th century. Because of this revelation, Hutchins removed all ceramics from the Fuller-Turner (Feature 3) occupation from her analysis because most dated to the mid-18th century. However, some of the ceramic sherds dated to the early-19th century and considered refuse dumped into the foundation. Hutchins did this knowing that some of the ceramics in Feature 3 could have been the Turner's, some might have been gifted to them by the town or other people, and some might have been purchased by the Turners. This subtraction reduced the number of ceramics. Additionally, Hutchins used George Miller's (1984) ceramic study that focused on six rural dry goods' and general stores' ceramic purchases around the Philadelphia area. In this study, Miller found that rural populations did not have the money to purchase a whole matching set of ceramics, but mostly concentrated on acquiring "edged flatwares, painted teawares, and painted and dipt hollow tablewares" (Miller 1984: 46; Hutchins 2013: 263).

Hutchins found that 58 vessels (38%) from the Parting Ways ceramic assemblage fit Miller's pattern, including the similarity but not identity in type, design, and pattern also noted by Miller (Miller 1984: 46; Hutchins 2013: 263). Creamware was the most common ceramic in the assemblage. Interpreting the tablewares, teawares, glass, and utensils together, Hutchins contends that it follows the dining pattern of Victorian American respectability. Other chapters in the dissertation will show that this same practice was followed at homesites in the Berkshires, Boston, and Nantucket (see Chapters VII through X).

Ten utensils were recovered from the Quash and Turner properties. The Turner property included “two 2-tined steel forks (one of which had a bone handle), a case knife, 2 iron tablespoons, a copper alloy teaspoon, a Britannia metal teaspoon, and a bone-handled utensil” (Hutchins 2013: 258). The Quash property had one iron teaspoon and one iron tablespoon (Hutchins 2013: 258). However, Hutchins notes since some of these items were found in Feature 3, it is hard to determine the occupation time period (Hutchins 2013: 258). She posits:

ceramic tea and tablewares, glass table and stemwares, and utensils, items of personal adornment and medicinal bottles—recovered from the Turner and Quash properties speak to a participation among the families in the developing nineteenth-century consumer culture and embodied practices of gentility, refinement, and respectability (Hutchins 2013: 249-250).

The minimum number of vessels (MNV) count of late 18th and 19th-century earthenware, stoneware, and porcelain vessels found on the Turner-Burr and Quash properties were 157 and 28 respectively (Hutchins 2013: 255). There is a marked difference between the two households. The Turner household had far more plates than the Quash household. Both households had a small number of bowls, the Turners with four and Quash with one. This is probably an indicator that the families were not eating predominately stews. Another point to remember is that the Quash household was never a large one. The largest recorded number of people in the Quash household was five at the time of the First Federal Census. The MNV was 28 for late 18th and 19th-century refined earthenware, stoneware, and porcelain vessels and 6 for coarse earthenware vessels for a total of 34, which is consistent with the small household. After 1806, the Quash household numbers steadily decreased. Teawares were almost nonexistent in the Quash household (two hollow teawares). In contrast, the Turner-Burr property included 25 saucers, 16 teabowls/cups, 12 hollow teawares, 1 teapot and creamer, and three

unidentified vessels (Hutchins 2013: 255). Even if we account for the fact that not everything the families had was recovered, when the teawares of these households are juxtaposed, the difference is noticeable. Did Rachel Turner conduct tea for Phillis Quande, Nettie Goodwin, and later Lettice Goodwin, Althea Howe, Lucy Prettison, and Quamony’s wife, Ellen? She had enough tea cups to hold tea for the ladies mentioned above and their daughters. Communal tea would have afforded all the women at Parting Ways the ability to learn and practice moral uplift and the habitus of dominant culture.

The coarse earthenware provided the Turner family with enough ceramic functional types, including serving dishes to set a full table. However, the Quash family had too few vessels to set a table. The MNV of coarse earthenware was 91 and 6 for the Turner and Quash properties respectively (Hutchins 2013: 312). The majority of this coarse earthenware was unidentified. However, the Turner household had milk pans/pans, mugs, jars/pots, bowls, flower pots, jugs/bottles, chamber pots, hollow tablewares, and a sugar cone. The Quash property had only jars/pots. With a small household, a full set of dishes might not have been needed or wanted. Since Parting Ways had a nucleated settlement pattern, the individuals might have consumed major meals together.

The Turner property had a diverse ceramic assemblage with the main ware types including redware, creamware, pearlware, whiteware, stoneware, Chinese porcelain, and ironstone (see Table 6.12). The main ceramic wares from the Quash property included pearlware, redware, whiteware, creamware, and ironstone.

Table 6.12: Ceramic Ware Types for the Turner and Quash Properties

Ware Type	Turner Property	Quash Property
Delftware	X	

Fulham-type	X	
North Midlands/Stafford	X	
Slipware	X	
British Brown and Fulham-type Stoneware	X	X
Astbury Ware	X	X
Westerwald	X	
Nottingham-type	X	
Whieldon-type	X	
Chinese Porcelain	X	
White Salt-Glazed	X	
Stoneware	X	X
Jackfield-type	X	
Rouen-Type faience	X	
Cauliflower Ware	X	
Creamware	X	X
Canary Ware	X	X
Pearlware	X	X
Luster decorated Ware	X	X
Jasper Ware	X	
Whiteware	X	X
Yellowware	X	
Rockingham-type	X	
Ironstone	X	X
Bone China	X	
Redware	X	X
American Stoneware	X	X
Porcelain, unidentified	X	
Coarse Earthenware, unidentified	X	

Source: Hutchins 2013: 252

Glass tableware vessels MNV were 31 on the Turner property and 7 on the Quash property. The Turner property included tumblers, stemware, drinking glasses, a mug, a salt cellar, and various types of tableware (hollow, flat, and unidentified). The Quash property had a salt cellar, a saucer, a decanter, a hollow tableware, and tumblers (Hutchins 2013: 259). The Quash property had a decanter, but no drinking glasses. It is

possible at the death of the last Quash, most of the glass assemblage became part of the Turner's possessions.

Items of personal adornment recovered from excavations ranged from buckles, buttons, and eye and hook fasteners. Hutchins (2013) did an extensive analysis of the buttons from the Turner and Quash homesites. She notes that buttons were often purchased separately from the garment and this particular action speaks to individuality, gentility, and space (Hutchins 2013: 275; White 2008: 27). The Turner property yielded 39 buttons, many of which were for coats, waistcoats, and shirts (Hutchins 2013: 275). Twelve were coat buttons (nine copper alloy (brass), one bone, and one tombac) and 13 were from waistcoats or breeches. However, Hutchins notes the waistcoat and coat buttons mostly dated to the 18th century and were found in the mixed fill of Feature 3, so it is hard to determine if they belong to the Turners or an earlier family (Hutchins 2013: 276). Four coat and waistcoat buttons found in Feature 1, the Turner-Burr house, dated to post-1790 and would have been from a tailored garment (Hutchins 2013: 276). A collar button was also found and attributed to James Burr who was a barber and an assistant to a Congressman when he lived in Boston (Boston Globe 1895; Hutchins 2013: 281-284).

There are other possible uses for buttons. Woodruff 's (2001: 22) reinterpretation of the Lighthouse community in the hills of Barkhamsted, Connecticut, notes that in the 19th century buttons could have been repurposed as playthings by creating button-strings or used in the place of marbles (Mescher 1997). Buttons also had a function in African spiritual systems. Leone and Fry (1999) note that buttons were a common component of *minkisi* bundles and could function as charms or amulets. The archaeologist Warren

Perry also notes a connection with African Spiritual systems (personnel communication July 2015).

The buttons are an indication of mending and possibly making clothes at the Turner-Burr and Quash households. Additionally, Cato Howe’s probate inventory had a spinning wheel (Deetz 1996: 190). If this was the only one at Parting Ways, it might have been shared by Althea Howe, Rachel Turner, Phillis Quande, Nettie Goodwin, Lettice Goodwin, Lucy Prettison, and Ellen Quash.

Thirteen pharmaceutical bottles dating to the 19th century were recovered from the Turner and Quash properties (see Table 6.13). Two bottles were proprietary and the other 11 were either apothecary or prescription medicine bottles (Hutchins 2013: 288-289). The two proprietary bottles were Turlington’s Balsam of Life which claimed to cure colic, and Steer’s Opodeldoc, a liniment, found on the Quash property (Hutchins 2013: 291).

Table 6.13: Parting Ways Site Patent Medicine Bottles

Patent Medicine Bottle	Dates	Comments	Source
Turlington’s Balsam of Life	1810-1860	Patented in England and imported into the U.S. in the early 19th century	(Griffenhagen and Bogard 1999: 73; Hutchins 2013: 288)
Steer’s Opodeldoc	1800-1865	Patented in England and imported into the U.S. in the early 19th century	(Raupeheimer 1908: 319; Hutchins 2013: 291)

Source: Hutchins 2013: 288-291

There is also evidence of children and play at Parting Ways. Toys included two small porcelain tea cups, a diminutive figure that might possibly be a doll (discussed above), and a metal toy gun pistol with the word Colt on one side and a date of 1893 on

the other (see Figure 6.21). This last item might have belonged to Jesse Turner who would have been five or six years of age around 1893.

Figure 6.21: Toy Pistol



Artifact from Parting Ways Collection, MHC, photo by author

Transition

The presence or absence of African survivals can provide clues to the transition from African to African American. James Deetz (1977: 149) argued that an “Afro-African mind-set” was evidenced in the architecture, tamarind jars, settlement patterns, African spiritual systems, and foodways at Parting Ways. In 1996, in keeping with the times, the phrase became an “African American mind-set” (Deetz 1996: 202). James Deetz (1977: 150) saw possible similarities in the Turner-Burr foundations with shotgun houses in Haiti and the American South, which were derived from West African architecture. Deetz (1977: 149-150) noted the dimensions of the foundations were 12 feet, similar to West African structures, and not the standard 16 feet of Anglo American households. In the 1996 edition of *In Small Things Forgotten*, Deetz reiterated his conclusions of almost twenty years earlier concerning the similarity of the Turner-Burr foundations with shotgun houses and captive African houses in South Carolina (Deetz

1996: 222-223). Deetz (1996: 215) posited “The shotgun house is the most explicitly African vernacular architectural form to be found in America, showing clear and unambiguous derivation from West African houses in both plan and dimensions.” A shotgun house’s narrow gabled front faces the road with a long body of single file rooms, the doors of each room which are positioned in the same place, allowing the occupant to walk straight through the house (Deetz 1996: 216). Deetz (1996: 222) argued the ground floor plan of the Turner-Burr house was similar in dimension (each room 12 by 12) to a shotgun house and other African derived houses. However, the door was on the long side of the house as can be seen in the picture of the house in Figure 6.22 and sketch in Figure 6.23. Using John Vlach’s analysis of African architecture, Deetz (1996: 222-223) argued that the Turner-Burr house “resembled a Yoruba two-room side entrance” dwelling rather than an “Anglo-American” one. Hutchins (2013: 150) notes the outside of the house was similar in design to a New England cottage/Cape Cod style house. However, the inside activities could have been practices encompassing a mixture of African American, Native American, and European American traditions.

Figure 6.22: Turner-Burr House



Picture is from the Parting Ways collection curated at MHC

Figure 6.23: Turner-Burr House Sketch circa 1895



Source: *Boston Globe*, December 8, 1895

Another element of Deetz's "Afro-American mind-set" was the earthenware jars he called "tamarind jars." He posited that these jars were used to store and ship a West African fruit grown in the West Indies called tamarind (Deetz 1977: 148). Deetz (1977: 148) first posited that these jars were "probably made in the West Indies; in their shape they are almost identical to pottery produced in West Africa." Later, Deetz (1996: 199) added to his earlier hypothesis noting that the jars were made in the West Indies and used as containers to ship sugar to various ports and he stated "they are also said to be used at times for storing and shipping tamarind."

Hutchins' (2013: 318-319) interpretation differs, contending "that these five jars are West Indian manufactured syrup drip jars (a vessel used in combination with a sugar cone mold in the refinement of raw sugar)," which were probably obtained by the Turners or other residents after they were initially used for "refinement and transportation of partially refined sugar syrup or molasses to Plymouth." The Turner household also had a sugar cone that would have been placed in the top of the jar to allow liquid to drip into the larger jar (Hutchins 2013: 319). Hutchins suggests that since Turner was a

mariner, he might have purchased them and brought these jars back from a voyage to the West Indies and was using them as storage, they might have been used to transport goods from various ports, or might have been used as water containers (Hutchins 2013: 319). Additionally, she views this as a wider linkage of the Atlantic World that existed. I would link it to the African diaspora.

Deetz (1977: 152, 1996: 204, 207) argued that the nucleated settlement pattern and possible presence of African spiritual systems in the form of crushed ceramics and glass on top of two possible burials across the road from the Turner-Burr house were evidence of African survivals. However, the nucleated settlement pattern was not uncommon to the American landscape a few centuries earlier (Hood 1996). The 17th century town of Old Farms in Hatfield, Massachusetts, also used a nucleated settlement pattern (personal communication with Randy Datum). Where Deetz saw possible African ritual systems on top of burials in the cobblestone area, Hutchins (2013: 196-197) thinks it is unlikely these are graves. Using Grey Unmaker's and Judith Mc Willie's (2005) research on mid-19th and 20th century southern African American yard work and art, Hutchins (2013: 196-197) makes a plausible interpretation for the clusters of ceramic sherds and glass pieces on top of the packed cobblestone area across the road. As Gundaker and McWillie suggest (2005), she contends this is most likely not an African survival but an African American art form (Hutchins 2013: 196-197). If so, this would be an indicator of the transition from African to African American.

Food consumption is another point of interest. Deetz (1977: 152-153; 1996: 204-205) noted that most of the bones were cow feet and none of the bones were sawed. Here he saw a different consumption pattern than that of White Americans. According to

Hutchins (2013: 296), the majority of domestic animals consumed at Parting Ways were cattle with an MNI count of 12 followed by two pigs and one sheep/goat. Wild animal bones were also recovered that included one amphibian, one box turtle, and four yellow perch (Hutchins 2013: 296). It is not known if the turtle was consumed, a pet, or wild. If it was consumed, it is significant because the practice is often attached to southern African American foodways (Franklin 2001). Turtle bones were also recovered during the African Meeting House 2005 Backlot excavations (see Landon 2007). Turtles are important in the African Diaspora because they exist on land and water (Thompson 1984). Maybe their ingestion helped the consumer continue the link between land and water.

Many of these transitions, such as the jars, artwork, and consumption patterns are evidence of what James Sidbury (2007) argues is the African created in the United States. The jars specifically speak to the Atlantic world. This American creation did not stay on the continent, but branched out to other corners of the world in the late 18th and 19th century. Black Baptist churches formed in the American South and spread to the British Atlantic Empire (Canada, Sierra Leone, and the Caribbean) after the American Revolution to (Sidbury 2007). These organizations helped create the foundations for an African identity that formed in the U.S. and was transported around the Atlantic world through emigration and the repeated contact amongst leaders, friends, families, and by other mechanisms such as the newspapers, pamphlets, letters, and mariners (Sidbury 2007).

Consumerism

Along with the almost matching ceramic assemblage of the Turner household and medicinal bottles were remnants of tin cans. Indicators that the household was

purchasing some items with regulated weight standards. However, there are no identifying markers on the tin can remains, so it is not possible to tie them to specific foodways or the use of national brands. Another item that might speak to entry into the consumer market place was the metal toy Colt pistol. This toy could have been purchased in a store, received as a gift, or even purchased from a mail order catalog. According to Paul Mullins (1999: 47-48), African Americans circumvented the racialized general store and purchased items from mail-order catalogs because it was an anonymous exchange and the prices were fixed. This allowed African Americans to purchase items that were considered manufactured for White consumers (Mullins 1999: 47-48). Hutchins concluded that the occupants of the Turner and Quash households were participating in the consumer market (Hutchins 2013). She notes:

A range of artifacts—ceramic tea and tablewares, glass table and stemwares, and utensils, items of personal adornment and medicinal bottles—recovered from Turner and Quash properties speak to a participation among the families in the developing nineteenth-century consumer culture and embodied practices of gentility, refinement, and respectability. The objects and rhetoric of respectability factored in the construction of racial identities in nineteenth-century New England (Hutchins 2013: 249-250).

I would concur in regards to the Turner assemblage. However, I am skeptical of saying the Quash family was part of the consumer market. I make this assessment because the paucity of teawares recovered from the Quash assemblage and other ceramics required in preparing and serving a meal. The Quashes might have practiced the dinner rituals of the 19th century United States, when consuming meals with the family. However, is it possible that with the departure of the Quashes from Parting Ways, their ceramics and glass tablewares became part of the Turner household?

Conclusion

Economically, African Americans in Plymouth had not made major gains over the course of the 19th century. The majority of Black occupations continued to be laborer, house keeper, and domestic servant. This was not due to the lack of industry in Plymouth as noted earlier in the chapter. The job opportunities were linked to a doxa that relegated captive Africans and then “freed” Africans to service jobs. The town education system most likely was no help; with limited education, many African Americans only attained enough to function in the town, with its limited opportunities available to them.

I think the Turners and Quashes had already begun the transition to African American by the time they had arrived at Parting Ways or soon after their arrival. The timing would have coincided with the push for moral uplift, the push for full citizenship, and inclusion in the body politic. Some vestiges of African culture were still in practice. Parting Ways is a testament to the presence of people of African descent being on the landscape for a very, very long time. I also think this is a larger piece of becoming American. Saying this does not imply African Americans were trying to be White, but rather that they were trying to attain full citizenship in the American Republic and used everything at their disposal to accomplish that, especially by the 1840s. That still happens with many cultures within the United States today. All these racialized structures were linked. The doxa did not change much over the course of the 19th century. If you are relegated to the lowest rung of the economic ladder, then you might not feel the need for a lengthy education process. These families at Parting Ways can be included as among some of the first Americans. Most areas lacked the population to create major protest to affect change in their communities. However, Black people found

ways to congregate on their own terms and to create homeplaces as a way to resist the hegemonic paternalistic culture that surrounded them.

CHAPTER VII

HAVEN TO THE EAST, HAVEN TO THE NORTH, THE BERKSHIRES: GREAT BARRINGTON

Introduction

The W. E. B. Du Bois Homesite in Great Barrington, in addition to being associated with the influential scholar and organizer on behalf of racial justice, is an important archaeological site because it was inhabited continuously by an African American family (“The Black Burghardts”) for over one hundred years. It is one of the oldest continuously occupied African American homesites in Massachusetts. In this chapter, I discuss the economic, racial, spatial, political/legal, and social structures that were present in Great Barrington in the 19th and early 20th century using the documentary record. Next, I explore the daily life of African American women in the town and the spatial segregation they encountered. Then, I elucidate any resistance to racialized power relations in the form of consumption and subsistence patterns. Additionally, I will discuss the transition from African to African American identity and consider if there was any evidence of this transition on the landscape. The W.E.B. Du Bois boyhood homesite came to the attention of the archaeological community with the work of Robert Paynter (1990, 1992, 2014). This interpretation continued with Paynter et al. (1994, 2008). Local historian Bernard Drew has assisted in furthering the documentary record (1999, 2004).

Great Barrington

Great Barrington was established in 1761 and was originally the north parish of Sheffield. The town, surrounded by the Berkshire Mountains, sits on a farmable plain with the Housatonic River flowing through it. Before the Dutch and English encroached

on the landscape, it was inhabited by the Mahicans (Mohicans), an Algonquian speaking group of Native Americans (not to be confused with the Mohegans of south-central Connecticut). Great Barrington remained an agrarian society well into the mid-19th century; agricultural production still plays a role in the town's economy today.

The industrial base of the town formed with small saw mills in the 18th century, transitioned into woolen carding mills, and eventually factories (Taylor et al. 1928: 314, 352-356). These factories began arriving in multiple numbers in the second decade of the 19th century, including a Marble polishing factory, paper mills, and a distillery (Taylor et al. 1928: 358-359, 433). However, Great Barrington did not become the industrial town that the nearby town of Pittsfield did. By mid-19th century, technological achievements contributed to the town's economic and population growth. In 1836, the Housatonic Railroad formed and began to lay track in Bridgeport, Connecticut (Drew 1999: 587). In September 1842, the railroad arrived from Connecticut; the following year, rail lines expanded to West Stockbridge (Drew 1999: 587). By 1845, the track linked with the Western Railroad, providing service from Boston and Albany, which later became the name of the railroad (Drew 1999: 587). The arrival of the railroad brought freight from the eastern part of the state and from New York through Great Barrington, which saved on transport costs and time by not relying on the Hudson River (Taylor et al. 1928: 79). This new industry brought in trade from surrounding towns and created ancillary businesses.

The telegraph arrived in 1848, but the new form of communication was not sustainable as a business until 1857 (Taylor et al. 1928: 381). The Great Barrington Gas Company brought gas to the town in 1855, a year after the Berkshire Woolen Company

brought gas into their building (Taylor et al. 1928: 387). In 1868, Great Barrington Water Company created a reservoir from East Mountain Brook that brought water to the town (Taylor et al. 1928: 387). After the Civil War, the bucolic setting of the town would become a magnet for tourists and summer homes for the wealthy.

The early documentary record of people of African descent in Great Barrington is limited before 1850. The 19th century local historian Charles Taylor's treatment of people of African descent was scanty. The first people of African descent entered the Egremont Plain in the 17th century with Dutch settlers coming from the west out of New York and English settlers coming from the East. People of African descent's existence in Great Barrington was early and very established by the American Revolution.

The first documentary evidence of Africans in the region was on May 25, 1746, when "Simon the Negro" joined the Great Barrington Congregational Church (Levinson 2006: 189). "Cato the Negro" was the first Black taxpayer in 1772, which means he held real property (Levinson 2006: 189). In the first decades of the 1800s, the people of African descent lived mostly on the outskirts of the town (Drew 2004: 73). Great Barrington did have an early entrepreneur of color, James Jacklyn, who established a cider brandy distillery in the 1790s on a brook east of the river off of Brush Hill road (Mueller 2001; Taylor 1882: 338, Taylor et al. 1928: 296). In 1795, Jackson Burghardt was a shoemaker (Drew 2004: 21). Entrepreneurs and skilled laborers of color were the exception not the rule.

Du Bois (1968: 83) noted that "freed" Blacks began settling in the town after the Civil War and the AME Zion Church was established by this group of people. It would seem that Du Bois (1968: 83) and the established Black community viewed this new

group of arrivals as different. Although writing about Great Barrington in the 1870s and 1880s, Du Bois (1969: 96) contended the Black population was socially separated from the White population of the town. During this period, the African American population was purchasing property on the east side of the Housatonic River in what was known as “Brooklyn” (Drew 2004: 74). With the opening of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church in 1887, on Elm Street, the Black community began to form around it on Rosseter Street.

In the late 1860s and 1870s, the tourism industry began to accelerate and many African Americans found employment in the seasonal business. Tellingly, African Americans worked in the tourism/hospitality field, but they were often barred from staying in many of the establishments as guests (Levinson 2006: 121). African American entrepreneurs saw the need for a Black-owned guest houses in Great Barrington with the first, Marble Block, established in 1897 and the next, the Sunset Inn on Rosseter Street, in the 1920s (Levinson 2006: 121).

Background of the Site

The various occupants of the Du Bois Homesite have been addressed by scholars (see Battle-Baptiste 2011; Douyard 2014; Muller dissertation 2001; Paynter et al. 1994, Paynter et al. 2009, and Paynter 2014) on whose work I draw, while also offering some new insights. Table 7.1 presents history of the occupation of the W.E.B. Du Bois Homesite. From the documentary record, we know that the Black Burghardts owned or occupied the homesite from 1820 to 1954. It is possible that the Jackson Burghardt family lived on the homesite from 1795 until 1820 (see Muller 2001; Paynter et al. 1990, 1992, 2008, 2014), but researchers have yet to tie a Great Barrington property from 1795 to a specific location. A deed does connect James and Lucinda Burghardt Freeman to the

homesite from 1820 until 1860. James died in 1856 and Lucinda, the daughter of Jackson Burghardt, died in 1860 (Muller 2001). Lucinda’s brother Othello and his wife Sarah were the next occupants from 1860 until Othello’s death in 1872 and Sarah’s in 1879 (Muller 2001: 142). The occupants from the 1880s into the 1890s are unknown (Paynter 2014).

In 1909, Lena Wooster paid one dollar to purchase the property from relatives of Edward and George Taylor (Paynter et al. 2008: 60). It would appear that the Wooster family lived there until about 1917, after which they moved to Springfield (Muller 2001; Battle-Baptiste 2011; Paynter 2014). In 1928, Lena Wooster sold the property to Warren Davis, who in turn sold the property to W.E.B. Du Bois in that same year. W.E.B. Du Bois owned the home from 1928 until 1954. In 1954, W.E.B. Du Bois sold to J.G. Bowen. In 1967 two admirers of Du Bois, Mr. Walter Wilson and Dr. Edward Gordon, bought the previous Burghardt property and additional adjacent land from Bowen to commemorate Du Bois. They formed the Du Bois Memorial Foundation and passed the property to it in 1969. In 1987, the Du Bois Memorial Foundation passed it to its present owner, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, with the University of Massachusetts as site custodian (Paynter et al. 2008: Table 1; Paynter 2014).

Table 7.1: The Black Burghardts Homesite Occupation History

Time period	Occupants
1795-1820	It is possible that the Jackson Burghardt family lived at the homesite.
1820-1860	James and Lucinda Burghardt Freeman at the homesite.
1856-1860	James died in 1856 and Lucinda, the daughter of Jackson Burghardt, died in 1860 (Muller 2001).
1860	Lucinda’s brother Othello and his wife Sarah were the next occupants. The occupants included: Othello, 70; Sally, 68; James and Inez Burghardt, 21 and 6; and Francis and Charles Jackson, 15 and 9.

Time period	Occupants
1870	The occupants included: Othello, 80; Sally, 78; and grandchildren Inez, 16, Adelbert 8, and W.E.B. Du Bois, 2. It also included the Buckley family of four.
1872-1879	Othello died in 1872 and Sarah died in 1879 (Muller 2001: 142).
1880-1890s	Occupants unknown
December 26, 1900	Edward M. Wooster married Lena B. Crossan, 21.
1909	Lena Wooster paid one dollar for the property from relatives of Edward Wooster and a George Taylor.
1910-1917	The 1910 Federal Census reported the Wooster household with eight people. Edward now 29 was listed as a farm laborer renting a house and Lena was 24. They had six children in the household : Kenneth 8, Bessie, 7, Olive, 5, Marietta, 4, Florence, 2, and Lena, 1.
1928	Lena Wooster sells the property to Warren Davis.
1928 -1954	Warren Davis sells the property to W.E.B. Du Bois
1954	W.E.B. Du Bois sells to J.G. Bowen.
1957	J.G. Bowen sells to E.S. Bowen
1967	E.S. Bowen sells to Wilson and Gordon
1969	Wilson and Gordon sell to W.E.B. Du Bois Foundation
1987	W.E.B. Du Bois Foundation sells to Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Source: Battle-Baptiste 2011; Douyard 2014; Muller 2001: 142; Paynter et al. 1994, Paynter et al. 2008, Paynter 2014

There is new information that corrects some earlier research on Edward and Lena Wooster. Previous researchers did not have a date for the marriage of Edward M. Wooster and Lena B. Crossan, the family who lived at the homesite just before it was given to Du Bois. I found the marriage listed in the town's Marriages Registered document dated on December 26, 1900, and recorded on the following day (Figure 7.1). It is unclear why the Edward M. and Lena Wooster family relocated; however, I have collected more information regarding this matter. Nancy Muller, in her dissertation, contends that Edward and Lena had split, with Edward living with a Maria Hinkley in Great Barrington and Lena living in Springfield (Muller 2001: 165; Battle-Baptiste 2011). However, Lena appears on Edward's draft registration, stamped September 12,

1918, on which he is listed as a janitor with the two residing at 49 Hancock Street, in Springfield, Massachusetts (Figure 7.2). The Springfield City Directory of that year also lists him at that address. Apparently Maria Hinkley lived next door not with Edward M. Wooster (personal communication with Whitney Battle-Baptiste and Christopher Douyard 2015). It appears the family was already in Springfield when the influenza epidemic struck Great Barrington citizens from September 1918 until January 1919. The epidemic afflicted 2,158 townspeople, killing 170 (Drew 1999: 408). The family stayed in Springfield for decades, eventually moving to 129 Orleans Street. The 1920, 1930, and 1940 Federal Censuses has the family together in Springfield. Figure 7.3 is a copy of the 1920 census.

Figure 7.1: Recorded marriage Record of Edward M. Wooster and Lena B. Crossan

MARRIAGES REGISTERED in the of (PAGE 7-3) for the year Nineteen Hundred 1900											
NO.	DATE AND PLACE OF MARRIAGE.	DATE OF RECORD.	NAMES AND SURNAMES OF GROOM AND BRIDE.	RESIDENCE OF EACH AT TIME OF MARRIAGE.	AGE OF EACH IN YEARS.	OCCUPATION OF EACH.	PLACE OF BIRTH OF EACH.	NAMES OF PARENTS OF EACH.	WHAT MARRIAGE, 1 st , 2 nd , 3 rd , 4 th .	NAME, RESIDENCE AND OFFICIAL STATION OF PERSON BY WHOM MARRIED.	
50	Dec. 21 Barrington	Nov. 11	John M. Rice Bertha E. Nicolai	New Bedford St. Barrington	21 29	Teachings Dentist	London St. Barrington	W. M. Garrison & Rebecca Rice William C. & Lucy E. Stearns	1 st 1 st	Arthur J. Bessonet St. Barrington	
51	Nov. 19 Barrington	Nov. 20	Anna K. Bennett Annie C. Bessonet	Barrington St. Barrington	23 23	Housewife Housewife	St. Barrington St. Barrington	Patrick & Mary McLaughlin William C. & Lucy E. Stearns	1 st 1 st	Minister of the Gospel St. Barrington Pastor	
52	Nov. 27 Barrington	Nov. 27	Alfred R. Cunningham Alice M. Cotton	St. Barrington St. Barrington	23 22	Education Housewife	St. Barrington Weymouth	William C. & Lucy E. Stearns Thomas & Annie Kelly	1 st 1 st	Arthur J. Bessonet	
53	Nov. 28 Barrington	Nov. 28	Charles H. Randall Anna C. Crossan	St. Barrington St. Barrington	25 25	Lawyer Housewife	St. Barrington St. Barrington	Oliver & Mary Ann Randall William & Anna Crossan	2 nd 1 st	Master, Murphy	
54	Dec. 24 Barrington	Dec. 27	James S. Watson Robina Crossan	St. Barrington Barrington	27 25	Physician Housewife	St. Barrington St. Barrington	Henry & Mary Cunningham John & Madeline Smith	1 st 1 st	Wm. H. Richards Leno	
55	Dec. 28 Barrington	Jan. 9	Edwina C. Crossan Bertha Crossan	St. Barrington St. Barrington	23 23	Teacher Teacher	St. Barrington St. Barrington	Oliver & Mary Ann Randall John & Madeline Smith	1 st 1 st	Minister of the Gospel St. Barrington St. Barrington	
56	Dec. 28 Barrington	Dec. 28	Edwin R. Humphrey Orla M. Rice	St. Barrington St. Barrington	26 26	Editor Teacher	St. Barrington St. Barrington	Edwin R. & Maria M. Crossan Edwin & Rebecca Rice	1 st 1 st	Leon A. Rice St. Barrington	
57	Dec. 28 Barrington	Dec. 27	Edwina M. Nichols Lena B. Crossan	St. Barrington St. Barrington	26 21	Teacher Teacher	St. Barrington St. Barrington	Edwina C. & Maria M. Crossan Robert & Lucy Howard	1 st 1 st	Minister of the Gospel St. Barrington Pastor, Springfield	
Additional Marriages, 1900											
58	Dec. 28 Barrington	Jan. 28	Yvonne E. Ashby John F. Rice	St. Barrington St. Barrington	25 25	Teacher Teacher	St. Barrington St. Barrington	Charles & Catherine Rice Edwin & Rebecca Rice	2 nd 2 nd	W. H. Richards St. Barrington	
59	Dec. 28 Barrington	Jan. 28	Charles H. Randall Bertha Crossan	St. Barrington St. Barrington	25 25	Teacher Teacher	St. Barrington St. Barrington	Edwin & Rebecca Rice John & Madeline Smith	1 st 1 st	Charles H. Randall St. Barrington	

The above columns for the Great Barrington marriage register listing in 1900 read as follows:

No., Date and Place of Marriage, Date of Record, Names and Surnames of Groom and Bride, Residence of Each at Time of Marriage, Age of each in years, Occupation of each, Place of Birth of each, Name of Parents of each, What Marriage, 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, Name, Residence, and official Station of Person by Whom Married. The recorded information:

Edward M. Wooster, from Great Barrington, was 26 and Lena B. Crossan, from Philadelphia, was 21; the marriage took place on Dec 26, 1900 and recorded the following day; Edward born in Great Barrington, was a laborer and Lena born in North Carolina, a cook; and their parents were Edward C. and Lucinda M. Burghardt and Roberi B. and Lizzie Mason.

Figure 7.2: Edward M. Wooster's 1918 Draft Registration

The image shows two pages of a 1918 draft registration card for Edward M. Wooster. The left page is the 'REGISTRATION CARD' and the right page is the 'REGISTRAR'S REPORT'.

REGISTRATION CARD (Left Page):

- REGISTRATION CARD**
- SERIAL NUMBER:** 4333
- CARD NUMBER:** 4920
- NAME:** Edward M. Wooster
- RESIDENCE:** 110 Howard Springfield Mass
- DATE OF BIRTH:** July 20 1892
- RACE:** White
- CITIZENSHIP:** U.S. Citizen
- PARENTS:** Edward C. Wooster, Lucinda M. Burghardt
- EMPLOYER'S NAME:** Granite Springfield Troop
- REGISTRAR'S NAME:** Lena B. Crossan
- REGISTRAR'S ADDRESS:** 119 Howard Springfield Mass

REGISTRAR'S REPORT (Right Page):

- REGISTRAR'S REPORT**
- REGISTRAR'S NAME:** Henry W. Lloyd
- DATE OF REGISTRATION:** Sept 16 1918
- LOCAL BOARD NO.:** 270
- STAMP OF LOCAL BOARD:** (The stamp of the Local Board having jurisdiction of the area in which the registrant has his permanent home shall be placed in this box.)

well into the 20th century. Here, as in most cities in the state, mill work was racialized space and closed to African Americans.

The 1820 Federal Census enumerators for Great Barrington did not record any occupations for people of color. The 1830 Federal Census did not track occupations. The 1840 Federal Census restored the three categories adopted in 1820 and reported that households led by people of color had 17 people engaged in agriculture, two in manufacturing, and one in commerce. One household had two occupations checked, agriculture and commerce.

Applying Horton and Horton's (1999: 139–140) three occupational categories for Boston, modified with Du Bois' (1973: 100-104) categories from Philadelphia, is useful in Great Barrington. From 1850 to 1900, the majority of African Americans in Great Barrington's unskilled and semiskilled category were listed as mostly laborers and housekeepers (see Table 7.2 and Appendix C). For example, the 1850 and 1860 Federal Censuses reported "laborer" as the majority male occupation with 25 for the former and 27, the latter. In 1860, the two most frequent female occupations were "servants" and "housekeepers" numbering 23 and 18 respectively (Eighth Federal Census). In 1860, additional occupations included: servant, housewife, domestic, coachman, waiter, clergyman, and hostler. The town lost its Black whitewasher and carrier. The whitewasher was Du Bois' grandfather Othello Burghardt, who by 1860 was listed as a laborer (Seventh and Eighth Federal Census).

By 1870, the two most frequent occupations for females and males were "keeping house" at 19 and "farm laborer" at 14 with 9 females listed as "domestic servant" (Ninth Federal Census). The 1870 Federal Census witnessed an increase in the number of

occupations from 9 to 14 respectively. These professions included: housekeeping, cook, waitresses, chambermaid, outdoor servant, porter, gardener, and farm laborer. The type of laborer became more specified in this census. By 1870, this practice had evolved and the plain laborer decreased and farm laborer became the major Black male occupation.

In 1880, males topped the list with 17 laborers and servants dominated female occupations with 4 in housework, 4 in keeping house, 1 in housekeeper, and 7 cooks (Tenth Federal Census). By the turn of the century, female cooks had risen to 21 and farm laborers 12, respectively (Twelfth Federal Census). According to the 1880 Federal Census, specific occupations remained at 14. However, some new occupations appeared and others disappeared. New additions for Great Barrington included a laundress, musician, and the clergyman returned.

The high number of cooks is an indicator that Irish immigrants had not yet replaced all African Americans in the domestic sphere of Great Barrington as happened in many large cities (Horton and Horton 1999). Irish immigrants were increasingly replacing African Americans in domestic service in Great Barrington (Du Bois 1968: 82).

The second largest category was skilled and entrepreneurial, however numbers were small. Black men in the skilled and entrepreneurial category had low numbers throughout the 19th century, and climbed to only eight by 1900. Females did not enter the skilled and entrepreneurial category until 1900, numbering only three. The 1900 Federal Census listed more skilled laborers appeared including: cooks, teamsters, barber, carpenter, dressmaker, caterer, music teacher, and a preacher.

Horton and Horton's (1999: 139–140) professional occupations modified with Du Bois' (1973: 100-104) categories included: doctors, dentist, trained nurses, ministers,

lawyers, music and school teachers, and students. These numbers were significantly lower. The 1850 to 1900 Federal Censuses for Great Barrington reported one professional, a “Baptist clergyman” listed in 1860 and 1880, a “preacher” in 1900, a “clergyman in 1910, and a “minister” in 1920 (see Appendix A and B for Horton and Horton’s, Thernstorm’s, and Du Bois’ occupation categories). Females did not enter the professional ranks until 1900, with one (Twelfth Federal Census).

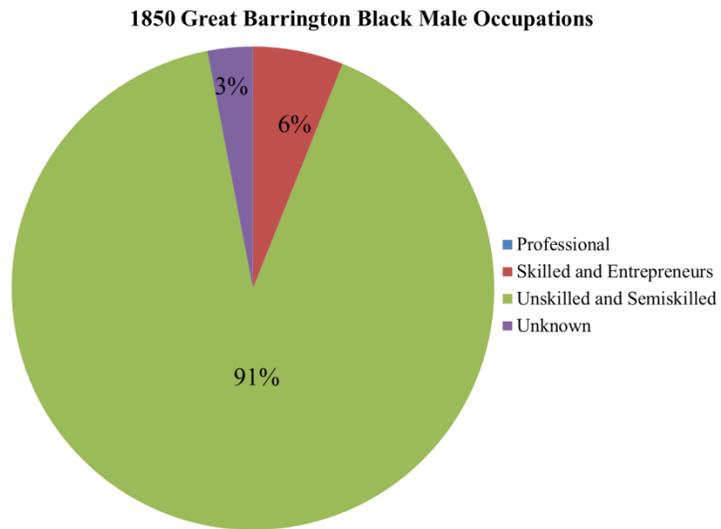
Appendix C provides all the African American occupations for Great Barrington from the Seventh through Fourteenth Federal Census (excluding the Eleventh Federal Census). The pie charts below from Figure 7.4 to 7.15 illuminate the relegation of the Black males and females in Great Barrington to unskilled and semiskilled occupations. These small decreases meant that more African Americans were slowly moving into skilled and entrepreneurial occupations. However, the domestic service of women was most likely more stable employment than laborer jobs. This “production inequality” mirrors that of a pre-1783 Massachusetts. It shows the workplace was also racialized space. For instance, mills and factories used immigrant labor not African American. Domestic work and laborer was African American space for a time.

Table 7.2: Great Barrington Occupational Category

Census Year	Professional	Skilled and Entrepreneurial	Unskilled and Semiskilled
	Female/Male	Female/Male	Female/Male
1850	0/0	0/2	0/31
1860	0/1	0/3	42/34
1870	0/0	0/1	34/24
1880	0/1	0/2	22/25
1900	1/1	3/10	43/38
1910	0/1	1/3	29/23
1920	0/2	4/2	20/23

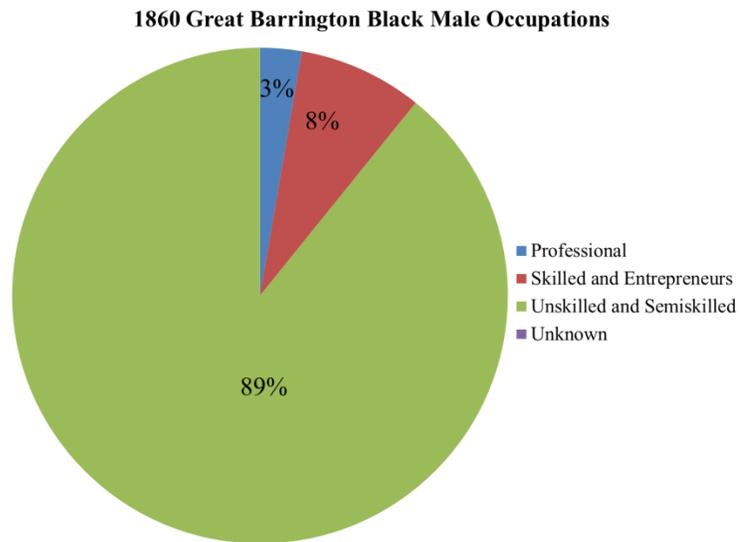
Source: Seventh through Fourteenth Federal Census

Figure 7.4: 1850 Great Barrington Black Male Occupations



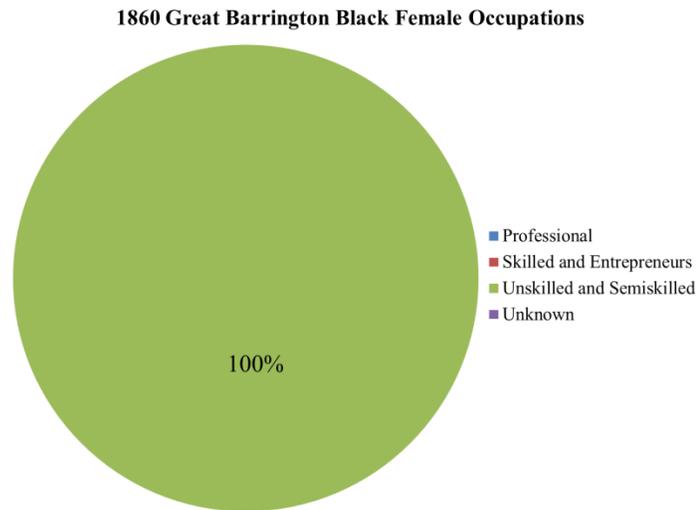
Source: Seventh Federal Census

Figure 7.5: 1860 Great Barrington Black Male Occupations



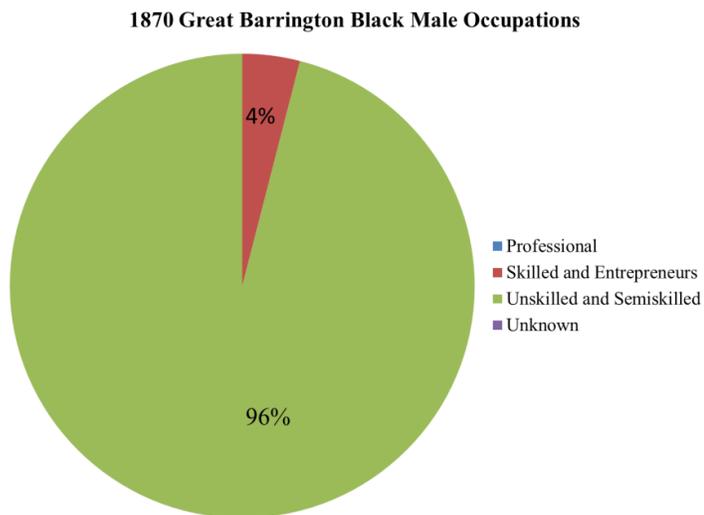
Source: Eighth Federal Census

Figure 7.6: 1860 Great Barrington Black Female Occupations



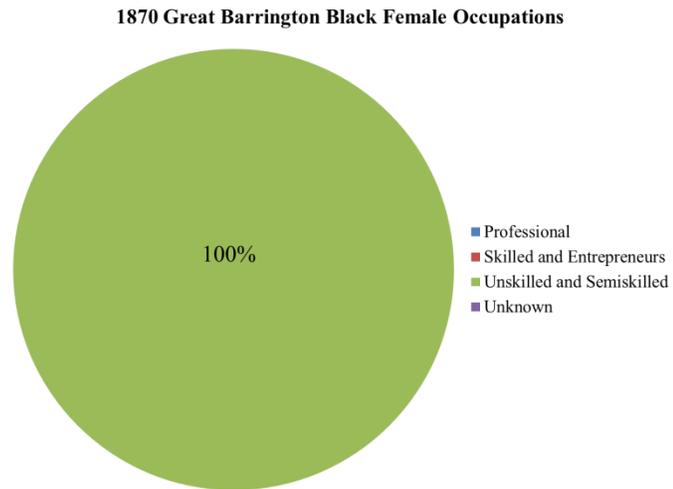
Source: Eighth Federal Census

Figure 7.7: 1870 Great Barrington Black Male Occupations



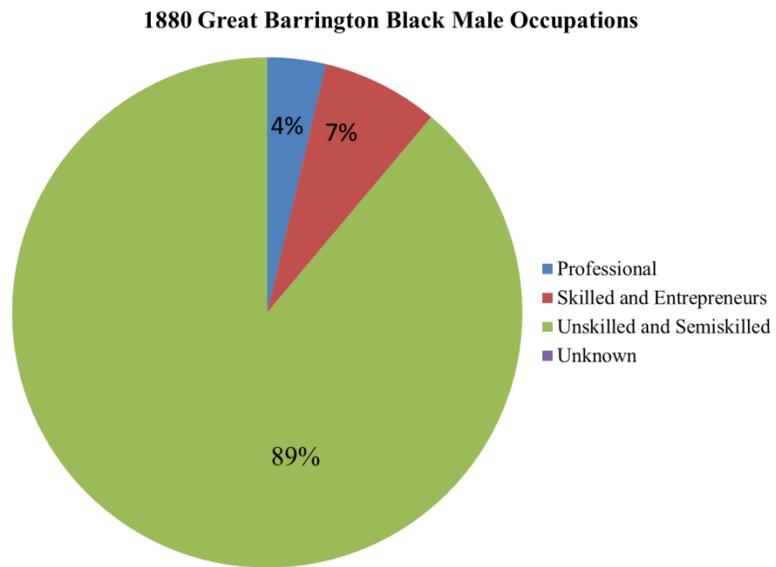
Source: Ninth Federal Census

Figure 7.8: 1870 Great Barrington Black Female Occupations



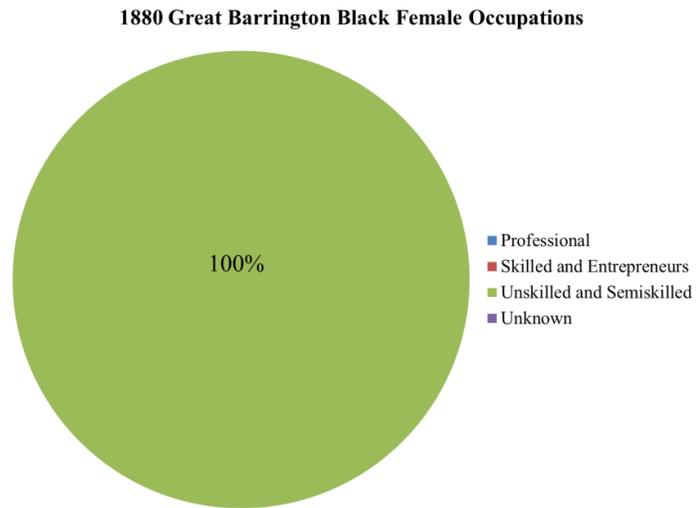
Source: Ninth Federal Census

Figure 7.9: 1880 Great Barrington Black Male Occupations



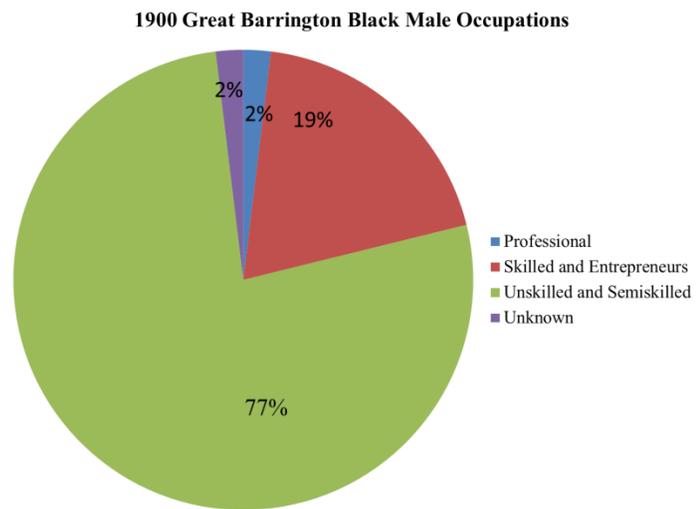
Source: Tenth Federal Census

Figure 7.10: 1880 Great Barrington Black Female Occupations



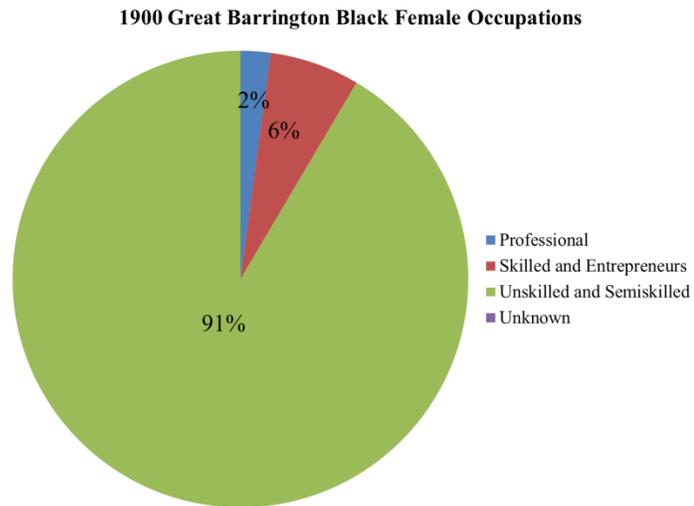
Source: Tenth Federal Census

Figure 7.11: 1900 Great Barrington Black Male Occupations



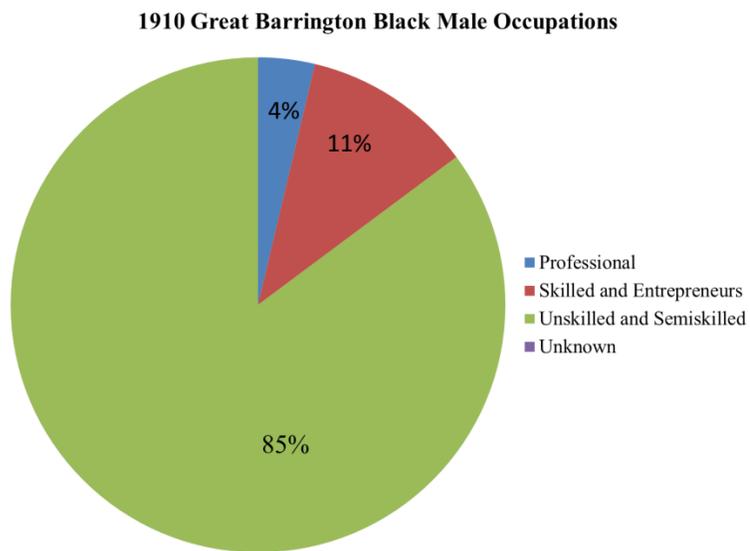
Source: Twelfth Federal Census

Figure 7.12: 1900 Great Barrington Black Female Occupations



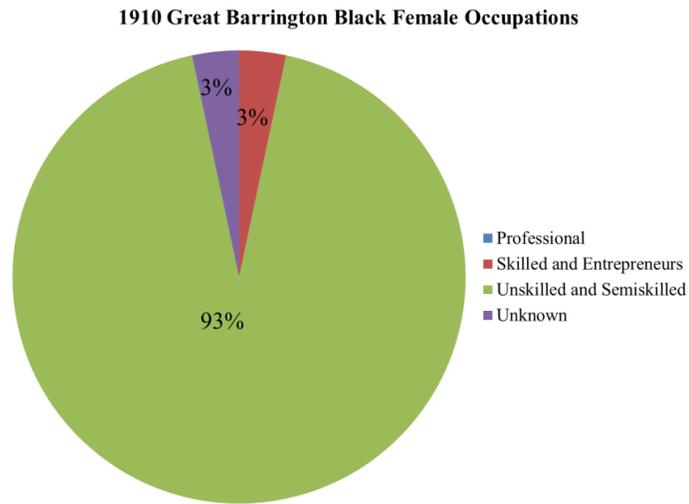
Source: Twelfth Federal Census

Figure 7.13: 1910 Great Barrington Black Male Occupations



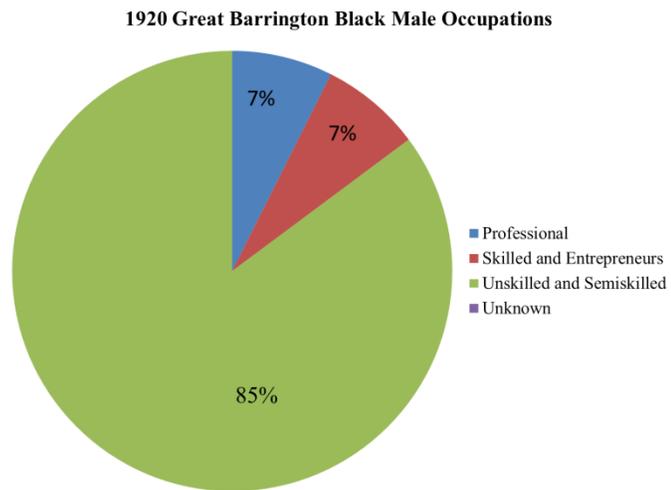
Source: Thirteenth Federal Census

Figure 7.14: 1910 Great Barrington Black Female Occupations



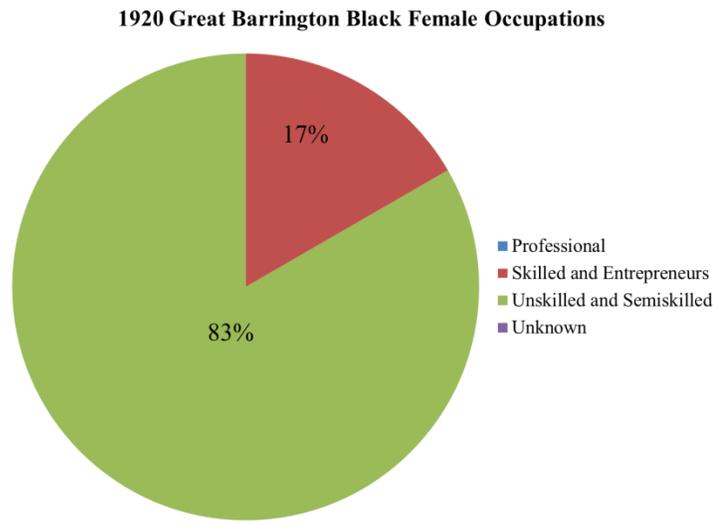
Source: Thirteenth Federal Census

Figure 7.15: 1920 Great Barrington Black Male Occupations



Source: Fourteenth Federal Census

Figure 7.16: 1920 Great Barrington Black Female Occupations



Source: Fourteenth Federal Census

Racialization Structures

In *The Autobiography of W.E.B. DuBois: A Soliloquy on Viewing My Life from the Last*, W.E.B. Du Bois eloquently illustrates his experiences growing up in Great Barrington, Massachusetts. In it, he presents a view of a diversified landscape with few racial tensions, but was this really the case (Du Bois 1968: 74)? Might a young, light-skinned “Willie” who had many White friends and spent time in their homes because he was not, for whatever reason, considered a threat to the racial order have said otherwise? Du Bois does seem to recognize racial boundaries; for instance he describes how, when his elementary school class exchanged visiting cards, his was refused by a White girl who was new to the town (Du Bois 1994: 2; Lewis 1993: 32). This chapter is telling in many ways because it illuminates the difference between an established African American family in a small rural New England town versus those migrating to the region from the South. What was the racial climate of the Berkshires and Great Barrington at the turn of the 19th century? According to Du Bois (1968: 96), “The color line was manifest and yet

not absolutely drawn.” Additionally, he recounts in his youth that he feared the Irish and stayed away from their part of the town because they tried to attack him and called him a “nigger” (Du Bois 1968: 82).

These views by Great Barrington residents concerning people of African descent are not hard to discern. The racialized place naming is an excellent indicator. According to local historian Bernard Drew (2004: 11), Lake Agawam and Lake Clark were once known as “Nigger Pond” and sometimes “Nigger hollow pond” until the 1960s. The Stockbridge plain also had racialized names, for example, “Negro Pond” and “Negro Swamp” (Drew 1999: 373, 2004: 11). Additionally, Bernard Drew (1999) has utilized local newspapers from the Berkshires to explore the racial landscape of Great Barrington in the early 20th century. Citing information from the *Berkshire Times*, Drew provides examples of the racialized vocabulary, socialization, and actions of some townspeople in the 19th and 20th centuries. The African American homesteads on the plain outside of town near the Green River, he explains, was referred to as “Nigger Hill” and the black rocks protruding from the ground after winter were referred to in print as “nigger heads” (Drew 1999: 373, 2004: 21). This name may seem odd in its association with boulders protruding out of the ground. However, the term “nigger” was in very public use by many Americans, including public officials, in the first few decades of the 20th century and “nigger head” was apparently very familiar since products bore these names (e.g. Nigger Head tobacco, Nigger Head oysters, Nigger Head teas, Nigger Head stove polish, and Nigger Head Brand canned fruits and vegetables) (Kern-Foxworth 1994: 30; Lusane 1997: 162). The landscape was heavily racialized in the last decades of the 19th century and early 20th century. A Klu Klux Klan rally took place in the town in 1927 and the

usage of the term “Nigger Bridge” in a 1916 edition of the paper illustrates the racialized nature of space in Great Barrington during this time (Drew 1999: 373).

Spatial Structures

The spatial landscape of Great Barrington assists with understanding the racialization of space. The United States Census is a useful document for many purposes, including its ability to provide clues about racialized space. It also provides a spatial layout of where everyone in the town resides. Throughout the 19th century, the population of Great Barrington continued to increase with federal censuses revealing some reductions in 1810, 1830, 1870, and 1920 (see Table 7.3). Table 7.4 is a comparison of the White and Black population of Great Barrington from 1790 to 1920. The number of independent Black households would grow along with the population and decrease as the population did. As early as 1790, there were 5 households headed by people of African descent and by 1900 there were 25. Although Rosseter Street is considered the Black neighborhood in Great Barrington, it was always a mixed neighborhood even with the Clinton AME Zion Church on Elm Court (Levinson 2006: 190-191; Muller 2001; Seventh through Twelfth Federal Census). This might be an indicator that people lived where they could afford, especially with the older Black New England families.

In the 1820 Federal Census, Berkshire County differed from Essex County by recording “free people of color” households and not just totaling the numbers at the end of the schedule. The 1820 Great Barrington Federal Census recorded three small clusters of people of color. For the most part, there were no sections of the town that were segregated with just people of color. However, there were three clusters, one with three households of nine people, one with three households totaling 19, and one with two

households of seven people of color (Fourth Federal Census). Two other families were living next to each other, but their numbers were also small with six in one household and a lone female next door (Fourth Federal Census). In 1830, there were still no large concentrations of people of color.

By 1850, no Black neighborhoods existed in Great Barrington, but there were three clusters of two to four households. Rosseter Street in Great Barrington was considered the Black neighborhood, but it was always a mixed neighborhood (Levinson 2006: 190-191; Muller 2001). Again, people lived where they could afford and no groupings existed larger than four families living next to each other. However, this ensured wealthy Whites their own living space in town. The 1880 Great Barrington Federal Census was recorded by the various districts of the town and African Americans were dispersed amongst five census districts. The district with the most African Americans was 056 with a total of 124. District 057 was second with 95 and district 058 was next with 69 people.

I did find some discrepancies in the federal census data. For example, the 1840 Federal Census, where there were 111 “free colored persons” listed. This is actually a mistake. There are actually 119 “free colored persons” when the numbers are counted individually. It appears the mistake happened when the end of page tallies on the schedules were brought forward. In the “under 10” category for males, there are actually 19 males not, 11. On or about page 15 of the worksheet, the 9 in 19 begins to flatten out, so when the numbers are brought forward to the top of page 16, the 9 is almost a 1 and can easily be mistaken as an 11 at the end of the sheet. Of the 119 Black people residing

in Great Barrington in 1840, 88 lived in 20 households of people of color. The other 31 lived in 18 White households.

A third example comes from the 1850 Federal Census where 123 Blacks and mulattos are listed on the manuscript schedules. Actually, there were 125 Black people. Othello and Sarah Burghardt were initially listed as Black, but then the letter B's were heavily scratched out and the two were included in the counts for Whites at the bottom of the page (Seventh Federal Census). A final example comes from the 1900 Federal Census which reported the African American population as 138. However, my numerous counts of the Great Barrington schedules only came up with 130. I am not sure if any of the manuscript schedules were missing.

Table 7.3: Great Barrington African American Population 1790 to 1920

Year	Population	Total # of Black Households	Total # of Black People in Black Households	Total # of White Households with Blacks	Total # of Black People in White Households	Total # of Black Female Headed Households
1790	46	5	21(45.6%)	12	25(54.3%)	0
1800	56	9	40(70.1%)	7	16(28%)	0
1810	53	8	40(75.4%)	9	13(24.5%)	0/1*
1820	82	12	53(65%)	21	29(35%)	0
1830	75	9	48(64%)	22	27(6%)	0
1840	111 (119)**	20	88(73.9%)	18	31(26%)	2*
1850	123 (125)**	21	95(75%)	21	30(24%)	5
1860	149	25	110(74%)	25	39(26%)	4
1870	93	22	77(83%)	10	16(17%)	3
1880	123	26	108(87%)	11	15(12.1%)	5
1890	125	No Data	No Data	No Data	No Data	No Data
1900	138	25	87(66.9%)+	32	43(33%)+	9
1910	104	26	92(88.4%)	11	12(11.5%)	5
1920	82	21	68(82.9%)	13	14(17%)	5

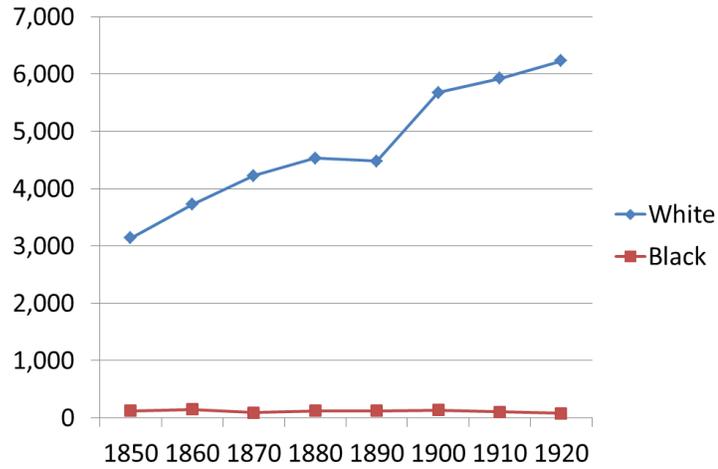
Source: First through Twelfth Federal Censuses

*These are possible numbers because the first names are illegible and the eldest people in the household are women.

**111 and 123 are the published numbers, but manuscript sheets count 119 and 125

+Based on a count of 130

Table 7.4: Great Barrington White and African American Population 1850 to 1920



Source: Seventh through Fourteenth Federal Censuses

Political/Legal Structures

There is a link between education and occupations in 19th and early 20th century Massachusetts. As mentioned in Chapter III, Whites allowed limited space socially, politically, and economically to Black people, which meant where possible Blacks were taught in segregated schools of lower quality (Moss 2009: 162). In the early 19th century, education beyond grammar school was only available to those who could afford it. Many towns could not afford high schools. For example, Great Barrington did not establish a high school until 1868 (Drew 1999: 323; Levinson 2006: 167; Taylor et al. 1928: 313). Du Bois pointed out that the high school was not popular with many in the town and only received a small appropriation (Du Bois 1968: 92). In fact, Du Bois with the help of his mother felt they needed to justify to the “Black Burghards” that continuing on to high school was necessary because all of them only had an elementary education (Lewis 1993: 31). Additionally, he noted that he and one other person of color attended the facility and the latter only for a short period of time (Du Bois 1968). Du Bois graduated from high school in 1884.

For many African Americans education was an important component of advancement, full citizenship and moral uplift, as Table 7.5 illustrates. This was evident in Great Barrington, where school enrollment was above 50% except in 1880 and 1900, when it dropped to 37% and 36.8%. However, it rose to 86.3% in 1910, but decreased in 1920 to 71.4%. In 1850, Great Barrington reported 25 (83.3%) out of 30 school-age Black children (5-14) attended school in the last year. Three of these children were only four years old. Only two children (Van Ness family) of that 25 were residing in White households. The two Black children not attending school in the past year were males, age 11 and 14, from the Black household of Abram Piper.

Table 7.5: Great Barrington Educational Chart

Census Year	Eligible /Attending	Eligible /Attending	Eligible /Attending
		Female	Male
1850	30(Ages 5-14)/25 (83.3%)*	18/11(61.1%)	12/11(91.6%)
1860	36(Ages 5-14)/24 (66.6%)**	17/10(58.8%)	19/14(73.6%)
1870	22(Ages 5-18)/14 (63.6%)	15/9 (60%)	7/5 (71.4%)
1880	27(Ages 5-18)/10 (37%)	16/6(37.5%)	11/4(36.3%)
1900	19(Ages 5-18)/7 (36.8%)	12/5(41.6%)	7/2(28.5%)
1910	22(Ages 5-18)/19 (86.3%)	10/9(90%)	12/10(83.3%)
1920	23(Ages 5-18) 15 (71.4%)	12/7(58.3%)	11/8(72.7%)

*If four-year-olds were listed as in school, they were included in the eligible and attending counts.

**A 16-year-old in religious school was included in the eligible and attending counts. (Source: Seventh through Fourteenth Federal Censuses)

Ten years later, 36 Black children between the ages of 5 and 14 from 28 homes were school-age. However, only 24 (66.6%) of these children from 13 Black-headed households attended school and one 16-year-old male was attending religious school. Six school-age Black children living in White households had not attended school in the last

year. By 1870, there were 14 (63.6%) out of 22 school-age Black children between the ages of 5 and 18 attending school in Great Barrington. The youngest of the 14 Black children in school was 6 and the oldest was 16. All children in attendance were from Black households. There were 15 households with Black school-age children split between 13 in African American-led households and two in White. Only nine African American households sent children to school.

Three school-age children living in White households, an 18-year-old female and two 16-year-old females, all domestics, had not attended school in the last year. By age 18 most children probably had finished high school in Great Barrington or never even attended, so they would have left public schooling by age 14. There were three 18-year-olds and three 16-year-olds who had not attended school in the past year (Ninth Federal Census).

In 1880, the number of children attending school in the last year had decreased to 10 (37%) and the number eligible (5 to 18) had increased to 27 (Tenth Federal Census). There were 18 households with school-age African American children separated into 15 Black households and three White households. In 1900, there were seven children out of 19 children between the ages of 5 and 18 that attended school in the past year. There were 13 households with school-age children split between 9 African American households and 4 White households. Only four of those African American households had children in school. This was the first year that the percentage of African American children dropped below 50%.

By 1910, school attendance had increased to 86% with 19 out of 22 eligible children attending (Thirteenth Federal Census). The three not attending included an 18-

year-old female doing housework and two 17-year-old males, where 1 had no occupation and the other was a sawyer. Out of 12 eligible African American households, 11 had children attending and one even had a boarder that was listed as attending school (Thirteenth Federal Census). By 1920, there was a slight decrease in African American school attendance. For example, out of 23 eligible African American school children, only 15 (71.4%) were in attendance (Fourteenth Federal Census).

Education was the foundation of the nation's creation and maintenance of its habitus and doxa. It assisted in the perpetuation of racialized social, political, and economic structures. The focus here is on education's intersection with the racialized economic structure, in which limited schooling was needed for African descent children because the majority of their occupations would remain in the unskilled and semiskilled labor force.

Social Structures

After abolition, issues foremost in the minds of northern Blacks were full citizenship in the new republic and the abolition of slavery. The documentary record provides little direct insight on the attitudes of the Great Barrington African American community prior to the Civil War. However, we do know Massachusetts was a haven to the East for captive Africans from New York and a haven to the North for captive Africans in Connecticut. As mentioned in Chapter IV, Connecticut implemented a gradual emancipation law in 1784 that only freed captive Africans born after March 1st of that year after 25 years of service, which meant an actual emancipation date of 1809. The state did not abolish slavery until 1848. New York also passed a gradual emancipation law in 1799, which supposedly freed all captive born children born after

July 4, 1799, though females had to serve until 25-years-old and males, 28. The state abolished the institution in 1827 (Alexander 2008: 3).

The establishment of houses of worship separate from White churches was an important development for African Americans because separate churches became the bedrock of the Black community. Great Barrington's Black community did not establish its own religious entity until 1870, when local and southern African Americans formed the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Society and, by 1884, became the Clinton African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church / Second Congregational Church and built a church on Elm Court in 1887 (Levinson 2006: 111). This society, and later, church served as the foundation of the Black community by providing a place to socialize as well as a place to create aid societies and political activism to assist the uplift of the race. This event might be seen as the first major movement to throw off the yoke of paternalism in Great Barrington, which seems to happen later in rural areas.

Military Service

Towns in the Berkshires were not isolated from the events of the American Revolution. For instance, after securing the cannon from Fort Ticonderoga in 1775, Henry Knox's route to the Continental siege lines around Boston proceeded north of Great Barrington and British prisoners of war from the surrender at Saratoga in 1777 marched through the town enroute to prison camps (Drew 1999: 201-202). These rights were often elusive, especially full citizenship well into the 20th century. Military service by Blacks was part and parcel of the argument - "I, too am America."

People of African descent in the Berkshires also supported the cause of independence. According to a National Society Daughters of the American Revolution study published in 2008, seven people of African descent from Great Barrington fought

in in the American Revolution, with two others possible (Grundset 2008: 99-150). Black males from the region would again answer the call for military service during the Civil War, serving in the 54th Massachusetts Infantry regiments (Colored) and the 5th Massachusetts Cavalry regiment (Colored). A total of 18 African Americans from Great Barrington served in the army during the Civil War: 12 with the 54th Massachusetts and six with the 5th Massachusetts Cavalry (Levinson 2006: 74, 79). Othello Burghardt's grandson, Levi H. Jackson, by daughter Lucinda and her husband Jacob Jackson, died serving in the 54th Massachusetts. Othello Burghardt's grandsons, Abraham and James, by daughter Jane and her husband Abraham Jackson, both served in the 54th Massachusetts, possibly at Fort Wagner, and Othello served in the 5th Massachusetts Cavalry (Emilio 1891: 153, 478, 480; Levinson 2006: 74, 79; Muller 2001: 128; Taylor 1882: 478).

Sex Ratios

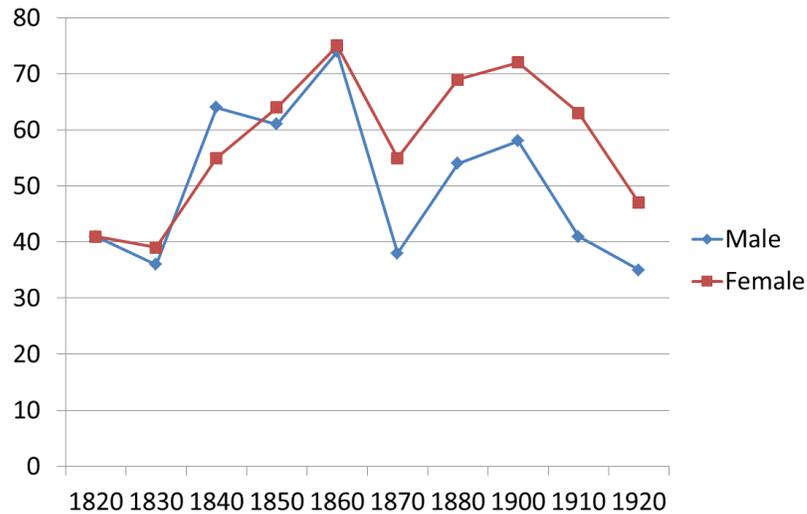
The ratio of females to males is important because it is an indication of the ability of the town's Black population to perpetuate itself. It can be an indicator of a declining population, as in Concord and Andover, discussed in Chapters IV and V. The ability to acquire mates and find employment to provide for that mate and any offspring is important for a population within a town or city. Throughout the 19th century and into the 20th century, the African Americans population had a sex ratio that assured a continuance of their population. The 1820 census is the first to separate the sexes. In Great Barrington, sex ratios from 1820 until 1860 were even or relatively so for people of color. However, in 1870, 1880, and 1900 there was a large disparity, as women outnumbered men by 17, 15, and 14 in those years (see data in Tables 7.6 and 7.7, and Figure 7.17 with complete data Tables in Appendix D).

Table 7.6: Great Barrington Sex Numbers and Percentages for African Americans 1820 to 1920

Year	Female	Male
1820	41(50%)	41(50%)
1830	39(52%)	36(48%)
1840	55(46%)	64(54%)
1850	64(51%)	61(49%)
1860	75(50%)	74(50%)
1870	55(59%)	38(41%)
1880	69(56%)	54(43%)
1890	No Data	No Data
1900	72(55%)	58(45%)
1910	63(61%)	41(39%)
1920	47(57.3%)	35(42.6%)

Source: Fourth through Fourteenth Federal Censuses

Figure 7.17: Great Barrington Sex Numbers of African American 1820 to 1920



Source: Fourth through Fourteenth Federal Censuses

The sex ratios of the Black population in Great Barrington reveal a trend. There is relative sex parity within the population from 1820 until 1860 (see Table 7.7). However, there is a large population decrease among African Americans from its height of 149 in 1860 to 93 in 1870. Although there was a war between 1860 and 1870, only 12

males from Great Barrington served in the military and all but 2 returned home at the end of the conflict. In 1870, there were 55 females and 38 males. What happened? A lack of employment opportunities might be a contributing factor. Ninety-six percent of the male population were semiskilled and unskilled workers, and the majority of these were some form of laborer (see Appendix C). A racialized job market most likely contributed to a decrease in Black males who departed the town in search of work. From 1890 to 1920, African American male ratios never gained parity with African American females. What kept the population going into the 20th century was most likely an infusion of southern African Americans after the Civil War.

Table 7.7: Great Barrington African American Key Years Sex Ratios 1820 to 1920

Year	Critical Age Groups	Total African American Population Female/Male	African American Households Female/Male	African American in White Households Female/Male
1820	14 - 26	7/11	5/5	2/6
	26 - 45	10/12	7/8	3/4
1830	10 to 24	8/10	3/7	4/3
	24 to 36	9/6	5/5	4/1
1840	10 to 24	11/10	6/5	5/5
	24 to 36	17/15	11/11	6/4
1850	19-40	19/22	16/10	3/12
1860	19-39	27/19	17/12	10/7
1870	19-39	22/13	16/10	6/3
1880	19-39	28/16	24/16	4/0
1890	19-39	No Data	No Data	No Data
1900	19-39	31/30	20/13	18/10
1910	19-39	27/16	19/16	8/0

Source: Fourth through Fourteenth Federal Censuses

Material Culture Assemblage of the Black Burghardts

Excavations at the W.E.B. Du Bois Homesite in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, were conducted in 1983, 1984, 2003, and 2012. Intensive surveys were conducted in July 1983 and 1984 to investigate “the area behind the cellar hole, searching for evidence of

barns, outbuildings, fencing, pathways, and agricultural land use” that might have been associated with the agricultural landscape as well as in relation to the house (Paynter et al. 2010: Chap 4, 2). The 1983 work consisted of a site walkover, documentary work, and subsurface excavations. In 1984, the research questions focused on what was believed at that time to be outbuildings north of the house where resistivity readings provided mixed results (Paynter et al. 2010: Chap 4, 2). The work also concentrated on trash pits, magnetometer anomalies in what was called Midden B, and house-related features (Paynter et al. 2008: Chap 2, 28-29). Many of these questions carried over to the 2003 excavation season. This was the first excavation that focused on the house. The four research questions were:

How was the side yard used?
What is the integrity of the House remains?
What was the location of barn footings?
What was the depth and stratigraphy of the middens?
(Paynter et al. 2010: Chap 4, 2)

The 2003 excavations changed many of the interpretations of the 1980s. Early analysis of the site suggested that there was a barn in what was originally called Midden A and house remains in what was labeled Midden B (Paynter, et al. 1994). The 21st century analysis concluded that the original house was bulldozed or pushed to the locations of what was earlier called Midden A and B. This means that most of the surface artifacts retrieved from the former Middens was actually from the Burghardt house. In addition, with documentary research and field observations, it was discovered that the actual property owned by the Burghardts was much smaller than the site of the present homesite.

My research focused on the following themes: racialization, daily life, and consumerism. The Du Bois Homesite is a good site to explore my research questions

because of its length of occupation, which extended from 1820 to 1954, and possibly commenced as early as 1795. According to Paynter et al. (2008: Chapter 4 pp. 66), many of the artifacts recovered from what was labeled Midden A and B were dated to the occupancy of Edward M. and Lena Wooster. The majority of the 30,000 artifacts date to the late 19th and early 20th centuries. However, I posit that some of the assemblage was left in place after each occupant moved or passed away. Additionally, I believe the deepest occupation levels have not been reached.

Racialization

As mentioned earlier, this study engages Paynter's general categories: foodways, personal, information, and work (nonfood) (Paynter 2004, 2008). There are possibly a few items of racialization in the assemblage. These items are a possible *minkisi* bundle, a marble made in Germany with a possible BaKongo cosmogram, and parts of a White doll. The *minkisi* bundle and marble will be discussed with regards to transition below.

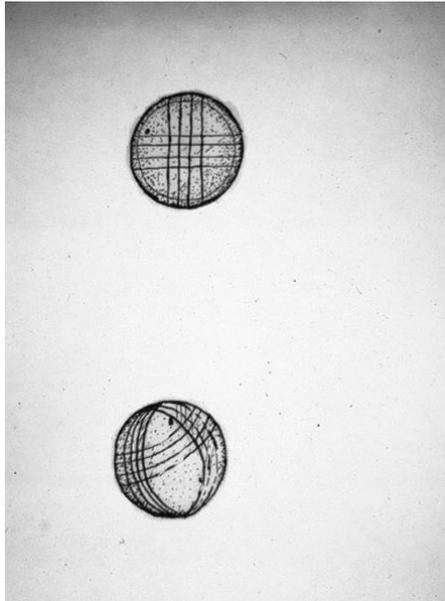
Paynter et al. (2005: 7) develop an interpretation of the desires and constraints on parents' abilities to create a habitus for their children. An early 20th-century stratum associated with a family with a number of children contained a European skin tone doll and a marble with a cruciform pattern (Paynter et al. 2005: 7). They argue that the market may have constrained the parents' choice of a doll for their daughters, but the multivalency of the German marble allowed them access to an African symbol for their children (Paynter et al. 2005: 7).

The marble is a white sphere with three sets of parallel lines crossing at right angles 45 degrees apart from one another. If the marble is held with the lines aligned horizontally and vertically with one of the intersections facing the viewer, they create a cruciform pattern enclosed by the circular two-dimensional shape of the sphere. This

kind of marble, called a China's Alley (see Figure 7.18), was manufactured in Germany in the 19th century (Opie and Opie 1997: 50; Paynter et al. 2010: Chapter 2 pp. 33).

Paynter et al. (2010: Chapter 2 pp. 34) ask the question: "Could it be that parents were particularly attracted to this marble because of its resonance with African spiritual beliefs?"

Figure 7.18: A China's Alley marble from the W.E.B. Du Bois Homesite



Tess Ostrowski, drawing used with permission by Robert Paynter

A BaKongo Cosmogram is the way the BaKongo people of Central Africa conceptualized the movement of life through the physical and spiritual world (Thomas 1983: 106, 108-116; Woodruff et al. 2007: 170-171). The cosmogram of Yowa symbol is a circle (Figure 7.19), and represents Earth with horizontal and vertical lines that resemble a cross separating the world into four parts. The horizontal line divided the land of the living (above the line) from the land of the dead (below the line). The land of the dead was considered water. The vertical line separated the world into east and west, and movement around this circle was counter clockwise. Just as on earth, the sun rose in the

east and set in the west. The counter clock wise movement also was the start of life at the right side of the circle and it took the individual to the death on the left side and continued through the water back to the start point for rebirth.

Figure 7.19: Yowa Symbol

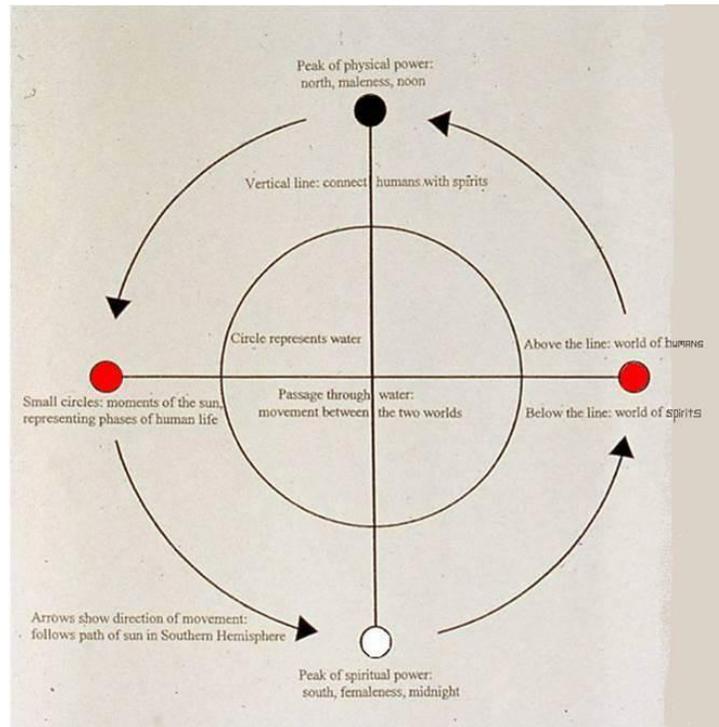


Chart Courtesy of Janet Woodruff, Lab Technician for the Archaeology Laboratory for African & African Diaspora Studies (AALADS)

Black dolls have been around North America since the 17th century, and since that time their construction materials have included cloth, wood, paper, papier-mâché, bisque, porcelain, rubber, and plastic (Gibbs and Gibbs 1989: 6; Martin 2014b: 141, Martin 2014a: 3; Perkins 1993: 19, 24). By the mid-19th century, some Black dolls became racialized with exaggerated features and pejorative names, and were stereotypically cast as domestics and laborers on a mythical antebellum landscape. European constructed dolls as well as those manufactured in the United States often used molds with exaggerated features or White doll molds. In the 1850s, there were no fewer

than eight racialized Black dolls on the market with the number increasing to nine in the 1860s. By the 1870s, those numbers leveled off with eight and then nine in the 1880s. Near the end of the 1880s, the Butler Brothers firm was selling a Black doll named “Black baby” and followed this theme in the 1890s with “Glazer Nigger Baby” and “Glazed Nigger Doll.” Starting with the 1890s, the number of racialized Black dolls began to increase over each subsequent decade. That decade witnessed no fewer than 20 on the market (Martin 2014b: 145-146, 2014a: 4). In the 1890s, other racialized dolls that entered the marketplace included Golliwogg, Topsy, Pickaninny, Aunt Sally, and double headed dolls (Darkey head and bigger head). These dolls had derogatory words as names or in their descriptions and also had exaggerated features and stereotypical outfits appropriate for a domestic servant for women and farm laborer for men.

By the first decade of the 20th century, the number of racialized Black dolls had increased to no fewer than 35 and the second decade of the 20th to 37 (Martin 2014a: 4, 2014b: 145-146). The 1920s marked the peak of racialized Black dolls on the market – with 55 (Martin 2014a: 4, 2014b: 145-146). The 1930s witnessed a decrease to no less than 39. In the 1940s, the number dropped even further to 17. There were no less than 237 Black racialized dolls on the market between 1850 and 1940 (some were probably repeat dolls) (Martin 2014a: 4-5, 2014b: 145-146).

Black dolls with positive images did exist in the 19th century, but were expensive. For example, Leo Moss, an African American handyman from Macon, Georgia, produced Black dolls made of papier-mâché from 1880 to 1932, made mostly for the European market (Perkins 1993: 12-13). In 1908, as a counterweight to negative doll images that saturated the landscape of the United States, Black Baptists began to produce

their Black dolls, creating the National Negro Doll Company. In a few years, other African American doll companies, such as Marcus Garvey's Berry and Ross and the National Colored Doll and Toy Company, had entered the marketplace (Martin 2014a: 5, 2014b: 142; Mitchell 2004: 182; Perkins 1993: 24, 1995: 35-36;). There were also White owned companies such as the Gadsden Doll Company and E.M.S. Novelty Company, selling realistic Black dolls (Perkins 1995; Mitchell 2004: 182-184). Many of these companies advertised their dolls in *The Crisis* and *The Negro World* during the second decade of the 20th century and described the dolls in positive terms and called attention to the approval by clergy and other Black leaders. The purpose of these dolls was to instill racial pride in Black youth by forming an intervention against the racial inferiority perpetuated by the stereotypical advertisements of dolls sold by major department stores (see the advertisements in Martin 2014a: app. 1-3).

In the Wooster household, the pink doll might have lived in an integrated bedroom. The Wooster's might have had Black dolls in their bedroom and taken them to Springfield with them. Additionally, any handmade dolls lost on the landscape would not have survived the acidic soil of New England. With only three small doll fragments, dating is hard (see Figure 7.20). It cannot be determined whether the doll indoctrinated ascribed norms of proper dress. There are many variables present. When the doll broke, was the head repaired, thereby returning a favorite doll to the bedroom and accompanying the family to Springfield, Massachusetts? Was the doll seen as a product of racialization and broken on purpose?

Figure 7.20: Doll Fragments from the W.E.B. Du Bois Homesite



Photo by Robert Paynter and used with his permission

The heavy ironstone plates and cups found at the homesite might be an indicator of waiter work in hotels and restaurant. Some of these ironstone plates were produced by Greenwood China Company in Trenton, New Jersey, from 1886-1910 (Lehner 1988: 188). Du Bois (1968: 63) had stated that his family included waiters. Paul Mullins (1996, 1999a, 1999b) also found hotelware in the assemblages of some African American homes in Annapolis, where the African Americans worked as domestics in the city hotels or at the U.S. Naval Academy. He suggests that the hotelwares might have been given as gifts by hotel/academy management or the workers pilfered the items as supplemental pay for their meager wages. Could this have happened at the Du Bois site? The Great Barrington tourist and vacation industry might have functioned for the town's Black community as the Naval Academy did for the Annapolis Black community as the source of these hotelwares.

Since a major portion of habitus is inculcation in the home, the Woosters and earlier occupants of the house on South Egremont Road were participating in some of the Victorian practices of the day, for instance, tea parties. In the early 20th century, the Wooster's might have been creating an environment centered on racial pride. The hotelware links to earlier discussions on the occupations of African Americans in Great Barrington during the 19th and early 20th centuries. The presence of hotelware is an indicator of racialized space in the jobs available to African Americans in Great Barrington. It is also a statement on the diet of the individuals

Daily Life

My second question concerned the daily life at the Du Bois homesite, especially with the women of the household. Every aspect of daily life was recovered from the four excavations. To study daily life, I focused on artifacts from the collection in the foodways, personal, information, and work (non-food) categories (see Table 7.8).

Table 7.8: Artifacts to ascertain daily life

Foodways	Personal	Information	Work (non-food)
procurement	Clothing/buttons	production and storage	domestic
preparation	shoes	writing instruments	tools
Service	cosmetic	inkwells	arms/weapons
remains	decorative	books	fishing gear
Alcohol	medicinal		container
	recreational		miscellaneous items

J. E. A. Smith's (1869: 52) illumination of the necessary functions to maintain a household in western Massachusetts can be used to understand the Burghardts' and later Wooster's establishment of homeplace on South Egremont Road. These chores were strenuous, and included washing, cooking, sewing, fetching water, cleaning, spinning, weaving, brewing, soap making, and candle making (Smith 1869: 51-52). Additionally,

most homes were farmhouses, which added more chores to the list that included work in kitchen gardens, caring for livestock, and using animals as sources of sustenance, like milking cows (Smith 1869: 51-52). Most of these duties were performed by women.

Material culture that exhibits daily life consisted of multiple types of ceramics, shoe fragments, medicinal bottles, storage containers, consumer products, toys, sewing items, buttons, writing instruments, and occupation related items. Any artifact in the assemblage represents aspects of daily life. Along with the other sewing items in the assemblage, we can conclude that clothing was mended and possibly made at the homesite. Clothing was and still is a symbol of status and the construction of your own was a way to circumvent expensive outfits in stores, allowed control of the look, and made sure it conformed with community standards (Wilkie 2000a: 160). Thimbles and a darning egg, which was used to repair socks (or if it had an elliptical end, to use in a chicken's nest to encourage egg production) are indicators of mending clothes. Woodruff (2001: 22) provides another function for the buttons in her reinterpretation of the Lighthouse community in the hills of Barkhamsted, Connecticut, noting that in the 19th century, buttons could have been repurposed as playthings by creating button-strings or used in the place of marbles (Mescher 1997). Buttons also had a function in African spiritual systems. Leone and Fry (1999) note that buttons were a common component of *minkisi* bundles and could function as charms or amulets. In the information category, ink wells, slate, and slate pencils were recovered.

In 1983, a plethora of glass including medicinal bottles and beauty care products was recovered. The clear medicinal bottles date from after 1875 until about 1920 (Fike 1987: 13; Paynter et al. 2010: 12). Patent medicine bottles listed in Table 7.9 were also

recovered in the 1983 and 1984 excavations. The presence of patent medicines tells us that some of the people in the household were sickly and were conducting home medical care because these were proprietary medicines. However, access to medical facilities must be taken into account. For instance, the first hospital in Great Barrington did not open until 1917, but the town did have doctors (Drew 1999; Levinson 2006). This means that many people in the town were probably conducting home medical care.

Table 7.9: Du Bois Site Patent Medicine Bottles

Patent Medicine Bottle	Dates	Comments	Source
Ayer's Sarsaparilla	1843-1938	Blood renovator and claimed to cure "scrofulas affections and disease arising from changes of the season..."	(Fike 1987: 94, 214; Paynter et al. 1994: 35-36; 2009: Chap 2, 60-62)
"Warner's Safe Diabetes Cure" (x 3)	1879-1910		(Fike 1987: 107; Paynter et al. 1994: 35-36; 2009: Chap 2, 60-62)
"Fink's Magic Oil"	1873-1948	Claimed to cure "colic, cholera, sore throat and neuralgia"	(Fike 1987: 192; Paynter et al. 1994: 35-36; 2009: Chap 2, 60-62)
"PE-RU-NA" or PERUNA	@1895	Cure for catarrh	Paynter et al. 1994: 35-36; Baldwin 1973: 383
"Musterol"	1906-1948	"...commercial mustard plaster for colds and congestion."	(Fike 1987: 80; Paynter et al. 1994: 35-36; 2009: Chap 2, 60-62)
United States Medicine Co. (Cascara compound)	1891-1930		(Fike 1987: 80; Paynter et al. 2009: Chap 2, 60-62)
Owen's scar (x2)	1904-1969		(Miller and Sullivan 1984: 93; Paynter et al. 2009: Chap 2, 60-62)
Earl S. Sloan Company	Mid-19th cen - present	liniments and anti-colic formulas	(Fike 1987: 106, 137, 181, 198; Paynter et al. 2010: 12)

Sources: Paynter et al. 2009-2010

Du Bois noted that his family contained “farmers, barbers, waiters, cooks, housemaids and laborers” (Du Bois 1968: 63). It also contained a whitewasher and women who were keeping house. The archaeological assemblage reveals there is evidence for all of these occupations with the material culture used for keeping house being the most abundant. Women would have used the ceramics and glasswares for procurement, preparation, service, and storage of food for meals. Wilkie (2000a: 148) posits that children impact all aspect of a household. Children would have used the ceramics to help prepare and consume daily meals and storage jars to store food. They would have ingested the medicine. The ink wells, slate, and slate pencils would have assisted the children in their school work, reinforcing a habitus of moral upkeep and racial pride. Children are visible at the site through their items of play (see Table 7.10). Along with the doll parts and marble, there are other toys, including an ice skate (Paynter et al. 2008: Appendix C: 9, Paynter et al. 2010: Results, 65). Personal items found in the builder’s trench fill of the cellar included eyeglasses, serving ceramics, buttons, a change purse clasp, a tin enameled mug, and a bobby pin (Paynter et al. 2010: Results, 4).

Table 7.10: Toys

Toys	Number	Catalog
Skate	1	Paynter et al. 2008 Appendix C 1983: 9
Toy ceramic	1	Paynter et al. 2008 Appendix D 1984: 11
Doll part	1	Paynter et al. 2008 Appendix D 1984: 14
Doll part	1	Paynter et al. 2008 Appendix E 2003: 18
Toy	1	Paynter et al. 2008 Appendix E 2003: 18
Toy	1	Paynter et al. 2008 Appendix E 2003: 44
Toys	5	Paynter et al. 2008 Appendix E 2003: 46

Sources: Paynter et al. 2008: Appendix C, D, E

Transition

The Transition from African to African American for the Black Burghardts would have likely transpired in the 18th century. Du Bois describes his great, great grandmother Elizabeth Freeman never reconciling to life in New England. He recalled the song that she taught to her children that was passed down to Du Bois:

Do bana coba, gene me, gene me!
Ben d'nuli, ben d'le (Du Bois 1968: 62; Lewis 1993: 14)

David Levering Lewis notes (1993: 14) that Du Bois never knew what these words meant and linguists have not been able to translate it. There is very little in the material assemblage that resembles other early moments in this transition. One is the possible *minkisi* bundle. The possible bundle was found in the builder's trench in the cellar and consisted of "a juvenile bear's tooth," an evocative polished black stone that resembles an animal effigy, and a metal button with an embossed six-point star (Paynter et al. 2010: Results, 4, 22). Leone and Fry (2001: 148-150) listed contents of protective charms, although bear teeth were not mentioned, other teeth were. Protective charms using the jaw bone of a hog or alligator teeth were used to ease teething, but Leone and Fry do not list where the charm was worn (Leone and Fry 2001: 149-150). It is conceivable that African spiritual systems usage of African fauna was transferred to North American animals.

Consumerism

In the 19th century, middle-class Americans were participating in the "Cult of Domesticity," which centered the construction of domestic space based around a particular set of material culture and norms that included separate sets of dishes for afternoon tea parties, to family dinners, and eloquent dinner parties designed by middle-

class women to solidify their husband's standing in the workplace (Wall 1991, 2000). In addition, the Cult of Domesticity was centered on an abundance of material culture that ranged from various types of clothing for specific occasions to the proper dishes and utensils required for certain functions. The Cult of Domesticity fueled a consumer culture centered on things that were given a special meaning by those who possessed them. Many Americans participated in this consumer economy, including African Americans. By the turn of the 20th century, African Americans equipped with self-help books were taught the appropriate items for the Black home and the proper etiquette for these Victorian era parties and gatherings (Penn 1902; Mullins 1996, 1999a, 1999b; Mitchell 2004).

Starting in the first decades of the 20th century, many African Americans were entering the market economy at an accelerated pace with a self-help manual written by African American Professor I. Garland Penn titled *Afro-American home Manual and practical self-Educator Showing What to do and How to do it Being a Complete Guide to Success in Life* (1902). This manual was divided into six sections. The first section consisted of important Black figures. The content of Book I focused on manners, proper etiquette at functions, and writing and conversing well. Information contained in Book II provided stereotypical information on what made a good wife and husband as well as leisure occupations for the home. Book III centered on healthcare providing information on exercise and medicine. Book IV facilitated entrepreneurial spirit providing instructions for running a business and Book V focused on writing poetry, taking care of flowers, bird care, and valuable information. Moral uplift was reinforced with biblical studies for children in Book VI (Penn 1902). Some of the information in this book was

clearly for middle and upper class homes because of the abundance of material culture described to conduct a proper dinner party, how to serve tea, and how to plan a wedding. For instance, a proper dinner party required four glasses per person, each with its own function (Penn 1902: 58). Detailed instructions described a proper tea party, even how to pour the tea into a saucer before it was poured into a tea cup (Penn 1902: 61). The book also provided instructions regarding numerous domestic crafts, some of which could be turned into businesses (Penn 1902: 195-210). Another section of the book provided recipes and remedies for ailments (Penn 1902: 227-268). Such books are a testament to African American racial pride and moral uplift campaigns that dominated the beginning of the 19th century.

The Black Burghardt homesite provides evidence that the late 19th century and early 20th century inhabitants participated in the consumer market. The ceramic assemblage is impressive and spans redware, creamware, whiteware, pearlware, untyped earthenware, semi-graniteware, ironstone, domestic stoneware, yellowware, porcelain, English white salt-glazed stoneware, graniteware, Rockingham/Bennington, buff tin glaze, and unidentifiable ceramics. There are porcelain ceramics stamped Nippon and Japan. This is thought-provoking because Nippon was in use until 1921. So who used the Japanese ceramics in the 1920s? Was it Du Bois? Were these ceramics counterfeits produced before 1921 and stamped with Japan? At this time it is unknown.

Another indication of participation in the consumer market is possibly the stoneware marmalade jars (Figure 7.21). These two marmalade jars are a particular brand of marmalade and was first produced in Scotland in the late 18th century by Janet Keiller and her son James (Keiller 2002: 82; Mathew 1999, Mathew 2000: 6). In 1826, it

became James Keiller & Sons's Dundee Marmalade, when James' son joined the business. The company relocated to London in 1879 (Mathew 2000: 6-7). The product spread throughout the British Empire in the mid-19th century (Mathew 2000: 6-7). However, it did not arrive in the United States until after 1880 and could only be acquired from a mail order catalog. The 1897 Sears Catalog was selling imported orange marmalade in 1pound jars for 2.00 dollars for two dozen or one 1pound jar for .20 cents (Sears Catalog 2007 [1897]: 12). It is not known if someone in the household purchased the marmalade or if it was given as a gift or even just the stoneware jars were obtained without the marmalade. The ceramic jars were made by the Maling Company (Mathew 2000: 6). These particular jar sherds are missing critical dating pieces, so they fall into a date range between 1873 and 1898 (Mathew 2000: 7).

Figure 7.21: Marmalade Jars



(Photo by author)

Mason jars, which might be an indicator of food storage, are also present in the assemblage. There is evidence of tin cans, which is also an indicator that the household was purchasing some items with regulated weight standards. However, there are no identifying markers on the tin can remains.

The beauty products and medicine bottles might display what Wilkie (2000a: 233) called an “established ethnomedical grammar.” The beauty care products were recovered from the 1983 excavations. The more obvious consisted of product brands still in use today, although some did not start as beauty products. For instance, Ponds cold cream was first introduced to the marketplace in 1846 as a medicinal product and underwent two name changes in 1886 and 1905 (Dorman 1994: 441-443; Gartrell 2000). By the end of the first decade of the 20th century, the product had transformed into a beauty product using the product name Pond’s Cold Cream (Dorman 1994: 441-443; Gartrell 2000). The dates on the jars found at the homesite are undetermined. Noxzema, another noticeable brand, opened its first factory with its distinctive blue jar in 1914 and the Noxzema Company was formed in 1917 (Boyer 1994: 387-388). A third recognizable brand was Old Spice. The bottle dates from 1948 to before the mid-1950s because the P in spice was not enclosed until the mid-1950s (Fricke 2012). Old Spice started as the Shulton Company in 1934 manufacturing women’s soaps and fragrances; men’s products started in 1938 (Barnstorff 1994: 395-397; Fricke 2012). It might be an indicator of trash dumpage of what was perceived to be an empty lot. Or Du Bois might have brought it with him on one of his visits.

Other products included an A.S. Hinds company cream bottle that dates between 1875 and 1907 (Fike 1987: 92; Paynter et al. 2009: 60-61). A Vaseline cap was

recovered, which was a product that could be used for medicinal and beauty purposes. This particular item had a long production life from 1880 until 1983 (Fike 1987: 56; Paynter et al. 2009: 60-61). Hair care products were also recovered to include Parker's Hair Balsam, dating from 1876 to 1930 (Fike 1987: 26; Paynter et al. 2009: 60-61). Two hair tonics were also recovered, Penslar and Wildroot, with the former dating from 1907 to 1930 and the latter 1916 to 1929 (Fike 1987: 82, 176; Paynter et al. 2009: 60-61). A Listerine bottle had a nice tight date of 1894 to 1914 (Fike 1987: 67; Paynter et al. 2009: 60-61). It is clear that the Burghardts and Woosters were participants in the consumer market. The national brand beauty products and medicine bottles are clear indicators that members of the household might have been circumventing White racism from local stores.

Conclusion

This site is more important than being known as the Du Bois Boyhood Homesite. With over one hundred years of continuous occupation, it is one of the oldest African American homesites in Massachusetts. This length of occupation provides insight into an African American family from the early 19th century into the 20th century. It housed farmers, laborers, barbers, house wives, waiters, and possibly a soldier, Tom. In the 19th and early 20th century, the space in Great Barrington was racialized socially, politically, and economically. Over time more space was granted, especially in cities where the African American community was the strongest and actively agitated for change. By the mid-19th century, the families who lived at the Du Bois Homesite consumed mass-produced and mass-marketed products in the form of ceramics, tin cans, preservatives, fruit jars, mason jars, medicinal products, and beauty products. The fruit jars were made

for storage of food and sold empty (Polak 2007: 148). Many of these containers were probably retained for storage of prepared foods.

Daily life at the homesite probably reflects the women of the household more than the men. The ceramic and food product acquisition and usage was probably the domain of those listed as a house wife or keeping house. The abundance of buttons and sewing items are another indicator of women's work, be it in looking after the clothing and or possibly making toys and charms to educate and protect the children. There are two possible indications of a transition from African to African American identity in the assemblage, the possible *minkisi* bundle and marble might reflect someone in the household following African religious practices. The *minkisi* bundle might have been deposited early in the 19th century. Additionally, the transitional material might still be buried in lower levels. It does not appear that any of the beauty products are African American specific (i.e. hair straighteners or skin whitening products). If we did not know about the racial identity of Black Burghardts, we might miss the fact that an African American family was living there because the assemblages reflects an American household, which is precisely what people of color had been attempting to create for themselves since at least the late 1830s and 1840s (Rael 2002). Because they were using the materials and styles of an American household, it is a form of resistance against the dominant culture's attempts to deny them full equality and citizenship by denying them access to mass produced and mass marketed products available in White space. This does not mean African Americans bought into the same meaning and consumed the products in the same way that the dominant cultures did, which is another form of resistance, reflective of the multivalent character of material culture.

CHAPTER VIII

HAVEN TO THE EAST, HAVEN TO THE NORTH PART II THE REVEREND SAMUEL HARRISON HOMESTEAD AND PITTSFIELD

Introduction

Reverend Samuel Harrison performed roles in life that included captive African, escapee, shoemaker, minister, husband, father, abolitionist, army chaplain, and Civil Rights activist. From pulpits in New England, but especially in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, Reverend Harrison advocated for moral uplift, equality, full citizenship, and the abolition of slavery. He also authored numerous pamphlets concerning the racial climate of Pittsfield and the nation. In this chapter, I will discuss the life of Reverend Samuel Harrison and the Harrison family using autobiographical information, census data, and other documents along with the archaeological evidence. This study will also illuminate the Black community of Pittsfield using the economic, racialization, spatial, political-legal, and social epochal structures. The Reverend Samuel Harrison Homestead came to the attention of the archaeological community when the Samuel Harrison Historical Society contracted Hartgen Archaeological Associates Inc., to conduct a Phase I archaeological reconnaissance survey in 2008 with the report by Elise Manning-Sterling (2012).

Pittsfield

The area that encompasses Pittsfield (Pontoosuc) was once inhabited by a group of Algonquian speakers known as the Mohicans. In 1726, the lands of the township were sold by the Mohicans to Jacob Wendell, a Boston merchant, as a real estate venture (Willison 1957: 15). English settlers began to clear lots in 1743, but departed the area for fear of attack from Native Americans and the French (Willison 1957: 15). In 1752,

settlers returned to establish the town (Levinson 2006: 166; Willison 1957: 15).

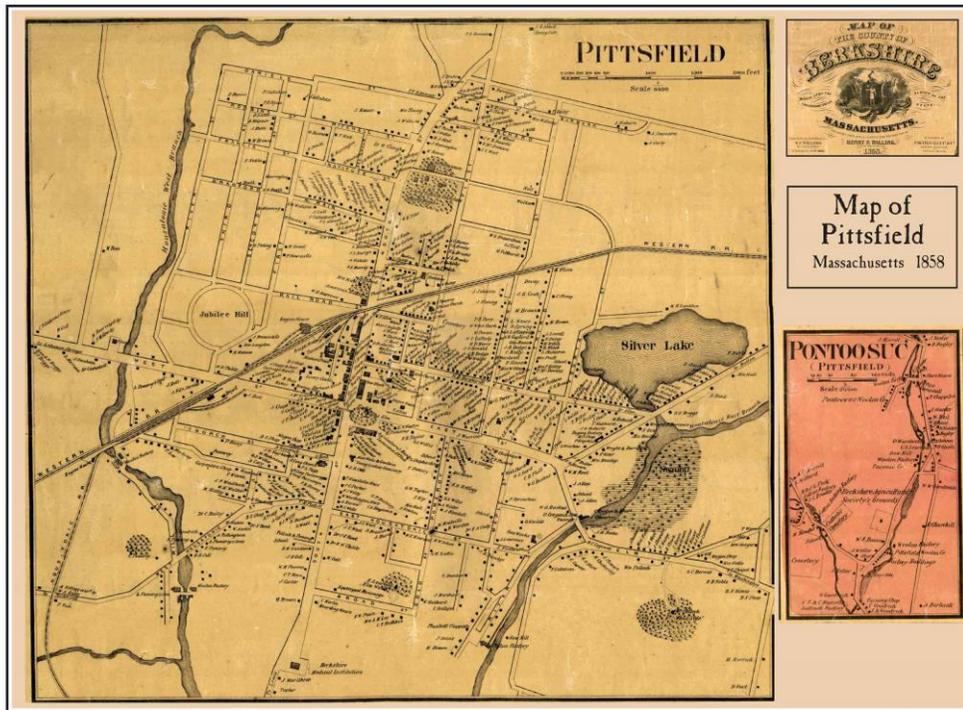
Pittsfield, named after the British Prime Minister William Pitt, was incorporated as a town in 1761. By 1800, Pittsfield was the largest town in the Berkshires. It became an industrial town in the first decade of the 19th century with the establishment of a woolen spinning mill in 1806. Other factories and mills were established in town and along the Housatonic River in the first decade and on into the second decade. The town continued to industrialize and modernize as the century progressed. Initially, the acquisition of industry did not help provide a good education to the children of the town. The facilities and faculty were substandard in the closing decades of the 18th century and into the 19th century. However, the town established its first high school in 1850 (Boltwood 1916: 131). The population almost doubled every decade. In the 1820s, the town formed school districts, which actually became the political center of gravity of the town (Boltwood 1916: 131). By the 1830s, the town became a hub for three toll road turnpikes. However, the arrival of the railroad in 1841 put the turnpike out of business. A new source of energy, coal, arrived with the railroad. Water was piped into the city in 1855 from Lake Ashley on Mount Washington (Harrison 1874: 6; Willison 1957: 49). The sewer system arrived in the 1876 and made it to Third Street, where Reverend Samuel Harrison lived in 1878 (Boltwood 1916: 3; Manning-Sterling 2012: 8). In 1881, electric lights were demonstrated in the city and brought into usage in 1883 with street lamps in the business sector (Boltwood 1916: 23). Figure 8.1 is an 1858 Walling map of Pittsfield, Massachusetts.

The African American population in Pittsfield increased steadily throughout the 19th century. People of African descent would have entered the region at least by 1752

(Levinson 2006: 166). The earliest mention of people of African descent in Pittsfield is 1761 with William Williams' purchase of a captive African woman named Pendar (Levinson 2006: 166). Reverend Harrison (1874: 25-26) mentioned meeting "Old Pendar," who was not very civil to him, and four generations of her family on a trip around the town to bring people into his church. According to Reverend Harrison (1874: 24), some of the older people of color (including the Fosters, Potters, and Tom Brown) in town had escaped captivity from New York. The next group of escaped captive Africans came from the American South. With the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, escaped captive Africans hiding in Pittsfield left town (Harrison 1874: 18). Reverend Harrison noted that the town with all its textile mills was heavily linked to the economy of southern states and would not argue against the new law at the town meeting (Dickerson 1982: 154). The Black community was resolved to resist any escapees in town being recaptured (Harrison 1874: 18). Reverend Harrison recounted two instances where fugitive hunters had arrived in Pittsfield looking for escaped captive Africans. One turned out to be false. The man was actually the abolitionist Lewis Tappan (Harrison 1874: 19; Levinson 2006: 167). However, another incident involved a young captive girl who escaped her southern family in Saratoga, New York (Harrison 1874: 23-24). She made her way to Pittsfield and found work with other Black women at the Berkshire Hotel, where her owner and his captive catcher tracked her (Harrison 1874: 23-24). However, they did not find her because the hotel owner had sent her to Laneborough before the Black women at the hotel were inspected (Harrison 1874: 24). Word of the captive catcher's arrival spread quickly throughout the city. Reverend Harrison noted that the hotel owner told the catcher that he should not hang around town long because an

abolitionist would put a bullet in him (Harrison 1874: 24). Reverend Harrison contended that although the “chances to accumulate wealth were small and meagre,” Blacks were purchasing real estate because, in 1850, they paid \$11,000 in taxes and, by 1874; it had increased to \$50,000. This was the Pittsfield of the Harrison Family.

Figure 8.1: 1858 Walling Map of Pittsfield



Source: Walling 1858

Background of the Site

As Pittsfield began to grow, it started to push towards Silver Lake in the East into what became Third and Fourth Streets (see Figures 8.2 and 8.3). The railroad cut across Third Street on its northern end. This was a working class neighborhood, including laborers, machinists, and craftsmen. Many of the lots on these streets were purchased by Dr. John M. Brewster between 1850 and 1852 (Manning-Sterling 2012: 8).

In 1852, Rev. Harrison bargained for his lot on Third Street without any money, but Brewster gave him the deed and later was paid a \$40 down payment with a total purchased price of \$50 (Berkshire County Deeds & Mortgages, Book 132: 411; Larson and Friedberg 2006: Section 8.3; Manning-Sterling 2012: 8). Dr. Brewster paid \$100 for the lot (Berkshire County Deeds & Mortgages, Book 132: 411; Larson and Friedberg 2006: Section 8.3). Reverend Harrison planted a garden on the lot every year until the house was constructed and then kept a garden at the back of the lot. Rev. Harrison took out a loan for \$150 from three friends and purchased the lumber and supplies for his two story house at 82 Third Street in 1858 (Larson and Friedberg 2006: Section 8.4; Harrison 1899). Between 1865 and 1872, the family did not live in their house because the family moved to different cities where Rev Harrison was preaching. In 1872, the family returned to the residence in Pittsfield and occupied the house until 1901. Lydia, his daughter, took out a mortgage for \$640 with the Pittsfield Cooperative Bank in 1892 (Larson and Friedberg 2006: Section 8.11).

The house that stands on the site today might not have been built for a few years before it became 80 Third Street (Larson and Friedberg 2006: Section 8.11). For the next 54 years, the house remained in Lydia's care and she and her husband took out a dozen loans with the Pittsfield Cooperative Bank for repairs and upgrades to both houses (Larson and Friedberg 2006:Section 8.12).

Larson and Fischer Associates and Betsy Friedberg National Register of Historic Places were contracted by Massachusetts Historical Commission to conduct a survey and deed research on the property for the National Register of Historic Places Nomination. Table 8.1 is an overview of the deed history of 82 Third Street.

Table 8.1: Deed History

Year	Event
1850-1852	Lots around current Third Street were purchased by Dr. John M. Brewster.
1852	Reverend Harrison purchased a lot on Third Street for \$50 and uses the property as a garden.
1856	Reverend Harrison subdivided the lot, selling the northern portion to John Mehan for \$50. This left a lot the size of 66' x 150'.
1858	Reverend Harrison takes out a \$150 loan to build a house on the lot.
1865	Harrison family moves to Newport, Rhode Island.
1872	Harrison family returns to their Pittsfield home.
1888	Reverend Harrison subdivided the lot in 1888 and gave the eastern portion to his daughter Lydia. The house might not have been built for a few years and became 80 Third Street
1901	Reverend Samuel Harrison's will granted his house to Lydia Jacobs and his son George. After Rev Harrison's second wife moved to Springfield, the house was rented out. For the next 54 years the house remained in Lydia's care

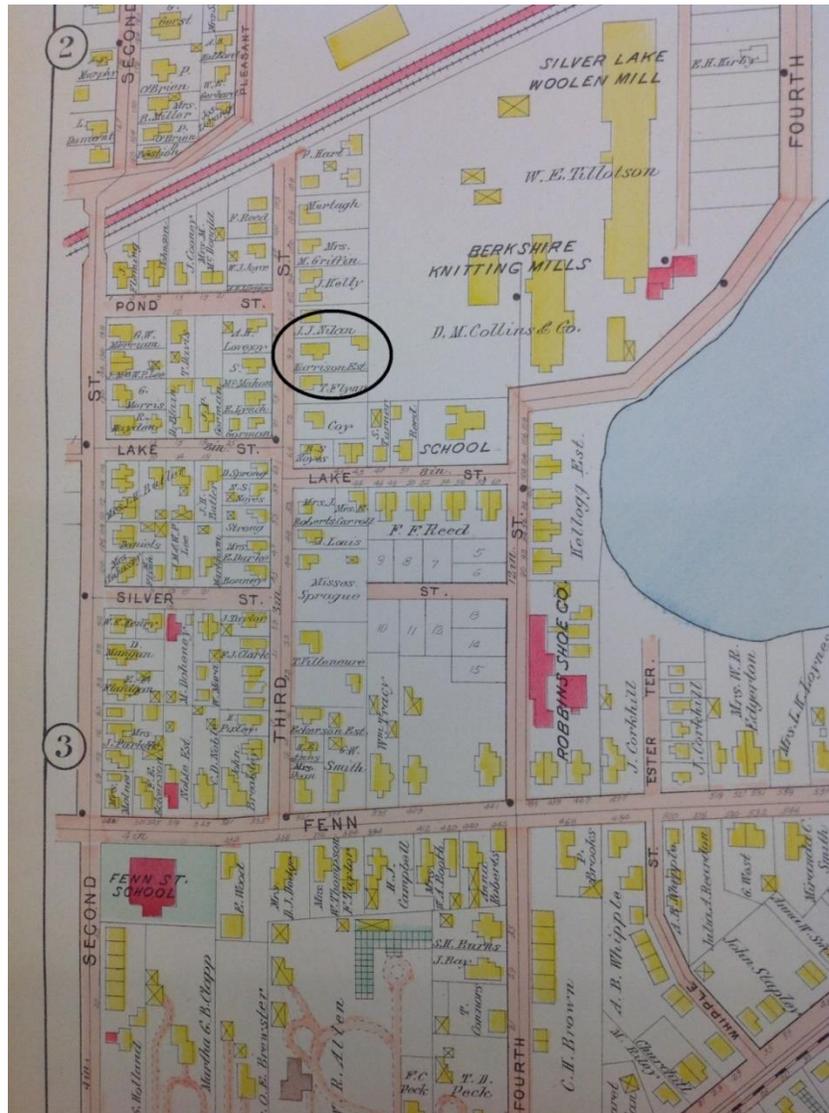
Sources: Larson and Friedberg 2006: Section 8.12; Manning-Sterling 2012: 8

Figure 8.2: 1876 Beers Atlas Pittsfield Map with "Rev Harrington"



Source: Beers 1876

Figure 8.3: 1904 Pittsfield Map



Source: Barnes and Farnum 1904

The Harrison Family

The history of the Harrison family (see Table 8.2) is important because it illustrates the economic, racial, spatial, political, and social landscape of the North in the mid-to-late 19th century. In 1899, Reverend Samuel Harrison published an autobiography that covered his life from birth. This fascinating and insightful work covered his trials and tribulations with race, finances, family, and his various

congregations. His omission of his mother, father, uncle, wives, and his thirteen sons and daughters leaves a hole and is confusing at times, but basic biography can be discerned. On April 15, 1818, Samuel Harrison was born into captivity in Pennsylvania to William and Jennie Harrison (Larson and Friedberg 2006: Section 8.2). William and Jennie Harrison were captive Africans of the John Bolton family of Savannah, Georgia (Larson and Friedberg 2006: Section 8.2). His mother and father were born in Savannah, Georgia, where his mother was the waiting maid of the mistress of the house (Larson and Friedberg 2006: Section 8.2, 3). William might have died three years after the birth of Samuel (Larson and Friedberg 2006: Section 8.2). In 1821, around the age of three, he and his mother moved to New York City to live with one of the Bolton families that owned them and were manumitted there (Harrison 1899: 3). Reverend Harrison believed that his parents were manumitted upon a return to Savannah and that John Bolton had given all his captive Africans the choice of staying in the United States or immigrating to Africa. Some chose the latter (Harrison 1899: 3). The latter choice might have been given under the auspices of the American Colonization Society, which probably had hoped to remove all of Bolton's newly emancipated Africans back to Africa. With emancipation, Samuel's mother returned to New York City with the Bolton family. Members of the Bolton family lived on Liberty Street and Wall Street (Harrison 1899: 3).

In 1827, at the age of nine, Samuel left school and went to apprentice with his uncle, a freed captive who was at that time a minister and shoemaker in Philadelphia (Harrison 1899: 3). Samuel left school at an early age because of an "intemperate" abusive step-father and it was determined that life for Samuel and his mother would be better if he was out of the picture (Harrison 1899: 4). Harrison noted that his uncle lived

comfortably and he had been sent out in December “illy clad, with a straw hat on my head” (Harrison 1899: 4). Samuel’s future professions provide clues to his uncle’s strong influence. Samuel noted that he found Christ at the age of 17 in 1835. During that time, his mother had returned to Philadelphia and Samuel had returned to attending church with his mother (Harrison 1899: 4).

At age 18, Samuel left his uncle and returned to New York City. While in New York, Samuel returned to school and worked in a shoemaking shop in the afternoons. It was at this time that he was selected by the American Education Society to attend a school in Petersboro, New York, supported by the philanthropist and abolitionist Gerrit Smith. The school provided books, a teacher, and room and board. However, Harrison (1899: 6) noted that students had to work “ditching swamp land” owned by Smith for four hours a day. The school closed by October and, in 1836, Samuel and two other students of color were sent to Western Reserve College in Hudson, Ohio. Harrison chronicled his entire journey with his unnamed companions. He noted that money was tight and the group had to use various forms of transportation to reach their destination, including a line boat that moved only three miles per day from Albany to Buffalo, at a cost of one and a half cents a day, followed by a steam ship from Buffalo to Cleveland, and finally by wagon that cost the three travelers seven dollars for transport with baggage. Samuel recounted that people of color were not allowed in the second cabin, but they could go into steerage, though he did not because Germans were already packed in like “sardines” (Harrison 1899: 6). He reported that no one objected to his sleeping in the cabin from Albany to Buffalo. This is evidence that transportation was subject to

more a social segregation than an actual law and depended on the whims of White dominant culture.

Once at the school, Samuel and the other two men of color found employment in their former professions: farming, painting, and shoemaking for Samuel. The curriculum consisted of preparatory classes, Greek, Latin, and regular course work with White students. These White students “showed a little displeasure at first,” presumably to studying with Black students, but “finally it blew over” (Harrison 1899: 9). His unnamed companions did not fare as well as he did: one died and the other was charged with theft of another student’s property. After these events, times became harder for Samuel, a young Black male isolated from his support group. Eventually he left work at the shoe shop because his boss became more demanding and, according to Samuel, felt Black people should not go to school. Samuel returned to living in the dormitory and got a job sawing wood at 6 cents an hour for one of the professors (Harrison 1899: 9). By 1839, he had decided to leave school and return to Philadelphia. He had raised “wild cat money,” which did not have the same value in the East, so his money was just about spent by the time he reached Albany. Thus Samuel became resourceful, waiting tables on a ship, selling the silver from his pocket watch, and borrowing money to get to Philadelphia (Harrison 1899: 10-12).

Upon his return to Philadelphia, Samuel worked eight months in a book store for \$12 a month, which afforded him a plethora of reading time. From the book store, Samuel returned to shoemaking on Third Street in Philadelphia. He had adopted a temperance lifestyle, given up tobacco, and joined the Demosthenian Institute, a literary

society. In 1840, he married Ellen Rhodes, an orphaned childhood friend who was born in 1816 in Delaware and whose siblings were also unable to care for her.

Samuel recounted the long distance he had to travel from his residence to his shoe shop and the burden of paying two rents. The route he had to take to work was dangerous because mobs would attack people of color, especially in what he referred to as heavily “Celtic” (Irish) neighborhoods. By 1846, his landlord sold the shop he was renting and forced him to relocate his business to his home, thereby saving a little money. He does not mention becoming a father in his autobiography, but during these six years of marriage he and Ellen had four children while living in Philadelphia (Manning-Sterling 2012: 5). Their first son, Samuel Bolton, was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on May 6, 1841 (Manning-Sterling 2012: 5). Hester Jane, the first daughter, was born November 22, 1842 (Manning-Sterling 2012: 5). Two years later, Elizabeth Victoria was born on November 28, 1844 (Manning-Sterling 2012: 5). The fourth child, Gerritt Smith, named after his benefactor, was born in Philadelphia on January 20, 1847 (Manning-Sterling 2012: 5).

In 1847, the Harrison family moved to Newark, New Jersey. It would have been a smaller family by that time with the deaths of three-year-old Samuel Bolton on June 1, 1844 and two-and-a half Elizabeth Victoria on May 19, 1847 (Manning-Sterling 2012: 5). So the Newark household most likely contained Samuel, Ellen R., Hester Jane (who in later censuses was listed as Jane), and Gerritt. It took Samuel six weeks to find work in Newark, where he opened a shoe shop (Harrison 1899: 16). He was not fond of the city, noting the strong presence of prejudice in its environs (Harrison 1899: 16). Samuel and

Ellen's fifth child, Alice James, was born on April 14, 1849, in Newark, New Jersey (Manning-Sterling 2012: 5).

While in Newark, Samuel came in contact with a former minister, Reverend Dr. Brinsmade, from the First Congregational Church in Pittsfield, Massachusetts. Reverend Brinsmade gave Samuel a copy of *Dick's Theology*, *Cruden's Complete Concordance*, and a theology reader. Additionally, Samuel began missionary work and conducted meetings in Orange, New Jersey. With his increased studies in theology and missionary work, Samuel gave up his shoe shop. It was in 1849 that he moved to the Berkshires. He was called to the town by Pastor Rogers, who needed him for missionary work (Harrison 1899: 17). He was offered \$275.00 per year "plus donation" and was given a month's advance to cover his family's moving expenses (Harrison 1899: 17).

In January 1850, the Harrison family arrived in Pittsfield to "knee deep snow" (Harrison 1899: 17). In April of that year, Reverend Harrison rented a five room place on Third Street. The neighborhood was racially mixed and the Harrisons were racially classified as Black (Seventh Federal Census). The Second Congregational Church had eight members that were a mix of Baptists, Methodists, and Independent or reformed Methodists (Harrison 1899: 18). On August 13, 1850, Reverend Samuel Harrison was ordained in the First Congregational Church (Harrison 1899: 19). The 1850 Federal Census supplements Harrison's autobiography because it illuminates the family, making it easier to keep track of the Harrison household's occupants. During this census year, the Harrison household consisted of five people: Reverend Harrison, 31; Ellen, incorrectly listed as 22; Jane, 9; Gerritt, 4; and Alice, 1. Jane was the only child attending school.

On February 18, 1851, tragedy would strike again with the death of Alice James, aged 22 months, of croup (Pittsfield Vital Records). The family grew again with a sixth child, Ellen Georgiana, born October 11, 1851, and another daughter, Urania Emily, born October 8, 1852. Urania Emily lived just six weeks, until November 26, 1852 (Manning-Sterling 2012: 5; Pittsfield Vital Records). The sixth daughter, Mary Priscilla, was born May 10, 1854 (Manning-Sterling 2012: 5).

Early in 1853, Reverend Harrison was presented with an offer to preach in Portland, Maine. His Pittsfield congregation protested and he declined the offer (Harrison 1899: 21). Reverend Harrison stated that his best offer came from the Talcott Street Church in Hartford, Connecticut. His reasons for staying in Pittsfield included it being a small place that had good schools. He had already established a home large enough for his growing family and did not want to keep moving because of their settled life, a life where he had a trade, a garden, and lower rent than in the cities. Additionally, he noted “it seemed to be the place that the Lord assigned to me” (Harrison 1899: 21). He would remain at the pulpit in Pittsfield for 13 years and 6 months.

In 1852, Reverend Harrison attained a lot on Third Street. Realizing he was spending a good percentage of his money on rent with nothing to show for it, Rev. Harrison borrowed \$150 from three friends (Governor G. N. Briggs included) and purchased lumber and supplies for a two story house at 82 Third Street in 1858. He pointed out in his autobiography that after seven years in town he purchased a lot (Harrison 1899). However, deeds show he purchased the lot in 1852 and built the house six years later (Larson and Friedberg 2006: Section 8.3, 4; Manning-Sterling 2012). Reverend Harrison took out a mortgage with the Berkshire Bank, but realized he had

made a bad investment since at 7% interest he would pay over \$100 dollars in interest increasing his bill to \$300 dollars instead of the \$150 he had borrowed (Harrison 1899; Larson and Friedberg 2006: Section 8.4; Manning-Sterling 2012). He later felt this was a financial blunder (Harrison 1899). Larson and Friedberg (2006) contend that this is an indicator of a racial climate that had no problem granting loans to Black people.

The 1855 Massachusetts State Census provides some clarity about the family between Federal censuses. Rev Harrison was listed as 37, Ellen as 34, Jane as 12, Gerritt as 9, Ellen as 6, and the new addition, Mary Priscilla, as 1. There were more additions to the family after the 1855 State Census. Lavinia arrived on February 23, 1856, and tragically died the next day (Pittsfield Vital Records). Another son, Samuel Boynton, was born on March 20, 1857, but he died on November 4, 1857 of erysipelas (Pittsfield Vital Records). One child that out-lived his mother and father was George Briggs who was born on October 24, 1858.

The 1860 Federal Census reported the Harrison household consisted of seven people: Reverend Harrison, 42; Ellen, 43; Jane (Hester), 17; Gerritt B., 12; Ellen, 10; Mary, 6; and George Harrison, 1. All children except George were attending school. Reverend Harrison was listed with \$800 in real property and \$150 of personal property. The fourth son, Henry Harrison, was born on October 29, 1860. Henry only lived a few months; he died on December 22, 1860 of unknown causes (Pittsfield Vital Record). It would appear that Henry was born and died after the census was taken. On December 8, 1861, Lydia Ann was the last child born. The fluidity of race as a social construction is evident because the Harrison family was reported as mulattoes. Third Street was a mixed neighborhood at this time.

In 1863, after an unnamed event, Rev. Harrison was dismissed from the church and went to work for the National Freemen Relief Society with a mission to solicit aid for “freed” Blacks on the sea islands of South Carolina. By July of that year, Rev. Harrison found himself heading to South Carolina at the request of Governor John A. Andrews to convey the “sympathy of the commonwealth” to the 54th Massachusetts Infantry Regiment after the Battle of Fort Wagner (Harrison 1899: 23). Rev. Harrison chronicled the entire journey that began in August, including the racial problems encountered at the beginning of the trip. Blacks were required to provide their own subsistence because they were not served on the ship. Additionally, Black people were not provided decent sleeping areas. Rev. Harrison had to climb over power kegs to get to his bunk and during a storm they were not allowed into the cabin. Reverend Harrison’s (1899: 25) thoughts on the captain were “I think the captain was a rebel at heart.” His circumstances were rectified when Colonel Higginson, future commander of the 5th Massachusetts Cavalry (Colored) confronted the captain. After that, the Reverend received meals in the cabin and better sleeping arrangements. He stayed in South Carolina for six weeks, where he found out he had been selected as the 54th Massachusetts regimental chaplain.

When he returned to Boston, Reverend Harrison found out from a newspaper that his commission was waiting for him. Reverend Samuel Harrison was commissioned as a chaplain on September 8, 1863, and mustered into Company S, 54th Massachusetts Infantry Regiment (Colored) on November 12, 1863 (see Figure 8.4 for muster paperwork). Upon his return to South Carolina, Chaplain Harrison became embroiled in the pay problems that all Black soldiers faced across the Union army. The soldiers were not paid because they refused to accept a lower pay than White soldiers. No pay for

months began to wear on the chaplain because he had only left his family with one barrel of flour and a salted pig for a wife and six children and still had a \$300 mortgage and grocery bills. Pay problems might have contributed to Chaplain Harrison's poor health. His health had deteriorated to such an extent that he was deemed unfit to deploy with his regiment to Florida, and arranged to return to Massachusetts to convalesce. However, with no money he negotiated to get some of the pay he was owed, \$60, which was essentially a loan because the pay problems had not yet been resolved. Even with the change in climate, Reverend Harrison (1899) found his health did not improve and mustered out with an honorable discharge on March 14, 1864. Eventually, he returned to work with the Freedmen's Bureau, where he noted his work was more effective because he now understood the people he was tasked to help.

Figure 8.4: Reverend Samuel Harrison Muster Paperwork

copy

MUSTER-IN ROLL of a *Commissioned Officer* in the *54*
 commanded by Colonel *E. R. Hallowell* called into the ser
 the *Twelfth* day of *November* 1863, (date of this m

Number of days Present	NAME FAMILY AND ARMY. (Persons in alphabetical order.)	RANK	AGE	JOINED FOR DUTY AND ENROLLED.		
				When	Where	By whom enrolled.
1	<i>Samuel Harrison</i>	<i>Chaplain</i>	<i>44</i>	<i>12th Nov 1863</i>	<i>Morris Island, S.C.</i>	<i>E. R. Hallowell</i>

I CERTIFY, ON HONOR, That this Muster Roll exhibits the true state of _____ for the period herein mentioned; that each man answers to his own proper name in person; and that the remarks set opposite the name of each officer and soldier are accurate and just.

Sworn to and subscribed before _____

DATE: _____ STATION: _____

(A. G. O. No. 21—First.)

* In. All officers mustering troops into the service of the U. S. will take special care to see that opposite every name on the Enrollment Roll, by the Mustering Officer of the United States.
 20. The Mustering Officer will see that four copies of this Roll are made, three of which he will retain; the first to be retained, or the Private standing file on the file of persons so enlisted, to be handed by him to the general file as follows: He will send one to the Adjutant General of the Army, one to the Paymaster General of the Army.

1863 Harrison, Samuel
 Nov. 12 Morris Island, S.C.

It was after 1865 that Reverend Harrison moved his family to Newport, Rhode Island, to preach at the Union Congregational Church, the oldest Black church in the city. Also in this year, Reverend Harrison noted, his oldest daughter married a man in Newark, New Jersey. This was Hester Jane. She married Richard J. Laing and they had four children together: Samuel S., Laura G., Ellen R., and William R. In the 1880 Federal Census, Richard Laing was enumerated as an “engineer” and Hester Jane a “house keeper.” Hester Jane died in Pittsfield at age 39 on September 17, 1882. By 1900, Richard was living in Newark with his daughter Grace who was married to Warren Salters.

The Harrison family did not stay in Newport long. In December 1866, the family relocated to Springfield, Massachusetts, where Harrison preached at the Sanford Street Congressional Church (now St John’s Baptist Church) for \$50 a month. Reverend Harrison felt Newport had too many churches for the population and distractions could keep people away: for instance, sometimes social events were planned at the same time as services and church meetings (Harrison 1899: 36). Reverend Harrison served the Sanford Street Congressional Church for four years, but they never installed him as their minister. He noted that the Methodist branch of the church never understood governance, and recounted a member’s comment, “if you preach that way, you cannot stay here” to which he replied, “my satchel is always ready for me to take it up and leave” (Harrison 1899: 37). It seems money was always tight for the Harrisons. For example, Reverend Harrison mentioned taking out a life insurance policy in 1868 with Security Life Insurance and Annuity Company of New York for \$2000, but not being able to keep up the quarterly premium of \$11.55. He then reduced the policy by half, only to have the

company go defunct losing \$600. He later went to the New England Mutual Aid Society for \$5000, but his assessment was \$5.25, and he commented that family members were dying so fast he was "...not able to bear the pressure financially" (Harrison 1899: 38). In the end, he reminisced that maybe he would have done better with a savings bank.

In 1870, the Harrison family resided in Springfield's ward 5. Reverend Harrison, now 52, was recorded as Sanil and he and Ellen lived with four of their children: Ellen, 18; Mary, 16; George, 11; and Lydia, 8 (Eighth Federal Census). All of the children were attending school. Ellen was 54 and keeping house. Reverend Harrison was listed with \$500 of real property. In the summer of 1870, Reverend Harrison received an offer from a church in Portland, Maine. This was the third or fourth request from the church, the first sent in 1852. He had said no to earlier requests because his church objected to his departure and he did not want to change his children's schooling. Reverend Harrison mentioned he had also declined to join one of the church's secret societies. It appears there was some animosity brewing in the church, especially after he went to Maine to interview. He was weighing the move again because he had two children in high school. He noted that his children "made their mark as scholars under trying circumstances" because they had been schooled in Pittsfield and Newport before Springfield (Harrison 1899: 40). He related that Newport schools were strongly prejudiced. Apparently the schools in Newport were segregated initially, but when integrated, his children encountered the racist climate first hand. After winning a spelling competition, for instance, his daughter became the target of paper balls thrown by boys enraged at her accomplishment and their loss; she was also verbally assaulted. This unnamed daughter chose not to return to that school, even after a school board member sent the family an

apology and promised that it would not happen again. The two children in high school were most likely Ellen and Mary. Reverend Harrison acknowledged that his children's battles made it easier for future students in Newport and noted Springfield schools had presented no such problems to his children. Additionally, the high school in Portland had already graduated one African American in 1870. The decision to move to Portland came upon finding out that the Springfield church had sent out job offers to other ministers.

Reverend Harrison preached to a small congregation in Portland, Maine, from 1870 until 1872. In April, 1872, Reverend Harrison returned to the pulpit of Second Congregational Church in Pittsfield. He would remain there until his death in 1900. The rest of the Harrison family stayed in Portland until one of the daughters graduated later that year and the family's house in Pittsfield was vacated. This must have been Mary who would have been 17 or 18-years-old. Rev Harrison listed a few reasons for his return to Pittsfield. First and foremost he was requested by the congregation. Rev Harrison felt "no warmer friends have I had anywhere" (Harrison 1899: 45). This town was where the family had established a homeplace. Although not mentioned by name, some family members had impaired health. Mary died on January 26, 1875, at age 20 of phthisis (Pittsfield Vital Records). Another deciding factor was the church's "promised pecuniary" and same salary (Harrison 1899: 45).

In 1880, the Harrison household on Third Street was down to four people: Rev. Harrison, the minister, 60; Ellen (keeping house), 62; Ellen (a dressmaker), 28; Lydia, 18 (Tenth Federal Census). Ellen Georgiana passed away on March 24, 1881, at the age of 29 (Manning-Sterling 2012: 5). Hester Jane died in Pittsfield at age 39 on September 17,

1882 (Manning-Sterling 2012: 5). Ellen Rhodes died of apoplexy on December 25 or 27 1883 (Manning-Sterling 2012: 5). On April 12, 1885, the Reverend took his second wife, Sarah J., born in December 1836, in Babylon, New York, and the two were married for 15 years. Lydia A. married James Jacobs on November 24, 1885.

Reverend Harrison had his lot subdivided into two equal parcels in 1888 and gave one lot to his daughter Lydia. This part of the lot became 80 Third Street. The 1900 Federal Census recorded six people in the household: James, 40; Lydia, 38; Bessie H., 11; Florence L., 9; Maitland, 4; and Harrison, 1. Lydia was the longest surviving, she died January 27, 1954 at the age of 93 (Manning-Sterling 2012: 5). George B., the only other child to outlive his parents, passed away on October 4, 1931, in Pittsfield at the age of 73 (Manning-Sterling 2012: 5). He was listed as a barber. He had married Malvinia S. Cook in Pittsfield on November 29, 1883. By August 29, 1889, he remarried a Margret M. Cole and was living with his mother-in-law, Jane A. Cole, on Cherry Street (Manning-Sterling 2012: 5).

In 1900, Reverend Harrison was 82 and Sarah was 63. They were the only two in the household (Twelfth Federal Census). Reverend Samuel Harrison died of chronic cystitis, caused by an enlarged prostate August 11, 1900 (Pittsfield Vital Records). Reverend Harrison and Ellen had 13 children, 11 of whom would precede their mother and father in death. In the pages of his autobiography, he recorded neither their names nor their arrivals and departures into and out of this world, nor the departure of his wife Ellen in 1883, and his remarriage in 1885 to Sarah Jane Adams. The only mention of death is in relation to his acquiring life insurance and the many deaths that surrounded him.

Table 8.2: Harrison Family History

Year	Event
April 15, 1818	Samuel Harrison born was in Pennsylvania.
1821-1827	Possible timeframe of the death of Samuel's father William. Samuel and his mother to NYC with the Bolton Family. Manumitted during this time.
1827	Samuel goes to Philadelphia to live with his minister/shoemaker uncle. Samuel becomes his apprentice.
1835	Samuel found Christ.
1836	Samuel left his uncle and returned to New York City. Samuel returned to school and was selected by the American Education Society to attend a school in Petersboro, New York. The school closed by October and in 1836 Samuel and two other students of color were sent to Western Reserve College in Hudson, Ohio.
1839	Samuel leaves school and returns to Philadelphia. Joins the Demosthenian Institute, a literary society.
1840	Samuel Harrison married his childhood friend, Ellen Rhodes (born in 1816).
1844-1847	Samuel and Ellen have four children: Samuel Bolton (b. May 6, 1841), Hester Jane (b. November 22, 1842), Elizabeth Victoria (b. November 28, 1844), and Gerritt Smith (b. January 20, 1847). Samuel B. died June 1, 1844, and Elizabeth May 19, 1847.
1847	Harrison Family moved to Newark, NJ. Samuel opened a shoe shop.
1849	Alice Jane born. Samuel makes contact with Rev. Dr. Brinsmade, from the First Congregational Church in Pittsfield, MA. Studies Theology – Call to pastor.
January 1850	Harrison Family moves to Pittsfield, MA.
August 13, 1850	Reverend Samuel Harrison is ordained as minister of the Second Congregational Church in Pittsfield, MA.
February 18, 1851	Alice Jane dies of croup (Pittsfield Vital Records)(PVR)
October 11, 1851	Ellen Georgiana born.
October 8, 1852	Virginia Emily born, but died Nov. 26, 1852.
May 10, 1854	Mary Priscilla born
February 23, 1856	Marinia born, but died the next day (PVR)
March 20, 1857	Samuel Boynton born. However, he died of erysipelas on November 4, 1857 (PVR).
October 24, 1858	George Briggs born.
October 29, 1860	Henry Harrison was born, but died December 22, 1860 (PVR).
December 8, 1861	Lydia Ann born.
1863	Reverend Harrison was dismissed from the Second Congregational Church for reason undisclosed. He goes to work for the National Freeman Relief Society.

Year	Event
September 8, 1863	Reverend Harrison receives a commission as a Chaplain.
November 12, 1864	Reverend Harrison is mustered in as the Regimental Chaplain for the 54 th Massachusetts.
March 14, 1864	Reverend Harrison is honorably discharged for health reasons. Resumes work with the Freedman's Bureau.
April 29/30, 1865	Gerritt died of typhoid fever at age 18(PVR).
1865	Reverend Harrison moved his family to Newport, Rhode Island, to preach at the Union Congregational Church. Hester Jane married a man in Newark, New Jersey.
December 1866	Reverend Harrison moved his family to Springfield, where he was preacher at the Sanford Street Church (now St John's Baptist Church).
1870-1872	The family moved to Portland, Maine, where Reverend Harrison preached to a small congregation.
April 1872	Reverend Harrison returns to the Second Congregational Church, Pittsfield, Massachusetts, and the house on Third Street.
January 26, 1875	Mary Priscilla died.
March 24, 1881	Ellen Georgiana died.
September 17, 1882	Hester Jane died.
December 25 or 27 1883	Ellen Rhodes died of apoplexy (Manning-Sterling 2012: 5).
April 12, 1885	The Reverend took a second wife, Sarah J. born in December 1836, in Babylon, New York.
November 24, 1885	Lydia A. married James Jacobs.
August 11, 1900	Reverend Samuel Harrison died of chronic cystitis caused by an enlarged prostate (PVR).
October 4, 1931	George B. died.

Sources: Harrison 1999; Manning-Sterling 2012; Pittsfield Vital Records

Economic Structures

Census data from Pittsfield provides indicators of the epochal economic structures that prevailed in the Berkshires in the mid-19th to early 20th century. In the 1820 Federal Census, 11 Black-led households were listed with 18 occupations: 17 in agriculture and one in manufacturing. Two of these 11 households had four people each involved in agriculture and one household had two people involved in agriculture. The

other households listed had one occupation each. Twenty-seven people of color were recorded as engaged in agriculture in the 1840 census.

The 1850 Federal Census recorded 10 occupations and one unknown for Black people, which provide clues to the racialized landscape. The majority were domestic/servant jobs. However, there were some professional, entrepreneurial, and skilled jobs including barber, basketmaker, carpenter, clergyman, and hostler. The appearance of the waiter in Pittsfield is an indication of the beginning of the tourism industry in the town. More occupations were added in 1860. Most of these are probably not the opening of new jobs, but the addition of female occupations. Twenty-two farmer laborers were listed under Black-led households and four Black farmer laborers were residing within White households.

The 1860 Federal Census was the first to enumerate female occupations, leading to a broader list of work descriptions including farm laborer, cook, washerwomen, washer, whitewasher, seamstress, coachman, dress maker, table waiter, teamster, gardener, steward, store clerk, house cleaner, and blacksmith.

In the 1870 Federal Census, there were a total of 95 African American males listed with occupations and 72 African American females. From those listed, it is clear that the majority of African Americans were still racialized into domestic servant and laborer jobs in homes, hotels, and on farms. Limited education probably was a contributing factor. The kind of work was given greater specification. For instance, in this census, the plain laborer decreased and farm laborer became the major Black male occupation. The census instructions made distinctions between a barber and “working in a barber shop,” hotel waiter versus waiter, and farmer versus “works on a farm.” Some

women listed as keeping house probably had a type of home employment like washing and sewing that brought money into the household. There were 80 women with some type of profession listed and 97 men. Occupations for African Americans increased from 21 to 29, but most of these jobs were still in the service industry (see Tables C.30 to C.38 in Appendix C). It is clear by some of the job titles listed for Black people living in White households that they performed their jobs inside of that household. Others might have only boarded there. The tourist industry was still evident in the African American community with 13 people being listed under four hotels.

In 1880, African Americans were still racialized into domestic servant and laborer jobs in homes, hotels, and on farms. For example, there were a total of 93 African American males listed with occupations and 106 African American females (Tenth Federal Census). There were 31 occupations listed, including one unknown (Tenth Federal Census). However, some occupations missing from 1870 returned, some new occupations returned, and other occupations achieved greater clarifications (see Tables C.30 to C.38 in Appendix C).

By the 1900 Federal Census, there were a few gains in skilled labor. However, African Americans were still racialized into domestic servant and laborer jobs in homes, hotels, and on farms. There were a total of 85 African American males listed with occupations and 29 African American females. The occupational titles increased to 48. “House keeper” and “keeping house” disappeared on paper and house work appeared, but the work of those former occupations, no doubt, continued under this new title. There was one mill worker listed, although he was a prisoner at the time of the census. Similar to Great Barrington discussed in the previous chapter, mill and factory work was closed

to African Americans in Pittsfield. This census also shows that some African Americans were able to find employment in the emerging modernization of the city (see Appendix C, Table C.38).

The economic structure underscores the intersection of the continuance of the transference of the doxa from captive Africans to “freed” people of African descent with education, social segregation, and political/legal structures. The pie charts below from Figures 8.5 to 8.13 highlight the relegation of Pittsfield Black males and females to unskilled and semiskilled occupations. Percentages of males in unskilled and semiskilled labor remained above 80% between 1850 and 1900. Skilled labor and entrepreneurs remained relatively the same at 13% in 1850, 11% in 1860, 15 in 1870 and 1900, and a slight increase to 17% in 1880. The female workforce witnessed fluctuations. For instance, unskilled and semiskilled female labor was 87% in 1860. However, the percentages rose into the 90s from 1870 to 1900. In fact, unskilled and semiskilled female labor was 99% in 1870. This created fluctuations in the skilled and entrepreneurial workforce. For example, the female skilled and entrepreneurial category was at its highest in 1860, with 13%. In subsequent decades, the numbers decreased to 0% in 1870 (1% was a professional), 4% in 1880, and 7% in 1900 (see Appendix C, Tables C.30 to C.38 for the occupations). This shows not much movement for African American males into skilled and entrepreneurial occupations in Pittsfield. For African American females it was a steady decrease. Again, as in Great Barrington, the domestic service of women was most likely more stable employment than laborer jobs.

This occupational landscape was a continuation of racialized structures originally created before the Revolutionary war and never eradicated. Capitalism creates roles for

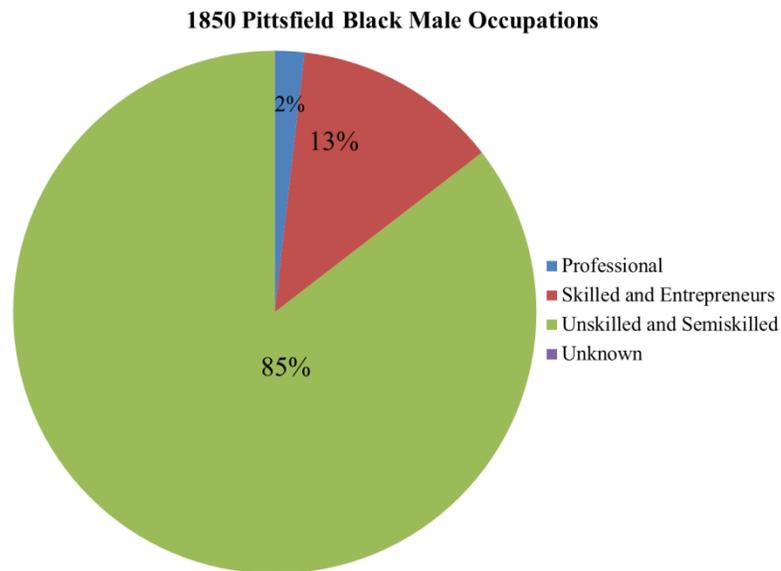
all people in their class-based societies. For instance, mills and factories used immigrant labor, not African American. Domestic work and laborer were African American space for a time. Table 8.3 provides the overall numbers for the three occupational categories.

Table 8.3: Pittsfield Occupational Categories

Census Year	Professional	Skilled and Entrepreneurial	Unskilled and Semiskilled
	Female/Male	Female/Male	Female/Male
1850	0/1	0/7	0/47
1860	0/1	6/8	38/52
1870	1/1	0/14	81/81
1880	0/1	4/16	98/77
1900	0/3	2/13	25/73

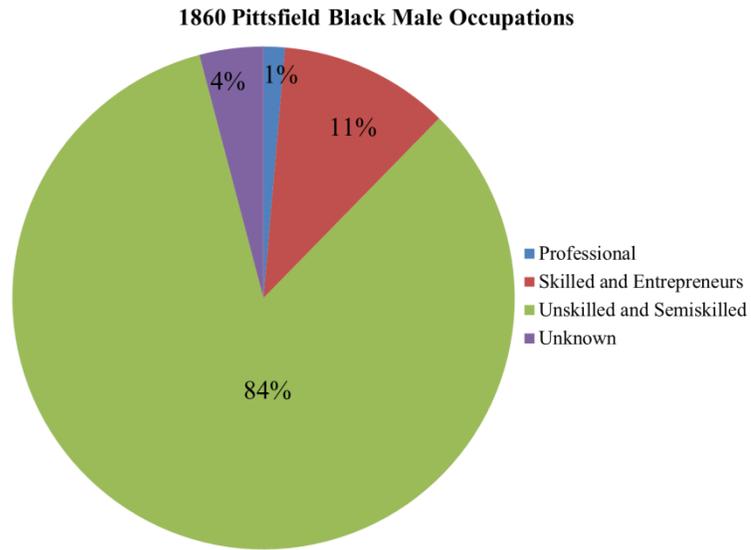
Source: Seventh through Twelfth Federal Censuses

Figure 8.5: 1850 Pittsfield Black Male Occupations



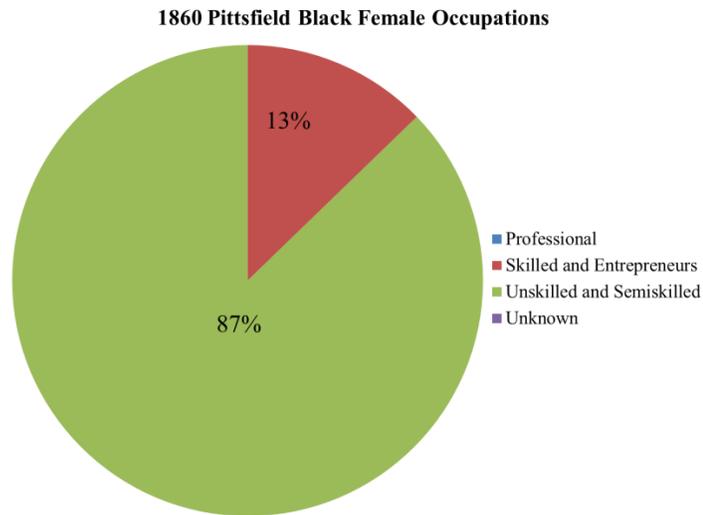
Source: Seventh Federal Census

Figure 8.6: 1860 Pittsfield Black Male Occupations



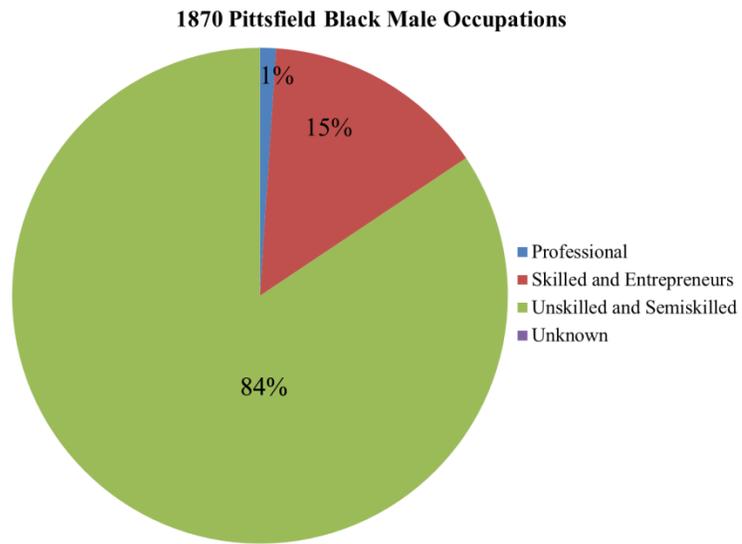
Source: Eighth Federal Census

Figure 8.7: 1860 Pittsfield Black Female Occupations



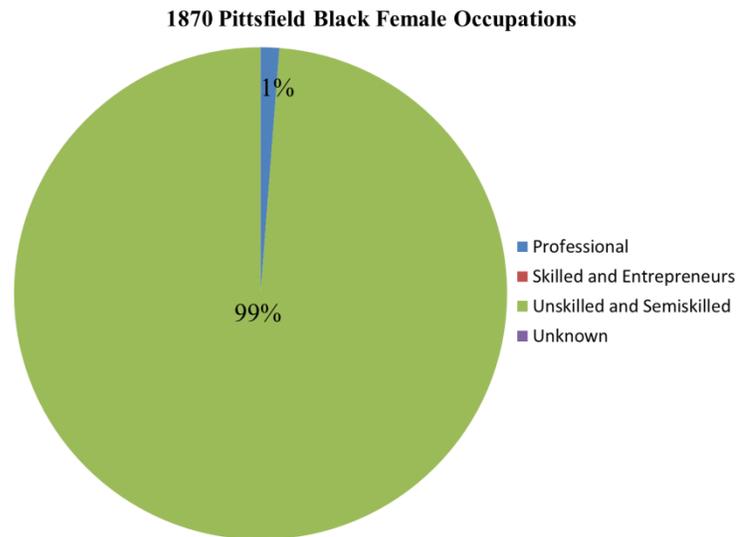
Source: Eighth Federal Census

Figure 8.8: 1870 Pittsfield Black Male Occupations



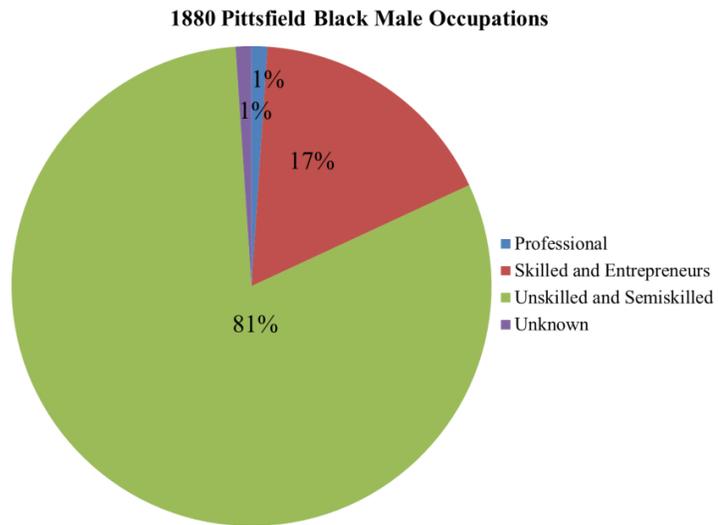
Source: Ninth Federal Census

Figure 8.9: 1870 Pittsfield Black Female Occupations



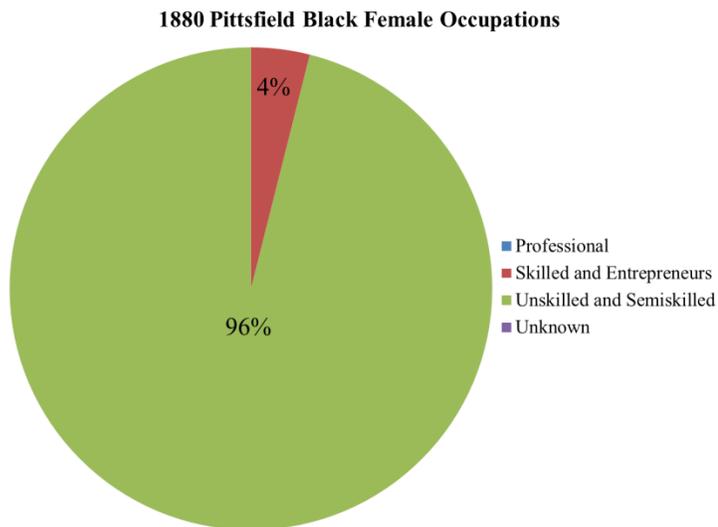
Source: Ninth Federal Census

Figure 8.10: 1880 Pittsfield Black Male Occupations



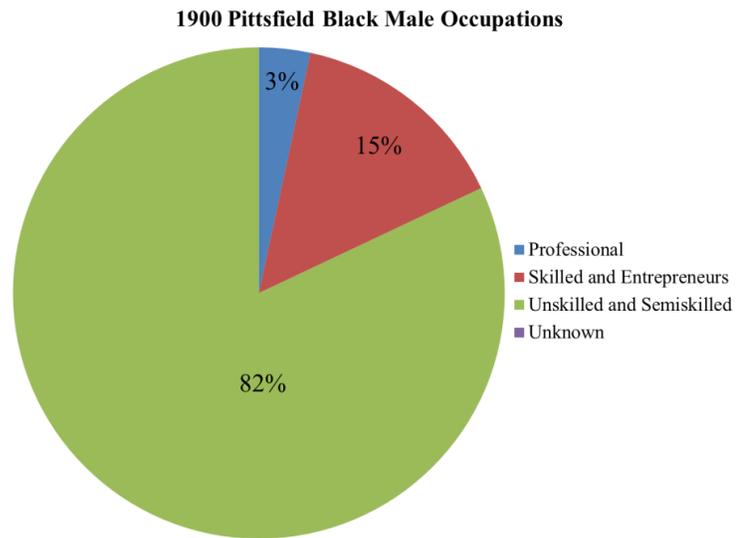
Source: Tenth Federal Census

Figure 8.11: 1880 Pittsfield Black Female Occupations



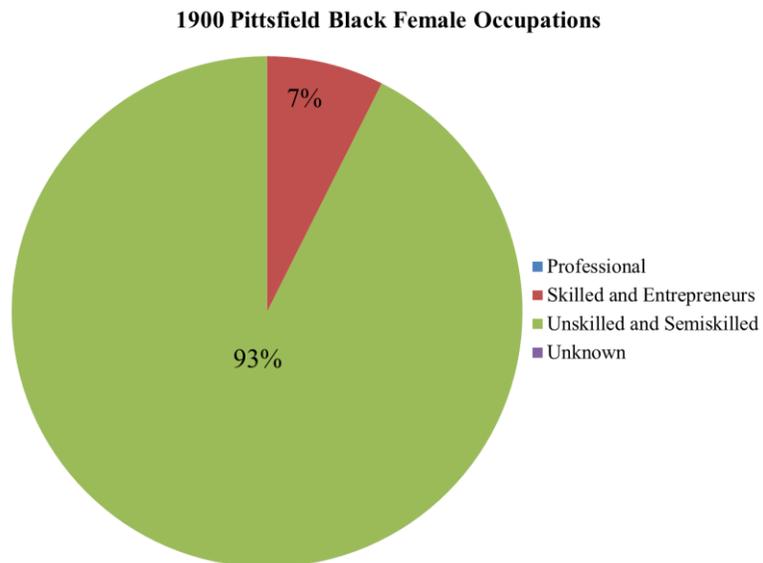
Source: Tenth Federal Census

Figure 8.12: 1900 Pittsfield Black Male Occupations



Source: Twelfth Federal Census

Figure 8.13: 1900 Pittsfield Black Female Occupations



Source: Twelfth Federal Census

Racialization Structures

As stated in earlier chapters, the establishment of race was the first step in the racialization process. This structure flows through sociocultural relationships, social organizations, behaviors, and institutions. With the help of White patrons and the First Congregational Church, the first Black church in the city became the Second Congregational Church, and it was established in 1846 on First Street with seven members – three women and four men (Willison 1957: 349). Racial discrimination within the First Congressional Church precipitated the creation of a Black church in Pittsfield (Dickerson 1982: 148-149; Levinson 2006: 167). In the 19th century, New England had six Black Congregational Churches and the Reverend Samuel Harrison preached at four of them (Dickerson 1982: 156). These Black Congregational churches were still part of the White Congregational churches that helped establish them (Dickerson 1982: 148).

In *Pittsfield Twenty-Five Years Ago* (1874), Reverend Harrison describes the racial climate of the city. During Reverend Harrison's (1874: 20) early years in Pittsfield, Blacks were not allowed to serve on juries. Social segregation was the norm in some establishments in the town. For instance, Reverend Harrison (1874: 12-13) recounted an incident where an unnamed Black male was allowed to check into the American House hotel, but was not allowed to sit at a table to consume his meal. After going to another establishment, he returned to checkout and found his overcoat stolen from his room. Apparently this individual was Frederick Douglass (Levinson 2006: 168). In his autobiography, Reverend Harrison (1899) recounted racial problems with the Irish in New Jersey and Pittsfield's Irish community was no different (Dickerson 1982: 153; Harrison 1877: 32). Additionally, many Black people in the city were abused over

Compromise of 1850 debates because the Whites viewed the issue as saving the Union, which the Compromise did for a while, and people of color felt King Cotton was ruling everyone (Harrison 1874: 17).

As mentioned in an earlier chapter, the federal census is a document of racialization. Because enumerators determined racial categories from the census instructions, the social construction of race is present in the manuscript sheets. Racialization appeared to be fluid in the U.S. census enumeration. For example, the Harrison family was enumerated as Black in 1850 and 1880 Federal Censuses. However, the family was enumerated as mulattoes in the 1860 and 1870 Federal Censuses (see Figure 8.14).

Figure 8.14: 1870 Springfield Census with Harrisons Listed as Mulattoes

Page No. 64; 60- Inquiries numbered 7, 16, and 17 are not to be asked in respect to infants. Inquiries numbered 11, 12, 16, 17, 18, and 20 are to be answered (if at all) only by an affirmative reply, as 1.

SCHEDULE 1.—Inhabitants in Ward 6 Springfield, in the County of Franklin, State of Mass., enumerated by me on the 5th day of July, 1870.

Post Office: Springfield Mass Jan 4th 1871 Asst Marshal.

2	3	4	5	6	7	8		10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	
						9	10												
	Mary 27 7/21	keeping house																	
	Mary 72 7/21	at home																	
17	John 42 7/21	book binder					8 00	England											
	Sabella 41 7/21	keeping house						England											
	Emma 17 7/21	at school						England											
	Sabella 17 7/21	at school						Mass York											
	John 17 7/21	at school						Mass York											
	Edward 9 7/21	at school						Mass York											
18	Harrison 63 7/21	Wagonman					8 00	Mass											
	Mary 57 7/21	keeping house						Mass											
	Mary 18 7/21	at school						Mass											
	Mary 16 7/21	at school						Mass											
	George 11 7/21	at school						Mass											
	Lydia 7 7/21	at school						Mass											
19	John 74 7/21	Wagonman					12 00	England											
	Joseph 40 7/21	keeping house						England											
	Mary 18 7/21	at school						Mass											
	Mary 11 7/21	at school						Mass											
	Mary 9 7/21	at school						Mass											
	Joseph 6 7/21	at school						Mass											
	John 5 7/21	at school						Mass											
	Charles 3 7/21	at school						Mass											
20	John 41 7/21	Wagonman					10 00	England											
	Mary 72 7/21	keeping house						England											
	Mary 57 7/21	at school						Mass											
	Mary 16 7/21	at school						Mass											
	Mary 12 7/21	at school						Mass											
	John 9 7/21	at school						Mass											
21	John 41 7/21	Wagonman					10 00	England											
	William 31 7/21	at home						Mass											
	James 19 7/21	at home						Mass											
	James 16 7/21	at home						Mass											
22	James 48 7/21	Wagonman					6 00	England											
	Mary 48 7/21	keeping house						England											
	Mary 27 7/21	at home						England											
	John 27 7/21	at home						England											
	James 18 7/21	at school						Mass											
	John 17 7/21	at school						Mass											
	John 12 7/21	at school						Mass											
23	John 41 7/21	Wagonman					10 00	England											
	Mary 48 7/21	keeping house						England											
	Mary 27 7/21	at home						England											
	John 27 7/21	at home						England											
	James 18 7/21	at school						Mass											
	John 17 7/21	at school						Mass											
	John 12 7/21	at school						Mass											
24	John 41 7/21	Wagonman					10 00	England											
	Mary 48 7/21	keeping house						England											
	Mary 27 7/21	at home						England											
	John 27 7/21	at home						England											
	James 18 7/21	at school						Mass											
	John 17 7/21	at school						Mass											
	John 12 7/21	at school						Mass											

No. of dwellings, 1. No. of white males, 26. No. of males, foreign born, 4.
 " " females, 2. " " colored males, 2. " " females, " " 6.
 " " white males, 22. " " females, 2. " " colored, " " 2.

Spatial Structures

Pittsfield witnessed a steady increase in the Black population throughout much of the 19th century, but in the last decade it dropped to 226 from 329 in the previous decade (see Table 8.4). Figure 8.15 provides a comparison of Pittsfield’s White and African American population from 1850 to 1900. Census data provides indications of the spatial landscape of the city. However, it also provides information concerning the establishment of homeplaces for people of African descent. The 1800 and 1810 Federal Censuses for Pittsfield were alphabetized and do not lend themselves to ascertaining whether people of color were clustering in certain areas of the town. The 1810 Federal

Census listed 128 “free people of color.” It appears that some of the manuscript worksheets for Pittsfield are no longer extant because the numbers for all categories of residents did not total accurately. For example, “free people of color” only totaled 100 from the worksheets. In the 1820 Federal Census, Berkshire County differed from Essex County by recording “free people of color” households and not just reporting an aggregate number at the end of the manuscript worksheet.

The 1820 Federal Census was not alphabetized and does show three small clusters of people of color. For the most part, there were no sections of the town that were segregated with just people of color. One cluster consisted of Peter Peterson with a household of two, Thomas Brown with a household of three, and Randolph Tethengail with four in the household. All three were listed next to each other on the census, so they were close. There was also a White family next to Randolph Tethengail on the census, including one person of color. Three dwellings down was another family of color, headed by Peter Jonas with eight people in the household.

A second cluster consisted of the James Fields household with nine people, Christopher Jorgenson’s household of two, and Francis Hamilton’s household of eight. The third cluster was small, with only two households: Primus Richards’ household of four and Robert Peters’ household of three. Two other families were living next to each other, but their numbers were also small: the Lehman Bow household of six and Catherine Fraser living next door by herself. The next household of color was led by Lemar Bailey, with two people six households away. In 1830, there were still no large concentrations of people of color. However, the census does reveal small concentrations of people of color next to each other

The 1850 Federal Census for Pittsfield listed 285 Black people. However, my repeated counts came up with 287. No Black neighborhoods existed in town. People lived where they could afford and no groupings existed larger than four families living next to each other. However, this ensured wealthy Whites their own living space in town. The census only had three groups of four families totaling 13 people (in three dwellings), 15 people, and 24 people.

In 1860, the Black population was still living where they could afford. The Harrisons lived in a mixed neighborhood with a White family and a mulatto family on either side of them. The census reported three clusters of Black independent households. The first grouping consisted of five families in three dwellings that totaled 17 people. The second grouping was five families with 22 people in four dwellings. The last large grouping was three families in three dwellings totaling 22 people. After that, there were several areas with two families next to each other on the census.

In 1870, Pittsfield witnessed no formation of a separate Black neighborhood. The largest cluster of Black families consisted of 25 people divided amongst eight families in six dwellings. There were three groups of two dwellings next to each other and several dwellings with more than one family.

In 1880, there were no large clusters of African Americans. At most, there were only two sets of four African American families next to each other on the census, which numbered only 11 people in one grouping and the other with nine. Additionally, there were two groups of three households next to each other on the census, one group totaling 12 people and the other totaling 15 people. Probably a better way to view this is by the census districts. African Americans were dispersed amongst five districts in 1880. The

district with the most African Americans was 056 with a total of 124. District 057 was second with 95 and district 058 was next with 69 people. Reverend Harrison lived in district 057, which also contained the Berkshire County Jail and House of Correction. Thirteen African Americans were incarcerated (Tenth Federal Census). The last two districts had the lowest numbers of African Americans: district 059 with 30 and district 060 with only 13 people.

There are 277 African Americans listed in the total for Pittsfield in 1900 (Twelfth Federal Census). However, I counted 280. By this time, the city had already been divided into seven wards, which were subdivided into districts. Ward 1 was subdivided into districts 0062, 0063, and 0064. Ward 2 was subdivided into districts 0065, 0066, and 0067. Ward 3 was subdivided into districts 0068 and 0069. Ward 4 was subdivided into two districts: 0070 and 0071. Ward 5 was also subdivided into two districts: 0072 and 0073. Ward 6 was subdivided into districts 0074, 0075, and 0076. The last ward, number 7 had two districts: 0077 and 0078.

In 1900, all wards had African Americans living in them, except district 0067 in ward 2. Additionally, where African Americans were living provides clues as to White space and Black space in the town. Four districts only had African Americans living in White households as servants: ward 1, district 0063, one female; ward 1, district 0064 one female and two males; ward 2, district 0065 had one female and two males; and ward 7, district 0077, had one female. The major concentrations of African Americans were in ward 6, district 0075, with 65 (23%) people; ward 6, district 0074, with 57 (20%); ward 3, district 68, with 32 (11%); and ward 4, district 0070, 31 (11%). All the African Americans in districts 0075 and 0068 lived under their own roofs. In district 0070 and

0074 all but three African Americans in each district lived in their own households. Four districts had under 20 African Americans: 0072, 17 (5 lived in White households); 0071, 16; 0066, 14, (4 resided in White households); and 0073 with 14.

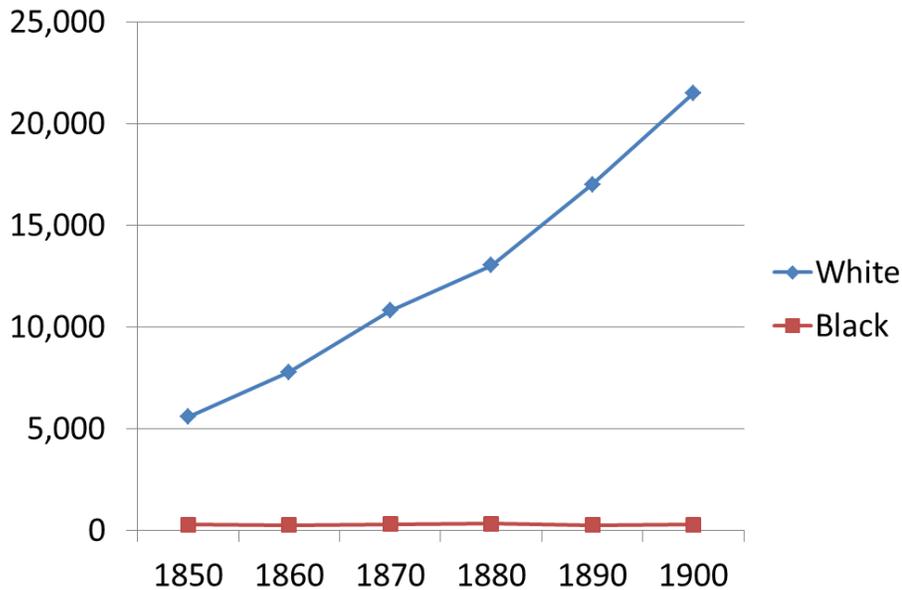
Table 8.4: Pittsfield African American Population 1790 to 1900

Year	Population	Total # of Black Households	Total # of Black People in Black Households	Total # of White Households with Blacks	Total # of Black People in White Households	Total # of Black Female Headed Households
1790	45	4	18(40%)	12	27(60%)	0
1800	80	14	52(65%)	20	28(35%)	1
1810	128	17	*	26	*	0
1820	147	24	111(75.5%)	27	36(24%)	3
1830	167	26	97(58%)	41	70(41.9%)	1
1840	198	39	144(72.7%)	35	54(27.2%)	5
1850	285	53	249(87.3%)	28	38(13.3%)	7
1860	263	49	225(86%)	32	38(14%)	6
1870	311	63	264(85%)	26	47(15.1%)	18
1880	329(331)	65	278(83.9%)	37	54(16.3%)	19
1890	266	No Data		No Data		No Data
1900	277(280)	57	252(90%)	22	28(10%)	12

Source: First through Twelfth Federal Censuses

*Accurate numbers could not be ascertained

Figure 8.15: Pittsfield White and African American Population Comparison 1850 to 1900



Source: Seventh through Twelfth Federal Censuses

Political/Legal Structures

Although Massachusetts had the largest group of abolitionists in the country, Black males had the right to vote (if they owned real or personal property). Despite many tolerant laws, Massachusetts was not a color blind society (Laurie 2005). The political landscape of the region is important to understanding racialization. The “hill towns,” Pittsfield, included, were Democratic Party bastions and supporters of slavery because the manufacturing base of the town relied on the “peculiar institution” (Laurie 2005). This was different from the river valley (Sunderland, Deerfield, and Amherst) towns that were Whigs (Laurie 2005). National laws could have effects all the way into the Berkshires. For example, the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 triggered an exodus of escaped captive Africans who had been living in Pittsfield (Harrison 1874: 18).

Education

Public schooling created a lot of discussion in Pittsfield (Willison 1957: 49-50). The formation of school districts within the town in the 1820s did not solve the problem of substandard schools. Since districts became the political center of gravity of the town, schools were caught in between Whig and Tories politics for decades (Boltwood 1916: 130-131). In fact, the town was not in compliance with the 1789 state law that required the establishment of public primary (elementary) and grammar schools for towns with two hundred or more families (towns not in compliance were fined) (Schultz 1973: 11; White 2009: 2). Pittsfield did not establish a grammar school until 1793, but even this school was closed in 1824 (Willison 1957: 49-50). Initially, for a town with already poorly maintained schools and a limited number of professional teachers, the high school was probably an expense that the town could not afford. The town’s first “proper” grammar/high school with four years of study opened in 1850 (Willison 1957: 50).

Great Barrington did not establish a high school until 1868 (Drew 1999: 323; Levinson 2006: 167). This meant that children in Pittsfield had more opportunities for education, almost 20 years longer than children in Great Barrington. If children did not attend school, there were probably many concomitant factors that led to non-attendance.

The 1850 Federal Census asked whether children had attended school within the last year, and whether people over the age of 20 could read and write. According to the 1850 Federal Census, Pittsfield had 36 (36%) Black children who had attended school in the census year, in a population of 100 school-age children (four-year-olds were counted in the total if they were recorded as attending school). There were 44 African American households and 11 White households with eligible Black school-age children. Out of the 44 households, 23 (52 %) did not have eligible children in school. None of these children were recorded with occupations, which some of them might have had. The family listed under Henry and Jane Fields is a sad example of a whole family not attending school in the previous year. This household had 7 children: ages 17, 14, 12, 10, 8, 7, and 5, who did not attend school. There were two other children in the household, ages 19 and 3. Henry, a laborer, was the only one listed with an occupation. In 1860, Pittsfield had 99 Black children between the ages of 5 and 18 eligible for school (Eighth Federal Census). Of that number, 74 children or 74% attended school, some of whom were as young as four years old. Thirty-one of thirty-three Black-led households had school-age children. Two of these households had one 18-year-old listed as being able to read and write. Since there was a law requiring compulsory education for targeted ages, these high attendance numbers are expected. The census data reveals a very big effort on the part of the Black community to get their children educated. In some households, none of the school-age

children were listed as attending school, but yet could read and write, an indicator that they had some type of schooling in their young life time. There were eight females and four males totaling 12 school-age children in White households. Of these 12, only two males, age 15 and 17 listed as a domestic and farm laborer attended school. School children came from both the skilled and unskilled families of the town: barber (1), cook (2), clergyman (1), blacksmith (1), farmer (1), teamster (1), steward (1), washerwoman (2), whitewasher (3), farm laborer (10), domestic (1), table waiter (1), washer (1), and laborer (5).

By the next census, the number of school-age children between 5 and 18 had decreased to 93 (if a four-year-old was listed as attending school, it was included in the count) with 64 (68.8%) children listed as attending school within the last year (Ninth Federal Census). All children that were eligible but not attending school could read and write, which is an indicator that they had some type of schooling. However, it shows that for various reasons Black children were not attending high school. One reason might have been the need to work to bring money into the household. Thirty-seven of 39 Black-led households with children in school, and the other two, each had a five-year-old that might not have been ready to attend school due to age or physical ability. Five Black children (18, 17, 16, 14, and 12), living within White households, had not attended school within the last year. Two of these children were within the mandatory school-age of 8-14. One of these households was a boarding house; there was a Black family under this roof and they did send their child to school. A 14-year-old male boarder not part of this family did not attend school. It is clear that in Black-led households, once children reached a certain age, their schooling ended and they joined the workforce to contribute

to the household. For example, Charles Fowler, 15, was listed as a hotel bell boy, but his younger siblings were still attending school. Another example was the very large family of Charles Hamilton, which had an 18-year-old female who was a domestic servant, a 16-year-old teamster, and four females between 15 and 16 who were not in school, listed no occupations. The family also had a six-year-old that had not yet attended school.

According to the 1880 Federal Census, 58 children (58.5%) between the ages of 5 and 18 attended school during the census year out of an eligible population of no less than 99. There were 49 households with school-age children, 41 African American-led households and eight White-led households. Nine (22%) of these 41 African American households had no children attending school within the census year. For example, in one family, almost everyone in the house was employed: the father was a coachman; the mother a laundress; the oldest daughter, 19, a laundress; two sons 16 and 14 were farm laborers; another daughter, 13, was a servant; and the youngest daughter was three with no occupation. There were 9 children, 6 females ages 16 and 17, and 3 males with the youngest 12-years-old, who were domestics and not attending school. Even though a high school had existed in Pittsfield for 32 years, the census data reveals that the African American community was not attending in large numbers. For instance, some of the 31 African American households that had older children not in school, but their younger siblings were. This group, in no less than 11 households, ranged in age from 16 to 18 (there was only one six-year-old not in school) and six of the 13 children had occupations listed.

The 1900 Federal Census reported 46 (59.7%) African American children attending school in that census year, out of 77 eligible. There were 41 households with

school-age African Americans. Thirty-four of these households were African American households and seven were African Americans living in White households. All school-age children in White households did not attend school in the last year and all had jobs except one (16-year-old female insane inmate). A 17-year-old African American male was the oldest person in school in Pittsfield. Twelve African American households did not have any children attending school in the last year, seven males (ages 18, 16, 14, 9, 7, 6, and 5) and six females (16, 13, 7, and 3 age 6). Two African American households had older siblings working while younger siblings were attending school. These older siblings were females age 15 and 16 and one was a laundress. Finishing high school was not only a problem for African Americans. According to George F. Willison (1957: 277), by 1900, four out of five elementary children in Pittsfield dropped out of school before completing the eighth grade. A city that was progressing into the modern industrial age could not hope to survive with those statistics (Willison 1957: 277).

For many African Americans, education was an important component of advancement, full citizenship and moral uplift. This was evident in Pittsfield where student enrollment was below 50% only in 1850 (see Table 8.5). Peak year was 1860 with enrollment at 74.7%. For females, the lowest attendance year was 1850 with 36% and in 1860 and 1870 reached 73.5% and 66.6%. However, 1880 witnessed a decrease to 48.3%. By 1900, it rose to 52.6%. Although male enrollment numbers were higher than females with over 70% from 1860 to 1880 and a slight dip to 66.6% in 1900, their overall eligible numbers were lower than females (Seventh through Twelfth Federal Census).

Table 8.5: Pittsfield African American Educational Chart

Census Year	Eligible/Attending	Eligible/Attending	Eligible/Attending
		Female	Male
1850	100(Ages 5-18)/36(36%)*	50/18(36%)	50/18(36%)

1860	99(Ages 5-18)/74(74.7%)*	53/39(73.5%)	46/35(76%)
1870	93(Ages 5-18)/64(68.8%)*	51/34(66.6%)	42/30(71.4%)
1880	99(Ages 5-18)/58(58.5%)*	60/29(48.3%)	39/29(74.3%)
1900	77(Ages 5-18)/46(59.7%)	38/20(52.6%)	39/26(66.7%)

(Source: Seventh through Twelfth Federal Census)

*If four-year-olds were attending school, they were included in the eligible and attending counts.

Social Structures

Reverend Samuel Harrison advocated for moral uplift, equality, full citizenship, and the abolition of slavery from the pulpits of four Black Congregational Churches (Dickerson 1982: 156). He also penned sermons, newspaper editorials, and pamphlets like *An Appeal of a Colored Man to His Fellow-Citizens of a Fairer Hue in the United States* (1877) focusing on civil rights for Black people. Denis Dickerson (1982: 156) contends that Reverend Harrison could not bring his “ideas to fruition” because he relied on advocacy through sermons and pamphlets and did not establish any organizations to carry out his message.

Military Service

Towns in the Berkshires were not isolated from the events of the American Revolution. People of African descent in the Berkshires also supported the cause of independence. According to the National Society Daughters of the American Revolution study published in 2008, nine people of African descent from Pittsfield fought in the American Revolution with another two possible (Grundset 2008: 99-150). Thirty Black males from Pittsfield fought in the Civil War: 19 in the 54th Massachusetts, five in the 5th Massachusetts Cavalry, one each in the 55th Massachusetts, 52nd USCT, and the U.S. Colored Artillery, and three in the U.S. Navy (Levinson 2006: 75, 78-80).

Sex Ratios

The 1820 Federal Census provides the first window into female and male ratios. As noted earlier, the Black population of Pittsfield was 147 almost equally divided between 75 (51%) females and 72 (49%) males. Males and females were about even in the “Of fourteen and under twenty-six” age group with 23 and 22, respectively. There were 18 females and 13 males in the “Of twenty-six & under forty-five” age group.

In 1830, Black women still outnumbered men with 88 (52.6%) and 79 (43.3%) out of a total Black population of 167. However, once the population is separated into its census age groupings, there is more disparity among the sexes. Females led in the next two age groups, “Of ten to under twenty-four” and “Of twenty-four to under thirty-six” with 26 and 23 to 16 and 19 males, respectively. In 1840, the Black population was 198, split between 104 (52.5%) females and 94 (47.4%) males. Overall, there was a disparity between the sexes; however, it was not as pronounced within the census groupings. In the 10-24 age category, females numbered 26 and males, 20. The sexes were almost equal in the 24-36 age group with 23 females and 24 males.

Using the count of 287 Blacks for Pittsfield in 1850 divides the population into 146 (50.8%) females and 141 males (49 %). Overall, the two sexes were relatively even. When the two sexes are separated into four age categories, they were equal in the critical 19-39 age group at 44 each. The total Black population of Pittsfield in 1860 was 263, with a greater number of women than men, 142 or 53% to 121 or 46 %. Females outnumbered males in all categories. In the overall Black population, females had a slight lead of 44 to 39 in the 19 to 39 age group. The 1870 census for Pittsfield listed a total of 311 African Americans. Again, females led males with 164 (53%) to 147 (47%) and when the numbers are separated into four age categories; women outnumbered men

in three of the categories and they were only one behind in the 19 to 39 age group with 60 males and 59 females.

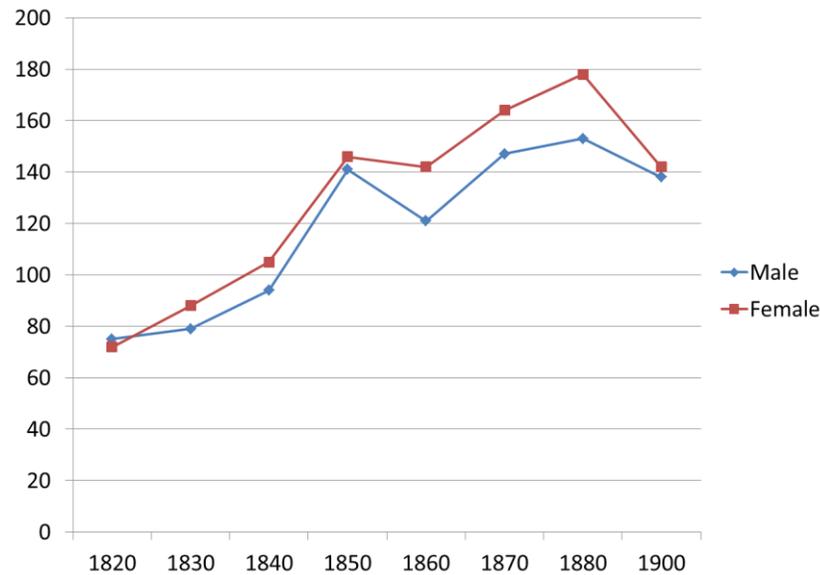
In 1880, women outnumbered men – 178 (53.7 %) to 153 (47.7%) (Tenth Federal Census). However, in the 19-39 age group, there was almost sex parity with 60 males and 58 females. The counts for Pittsfield in 1900 are based off of a count of 280 African Americans, not 277. Out of these counts were 142 (51%) females and 138 (49%) males. However, when separated into age groups, females had a slight lead on males in 19 to 39 age category with 51 to 43. See Table 8.6 for an overview of the African American sex ratios in Pittsfield from 1850 to 1900. Figure 8.16 is a graphic representation of the African American numbers of men and women in Pittsfield from 1850 to 1900. It is clear that over the course of the 19th century the Black population of Pittsfield had enough people to reproduce.

Table 8.6: Pittsfield Numbers and Percentages for total African American Population 1820 to 1900

Year	Female	Male
1820	72(42%)	75(51%)
1830	88(52.6%)	79(43.3%)
1840	105(52.5%)	94(47.4%)
1850	146(50.8%)	141(49%)
1860	142(53%)	121(46%)
1870	164(53%)	147(47%)
1880	178(53.7%)	153(47.7%)
1890	No Data	No Data
1900	142(51%)	138(49%)

Source: Fourth through Twelfth Federal Censuses

Figure 8.16: Pittsfield Numbers for total African American Population 1820 to 1900



Source: Fourth through Twelfth Federal Censuses

Material Culture Assemblage of the Harrison Family

J.E. A. Smith (1869) described domestic life during the time period, illuminating the various duties required to keep a household functioning because household industry and economy were interwoven. This frugality fit in with the platforms of moral uplift, full citizenship, and the end of slavery that most African American preachers were espousing during the nineteenth century. Archaeological investigations at the Reverend Samuel Harrison Homestead provide material evidence how the family of a successful minister and shoemaker provisioned themselves.

Hartgen Archaeological Associates Inc. conducted a Phase I archaeological reconnaissance survey of the Reverend Samuel Harrison Homestead from April 28 to May 2, 2008 with follow-up excavations between July and August of that same year. The excavations were located on the eastern portion of the property around the area of where a shed was once located. Most of the 1,926 artifacts recovered came from the

units in the shed area. This Phase I archaeological reconnaissance survey was destructive in nature and while the objectives were limited in scope, when compared with the documentary record and the house, itself, an above ground artifact, provides insight into the daily life of the Harrison family. One thing to remember is that this was only a Phase I excavation with recommendations for more. This would make the interpretations preliminary. The areas excavated were around the two-story house built into a slope that gave it a lower level and around the area where the shoemaking workshop was located. The area where Lydia and James' house stood was not excavated. The assemblage is curated at the Massachusetts Historical Commission. That is where I viewed the assemblage, when it arrived in October 2012. It is not a large collection; however, it was important to study. It made me wonder: What is still in the ground?

Hartgen Associates' report provided conclusions on the artifact assemblage. The artifacts did not provide a tight time period, but the assemblage was attributed to the Harrison family, and corresponds to archival evidence that money was tight. According to Dennis Dickerson (1982: 155), none of the four congregational churches that Reverend Harrison pastored were self-sufficient and relied on financial support from White congregational churches and other philanthropic Whites for church support and, at times, for Harrison's own support. Finances were so tight that the daughter graduating from the high school in Portland, Maine, could not afford a high school ring. However, her high school friends contributed money for her ring (Harrison 1899: 43). So the family did not have the income to spend on a lot of non-essentials. Even necessary things like an overcoat for Rev. Harrison were a major expense and he was relieved when a friend had paid his tailor bill (Harrison 1899). These two examples coupled with the earlier ones

paint a picture of a family that was frugal, and the assemblage represents that. The Hartgen site report notes family album pictures located in the Massachusetts College of Liberal Arts Library, which show the Harrisons nicely dressed and adorned with jewelry (Manning-Sterling 2012: 47). Some of these dresses were probably made by Ellen, the dressmaker daughter, and the shoes could have been constructed by Rev. Harrison.

The Cult of Domesticity fueled a consumer culture centered on things that had a special meaning to whoever possessed them. Robert Paynter's general categories are concentrated more on the productive aspects of life than on consumer practices in society. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Paynter's general categories are foodways, personal, household/structural, information, work (non-food), transportation, native artifact, natural, and unknown (Paynter 2004, 2008). My focus is on four of these categories: foodways, personal, information, and work (non-food).

Racialization

The Harrison family had a Greek revival house built in the late 1850s. A few of the other houses on the street are of the same design. This design was most likely chosen by the Harrisons, when the builder was selected. The housing style did not distinguish the Harrisons from their White neighbors. There is possibly one artifact linked to racialization and transition. It is expected that in the household of a Christian minister, material culture associated with African spiritual system would be absent. However, a heart-shaped brooch is thought-provoking (see Figure 8.17). Could this brooch have been retained because it resembles the Akan symbol of Sankofa? Sankofa has been "associated with Twi-speaking Akan people" living in the Ivory Coast and Ghana (Perry et al. 2009: 186). The symbol represents a proverb, "*Se wo were fi na wo sankofa a*

yenkyi,” which translates to “It is not taboo to return and fetch it when you forget” (Perry et al 2009: 186).

Figure 8.17: Harrison Family Brooch



Photo by author

Daily life

A linkage of documents with the material culture provides clues as to how the Harrison family conducted daily life and established their homeplace. Reverend Harrison’s many roles in life included captive African, escapee, shoemaker, minister, husband, father, abolitionist, army chaplain, and Civil Rights activist. Ellen R. Harrison does not have a listed occupation until 1880, where she was listed as “keeping house.” This is illuminating because for the majority of Ellen’s years, she had numerous roles that required a range of material culture. Along with keeping house, Ellen was a wife, a mother, and a minister’s wife. These occupations required meal preparation, child-rearing, house cleaning, clothes repair, and grocery shopping. The daughters in the household would have assisted with many of these duties. Dressmaker Ellen might have had the assistance of her siblings and mother. The Harrison assemblage from 82 Third Street reflects all of these occupations.

In the Information category, Hartgen Associates found evidence of Mason jar glass and lids (see Figure 8.18), which led Hartgen analysts to conclude that the family preserved and canned their own food. According to census data from 1850 to 1900, everyone in the household could read and write, but no ink wells, slates, or slate pencils were recovered. Glass fragments of drinking glasses, tumblers, milk bottles, medicinal bottles (see Figures 8.19 and 8.20), ointments and tonic containers, and possibly cosmetic bottles were found. To work with all these things required lighting lamps, which are present in the many glass pieces recovered from the limited Phase I operations. One bottle (see Figure 8.18) believed to be a medicinal bottle was “embossed with the words: FULL ½ PINT/CONTENTS 8 OZ” (Mann-Sterling 2012: 44). It is thought to have held a pharmaceutical because the bottle did not have the word “WARRENTED” embossed on it, which was common on liquor bottles (Mann-Sterling 2012: 44).

Figure 8.18: Mason Jars



Photo by author

Figure 8.19: Medicinal Bottle



Photo by author

Figure 8.20: Medicinal Bottle



Photo by author

Work related artifacts recovered relate to dressmaking and shoemaking. Buttons, pins, needles, hooks and eye notches are evidence of two listed occupations within the household: keeping house and dressmaker. Later in life, Lydia is listed as a dressmaker. However, in the family household on Third Street, Lydia never lists a profession. However, it is conceivable that she could and did sew, as her sister and most likely her

mother did. Rev. Harrison (1899) had pointed out that the Second Congregational Church had established a sewing school in the church for young girls, which means the women in the household were probably making and mending clothes. The cobbler tacks and pieces of shoe leather are evidence of Rev. Harrison's skills as a shoemaker. The material culture recovered is heavy in female usage items. One unusual item was a small three-legged iron pot.

The children are in evidence through the toys found at the site. There were twelve marbles (11 glass and one clay), parts of a toy tea set, a doll part, and two iron sleigh bells. It must be remembered that Mrs. Harrison was running the household when Reverend Harrison was away working for the Freedman's Society, working as the regimental chaplain in the 54th Massachusetts, and when he visited other churches in the region. Remnants of a toy tea set might be an indicator that the Harrisons were inculcating their children in practices of refinement and domesticity (see Wall 1991, 2000; Wilkie 2003). Figures 8.21 to 8.24 are photos of the three-legged iron pot, some of the marbles, a sleigh bell, and a whiteware plate.

Figure 8.21: Iron Pot



Photo by Author

Figure 8.22: Harrison Marbles



Photo by Author

Figure 8.23: Sleigh Bell



Photo by Author

Figure 8.24: Whiteware Plate



Photo by Author

Transition

The Reverend Samuel Harrison's mother and father were probably American born captives. If so, then Samuel Harrison, born into captivity in Pennsylvania on April 15, 1818, was a second generation American born captive African. He and his mother spent a few years in Philadelphia before moving to New York with the family that held them in bondage. Both of these cities had large captive and free African born populations and American born. Samuel and his mother most likely traversed through all of these groups in the course of their daily lives.

According to Manning-Sterling (2012: 49), faunal bones recovered from the Harrison site were from beef and had saw rather than chopping marks, suggestive of meat bought from a butcher. The specific cuts of meat led her to further conclude that the family consumed more stews because of the lack of long bones in the assemblage (Manning-Sterling 2012: 49). If this limited faunal analysis is linked to the higher amount of bowls vs plates in the assemblage, this adds weight to Hartgen's conclusions regarding stew consumption and it might also be an indicator of class and or identity. It should be noted that investigating a cultural cuisine would be insightful but the data is not yet sufficient to pursue. Maria Franklin's (2001a) work on southern African American foodways is an excellent example of how to accomplish this task, if more data is recovered.

I did not focus on household/structural grouping; however, the National Register Nomination Form asked whether the house construction was influenced by African building techniques (Larson and Friedberg 2006). The house itself does require some thought because it speaks to marginalization and othering. The house is a Greek Revival like a few others on the street. The builders utilized the terrain well by constructing the house into the slope and giving it three levels. The lowest level, visible from the rear of the house, was where the kitchen and another room were located. So the outside appearance is similar to American trends in architecture. It must be remembered that Samuel Harrison was probably second generation American born and his house design was probably a combination of terrain usage, money available for a particular design, the expertise of the builders, and family size. The sloping terrain of Third Street might be an indicator of class – the ability to afford flat level land or cheaper land that is not level.

The house is an above ground artifact that is a political statement for an inclusive community for moral uplift and full equality.

Consumerism

Most of these artifacts are from the foodways category. Most of the ceramic assemblage consists of plain whiteware and porcelain for everyday usage, of which there were more bowl sherds than plates. The ceramic assemblage included 163 whitewares, 30 porcelain tablewares, 6 porcellaneous wares, and 2 yellowwares (Manning-Sterling 2012: 42). The ceramic assemblage did not have any small wares or butter pats, which Manning Sterling concluded as an indicator that the family did not have a matching set (Manning-Sterling 2012: 42). However, there were some decorative whiteware and porcelain ceramics in the assemblages that had flower motifs, birds, and embossed fruit motifs. There was also an American majolica plate (see Figure 8.25), “a polychrome whiteware candy dish,” a Rockingham pitcher, a vase portraying a vine and grape motif, gilt porcelain, and annular gilt whitewares (Manning-Sterling 2012: 42). Manning-Sterling (2012: 42) notes “The gilt decorated porcelain most likely represents the family’s finer wares that were probably used for guests, special occasions and Sunday dinners.” The ceramics are probably more a reflection of Ellen Harrison’s aesthetic sensibilities. Some of these ceramics had floral patterns, but I could not discern any “grammar-based creolization model” in the ceramics like Laurie Wilkie found on the Clifton plantation on New Providence, Bahamas (Wilkie2000c). The assemblage also had food preparation items as well as the ceramics and glass material to serve and hold the food and beverages while being consumed. There were fragments of a metal can, but no tin cans located in the assemblage. This is a possible indicator that national brand items were not used. The medicinal bottles speak to home medical care practices and the milk white glass of

cosmetic bottles is an indicator of beauty products in the household. No liquor bottles were found and Hartgen attributes this to the Reverend's temperance. The flora, fruit, and bird patterns are indicative of middle-class values of self-respect and moral uplift. There was no evidence of racialized power relations in the consumption and subsistence practices at the Reverend Samuel Harrison site.

Figure 8.25: American Majolica Plate

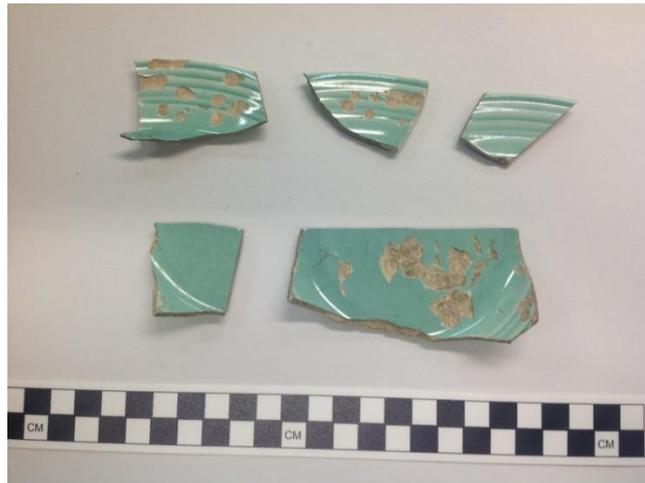


Photo by Author

Conclusion

In the social, economic, and political/legal spheres, Pittsfield evidenced a racialized paternalism throughout the 19th century. Spatially was somewhat different. There was no major clustering of African Americans in the early 19th century. During this time period, people lived where they could afford to live, which meant that wealthy Whites lived in exclusive areas of the city. However, early in the century, this meant people of color found themselves in a live-in-servant or laborer relationship with Whites, especially those who had fled to the east from New York and most likely to the north from Connecticut. By the close of the century and into the 20th century, it appears they were beginning to concentrate in certain districts. There were never any all-Black

neighborhoods. By the 1840s, governments led by Whigs, Free Soilers, Know Nothings, and finally Republicans passed laws that ended the ban on interracial marriage, desegregated the schools, and passed a personal liberty law as well as shamed railroad companies to end Jim Crow train cars. However, the state still had to contend with national laws, for instance, the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850. Additionally, the majority of African Americans were relegated to the domestic and labor occupations. Only a few had broken the exclusion barriers in trade and craft jobs.

It is important to remember that the analysis of the Harrison homesite is preliminary. More work is required and hopefully will someday happen. However, there are aspects of daily life that can be ascertained from the ceramics, glassware, personal adornment items, and items of play. It is in this material culture that we see the Harrison women. We see how they set their table for meals, a little about how they stored meals, mended and created clothing, engaged in recreation, and adorned themselves with jewelry and cosmetics. Given the level of education of the household, it is surprising that no writing instruments have been recovered, objects likely to emerge from future excavations.

William Pierson (1988) notes African culture practices among Black Yankees in the 18th century. Sterling Stuckey contends African cultural practice survived in the North until about 1828. However, to date, no objects with African symbols have been noted from the Harrison site. Does this raise a question about historical archaeology as much as it does about the Harrisons? When we focus on race and ethnicity, do we lose sight of the Americans? Granted, Black people were not considered citizens of the United States legally until the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution and in

most places of the country it did not happen until the 1960s, within my own lifetime. How do we handle old-established Black New England and Northern families? Many of these families in the 19th century were militating for equality and full citizenship in the United States. Northern Black people considered themselves Americans before the Civil War and before the Dred Scott Decision. To maintain this status, some fought for the independence of the nation, others fought to end slavery, and later generations in the 20th century would continue to fight for the full rights and privileges, including the rights of consumption in the mass market. By ignoring the marketplace as a potential space of resistance, are we assisting with our own marginalization and othering and its perpetuation?

If we consider plurality with Paynter (1990), in which he contends that any site which had a Black presence is an African American site, does this open up new opportunities? For instance, Warren Perry and his team from Central Connecticut State University have researched African Americans in a number of different contexts from the Black worshipping space in 18th century White churches, to a provisioning plantation, to taverns, and a Black Governor Homesite (Woodruff et al. 2009). In these excavations, they found evidence of Black people, even in what was considered White space. The Harrison house is a Greek Revival. On the outside it looks like many of the others on the street and the inside as well. Might this not have been an assertion that his was an American family of African descent and with material assemblage insisting on their place of equality in America?

CHAPTER IX

BOSTON

Introduction

In the early 19th century, people of African descent were denied equal access to public education, public transportation, employment, and some public and private spaces. In Boston, Black people began to carve out their own space around White space and created their own “imagined community” within an existing one controlled by the dominant culture. Black Boston became one of the foremost cities in the United States that agitated for the abolition of enslavement over forty years before it was realized nationwide. It was also one hundred years before the nation-wide assurance of full citizenship and civil rights. Black Boston is a testament to the perseverance and resilience of a people. In this chapter, I will discuss the racialized social, political/legal, spatial, and economic structures that shaped the African community of Boston, Massachusetts. I will also discuss the daily life of the community using artifact assemblages from the African Meeting House (AMH), Abiel Smith School, Peter Faneuil School Site, and 44 Joy Street.

The African Meeting House first came to the attention of the archaeological community with the 1975 to 1985 excavations and the written reports of Beth Ann Bower, Byron Rushing, Constance Crosby, John Cheney, and Sheila Charles. This lengthy excavation was conducted by the Museum of Afro American History and focused on the yard, surrounding alleyways, and basement. Another excavation, led by David Landon, University of Massachusetts Boston, was conducted in 2005 and concentrated on the backlot, west alley, and the 44 Joy Street privy. The Abiel Smith School first came to the notice of the archaeological community with excavations conducted by the National

Park Service from 1995 to 1997 with a report written by Leslie Mead (1995) and Stephen Pendery and Leslie Mead (2006). A structural report followed, written by Barbara Yocum (1998). The excavated areas included the backlot, the easement and east alley near the AMH, the school cellar, and the school sidewalk. The Peter Faneuil School Site, excavated in 1993, was brought to the attention of the archaeological community by David Clayton, Elia Ricardo, and Nancy Seasholes. This excavation centered on former housesites under the school playground that faced Joy and South Russell Streets.

Boston

Boston was settled by Puritans from England in 1630. At that time the settlement was surrounded by three hills that would be reduced to fill in Mill Pond and the harbor, thereby connecting the islands. Prior to English settlement, the region had been inhabited no later than 5,000 years ago by people whose descendants were known as the Massachuset. As noted in Chapter III, the established entry date for captive Africans to arrive in Massachusetts is 1638; however, that event might be as early as 1624 (Greene 1969 [1942]: 16-18). By 1644, the colony started importing their captive Africans directly from Africa into Boston, launching the city's rise as an importer of captive human labor separate from indentured service (Greene 1969 [1942]: 20). In fact, in the 17th century, Massachusetts was the center of the slave trade in New England (Greene 1969 [1942]: 22). By 1742, there were 1,500 Blacks in Boston of whom 146 were free. Some 110 lived in the almshouse and 36 in the workhouse with the remainder enslaved (Wright 2000: 96).

In 1752, Black Bostonians numbered 1,541, but the captive African population was 989 in 1754 (Levesque 1994: 31-32). Levesque (1994: 31-32) posits this decrease

could be mortality due to a smallpox epidemic in 1752, manumission, selling of captive Africans, and people escaping enslavement. There could also be a flaw in the data itself.

On May 26, 1766, arguments to abolish the trade of captive Africans in Boston began to appear. In 1771, the legislation passed, though the bill was never signed by Governor Thomas Hutchinson (Quarles 1996: 40). In 1774, a bill was finally signed (Quarles 1996: 40). According to Levesque (1994: 32-33), in the 1760s, many people in Boston manumitted their captive Africans.

By the end of the 18th century, people of African descent began migrating from Boston's North End to Beacon Hill (West End). This migration continued into the first decades of the 19th century. With the increased migration and the racialized structures at the local, state, and national levels, conditions were created for the solidification of people of African descent into a strong Black community with its own business and school centered on a church. The Black community's agitating for their rights and space in the new Republic is well-documented. To gain physical Black space meant Whites had to give up some White space. This would be an arduous struggle given the dominant culture's reluctance to share the landscape, but an important and meaningful one. In 1789, six years after the abolition of slavery by judicial decree, people of African descent were given limited space within White space when the city granted the Black community usage of Faneuil Hall on Tuesdays or Fridays for worship (Horton and Horton 1999: 42). In 1798, after multiple petitions, the Black community received a Sunday worship place in a school near the White populated West End, but it was outside the Black neighborhood (Horton and Horton 1999: 42). In 1806, a Baptist church called the African Meeting House opened on Beacon Hill with 20 to 22 members (Levesque 1994:

268). However, the number eventually rose to about 100 (Kantrowitz 2012: 20) and by 1828, there were 139 members (Horton and Horton 1999: 43). At this time, the meeting house was the largest Black space in Boston and served the Black community as a church, a meeting house, a school, a home, and a community center. It was also a place to advocate for civil rights, moral uplift, and the abolition of slavery.

Boston was and still is a port city and, by the 19th century, the multiple rivers flowing into the harbor facilitated the establishment of mills and factories. During this period, the city increased its size by annexing many of the surrounding towns. Boston is blessed with a plethora of historical and archaeological sites that help illuminate the 19th century and as a result is the only city in the state that provides a diverse set of archaeological sites, which affords the ability to view the Black community in settings beyond homesites. Although not all of the archaeological sites were examined for this study, I list them here to assist with situational awareness:

- African Meeting House, Boston
- Robert Robert's House (71 Joy Street)
- Abiel Smith School
- Peter Faneuil School Site
- MBTA/Charles Connector Project
- Paddy's Alley and Cross Street Back Lots
- Mill Pond Site

These sites help illuminate Boston Black culture, achievement, and daily life for much of the 19th century.

Background of the Sites

It appears that people of African descent were purchasing land before and after the American Revolution and then dividing their land and selling it to other Blacks. This method allowed more Black males to achieve land ownership and afforded access to the

political arena by giving them the right to vote before the state dropped the personal or real property requirement to vote.

By 1798, the Federal Dwellings Tax listed no less than 20 males of color on the north side of Beacon Hill (Glover and da Silva 2002: 30). Ellen Fletcher Rosebrock, in 1978, conducted a detailed unpublished study for the Massachusetts Historical Commission on the property transactions of people of color on Beacon Hill. Many of the earlier archaeological reports cite her work (Bower 1986, Clayton et al. 1993, Pendery and Mead 2006, Yocum 1998). However, Kathryn Glover and Janine V. da Silva produced a more extensive and updated study, *Historic Resource Study Boston, African American National Historic Site 2002*. This chapter deals with multiple sites on Beacon Hill, including the African Meeting House (AMH), the Abiel Smith School, 44 Joy Street, and 58-56, 60-62, 64, and 68 Joy Street (Peter Faneuil School). To minimize confusion with the land transactions, I separate them by properties. The African Meeting House (AMH) was established in 1806 at 8 Smith Court and functioned as church, community center, school, mutual aid center, and an apartment. Augustin Ramillion, a French hairdresser, owned the property prior to selling it to the committee on March 23, 1805 (Grover and da Silva 2002: 74-75). The existing building was sold and removed, and window frames and timbers from the “1736 Old West Church at Cambridge and Lynde Streets” were purchased to construct the AMH (Grover and da Silva 2002: 75). The privy excavated in the basement of the meeting house and the artifact assemblage recovered, dating between 1794 and 1806, is attributed to Ramillion (Bower 1987). Another parcel of AMH land was sold by Ramillion to William Henry, a hairdresser and tailor, in 1803 (Bower 1990: 51, 53; Grover and da Silva 2002: 71). William Henry’s house was 2

Smith Court. During excavations in 1975-1978, Beth Ann Bower found some remains of the Henry house (Bower 1986; Grover and da Silva 2002: 72). In 1897, the AMH building was sold to the city and became a Jewish Synagogue and later a city warehouse. The property was repurchased in 1970s and was restored as the AMH. Archaeological excavations were conducted between 1975 and 1985 and the property backlot, west alley, privy, and 44 Joy Street privy were excavated in 2005.

The Abiel Smith School was built on parcels of land owned by different people before its construction and opening on March 3, 1835. In 1803, the front parcel facing Belknap Street (Later 46 Joy Street) was acquired by Augustin Ramillion from Elizabeth Fennecy Carnes' estate (Glover and da Silva 2002: 79). In 1810, Ramillion "conveyed part of this lot to Nancy Collins and her children, Sarah and Ann Collins Ramillion" with a 10 foot building on the north part of the parcel (Glover and da Silva 2002: 79). By 1816, Anne Collins conveyed this particular parcel to Jacob Davis (Rosebrock 1978: 4). However, Davis did not keep the property long. He sold it to William Hobby, who by 1821 sold the property to Joseph Powars, a White baker (Pendery and Mead 2006 (1999): 12; Rosebrock 1978: 4). Later, Joseph Powars, followed by his heir Joanna (Powars) Stanford, owned one of the buildings on the southern end of the lot (Glover and da Silva 2002: 80). In 1826, Joanna Powars inherited the property after her father's death (Pendery and Mead 2006: 12). A year later, she conveyed the property to her trustee Abner Phelps (Pendery and Mead 2006: 12). In September 1834, the city purchased the building from Abner Phelps and Joanna Powars Stanford (Pendery and Mead 2006: 12). According to Glover and da Silva (2002: 80), people of African descent were living in these buildings into the late 1820s.

Barbara Yocum (1998: 15-19) posits that the school had three classrooms with the primary school in the basement, the writing school on the first floor, and the grammar school on the second floor. After the April 1855 law that ended school segregation, the Smith School became an integrated primary school (Yocum 1998). It is not known when the structure ended its life as a school. However, it continued as a city storage facility in 1882 and, by 1887, it was leased to the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) (Yocum 1998: 36). At some point, the building became an African American veterans post and named after Robert A. Bell, who served in the Independent Battery, United States Colored Light Artillery (Yocum 1998: 36). In 1942, the building became an American Legion Post and, in 1970, usage was shared by the United Services Organization and the Disabled American Veterans (Yocum 1998: 36-37).

The 44 Joy Street lot was part of the land parceled out by Abigail Belknap in 1732 and then sold off by her children and grandchildren, trading hands multiple times (Descoteaux 2011: 47; Glover and da Silva 2002: 26). In 1799 and 1803, Augustin Ramillion purchased the lots 44 and 46 Joy Streets (see Descoteaux 2011, Landon 2007) (Descoteaux 2011: 47; Glover and da Silva 2002: 26). The building was sold and torn down and replaced by a stable in the 1840s.

The Peter Faneuil School was constructed in 1909 on lots that once housed 56-58 and 60-62 Joy/Belknap Street and 20-32 South Russell Street (Clayton et al. 1993: 7). The building is still extant. My focus is centered on 56-58 Joy Street. According to Glover and da Silva (2002: 27), the first person of African descent to purchase land on Beacon Hill was a “laborer Tobias Locker, or Lockman.” He purchased a lot measuring 59 ft. wide by 113 deep from Mary Belknap Homer for 26 pounds on October 1, 1763.

On October 8, 1764, Locker mortgaged this lot to Scipio (possible last name Fayerweather) a “freed” person of African descent (Glover and da Silva 2002: 27). Glover and da Silva (2002: 27) suggest that Locker and Scipio were probably living next door to each other or within the same dwelling. Glover and da Silva (2002) note that some of this land was used for a new ropewalk that was named May Court (later renamed to Smith Court) leaving Scipio with a 69 foot frontage that became lots 27, 23, and 21 Belknap Street, which would change to 52, 56, and 58 Joy Street (Glover and da Silva 2002: 28). By 1803, a man named Andrews built a brick house next door on lot 56 sharing a “party wall” with Peter Virginia’s house (Glover and da Silva 2002: 28). Around this same time, five frame houses were constructed behind number 56 and 58 Joy Street and these homes were occupied by people of African descent as well. Table 9.1 provides a listing of the land transactions of the properties discussed.

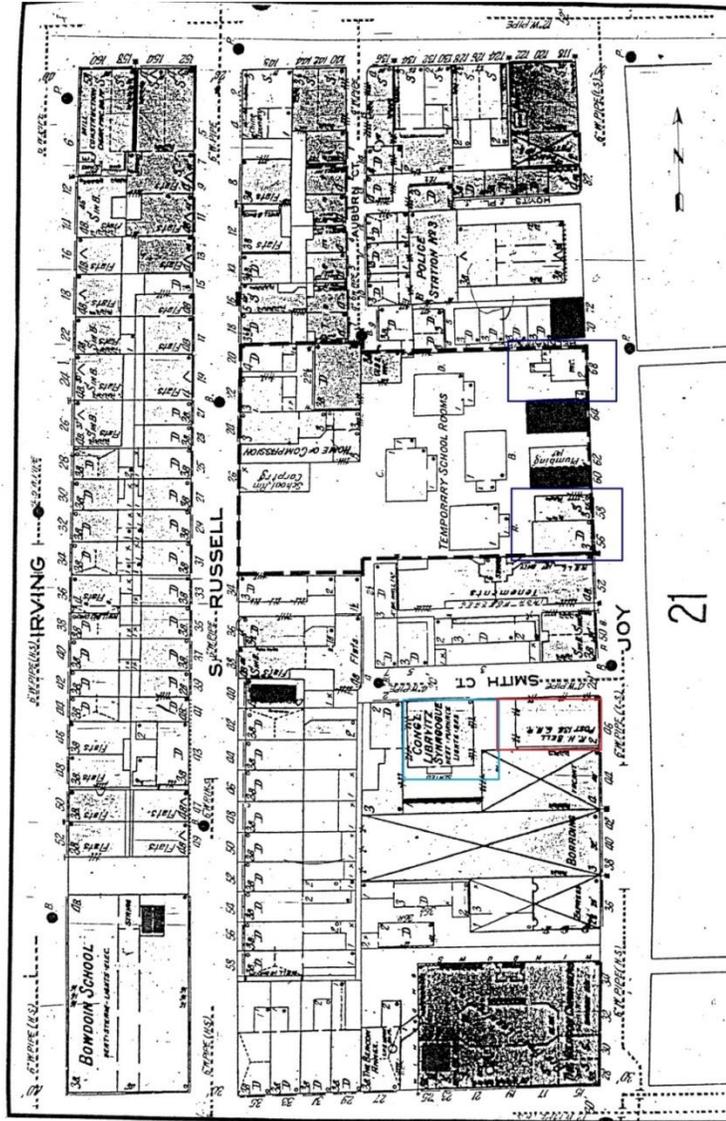
Other Black residences excavated on the Peter Faneuil School Site including 60-62, 64, and 68 Joy Street. In 1787, Boston Smith, a Black Revolutionary War veteran and boat builder, purchased a lot with a double house at number 19 Belknap /60-62 Joy Street (Clayton et al. 1993: 8; Glover and da Silva 2002: 28). This lot fronted Belknap Street and was between Holden Place and Swazney’s Yard (Clayton et al. 1993: 8). In May 1787, Smith in turn sold the western half to Cromwell Barnes, a Black peruke-maker (wig maker), and the eastern half to Brittain Balch, a Black hatter (Glover and da Silva 2002: 29). In 1793, Balch deeded his portion to Barnes, who built a double house close to Belknap Street (Joy) facing Holden Place a year later (Clayton et al. 1993: 8; Glover and da Silva 2002: 28). According to Glover and da Silva (2002: 29), in 1798, Barnes sold the west half of the house to Scipio Dalton, a laborer of African descent and

father of Black community leader Thomas Dalton. Clayton et al. (1993: 8) gave 1800 as the date of the sale. Their neighbor was Prince Watts at 17 Belknap/64 Joy Street (Glover and da Silva 2002: 29). Apparently in the following year, Barnes and Dalton moved into the eastern portion of the house (Rosebrock 1978: 39). Rosebrock (1978: 9-10) notes that by 1801 it was “occupied by Lewis Sylvester, a hairdresser, and laborers George Polly, William Smith, and Cato Hancock.”

On April 17, 1793, Boston Smith sold the land on the southern edge of the school site he had inherited from Tobias Locker to a Black male named Hamlet Earle (Clayton et al. note he was a laborer and Glover and da Silva state he was the servant of Herman Brimmer in 1798). He built a one-story house (68 Joy Street) by 1798 (Clayton et al. 1993: 8; Glover and da Silva 2002: 29). In October 1798, Earle sold a strip of land on the western end of his plot to another Black male named Cuff Buffum (Clayton et al. 1993: 8; Glover and da Silva 2002: 29). After this transaction, Boston Smith laid out Smith Place (Glover and da Silva 2002: 29). Three of the five houses in a row behind and perpendicular to 56 and 58 Joy Street are under the school and were not excavated by the Office of Public Archaeology, Boston University. Clayton et al. (1993: 4, 9) note that beginning in the 1840s, Black owners began selling their property to Joshua Bennett from Billerica, who owned most of the parcels that would comprise the school built in 1909 by 1865. However, Clayton et al (1993: 8) note that most of the houses were gone between 1874 and 1885, except for the houses facing Joy Street, which remained until the construction of the school. Figure 9.1 is a map of Joy Street (Belknap Street) with the African Meeting House (AMH) outlined in blue (listed as a synagogue), the Abiel Smith

School (listed as the G.A.R. post) outlined in red, and 58-56 and 68 Joy Street (Peter Faneuil School) outlined in dark blue.

Figure 9.1: Joy Street / Belknap Street Sites on 1909 Sanborn Map of Boston



Source: Clayton et al. 1993 Figure 12

Economic Structures

Carol Buchalter Stapp using probate records of Black Boston to elucidate the city's job market notes that racism was not the only factor that relegated people of color to unskilled labor force. She contends that Boston urban planning concentrated on

expending capital to construct surrounding mill towns, leaving the city with a maritime economy (Strapp 1993: 9).

This industry made the port the center of gravity for Boston and was where most people of color found work, either as mariners or laborers on the docks and in warehouses (Strapp 1993: 9). Port cities along the East Coast of the U.S. supported large populations of Black sailors with Boston boasting 29% of their Black population as sailors in 1850, a percentage that decreased to 19% by 1865 (Bolster 1997: 220). Horton and Horton (1997: 110) note Black dock workers in Boston "...were selected last and for the least desirable jobs....a slight decrease in port business resulted in an immediate decline in jobs for blacks." There were also ancillary jobs associated with sailing, such as stevedores, rope makers, sailmaking, ship building, carpentry, caulking, and carting the merchandise. Black mariners and those that worked in the supporting jobs helped establish and support Black communities with their monetary patronage of Black businesses and churches (Sokolow 1998: 226). They also provided an undeniable link to not just the Atlantic world, but also to other parts of the world as they sailed the oceans on warships, merchant ships, and whaling ships by providing news and letters throughout the African Diaspora (Bolster 1997: 36, 215, 230, 232).

National and regional events had a large effect on Boston economics. For example, President Thomas Jefferson's Embargo 1807 to 1809, the War of 1812, and increased European immigration had significant impacts on the economy of the port. Another example included the Negro Seamen Acts implemented in the 1820s by many southern states following the Denmark Vesey revolt, and a tightening of laws in response to the Nat Turner revolt were also disastrous for Black mariners.

African Americans were mostly relegated to menial and unskilled jobs. However, Boston had professional, skilled workers, and entrepreneurs (see Appendix A and B for Boston job descriptions). In addition to working as domestic servants, Black women also supplemented their families' income by bringing work into the home, in laundry services or seamstress work. Although writing about Essex County, Sokolow (1998: 221) notes that, in 1864, a domestic live-in servant made \$1.25, which was "nearly as much as a day laborer's wage of \$1.38." Elizabeth Pleck (1979) used Stephan Thernstrom's 1860 to 1920 study of Boston for occupational classifications (see Appendix A), but neither Pleck's nor Thernstrom's occupational separations are as detailed as those developed by Horton and Horton (1999). According to Pleck (1979: 213), around the turn of the century, there continued to be a wage gap between men and women because the average "menial working man earned \$8 to \$10 a week, whereas the skilled or clerical worker made about \$10 to \$18 a week." However, the average female domestic worker around the same time period received only a "weekly wage of \$5" and few Black women were employed as bookkeepers or schoolteachers, who averaged "about \$3 or \$4 a week more" (Pleck 1979: 213).

The Boston City Directory is another source of information on occupations among people of color in the city during the 19th century (see Appendix D for the directory listings). From 1813 until 1848/9, Boston segregated the directory, which allows an easier view of the job landscape. The 1813 directory lists 168 Africans and very few businesses-just 8 shops. In 1816, the Boston Directory listed 231 "Africans," but there were only two occupations listed a pair of hairdressers and a shop keeper. The 1818 Boston City Directory was not complete, so it was not used. In addition, 1814-

1815, 1817, 1819, 1824 and 1839 were not available for this study. The 1818 city directory had already transitioned to the term “coloured persons.” Peter Knights’ comparison of the 1830 and 1840 City Directories and the Federal Censuses for the corresponding years from Ward 6 (Beacon Hill) found that the directories were not as inclusive for Blacks as for Whites with 82.2% of White heads of households listed compared with only 14.6% of Black households (Knights 1971: 134). Knights notes that entry into the Boston City Directory was normally based on real and personal property valued at \$1000 or more (Knights 1971: 134). Another example comes from Lorenzo Greene and Carter G. Woodson *The Negro Wage Earner* (1930) where the numbers extracted from the African Repository for the 1830 Black Boston work force were far greater than the city directory for that year (see Table 9.1). Using the 1850 and 1880 Federal Censuses for Boston as examples, Knights also notes that Whites and Blacks were under-enumerated, but the latter more than the former (Knights 1971: 144).

Table 9.1: Black Boston Occupations 1830

Professional			
Ordained Preachers	2		
Skilled and Entrepreneurial		Unskilled and Semiskilled	
Barbers	32	Mariners	171
Keepers of clothing shops	23	Laborers	112
Tailors	6	Waiters or tenders	25
Keepers of boarding-houses	5	Cartman	8
Blacksmith	3	Boot polishers	4
Carpenters	1	Steveodores	2
Whitesmith	1	Victualers	2
Shoemaker	1	Boys learning mechanical	
Painters	1	trade	1
Paper hangers	1	Whitewashers	1
Cobblers	1	Blacking maker	1
Total	75	Soap boilers	1
Measurers	1		
Chimney sweep	1		
Servants (not at service)	1		
Total			331
Total			408

Source: Greene and Woodson 1930: 5

Boston, as a major city with a large African American population, had more people in the professional and skilled and entrepreneurial categories than the previous mentioned towns in this study (see Table 9.2). However, the majority of the workforce remained in the unskilled and semi-skilled categories which numbered 394 or 72% in 1850 and 698 or 71.5% in 1860. This trend continued from 1870 to 1900. Elizabeth Pleck (1979) used four categories to group occupations: professions and businesses, sales and clerical, skilled, and menial. She also grouped the regions the workers came from. Converting her categories to those of Horton and Horton, the professions category would remain the same, but businesses would fall into the skilled and entrepreneurial categories. Sales and clerical and skilled would remain skilled and entrepreneurial. Finally, menial would be unskilled and semi-skilled. See Table 9.3 and 9.4 for modified Pleck occupational numbers.

Table 9.2: Boston African American Occupational Categories 1850 and 1860

Census Year	Professional	Skilled and Entrepreneurial	Unskilled and Semiskilled	Total
1850	7(1.3%)	146(26.7%)	394(72%)	547
1860	20(2.1%)	258(26.4%)	698(71.5%)	976

Source: Horton and Horton 1999: 9 Seventh and Eighth Federal Census

Table 9.3: Modified Boston Occupational Distributions of Black Males by Regional Origins 1870 to 1900

Year and Group	Professions and businesses	Sales and clerical	Skilled	Menial	N
1870					
Southern migrants	1%	6%	9%	84%	744
Massachusetts born	3%	7%	13%	77%	176
Northern born	3%	6%	6%	85%	206
Canadian born	2%	6%	9%	87%	163
Average	2.25%	6.25%	9.25%	83.25%	
Total					1289
1880					

Year and Group	Professions and businesses	Sales and clerical	Skilled	Menial	N
Southern migrants	2%	9%	5%	84%	1337
Massachusetts born	4%	7%	7%	82%	347
Northern born	3%	9%	4%	84%	273
Canadian born	3%	6%	8%	83%	192
Average	3%	7.75%	6%	83.23%	
Total					2149
1900					
Southern migrants	5%	4%	9%	82%	847
Massachusetts born	9%	8%	15%	77%	557
Northern born	4%	4%	9%	83%	2566
Canadian born	4%	4%	13%	79%	490
Average	5.5%	5%	11.5%	80.25%	
Total					4460

Source Pleck 1979: 104

Table 9.4: Modified Boston Occupational Distributions of Black Females by Regional Origins 1870 to 1900

Year and Group	Professions and businesses	Sales and clerical	Skilled	Menial	N
1870					
Southern migrants	2%	3%	3%	92%	286
Massachusetts born	1%	8%	1%	90%	127
Northern born	9%	5%	0%	86%	91
Canadian born	1%	1%	0%	98%	70
Average	3.25%	4.25%	1%	91.5%	
Total					374
1880					
Southern migrants	1%	1%	5%	84%	1337
Massachusetts born	5%	2%	7%	82%	347
Northern born	3%	1%	4%	84%	273
Canadian born	2%	2%	8%	83%	192
Average	2.75%	1.5%	6%	83.25%	
Total					2149
1900					
Southern migrants	0%	0%	8%	92%	384
Massachusetts born	8%	4%	20%	69%	322
Northern born	2%	4%	8%	90%	1167
*Canadian born	2%	0%	7%	91%	265
Average	3%	2%	10.75%	85.5%	
Total					2138

Source Pleck 1979: 104

*Includes West Indian born

Racialization

Although Boston was the center of the abolitionist movement, White abolitionists shared the racism of the rest of the White population (Kantrowitz 2012). The doxa of the dominant culture concerning “freed” Africans was largely that which structured the lives of captive Africans. Additionally, pejorative terms were used to delineate Black space and admonish bad behavior. For example, Black Beacon Hill was known as “Nigger Hill” (Kantrowitz 2012; Roediger: 129; Schultz 1971: 161). Students exhibiting bad behavior or doing poorly with their lessons were relegated to the “Nigger seat” in the corner of the room (Schultz 1971: 160). The abolitionist movement itself was often referred to as “Niggerology” by the Irish (Roediger 1991: 136; Schultz 1971: 193).

Spatial Structures

As early as the 1760s, people of African descent were moving onto the undesirable pasture land on the north slope of Beacon Hill in the West End of Boston before it became prized real estate (see Grover and De Silva 2009, Horton and Horton 1999, Levesque 1994, Rosebrock 1978). Before this, much of the population of people of African descent lived around the wharfs and dockyards of the North End, often referred to as “New Guinea” (Levesque 1994: 32). The Black population on Beacon Hill increased at the end of the 18th century and in the first few decades of the 19th century formed a vibrant community on the north side of Beacon Hill. According to the 1798 Federal Dwelling Tax, there were 20 Black males listed on Beacon Hill (Glover and da Silva 2002: 30). When you include family members and those renting on the hill, this would make a sizable Black community. Levesque contends the Black population’s concentration in Boston outpaced that of Whites (Levesque 1994: 28). Tables 9.6 and 9.7 provide a listing of the Black population of Boston by ward from 1820 to 1900. This

exodus to Boston could be seen in the dwindling number of Blacks in Massachusetts towns statewide. For example, Levesque (1994: 28) notes that, in 1790, there were 21 towns without Black residents; in 1810, 47; in 1820, 48, and from 1830 to 1850, the number increased to 81 and 95, but by the end of 1850 it had decreased to 80. Robert Paynter (2001: 130-131) found a similar trend in Connecticut River Valley of Black people moving to large population centers. See Appendix F for Massachusetts towns and cities with African Americans from 1800 to 1900. However, by the late 19th century, the African American population had shifted from Beacon Hill to its present day locations in South Boston/Roxbury. Boston has many historical sites that illustrate the racialization of space.

- North side Beacon Hill Boston:
- Lewis and Harriet Hayden
- John Coburn House
- Smith Court Residences (5)
- Charles Street Meeting House
- George Middleton House
- John Smith House
- Phillips School
- African American Churches of Beacon Hill (AMH and Twelfth Baptist Church)
- George and Susan Hillard House
- David Walker and Maria Steward House

Boston's Beacon Hill fits Claudia Milne's (2002) template for finding the Black community in cities and towns. As noted earlier, due to the importance of the Black church in the community, once it is located, the rest of the neighborhood usually is positioned around it. During this time period, the Black church was not only a place of worship. Churches functioned as the rallying point of the Black community and were the center of gravity serving as mutual aid associations, banks, meeting houses, schools, fraternal and sorority organizations (Horton 1993). In 1806, the African Meeting House

became the first church in Boston for people of color. It was followed by the African Methodist Church (Bethel) in 1818 and the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church in 1838. A split in the AMH caused the creation of the Twelfth Baptist Church in 1840, and the Ebenezer Baptist Church was established in the 1850s (Horton and Horton 1999: 43, 45, 52). By 1860, there were six Black churches in Boston (Horton and Horton 1999: 45).

In 1820, the largest concentrations of the Black population were in wards 6 (Beacon Hill), 7, 2, and 8. By 1860, two-thirds of Black Boston was crowded on the north side of Beacon Hill, making the city population the most segregated city in the country (Horton and Horton 1999: 5). The other area where Blacks lived was in wards 2 and 4, the docks in the North end (see Table 9.5). In 1850 and 1860, independent Black households in Boston numbered 500 and 559 (Horton and Horton 1999: 141).

After the Civil War, the African American population of Boston increased throughout the remainder of the 19th century. In fact, the population almost tripled from 1870 to 1880. These census years reveal the departure of the African American community from Beacon Hill (ward 6). According to the 1870 Federal Census, ward 6 had 1,776 Black people. However, by the 1880 Federal Census, there was a dramatic decrease to 55. Much of the Black population moved to ward 9 and 11, followed by wards 16, 17, and 19 (see Table 9.6). Table 9.7 is listing of the African American population of Boston from 1790 to 1900 and Table 9.9 is this listing in graph form. Table 9.8 is a graph of the White and Black population of Boston from 1850 to 1900.

Table 9.5: Population of Black Boston by Ward 1820 to 1865

Wards	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Total
1820	76	133	15	91	18	954	158	108	29	29	59	70	1,740
1825	60	194	48	62	149	516	570	63	93	25	41	96	1,927
1830	107	193	48	46	185	605	450	38	11	64	28	106	1,875
1835	64	142	27	29	136	708	428	36	6	46	15	120	1,757
1840	148	693	8	138	202	1088	26	6	17	3	32	66	2,427
1850	120	115	31	112	221	1219	16	1	19	8	73	64	1,999
1855	210	35	59	46	158	1436	11	20	21	30	69	15	2,110
1860	160	73	101	32	277	1395	5	4	40	47	79	48	2,261
1865	140	13	58	83	419	1388	11	4	47	40	101	20	2,333

Source: Levesque 1994 Table I-15

Table 9.6: Population of Black Boston by Ward 1870, 1890, and 1900

Wards	1870	1890	1900
1	54	56	27
2	133*	24	46
3	720	50	50
4	156+	143	188
5	43	40	86
6	1776**	55	62
7	13	50	428
8	40	388	574
9	128	2,547	1,261
10	172	226	1,704
11	103	1,099	2,029
12	48	123	1,177
13	0	47	31
14	31++	46	91
15	35	23	19
16	44	784	63
17		622	639
18		389	2,250
19		777	78
20		127	112
21		45	69
22		32	305
23		200	43
24		47	57

Wards	1870	1890	1900
25		185	202
Total	3,496	8,125	11,591

*+ Includes five Native Americans, ** Includes two Native Americans, ++ Includes five Japanese

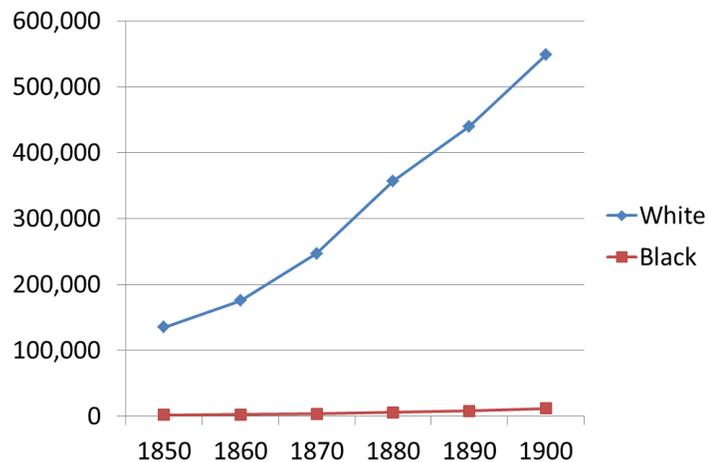
Source: Twelfth Federal Census

Table 9.7: Population of Black Boston, 1790 to 1900

Census Year	Total
1790	752
1800	1,174
1810	1,484
1820	1,740
1830	1,875
1840	2,427
1850	1,999
1860	2,261
1870	3,496
1880	5,873
1890	8,135
1900	11,591

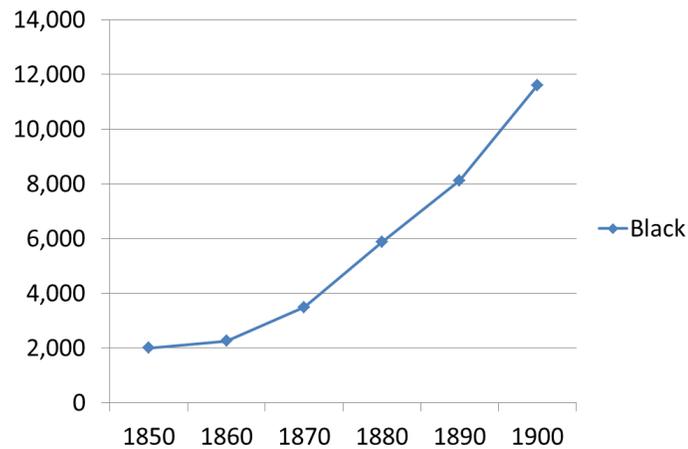
Source: First through Twelfth Federal Census

Table 9.8: Boston White and Black Population 1850 to 1900



Source: Seventh through Twelfth Federal Census

Table 9.9: Boston Black Population 1850 to 1900



Source: Seventh through Twelfth Federal Census

Political/Legal Structures

While more lenient in racialized laws than many states in New England, Massachusetts did have its share of oppression, especially in social segregation. Schools were not integrated in Boston until 1855, and segregated transportation remained in effect until after the Civil War (Horton and Horton 1999; Mead 1995). Stagecoaches and passenger ships were segregated and this system transferred to the railroad when it was introduced in the state in 1836 (Ruchames 1954: 62). According to Louis Ruchames (1954: 62), the Black car was referred to as the “dirt car” in 1838 in Worcester and, by 1841, Massachusetts became the first state to attach the term “Jim Crow” to the Black segregated railcars. In 1841, the first suit against separate cars came from David Ruggles, an abolitionist from New York, after he was physically removed from the White train car in New Bedford (Ruchames 1954: 63). The presiding judge upheld the conductor’s right to control where people sat (Ruchames 1954: 63). Others who would protest railcar segregation by sitting in White space included Frederick Douglas; Blacks were often removed, often physically from White train cars (Ruchames 1954: 63).

Blacks and Whites agitated against segregation and both groups were often put off trains. Other law suits followed Ruggles' suit. Eventually the Massachusetts Legislature became involved and threatened a law to end segregation. In 1842, the bill was defeated in the State Senate. The bill was reintroduced the following year and passed the state senate, but maneuvering in the House of Representative postponed the vote (Ruchmaes 1954: 74). Due to all of this attention, the railroad companies desegregated themselves by the Spring of 1843 (Ruchmaes 1954: 74).

Education

Education was also high on the Black community's list for advancement. For instance, after petitioning for a separate school for children of African descent in 1787 and 1800, Prince Hall founded the African School in 1798 in the basement of a home until the African Meeting House was constructed (Horton and Horton 1999: 76). Starting in 1808, children were educated in the basement of the African Meeting House until the Abiel Smith School was opened in 1835 (Mead 1995: 8; Yocum 1998: 9). The African Meeting House housed a grammar school for children between the ages of 7 to 14 (Levesque 1994: 169). Primary schools started in Boston in 1818 and the African School opened one in 1820 for youngsters between the ages of four and seven in a room adjacent to the grammar school (Levesque 1994: 170). According to Levesque (1994:), with increased enrollments, another primary school was opened on Belknap Street (Joy Street) and a third one in the North End (probably not authorized). However, the North End school was closed in 1825 (Levesque 1994: 170). A primary school was probably retained for a period of time on the bottom floor of the African Meeting House (Yocum 1998).

While schools were not legally segregated in Boston, it was part of the unspoken separation of White and Black space (Horton and Horton 1999: 77). Boston had two primary Black schools established in 1820 and 1831 (Horton and Horton 1999: 77). By 1820, the city provided \$200 annually to support Black schools and parents paid a fee of twelve-and-a-half cents per child weekly (Horton and Horton 1999: 77). However, the quality of the education did not equal that of White students. For example, Horton and Horton (1999: 77) citing David Walker notes that Boston violated the Law of Public Schools requiring towns with 50 households to instruct their children in “Orthology, Reading, Writing [and] English Grammar.” In 1826, Barney Smith (Abiel Smith’s brother) petitioned the city government for a Black high school, but none was created (Yocum 1998: 9). The Smith School was opened on March 3, 1835, and stayed open as a segregated school until 1855. It housed two primary schools for ages 4-6 and a grammar school for boys ages 7-14 and girls 7-16 (Yocum 1998: 15). In 1850, 58% of eligible Black school-age children were attending school (Wilkie 1977: 183).

There were a multitude of protests and court cases that argued against the city’s segregated schools. For instance, in 1847, Benjamin Roberts sued the city because it refused to admit his daughter Sarah to a White school. He lost his case because the city already provided a school for Black children (Kendrick and Kendrick 2004). However, some places within the state had desegregated schooling far earlier than 1843. One reason for the desegregation was due to Black and some White protest against segregation. Another reason for the early desegregation was due to small populations of Black children. Although education was desegregated in the state in the 1840s and in Boston in 1855, schools in Boston became segregated again by the turn of the 20th

century due to the adoption of residential schools (Cromwell 1994). This new segregation would last into the 1970s.

Social Structures

Since Boston was a port city, captive Africans from the Caribbean were arriving as early as the 1630s, possibly as early as 1624, and directly from West and Central Africa by the 18th century. What this means is that a multitude of ethnic groups from the continent were arriving in the city with a different habitus and doxa (Gomez 1998: 26, Horton and Horton 1997: 13; Wright 2000: 88). By 1860, Boston was home to many people of color throughout the Atlantic world/African Diaspora. In 1860, Levesque notes there were 2,262 Black Bostonians; of these 1,909 came from 21 states and the District of Columbia and another 339 came from Africa, the Atlantic Islands, Canada, England, France, Holland, Ireland, Portugal, Scotland, Spain, South America, and the West Indies (Levesque 1994: 107). Fourteen did not have a location listed (Levesque 1994: Table I-29).

Harry Reed (1994: 3) argues that people of African descent were not imitating Whites, “but rather echoed the universality of the ideas being espoused at the time: liberty, tyranny, representation, self-determination, and slavery.” Reed viewed New York, Philadelphia, and Boston as trendsetting cities on the forefront of change that helped form Black communities in the North and facilitated the advocacy for racial uplift, equality, and the end of slavery. He contends that these cities developed five platforms of change that included the establishment of separate churches, the creation of mutual aid societies and fraternal organizations, the founding of Black newspapers, the formation of the National Colored Convention movement, and the rejection of emigration. The establishment of a segregated school was evidence of a separation of space and education

by race, an action that had not escaped the Black community. In Boston, this precedent had been set earlier with the establishment of the school in the basement of the African Meeting House in 1808. The school was not desegregated until 1855, but only after a 22 year struggle of protests, boycotts, and court cases.

Boston Blacks were one of the foremost urban populations that agitated for full citizenship in the United States, their own civil rights over forty years before the abolition of enslavement nationwide, and one hundred years before the national success. Along with this agitation, Black Boston still displayed a sense of its own ethnic African cultures. Some of these displays happened before the abolition of slavery in the form of Negro Election Day celebrations. After abolition, the social dynamics in the city changed as Whites barred Native Americans and Blacks from celebrations on the Boston Common starting in 1805 (Roediger 1991: 101, 109; Sweet 2003: 346). By the early 19th century, Black celebrations had transitioned into Abolition of the Slave Trade (derogatorily called Bobalition Day by Whites), Crispus Attucks Day, and West Indian Emancipation Day by the mid-1830s in Massachusetts. All of these festivals involved parading and displaying facets of African culture, much to the chagrin of Black elites (Alexander 2009; Rael 2002). Table 9.10 is a listing of West Indian Emancipation Day celebrations in Boston and surrounding towns and cities in a 30-mile-radius because Black and White people from the capital often traveled to other places for commemorations. For example, the 1844 celebrations in Hingham were attended by over 6,000 people with hundreds including the wealthy White abolitionist Doctor Henry Ingersoll Bowditch and Frederick Douglass traveling from Boston by ferry (Kantrowitz 2012: 81-82). After the

celebration, more bonding was achieved when the ferry ran aground and Blacks and Whites had to wait until high tide the following morning (Kantrowitz 2012: 81-82).

Table 9.10: Boston and cities within a 30-mile-radius observing Emancipation Day

Year of Celebration	Place of Celebration in Plymouth County, MA	Approximate Distance from Boston	Type of Celebration
1835	Boston	N/A	Church Commemoration
1837	Methodist Chapel, Boston	N/A	Church Commemoration
1838	Marlboro Chapel, Boston	N/A	Church Commemoration
1841	Marlboro Chapel, Boston	N/A	Church Commemoration
1842	Willard Hall, Hingham	23 miles	Antislavery Picnic
1842	Temperance Grove, Dedham	23 miles	Antislavery Picnic
1843	Universalist Meeting House, Weymouth/Weymouth	16.7 miles	Church Commemoration/ Antislavery Picnic
1843	Temperance Grove, Dedham	23 miles	Antislavery Picnic
1844	Tranquility Hall, Hingham	23 miles	Antislavery Picnic
1845	Porter's Grove, Danvers	25 miles	Antislavery Picnic
1846	Island Grove, Abington	23 miles	Antislavery Picnic
1847	Island Grove, Abington	23 miles	Antislavery Picnic
1848	Island Grove, Abington	23 miles	Antislavery Picnic
1849	Island Grove, Abington	23 miles	Antislavery Picnic
1850	Island Grove, Abington	23 miles	Antislavery Picnic
1852	Harmony Grove, Framingham	23 miles	Antislavery Picnic
1852	Mechanics Hall, Salem	20-25 miles	Antislavery Picnic
1853	Waverly Hall, Framingham	23 miles	Antislavery Picnic
1854	Island Grove, Abington	23 miles	Antislavery Picnic
1855	Harmony Grove, Framingham	23 miles	Antislavery Picnic
1856	Island Grove, Abington	23 miles	Antislavery Picnic
1857	Island Grove, Abington	23 miles	Antislavery Picnic
1858	Island Grove, Abington	23 miles	Antislavery Picnic
1859	Island Grove, Abington	23 miles	Antislavery Picnic
1860	Island Grove, Abington	23 miles	Antislavery Picnic

Source: Kerr-Ritchie 2007: 57, 60

Boston landmarks and artifacts bear witness to the evolving names Black people used to define themselves. From the end of the 18th century to the 1820s, the term African was commonly used. For example, the African Meeting House and the Boston

City Directory used the term Africans in the second decade of the 19th century. By the 1820s, “people of colour” was in use by the Boston Directory. The African Meeting House is evidence of this change. In the 1840s, the church’s name was changed to the Independent Baptist Church.

Black Bostonians were heavily involved in politics, joining the Whig Party and then the Free Soil Party followed by the Know-Nothing Party (American Party) – Nativists because they were espousing the tenets of American nationalism. To this end, they also called attention to their military service in the founding of the nation and the War of 1812 (Kantrowitz 2012: 102, 109, 199-200, 214, 163). This was also the time period that Americans were solidifying American culture.

Military Service

Boston, occupied by British troops beginning in 1768, was ground zero for the beginning of the Revolutionary war. People of African descent were not isolated from these events and answered the call at Bunker Hill in 1775 and served until the end of the war in 1783. According to a National Society Daughters of the American Revolution (2008) study, 72 people of African descent from Boston served in state militias and regiments, the Continental army, and aboard warships (18) (Grundset 2008: 99-150). This total is a low number for a major port city. The study provides another 110 people whose race could not be determined; some could have been of African descent (Grundset 2008: 99-150). It is not known how many people of African descent served with the British. Apparently, some people of African descent stayed in Boston. Quarles (1996: 134), citing British documents, noted that after the Battle of Bunker Hill in June 1775, there were 561 Negroes in Boston, excluding those “in the King’s Service.” When the British excavated Boston for Halifax, Nova Scotia, in 1776, they took their “Company of

Negroes” (Quarles 1996: 134). Military service to end slavery and save the Union was equally important. However, Stephen Kantrowitz (2012) suggests that there was more rhetoric than actual service from Black males on Beacon Hill. For example, fewer than 40 males had enlisted in the 54th and 55th Massachusetts Infantry Regiments (Kantrowitz 2012: 285, 288). He attributed the low enlistment rate in proportion to the population, in part, to intimidation of recruiters by disgruntled Black elites protesting unequal service and the decades old ban on Black militia enlistment (Kantrowitz 2012: 285-286, 288).

Sex Ratios

Levesque’s (1994) data revealed no major sex disparities in Boston from 1820 to 1865 (see Table 9.11). However, Black women were over 50% every year studied, except 1825. Black males made it to 50% only in 1825 and remained in the upper 40s in all other years. By 1900, males outnumbered Black females 5,904 (50%) to 5,687 (49%), which is not a statistically significant disparity (Twelfth Federal Census). Throughout the 19th century, Boston was a magnet for African Americans living in rural towns across the state, other regions of the country, and globally. This afforded the Black population the ability of never dying out.

Table 9.11: Boston African American Sex Ratios 1820 to 1865

Year	Female	Male
1820	931(53.5%)	809(46.4%)
1825	943(49.1%)	974(50.8%)
1830	1,010(53.8%)	865(46.1%)
1835	966(54.9%)	788(44.8%)
1840	1,028(51.7%)	960(48.2%)
1850	1,080(54%)	919(45.9%)
1855	1,198(55.4%)	961(44.5%)
1860	1,253(54.8%)	1,031(45.1%)
1865	1,259(53.9%)	1,074(46%)

Source: Levesque 1994: 102 (Table I-24)

Material Culture of The African Meeting House, Smith School, 44 Joy Street, and the Peter Faneuil School Site (56 & 58 Joy Street)

There were two major excavations conducted at AMH. The first, underway between 1975 and 1985, was conducted by the Museum of Afro American History and concentrated on the yard and surrounding alleyways. The second, in 2005, focused on the backlot, west alley, and the 44 Joy Street privy. I was not granted access to the African Meeting House and 44 Joy Street 2005 assemblages at the University of Massachusetts Boston because the assemblage was still being studied under a grant, so my analysis is based on published and non-published materials. In addition, after years of neglect, the African Meeting House 1975-1985 assemblage curated at the Boston City Archaeology Lab was not available for study because it requires a major cleaning and re-cataloging of the artifacts. The research questions for the 2005 AMH excavations were:

1. What can we learn about community health and sanitation?
2. What do the artifacts, animal bones, and plant remains tell us about African American foodways in Boston?
3. How does the archaeological evidence inform us about the history of changes in the architecture, design, layout, and use of the Meeting House and the space around it?
4. What do the artifacts tell us about the community functions of the Meeting House?
5. Can we identify ways that material culture was used to respond to racism and create a community identity?
6. How does the archaeological record of the site inform our understanding of people's activities, and the ways these activities intersect with issues of gender, status, and inequality? (Landon et. al. 2007: 15-16).

The Smith School excavations took place in 1995, 1996, and 1997. The excavated areas included the Smith School Backlot, the easement and east alley near the AMH, the Smith School cellar, and the Smith School sidewalk (Pendery and Mead 2006: 2, 6, 18). The Museum of African American History Boston and Nantucket granted me permission to study the Abiel Smith School Collection stored at the National Park

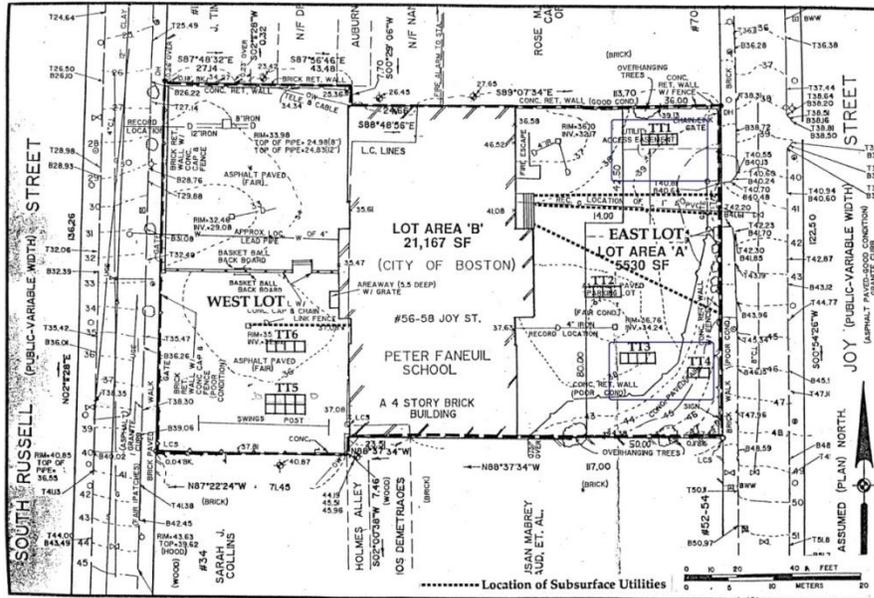
Services Office in Lowell, Massachusetts. There were two research questions. Were physical improvements to the Smith School, ordered by the Boston School Committee, accelerated in the decade prior to 1855 as public sentiment to desegregate Boston school intensified? Was maintenance of yard space improved in the mid-to- late 1840s as school integration became an issue?

The Peter Faneuil School Site was excavated in 1993. The area of excavation centered on what today are two playgrounds, one facing Joy Street with the Black-occupied homes (numbers 56-58, 60-62, 64, and 68), and the other facing South Russell Street (20-32 non-Black occupation). Six test trenches were opened, four on Joy Street and two on South Russell Street. This chapter will focus on the four trenches on Joy Street (See Figure 9.1 and 9.2). Two of the trenches, TT2 and TT3, contained sterile subsoil under the school yard brick layer. The other test trenches were 68 Joy Street (TT1) and 56-58 Joy Street (TT4). The 56-58 and 68 Joy Street had foundations that were filled with refuse from various time periods. The research potential for the site was deemed limited and the site not eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. Mary Beaudry, Chair of the Anthropology Department, Boston University and Ricardo J. Elia, also from Boston University, granted me access to the Peter Faneuil School Site assemblage stored in their laboratory. With multiple trips to Lowell, I studied the Smith School assemblage in the summer and fall of 2012. I studied the Peter Faneuil Site at Boston University in the fall of 2012. The excavating agencies for Boston sites are listed in Table 9.12.

As mentioned in earlier chapters, I use Paynter's general categories that concentrated more on an environment in which people were required to work to subsist in

society. Those categories are foodways, personal, household/structural, information, work (non-food), transportation, native artifact, natural, and unknown (Paynter 2004, 2008). With these assemblages, I focused on racialization, daily life, transition, and consumerism.

Figure 9.2: Peter Faneuil School Site Plan



Source: Clayton et al. 1993 Figure 2

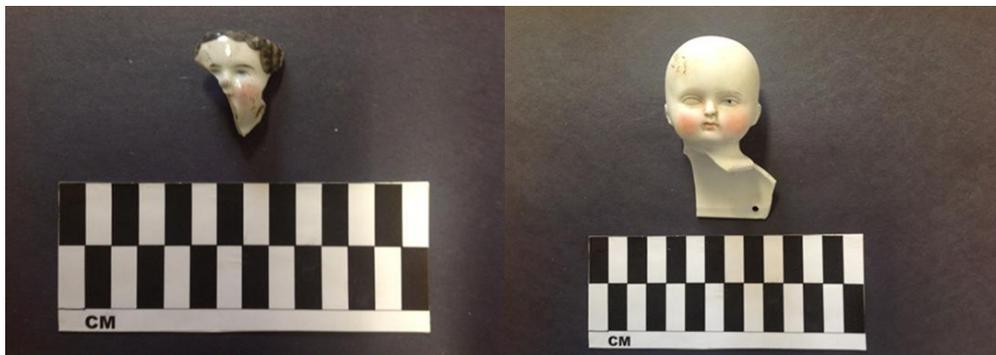
Table 9.12: Boston Excavating Agencies

Boston Site	Excavator
African Meeting House, Boston 1975-1985	Museum of African American History / Beth Ann Bower
African Meeting House, Boston 2005	University of Massachusetts, Boston
44 Joy Street residence	UMass Boston
Abiel Smith School	National Park Service
56-58, 64, and 68 Joy Street (Peter Faneuil School Site)	Boston University CRM Firm

Racialization

The artifacts that speak to racialization at the Peter Faneuil School site are two White porcelain doll heads (Figure 9.3) that date around 1820 (Clayton et al. 1993: 23-24). These dolls were found in TT1 (outlined in blue), which would have been 68 Joy Street. There was also a partial diminutive figurine similar to the one found at Parting Ways in the Smith School assemblage (Figure 9.4). If these dolls belonged to the children of the Black occupants, it underscores the lack of availability of dolls that look like the little girls who play with them. It also speaks to the racialization of White children, as well, because we often ignore the fact that Whites were also racialized. During the landmark U.S. Supreme Court Case of *Brown vs the Board of Education* in 1954, the “separate but equal” education was ruled unconstitutional. Thurgood Marshall, one of the lawyers for the plaintiffs, used social science and studies of the effect of play with dolls as part of the evidence to argue their case against the doctrine that “separate but equal” facilities were constitutional, and, instead argued that segregated schools provided the foundation for Black children feeling different and inferior to Whites (Baker 1998).

Figure 9.3: 68 Joy Street Dolls



Dolls from the Peter Faneuil School Site Collection at Boston University,
Photo by Author

Figure 9.4: Figurine or Doll from the Smith School



National Park Service, Lowell, Massachusetts, Photo by Author

There was no overt material evidence of racialization at The African Meeting House or 44 Joy Street. However, Beth Ann Bower concluded that the AMH was part of Boston's market system (discussed under daily life/subsistence), a point that could be interpreted as racialization.

Daily Life

Based on the 1975-1985 African Meeting House excavations, ceramics constituted 84% of the assemblage with the majority being plates (Bower 1986: 126). The large number of tablewares weighed heavily in Beth Ann Bower's interpretation of the ceramic assemblage being associated with Domingo Williams and catering. Bower (1986) concluded that these ceramics would have been used for church functions and some might have been used by the caterer to Boston's "upper crust," Domingo Williams, who also lived in the basement apartment (Bower 1984: 70). The form and function of this ceramic assemblage (see Tables 9.13 and 9.14) led Bower to conclude that meals were served and consumed using the 'a la francaise' method that was popular in the city up to the middle of the nineteenth century (Bower 1986: 138).

This practice consisted of individuals helping themselves to multiple courses on small dishes (Bower 1986: 138). This French and modified British serving method required an abundance of serving dishes, bowls, and small plates (Bower 1986: 138; Tannahill 1973: 342, 344-337).

Table 9.13: AMH 1970 to 1985 Assemblage Forms and Functions

Vessel	Number
Tableware	744
Drinking Vessels	89
Wine glasses	12
Ceramic drinking vessels	3
Glass flips/tumbler	14
Glass mugs	0
Ceramic mugs	60
Plates	401
Glass plates	1
Ceramic plates	400
Bowls - ceramic	89
Serving Vessels	66
Glass bowls	3
Ceramic bowls	11
Glass hollowware	6
Ceramic hollowware	6
Tureen/casserole	6
Platters	31
Sauceboat	1
Pitcher	2
Utensils/cutlery	12
Salt shaker	1
Unidentified	86
Teaware	247
Ceramic cups	97
Ceramic tea bowls	15
Ceramic saucers	114
Ceramic teapots	17
Ceramic creamer/sugarbowl	2
Glass cup plate	2
Food Preparation/Storage	277
Cast-iron teakettle	1
Cast-iron kettle	3
Ceramic pans	44
Ceramic pots	58
Ceramic bowls	3
Glass bottles	51

Ceramic bottles	32
Ceramic jars	7
Ceramic jugs	17
Ceramic crocks	15
Ceramic jar/jug	1
Ceramic hollowware	42
Ceramic vessels	1
Metal containers	2
Personal Items	97
Apparel and shoes	5
Buttons	18
Jewelry/ornaments	2
Pen knife	1
Slate pencil	5
Slate tablet	1
Thimble	1
Toys	11
Other personal objects	2
Clay pipes – MNI	33
Glass pharmaceutical bottle	9
Ceramic ointment pot	7
Brush	2
Furnishings	44
Glass object	1
Chandelier pendants	2
Lamp base (bronze)	1
Lamp globes and chimneys	2
Blacking bottles	8
Iron bucket	1
Iron barrel staves	1
Flowerpots	9
Ceramic basin	2
Ceramic chamberpot	20
Furniture hardware	1
Other	2
Gunflint	1
Weaponry/Accouterments	1

Source: Bower 1986: 35-37

Table 9.14: AMH 1970-1985 MNV by Ceramic type

Vessel	MNV
Pearlware (subtotal)	849
Shell-edged	370
Handpainted	142
Annular	46
Mocha	14
Transfer-printed	277
Whiteware Transfer-printed (subtotal)	159

Stoneware (subtotal)	142
Westerwald/Raeren	1
Other/American with Albany slip	119
Nottingham	5
White salt-glazed:	
Plain	8
Molded	0
Scratch blue	6
Littler's blue	0
Black basalts	3
Porcelain (subtotal)	285
Undecorated	33
Underglaze handpainted, monochrome	157
Underglaze handpainted, polychrome	5
Overglaze handpainted, monochrome	10
Overglaze handpainted, polychrome	62
Gilded	4
Transfer-printed	8
Other	6
TOTAL	1435

Source: Bower 1990: 39

The AMH 2005 backlot ceramic assemblage provides details on daily life at the church. Pearlware was the majority in the ceramic assemblage with 49.8%, followed by creamware (27.5%), and then whiteware with 6.2% (Felix 2007: 79). According to Darios Felix's (2007: 81) ceramic analysis, the pearlware forms consisted of 32 plates or bowls, 21 teacups, and 10 saucers. Pearlwares were teawares (hand painted), bowls, plates (blue and green shell-edged and several transfer blue prints), and a square bottom transfer blue print that was probably used as a serving dish (Felix 2007: 86). The creamware forms were multifunctional with plates, the most abundant form for everyday use (Felix 2007: 86). There were 17 plain creamware plates along with soup plates, bowls, mugs, a small jar, a tureen, and a pitcher (Felix 2007: 82).

Whiteware consisted of dining ware, teaware, and drinking vessels with six saucers and five plates as the most frequent form (Felix 2007: 82). The whiteware plates

were light blue transfer prints and one shell-edged blue plate (Felix 2007: 82). Felix (2007) suggests that shell-edged and plainwares were possibly used for serving dishes. Felix (2007: 82-83) notes the indeterminate category includes: three flatwares, three hollowware-general, two soup plates, two small plates, two teacups, two bowl/teacup/saucers, and one mug each, mug/tankard, cup, serving vessel, and coffee can. Stoneware forms consisted of bottles or jugs (Felix 2007: 83). The redware was used for serving and preparation with six pans, two bottle/jugs, and ten hollowware objects (Felix 2007: 84).

Felix (2007: 86) found that a “preference for hand painted wares over transfer prints may also be the result of community taste.” Additionally, the more decorated hand painted and transfer prints were probably used at public functions. Felix (2007: 86) posits the less decorative ceramics were used for private community functions to prevent breakage of the more decorative ceramics. Very few of the ceramics date to post-1840 (Felix 2007: 87; Landon and Bulger 2013: 132). The white granite ceramics which date post-1842 were sparse (Felix 2007: 87). Felix (2007) attributes the lack of white granite ceramics to the death of Domingo Williams, the caterer who lived in the basement apartment of the AMH until 1830 and the church split discussed earlier in this chapter (Bower 1986, 1990; Felix 2007; Landon and Bulger 2013).

The ceramics from the AMH 2005 backlot excavations were similar to those of 44 Joy Street. Multiple families lived at 44 Joy Street. The ceramic assemblage lacked matching tableware sets (Descoteaux 2007, 2011). However, there is the possibility that the creamware and pearlware might have had some matching pieces (Descoteaux 2007, 2011; Landon and Bulger 2013). In addition, some of the ceramics were not identical,

but had similarities including edge-molded, handpainted, and transfer printed vessels (Descoteaux 2007: 77).

Pearlware dominated the assemblage at 40.96%, “followed by creamware with 25.90%, and redware at 12.65%” (Descoteaux 2011: 67). The most common types of pearlware were the decorative floral styles of transfer-printed, blue-edged, and hand-printed (Descoteaux 2007: 74, 2011: 67). The majority were table and teawares with tablewares consisting mainly of bowls and plates. The creamwares were plain, turned, molded, or pressed and were predominantly storage and preparation vessels (Descoteaux 2007: 74, 2011: 71). There were also creamware wash basins (Descoteaux 2007: 74, 2011: 71). Descoteaux (2011: 71) posits that these basins might have been used for food preparation and serving as well as wash basins. Another noteworthy piece was a fragment of a creamware woven “Twig Fruit Basket,” (Descoteaux 2007: 74, 2011: 71-72). The redware consisted of vessels for food serving, preparation, and storage, including jugs, jars, pans, and pots (Descoteaux 2007: 74, 2011: 72-73). The teaware was porcelain. The large amount of ceramics recovered from the privy illuminate the daily lives of the dwelling’s occupants. The minimum number of vessels count (MNV) for the privy was 166 (Descoteaux 2007: 70; 2011: 64). The most abundant ceramic forms and functions were tablewares, food serving, and food preparation.

Terry Klein contends teawares were more expensive and sold in sets, whereas tablewares were sold by the piece (Descoteaux 2007: 77, 2011: 90; Klein 1991: 81). The 44 Street privy yielded an abundance of matching tea sets. Descoteaux (2007, 2011) posits that formal tea functions were probably more common. Descoteaux (2007, 2011) concluded that even though the families at 44 Joy Street were renters in a multi-family

dwelling, their artifact assemblages would seem to make them middle-class. Diana Wall's (2000) research on 19th-century White tea functions in New York City might be a useful interpretation here. Wall (2000) argues that working class and lower middle class Whites used tea for informal get togethers with friends and relatives, while upper middle class and elite Whites used them as rituals of social competition. Maybe we are seeing the informal get together in this assemblage.

There was a clear difference between the privy and the AMH backlot assemblages. More preparation and storage pieces were recovered from 44 Joy Street privy, whereas the backlot had more serving vessels and tablewares and fewer preparation, serving, and storage vessels (Landon and Bulger 2013: 132). This would make sense because 44 Joy Street was a multi-family residence.

Limited ceramics were recovered from the Smith School excavations (n=123). However, those that were recovered included pearlware, whiteware, and ironstone. Some of the ceramic forms recovered included four straight-side mugs, one teacup, one 11 inch plate, one serving dish, and a 6 inch saucer. Partial and whole patent medicine and liquor bottles were also recovered with those with labels listed in Table 9.15.

Table 9.15: Patent Medicine Bottles with Labels from the Smith School

Botte	Date
"Dr McMunn's Elixir of Opium	ca.1842-1900
"Mrs. Winslow's Soothing Syrup"	ca. 1849 to 1948
Eagle/Cornucopia "Pitkin" Flask	1824-1840 (probably Keene Glass Works)
Drake's 18860 Plantation Bitters (2)	1862 to ca. 1884 (Fisk 1987: 33, 115, 231)
"Preston & Merrill/Boston"	1871 to 1891
"Joseph Cleve/9&11 Cambridge St/Boston" liquor flask	After 1878

Source: Pendery and Mead 2006: 22

No MNV count was conducted for the Peter Faneuil School Site; however, a study of the assemblage and the catalog does provide some clues as to how the families on Joy Street lived. The ceramics recovered from 56-58 Joy Street included pearlware, whiteware, creamware, ironstone, redware, yellow ware, Chinese export, buff paste, stoneware, earthenware, and porcelain (see Table 9.15). Of the ceramics that were dated, the undecorated creamware ranged, 1775 to 1820; undecorated ironstone 1845; pearlware, transferprint blue floral and transferprint, blue interior, 1795 to 1840; porcelain 1820; pearlware, molded, transferprint brown, 1810; pearlware, marbled, polychrome, 1790 to 1820; Chinese export porcelain, 1660-1840; and porcelain, bone china 1794 (Clayton et al. 1993: Appendix Catalog 27-28). The 1845 undecorated ironstone would seem to suggest that it was mixed into the assemblage or this is a mid-19th century assemblage. This mix of ceramics underscores that there were multiple renters at 68 Joy Street. Some ceramic forms and functions were identified (see Table 9.16). There were nine bowls, eight plates, two pitchers, one teapot, and one cup listed under Test Trench 1 in the artifact Appendix Catalog.

The 68 Joy Street residence had more artifacts in the refuse dumped in the foundation. The ceramics recovered from 68 Joy Street included pearlware, whiteware, creamware, ironstone, redware, yellow ware, Chinese export, buff paste, stoneware, earthenware, and porcelain (see Table 9.16). The ceramic dates are similar to 56-58 Joy Street with creamware ranging from 1760 to 1820; whiteware from 1800 to 1850; earthenware 1600 to 1800; earthenware from 1840 to 1900; porcelain 1794 to 1820; yellow ware 1820 to 1900; pearlware, 1780 to 1830; ironstone, 1810 to 1894; porcelain Chinese export 1660 to 1840; English porcelain from 1745 to 1825; Rockingham, 1845 to

1900; Frechen brown stoneware, 1620 to 1770; English stoneware, 1730 to 1775; redware, 1700 to 1850. There were no fewer than 19 plates, 16 bowls, 7 cups, 5 lids, 5 teacups, 3 teapots, 2 pitchers, 2 saucers, 1 mug, 1 soup plate, and 1 small dish listed under Test Trench 4 in the artifact Appendix Catalog. Both 56-58 and 68 Joy Street had enough tableware to set a table for a meal. However, 68 Joy Street had a more complete set, albeit unmatching. Forks were also recovered (see Figure 9.5). The residence also had more teawares. The problem is multiple families might have lived at the residence and no tight chronological date is available. However, here again, thoughts of tea parties and possibly even dinner parties come with these ceramics.

Multiple glass vessels were recovered from 68 Joy Street, including glass tableware of no less than six jars, five cups, two flasks, one lid, one perfume bottle, one glass stopper, and numerous mold and machine made bottles. One such bottle was the kick up of a blown glass dark green wine bottle (Clayton et al. 1993: Appendix Catalog 24). Additionally, two copper forks (one four-tine machine made) and metal can fragments were recovered (Clayton et al. 1993: Appendix Catalog 19, 21, 24). Tables 9.16 to 9.18 are tables constructed from data provided in the artifact catalog that list the limited ceramic form and function count on 68 Joy Street. The jars are an indicator that there might have been food preservation at the house.

Table 9.16: Listing of 56-58 Joy Street Ceramics

Pearlware (undecorated; transferprint, blue floral; molded, transferprint, brown; transferprint, blue, interior; blue interior; marbled, polychrome)
Whiteware (undecorated; transferprint, blue; transferprint, blue, interior; transferprint black; transferprint, blue, exterior, stripes; handpainted, red and brown)
Creamware (undecorated and transferprint red)
Ironstone (undecorated)
Redware (unglazed; lead glazed, green; black glaze)
Yellow ware (speckled and undecorated)
Earthenware (buff paste, salt-glazed exterior and brown slip interior)

Stoneware (Fullam-like , undecorated; light brown paste, lead-glazed, brown ext metal wash; lead glazed dark brown)
Porcelain (porcellaneous wheat pattern, soft paste blue-gray; Chinese export, underglazed, blue; undecorated, bone china)

Source Clayton et al. 1993: Appendix Catalog 27-28

Table 9.17: 56-58 Joy Street Limited Ceramic Form and Function Count

Ceramic Type	Form
Pearlware, transferprint, blue floral	bowl
Ironstone, unidentified markers mark/impressed markers mark (und)/undecorated	bowl (3)
Creamware, undecorated	bowl (2)
Pearlware, undecorated	pitcher handle, plate
Pearlware, molded, transferprint, brown	pitcher
Pearlware, transferprint, interior	plate
Pearlware, blue interior	plate
Pearlware, marbled, polychrome	bowl
Whiteware, transferprint, black makers mark (unidentified)	plate
Redware, handpainted, red and brown	cup
Ironstone, molded/undecorated	plate (2)
Redware, black glaze	teapot
Porcelain, Chinese export, underglaze blue	bowl, plate (2)
Porcelain, bone china, undecorated	bowl

Source Clayton et al. 1993: Appendix Catalog 27-28

Table 9.18: 68 Joy Street Limited Ceramic Form and Function Count

Ceramic Type	Form
Whiteware, transferprint, blue	small dish, plate (2)
Whiteware, transferprint, lt. blue	plate
Whiteware, transferprint, brown	cup, bowl
Whiteware, gilding	lid
Whiteware, undecorated	cup (3), mug, bowl (3), plate (2)
Whiteware, molded, int.	bowl
Whiteware, molded, ext.	bowl
Whiteware, handpainted, red, int.	cup
Whiteware, flat bottomed	bowl
Whiteware, molded, queensware pattern	plate
Whiteware, molded, glazed, 3 hues of green	plate
Whiteware, shell-edged, blue	plate
Whiteware, scalloped edge, handpainted green	plate
Whiteware, glazed, aqua	plate
Creamware	plate
Creamware, molded, royal pattern	plate
Creamware, molded	bowl (2)
Creamware, handpainted, blue	bowl
Pearlware, annular, blue/lt. brown	bowl

Ceramic Type	Form
Pearlware, shell-edged, blue	plate (2)
Pearlware, handpainted, blue	plate, bowl
Pearlware, transferprint, black	bowl
Pearlware, undecorated	teacup
Ironstone, transferprint, black	plate
Ironstone, impressed markers mark	plate
Ironstone, molded	soup plate, pitcher
Ironstone, molded, fluted	bowl
Ironstone, molded, panelled	cup
Earthenware, Bennington	teapot
Earthenware, buff paste, glazed, clear	plate
Yellow ware, jetware, transferprint, metal wash	teapot
Yellow ware, ribbed, fluted	bowl
Earthenware, Rockingham	lid
Earthenware, Rockingham, undecorated	teapot
Stoneware, American, undecorated	lid
Stoneware, slip, int., molded/salt-glazed ext.	lid
Porcelain, English, transferprint, brown	saucer (2)
Porcelain, porcellaneous, handpainted, blue	bowl
Porcelain, English, handprinted overglaze, pink/gilding	teacup
Porcelain, English, pink underglaze, overglaze, gilding/handpainted, pink	teacup
Porcelain, English, handprinted overglaze, pink	teacup
Porcelain, English, undecorated	teacup
Porcelain, English, polychrome, int.	plate
Porcelain, porcellaneous, molded, handpainted underglaze, blue	cup
Porcelain, porcellaneous, undecorated	lid
Redware, drk. mottled lead-glazed	pitcher

Source Clayton et al. 1993: Appendix Catalog 1-26

Figure 9.5: 68 Joy Street Forks



Source: From the Peter Faneuil School Site Collection, Boston University, photo by author

More prescription medicines were found than proprietary medicines at the AMH backlot (Dujnic 2007). Dujnic (2007) suggests this meant more access to apothecary shops, access to Black and White physicians, and access to public aid services. The Boston City Directory listed a Black doctor in 1820, 1825, 1835, a Black physician in 1832 and 1835, and a Black botanic physician in 1842. There was also a doctress listed in 1820 and 1836. Given that the city directory under-reported, there was probably at least one doctor present in the other years as well as other doctors. Dujnic (2007: 103) contends that the three prescription medicine bottles, vials, and ointment pots along with botanical links to home remedies speak to the respectability, uplift, and moral standing advocated by the leaders of the Black community. The one proprietary medicine bottle recovered had a high alcohol content, and thought to have been associated with African American spiritual practices (Dujnic 2007: 103; Landon and Bulger 2013: 129). There were also three prescription bottles and eight patent bottles recovered from the fill in the 68 Joy Street foundation.

There is evidence of the educational functions that took place at the African Meeting House and the Smith School. The Smith School assemblage “included three glass ink wells, fragments of writing slates and slate pencils, pen knives, and several small lead ink pots with glass liners originally set in school desks” (Pendery and Mead 2006: 23). Figures 9.6, 9.7, and 9.8 are photos of writing instruments and ink wells. Personal items included toothbrushes, buttons, beads, and cowrie shells (Pendery and Mead 2006: 23). Figure 9.9 is a picture of two of the beads. Additionally, there are items of play, which included clay, ceramic, quartz, and glass marbles. Pendery and Mead (2006) identified two ceramic possible gaming pieces. However, my studies of the

assemblage count possibly four additional pieces of ceramic that might have been fashioned into a game piece (Figure 9.10). Laurie Wilkie (2003: 108) notes many items are repurposed and might have multiple uses and meanings including “buttons recovered from the site that could have been strung together as necklaces, used as counters in games, or served as eyes for cloth dolls” and pieces of broken ceramic also served as game pieces (Armstrong 1990; Patten 1992; Wilkie 1994).

Figures 9.6, 9.7, 9.8: Smith School Writing Instruments and Ink Wells



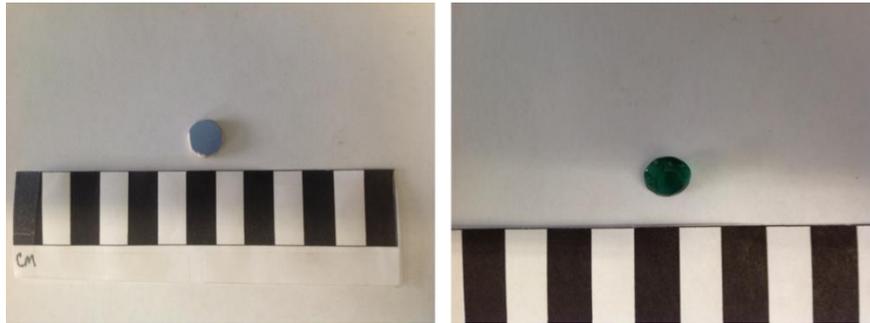
From the Peter Faneuil School Site Collection, Boston University, photo by author

Figure 9.9: Smith School Beads



From the Peter Faneuil School Site Collection, Boston University, photo by author

Figure 9.10: Smith School Gaming Pieces



From the Peter Faneuil School Site Collection, Boston University, photo by author

Buttons of various types were found throughout all of the sites in this survey. Landon (2007) notes that the presence of buttons might be evidence of women and also sewing. Some women might have even been seamstresses. Reverend Samuel Harrison (1899) mentioned in his autobiography that his Pittsfield church had established sewing classes for young girls. The African Meeting House might have created a similar practice. Military buttons were found in the 44 Joy Street privy, the African Meeting House backlot, and 56-58 Joy Street. The 44 Joy Street button was a United States Navy button that dated from 1802 to the 1850s, and was found in levels that dated from 1811 to c1838 (Albert 1969: 101-102; Landon and Bulger 2013: 136). The backlot button was an army enlisted man's button that dated from 1854 until the early 20th century and was found in an area mixed with 20th century renovations (Landon and Bulger 2013: 136). Landon and Bulger (2013: 136) connect these buttons with a "discourse of masculinity and citizenship." The two note that this does not necessarily mean service in the military. However, Landon and Bulger point out that Robert Curry, a mariner, resided at 44 Joy Street from 1826 to 1828. Additionally, they note the buttons could have been from second hand clothing or a button lost by a veteran when the Smith School became a GAR post (Landon and Bulger 2013: 136). Mullins (1999: 142-143) mentions a similar

practice of African Americans using second hand uniforms from the U.S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, and at times removing the buttons. Buttons were found at the 68 Joy Street to include an Army Corp Artillery button that dated between 1814 to 1821 (See Figure 9.11), a porcelain four hole button fragment dating to 1820, two bone button fragments, two brass buttons, one stamped 'Boston City,' a copper alloy three-piece button,, two mother of pearl shell buttons, one a two-hole and the other a four-hole, and a plastic button (modern) (Clayton et al. 1993: 12, Appendix Catalog: 1, 5, 7, 11, 12, 15, 19). When we think about the importance of military service to African Americans then and now, these buttons resonate service, defending the nation, and the argument for full citizenship.

Toys, if they came from the Smith School and those from 68 Joy Street, would be evidence of recreation time at the school and residence. Toys and a game piece were also recovered from 68 Joy Street, which included three kaolin marbles, one porcelain chess piece dated to 1820 (Figure 9.12), and two White doll heads dated to 1820 (Clayton et al. 1993: 9-10, 23-24).

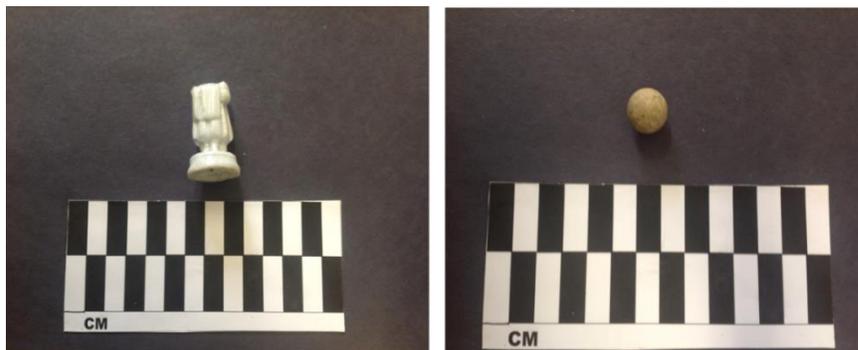
Personal items from 68 Joy Street included a pen knife, bone lice comb, coin (Carolus III, 1787), one graphite writing instrument, one graphite pencil, one slate pencil, and slate (not identified as writing slate) (Clayton et al. 1993: 1, 5, 12, 15, 24). The writing materials provide evidence that people in the household could write; in fact, some of those instruments might have been in use at the Smith School down the street.

Figure 9.11: Corps Artillery Button 1814 to 1821



From the Peter Faneuil School Site Collection, Boston University, photo by author

Figure 9.12: 68 Joy Street Porcelain Chess Piece and one of the kaolin marbles



From the Peter Faneuil School Site Collection, Boston University, photo by author

Subsistence Patterns

When these sites are juxtaposed, the subsistence patterns are insightful. It is here that we find evidence of individuals participating in the city's market system, but also a deviation from that system. According to Bowen (1986: 120), the most abundant meat in the 1975 to 1985 AMH assemblage was mutton/lamb, followed by beef and pork. Domestic birds including fowl, chicken, and turkey were also consumed as were fish, however, in very distinguishably lower numbers than meat (Bower 1986: 120-124; Bowen 1986: 22). The cuts of meat included the body section as well as the heads and

feet of pigs, which for the latter were disproportionately high (Bower 1986: 120-124; Bowen 1986: 22). Bower concluded this was evidence of participation in the market system, which city laws pretty much required (Bower 1986). This would make sense because city's slaughter houses were outside the city in Roxbury and by mid-century moved to Brighton (Bower 1986: 120). Once fresh meat was butchered outside the city limits, it was sent to three markets within the city, while salted meat went directly to markets and grocers (Andrews 1998: 22-23; Bower 1986: 114, 120).

The 2005 backlot excavations produced a similar pattern. Church members at the African Meeting House consumed mutton, pig, beef, and fowl, but fish remains were limited in number (Kennedy and Landon 2007: 107). The cuts of meat were similar to the earlier assemblage, which means the meat was purchased from a market within the city limits.

Faunal data from the Boston-Higginbotham House consisted of cows, sheep, or pigs, 10 shellfish fragments, and unidentified birds, and is limited and dates to the 18th and early 19th century (Way 2010). Michael Way's (2010) analysis of the faunal data argues contact with a butcher or market exchange. Bulger (2013: 108-109) notes lack of information might indicate another. She posits that archaeological evidence of fencing and pens on the property might indicate raising livestock (Bulger 2013: 108-109).

The Smith School assemblage is an anomaly. It must also be remembered that the School Site privy was not exclusive to the school, but also used by surrounding structures. This assemblage included fish bones of the following species: shad/herring, trout, haddock, and temperate bass (Pendery and Mead 2006). According to Susan Trevarthen Andrews (1998: 23), the presence of fish in the assemblage is an indicator of

participation in the market system. However, an analysis of the faunal parts and some of the cuts of meat tell a different story. There is a low number of cattle feet and head bones, but disproportionate numbers of sheep/goat foot bones were present (Andrews 1998: 23; Pendery and Mead 1999: 31). Pendery and Mead (2006) conclude that this is clearly an indicator of nonmarket acquisition and someone associated with the Smith School property might have been raising goats or had access to someone that did because sheep/goat feet were not sold in markets (Andrew 1998: 23). This is clearly different from the other sites on the hill that had their faunal remains analyzed.

Turtle remains were recovered from Parting Ways and the African Meeting House Boston backlot. It is unknown if these turtles were consumed, pets, or in the case of Parting Ways just wild (Hutchins 2013; Kennedy and Landon 2007). Turtles are important in the African Diaspora because they exist on land and water (Thompson 1984). If they were consumed, their ingestion might have helped link the land of the living with that of the dead - land and water.

Macrobotanical analysis increased knowledge about the diet of the inhabitants of the AMH backlot, west alley, and the 44 Joy Street privy (Palatano 2007). This diet included fruits, berries, tomatoes, and squash. There was one grocer listed in the Boston Directory in 1821, 1826, 1841, 1843, and 1846, two listed in 1845 and 1848/9, and four listed in 1844; a fruit seller listed in 1821, 1840, 1841 and 1845; and a vegetable seller in 1842. However, there could have been more present, and not listed in the directory.

Pollen analysis assisted in elucidating the daily life of Black Beacon Hill and an African diaspora element. It also reinforced a consumption pattern centered on an urban market system. From her pollen analysis, Susan Jacobucci (2007: 142) concludes that

“European-introduced cereals” were possibly used in baking bread and the inhabitants of 44 Joy Street ingested cherry, raspberries, grapes, and currants, which could have been used in preserves, sauces, pies or even consumed raw. This analysis was able to suggest some healthcare practices among the tenants of 44 Joy Street. In addition, Jacobucci (2007: 142) notes the usage of mustards, peppers, chicory, parsley and cresses, tomatoes, and round cherries with some of these “ingested to combat ailments.” Possible herbal remedies’ components included ragweed, common polypody, trowhound burwech, cochlebur, and chenopirar/amaranthus (Jacobucci 2007: 142).

Parasitic findings were also used to discern the healthcare of the Black community on Beacon Hill. The parasitic organisms *Ascaris* and *Trichuris* were lower in the AMH privy compared with studies done in Newport, Rhode Island, and Albany, New York (Jacobucci (2007: 142). She also posits this might be attributed to herbal usage and better health and diet of the Black community compared with other marginalized people (Jacobucci 2007: 156). For instance, African American consumption of tomatoes in the 19th century was adopted before its health benefits were determined by the scientific community and its major use by the White population (Jacobucci 2007: 156).

Transition

The 44 Joy Street privy did yield many personal items that speak to transition from African to African American identity. Some of these items were two raccoon canines and a military button. Landon and Bulger (2013: 130) offer three possibilities for the raccoon canines: a charm, a hunting trophy, or part of a *minkisi* bundle. Raccoons have not been found in other Boston assemblages, but were part of the diet of people of African descent in the Mid-Atlantic and Southern States (Franklin 2001: 93; Landon 2007: 171; McKee 2009). Landon posits that the canines belonged to a southern African

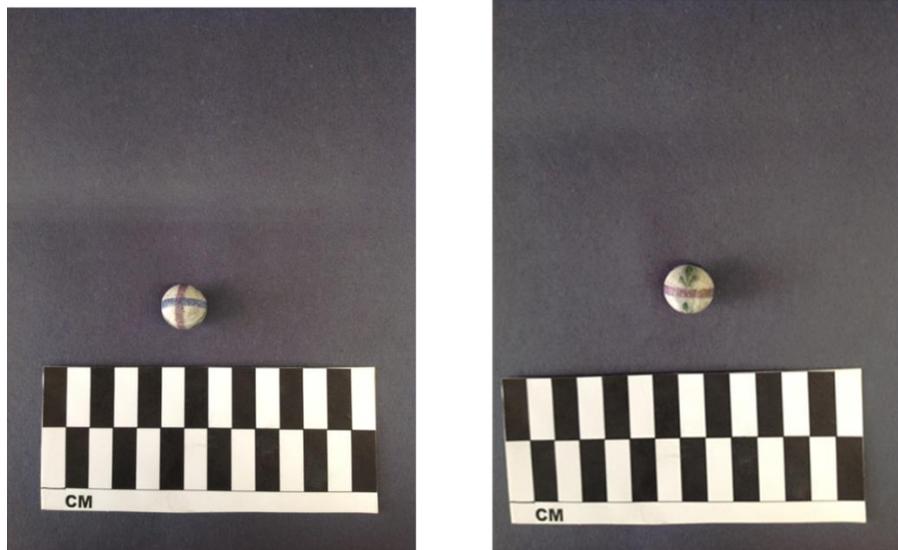
American who had removed them from the jaw of a raccoon as a trophy after a hunt and later discarded or lost the objects in the privy (Landon 2007: 171; Landon and Bulger 2013: 130). Another possibility is that they provided a protective charm (Landon 2007). Landon (2007) contends that privies are not a normal location for a *minkisi* bundle. However, a charm worn around a neck or placed on a body part could have been lost in the privy. Additionally, Leone and Fry (2001: 148-150) data mined various documents to find the contents of protective charms. Although raccoon teeth were not mentioned, other teeth were. Protective charms using a hog jaw bone or alligator teeth were used to ease teething, but the location of wear on the body was not provided (Leone and Fry 2001: 149-150). The only part of the raccoon listed as a charm was the foot, and other animal's feet or claws were used as well (Leone and Fry 2001: 149). These charms had various levels of protection that ranged from teething to protection from witches, and were either worn or carried (Leone and Fry 2001: 149). Kennedy and Landon (2007) at times link African American traditions (raccoon canines and the consumption of snapping turtles and pigs' feet) found in Boston as associated with southern Blacks. This southern African American theory is problematic because it is a perpetuation of epistemic violence, whereby this theory erases any non-southern African Americans that still retained those cultural practices. In fact, this theory negates William Piersen's *Black Yankees* (1988). If this is a charm, it speaks to the African Diaspora world. Raccoons are not indigenous to the African continent. If this was taken as a charm, it is illuminating the African born in America and reimagining an ethnic identity using the flora and fauna available in the new surroundings and repurposing and attaching a multivalent function to its existence. Landon and Bulger (2013) note that raccoons play an important part in

African American folktales with African roots, where the character is either clever, even-tempered, or a sly trickster (Courlander 1976: 466-497; Landon and Bulger 2013: 130).

It is important to note that the animals in African American folktales “use trickery at times to gain an advantage” or to use against those who had “preyed on and taken advantage of others” (Ogunleye 1997: 448).

There is other evidence of possible African spiritual practices. The first is a china marble with a dark solid line around the total circumference of the sphere and another solid line that runs from pole to pole from the Smith School. This solid line separates the marble into four quadrants on each side with a flower painted in one quadrant on each side (see Figures 9.13a and 9.13b). This type of marble was most likely produced in South Thuringen, Germany from, 1840-1910, but it was also produced in Indiana and Ohio in the late 19th century (Baumann 2004: 31; Carskadden and Gartley 1990: 62). To some this might resemble a BaKongo Cosmogram discussed in Chapter VI.

Figure 9.13a and 9.13b: Marble Smith School



National Park Service, Lowell, Massachusetts, Photo by Author

The Smith School assemblage had additional items that might fall into the spiritual category. The first two artifacts were for personal adornment. The first is a piece of square jewelry that is blue and resembles the shell of a turtle (see Figure 9.14). Another piece of jewelry resembles a tortoise/turtle shell and has what appears to be a five-pointed star (see Figure 9.15). Thompson (1984: 112-115) notes the points on Star of David pattern were used by the Kongo and Yoruba (in Africa and the Americas) to summon God and the dead, and was a source of enlightenment. The third artifact is a quartz marble.

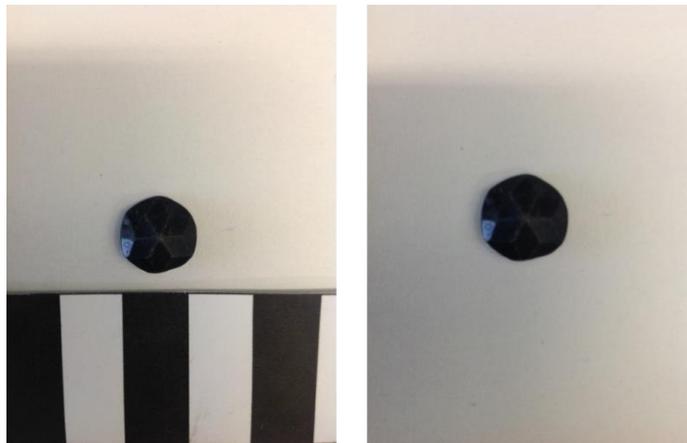
Perry and Woodruff (2009: 362) posit a rose quartz disk buried with a child between age five and nine in Burial 289 from the Middle-Late Group in the African Burial Ground is possibly a gaming piece. Other possibilities for the rose quartz disk include jewelry or an item used for spiritual purposes (Perry and Woodruff 2009: 362). A similar artifact was found on the Royall Plantation in Medford, Massachusetts (Chan 2007). Quartz is important to people of African descent because it is shiny and presents a flash that would protect a person who possessed it from evil spirits. Of course, these items could also just be pieces of jewelry and a marble used in play as the other marbles in the assemblage.

Figure 9.14: Jewelry Smith School Privy



National Park Service, Lowell, Massachusetts, Photo by Author

Figure 9.15: Jewelry Smith School Privy



National Park Service, Lowell, Massachusetts, Photo by Author

Additionally, the Smith School assemblage that dates from 1834 until 1855 reveals a mix of both participation in the city's market system and resistance to it (Andrews 1998: 22-23). Susan Andrews (Andrews 1998: 22-23) contends that the lack of cow foot and head bones, pig elements, and fish bones indicate the market system.

However, lamb and mutton feet are an indicator of acquisition outside the market system (Andrews 1998: 23). Leone (1999) using ceramics, as an example, and Mullins (1999) fishing argue self-acquisition is a form of resistance. With Boston's ordinances channeling people into the market system, self-acquisition of items is an example of resistance.

The 2005 AMH excavations in the West Alley, between the AMH and 2 Smith Court, yielded nine beads and a cowrie shell (Dujnic 2007: 100). Dujnic (2007: 101) concludes the cowrie shell might be part of decorative clothing or a charm; she argues the beads could be part of decorative clothing, hats, or bags. Excavations at the Smith School also recovered cowrie shells. Along with charms or additions to clothing, another possibility that cannot be overlooked is the game paw paw mentioned in Chapter Two, which required four shells. Even with only one shell it should still get consideration because a shell can get lost like a marble.

Consumerism

Landon (2007: 169) notes the African Meeting House 2005 assemblage "is not an elite ceramic assemblage," but "it is clearly a high-end assemblage, with lots of hand-painted wares and some porcelain." Additionally, Landon and Bulger (2013: 132) attribute the 1975 to 1985 assemblage to Domingo Williams, a caterer who lived in the AMH basement apartment from 1819 to 1830 and not the ceramics of the church. The assemblage of the tenants at 44 Joy Street also had unmatched ceramics sets, which is an indicator that the items were not purchased at the same time or were hand-me-downs or gifts. The Smith School privy was in use by the other members of the Black community that lived around 46 Joy Street, which makes it hard to discern the level of participation in the consumer market.

As with the AMH and 44 Joy Street assemblages, the 56-58 and 68 Joy Street ceramic assemblages are not those of the elite. However, they do possess some high-end ceramics, especially 68 Joy Street. With the ceramics and glassware, one might conclude that this household participated in the consumer economy. The main problem is that a chronology cannot be established because the way the artifacts were dumped into the foundation.

Mullins (1999) in his comparison of four Annapolis, Maryland, households found unmatched sets, as well, and concluded that the occupants were most likely purchasing their ceramics on an individual basis or acquired them as gifts or from the workplace, because so many worked as domestics and waiters at the United States Naval Academy. Studying 51 probate inventories of Black Boston families from 1800-1850, Beth Ann Bower found only 24 inventories that had ceramics and of those inventories only a mere 0.1 to 14% of the personal estates consisted of ceramics (Bower 1985: 126). She also found that some of the wealthiest people had no ceramics in their inventories, whereas some people with low personal and real estate values had ceramics. The people with ceramics in their inventories were engaged in food service professions. She does mention that this could be because ceramics were not included under the husband's inventories. However, she notes that many households had other items listed on the inventories attributed to the women. She concluded that wealth was probably more concentrated in land ownership than ceramics and other consumer products (Bower 1986). This might coincide with the uplift movements of the antebellum North. John Wood Sweet (2003: 385) points out that, in the 1820s, Black leaders "began to attack excess consumption within their communities with a new vigor."

Conclusion

Dealing with multiple assemblages in this chapter, there is racialization with dolls at 68 Joy Street and possibly the Smith school. Throughout the 19th century and into the 20th century, Boston experienced extreme spatial segregation. However, the evidence for the Beacon Hill African American sites shows elements of the community were integrated into the market system of the city and participated in the consumer market, as well, but was also constrained in both jobs and consumer goods. We cannot determine whether the occupants of these sites totally immersed themselves into the dominant culture or only took parts of it. As mentioned in an earlier chapter, by the 1840s, people of African descent were pushing more and more to be called Americans along with their moral uplift campaigns and agitating for full citizenship (Rael 2002). This was especially true in Boston where Blacks were more politically involved and even joined the nativist Know-Nothing Party (Kantrowitz 2012). Food consumption most fit the urban system. However, there was variation present among the African Meeting House, Smith School, and 44 Joy Street. This is an indicator of variety within the community. While the assemblages on Beacon Hill displayed people operating within the city's market economy, it also conveys what was available to the inhabitants. For instance, the White dolls speak to the lack of availability of mass-marketed Black dolls and the dominance of whiteness. These assemblages also reveal the Black community's advocacy of uplift and full citizenship campaigns even though there might be instances of resistance. What the assemblages are saying, is like the Langston Hughes poem, "I too am America."

CHAPTER X

NANTUCKET

Introduction

Massachusetts has many varied landscapes, from its Atlantic seacoast to its central fertile plains, and to its large mountain ranges in the western part of the state. It also encompasses a peninsula, and something many states do not have: islands. Massachusetts' islands formed unique cultures in the 17th and 18th centuries. However, over time the footprint of many different people of color has been erased. Even with the existence of many different groups of people present on the island, the merchant and whaling trades, social, political/legal, and economic structures, nevertheless, limited the advancement of many groups of people. The doxa of the dominant society still treated people of color as inferior, racially separated the Black population into the southern portion of the town, and segregated Black children in their own schools. This chapter, using census data and the documentary record, discusses the social, political/legal, and economic structures constructed and maintained in Nantucket during the 19th and early 20th century. In addition, in using the archaeological assemblages of the African Meeting House Nantucket and the Boston-Higginbotham Homesite explores how African Americans conducted their daily lives, constructed African and African American identity, and participated in consumerism.

Nantucket, like Boston, is a productive landscape of inquiry because it affords the researcher different types of African American sites. The African Meeting House Nantucket came to the attention of the archaeological community with the excavations of Boston University in 1993 and 1996. The Master's thesis of Ellen Berkland followed in 1999. The intellectual discussion continued in a book chapter written by Mary Beaudry

and Ellen Berkland (2007). The Seneca Boston-Florence Higginbotham House came to the attention of the archaeological community with the excavation led by Teresa Dujnic Bulger with a crew from University of Massachusetts, Boston in 2008. She furthered the discussion with her dissertation in 2013 and a chapter in a book in 2015.

Nantucket

Before the region became an island 8,000 years ago, it was inhabited by people who became known as the Wampanoag (Philbrick 2011 [1994]: Kindle Location 163). Figure 10.1 is a map of Nantucket. According to Frances Karttunen (2005: 25, 27, 60), the English were probing and staking claim to Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket as early as the 1640s and, by 1659, had begun settlement that involved the dispossession and the destruction of Wampanoag culture. Soon after their arrival, the English began importing captive Africans as laborers, servants, to care for livestock, and to work in sheep-raising (Beaudry and Berkland 2007: 397). By the 18th century, the main industry on the island became whaling, fishing, and merchant shipping. According to Edward Byers (1987: 159), from 1725 to 1734, Native Americans accounted for 55% of the whaling workforce below the hired mate rating. However, by the late 1760s, their numbers were reduced to eight percent (Byers 1987: 159). Additionally, in 1764, the first census for Blacks on the island found 44 (Beaudry and Berkland 2007: 397; Berkland 1999: 7; Byers 1987: 329). This was also the time that the expanding whaling economy brought Portuguese, Cape Verdeans, and Azoreans to Nantucket (Karttunen 2005: 110-113; Philbrick 2011 [1994]: Kindle Loc 2950-2968).

The isolation and vulnerability of Nantucket forced it into neutrality during the American Revolution. At times this neutrality could be considered dubious, since some

of the prominent merchants on the island continued to trade with Great Britain (Byers 1987: 211-212). The community also endured provisioning raids by the British.

After the war, the merchant and whaling industry resumed and increased, and the race and ethnicities of the crews began to change as well (see Figure 10.3). By 1840, overall population of the island rose to 9,012 (Sixth Federal Census).

The population of people of color increased throughout the first few decades of the 19th century. During the second quarter of the 19th century, two Black churches were established, the Baptist Society in 1831 and the African Methodist Episcopal Church in 1835 (Beaudry and Berkland 2007: 397). However, economic downturns brought the island's total population down to 4,123 by 1870 (Ninth Federal Census). It would continue to decrease until 1920, but slowly rose throughout the rest of the 20th century. The population of the island would not return to over nine thousand until the beginning of the 21st century, and now is largely a seasonal and tourist population (2000 Federal Census).

Figure 10.1: William Mitchell 1838 Nantucket Map



Source: Norman B. Leventhal Map Center at the Boston Public Library

**Background of the African Meeting House Nantucket and
the Boston-Higginbotham House**

The African Meeting House Nantucket (AMHN) or African Baptist Meeting House at 29 York Street was built between 1823 and 1825 and functioned as a church and meeting house until 1911 (Beaudry and Berkland 2007: 400; Berkland 1999). It also functioned as a school for Black children from 1825 until 1847 (Beaudry and Berkland 2007: 403; Linebaugh 1978: 37, 49). The city directory listed no services after 1897 (Beaudry and Berkland 2007: 400; Berkland 1999). In the first quarter of the twentieth century, the structure was used as a maintenance garage (Beaudry and Berkland 2007: 400; Berkland 1999).

For a detailed discussion of the Boston Family, see Bulger’s (2013) dissertation which is summarized in Table 10.1. Seneca Boston and Thankful Micah, his Wampanoag wife, built the Seneca Boston-Florence Higginbotham House on what would become 27 York Street between 1774 and 1802, possibly earlier (Bulger 2013: 10; Karttunen 2002: 87; NHA 1800: Coll. 122, Box 1, Folder 2.25 and 2.50). The house passed through the Boston family line, with Florence Higginbotham, who purchased the house in 1915, being the last in the bloodline to live in the dwelling (Bulger 2013: 10).

Table 10.1: Condensed Boston Family History and Chain of Custody

1770-1789	Seneca Boston and Thankful Micah had six children: Freeborn (b. 1770), Reuben (b. 1771), Thomas (b. 1775), Hannah (b. 1778), Absalom (b. 1785), and Joseph (b. 1789).
1774-1802	Seneca Boston and Thankful Micah build the Boston-Higginbotham House
1800	The Second Federal Census reports six people in the household.
1802	Seneca sells the house to his son Freeborn for the sum of \$324
1804-1809	Freeborn and Mary have three children: William (b. 1804), Eliza (b. 1805), and Charlotte (b. 1809).
1809	Freeborn dies, survived by wife Mary.
1810	The Third Federal Census reported Mary Boston as head of the household and 8 people living there.
1811	Mary remarries Michael Douglass.

1812	Thankful Micah dies. The property split among siblings.
1820	The Fourth Federal Census reports Michael Douglass (Duglas) as head of the household of six.
1828	Mary sells property to her daughter Charlotte and her husband Charles Groves. However, Mary and Michael still live in the house.
1830	With Michael Douglass as the head of household, the residents grew to 11 (six males and five females).
1834	Mary dies at age 66. The property is split between Mary's three children from Freeborn.
1840	Charlotte's husband, Charles Groves, is listed as head of a household of three.
1850	According to the 1850 Federal Census, Charles (44) was head of a household of five that included Charlotte (38), Elizabeth (21), Charles B. (9), and Phebe (5). Absalom Boston lived next door with a household of seven.
1851	Charlotte Groves dies April 1, 1851. Charles relocates to Brooklyn, NY, most likely with two of the children, Charles Jr. and Phebe, and dies a few years later.
1851-1870	Eliza (Boston) Berry works as a domestic for family members. Her husband Lewis goes to San Francisco during the Gold Rush and dies there. On the 1860 Federal Census, Eliza is listed as living in the house alone. In 1870, she is listed as a servant under the household of a White clergyman named William Starr. She is 64.
1880	The 1880 Federal Census lists Eliza as living alone again in her own household.
1883	Eliza dies in the home under the care of her niece Elizabeth Stevens.
1914	Elizabeth sells property for one dollar to her sister Phebe's children, Caroline B. Talbot and George Groove Hogarth. No evidence either of them lives in the house.
1915	Elizabeth dies.
1919	George dies. George's stepmother Mary Hogarth and stepsister Caroline sell the house to Edward H. Whelden. He also might not have lived there.
1920	Edward H. Whelden sells the property to Florence Higginbotham.
2001	Angleen Campra, Florence's deceased son wife, sells the property to Museum of African American History.

This table is a condensed discussion of the family history and chain of custody of the property. It also includes census data of numbers of people in the household and names.

Source: Bulger 2013: 10-13; Second through Eleventh Federal Censuses

Economic Structures

Census data from Nantucket is an indicator of the economic structures that were manifest in the island from mid-19th to early 20th century. The 1820 Federal Census for

Nantucket did not record people of color's occupations, though, of course, people of color worked. For instance, Absalom Boston, a brother of Seneca, was a mariner and acquired a license to operate a public inn (Kaldenback-Montemayor 2006: 19, 22-23; Karttunen 2005: 69; Philbrick 1994:Kindle Edition). As early as 1812, he had entered the real estate market by buying and selling lands in and around Newtown/"New Guinea" (Kaldenback-Montemayor 2006: 17-48; Karttunen 2005: 69). Although the voyage was a financial failure, in 1822, Absalom financed, organized, and captained the whaling ship *Industry* crewed entirely with Black mariners (Bulger 2013: 98, 128; Kaldenback-Montemayor 2006: 21-23; Karttunen 2005: 69; Philbrick 1994: Kindle Edition). After that venture, he opened a store and continued his real estate transactions (Kaldenback-Montemayor 2006: 17-48; Karttunen 2005: 69; Philbrick 1994: Kindle Edition).

Many businesses and industries were present in Nantucket by the 1832 (see Table 10.2). Since Newtown mirrored the White community, there were probably many shops and businesses that supported the community of color (Beaudry and Berkland 2007; Bulger 2013). Occupations for people of color in Nantucket were not tracked by the federal census until 1840. However, Isabel Kaldenback-Montemayor (2006: 32) listed a number of land-based occupations in the island's Black community from 1774 to 1840 that included weavers; ropemakers; blockmakers; boardinghouse keepers; shoemakers; leatherworkers; seamstresses; chimney sweepers; domestics; blacksmiths; traders; ministers; victuallers; barbers; and yeomen/laborers. Many of these occupations supported the shipping industry and were different from Pittsfield and Great Barrington.

Table 10.2: Nantucket Businesses and Industry in 1832

Business or Industry	Number
Shipyards	1
Boat shop	5
Oil factories	17
Candle factories	19
Barrel-making shops (cooperages)	22
Brass foundry	1
Tanneries	3
Blacksmith shops	10
Ropewalks	10
Spar shops	4
Bakeries	2
Banks	4
Rigging lofts	3
Sail lofts	4
Block factories	2
Candle-box factories	2
Run distillery	1
Grog shops	60
Insurance companies	No number given
Brickyards	No number given
Bookstores	No number given
Ship chandleries	No number given
Clothing stores	No number given
Clock shops	No number given
Jewelry shops	No number given
Ice cream stores	No number given
Food provisioners	No number given
Barbers	No number given
Bowling Alleys 1840s probably earlier	No number given but not less than two

Source: Philbrick 1994: Kindle Location 288, 306

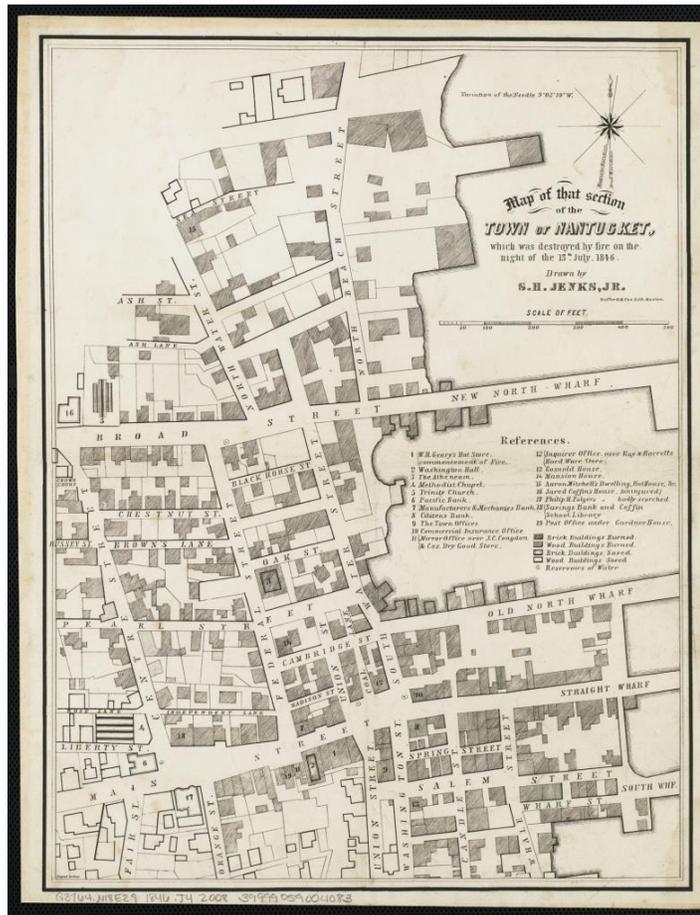
The Sixth Federal Census listed seven occupations: mining; agriculture; commerce; manufacturing and trades; navigation of the oceans; navigation of canals, lakes, and rivers; and learned professions and engineers. There were 297 (three listed as females with male names) people of color listed under navigation of the oceans, three under commerce, and two under manufacturing. Most males of color were mariners. However, advancement up the seaman ranks was limited. Byers (1987: 159) notes that

advancement in the whaling industry beyond the rating of oarsman was extremely hard for people of color to attain.

During this period, the majority of people of color living in White households were females, numbering 30 to only 9 males. The majority of the females, 25, were between the ages of 10 and 36. Although, at this point, occupations were not listed for all persons in a household, it would be safe to conclude the majority of women listed as the only person of color in a White household were domestics, and these women numbered 25.

By the late 1840s and into the 1850s, economic change was coming to Nantucket due to events within the country and also environmental changes. With the California Gold Rush starting in 1848, the population of the island decreased as many people went west to seek fortunes (Karttunen 2005: 90-91). More decline came with deteriorating infrastructure in the docks and warehouses district. Two devastating fires at whale-oil warehouses burned much of the business district and wharfs in 1838 and 1846 (see Figure 10.2 for a map illustrating destruction) (Karttunen 2005: 79). Environmental failures both natural and man-made facilitated the shifting of much of Nantucket's whaling fleet to the deep water port of New Bedford (Karttunen 2005: 79).

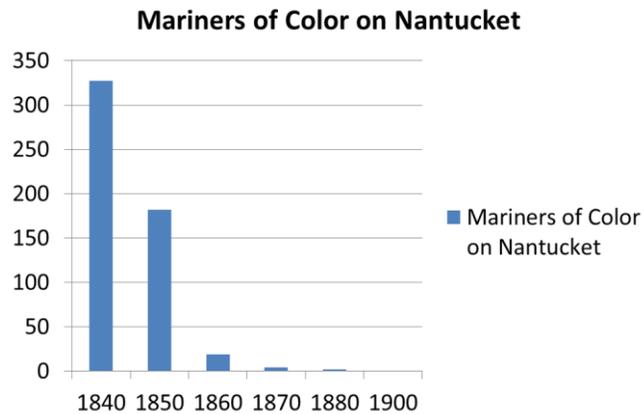
Figure 10.2: 1846 Map of the destruction of the Nantucket Business District



Shaded areas represent buildings destroyed by the fire.
 Source: Norman B. Leventhal Map Center at Boston Public Library

By the 1850 Federal Census, people were not grouped into broad occupational categories, but listed by their jobs. I grouped these individual occupations into Horton and Horton's three occupation groups for Boston with some modifications from W.E.B. Du Bois' groupings in *The Philadelphia Negro* (1973) concerning occupations not listed by the Hortons (see Appendix A and B and Table 10.3). In 1850, there were 15 occupations reported for Black males on the island. Using the grouping methodology, Nantucket had at least one person in each of the three categories: professional, skilled and entrepreneurs, and unskilled and semiskilled. However, the occupations combined in the

laborer group outnumbered all others (see Appendix C for full city and town occupation tables). Out of 212 males listed with occupations, 198 were in the laborer group with mariners, seamen, and coasting taking up the majority at 167, 15, and 2, respectively. Figure 10.3 provides the number of Nantucket’s mariners of color from 1840 to 1900. Figure 10.3: Nantucket’s Mariners of Color from 1840 to 1900.



Source: Sixth through Twelfth Federal Censuses

By 1860, the number of Black mariners on the island had decreased to only 19 (Eighth Federal Census). This was probably due to concomitant factors including the Negro Seaman Acts, a decrease in the Nantucket whaling and merchant industry, the industry’s relocation to New Bedford, and relocation among mariners to other places in the U.S. like California.

By 1860, the census data still shows the majority of the Black population was still relegated to the unskilled and semiskilled workforce. The next largest occupation was domestic servants with 13 females and 1 male performing that job. Sixteen out of 73 Black women were listed with occupations, which was only 21.9% of them listed in the workforce.

The 1860 Federal Census also revealed that the age of the workforce was both young and old for both sexes. The youngest working female was 12 and the oldest 60, both domestics, while the lowest working age male was 16 (mariner) and the oldest 64 (truckman). The number of workers age 18 and below were 8, 5 males and 3 females. The eligible workforce from ages 19 to 60 and above was 86, 51 females (59.3%) and 35 males (40.6%). However, only half of that workforce was listed as employed numbering only 43 or 2%. Fifteen people of that workforce were over 60, but only four were part of the workforce.

Most independent Black households had at least one person working. Of the 28 Black households, only two had no occupations listed. There were four servants/domestics and four mariners living in White households. Eleven Black households had at least one mariner, while five had two mariners (not counting mariners in White households). Four households had a mariner and at least one other person working, and one household had two mariners with one other worker. Six houses only had mariners listed as workers and four had two in the household.

During the American Civil War, the overall population decreased. This period also witnessed a transformation in the economy from one based on whaling, merchant trade, and coasting to agriculture and tourism (Karttunen 2005: 79). This was another devastating blow to the Black economy.

In 1870, there were 14 jobs listed on the census for African Americans (Ninth Federal Census). This was a decrease from the previous decade. This period also witnessed a loss in skilled occupations and a gain in others. For example, the dress maker, the carpenter assistant, and the cooks disappeared from the 1870 Federal Census.

Gains included a tailor and tailoresses. Additionally, the ever-decreasing mariner population plummeted from 19 to four (Ninth Federal Census). The largest occupations were housekeeping and domestic service, which were both dominated by women. Thirty-three of the 54 workers were women, which was 61.1% of the workforce. This was 62.2% of women working versus 80.7% of males. The youngest working female was 14 and the oldest 69, both domestics, while the youngest working age male was 20 (laborer) and the oldest 88 (tailor). This was also an older workforce. For instance, 11 women age 60 or older were still working: 5 listed as “keeps house,” 3 “servants,” 2 “washerwoman,” and 1 “stewardess.” Only two males 60 and over were working as a tailor and farming. All 22 Black households had at least one person working and many had more than one.

In the 1880 Federal Census, 48 African Americans had some type of occupation listed with the main job listed as “keeping house.” The designation “keeps house” or “keeping house” was used for a woman who cared for their own family and did not receive wages (Wright and Hunt 1900: 172). Women dominated men in numbers and in the workforce. There were 37 women with jobs and 11 men. Sixty people, 10 and older, were workforce eligible, so 80% of the eligible population worked. This is an indicator of a community still working hard to provide for themselves.

In 1900, there were 16 African Americans working: 10 females and 6 males. All jobs were domestic or laborer oriented, except for the barber, tailoress, and boarding housekeeper. The Irish controlled industrial jobs, which showed that not quite-White still afforded them more opportunities than a population that had been present on the landscape centuries earlier (Moss 2009).

The economic structure highlights the transference of the doxa from captive Africans to “freed” people of African descent and the intersection with education, social segregation, and political/legal structures. The pie charts below from Figures 10.4 to 10.14 are a compilation of data from the Seventh through Twelfth Federal Censuses and highlight the relegation of Nantucket’s Black males and females to unskilled and semiskilled occupations. Males in the professional field remained low, registering only 1% in 1850, 6% in 1870, and 9% in 1880. Percentages of males in unskilled and semiskilled labor remained fluid between 1850 and 1900, with percentages running from 93% in 1850, 80% in 1860, 71% in 1870 and 1910, 73% in 1880, and 83 in 1900. The low number in 1870 could be attributed to the 11% unknowns and percentages of professionals and skilled labor (6%) and entrepreneurs (17%). In 1910, 25% of males were in the skilled and entrepreneurial category. However, by 1910, we are dealing with very low numbers of males (9) in the workforce. Skilled labor and entrepreneurs was 6% in 1850 and then remained relatively the same at 17% in 1860, 1870, and 1900, and rose one percentage point in 1880. The female workforce was heavily type-casted. For instance, unskilled and semiskilled female labor was above 90% in 1860 and 1870. However, the percentages decreased to 84% in 1880, 70% in 1900, and 62% in 1910. The low number in 1870 can be attributed to the 10% unknown occupations. There were no female professionals until a nurse was recorded in a private home, bringing 1910 to 8%. However, some females made it into skilled and entrepreneurial occupations. The numbers started low and slowly rose throughout the century 8% in 1870, 16% in 1880, 20% in 1900, and 23% in 1910. The domestic service of women was most likely more stable employment than laborer jobs. This occupational landscape was a continuation of

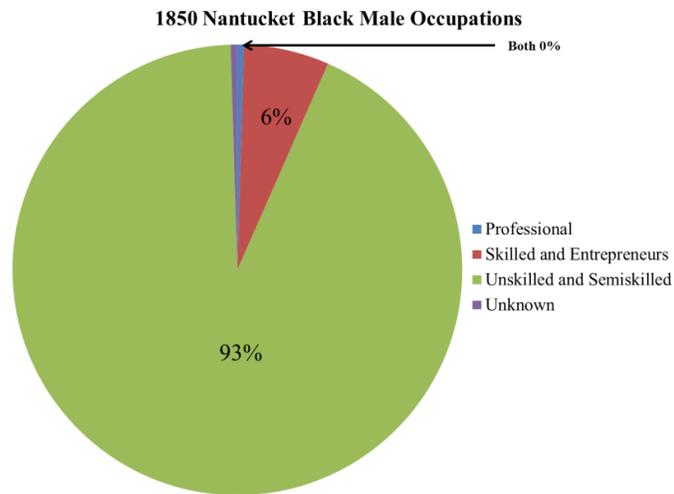
racialized structures originally created before the Revolutionary war and never eradicated.

Table 10.3: Nantucket African American Occupational Categories 1850 to 1910

Census Year	Professional	Skilled and Entrepreneurial	Unskilled and Semiskilled
	Female/Male	Female/Male	Female/Male
1850	0/1	0/13	0/197
1860	0/0	1/6	15/28
1870	0/1	3/3	33/12
1880	0/1	6/2	31/8
1900	0/0	2/1	7/5
1910	1/0	3/2	8/7

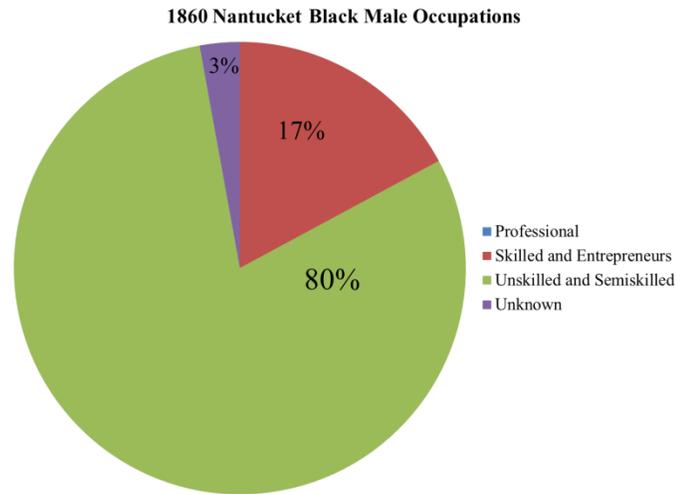
Source: Seventh through Thirteenth Federal Censuses

Figure 10.4: 1850 Nantucket Black Male Occupations



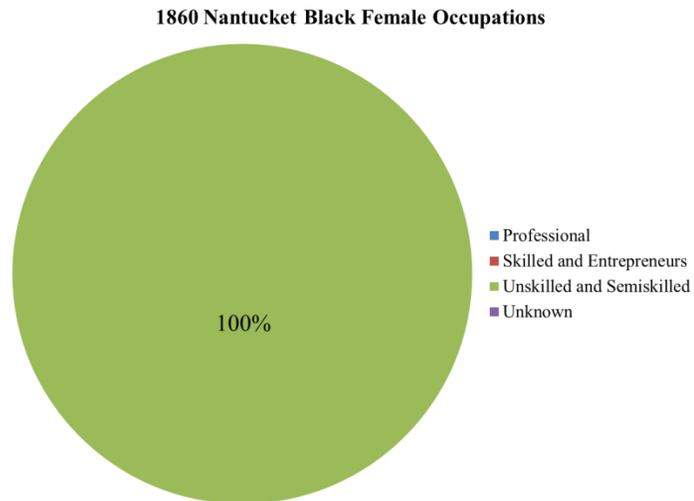
Source: Seventh Federal Census

Figure 10.5: 1860 Nantucket Black Male Occupations



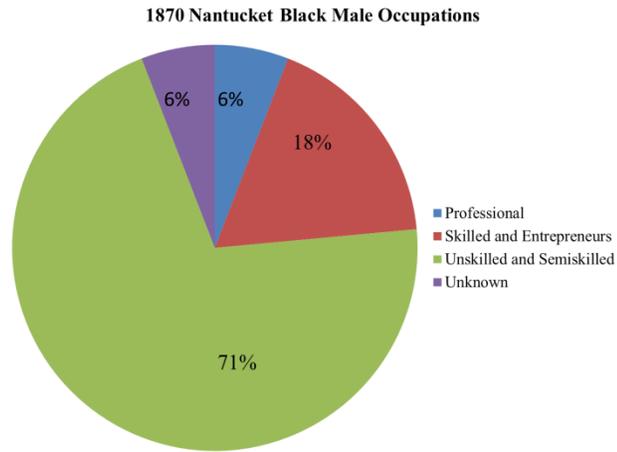
Source: Eighth Federal Census

Figure 10.6: 1860 Nantucket Black Female Occupations



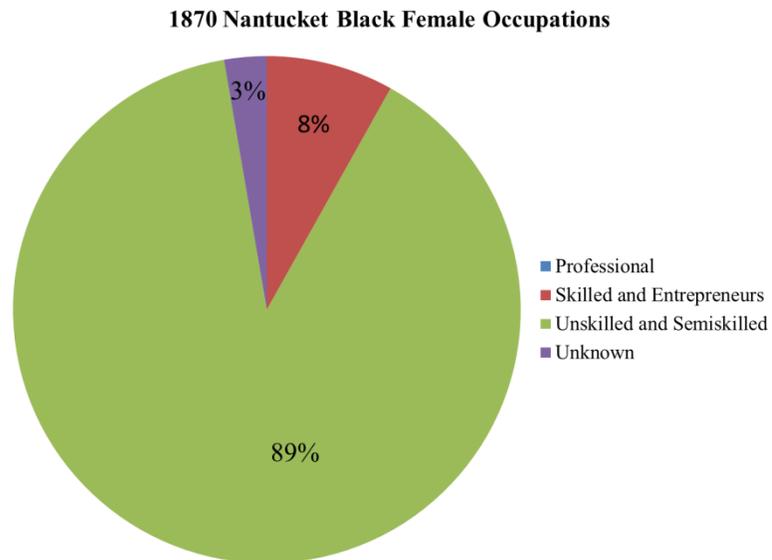
Source: Eighth Federal Census

Figure 10.7: 1870 Nantucket Black Male Occupations



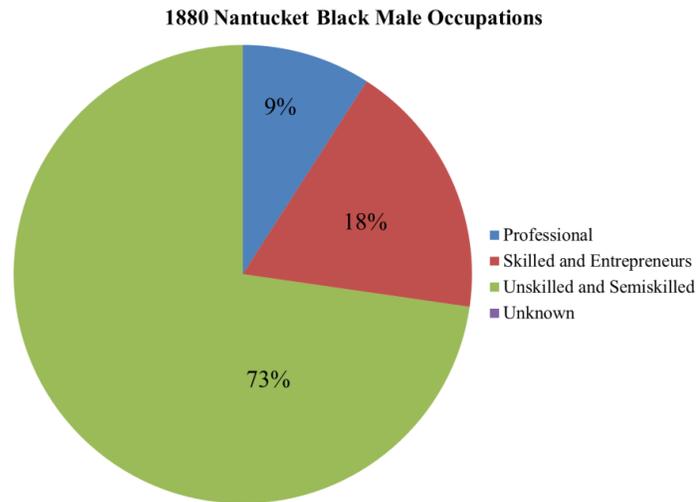
Source: Ninth Federal Census

Figure 10.8: 1870 Nantucket Black Female Occupations



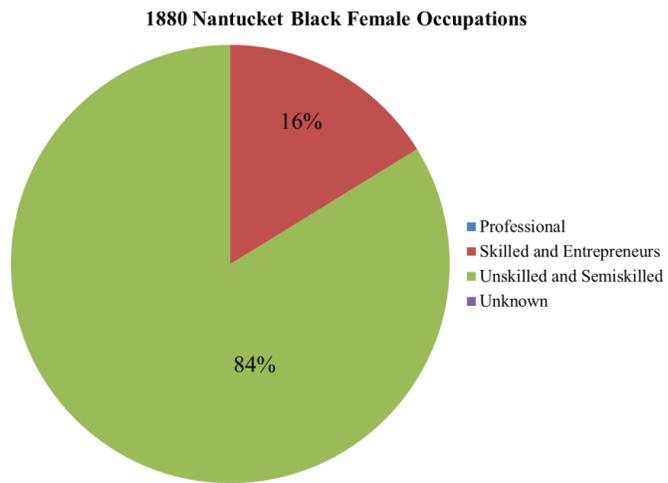
Source: Ninth Federal Census

Figure 10.9: 1880 Nantucket Black Male Occupations



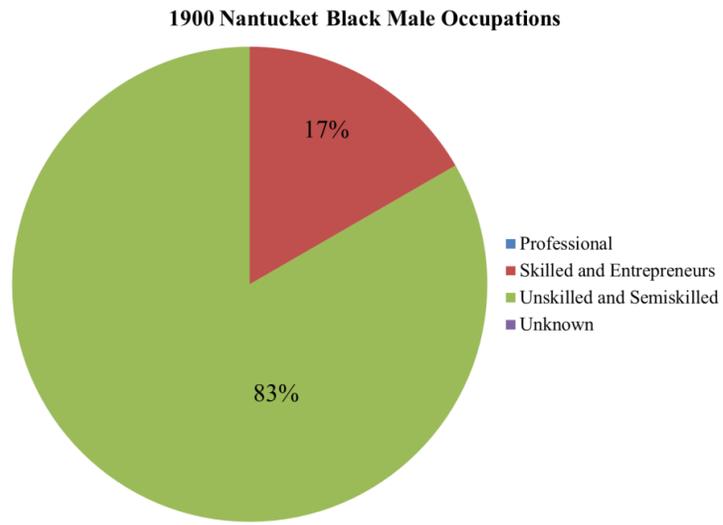
Source: Tenth Federal Census

Figure 10.10: 1880 Nantucket Black Female Occupations



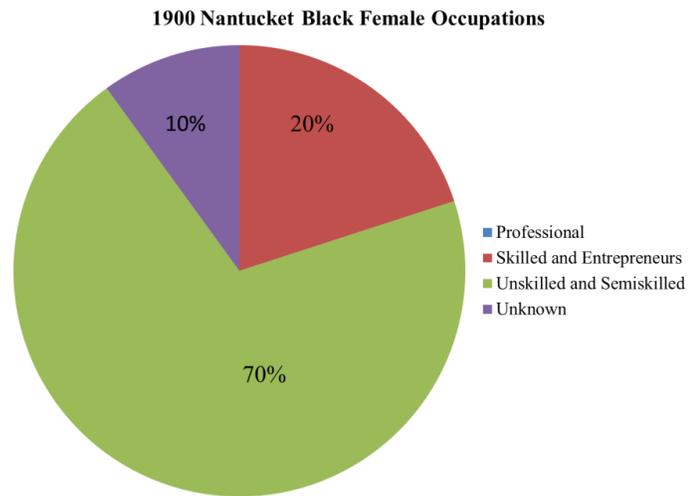
Source: Tenth Federal Census

Figure 10.11: 1900 Nantucket Black Male Occupations



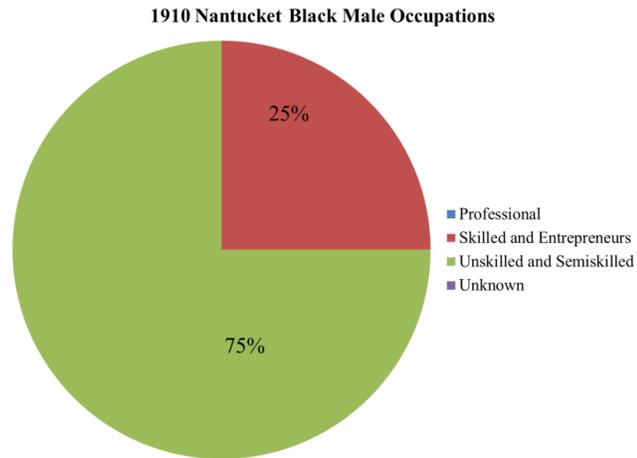
Source: Twelfth Federal Census

Figure 10.12: 1900 Nantucket Black Female Occupations



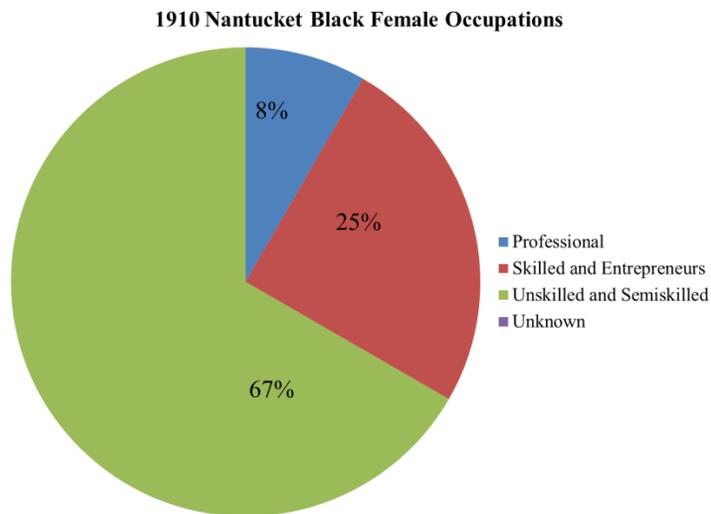
Source: Twelfth Federal Census

Figure 10.13: 1910 Nantucket Black Male Occupations



Source: Thirteenth Federal Census

Figure 10.14: 1910 Nantucket Black Female Occupations



Source: Thirteenth Federal Census

Racialization Structure

The landscape of Nantucket is also evidence of racialized space. People of color congregated in the southern portion of the town in what was known as Newtown and “New Guinea.” The segregated African School opened in 1825, after the island finally decided to comply with the 1789 state law requiring the establishment of public primary

and grammar schools. By the fourth decade of the 19th century, two Black churches were present on the island; the Baptist Society founded in 1831, and the African Methodist Episcopal Church established in 1835. People of color were resisting the dominant culture's laws when "Nantucket had also become a way station on the Underground Railroad, and some escaping Blacks simply settled in" (Byers 1987: 255).

As mentioned in Chapter III, the Federal Census's racial categories in the mid-19th century were limited to White, Black, or Mulatto. The 1850 Federal Census for Nantucket is a microcosm of how people not racialized as White were pigeon-holed into other categories. For instance, mariners from, the Azores, the Cape Verde Island, the Hawaiian Islands, the Society Islands, Portugal, India, Marquesas, and the Friendly Islands were classified as Black. Maybe some were actually of African descent like those from Canada, but many were actually not (see Table 10.4). Additionally, if the 1850 Federal Census can be used as a guide, many listed as people of color were probably not actually Black, but census enumerators had no other racial categories for other dark-skinned people than Black, conflating these very different populations.

Table 10.4: People Listed as Black or Mulatto Birth Locations in 1850

Birth Locations of people listed as Black or Mulatto	Numbers
United States (North)	269 - 185 (MA), 9 (CT), 49 (NY), NJ, 7 (RI), 17 (PA), 1 (NH), 1 (ME)
United States (South)	18 - VA, 4 (NC), 4 (SC), 7 (MD), 2 (D.C.), 1 (LA)
United States (Midwest)	3 - 2 (IN), 1 (OH)
Africa	2
West Indies	10 – 7 (West Indies), 2 (St Domingo), 1 (Western Is)
Cape Verde Islands	6
Hawaiian Islands	35 - 32 (Sandwich Is), 1 (Oahu), 1 (Mowee/ Maui), 1 (Oaghu – probably Oahu)
South Sea Islands	13 - 1 (Marquesas), 5 (Society Is), 7 (Friendly Is)
Portugal	7
India	2
Canada (Nova Scotia)	2
Yagall ?	2
England	1
Java	1
Unknown	12

Source: Seventh Federal Census

Spatial Structure

The census affords the opportunity to see the establishment of homeplace over a period of time. It also provides clues as to the clustering of people of color, which has been well-documented in the island. From 1790 to 1840, the Nantucket population of “freed” people of color fluctuated, however, the population drastically decreased from 1850 to 1910 (see Table 10.5). Nantucket represents a clear example of the racialization of space on Nantucket with people of color concentrated in Newtown / “New Guinea.” At the start of the 19th century, a large portion of the “freed” population, 76 (69%), lived in their own households (see Table 10.5). This would increase over the next 20 years, but as the population decreased over the last half of the 19th century, so would independent African American households. This increase was due in part to mariners. The large number of people of color living in independent households is a testament to their establishment of homeplace, perseverance, identity, and community.

In 1860, the Black population still lived in Newtown/New Guinea. However, it was not a homogeneous neighborhood because a few White families had infiltrated the landscape. The recording of seven dwellings as unoccupied underscores the declining Black population of New Guinea. This decrease was due to the loss of jobs in the whaling industry and merchant services, which caused migration from the island. Some of this job loss might have been due to the Negro Seaman Acts discussed in chapter three.

The 1870 Federal Census witnessed the continued decline of the African American population. The majority of the African Americans living under White roofs were 12 servants, 1 was in the Asylum and one in the house of corrections. By 1880, the remnants of the Black community were centered on York Street, New Street, Silver Street, Eagle Lane, Pine Street, and Pleasant Street.

By the 1900 Federal Census, the African American population was centered in District 1010 on Coon Street, New Street, York Street, West Dover Street, Pleasant Street, and Upper York Street. The five African Americans living in District 1009 were servants living in White households.

There were some discrepancies in the census. In the Sixth Federal Census, 576 people of color are tallied. However, the published aggregate count was 578. To further complicate matters, multiple counts using the manuscript census sheets gave me a total of 566 people of color. There were four mariners listed by name on the manuscript census sheets with all the other mariners, but they were listed without sex, race or ages. Additionally, a family of four was listed without sexes, ages or race. These eight individuals, if counted as “freed colored persons”, would bring the numbers to 574. In regards to people of color living in White households, seven lived in what might have been a type of boarding house that totaled 73 people. It is significant that with this population increase the number of independent households of color and people of color living in the White households did not really change. Figure 10.15 is a comparison of the White and African American population of Nantucket from 1850 to 1910.

Table 10.5: Black Population of Nantucket, Massachusetts 1790 to 1910

Year	Population	Total # of Black Households	Total # of Black People in Black Households	Total # of White Households with Blacks	Total # of Black People in White Households	Black Female Headed Households
1790	110	Unknown	76(69%)	25	34(36.3%)	Unknown
1800	228	51	185(81.1%)	32*	43(18.8%)	5/6
1810	301	64	232(77%)	59	69(22.9%)	5
1820	274	62	244(89%)	28	30(10.9%)	10
1830	277	49	239(85.9%)	30	39(14%)	6
1840	576	63	264(45.8%)+	31	41(7.1%)+	6
1850	394	58	210(53.2%)+	23	25(6.3%)+	14
1860	128	28	102(79.6%)	9	26(20.3%)	14

1870	80	22	57(72.1%)	15	22(27.8%)	10
1880	76	25	54(84.3%)	8	10(15.6%)	14
1890	40	No Data		No Data		No Data
1900	46/50	14	39	9	11	11
1910	35	8**	31(88.5%)	4	5(14.2%)	6

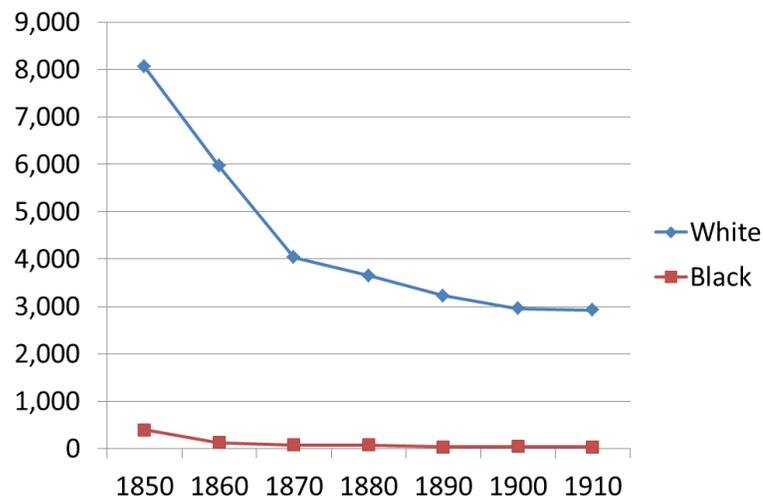
Source: First through Thirteenth Federal Censuses

*Could not gain accurate data, but it is no less than this number

**There is also one interracial household headed by a White male

+Mariners not in counts

Figure 10.15: White and Black Population of Nantucket, Massachusetts 1850 to 1910



Source: Seventh through Thirteenth Federal Censuses

Political/Legal Structures

The island landscape afforded the people of Nantucket the ability to chart a different course with the institution of slavery and education of children of African descent. Quakers held people in bondage. However, the people on the island made progress eliminating human bondage before the American Revolution. In 1773, Prince Boston won his freedom in a court case against his owner William Swain (Johnson 2006: 14.2n). William Swain stipulated that Boston family members would each be manumitted upon reaching the age 28 (Kaldenback-Montemayor 2006: 34.18n). Prince Boston would reach this age in 1778. However, in 1772, Swain rented out Prince Boston

for a whaling voyage aboard the *Friendship*, and at the end of the sailing Boston received his wages directly. It was not uncommon to rent out captive African labor for whaling voyages (Kaldenback-Montemayor 2006: 35-35.18n; Karttunen 2005: 67). In fact, there were court cases in 1790s where “former” owners were trying to recover wages from whaling voyages from their former captive Africans. John Swain, son of the late William Swain, sued Prince for the wages and lost (Karttunen 2005: 67). However, this did not end captivity for all Africans on the island, as is often believed (Johnson 2006: 14.2n; Karttunen 2005: 67). For instance, documents show that there were captive Africans on the island in 1774 and 1775 (Kaldenback-Montemayor 2006: 34.18n, 35.21n). Karttunen (2005: 67) notes it is best to use the state-wide abolition date of 1783.

The education system of Massachusetts was really designed for the White population, factors other than race played into Nantucket’s educational system (Moss 2009: 149). After a temporary start in 1818, Nantucket did not fully implement this obligation until 1827 because the majority of the population favored private schools and the state legislature strengthened the 1789 law in 1817 by enacting penalties on noncompliance (White 2009: 3, 5). In the first decades of the 19th century, the island government attempted to establish quasi-public schools. The schools always failed because of inadequate appropriation of funds and newly elected local governments reversing previous administration’s legislation (White 2009: 3-4).

According to Barbara Ann White (2009: 17-18), documentary evidence confirms a segregated African School being formed as early as the African Church was built in 1825. This was two years earlier than the town’s full implementation of public schooling. The town’s plan was for the African School to house a primary, grammar, and

high school (Moss 2009: 151). In 1840, Eunice Ross petitioned the town for admittance into the White high school (Moss 2009: 151). She was denied. This denial was the catalyst for the first school desegregation movement in Massachusetts and the boycott of the African School (Moss 2009; White 2009). These developments suggest why Black children only attended school to a certain age.

The 1850 Federal Census was the first to include data on school attendance for Black children (see Table 10.6). In 1850, 29 (33.7%) out of 86 eligible (5 to 18) Black school children attended school; 13 mariners of school-age had not attended school in the past year. The youngest Black child attending school was four and the oldest 15. There were 50 households with school-age Black children, 12 White households and 38 in Black households with only two households sending children to school in the former and 16 in the latter. By the 1860 Federal Census, eligibility numbers for Black school-age children had decreased along with the population to 37 with 27 or 72.9% attending from 12 Black households and those living in 4 White households. The total number of households with eligible Black children was 21, 17 of which were Black-headed and four White.

As the overall population declined in 1870, so did the number of eligible African American children. Eligible African American school children only numbered ten from seven households in 1870, 4 Black and 3 from White households (Ninth Federal Census). Out of these, seven children (70%) from only four households attended school, two from Black households, one interracial family, and one the son of a servant in a White household. In 1880, 4 (66.6%) out of 6 eligible children were attending school (Tenth

Federal Census). The other three were ages 4, 15, and 16, so the youngest might not have been ready for school and the teenagers might have already completed.

By 1900, the numbers grew slightly with 13 school-age African American children in six households, however, ten (76.9%) attended from the five independent Black households (Twelfth Federal Census). The 4 and 5-year-olds not attending had older siblings in school, so these two were probably not yet ready. Additionally, a 16-year-old was in the same household as the 5-year-old and two siblings younger than she were in school. It is apparent that she had schooling because she could read and write, but had gone as far as the social and economic structures would allow. However, she had no occupation listed. The 15-year-old not attending schools was a servant in a White household. She could also read and write. Finally, 1910 witnessed another decrease in African American school-age children to eight with six attending (Thirteenth Federal Census). From 1850 to 1900, those African American children eligible and attending fluctuated. Some of this was due to a large population decrease. However, another contributing factor would have been the necessity to work.

Table 10.6: Education Patterns in Nantucket from 1850 to 1910

Census Year	Eligible /Attending	Eligible /Attending	Eligible /Attending
		Female	Male
1850	87(Ages 5-15)/29 (33.3%)*	33/11(33.3%)	53/18(33.9%)
1860	38(Ages 5-18)/27 (71%)	19/16(84.2%)	18/11(61.1%)
1870	11(Ages 5-18)/4 (36.3%)	7/4(57.1%)	3/3(100%)
1880	7(Ages 5-18)/4 (57.1%)	3/1(33.3%)	3/3(100%)
1900	13(Ages 5-18)/6 (46.1%)	9/7 (77.7%)	4/3(75%)
1910	8(Ages 5-18)/ 6 (75%)**	3/2(66.6%)	5/4(80%)

*Four-year-olds were counted, if they were attending school.

** The two not attended were ages 16 and 18.

Source: Seventh through Twelfth Federal Census

Social Structures

Documentary evidence provides clues as to how people of African descent visualized themselves on the Nantucket landscape. Nantucket, being an island, was a perfect place for the creation of an identity of people of color that was a conglomeration of Africans, Native Americans, Black Yankees, Southern Blacks, South Sea Islanders, West Indians, Cape Verdeans, Azoreans, Portuguese, and many more. Beaudry and Berkland (2007) note that the identity of the area of town known as “New Guinea” was African. This identity was most likely retained because of the isolation of an island landscape and the dominant White population’s racialization of space, which allowed the Black community to become solidified in “New Guinea.” With a large population of people of African descent, many African methods and cultural practices were still performed. For instance, “An 1803 journal entry of a Nantucket farmer included a ‘method of dying blue in Africa’ revealing one ancillary trade of sheep raising, the treating of wool with indigo dyes” (Berkland 1999: 10; NHA, on file, PT 096, Journal 1: Figure 6).

Sex Ratios

The 1820 Federal Census manuscript sheets counted 274 “freed coloured persons.” Due to the way people of color were recorded in White households, it is impossible to discern sex and age. There were 244 “freed colored persons” living in their own households, which included a large sex disparity with 132 (54%) males and 112 (45.9%) females (see Table 10.7). Focusing on the critical mate acquiring and childbearing years in age groups “Of fourteen & under twenty-six” and “Of twenty-six & and under forty-five” reveals no large disparity with sexes almost even at 39 females and 37 males in the former category. This changed drastically in the latter age group as males

were double the number of females at 51 to 23. Even with this larger disparity in one of the critical age groups, the population continued to increase and by the next decade numbered 277 (Fifth Federal Census). In this decade, the U.S. Census numbers show a slight disparity at 145 females (52.3%) and 132 males (47.6%). Focusing on the critical mate acquiring and childbearing years 10 to 24 and 24 to 36 shows a similar pattern to the numbers in the 1820 Census. With 38 females and 41 males in the 10 to 24 age category, there were enough for mating pairs to perpetuate the Black population. However, there is no separate breakdown for the 10 to 24 age category, so it is unknown how many females were of childbearing age. The three extra males probably had the ability to procreate, if they were of age. There is a disparity in the 24 to 36 age group with 45 females to 33 males.

By 1840, the presence of the mariners had created a large disparity between the sexes of color. The 1840 Federal Census reported 429 (74.4%) males and 147 (25.5%) females. However, the 1850 Federal Census reported a decline in the Black population to 394, and a continued sex disparity between males and females with 274 to 120. Males were 69.5% and females 30.4% of the population. Again this large disparity among the sexes was due to the large population of mariners/seaman on the island. Limited economic opportunity and sex disparities would continue to reduce the population further. When separated into the four age categories of 0-18, 19-39, 40-59, and 60 plus, the disparity is not as pronounced in younger and older groups. However, it is very pronounced in the critical ages when people find mates and have children, typically between the ages of 19 and 39. In this grouping, males numbered 171 and females 39. The male/female ratios look better when the single mariners living together in numerous

dwellings are separated from Black households and those living in White households. There were 159 “Black” mariners between the ages of 15 and 52 listed in separate dwellings along with White mariners.

By 1860, the Black population of Nantucket witnessed a dramatic decrease to only 128 (Eighth Federal Census). With the loss of mariners due to decline of the whaling and other shipping industries on the island discussed earlier in this chapter, the population had more females than males at 73 or 57% and 55 or 42.9%. The females lead was retained in all age categories. Females were still the major workforce living outside the Black community, which was almost double that of males. The 1870 Federal Census revealed a further decline in the African American population to 79. Females had the advantage with 53 or 67% of the population, while males numbered 26 at 32.9%. Females led males in every age category. This disparity is really pronounced in the 19-39 category, where females are twice the number of males at 14 to 7. This is probably an indicator of males having the ability to get off the island. Two decades before the end of the 19th century, a massive decrease in the African American population created a large sex disparity with 47 females and 17 males for a total of 64 people (Tenth Federal Census). Females were 73.4% of the Black population and males 26.5%. Females dominated every age category except 0 to 18. The disparity was really prominent in the critical marrying and childbearing age group of 19 to 39, where there were 19 females and only one male. This would greatly impact the African American population by the turn of the twentieth century.

At the turn of the 20th century, the African American population was at its lowest number in over one hundred years. The 50 residents consisted of 37 (74%) females and

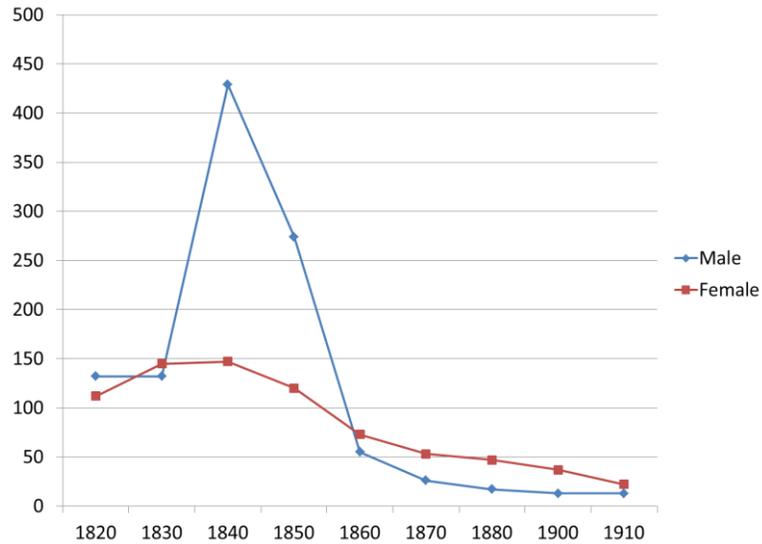
13 (26%) males (Twelfth Federal Census). These numbers represented the same large sex disparity that was present in the previous decades. In the critical mate acquiring and childbearing years 19 to 39, females doubled the male population 7 to 3 in the overall population. Figure 10.16 is a graph of Black female and male numbers and percentages in Nantucket from 1850 to 1910 that shows two periods of disparity in the sex numbers, one in which males greatly outnumber females in the second quarter of the 19th century and another where females outnumber males in the last quarter of the 19th century.

Table 10.7: Nantucket Numbers and Percentages for Total African Americans 1820 to 1910

Year	Female	Male
1820	112(45.9%)	132(54%)
1830	145(52.3%)	132(47.6%)
1840	147(25.5%)	429(74.4%)
1850	120(30.4%)	274(69.5%)
1860	73(57%)	55(42.9%)
1870	53(67%)	26(39.2%)
1880	47(73.4%)	17(26.5%)
1890	No Data	No Data
1900	37(74%)	13(26%)
1910	22(62.8%)	13(37.1%)

Source: Fourth through Thirteenth Federal Censuses

Figure 10.16: Nantucket Numbers for Male and Female African Americans 1820 to 1910



Source: Fourth through Thirteenth Federal Censuses

Military Service

The island's "neutrality" and sometimes aiding and abetting the enemy during the American Revolution might have also carried over to the Black population because only three served with American forces, two on board warships and the third in the army/militia (Grundset 2008: 99-150). The low number of Black males from Nantucket serving the American cause is telling when compared to other towns and cities discussed in this dissertation. Byers (1987: 329) notes that the population of people of color in Nantucket in 1774 numbered 133, however, some might have been Native Americans. This lack of service was probably due to a number of concomitant factors. First, the isolation of Nantucket would have limited the ability of people joining the army. Second, many Black males might have already been serving on merchant and whaling ships, which was more important to Nantuckers and would have reduced the available pool. Finally, British provisioning raids would most likely have impressed any able-bodied seaman of any color to serve on their ships. For instance, in New York City in 1757, the

British impressed 800 men in one night to man ships of the Royal Navy for the Louisbourg Campaign (Anderson 2000: 214). Another reason might have been owners who chose not to release their captive Africans to enlist.

Material Culture of the Seneca Boston-Florence Higginbotham House and the African Meeting House Nantucket

Excavations on the African Meeting House Nantucket (AMHN) were conducted in 1993 and 1996. I was granted access to the AMHN assemblage in November 2012 by Mary Beaudry, Chair of the Anthropology Department, Boston University (BU). At this time, the majority of the collection was stored at BU and three boxes at the City Lab in Boston. Teresa Bulger began excavations of the Seneca Boston-Florence Higginbotham House with a crew from University of Massachusetts, Boston in 2008. Twelve excavation units and seven shovel test pits were opened. Both sites are located in the segregated area of town that was known as Newtown and New Guinea. The excavation objectives were:

1. Attempt to determine if the Higginbotham House was relocated on the site while the c.1920-1930 foundation was poured.
2. Attempt to locate Seneca Boston's weaving shop at the northeast corner of the site prior to undertaking foundation and paving repairs at the garage.
3. Attempt to locate the foundation of the former east addition of the house prior to undertaking repairs of the concrete driveway paving.
4. Undertake salvage archaeology prior to building new foundation for the cottage and hen house.
5. Undertake salvage archaeology where site utilities are disturbed (Bulger 2013: 51-52).

Racialization

A reoccurring racialization on many of the sites in this study was the presence of White dolls. The AMHN displays a form of racialization with White porcelain doll parts that included a face, an eye, and arm. The White doll fragments in Black space compares to other landscapes in the state including the Du Bois Homesite and 68 Joy Street. This

appearance underscores the dominant culture's identity across that landscape. Again, there could have also been homemade Black dolls that were lost or damaged and discarded that might not have survived the acidic New England soil. Ceramic Black dolls such as the Frozen Charlottes and Charlies (also sold as "Glazed Nigger Babies" were available since the 1850s and would have left pieces like the White dolls in all respects except color (Coleman et al. 1986: 445-446; Gibbs and Gibbs 1989: 85-86; Perkins 1993: 10-11; Martin 2014b: 145-146, 2014a: 4; Schroeder and Cohen 1971: 92).

Daily Life

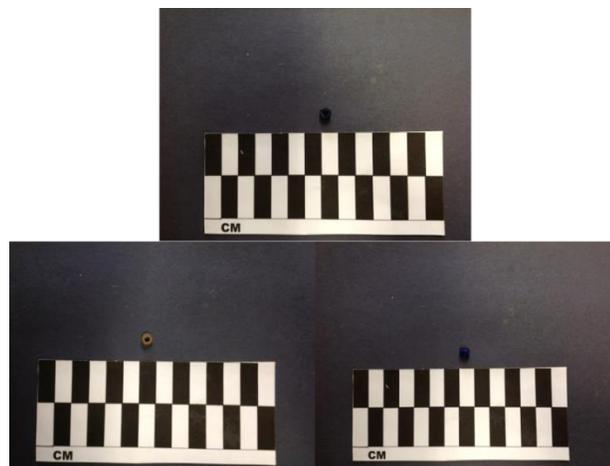
The artifact assemblages from the AMHN and the Boston-Higginbotham House provide clues of Black church life and daily life of a family. Material culture from the foodways general category was plentiful. Multiple types of ceramics are part of the assemblage: whitewares, redwares, Pearlwares, creamwares, cream-colored earthenwares, ironstones, porcelains, and stonewares. The majority were decorated small flat whiteware sherds, which are probably plates (Berkland 1999: 47). The second most common ceramic type was decorated pearlwares. Also included were utilitarian type crockery, large serving platters, sauce bottles, mason jars and lid liners, and eating utensils. Teawares were in evidence, including pearlware teacup fragments and a decorated lid to a bowl or a teacup (Berkland 1999: 47). The third most common was creamware, followed by lead-glazed redwares from utilitarian function vessels-crocks and bowls (Berkland 1999: 47). Berkland (1999: 48) posits that fragments of a terracotta flowerpot are an "indication of beautification practices."

The majority of the glass recovered was bottle glass. This included olive green blown wine bottles; however, these were "few in number in comparison to machine and mold-made bottles" (Berkland 1999: 48). Medicinal bottle fragments were also

recovered, as well as a perfume bottle. Enameled and acid-etched glass tumbler fragments were located to the rear of the structure and were found in post-American Revolution levels, but prior to African Meeting House construction (Berkland 1999: 48). According to Berkland (1999: 47), “documentary evidence also suggests that community suppers, picnics, fundraisers and other celebrations were occurring at Five Corners. The ceramics and glass artifacts certainly support this supposition.” The mason jars might be evidence of food preservation. The medicinal bottles might be evidence of home medical care.

Personal adornment artifacts recovered included a copper alloy snap, grommets, numerous copper alloy shank type buttons and three decorative beads, one of which was a hand-worked faceted glass cobalt blue (see Figure 10.17a, b, c), three body ornament pins, a metal/celluloid pin depicting a navy flag, a small white metal bar (possibly a watch fob), a copper alloy “safety-pin” with a clip, a celluloid hair-pin, and a clear machine-made glass perfume bottle (Berkland 1999: 46). Additionally, personal items from possibly clothing or jewelry included part of a pressed copper alloy pendant or medal depicting a man with a rifle (Berkland 1999: 46).

Figures 10.17a, 10.17b, 10.17c: AMHN Beads



Artifacts from the AMHN Collection at Boston University, Photo by author.

Clothing remains were limited. This part of the assemblage consisted of a “shoe lace, a piece of copper shoe hardware, a leather belt, a leather baby shoe sole (found in the fill level in the interior of the structure), a piece of wool, and a small fragment of oil cloth were found” (Berkland 1999: 46). See Figure 10.18 for the leather baby shoe sole. Sewing related artifacts dating to the 1800s were also recovered. These artifacts included “a tiny (1 cm square) hand-carved bone cap/finial, complete with screw threads (possibly a needle case over)... a pressed copper alloy thimble,” and four copper alloy straight pins (Berkland 1999: 46). Reverend Samuel Harrison (1899) noted in his autobiography that his church, the Second Congregational Church, had established a sewing school for young girls. Could the African Meeting House Nantucket have done something similar? The African Meeting House Boston assemblage also has sewing related items (Landon 2007).

Figure 10.18: AMHN Baby Shoe Sole



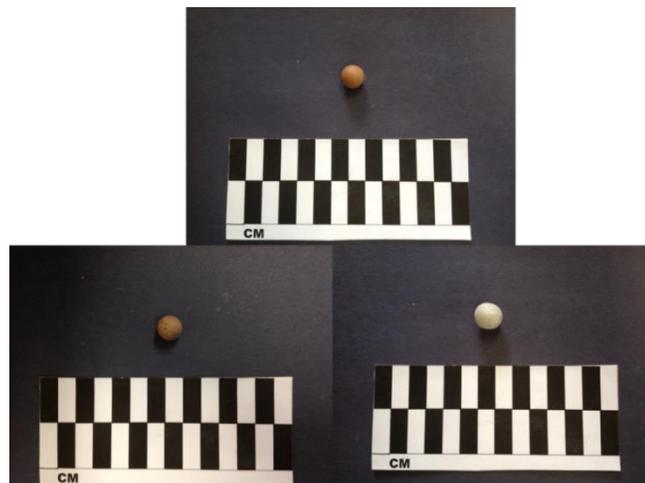
Artifact from the AMHN Collection at Boston University, Photo by author

Seeds and egg shell remains were also recovered and it appears that the faunal remains were sawn. Berkland (1999: 47) contends this practice would “suggest that food

was being brought to the site for consumption.” This would make sense because the meeting house does not contain a kitchen.

There was evidence of children and play in the artifact assemblage. These items included marbles (Figures 10.19a, b, c); a possible gaming piece; porcelain doll parts that included a face, an eye, and arm; a jackknife; two harmonica parts; a red wax crayon; two rubber balls; a tip from a personal size flag; and copper-alloy pen tip (Berkland 1999: 45). However, the marbles and possible gaming piece could have been used by adults as well.

Figures 10.19a, 10.19b, 10.19c: AMHN Marbles



Artifacts from the AMHN Collection at Boston University, Photo by author

The length of occupation in the Boston-Higginbotham home is similar to that of the Black Burghardts at the Du Bois homesite. According to Teresa Bulger (2013: 81, 84), the house was completely cleaned out in the 1920s and many whole ceramics were deposited in a trash pit and later recovered by archaeological excavations. Ceramics were 27% of the total assemblage and the minimum number of vessel count was 179. The majority were from the early 19th century, including 73 pearlwares, 45 low-fired whiteware, and 8 creamwares. These refined earthenwares date to the early 19th century

with creamware dating from 1762-1820, pearlware 1775-1830, and whiteware 1820-present (Bulger 2013: 81). Other mid-to-late 19th-century ceramics included ironstone, late whitewares, late English porcelains, hotelware/late porcelains, and Japanese porcelains. There were also 27 ceramic types found in 20th century deposits.

Bulger (2013: 83) notes that with multiple families occupying the homes in the early 19th century, there is no evidence of “multiple dining sets,” even with the addition of new pieces and various tastes. The motifs on the transfer-print diningwares are bucolic and romantic displaying images of nature, homes, and leisure activities (Bulger 2013: 8). The teawares accounted for “38.6 % of the ceramic vessel assemblage” and were “primarily hand-painted floral pieces with a variety of colors and ceramic pastes that could have been used as part of a ‘set’ with similar designs” (Bulger 2013: 82-83). Teawares consisted of mostly hollowware with tea cups dominating and 11 saucers (Bulger 2013: 82). Of these 28 hollowwares, Bulger notes 16 were hand-painted polychromes and 13 transfer-printed vessels (Bulger 2013: 82). No Gothic ironstone teawares were found in the assemblage, which Bulger contends were popular in the second half of the nineteenth century (Bulger 2013: 82). According to Diana Wall (2000), the Gothic ironstone teawares were a symbol of White middle-class women’s domesticity. As noted in an earlier chapter, Wall (2000) argues that working class and lower middle class Whites used tea for informal gatherings with friends and relatives, while upper middle class and elite Whites used them as rituals of social competition. This particular assemblage might be an indicator of informal gatherings and is similar to 44 Joy Street in Boston.

Diningware was the majority of the ceramic assemblage at 56% (Bulger 2013: 81). Sixty-five pieces were flatwares and 35 hollowwares with the dominant decorative pattern being shell-edged green and blue whitewares and pearlwares (Bulger 2013: 81). These patterns included one serving bowl and 28 flatwares (Bulger 2013: 81). Transfer-printing in various colors on low-fired whitewares and pearlwares were found on 18 vessels (Bulger 2013: 81). There were only eight vessels in ironstone and highly vitrified whitewares. Bulger (2013: 81) contends these vessels would have been acquired in the last half of the 19th century or early 20th century. English and Chinese porcelain “was almost non-existent” (Bulger 2013: 81). Boston-Higginbotham homesite ceramic functional patterns included 100 diningwares (flatware/ hollowware, 65/35), 39 teawares (flatwares, 11/ hollowwares, 28), 10 preparation vessels (industrial slipware bowls and milkpans), 16 storage vessels (primarily stoneware), 4 children’s dishes, 1 commemorative (plate), 5 utilitarian vessels, and 2 toiletry vessels. The glassware functional breakdown included 32 beverage (alcohol 26/soft drink 6), 22 indeterminate bottles, 17 medicinal, 4 utilitarian, 4 toiletry, 1 nursing, and 1 decorative (Bulger 2013: 87). Such a large number of diningwares might indicate multiple families adding to the assemblage over the long occupation of the house. Another possibility might be entertainment/socialization within the household and with the Black community.

Bulger (2013: 79) divided the small finds into 11 categories: personal adornment, clothing fasteners, writing, kitchen, furniture/architecture, games, children, hygiene, sewing, clothing fragment, and other small finds. The 232 pipe fragments were not cataloged as small finds, except one pipe bowl with a face.

The writing instruments included a pen quill, a slate pencil fragment, seven slate fragments, two pencil lead fragments, five 20th-century pencil tops and one 20th-century pencil cap (Bulger 2013: 95). Of the 123 personal adornment items, 88 were buttons (Bulger 2013: 79). The 88 buttons, the 47 clothing fasteners, and 4 sewing items are of interest because here, as in other sites, it is an indicator of sewing in the household (Bulger 2013: 79). One rubber WWI era, U.S. Navy button was recovered (Bulger 2013: 92). No seamstresses or tailors were listed in the house on the federal censuses. However, mending of clothes and possibly making them was happening inside the household, which was happening in households across the country and on ships.

Game and play items included five marbles (four clay one glass fragment), three circular gaming pieces, and one jack (ferrous) (Bulger 2013: 94). Bulger divided the children's items from the 19th century and 20th century by the occupants. The former consisted of a small toy English porcelain saucer (Bulger 2013: 94). Wilkie proposes that tea sets in the assemblages from the homesites of the Perryman family, in Mobile, Alabama, and New Jersey, were possibly attempts to teach middle-class values, which were prevalent in the Victorian era (Wilkie 2003). In her studies of a California family in the first few decades of the 20th century, Wilkie (2003) contends that the archaeological assemblages illuminate elements of childhood behavior and adult attempts to teach societal norms. There were also three artifacts recovered from 20th-century levels that included a dinosaur foot, a plastic item with a leaf, and an adolescent's plastic comb (Bulger 2013: 94). Bulger attributes these items to the Jones' occupation of the site and their grandchildren (Bulger 2013: 94). The children's dishes and the nursing item speak to young childrearing activities.

Transition

There are indicators of the transition from African to African American identity in the African Meeting House Nantucket and the Boston-Higginbotham House. Mary Beaudry and Ellen Berkland (2007), in their analysis of the African Meeting House Nantucket (AMHN), note that there is the presence of African culture on the meeting house landscape and in the artifacts. One of these artifacts is a glass fragment that has flaking similar to flintknapping with an “image of a periwigged male face with a factory vignette in the background” (Beaudry and Berkland 2007: 408). Beaudry and Berkland (2007: 408) contend that this is similar to glass-knapping tools Laurie Wilkie found on the Oakley Plantation (Wilkie 1996, 2000a: 153-155, 2003: 127).

Berkland notes that approximately three quarters of the AMHN building is original and might have been the work of African descent builders (Berkland 1999: 49; Clancey 1990).

The structure has a coved ceiling that is reminiscent of boat construction. It has been suggested that the coved ceiling construction resembles West African architecture, with this style being favored in order to keep the spirits moving within the structure and offering no corners in which to hide (Berkland 1999: 50).

Beaudry and Berkland (2007) contend that the yard of the AMHN was swept clean for possible functions. This practice has been found in the living space of people of African descent. As mentioned earlier, Whitney Battle-Baptiste (2007: 245) excavating around the kitchen quarters, fire pit, and cabins at Andrew Jackson’s Hermitage plantation posits that the yards were swept every day because the yard functioned as an extension of the living rooms where many social activities were performed. She termed this extension of socialization outside of the home as “yardscape.” (Battle 2004; Battle-Baptiste 2007: 245). Even with this yard sweeping, items were lost and later recovered

during archaeological excavations. Additionally, Beaudry and Berkland (2007: 406) posit that the walkway ramp's construction of "tamped earth" is similar to African construction techniques and its reuse of materials is a common African American practice.

Thirteen beads spanning different time periods were recovered from the Boston-Higginbotham House. These items included three light blue beads, four hand-drawn unfaceted, one colorless and three dark blue, two faceted (one dark blue and one colorless), one molded opaque (white), and three items that probably came from a larger artifact (Bulger 2013: 93). Beads can fall under daily life and transition because of their multivalent uses. These could have been used for personal adornment, pieces of clothing, or a charm of some spiritual nature. The one recovered cowrie shell might also fall into one of the three categories mentioned. It could also have been used as a gaming piece.

Consumerism

Bulger's analysis of the Boston-Higginbotham House assemblage from the 19th and 20th century was that the occupants of 27 York Street were participating in the consumer market of their times. She came to these conclusions by the "predominance of alcohol beverage bottles, a preference for local apothecary-made medicines, and purchasing on large-scale international and national brand beauty products in the 19th-century artifacts (Bulger 2013: 88-89). Table 10.8 is a listing of international or national brand products used at the Boston-Higginbotham Household. In the 20th century, Florence Higginbotham and her tenant Elizabeth Stevens were also part of the consumer market (Bulger 2013: 89). Evidence of this included the early 19th century glass assemblage, the "amethyst-tinted nursing bottle," and "Fletcher's Castoria bottle" for children's stomach ailments. The Boston-Higginbotham homesite assemblage displayed

participation in the consumer market and non-European cultural influences, which would make sense given the ethnic identities of the people living in the house for over a hundred years.

Table 10.8: International and National Brand Beauty Products from the Boston-Higginbotham House

Barry's Tricopherous for the Skin and Hair	1851+
J. Cristadoro Liquid Hair Dye No. 2	1850-1877
Everett & Barrons Shoe Dressing, Providence RI, USA	Late-19th century
French cosmetic facial soap	1840+
Vaseline	Early-20th century
London Mustard bottle (mold-blown)	Early-19th century
"Preserves" bottle (imported)	
Harris Flavoring Bottle	late-19th-early 20th century)
Hiram Wheaton Soda Water of New Bedford (amethyst-tinted)	1890s-1920s

Source: Bulger 2013: 88

Vaseline was a product that could be used for both medicinal and beauty purposes. The Boston-Higginbotham House, like the Du Bois site, might display an "established ethnomedical grammar" with the beauty products and medicine bottles (Wilkie 2000a: 233). One of the Vaseline products was also found at the Du Bois site. Another similar find was both sites had Japanese ceramics.

A late-19th-century to early 20th-century trash consisted of "about 30 tin cans, an 1876+ cast iron lamp stove, a machine-made milk glass basket-styled bowl, an enameled cooking pot," which Bulger attributes to possibly Elizabeth Stevens (Bulger 2013: 57). The tin cans are another indicator of the people in the household had national brand products.

Conclusion

Census data and the documentary record were used to illuminate the racialization of space in Nantucket, economically, racially, spatially, politically/legally, and socially in Massachusetts in the 19th and early 20th century. Additionally, artifacts were used to answer research questions centered on racialization, daily life, the transition of African to African American, and consumerism. This chapter discussed two archaeological sites, the African Meeting House Nantucket and Seneca Boston-Higginbotham House. These sites are located in what was the Black section of Nantucket called Newton/New Guinea. A reoccurring racialization at many of the sites in this study was the White dolls. The AMHN displays a form of racialization with White porcelain doll parts that included a face, an eye, and arm.

Artifacts that speak to the daily life at the AMHN and Boston-Higginbotham House include ceramics used for meal preparation and serving. At the house there were sewing items that are indicators of mending and making clothes. There is also evidence of child care and play (by children and possibly by adults). Boston/Higginbotham house Teawares were 38.6 % of the ceramic assemblage, but no Gothic ironstone teawares were found. This might be an indicator of informal gatherings with friends and relatives. These might have been gatherings also practiced at the Du Bois Site, the Lucy Foster site, and 44 Joy Street.

There are indicators of the transition from African to African American identity in the African Meeting House Nantucket and the Boston-Higginbotham House. The segregated landscape that was Nantucket probably helped with the creation and solidification of the African made in America. This is present in the architecture of the

AMHN. It is also found in the yard sweeping for church functions. The glass-flaking similar to flintknapping might also be part of the African diaspora experience.

Although there were elements of African culture on the Nantucket landscape, there was also the push to be recognized as Americans and gain access to all that entailed. This is evident in Nantucket being the site of the state's first struggle to integrate the school system. Another example was the change in name from the African School to the York Street School in the 1840s. As mentioned in Chapter IV, this was the drive of people of color. The households of Newtown and the African Meeting House reflect forms of resistance against the dominant culture's attempts to deny them full equality and citizenship in White space. This does not mean African Americans bought into the same meaning and consumed the products in the same way that the dominant culture did. This is another form of resistance. The Boston family is American and the assemblage is an American one, too.

The Boston-Higginbotham homesite assemblage displayed participation in the consumer market and non-European cultural influences. This long occupation time is strikingly similar to the Black Burghardts (Du Bois Boyhood Homesite) on South Egremont Road in Great Barrington. Evidence of participation in the consumer market included a large-scale international and national brand beauty products, alcohol bottles, and medicine bottles. In the 20th century, Florence Higginbotham's and her tenant Elizabeth Stevens' artifacts were also evidence of their participation in the consumer market (Bulger 2013: 89).

CHAPTER XI

DISCUSSION

Introduction

African American archaeology in the United States began in Massachusetts in 1943 with Lucy Foster's Homestead in Andover (Bullen and Bullen 1945; Baker 1978, 1980; Battle-Baptiste 2011). Since the 1970s, there has been a diversity of sites excavated in the state that illuminate the daily lives of African Americans from the 18th century to the early 20th century. The dissertation has studied the communities of Andover, Plymouth, Great Barrington, Pittsfield, Boston, and Nantucket, communities with significant archaeological studies of African American households and communities. These sites provide a window into how Black people navigated a landscape that initially denied them full citizenship and after emancipation often treated them in a paternalistic manner. Sites such as those studied in this work as well as others that fell outside of the period of study are a testament to the rich data on African American history that makes up the archaeological record.

Four questions framed this dissertation, which I addressed using census and other documentary data and artifacts recovered by the archaeology. They are:

1. What were the social, political, spatial, racial, and economic epochal structures used to racialize African American lives in the 19th and early 20th century and how did African Americans resist and navigate these structures?
2. What was the daily life of African Americans in Massachusetts like between 1800 and 1915, and especially African American women?
3. Is there any indication of a transition from African to African American identity?
4. Is there any evidence of participation in the consumer market?

To answer these questions, I compared the assemblages of two meeting houses (that had multiple functions), one school house, and ten homesites. The sites that exhibited racialization included 68 Joy Street, the Du Bois Site, and the Boston-Higginbotham Site. Two other sites, Parting Ways and the Smith School, might have also had small figurines that could have functioned as dolls, key artifacts in tracking racialization processes. Some artifacts of racialization included the above ground structures of the African Meeting Houses in Boston and Nantucket and the Abiel Smith School. All sites in this study illuminated aspects of daily life including teawares used for tea parties and sewing items that reveal making and mending clothes. It was also apparent that some sites retained some influences of the African created in United States. However, there was a clear African American identity present in the homesites, churches, and school. Additionally, these artifacts speak to advancement of a people, their push for full citizenship, and moral uplift. This is also evident with those homesites that were participating in the consumer market and resisting the dominant hegemonic culture.

Economic Structures

The beginnings of production inequality in the Americas started with the captivity of Native Americans, and then moved to the captivity of Africans and indentured servitude to do the work required by White elites. These same production inequalities were transferred to “freed” people of African descent with continued employment in menial labor and domestic jobs (see Appendix A and B for the list of occupations available to Blacks in the 19th century). Jobs in government and industry, including factory and mill work, were closed to the majority of Blacks (Pleck 1979; Lewis 1993; Cromwell 1994; Levinson 2006). In most jobs, Blacks were always faced with the “first fired and last hired” practice (Cromwell 1994: 233). It is important to note that people of

African descent wanted to start businesses, but acquiring capital proved to be a challenge, and even if an enterprise was established it was difficult to find customers in the White community. Without White patrons, most businesses could not hope to survive (Pleck 1979; Sweet 2003).

The three Horton and Horton (1999) occupational categories are not indicative of a difference in class distinction in Black society. These distinctions for the Black community were not just monetary, but had much to do with steady employment, like a railroad porter, and certain jobs were considered distinguished in the Black community. For instance, the Pullman porter, while unskilled and underpaid became the foundation of the Black middle class (Tye 2004). Also, jobs catering to the Black community, such as hairdressers, barbers, salons, and undertakers, were considered safe for steady employment (Mullins 1996: 62). From 1850 to 1900, the majority of African Americans were unskilled and semiskilled, which translated into mostly laborers and housekeeping.

The relegation of African Americans to unskilled and semiskilled occupations in the second half of the 19th century is an example of the transference of the doxa from captive Africans to “freed” people of African descent. In 1850, the Black male workforce of the majority of the cities and towns in this study was over 90% in unskilled and semiskilled occupations, except Pittsfield at 85% and Boston at 72% (Seventh Federal Census). Figures 11.1 to 11.9 are pie charts that illustrate unskilled and semiskilled percentages for African American males and females in Andover, Plymouth, Great Barrington, Pittsfield, and Nantucket from 1850 to 1900. The 1860 Federal Census was the first year of tracking females’ occupations. African American females were no different than the males and relegated to unskilled and semiskilled occupations with

Plymouth, Great Barrington, and Nantucket at 100% and Pittsfield at 87%. By 1900, the majority of the Black male population was still toiling in unskilled and semiskilled jobs with Andover at 91%, Plymouth at 94%, Great Barrington at 77%, Pittsfield at 82%, and Nantucket at 83% (Twelfth Federal Census). For Black females, it was the same with Andover at 97%, Plymouth and Nantucket at 100%, Great Barrington at 91%, and Pittsfield at 93% (Twelfth Federal Census). The majority of African Americans were laborers or domestic servants.

Between 1850 and 1900 some African Americans made it into the professional and skilled and entrepreneurial workforce. No African American males or females from Andover or Plymouth ever made it into the professional category. However, Black males in Great Barrington, Pittsfield, and Nantucket did make it into the professional category. Great Barrington in 1860 had 3% in that category, 4% in 1880, and 2% in 1900. Additionally, 2% of the African American female workforce was professional. Pittsfield fared better with Black males in the professional category at 2% in 1850 and 1860, decreasing to 1% in 1870 and 1880, and rising to 3% in 1900. African American females in this city only attained entry in the professional category in 1870 with 1%. Nantucket only had African American males in the professional category in 1870 and 1880 with 6% and 9%. African American females never moved into the professional ranks in Nantucket.

Movement into the skilled and entrepreneurial category decreased the percentages in the unskilled and semiskilled categories. However, no city or town was ever over 18%. For example, in 1850, Plymouth had 3%, Great Barrington had 6%, Pittsfield had 13%, and Nantucket had 6% (Seventh Federal Census). Plymouth never had any African

American females in this category. By 1870, African American females made it into this category in Pittsfield at 1% and Nantucket at 8% (Ninth Federal Census). The 1900 Federal Census reported African American males in the skilled and entrepreneurial category in Andover at 3%, Plymouth at 3%, Great Barrington at 19%, Pittsfield at 15%, and Nantucket at 17%. African American females in this category were 6% in Andover, 7% in Great Barrington, and 20% in Pittsfield.

The vast majority of people found work outside the household in unskilled and semiskilled jobs, most especially as laborers and domestics (see Appendix C). Men and women, though they might work in gender-differentiated jobs were overwhelmingly in this category. With the exception of Nantucket the other towns/cities were remarkably the same both in comparison to each other and over time. There is some evidence that Black men held professional and skilled and entrepreneurial positions moving into the 20th century, but the numbers were very small. Nantucket sees the most change over the years in numbers of people in various categories over the years, possibly because the whaling industry was so volatile in comparison to farming and then, later, service and tourism.

Tables 11.1a, 11.1b, and 11.1c are a listing of the number of African Americans in the Horton's (1999) three occupational categories with modification based on Du Bois' (1973) study of Philadelphia for Andover, Plymouth, Great Barrington, Pittsfield, and Nantucket. I did not conduct a census occupational study for Black Boston because Horton and Horton (1999) did one in and 1860. Additionally, Pleck (1979) used four categories to group occupations consisting of professions and businesses, sales and

clerical, skilled, and menial from 1870 to 1900. Horton and Horton’s (1999) table used in Chapter IX for 1850 and 1860 are reused here in Tables 11.2.

The Pleck table used in the Boston chapter is not reproduced here. However, converting her occupation categories to those used by Horton and Horton would mean her professions category mirrors Horton and Horton’s professionals, but her business sector jobs would fall into the skilled and entrepreneurial categories. Her sales and clerical category and skilled category would fall under skilled and entrepreneurial. Finally, Pleck’s menial category would be unskilled and semiskilled. Using this system, menial/unskilled and semiskilled labor was over 80% of the Boston African American workforce in 1870, 1880, and 1900 (Pleck 1979: 104). Figures 11.1 to 11.9 are pie charts that compare the five towns/cities in this study. This information is profound evidence of the retention of a trend noted by historians like the Hortons that emancipation did not significantly alter the labor market for African American men and women.

Table 11.1a: Number of people by Occupational Category year for Andover and Plymouth

Census Year	Andover			Plymouth		
	Professional	Skilled and Entrepreneurial	Unskilled and Semiskilled	Professional	Skilled and Entrepreneurial	Unskilled and Semiskilled
	F/M	F/M	F/M	F/M	F/M	F/M
1850	0/0	0/0	0/2	0/0	0/1	0/32
1860	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/0	0/1	11/31
1870	0/0	0/1	6/10	0/1	0/2	25/47
1880	0/0	0/0	7/11	0/0	0/4	25/46
1900	1/3	0/3	30/29	1/1	0/1	26/45

Source: Seventh through Twelfth Federal Censuses

Table 11.1b: Number of people by Occupational Category and year for Great Barrington and Pittsfield

Census Year	Great Barrington			Pittsfield		
	Professional	Skilled and Entrepreneurial	Unskilled and Semiskilled	Professional	Skilled and Entrepreneurial	Unskilled and Semiskilled
	F/M	F/M	F/M	F/M	F/M	F/M
1850	0/0	0/2	0/31	0/1	0/7	0/47
1860	0/1	0/3	42/34	0/1	6/8	38/52
1870	0/0	0/1	34/24	1/1	0/14	81/81
1880	0/1	0/2	22/25	0/1	4/16	98/77
1900	1/1	3/10	43/38	0/3	2/13	25/77

Source: Seventh through Twelfth Federal Censuses

Table 11.1c: Number of people by Occupational Category and year for Nantucket

Nantucket			
Census Year	Professional	Skilled and Entrepreneurial	Unskilled and Semiskilled
	F/M	F/M	F/M
1850	0/1	0/13	0/197
1860	0/0	1/6	15/28
1870	0/1	3/3	33/12
1880	0/1	6/2	31/8
1900	0/0	2/1	7/5

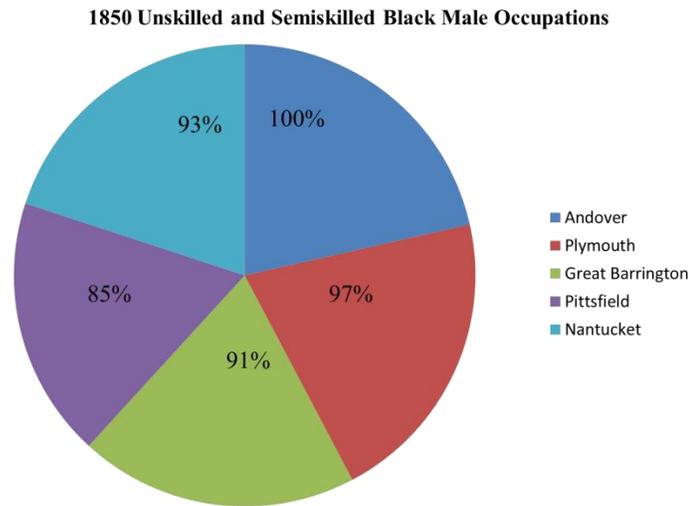
Source: Seventh through Twelfth Federal Censuses

Table 11.2: Boston African American Occupational Categories 1850 and 1860

Census Year	Professional	Skilled and Entrepreneurial	Unskilled and Semiskilled	Total
1850	7(1.3%)	146(26.7%)	394(72%)	547
1860	20(2.1%)	258(26.4%)	698(71.5%)	976

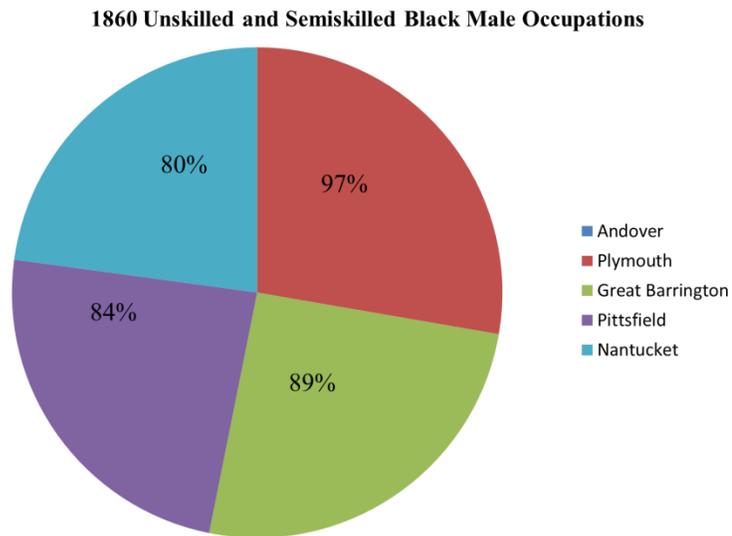
Source: Horton and Horton 1999: 9 Seventh and Eighth Federal Census

Figure 11.1: 1850 Unskilled and Semiskilled Black Male Occupations



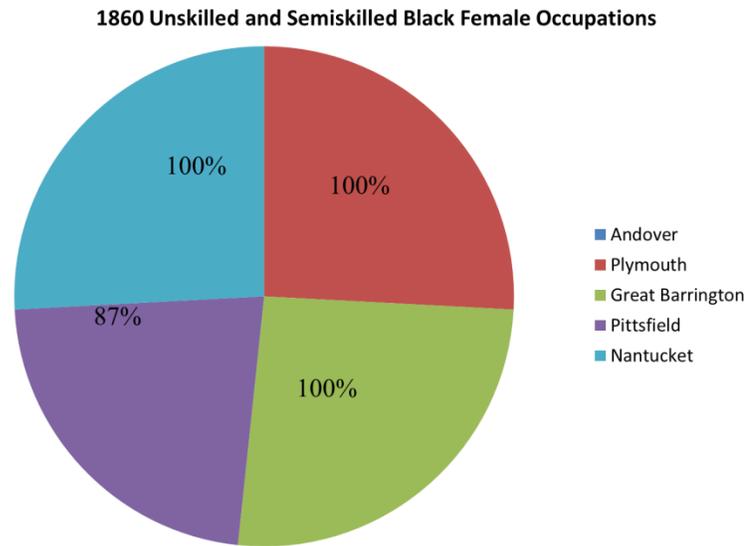
Source: Seventh Federal Census

Figure 11.2: 1860 Unskilled and Semiskilled Black Male Occupations



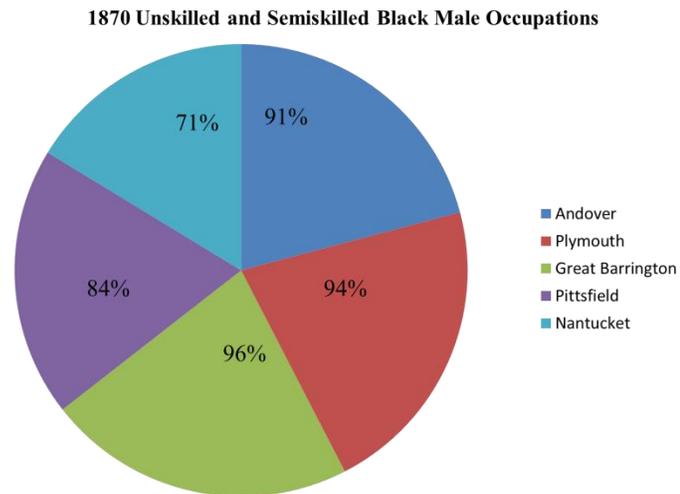
Source: Eighth Federal Census

Figure 11.3: 1860 Unskilled and Semiskilled Black Female Occupations



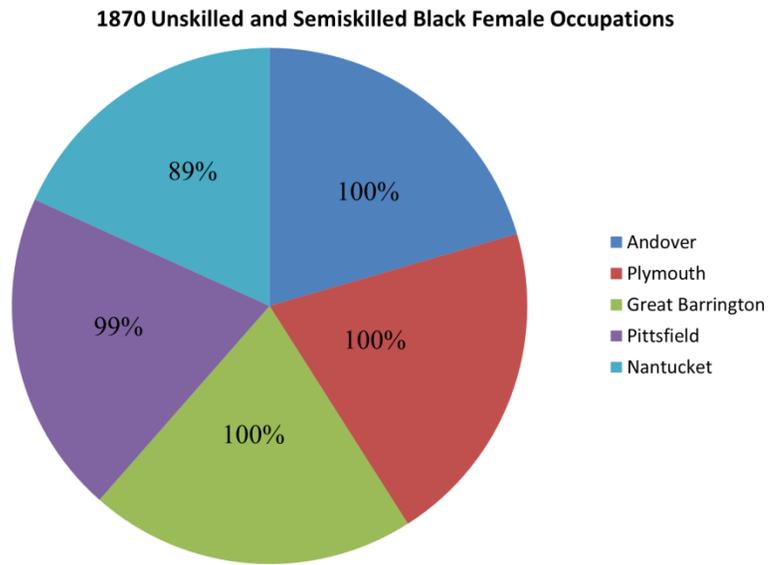
Source: Eighth Federal Census

Figure 11.4: 1870 Unskilled and Semiskilled Black Male Occupations



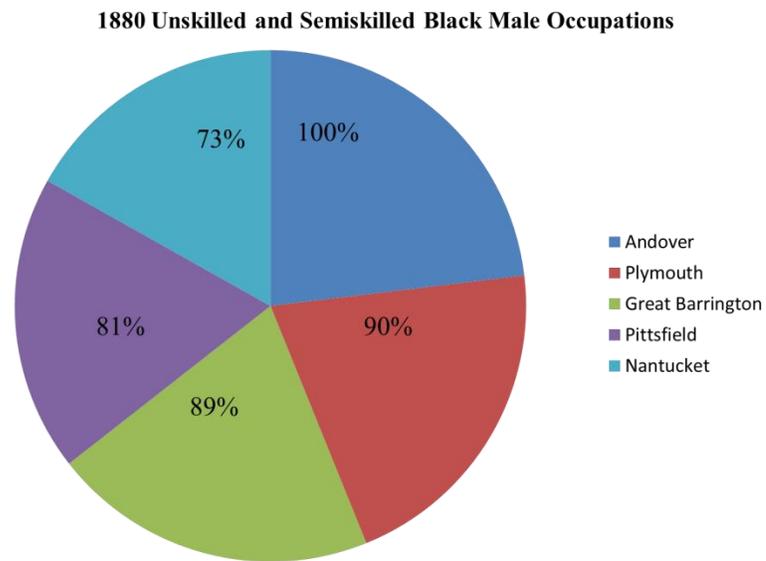
Source: Ninth Federal Census

Figure 11.5: 1870 Unskilled and Semiskilled Black Female Occupations



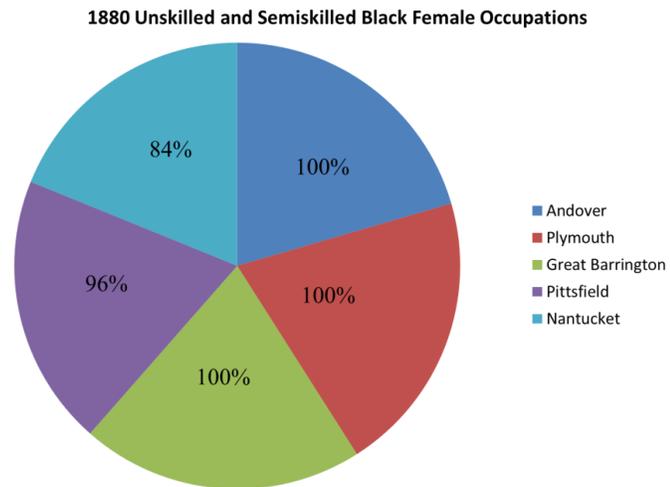
Source: Ninth Federal Census

Figure 11.6: 1880 Unskilled and Semiskilled Black Male Occupations



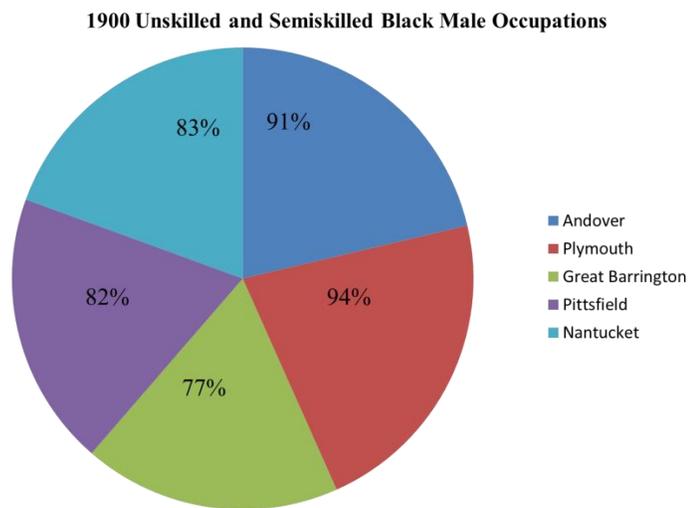
Source: Tenth Federal Census

Figure 11.7: 1880 Unskilled and Semiskilled Black Female Occupations



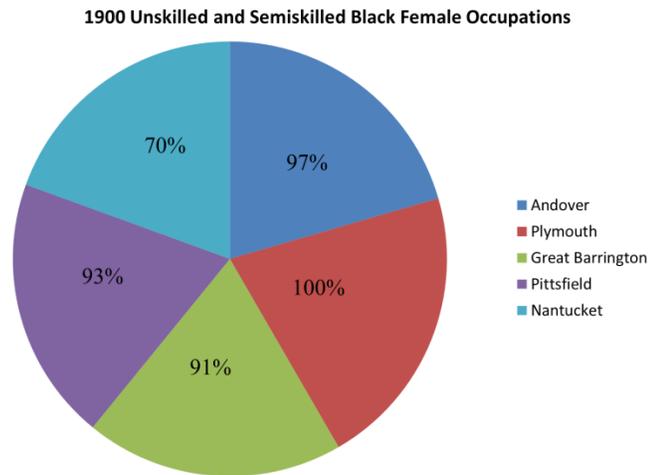
Source: Tenth Federal Census

Figure 11.8: 1900 Unskilled and Semiskilled Black Male Occupations



Source: Twelfth Federal Census

Figure 11.9: 1900 Unskilled and Semiskilled Black Female Occupations



Source: Twelfth Federal Census

Racialization Structures

The most prominent form of material culture that illustrates racialization structures in Massachusetts is the African Meeting Houses Boston and Nantucket and the Abiel Smith School. These structures were established as separate places of worship for Black congregations with the help of White patrons. These institutions were not just places of worship. They were the center of the African American community, source of and racial pride for the Black community and moral uplift for children, and venues for holding meetings that included literary, educational, musical, political, and mutual aid (African Society) organizations (Horton and Horton 1999: 28).

The United States Federal Census is another institution fostering racialization, one that provides clues into thought processes. For example, it nationalized racialization by categorizing people into races and ethnicities. And the fluid way in which people were categorized is evidence of the contingent nature of the racialization process. For instance, the Rev. Samuel Harrison family was Black in 1850, Mulatto in 1860 and 1870,

and Black again in 1880. W.E.B. Du Bois' uncle Othello and his wife Sarah witnessed a similar racialization when they were both classified as White on the 1850 census.

Additionally, the 1855 Massachusetts State Census enumerated Cato and Lydia Freeman's daughter Dorcas age, 55, as a Mulatto.

Spatial Structures

Census data confirms that sections of cities and towns were segregated by race and class. Depending on the town or city, the census data is not reliable until the 1830s or sometime later. The reason for this is some towns alphabetized the first few censuses manuscript work sheets or rolled up free people of color at the end of the census. By 1830, this appeared to change for all the places in this study and reasonable estimates of spatial clustering can be developed. Even more dependable reconstructions of residential segregation can be made from the 1850 census and beyond because the order the dwelling was visited and its census number was recorded; and over time the dwelling number itself is recorded. Additionally, some cities and towns recorded the street names in the margins of the census worksheets.

From this information and other studies it is clear that space in Massachusetts was racialized. Even before the 19th century, many of Boston's people of African descent lived around the wharfs and dockyards of the North End, often referred to as "New Guinea" (Levesque 1994: 32). As early as the 1760s, people of African descent were moving onto the pasture land on the north slope of Beacon Hill (ward 6) in the West End of Boston before it became prized real estate (see Grover and De Silva 2009, Horton and Horton 1999, Levesque 1994, Rosebrock 1978). Nantucket's population of color was concentrated in the southern portion of the town known as Newtown/New Guinea.

The first decades of the 19th century witnessed more clustering of people of African descent, especially in Boston and Nantucket. There were smaller clusters of people of color in Plymouth, Great Barrington, Pittsfield, and Andover. Plymouth's first Black community was Parting Ways. By 1810, a small two house cluster outside Parting Ways was present. The 1820 Great Barrington and Pittsfield Federal Censuses were not alphabetized and each recorded three small clusters of people of color (Fourth Federal Census). In 1830, Pittsfield continued to have small concentrations of people of color next to each other (Fifth Federal Census). In Andover, there were three separate households of the Freeman family living next to each other, followed by two White households, and then the Lew family.

By 1850, clustering of Black populations in Boston continued. However, an important change occurred during the second half of the 19th century as the Black population living in smaller towns declined. Additionally, in 1850 Plymouth there were four clusters. The largest cluster of Black/Mulatto households numbering 42 people in 9 dwellings was east of Herring Pond, but disappeared from the census by 1860. Another cluster of 13 people was west of Herring Pond (Seventh Federal Census). By 1880, there was still one cluster of African Americans living in a group of five houses numbering 13 people. At the turn of the century, Plymouth, now divided into four census districts, held no real clusters of African Americans. All districts reported African Americans. However, there were areas of the city that had all White neighborhoods, which infers segregation.

By 1850, no Black neighborhoods existed in Great Barrington or Pittsfield. Rosseter Street in Great Barrington was considered the Black neighborhood, but it was

always a mixed neighborhood (Levinson 2006: 190-191; Muller 2001). People lived where they could afford and no groupings existed larger than four families living next to each other. However, this ensured wealthy Whites their own living space in town. In 1880, African Americans were dispersed amongst five districts in Great Barrington.

Pittsfield had three clusters of Blacks ranging from 13 to 25 people from 1850 to 1870. In 1900, all wards in Pittsfield had African Americans living in them, but only four out of the five districts had Blacks living in them (district 0067 in ward 2 had no Blacks living there).

By 1860, Nantucket's "New Guinea" was not a homogeneous neighborhood because a few White families had infiltrated the landscape. In 1880, the remnants of the African American population were centered on York Street, New Street, Silver Street, Eagle Lane, Pine Street, and Pleasant Street (Tenth Federal Census). By the 1900 Federal Census, the African American population had dwindled to 50 people centered in District 1010 on Coon Street, New Street, York Street, West Dover Street, Pleasant Street, and Upper York Street. The five African Americans living in district 1009 were servants living in White households.

Another significant spatial pattern involves the establishment of homeplace by African Americans in Andover, Plymouth, Great Barrington, Pittsfield, Boston, and Nantucket. These independent households were a form of resistance against the dominant culture. The establishment of homeplace fluctuated in some places, but for the most part increased throughout the 19th century. Table 11.3 is a listing of the African American population living in independent Black Households and Blacks living in White Households from all cities and towns in this study from 1790 to 1900, except Boston.

This table also reveals a low number of Black women heading households in all the towns and cities surveyed in this dissertation. Many were widows. These independent Black households led by a male and female are a testament to family.

Table 11.4 is a listing of the African American Population from 1790 to 1900. This table illuminates a steady rise in the African American population throughout the 19th century in most places in this study, but an increase rate of growth between 1850 and 1870. Andover's Black population steadily decreased down to zero in the first half of the 19th century, but they regained their hold and by 1900 had returned to a population of 99. Nantucket was the only place to steadily grow in population until 1850 and then plummeted dramatically.

Much of this population growth was due to migration. In the last half of the 19th century, Black people migrated to Andover, Boston, and Plymouth from Canada and the American South. In fact, throughout the 19th century, Boston received Black migrants from all over the state along with those from Canada and the American South (Levesque 1994: 65). According to Levesque (1994: 65), migrations from Canada were most likely the return of Black people who had fled the city in the 1850s. This might explain the influx of people from Canada in Andover and Plymouth. Southern African Americans also migrated to Great Barrington and Pittsfield.

Table 11.3: Black Households and Blacks living in White Households

Year	Black Households	White Household with Blacks	Black Women Headed Households
	A/PI/GB/Pi/N	A/PI/GB/Pi/N	A/PI/GB/Pi/N
1790	14/3/5/4/unk	28/26/12/12/25	1/0/0/0/unk
1800	16(17)*/ND /9/14/51	16/ND/7/20/32^^	3/ND/0/1/5(6)
1810	13/8/8/17/64	14/11/9/26/59	1/3/0(1**)/0/5
1820	ND/8/12/24/62	ND/5^/21/27/28	ND/2/0/3/10

1830	9/7/9/26/49	10/5/22/41/30	4/0/0/1/6
1840	5/3/20/39/63	2/7/18/35/31	2/1/2*/5/6
1850	3/23/21/53/58	3+/3/21/28/23	1/4/5/7/14
1860	0/25/25/49/28	0/9/25/32/9	0/5/4/6/14
1870	5/29/22/63/22	8++/6/10/26/15	0/6/3/18/10
1880	4/28/26/65/25	6/9/11/37/8	1/11/5/19/14
1890	No Data	No Data	No Data
1900	20/34/25/57/14	22/19/32/22/9	2/12/9/12/11

Source: First through Twelfth Federal Censuses

A =Andover, Pl=Plymouth, GB=Great Barrington, Pi=Pittsfield, N=Nantucket

ND= No Data

*There might be 17 Black-led households.

**

+1 in the almshouse

++Not included in this count were three hotel workers living at their place of employment and one student at Phillips Academy.

^ No exact count can be obtained because many of the manuscript sheets are damaged.

^^Could not gain accurate data, but it is no less than this number.

Table 11.4: African American Population 1790 to 1900

Year	Andover	Plymouth	Great Barrington	Pittsfield	Boston	Nantucket
1790	94	54	46	45	752	110
1800	83	55	57	80	1,174	228
1810	83	34	43	128	1,484	301
1820	61	46	82	147	1,740	274
1830	54	43	75	167	1,875	277
1840	23	26	111(119*)	198	2,427	576
1850	13	110	123(125*)	285	1,999	394
1860	0	86	149	263	2,261	128
1870	17	119	93	311	3,496	80
1880	14	131	123	329	5,873	76
1890	52	87	125	266	8,125	40
1900	99	146	138	277	11,591	50

*The published Federal census numbers are 111 and 123. However, my counts of manuscript sheets found discrepancies as noted in Chapter VI of 119 and 125.

Source: First through Twelfth Federal Census

Political/Legal Structures

The political-legal structure consists of the legal apparatus established at the federal, state, and local level to racially separate marginalized people from the dominant society. Emancipation in the North transformed the habitus of the region, although

Blacks were still not considered equal to Whites. Laurie (2005: 95) posits that paternalists in Massachusetts agreed that “freed” Blacks had the right to literally some space; however, they could not decide on the amount. Black males in Massachusetts attained the right to vote in 1780, but political office appointments and elected officials were rare. Those elected were usually only from heavily Black districts and at the national and state level political power was minimal (Cromwell 1994: 231). The paternalism that was practiced in New England was found with Lucy Foster (Chapter V) in the form of living on unwanted land she did not own and receiving a dole from her church and the town of Andover. The inhabitants of Parting Ways (Chapter VI) experienced this paternalism by the town providing them with land to live on. Reverend Samuel Harrison (Chapter VIII) experienced this in his early life in the form of education and the establishment of the church he ministered in Pittsfield. Despite this significant change in the doxa of the political/legal structures, it was not enough to override the continuing of the enslavement doxa that relegated African descent people to the lowest paying jobs.

Education

Education was the foundation of the nation’s creation and maintenance of its habitus and doxa. It assisted in both the perpetuation of racialized social, political, and economic structures. Throughout this dissertation, I have discussed the establishment of homeplace as a form of resistance. The high level of school attendance was another form of resistance against the dominant doxa. The job opportunities were probably linked to a doxa that relegated captive Africans and then “freed” Africans to service jobs. The focus here is on education’s intersection with the racialized economic structure, which shows

limited schooling was needed because occupations would remain in the unskilled and semiskilled labor force.

Substandard schools did not deter Black families from seeking an education for their children. For many African Americans, education was an important component of advancement, full citizenship, and moral uplift. From 1850 to 1900, most towns/cities in this study increased African American school attendance (see Table 11.5). For example, in 1850, African American school attendance in Plymouth, Pittsfield, and Nantucket was below 50% (Seventh through Twelfth Federal Census). Great Barrington had the highest with 83.3%. However, Great Barrington African American student enrollment had decreased to 66.6% in 1860, 37% in 1880, and 36.8% in 1900. Plymouth went from a low of 40.9% in 1860 to a high of 70.4% in 1900. Pittsfield was different; the numbers started at 36% in 1850 and rose above 50% for every census year after. Andover, with its declining pre-Civil War Black population had no school attendees in 1850 and 1860. However, those numbers rose above 50% in the following decades. Even though it rose above 50%, the number of children was very low. Nantucket's numbers fluctuated from 1850 to 1900. In 1850, when Nantucket had the highest number of school-age children (87), it had the lowest attendance rate of 33.3% with its highest at 71% in 1860. Nantucket was similar to Great Barrington and Andover with dwindling numbers of eligible African American children.

Census data from 1850 to 1900 (to 1920 for Great Barrington and 1910 for Nantucket) analyzed by the sex reveals insightful patterns in school attendance for African American children. School attendance with African American females was above 50% in Boston, Great Barrington, and Plymouth. This was not the case for males who

were only above 50% in Great Barrington. African American female school attendance in Plymouth would remain above 50% throughout the 19th century and reaching its peak of 76.9% in 1900. Black males in Plymouth had an attendance rate below 30% in 1850 and 1860; however, attendance rose above 50% in 1870, 1880, and 1890. Black female and male school attendance were over 50% from 1850 to 1870 and in 1910 and 1920. Pittsfield African American school attendance was higher with males than females. Females were below 50% in 1850 and 1880, whereas males were above 50% from 1860 to 1900. Nantucket's population was steadily decreasing throughout the second half of the 19th century. African American female school attendance was below 50% in 1850 and 1880. In contrast, Black males were well above 50% from 1860 to 1910. It should be noted that Nantucket's eligible male and female children was very small (Seventh through Fourteenth Federal Census).

Black children were not attending high school for various reasons. One reason might have been the need to work to bring money into the household. From 1850 to 1900, the census data reveals a trend that school-age Black children living in White households tended to not attend school in the previous year, but those not attending school could read and write. Horton (1999: 13) notes that the education was rudimentary and many could only write their names and read broadsides. Pittsfield established its first public high school in 1846, whereas Great Barrington's was not until 1868 (Drew 1999: 323; Levinson 2006: 167). Although this potentially provided children in Pittsfield with over 20 years more of opportunities for secondary education, the 1880 census data reveals that the Pittsfield African American community was not attending in large numbers. For instance, 13 children from 11 African American households had younger

siblings in school, but the older ages of 16 to 18 were not attending. Six of these children were in the workforce toiling at domestic and laborer occupations. Finishing high school was not just a problem for African Americans. According to George F. Willison (1957: 277), by 1900, four out of five elementary children in Pittsfield dropped out of school before completing the eighth grade. A city that was progressing into the modern industrial age could not hope to survive with those statistics (Willison 1957: 277).

Table 11.5: Number of Eligible and Attending African American School-age Children

Census Year	Andover	Plymouth	Great Barrington	Pittsfield	Nantucket
	Eligible /Attending	Eligible /Attending	Eligible /Attending	Eligible /Attending	Eligible /Attending
1850	2(Ages 5-14) /0 (0%)	35(Ages 5-18) /17(48.5%)*	30(Ages 5-14) /25 (83.3%)*	100(Ages 5-18) /36 (36%)*	87(Ages 5-15) /29(33.3%)*
1860	0	22(Ages 5-18) /9(40.9%)	36(Ages 5-14) /24 (66.6%) **	99(Ages 5-18) /74 (74.7%)*	38(Ages 5-18) /27(71%)
1870	8(Ages 5-18) /4(50%)	35(Ages 5-18) /25(71.4%)	22(Ages 5-18) /14 (63.6%)	93(Ages 5-18) /64 (68.8%)*	11 (Ages 5-18) /4(36.3%)
1880	7(Ages 5-18) /5(71.4%)	41(Ages 5-18) /26(56.5%)*	27(Ages 5-18) /10 (37%)	99(Ages 5-18) /58 (58.5%)*	7 (Ages 5-18) /4(57.1%)
1900	12(Ages 5-18) /9(75%)*	44(Ages 5-18) /32(70.4%)	19(Ages 5-18) /7 (36.8%)	77(Ages 5-18) /46 (59.7%)	10(Ages 5-18) /6(60%)

*Four-year-olds were counted, if they were attending school.

**A 16-year-old in religious school was included in the eligible and attending counts.

Source: Seventh through Twelfth Federal Census

Social Structures

Sex Ratios

Sex ratios are an important indicator of the propagation of the species. Michael Gomez's (1998: 27) argument is useful when thinking about courtship and finding mates, noting "if black folk could get from one farm to the next on a regular basis and within a reasonable amount of time, they could and did re-create a distinctive culture, their propinquity to whites notwithstanding." So people in a particular place, especially those

of the majority sex might have traveled outside the community to find a mate. This practice might have been constrained before emancipation. Movement was easier after emancipation. However, people of African descent still had to deal with movement restrictions to other towns, warning out laws, and surveillance by the town officials.

Andover had a large disparity early in the 19th century and this might have been one of the factors that led to the Black population dropping to zero by 1860. If Poore's 1863 mention of a young Black boy in the care of a White family is accurate, then there could have been some Black people not counted. From 1820 to 1850, Black females outnumbered Black males (Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Federal Censuses). In critical age groups, the numbers fluctuated from 1820 to 1840. By the 1850 Federal Census, there were no females or males in the critical 19-39 age group. After the Civil War, the Black population began to return to Andover. Males had slight leads in the critical 19 to 39 age groups in 1870 and 1880. By 1900, there were 45 females and 45 males with the former leading males 34 to 30 in the critical 19-39 age group (Twelfth Federal Census). As mentioned in Chapter V, some of this decline was due to more deaths than births. However, the Freeman family in Andover is an example of movement outside of the community to find mates, when Cato and Lydia's daughter Mahala married Zimri Lew from Dracut, Massachusetts. But females did not always have the ability to leave. Mahala's sister Dorcas lived with Cato and Lydia until their deaths in 1853 and 1854. After that, Dorcas had very few options. In the 1855 Massachusetts State Census, Dorcas was 55 years old and the live-in-servant of an elderly White woman. By 1860, Dorcas, age 64, was still a servant for an elderly White woman (Eighth Federal Census).

Except for 1830 and 1860, there was sex parity within the Black population of Plymouth. In Great Barrington sex ratios were even or relatively so for people of color from 1820 until 1860. However, in 1870, 1880, and 1900 there was a large disparity where women outnumbered men in those respective years. In Pittsfield, the sexes were relatively even, except in 1860 and 1900. Sex ratios from 1850 to 1900 in the critical 19-39 age demographic for mate acquisition and childbearing was relatively even in 1850 and 1900. However, from 1860 to 1880, there was a marked sexual disparity with women outnumbering men.

Due to the presence and then absence of mariners in Nantucket, a marked sex disparity persisted throughout much of the 19th century. For example, a sex disparity existed with males leading in the overall population in 1820, 1840, and 1850. In the critical mate gathering and childbearing years, there was a correlation with males leading in the overall population and in the separate age groups. For instance, in 1820, the sexes were almost even in the "Of fourteen & under twenty-six" age group, but males were almost double females in 26 under 45. By 1840, the presence of the mariners had created a large disparity between the sexes of color. In 1850, males in the 19-39 age group doubled the number of females at 274 to 120. The only time the two sexes were close was in 1830 (Fifth Federal Census). In the 10 to 24 age group males led and in the 24 to 36 age group females led. With the loss of the whaling and merchant fleets, came the loss in mariners of color. This had a dramatic effect on the sex ratios with people of color from 1860 to 1900. Females outnumbered males from 1860 to 1900. The disparity was also present in the critical 19-39 age category for all those census years.

In many of these towns where males were the majority, as in Nantucket, they eventually left, leaving the women behind. Also, we cannot assume that everyone was looking for a spouse. However, sex demographics underscore that in some instances not everyone could find a spouse in their town, regardless of their aspirations, nor is it a status everyone aspires to.

The Material Culture of the Eleven Sites

Racialization

The majority of the material assemblages in this study displayed evidence of racialization. The most prevalent of such artifacts across three sites and possible two others were White doll parts. Two White porcelain doll heads were recovered at the Peter Faneuil School site on Beacon Hill that date around 1820; the Du Bois site had pink flesh doll parts, and parts of a porcelain White doll from the African Meeting House Nantucket (Berkland 1999: 45; Beaudry and Berkland 2007: 406; Clayton et al. 1993: 23-24; Paynter et al. 2008). Two diminutive White ceramic figurines, one from the Smith School and one from Parting Ways, might possibly have functioned as dolls. The possibility exists that there could have also been homemade Black dolls that were lost or damaged and discarded that might not have survived the acidic New England soil.

Paynter et al. (2005: 7) argue that the market may have constrained the parents' choice of a doll for their daughters at the Du Bois site. Do the White dolls speak to the lack of availability of mass-marketed positive image Black dolls and the dominance of Whiteness? By 1909, positive image mass-marketed Black dolls were in production as an alternative to racialized Black dolls currently available (Perkins 1993: 24; 1995: 35-36; Martin 2014; Mitchell 2004: 182-184). This speaks to the availability of dolls that

look like the little girls who play with them. It also speaks to the racialization of White children as well because we often ignore the fact that Whites are racialized as well.

Du Bois (1968: 63) noted that his family contained “farmers, barbers, waiters, cooks, housemaids and laborers.” The heavy ironstone plates and cups recovered from the Du Bois Site might be an indicator of waiters in hotels and restaurants. Paul Mullins (1996, 1999a, 1999b) found hotelware in the assemblages of some African American homes in Annapolis, where the residents worked as domestics in the city hotels or at the U.S. Naval Academy. He suggests that the hotelwares might have been given as gifts by hotel/academy management or the workers pilfered the items as supplemental pay for their meager wages. It is likely that similar practices were undertaken at the Du Bois site, though we have not yet been able to be more specific about people or places.

Daily Life with a Focus on Women

For many African Americans, homeplace was also workplace, especially for women. Daily life at these homesites probably reflects the women of the household more than the men. For example, the ceramic and food product acquisition and usage was probably the domain of those listed as a “house wife” or “keeping house.” These titles came with a number of roles and a plethora of material culture. Women would have had a significant say in the procurement and use of the ceramics and glasswares for preparation, service, and storage. Thus, women are visible in all of these assemblages.

Hutchins contends that 58 vessels (38%) from the Parting Ways assemblage fit Miller’s (1984) pattern of rural households rarely having matching identical sets (Hutchins 2013: 263). Creamware was the most common ceramic in the assemblage. The minimum number of ceramic tableware vessel counts at the Lucy Foster site was 81 items, which included 43 serving bowls, 37 flatware vessels, and one pitcher (Baker

1978: 112). Most of these ceramics have floral motifs. Baker calculated 38% of the ceramics were teawares, which were unmatching (Baker 1978). Four types of drinking glasses were also recovered along with knives, five table and one kitchen; eight two-tined forks; pewter spoons; two teaspoons; three large spoons; and two large bowls (Bullen and Bullen 1945: 24).

During the 2000 excavation at the Cato Freeman site, 1,540 ceramic sherds were recovered. The majority of these sherds were “domestically produced redwares,” which comprised about 57% of the assemblage (Rotenstein et al. 2000: 6-10). Rotenstein et al. (2000: 6-11) concluded that the abundance of redware might have been the reason for the mean ceramic date of 1779, which was outside of Cato Freeman’s occupation from about 1820 to 1849. The analysts also suggest that the high percentage of redware had a “pragmatic and utilitarian orientation” focused on function rather than aesthetics. Creamware and whiteware were the next highest percentages at 18% and 15% (Rotenstein et al 2000: 6-11). Pearlware, untyped earthenware, semi-graniteware, ironstone, domestic stoneware, yellowware, porcelain, English white salt-glazed stoneware, graniteware, Rockingham/Bennington, buff tin glaze, and unidentifiable ceramics were also recovered, but in much smaller quantities (Rotenstein et al. 2000: 6-11). The extreme fragmentation of the ceramics hampered reconstruction efforts, and so investigators could not obtain a minimum number of vessels count. However, two teacups were counted by handle fragments, a stoneware jug or bottle from rim fragments, “a pearlware plate/saucer and two whiteware plates/saucers, a porcelain plate, and at least two redware vessels, possibly a platter and jar, through the identification of rim fragments”(Rotenstein et al. 2000: 6-11). Additionally, a “perforated pearlware plate”

and “a white salt glazed stoneware tobacco jar were also tentatively identified” (Rotenstein et al. 2000: 6-11). No definite forms for food preparation or storage vessels were identified, though the profusion of redware sherds holds out the possibility that there were ceramics used for food storage or production.

The Rev. Harrison site had an American majolica plate (see Figure 8.24), “a polychrome whiteware candy dish,” a Rockingham pitcher, a vase portraying a vine and grape motif, and gilt porcelain and annular gilt whitewares (Manning-Sterling 2012: 42). Manning-Sterling (2012: 42) notes “The gilt decorated porcelain most likely represents the family’s finer wares that were probably used for guests, special occasions, and Sunday dinners.” As mentioned in Chapter VIII, the ceramics are probably more a reflection of Ellen Rhodes’s aesthetic sensibilities. This was similar to the Cato Freeman household. The assemblage also had food preparation items, as well, as the ceramics and glass material to serve and hold the food and beverages while being consumed.

In the African Meeting House Boston (AMHB) 1975-1985 assemblage, ceramics were 84% of the assemblage with the majority being plates (Bower 1986: 126). Beth Ann Bower (1986) concluded that these church ceramics would have been used for functions and some might have been used by the caterer Domingo Williams, who also lived in the basement apartment. However, Landon and Bulger (2013: 132) disagree and argue the 1975-1985 ceramics assemblage belonged to Domingo Williams and were used in his catering business. He lived in the AMHB basement apartment from 1819 to 1830 (Landon and Bulger 2013: 132).

The second AMHB excavations in 2005 focused on the backlot, west alley, and the 44 Joy Street privy. The AMHB backlot ceramic assemblage consisted of

creamware, mostly plates; pearlware bowls, plates, and teawares; whiteware teawares and plates; and dark and light blue transfer prints and one shell-edged blue plate (Felix 2007: 86). There were multifunctional creamware forms and functions with the plates being the most abundant. According to Felix (2007: 86), the more decorated handpainted and transfer prints were probably used at public functions, while the less decorative ceramics were used for community functions to prevent breakage of the more decorative ceramics. Very few of the ceramics date to post-1840 (Felix 2007: 87; Landon and Bulger 2013: 132).

The majority of the 44 Joy Street ceramics were table and teawares with tablewares consisting mainly of bowls and plates. The creamware was plain, turned, molded, or pressed and were predominantly storage and preparation vessels. There were also creamware wash basins. Descoteaux (2011: 71) posits that these basins might have been used for food preparation and serving as well as wash basins. The redware vessels – jugs, jars, pans, and pots were for food serving, preparation, and storage. Forty-four Joy Street had more preparation and storage pieces, whereas the backlot had more serving vessels and tablewares and less preparation, serving, and storage vessels (Landon and Bulger 2013: 132).

The AMHN had multiple types of ceramics: whitewares, redwares, pearlwares, creamwares, cream-colored earthenwares, ironstones, porcelains, and stonewares. The majority were decorated small flat whiteware sherds, which are probably plates (Berkland 1999: 47). The second most numerous ceramic type was decorated pearlwares. Teawares were in evidence including pearlware teacup fragments and a decorated lid to a bowl or a teacup (Berkland 1999: 47). The AMHN assemblage included utilitarian type

crockery, large serving platters, sauce bottles, and eating utensils. The third numerous was creamware followed by lead-glazed redwares from utilitarian function vessels-crocks and bowls (Berkland 1999: 47). The ceramic assemblages for Lucy Foster, the Turners, Woosters, Harrisons, Boston-Higginbothams, and African Meeting Houses were similar in style and function.

Teawares were present at the Lucy Foster site, Cato Freeman site, 44 Joy Street, 68 Joy Street, AMHN, the Freeman site, the Turner property at Parting Ways, the Du Bois site, the Harrison site, AMHB, and the Boston-Higginbotham House site. Pleck (1979: 96) notes that “Massachusetts-born blacks take afternoon tea,” where bonbons were also offered. Pleck (1979: 96) also notes African Americans served “evening guests cake, sandwiches, Boston cream pie, sherbet, and ice cream.” This would mean the people who lived at the sites in this study were probably participants in the “Cult of Domesticity” in some form or another, regardless of whether they lived in a large city or rural town. This might be an indicator that Black working class and lower middle-class women in Massachusetts were similar to the White women. Wall (2000) found working class and lower middle-class women using tea for informal gatherings with friends and relatives, while upper middle-class and elite Whites used them as rituals of social competition. Additionally, this facilitates an image of Black women and men in Andover, Plymouth, Great Barrington, Pittsfield, Boston, and Nantucket gathering together for afternoon tea. The ceramic forms and functions at most of these locations allows further expansion of that imagery to dinner parties.

The transfer prints of all of the sites in this study had floral, fruit, and bird patterns. The Boston-Higginbotham House had bucolic and romantic motifs displaying

images of nature, homes, and leisure activities (Bulger 2013: 8). Motifs of castles (England), Classical, and Asian themes were few at most sites in the study.

Glassware was abundant on all of the sites in this study. The Du Bois homesite, Reverend Samuel Harrison Homestead, AMHN all contained mason jars that were probably retained for storage of prepared foods (Berkland 1999: 47; Paynter et al 1994, 2008). The Turner property at Parting Ways, the Du Bois homesite, the Reverend Harrison Homestead, the AMHB backlot, and the AMHN had prescription medicines and proprietary medicine bottles, which might be evidence of home medical care. Dujnic (2007) suggests prescription and proprietary medicine bottles meant more access to apothecary shops, access to Black and White physicians, and access to public aid services. Great Barrington is an example of this with the first hospital not opening until 1917, although the town did have doctors (Drew 1999; Levinson 2006). Dujnic (2007: 103) contends prescription medicine bottles, vials, and ointment pots, along with links to botanical home remedies, speaks, to the respectability, uplift, and moral standing advocated by the leaders of the Black community. No liquor bottles were found at the Rev. Harrison homestead and Hartgen attributes this to the Reverend's temperance.

Paynter et al. (1994) stress that some patent medicines were caught up in the racialization process. After analyzing the patent medicine bottles from the Du Bois site they note:

But we must resist the easy step to assuming that we already understand all that the presence of these medicines means. Here we must pause and ask questions intended to help us past the limits of our discipline's current understandings. Did Mrs. Wooster, as wife and mother, purchase the patent medicines? How did she respond to the PE-RU-NA, Ayer's Sarsaparilla and Warner's Safe Diabetes Cure advertising, that featured idealized white women? Did these images evoke for her the double-consciousness that Du Bois speaks of in his writings, 'this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity' (Du Bois 1969: 45)? Did Mrs. Wooster receive the message that she was invisible or an unacceptable caricature; did she resist this essentialization? (Paynter et al. 1994: 38-39)

Sewing is an activity found on a number of sites, evidence that this was a common practice in Black, as well as White households. Buttons of various types were found throughout all of the sites in this survey. The Du Bois Homesite had an abundance of buttons, sewing items, bobby pins, and an egg-shaped darning fragment (used for repairing socks or to induce egg-laying in chickens). The Lucy Foster Site yielded 55 buttons, three round headed pins, small scissors, and thimble. Dressmaking was in evidence at the Harrison site with buttons, pins, needles, hooks and eye notches. Excavations at the AMHN recovered sewing related artifacts dating to 1800s, including a diminutive possible hand-carved bone cap needle case with screw threads, a pressed copper alloy thimble, and four copper alloy straight pins (Berkland 1999: 46). There were 88 buttons out of the 123 personal adornment items recovered from the Boston-Higginbotham House (Bulger 2013: 79). The Turner homesite included buttons and eye and hook fasteners (Hutchins 2013).

Military buttons were found in the 44 Joy Street privy, the AMHB backlot, and 68 Joy Street. The 44 Joy Street button was a U.S. Navy button that dated from 1802 to the 1850s and found in layers that dated from 1811 to c. 1838 (Albert 1969: 101-102; Landon and Bulger 2013: 136). The backlot button was an army enlisted man's button that dated

from 1854 until the early twentieth century and was found in an area mixed with twentieth century renovations (Landon and Bulger 2013: 136). The button found at 68 Joy Street was an Army Corp Artillery button that dated between 1814 to 1821 (Clayton et al. 1993: 12). When we think about the importance of military service to African Americans then and now, these buttons resonate with service, defending the nation, and the argument for full citizenship. Additionally, these buttons had multiple uses to include gaming counters, eyes for homemade dolls, and strung as necklaces cannot be forgotten (Wilkie 2003: 108). We can conceive of sewing circles and quilting bees among people of color in Andover, Plymouth, Great Barrington, Pittsfield, Boston, and Nantucket.

The historian Marla Miller (2003, 2006) argues that artisan craftwork in rural areas has often been ignored due to the focus on men. While the women in the household might not have had the formal apprenticeships in the artisans' field, there would have been a family network of training. This was quite likely the case at the sites in this study as signaled by the sewing equipment. Miller (2003: 750-751) notes "the making and mending of household linens and work clothes for men, women, and children required basic skills that most women and girls, as well as some boys and men, possessed."

Shoes wore out and are often found in middens. Sometimes shoes might be evidence of a trade, as with Reverend Harrison, and especially with Othello Burghardt at the Du Bois Homesite. The Lucy Foster site also had a leather heel and sole of a shoe. Shoe remains were recovered from the AMHN including a shoe lace, a leather baby shoe sole, and a copper shoe hardware piece (Berkland 1999: 46).

Personal items were in evidence across the assemblages. Personal items from the Du Bois site included a change purse clasp, possibly used by Lena Wooster, eyeglasses, a

tin enameled mug, and parts of many shoes (Paynter et al. 2008, 2010: Results, 4).

Excavations at the AMHN yielded numerous personal adornment artifacts that included three body ornament pins, a metal/celluloid pin depicting a navy flag, a possibly small white metal bar watch fob, a copper alloy “safety-pin” with a clip, a celluloid hair-pin, and a clear machine-made glass perfume bottle (Berkland 1999: 46). Personal items from 68 Joy Street included a pen knife, bone lice comb, and coin (Carolus III, 1787).

Lucy Foster’s personal items included a small brooch pin, which was plain glass surrounded by a brass frame, parts of eye glasses, and belt buckle. Household items were also recovered including: seven escutcheons, six pulls, one all brass key from chest drawers, two candle holders, and the bottom of a salt shaker (Bullen and Bullen 1945: 25).

There are a number of items that were used to create and transmit information, especially writing instruments, inkwells, and books. There is evidence of the educational functions that took place at the African Meeting House Boston and Nantucket and the Smith School that included ink wells, slate, and slate pencils. The Smith School assemblage “included three glass ink wells, fragments of writing slates and slate pencils, pen knives, and several small lead ink pots with glass liners originally set in school desks” (Pendery and Mead 2006: 23). Many households had writing instruments including 68 Joy Street, the Du Bois Homesite, and the Boston-Higginbotham House. The assemblage at 68 Joy Street included one graphite writing instrument, one graphite pencil, one slate pencil, and slate (not identified as writing slate) (Clayton et al. 1993: 1, 5, 12, 15, 24). In fact, some of those instruments from 68 Joy Street might have been in use at the Smith School down the street. Material culture from the Du Bois Homesite

assemblage included ink wells, slate, and slate pencils. The writing instruments from the Boston-Higginbotham House included a pen quill, a slate pencil fragment, seven slate fragments, two pencil lead fragments, five 20th-century pencil tops and one 20th century pencil cap (Bulger 2013: 95). The writing materials provide evidence that people in these household could write, testament to the effects of the school systems and quite likely the commitment of other family members to teaching this skill.

Different kinds of social gatherings are evident at a number of sites. The African Meeting Houses in Boston and Nantucket, the Smith School, and the Boston-Higginbotham House are above-ground evidence of socialization. Some ceramic assemblages from the sites in this survey are evidence of socialization as well. Teawares and other tablewares were discussed above in association with tea and dinner parties. The large number of diningwares at the Boston-Higginbotham House might indicate social gatherings with family and other elements of the Black community. Lucy Foster's assemblage is reflective of someone who socialized and entertained people in her community. Items that are indicative of socialization include the plates, soup plates, bowls, eight forks, five knives, and drinking glasses. Maybe her place was a focal point for people of color in South Parish. Battle-Baptiste (2011) posits since Lucy's cabin was on the main road from Boston, it might have been a focal point for travelers along the road (Battle-Baptiste 2011: 130). Additionally, she argues Lucy might have been an unnoticed participant in the Underground Railroad (Battle-Baptiste 2011: 130). When juxtaposing the Turner-Burr and Quash ceramic assemblages at Parting Ways, we are witnessing socialization between the households as the nucleated settlement might suggest.

Analyzing the materials from the African Meeting House Boston, Bower concluded that meals were served and consumed using the “a la francaise” method that was popular in the city up to the mid-19th century. This practice consisted of individuals helping themselves to multiple courses on small dishes (Bower 1986: 138). According to Berkland (1999: 47), food was brought into the African Meeting House Nantucket for various types of social gatherings.

The absence of objects can also be indicative of a social practice. For instance, Beaudry and Berkland (2007) contend the yard of the AMHN was possibly swept clean for functions. This practice has been found in the living space of people of African descent. For example, Whitney Battle-Baptiste (2007: 245) excavating around the kitchen quarters, fire pit, and cabins at Andrew Jackson’s Hermitage plantation posits that the yards were swept every day because the yard functioned as an extension of the living rooms where many social activities were performed. She termed this extension of socialization outside of the home as “yardscape.” (Battle Battle-Baptiste 2007: 245). Heath and Bennett (2000) also stress the need to study African American yards in conjunction with the house because many daily activities took place in the yard.

Play

Children are visible at Parting Ways, the Du Bois Site, the Reverend Samuel Harrison Site, the Peter Faneuil Site, the African Meeting House Boston and Nantucket, the Smith School, and the Boston–Higginbotham house. The evidence of children and play consists of marbles, doll pieces, gaming pieces, small porcelain tea set pieces, a metal toy gun pistol, a skate, two iron sleigh bells, and one jack (ferrous), a jackknife, pieces of a harmonica, parts of rubber balls, and a crayon. However, the marbles and possible gaming piece could have been used by adults as well. Buttons, already

mentioned, could fall under this category as well. What this evidence tells us is that there was time at all the sites mentioned above for recreation and leisure.

Subsistence Patterns

When these sites are juxtaposed, the subsistence patterns are insightful. The majority of the sites in this survey participated in the market system, including the African Meeting House Boston and Nantucket, and 44 Joy Street. There are two sites that have two interpretations, which are the Smith School and the Boston-Higginbotham House. According to Susan Trevarthen Andrews (1998: 23), the presence of fish in the assemblage is an indicator of a usage of the city market system. However, there were disproportionate numbers of sheep/goat foot bones present, which were not sold in markets, leading Pendery and Mead to argue nonmarket acquisition (Andrews 1998: 23; Pendery and Mead 1999: 31). Although faunal data from the Boston-Higginbotham House is limited and dates to the 18th and early 19th century, Bulger (2013: 108-109) notes that there are two possible interpretations. Michael Way's (2010) analysis of the faunal data argues access to a market or butcher. Bulger (2013: 108-109) posits that archaeological evidence of fencing and pens might indicate raising livestock. The majority of domestic animal remains recovered from Parting Ways were foot and head bones and most likely acquired outside of a market system (Hutchins 2013: 304). The Rev. Samuel Harrison site had a very small sampling of faunal material with cow bones being sawed, which led to Hartgen to conclude access to a local butcher (Manning Sterling 2012: 52). The faunal remains recovered from the Lucy Foster site were "chopped and cleaved open" (Baker 1978: 111). This left Baker (1978: 111) to posit that Lucy consumed more stews. This would make this site outside of the market system, which is similar to Parting Ways. The Du Bois site faunal remains were collected but

have yet to be analyzed. In addition, the Peter Faneuil site remains were not fully analyzed.

Transition

Piersen (1988: 143), concentrating on the 18th century, notes that “Black New Englanders had become part of the wider Yankee culture, but at the same time maintained an identity of their own.” Stuckey (1987: 119) contends that people of African descent in New England retained African cultural practices until 1828. There were items of a possible spiritual nature recovered from the Du Bois Site, AMHB, AMHN, 44 Joy Street, The Reverend Samuel Harrison Site, and Smith School Site. The Du Bois site contained a possible *minkisi* bundle, and 44 Joy Street privy, a possible charm. Berkland (1999: 49-50) argued the construction methods of the African Meeting House Nantucket built in 1825, displayed construction techniques of “West African architecture” with the original coved ceiling design (Clancey 1990). Additionally, Berkland (1999: 50) contends this style of architecture was favored in order to keep the spirits moving within the structure and offering no corners in which to hide.

The Du Bois site objects consisted of “a juvenile bear’s tooth,” an evocative polished black stone that resembles an animal effigy, and a metal button with an embossed six-point star (Paynter et al. 2010: Results, 4, 22). Its discovery in a builder’s trench back fill makes it impossible to know if these items were originally placed together or came into close proximity by the happenstance of backfilling the trench.

The two raccoon canines recovered from the 44 Joy Street privy can also be included in transition because they could have been a charm, a hunting trophy, or part of a *minkisi* bundle (Landon and Bulger 2013: 130). Kennedy and Landon (2007) link African American traditions (raccoon canines and the consumption of snapping turtles

and pigs' feet) found in Boston as associated with southern African Americans.

Although the raccoon is not native to the African continent, this southern African American theory discounts the presence of "Black Yankees" in New England. If it was part of a consumption pattern or used as a spiritual medium, either practice speaks to the African Diaspora and the reimagining of ethnic identities using the flora and fauna available in the new surroundings and repurposing and attaching a multivalent function to its existence.

A heart shaped brooch is possibly one artifact that links to racialization and transition (see Figure 8.16). Could this brooch have been retained because it resembles the Akan symbol of Sankofa? Sankofa has been "associated with Twi-speaking Akan people" living in the Ivory Coast and Ghana (Perry et al. 2009: 186). It seems unlikely because it was found at the Reverend Harrison Homestead, but the possibility exists.

Two marbles from separate sites have designs that might appear to some eyes as a BaKongo Cosmogram. These sites were the Du Bois Homesite and the Smith School. The Du Bois site marble, identified as a China's Alley, was manufactured in Germany in the 19th century (Opie and Opie 1997: 50; Paynter et al. 2010: Chap. 2, 33). Its decorative pattern consists of three sets of parallel lines, each circumscribing the marble at right angles to one another. The effect is to create patterns of a cross, a pattern associated with BaKongo cosmograms (Fennell 2007a: 203-205, 2007b: 31-32; Ferguson 1992: 210-211; Thomas 1983: 106, 108-116). Paynter et al. (2010: Chap. 2, 34) ask the question: "Could it be that parents were particularly attracted to this marble because of its resonance with African spiritual beliefs?" Paynter et al. (2008) contend that the multivalent feature of the German marble would have allowed them access to an African

symbol for their children. The Smith School also has an interesting china marble with a dark solid line around the total circumference of the sphere and another solid line that runs from pole to pole. This separates the marble into four quadrants on each side with a flower painted in one quadrant on each side (see Figure 9.6a and 9.6b). This type of marble was produced in South Thuringen, Germany, from 1840 to 1910, but it was also produced in the U.S. in Indiana and Ohio in the late 19th century (Baumann 2004: 31; Carskadden and Gartley 1990: 62). To some this might resemble a BaKongo Cosmogram.

The Smith School assemblage had additional items that might fall into the spiritual category. The first two artifacts were used for personal adornment. The first is a piece of square jewel that is blue and resembles the shell of a turtle (see Figure 9.14). The turtle can be viewed as a spiritual symbol because it lives in and out of the water. Another piece of jewelry that also resembles a turtle shell and when held at some angles appears to be a five-pointed-star (see Figure 9.15). Thompson has found this star in spiritual symbols and practices of Yoruba and Kongo (Thompson 1984: 112-115). The third artifact is a quartz marble. Quartz is important to people of African descent because it is shiny and presents a flash, a key component of *minkisi* bundles that would protect a person who possessed it from evil spirits (Fennell 2007a: 218, 2007b: 65-66; Ferguson 1992: 214). Was the quartz marble and the turtle shell and five-pointed-star jewels part of such a bundle for some or did their multivalent character allow them to be just pieces of jewelry and a marble used in play for others?

The analysis of the tamarind jars found at the Turner-Burr house in Plymouth is insightful. Deetz first posited that these jars were made in West Africa (Deetz 1977:

177). Later, he replaced that theory noting their West Indies origins, use as sugar shipment containers, shipment of West Indian tamarind fruit, and that they were an African cultural retention (Deetz 1996: 199; Hutchins 2013: 313-318). Hutchins (2013: 318-319) differs, contending the five jars “are West Indian manufactured syrup drip jars (a vessel used in combination with a sugar cone mold in the refinement of raw sugar),” which were most likely obtained by the Turners or other residents. The Turner household also had a sugar cone that would have been placed in the top of the jar to allow liquid to drip into the larger jar (Hutchins 2013: 319). Hutchins suggests that since Turner was a mariner, he might have purchased them and brought these jars back from a voyage to the West Indies and was using them as storage (Hutchins 2013: 319).

Beads were recovered from the AMHB (2005), the AMHN, the Boston-Higginbotham House, and the Smith School. There were cowrie shells recovered from the Boston-Higginbotham House, the Smith School, and one from the African Meeting House Boston. The beads could have been for personnel adornment, worn as a charm or a decorative ensemble for a piece of clothing. This could apply to the cowrie shells as well. All of these items could have served as game pieces, especially the cowrie shells. Beads were also found in some of the graves in the New York City African Burial Ground (Perry et al. 2006, 2009).

There were probably many layers of meaning for these various objects possibly indicative of African practices and beliefs. Retention of elements of African heritage could mean resistance against the dominant culture. Regardless, the presence of any ethnic heritage interpretations, along with those made by the dominant culture, suggests

the state of “double consciousness” Du Bois famously describes in *The Souls of Black Folk* (1969).

Consumerism

Consumerism is another indicator of transition and the participation or lack thereof in the mass marketplace. Mullins (2011: 2) notes the heart of consumption “resolves around the acquisition of things to confirm, display, accent, mask, and imagine who we are and whom we wish to be.” Anna Agbe-Davies (2007) argues that consumerism is important to understand that just because people purchase the items of the dominant society that does not mean they have adopted the dominant ideology and that we should also consider contemporary thoughts on how the purchase of mass-market items gives agency.

In the 19th century, middle-class Americans were participating in the “Cult of Domesticity,” a set of norms and related practices that defined a new set of gender relations that emerged in the late 18th into the 19th centuries. The Cult of Domesticity fueled a consumer culture centered on things that many Americans participated in, including African Americans. For instance, it suggested a material culture that ranged from various types of clothing for specific occasions to the proper dishes and utensils required for certain functions. Archaeologists especially found ceramics in the forms of separate sets of dishes for afternoon tea parties, the equipage for family dinners, and the material culture needed to conduct eloquent dinner parties designed by middle-class women to solidify their husband’s standing in the workplace (Wall 1991, 2000). By the turn of the 20th century, African Americans were participating in the consumer marketplace at an accelerated pace equipped with self-help books (e.g. *Afro-American home Manual and practical self-Educator Showing What to do and How to do it Being a*

Complete Guide to Success in Life) available to teach the appropriate material culture for the Black home, the proper etiquette for these Victorian era parties and gatherings, proper grammar, recipes, and household money making crafts (Penn 1902; Mullins 1996, 1999a, 1999b; Mitchell 2004).

The sites that provide the materials associated with the Cult of Domesticity and other aspects of mass market consumerism are the Du Bois homesite and the Boston-Higginbotham site. For example, the late 19th and early 20th century Wooster family, which consumed mass-produced and mass-marketed products in the form of ceramics (including ceramics marked Nippon and later Japan), tin cans, preservatives, jarred fruits, medicinal products, and beauty products. These medicinal and beauty products included Vaseline, Ponds, and Noxzema. Another example of their consumerism is the two stoneware marmalade jars discussed in Chapter VII, imported from England and available through the Sears catalog.

The Boston-Higginbotham House assemblage has similarities to the Du Bois site. The Boston-Higginbotham homesite assemblage displayed participation in the consumer market and non-European cultural influences, which would make sense given the mix of ethnicities that lived in the house for over a hundred years. There is no evidence of “multiple dining sets” even with the addition of new pieces and various tastes (Bulger 2013: 83). In addition, Bulger (2013: 88-89) identified “large-scale international and national brand beauty products” that date to the 19th century, a large number of “alcohol beverage bottles,” and a “preference for local apothecary-made medicines,” as more evidence of participation in the consumer market.

The evidence of tin cans is an indicator that the household was purchasing national brand products with regulated weight standards. Tin cans were found at the Turner-Burr house at Parting Ways, the Du Bois Homesite, and the Boston-Higginbotham House but there are no identifying markers on any of these can remains. However, the ceramics and personal items in the assemblages have allowed researchers to conclude participation in the market economy by all the households. The exception to this observation is Cato Freeman Homesite and possibly the Quash household. At the Reverend Harrison Homestead there were fragments of a metal can, but no tin cans located in the assemblage. This is a possible indicator that national brand items were not used. However, the milk white glass of cosmetic bottles is an indicator of beauty products in the household.

Hutchins (2013) concluded that the occupants of the Turner and the Quash households were participating in the consumer market. Hutchins contends that 58 vessels (38%) from the Parting Ways assemblage fit Miller's (1984) pattern of rural households rarely having matching identical sets (Hutchins 2013: 263). Creamware was the most common ceramic in the assemblage. I concur with her findings on Turner household. However, the evidence for the Quash household can be interpreted another way. The Quash household had a paucity of teawares and other ceramics required in preparing and serving a meal. This might be an indicator that the Quash family was not engaging in the dining practices that required interaction with the mass market or that they were participating in these practices, including with the mass market, and that these items got mixed into the Turner household's assemblage when the Quash family left. We just do not know. Interpreting the tablewares, teawares, glass, and utensils together, Hutchins

contends that it follows the dining pattern of Victorian American respectability. This same practice was followed at homesites in Andover, Great Barrington, Pittsfield, Boston, and Nantucket.

Landon (2007: 169) notes the African Meeting House Boston 2005 assemblage “is not an elite ceramic assemblage,” but “it is clearly a high-end assemblage, with lots of hand-painted wares and some porcelain.” Given the large MNI counts from the multiple excavations at this site, all this is evidence of participation in the mass market ceramics. The ceramics of the 44 Joy Street privy were similar to the AMH 2005 backlot. However, it is apparent that there was a difference between the 44 Joy Street privy and the AMH backlot assemblages. Multiple families lived at 44 Joy Street residence. The ceramic assemblage lacked matching tableware and teawares (9.64%) sets (Descoteaux 2007: 71; 2011: 93). However, there is the possibility that the creamware and pearlware might have had some matching pieces (Descoteaux 2007, 2011; Landon and Bulger 2013). In addition, there were similarities not identical ceramics that included edge molded, handpainted, and transfer printed vessels present (Descoteaux 2007: 77). The unmatched ceramics sets in the assemblage of the tenants at 44 Joy Street were probably not purchased at the same time and/or were hand-me-downs or gifts. The variation among the African Meeting House Boston, Smith School, and 44 Joy Street is an indicator of variety within the Boston community.

Conclusion

This chapter consolidates the census data from Andover, Plymouth, Great Barrington, Pittsfield, Boston, and Nantucket along with the material culture of eleven sites, including the Lucy Foster Site, the Cato Freeman Site, the W. E. B. Du Bois Boyhood Homesite, the Reverend Samuel Harrison Homestead, the African Meeting

House in Boston and Nantucket, the Abiel Smith School, the Peter Faneuil Site, the Seneca Boston – Florence Higginbotham House, 44 Joy Street, and Parting Ways to illuminate trends in racialization, daily life, transition from African to African American, and consumerism. The majority of these sites are homesites with the others being churches that also functioned as schools, as well as a school. The census data revealed a pattern of “racial” clustering in many cities and towns in the early 19th century, which was most clearly marked in Boston and Nantucket. It also revealed a decrease in the population in many rural areas before 1860 and then an infusion of southern African Americans after the Civil War. Additionally, there was reoccurring doxa present on the landscape that linked education to employment, namely the lack of employment opportunities led to little need for advanced education. In Nantucket and Boston, schools were segregated until the 1840s in the former and 1853 in the latter. The constrained economic opportunities was clearly a transference of the doxa from the period of captivity to after emancipation that led to a majority of African Americans limited to unskilled and semiskilled jobs, which were mostly the work of laborers and domestics. Despite this disconnection, African American families sent children to school, especially in the beginning and end of the 19th century, at rates approximating 50%.

In viewing the assemblages from sites in Andover, Plymouth, Great Barrington, and Pittsfield, I used four of Paynter’s modified general categories including foodways, personal, information, and work (non-food) to ascertain racialization, daily life, transition, and consumerism. Racialization was most clearly marked in the material culture with the White doll parts located in three to five sites. The daily life of these families operated in the customs and traditions of the region. The establishment of

homeplace has allowed families, and probably more so the women, the ability to create lives behind closed doors the way they saw fit. Homeplace consisted of raising families and teaching moral uplift; some households even agitated for abolition. Part of moral uplift meant sending children to school, working hard, and attending church. The assemblages reveal the day to day existence of these American households. Raising families included nursing children, schooling, mending and making clothes, and providing sustenance. This was present in ceramics, writing instruments, and sewing-related items. Recreation was in evidence in the form of ceramics used for social gatherings such as dinner and tea parties. The material culture found allowed the occupants to consume, prepare, and store food. The ceramic assemblages of most households are similar and it is apparent the majority were participating in the mass market as well as ascribing to moral uplift. There are elements of African and African American heritage present. At times, some of the homesites might have displayed elements of African ethnicities or more rightly the American created African. However, the homesites in this study had already transformed from African to African American.

CHAPTER XII

CONCLUSIONS

At the time of the abolition of slavery in Massachusetts in the late 18th century, the doxa, or “those things we take for granted,” had formed a very distinct thought process toward the experiences of people of African descent, namely that people of African descent were to be generally denied equal access to public education, public transportation, employment, and some public and private spaces as during the periods of enslavement. This doxa was undiscussed (Bourdieu 1977: 169), especially in the White community, and was acquired through a socialization that started in childhood, indoctrinated through schooling, and reinforced in the home and in social, political, and economic structures everywhere. The Black community, however, created their own spaces and continually agitated against these assumptions, to force full citizenship and equality on all fronts. This forced White dominant culture into a rethinking and reappraisal of this doxa, where people of African descent attained limited space. Most of this rethinking and reappraisal came because of discussions and arguments within a “universe of discourse” because there is more than one truth and this discourse begins to question the doxa by creating what Bourdieu calls heterodoxy (Bourdieu 1977: 168). The dominant culture did not always recognize this discourse or the heterodoxy. Social, political, and economic structures working in concert continued to hold power, which caused the formation of social movements that advocated for equality, full citizenship, racial unity, and moral uplift. Eventually the national abolition of slavery was added some 60 years after it was manifested in Massachusetts. In many of these places, especially the cities, people of African descent began to carve out their own space around White space and created their own “imagined community” within an existing one

controlled by the dominant culture. Over the next few decades Black access to White space was slowly increased because people of African descent were at the forefront of a struggle to end slavery and for civil rights by organizing mutual aid associations, vigilance committees, militia units, emancipation day celebrations, and protests. This movement used the rhetoric of American nationalism to assist in achieving these demands and, by the 1840s, Black people were embracing and striving to be considered Americans (Rael 2002). All of these events led to the watering down of the doxa and transformed the heterodoxy created in the “universe of discourse” into a new orthodoxy.

The United States is currently experiencing the heated debate within this doxa with the notion that racism is over in the United States demonstrated by the election of a Black president, Barak Obama. For example, consider the discourse that surrounded his elections and tenure in office: his birthplace, his religion, and his execution of the presidency. We are not at the colorblind society that the U.S. Supreme Court alluded to when they struck down a key provision of The Voting Rights Act of 1965 on June 25, 2013, evidenced within 24 hours of the decision when some states moved to enact voter suppression laws (Cooper 2013).

This study shows the depth and dogged persistence of structured racial subordination, even after emancipation. The issues of racialization are not an issue of the past, they still exist today. For example, the centuries old belief that race is a biological, not a social construct, is still prevalent in the 21st century United States. This racialization process has created spatial structures that still create racial segregation in many areas of the United States. Gentrification has removed many long established Black communities from the landscape (see McDavid 2011; Mullins 2006). On June 19,

2015, The New York Times reported that the population of Charleston, South Carolina's Black population has been in decline since 1980, when it accounted for half the population of Charleston (Fausset 2015). By 1990, it was 41% and in 2010 down to 25%, while today, the city is two-thirds White (Fausset 2015). Spatial segregation and redlining not only hinder the accumulation of wealth, but also limit educational opportunities because affluent neighborhoods have the tax base to support good schools. According to the National Center for Education Statistics, the high school graduation rate for 2011-2012 was 81% with Asians/Pacific Islands at 93%, Whites at 85%, Latinos at 76%, and Blacks and Native Americans/Alaskan natives both at 68%. Within the political legal structures, the right to vote is being challenged in multiple states. The prison industrial complex is witness to a justice system that disproportionately imprisons people of color.

The U.S. Department of Justice reported that on December 31, 2013, the number of people incarcerated in state and federal prisons is 1,574,700. Of this number, males were reported as 37% Black non-Hispanic, 32% as White non-Hispanic, and 22% Hispanic. Females were reported 49% White and 22% Black, but "...the imprisonment rate for black females (113 per 100,000) was twice the rate of white females (51 per 100,000)" (U.S. Justice Department 2014).

Economically people of color have not recovered from the collapse of 2008. A Pew Research Center study in 2014 revealed the median net worth of White households was \$141,000, which was 13 times greater than Blacks at \$11,000 and 10 times greater than Hispanics at \$13,700 (Kochhard and Fry 2014). According to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, the national unemployment average for June 2015 was 5.3%. However,

African American unemployment was at 9.5% and Hispanics 6.6%, while Whites were below the average at 4.5% and Asians 3.8% (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics 2015).

Clearly, racialized structures still exist in the United States.

This study provides some understandings of the historical depth and nuances of today's inequalities. I surveyed ten homesites, two churches, and one school associated with people of African descent who lived in Massachusetts in the 19th and early 20th centuries. These were located in five Black communities, Andover, Boston, Great Barrington, Nantucket, and Pittsfield (Figure 12.1). Through the use of the federal censuses, secondary histories, and archaeologically recovered material culture it addressed matters of racialization, daily life, transitioning from African to African American, and consumerism. It should be noted that the quality of data and hence the range of the analyses varied between the projects. The four research questions I addressed using census data and archaeology were:

1. What were the social, political, spatial, racial, and economic epochal structures used to racialize African American lives in the 19th and early 20th century and how did African Americans resist and navigate these structures?
2. What was the daily life of African Americans in Massachusetts like between 1800 and 1915, and especially African American women?
3. Is there any indication of a transition from African to African American identity?
4. Is there any evidence of participation in the consumer market?

Starting in the late 18th century and well into the 20th century, Massachusetts witnessed transference of the doxa applied to captive Africans onto, for the most part, "freed" people of African descent through a convergence of social, political, spatial, racial, and economic epochal structures. Space in its various forms of- lived space, perceived space, representation of space, representational spaces-were and still are

racialized. Material culture played an important role in addressing all of these research questions. The locational information in census documents provided a blueprint for physical racialized space and the social information from the census allowed the tracing of the social construction of race. The most abundant form of racialization in material culture was White doll parts located at least in three and possibly five sites. Other forms of racialization might be found in the presence of tin cans (indicative of the preference for national brands) and hotelwares (heavy ironstone ceramics indicative of work in food service positions). The establishment of homeplaces provides information about daily life, the transition from African to African American practices and understandings, and the navigation of the growing world of consumerism. For many of these homesites evidence about women was prominently visible. The material culture found at these sites revealed subsistence patterns and the material culture used to serve, prepare, and store food. The ceramic assemblages of most households are similar and it is apparent the majority of the households are ascribing to moral uplift. There are elements of African and African American heritage present. It would appear that the homesites and their residents in this study had already significantly altered their identity from African to African American. In no small way this was signified by their roles as consumers in the mass market economy.

The daily life at the homesites and the churches provide insight into the women living and worshipping at these sites. It also provides evidence about the transition from an African identity to an African American identity. Sterling Stuckey's contention that people of African descent in New England retained African cultural practices until 1828 is not evident in the archaeology at the Du Bois site, the African Meeting House Boston

and Nantucket, the Smith School, and the Boston-Higginbotham House (Stuckey 1987: 119). There is evidence that African cultural practices were retained well into the 19th century and early 20th century. Some might read the scarcity of such artifacts amid numerous artifacts from the industrial practices of Europe as a sign of the loss of Africa in an assimilation into White European culture. However, the assemblages are indicative of a number of ways in which African Americans negotiated the continuation of the doxa from the period of captivity into the era of emancipation. Among these, the assemblages at these sites are consistent with the tenets of respectability associated with the moral uplift practices of the time period. Additionally, moral uplift was part of a larger push to gain full citizenship and becoming American, especially in the 1840s and 1850s. This can be seen in the artifacts of daily life and the consumer practices of the people within these households. By saying this I am not saying that African Americans were trying to be White. They were adopting the practices of their country of birth. Retention of practices from ancestral lands is not uncommon in many cultures within the United States. This underscores the problems with the myth of the “melting pot” discussed earlier in this dissertation.

As I researched census data and archaeological assemblages, there were areas of interest that went beyond the strict limits of this study. One of those areas was the Berkshires. After the abolition of slavery by judicial decree in 1783, Massachusetts became a haven to the east for captive Africans in New York and a haven to the North for captive Africans in Connecticut. Table 12.1 provides an example of this population increase in some of the major towns in the Berkshires from 1790 until 1820.

Table 12.1: Population of Some Berkshire County Towns 1790 to 1820

City or Town	1790	1800	1810	1820
Adams	4	15	28	23
Cheshire	87	12	18	27
Dalton	8	9	37	29
Egremont	5	1	2	11
Great Barrington	46	57	43	82
Lanesborough	15	29	45	51
Lenox	17	11	40	76
Mount Washington		0	1	1
Pittsfield	45	80	128	147
Sheffield	32	103	85	158
Stockbridge	69	71	49	38
Williamstown	5	51	33	71

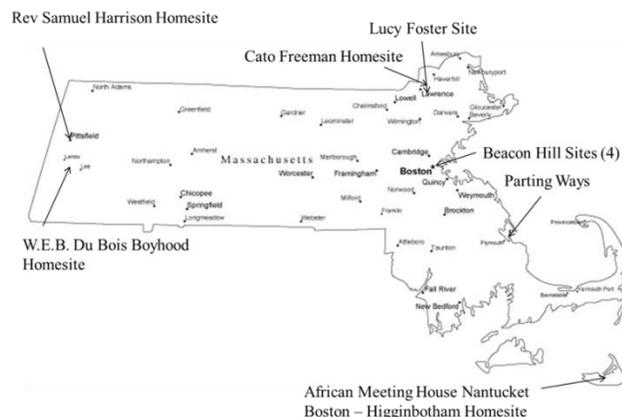
Source: First through Fourth Federal Censuses

In addition to the evidence of population increase there is more detail about a concentration of self-emancipated people of color living on land unincorporated between the towns of Dalton and Lanesborough in Wizard’s Glen on Gulf road in what is now in Dalton (Larson and Friedberg 2010: Section 8.1). Because of this large influx of people of African descent, western Massachusetts is the perfect landscape in which to think about Daniel Sayers’ (2012) argument for a reconceptualization of how we perceive Marronage in the United States discussed in Chapter I. Captive Africans escaping from eastern New York and northwestern Connecticut, as well as any other slave-holding state would not fit under the capitalist enslavement mode of production (CEMP) (Sayers 2012: 139). This model was defined as maroons existing in a “intra-limital” context, meaning they escaped and still stayed within the boundaries of a captive-holding state or territory (Sayers 2012: 139). Here it can be argued, like in Sayers, that Berkshire county was an “extralimital” context, where captive Africans escaped into free states or territories (Sayers 2012: 139). So these captive Africans living in the Berkshires, the Taconics, and

the Hoosic Range should be considered maroons, which is a thought-provoking hypothesis.

Suggestions for future work emerge when the sites in this study are plotted on a map (Figure 12.1). Boston is the only major city in the state that has had an extensive amount of African American archaeology. New Bedford, a city with a larger Black population per capita than Boston in relation to the White population, has had only one archaeological excavation (Table 12.2). The Nathan and Polly Johnson house on the National Register of Historic Places in New Bedford, Massachusetts, had a limited site examination for the archaeological monitoring program, which consisted of a few test trenches designed to answer structural questions, so a limited number of artifacts were retrieved and most were associated with the construction workers who moved the house in the 1850s (Heitert 2005). When we think of the rich history of the city with its Black whalers and other mariners, the Emancipation Day celebrations conducted as late as 1915, its clusters of Black neighborhoods, and having the second largest Black population in the state, clearly New Bedford deserves more thorough archaeological study (Kachun 2003).

Figure 12.1: Map of sites in this study.



Source: www.mapresources.com Map modified by author

Table 12.2: New Bedford African American Population, 1850-1900

Year	Population
1850	1,027
1860	1,515
1870	1,505
1880	1,541
1890	1,699
1900	1,685

Sources: Seventh through Twelfth Federal Censuses

Trowels moving dirt are silent in Worcester and Springfield and many other towns and cities that had Black populations of over 100 people in the second half of the 19th century and early 20th century (See Appendix F for the list of towns with Black populations from 1850 to 1900). Cities are important because that is where the majority of the African American population was headed. Paynter (2001: 130-131), studying African descent populations in approximately 60 towns and cities in the Connecticut Valley for the first three-quarters of the 19th century, found an increasing consolidation around commercial towns, a result also noted in Ziegenbein's (2013: 111-113) study of Springfield and Northampton in 1840, 1850, and 1860. The sound of trowels moving dirt is also silent in many areas of the Berkshires. People of African descent first appeared in the Berkshires accompanying Dutch and later British settlers in the first decades of the 18th century. But to date, the Berkshires has only seen African American archaeology at the Du Bois and Harrison homesites. Additionally, there are many historical sites across the state, primarily in Boston, that can tell of the racialization of space, as well as provide a window into the histories of early social movement organizations in Boston. These historical sites are large above-the-ground artifacts that seem ripe for possible future archaeological excavations. There are many other areas that had Black communities, but no archaeology has been done and whose documentary record on Black history is yet to

be deeply studied. Such towns might lend themselves to an above-the-ground archaeology for starts. The survey should be focused on known structures or known locations of African American habitation. Though much work has been done, more is needed.

An additional suggestion for identifying locations for African American archaeology would be to work with many towns and cities across the state that have African American Heritage trails. Some of these African American heritage trails include: Black Heritage Trail Boston, Black Heritage Trail Nantucket, Cambridge African American Heritage Trail, Black Heritage Trail of New Bedford, the Upper Housatonic African American Trail, the African American Heritage Trail of Martha's Vineyard, the African American Heritage Trail of Florence, the Drinking Gourd Project of Concord, Mum Bett's Trail, Springfield's Underground Railroad Trail, and Salem African American Heritage Sites. Many of these trails still have the buildings where African Americans lived, worshipped, worked, and played. In searching for places deserving of an archaeological survey, it is worth recalling Paynter's (1994, 1999) argument that any site where African Americans worked as domestics, laborers, shopkeepers, builders, etc. could be considered an African American site opening more possibilities. For example, the structures on the Mum Bett Trail that traverse the towns of Stockbridge, Sheffield, and Great Barrington fit this category.

Regarding archaeological collections, after years of neglect, the African Meeting House 1975 to 1985 assemblages curated at the Boston City Archaeology Lab need a major cleaning and re-cataloging of the artifacts, a process that would require a grant. The work at the African Meeting House is relevant and important because it elucidates

the journey of African Americans in Massachusetts through the nexus of various racialized structures and would contribute insights into the current national racial discourse.

Why do more African American archaeology? In part because racism still exists in the Obama Age, despite what some might think. More histories need to be written to help people understand that we are not at that colorblind society that many in the dominant culture believe to be true. The archaeological studies surveyed in this dissertation have been successful in helping to write this needed history. One of the contributions of this dissertation's survey of these uncovered experiences is that the doxa about the place of African descent people in the United States did not change as much as is usually assumed over the course of the 19th century. Another is the richness of the texture of people's lives when seen through the lens of material culture. And a third is that despite important similarities, there is a diversity of ways that people were African Americans in the 19th century. These are messages that are relevant not only to African Americans, but to Americans as a whole. Such work has the potential to facilitate discussions, educational materials, and projects to vindicate African American heritage by correcting erasures and dispelling stereotypes that are still ubiquitous in our society. The material recovered from the archaeological sites illuminates the fact that African Americans have been on the landscape for a very, very long time.

APPENDIX A

HORTON AND HORTON OCCUPATIONAL LIST

This is the occupational list created by James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton (Horton and Horton, 1997: 139-140) that divides the occupations by how they were seen in the Black community in antebellum Boston.

I. Professional

doctor	music teacher	lawyer
minister	schoolteacher	

II. Skilled and Entrepreneurial

barber	tanner	jeweler
seamstress	eating house	upholsterer
clothing dealer	boxing master	straw dealer
hairdresser	painter	carrier
carpenter	grocer	law student
tailor	dry-goods-store	fruit dealer
printer	operator	“puni” maker
Clerk	matron in old-age	caterer
shoemaker	home	wheelwright
barkeeper	butcher	shirtmaker
boardinghouse	cigar maker	billard saloon operator
operator	mantua maker	musician
mason	messenger	restaurant operator
trader	engraver	gymnast
artist	brush peddler	tobacconist
gilder	variety-store operator	restorer
merchant tailor	hostler	clothes cleaner
sailmaker	machinist	paper cleaner
baker	engineer	keeper

III. Unskilled and Semiskilled

domestic	cook	bootblack
seaman	steward	Stevedore
laborer	whitewasher	chimney sweep
waiter	teamster	apprentice blacksmith
jobber	tender	apprentice tailor
porter	bartender	coachman
washer	gardener	soapstone worker

Menial Jobs

Elizabeth Pleck adopted Stephen Thernstrom's list of African American occupations dividing them by how they were seen in the Black community in Boston from 1860-1920 (Pleck 1979: 213).

Menial Jobs

beef carrier	hod carrier	packer
bootblack	Hostler	porter
choreman	janitor and janitress	sailor
coachman	Laborer	stevedore
cook	Laundress	steward
domestic servant	Longshoreman	waiter and waitress
drayman and hackman	meat carver	
elevator operator	Messenger	watchman
gardener	Newsboy	whitewasher

APPENDIX B

DU BOIS OCCUPATIONAL LIST

Du Bois' (1973) *The Philadelphia Negro* male and female occupation groups and individual job listing

Males /Entrepreneurs

Caterers	Employment Agents
Hucksters	Lodging House Keepers
Proprietors Hotels and Restaurants	Proprietors of Pool Rooms
Merchants: Fuel and Notions	Real Estate Agencies
Proprietors of Barber Shops	Job Printers
Expressmen owning outfit	Builder and Contractor
Merchants, Cigar Stores	Sub-landlord
Merchants, Grocery Stores	Milk Dealer
Proprietors of Undertaking Establishments	Publisher

In Learned Professions

Clergyman
Students
Teachers
Physicians
Lawyers
Dentists
Editors

In The Skilled Trades

Barbers	Apprentice
Cigar Makers	Boilermaker
Shoemaker	Blacksmith
Stationary Engineers	China Repairer
Bricklayers	Cooper
Printers	Cabinetmaker
Painters	Dyer
Upholsters	Furniture Polishers
Carpenters	Gold Beater
Bakers	Kalsominer
Tailors	Locksmith
Undertakers	Laundryman (steam)
Brickmakers	Paper Hanger
Framemakers	Roofer
Plasterers	Tinsmith

Rubber Workers
Stone Cutters
Bookbinders
Candy Maker
Chiropodists
Ice Carvers
Photographers

Wicker Worker
Horse Trainer
Chemist
Florist
Pilot

Clerks, Semi-Professional and Responsible Workers

Messengers	Policemen
Stewards	Sextons
Musicians	Shipping Clerks
Clerks	Dancing Masters
Agents	Inspector in Factory
Clerks in Public Service	Cashier
Managers and Foremen	
Actors	
Bartenders	

Servants

Domestics
Hotel Help
Public Waiters
Nurses

Laborers (Select Class)

Stevedores	China Packers
Teamsters	Watchmen
Janitors	Drivers
Hod Carriers	Oyster Openers
Hostlers	
Elevator Men	
Sailors	

Laborers (Ordinary)

Common Laborers	Casual Laborers
Porters	Miscellaneous Laborers
Laborers for City	
Bootblacks	

Miscellaneous

Rag Pickers	Prize Fighter
“Politicians”	
Root Doctors	

Females - Entrepreneurs

Caterers	Undertakers
Restaurant Keeper	Child-Nursery Keepers
Merchants	
Employment Agents	

Learned Professions

Teachers	Students
Trained Nurses	

Skilled Trades

Dressmakers	Manicure
Hairdressers	Barber
Milliners	Typesetter
Shrouders of Dead	
Apprentice	

Clerks, Semi-Professional and Responsible Workers

Musicians	Matrons
Clerk	Actress
Stewardesses	Missionary
Housekeepers	
Agents	
Stenographers	

Laborers, etc.

Housewives and Day Workers	Janitresses
Day Workers	Factory Employee
Public Cooks	Office Maids
Seamstresses	
Waitresses in Restaurants, etc.	

Servants

Domestic Servants

Du Bois only accounted for occupations encountered in Philadelphia in 1890. There are additional occupations in rural and urban Massachusetts that I include here.

Laborers (Select Class)

Butchers
Fishing

APPENDIX C

CITY AND TOWN OCCUPATIONS

This appendix provides all the African American occupations for Andover, Boston, Great Barrington, Pittsfield, Plymouth, and Nantucket from the Seventh through Fourteenth Federal Censuses (excluding the Eleventh Federal Census).

Andover

Table C.1: Andover African American Male Occupations 1850

Occupation	Number
Professional	0
Skilled and Entrepreneurial	0
Unskilled and Semiskilled	
Farmer	2
Total	2

Source: Seventh Federal Census

Table C.2: Andover African American Male Occupations 1870

Occupation	Number
Professional	0
Skilled and Entrepreneurial	
Barber and hairdresser	1
Unskilled and Semiskilled	
Laborer/day laborer	6
Table waiter	2
Cook	1
Porter	1
Total	10
Total	11

Source: Ninth Federal Census

Table C.3: Andover African American Female Occupations 1870

Occupation	Number
Professional	0
Skilled and Entrepreneurial	
Barber and hairdresser	0
Unskilled and Semiskilled	
Servant/servant girl	6
Total	6

Source: Ninth Federal Census

Table C.4: Andover African American Male Occupations 1880

Occupation	Number
Professional	0
Skilled and Entrepreneurial	0
Unskilled and Semiskilled	
Farm Laborer	5
Domestic servant	3
Waiter in hotel	2
Janitor	1
Total	11

Source: Tenth Federal Census

Table C.5: Andover African American Female Occupations 1880

Occupation	Number
Professional	0
Skilled and Entrepreneurial	0
Unskilled and Semiskilled	
Domestic servant/servant	4
Keeping or keeps house	3
Total	7

Source: Tenth Federal Census

Table C.6: Andover African American Male Occupations 1900

Occupation	Number
Professional	0
Skilled and Entrepreneurial	
Ice cream manufacturer	2
Hostler	1
Total	3
Unskilled and Semiskilled	
Day Laborer	17
Teamster	2
Assistant Janitor	1
Garden Laborer	1
Waiter	1
Clothes cleaning	1
Farm Laborer	1
Porter in hotel	1
Expressman driver	1
Clothes presser	1
Butler	1
Coachman	1
Total	29
Total	32

Source: Twelfth Federal Census

Table C.7: Andover African American Female Occupations 1900

Occupation	Number
Professional	
	0
Skilled and Entrepreneurial	
Nurse	1
Unskilled and Semiskilled	
Servant	14
Laundress	8
Cook	2
Washerwoman	1
Housemaid	1
Nursery maid	1
General house worker	1
Chambermaid	1
Waitress	1
Total	30
Total	31

Source: Twelfth Federal Census

Table C.8: Plymouth African American Male Occupations 1850

Occupation	Number
Professional	
	0
Skilled and Entrepreneurial	
Carpenter	1
Unskilled and Semiskilled	
Laborer	14
Seaman	12
Farmer	6
Total	32
Total	33

Source: Seventh Federal Census

Table C.9: Plymouth African American Male Occupation 1860

Occupation	Number
Professional	0
Skilled and Entrepreneurial	
Hostler	1
Unskilled and Semiskilled	
Laborer	20
Farmer	6
Servant	2
Mariner	2
Farm Laborer	1
Total	31
Total	32

Source: Eighth Federal Census

Table C.10: Plymouth African American Female Occupations 1860

Occupation	Number
Professional	0
Skilled and Entrepreneurial	0
Unskilled and Semiskilled	
Servant	6
Washerwoman	4
Housekeeper	1
Total	11
Total	11

Source: Eighth Federal Census

Table C.11: Plymouth African American Male Occupations 1870

Occupation	Number
Professional	
Preacher	1
Skilled and Entrepreneurial	
Barber	1
Huckster	1
Total	2
Unskilled and Semiskilled	
Domestic/Domestic Servant	14
Laborer	11
Farm Laborer	9
Mariner	5
Works in a cotton mill	3
Works in shoe manufacturing	2
Works in iron works	1
Teamster	1
Clothes dresser	1
Total	47
Total	50

Source: Ninth Federal Census

Table C.12: Plymouth African American Female Occupations 1870

Occupation	Number
Professional	0
Skilled and Entrepreneurial	0
Unskilled and Semiskilled	
Keeping House	25
Total	25

Source: Ninth Federal Census

Table C.13: Plymouth African American Male Occupations 1880

Occupation	Number
Professional	0
Skilled and Entrepreneurial	
Hostler	4
Unskilled and Semiskilled	
Laborer/common laborer	24
Domestic servant	9
Servant	6
Porter	2
Works in a cotton mill	1
Works in butt factory	1
Sailor	1
Private waiter	1
Farm Laborer	1
Total	46
Unknown	1
Total	51

Source: Tenth Federal Census

Table C.14: Plymouth African American Female Occupations 1880

Occupation	Number
Professional	
	0
Skilled and Entrepreneurial	
	0
Unskilled and Semiskilled	
Keeping House	24
Seamstress	1
Total	25
Total	25

Source: Tenth Federal Census

Table C.15: Plymouth African American Male Occupations 1900

Occupation	Number
Professional	
Clergyman	1
Skilled and Entrepreneurial	
Brick Mason	1
Unskilled and Semiskilled	
Laborer/dry laborer/common laborer	19
Laborer farm/farm laborer	8
Packs Tacks	2
Cook servant/hotel cook	2
Steam carpet cleaner	2
Porter/hotel porter	2
Domestic Servant	1
Tack Maker	1
Teamster	1
Coachman	1
Farmer	1
Boot Black	1
Bell Boy Hotel	1
Letter carrier	1
Tinting	1
Pike Layer	1
Total	45
Unknown	1
Total	48

Source: Tenth Federal Census

Table C.16: Plymouth African American Female Occupations 1900

Occupation	Number
Professional	
	0
Skilled and Entrepreneurial	
	0
Unskilled and Semiskilled	
Servant	14
Housework/house keeper	10
Laundress/washerwoman	2
Total	26
Total	26

Source: Tenth Federal Census

Table C.17: Great Barrington African American Male Occupations 1850

Occupation	Number
Professional	
Baptist Clergyman	0
Skilled and Entrepreneurial	
Barber	2
Unskilled and Semiskilled	
Laborer	25
Farmer	3
Carrier	1
Whitewasher	1
Total	30
Unknown	1
Total	33

Source: Seventh Federal Census

Table C.18: Great Barrington African American Male Occupations 1860

Occupation	Number
Professional	
Baptist Clergyman	1
Skilled and Entrepreneurial	
Barber	2
Hostler	1
Total	3
Unskilled and Semiskilled	
Laborer	27
Servant	4
Waiter	1
Coachman	1
Total	33
Total	38

Source: Seventh Eighth Federal Census

Table C.19: Great Barrington African American Female Occupations 1860

Occupation	Number
Professional	
	0
Skilled and Entrepreneurial	
	0
Unskilled and Semiskilled	
Servant	23
Housewife	18
Domestic	1
Total	42
Total	42

Source: Eighth Federal Census

Table C.20: Great Barrington African American Male Occupations 1870

Occupation	Number
Professional	
	0
Skilled and Entrepreneurial	
Barber	1
Unskilled and Semiskilled	
Farm Laborer	14
Coachman	3
Waiter	2
Laborer	2
Gardner	1
Outdoor Servant	1
Porter	1
Total	24
Total	25

Source: Ninth Federal Census

Table C.21: Great Barrington African American Female Occupations 1870

Occupation	Number
Professional	
	0
Skilled and Entrepreneurial	
	0
Unskilled and Semiskilled	
Keeping House	19
Domestic Servant	9
Cook	3
Waiter/Table Waiter	2
Chambermaid	1
Total	34
Total	34

Source: Ninth Federal Census

Table C.22: Great Barrington African American Male Occupations 1880

Occupation	Number
Professional	
Baptist Clergyman	1
Skilled and Entrepreneurial	
Barber	1
Musician	1
Total	2
Unskilled and Semiskilled	
Laborer	17
Gardner	3
Coachman	1
Servant	1
Waiter	1
Porter	1
Total	24
Total	28

Source: Tenth Federal Census

Table C.23: Great Barrington African American Female Occupations 1880

Occupation	Number
Professional	
	0
Skilled and Entrepreneurial	
	0
Unskilled and Semiskilled	
Cook	7
House work	4
Keeping or Keeps House	4
Laundress	2
Waitress	2
Chambermaid	1
House keeper	1
Servant	1
Total	22
Total	22

Source: Tenth Federal Census

Table C.24: Great Barrington African American Male Occupations 1900

Occupation		Number
	Professional	
Preacher		1
	Skilled and Entrepreneurial	
Hostler		5
Carpenter		2
Barber		1
Caterer		1
Hostler Livery Stable		1
Total		10
	Unskilled and Semiskilled	
Farm Laborer		12
Day Laborer		8
Waiter		3
Coachman		3
Stablemen		3
Teamster		2
Washer		2
Servant		1
Butler		1
Groom		1
Newsboy		1
Driver		1
Total		38
Total		50

Source: Twelfth Federal Census

Table C.25: Great Barrington African American Female Occupations 1900

Occupation		Number
	Professional	
Music Teacher		1
	Skilled and Entrepreneurial	
Dressmaker		2
Hostler		1
Total		3
	Unskilled and Semiskilled	
Cook		21
Laundress/Day Laundress		9
House work/House keeper		5
Day Laborer		3
Waitress		2
Chambermaid		1
Maid		1
Servant		1
Total		43
Total		47

Source: Twelfth Federal Census

Table C.26: Great Barrington African American Male Occupations 1910

Occupation	Number
Professional	
Clergyman	1
Skilled and Entrepreneurial	
Clerk	1
Caterer	1
Fireman	1
Total	3
Unskilled and Semiskilled	
Laborer	5
Farm Laborer	3
Wagon Driver (2 saw mill/1 coal co)	3
Cook (restaurant/private)	2
Gardner	2
Caretaker	2
Janitor	1
Teamster	1
Coachman	1
Sawyer	1
Chauffer	1
Repairer	1
Total	23
Total	27

Source: Thirteenth Federal Census

Table C.27: Great Barrington African American Female Occupations 1910

Occupation	Number
Professional	
Skilled and Entrepreneurial	
Bookkeeper	1
Total	1
Unskilled and Semiskilled	
Housemaid	8
House servant/Housework/House Keeper	5/3/1
Laundress	7
Waitress	2
Cook (hotel/private family)	2
Total	28
Unknown	1
Total	30

Source: Thirteenth Federal Census

Table C.28: Great Barrington African American Male Occupations 1920

Occupation	Number
Professional	
Clergyman/Minister	2
Skilled and Entrepreneurial	
Chef Hotel	1
Merchant	1
Total	2
Unskilled and Semiskilled	
Laborer	11
Teamster	5
Driver	2
Cook/Cooking (school)	2
Gardner	1
Farm Laborer	1
Bellboy Hotel	1
Total	23
Total	27

Source: Fourteenth Federal Census

Table C.29: Great Barrington African American Female Occupations 1920

Occupation	Number
Professional	
Skilled and Entrepreneurial	
Seamstress	2
Stenographer	1
Bookkeeper	1
Total	4
Unskilled and Semiskilled	
General Housework	8
Cook (private family)	4
Laundress	4
Housekeeper/housemaid	2
Dishwasher	1
Waitress	1
Total	20
Total	24

Source: Fourteenth Federal Census

Table C.30: Pittsfield African American Male Occupations 1850

Occupation	Number
Professional	
Clergyman	1
Skilled and Entrepreneurial	
Barber	2
Basketmaker	2
Clothes cleaner	1
Hostler	1
Carpenter	1
Total	7
Unskilled and Semiskilled	
Farmer	26
Laborer	13
Servant	7
Whitewasher	1
Total	47
Unknown (female)	1
Total	56

Source: Seventh Federal Census

Table C.31: Pittsfield African American Male Occupations 1860

Occupation		Number
	Professional	
Clergyman		1
	Skilled and Entrepreneurial	
Barber		7
Blacksmith		1
<hr/>		
Total		8
	Unskilled and Semiskilled	
Farmer Laborer		29
Laborer		8
Whitewasher		3
Farmer		2
Coachman		2
Table waiter		2
Teamster		2
Gardner		1
Steward		1
Floor Black		1
Domestic		1
<hr/>		
Total		52
Unknown		3
Total		64

Source: Eighth Federal Census

Table C.32: Pittsfield African American Female Occupations 1860

Occupation		Number
	Professional	
		0
	Skilled and Entrepreneurial	
Dressmaker		3
Seamstress		2
Basketmaker		1
<hr/>		
Total		6
	Unskilled and Semiskilled	
Domestic		19
Washerwoman/washer		9
Cook		6
Table Waiter/Waiter		3
House cleaner		1
<hr/>		
Total		38
Total		44

Source: Eighth Federal Census

Table C.33: Pittsfield African American Male Occupations 1870

Occupation	Number
Professional	
Clergyman	1
Skilled and Entrepreneurial	
Barber	7
Painter	2
Tinner	1
Florist and Hotel Keeper	1
Hostler	1
Blacksmith	1
Hair dealer	1
Total	14
Unskilled and Semiskilled	
Works on Farm	26
Laborer	10
Hotel Waiter	10
Farmer Laborer	7
Hotel Cook/hotel pastry cook/cook	4
Waiter	3
Works in barber shop	3
Coal heaver	2
Farmer	2
Works in lumberyard	2
Teamster	1
Day Laborer	1
Works in a drug store	1
Steward	1
Hotel Bell Boy	1
Works in a blacksmith shop	1
Domestic Servant	1
Coachman	1
Works in a stable	1
Bill Poster	1
Works in a coal yard	1
Works in a crockery store	1
Total	81
Total	95

Source: Ninth Federal Census

Table C.34: Pittsfield African American Female Occupations 1870

Occupation	Number
Professional	
Nurse	1
Skilled and Entrepreneurial	
	0
Unskilled and Semiskilled	
House Keeping/house keeper	59
Domestic Servant	17
Cook	5
Total	81
Total	82

Source: Ninth Federal Census

Table C.35: Pittsfield African American Male Occupations 1880

Occupation	Number
Professional	
U.S. Officer	
Skilled and Entrepreneurial	
Barber	7
Basketmaker	2
Shoemaker	2
Hair Dresser	1
Musician	1
Saloon Keeper	1
Hostler	1
Keeping Restaurant	1
Total	16
Unskilled and Semiskilled	
Laborer	30
Farm Laborer	13
Servant	7
Waiter	6
Day Laborer	4
Farmer	3
Hotel Porter	2
Hotel Waiter	2
Farm hand	2
Peddler	1
Teamster	1
Gardner	1
Farm House	1
Domestic Servant	1
Coachman	1
Works in store	1
Total	76
Unknown	1
Total	94

Source: Tenth Federal Census

Table C.36: Pittsfield African American Female Occupations 1880

Occupation	Number
Professional	
	0
Skilled and Entrepreneurial	
Dressmaker	2
Seamstress	2
Total	4
Unskilled and Semiskilled	
Keeping House	46
Servant	33
House keeper /house work	11
Laundress	4
Washerwoman	4
Total	48
Total	102

Source: Tenth Federal Census

Table C.37: Pittsfield African American Male Occupations 1900

Occupation	Number
Professional	
Minister/Preacher/Clergyman	3
Skilled and Entrepreneurial	
Hostler	3
Barber	2
Mason	1
Cutlery Shop	1
Painter/paper hanger	1
Machinist	1
Plumbing	1
Butcher	1
Fireman	1
Hair Dresser	1
Total	13
Unskilled and Semiskilled	
Day Laborer	12
Servant	12
Laborer	6
Janitor	5
Teamster	4
Farmer Laborer	4
Farmer	3
Cook Hotel / Cook Café	3
Hotel Waiter	2
Coachman	2
Porter RR	2
Wash	2
Gardner	2
Cook Saloon	1
Waiter Restaurant	1
House cleaner	1
Porter electric plant	1
Trucking	1
Laborer electric shop	1
Selling Milk	1
Ice peddler	1
Section hand	1
Paper box maker	1
Waiter	1
Laborer Prov store	1
Laborer mopping hotel	1
Laborer mill	1
Total	73
Total	89

Source: Twelfth Federal Census

Table C.38: Pittsfield African American Female Occupations 1900

Occupation	Number
Professional	
	0
Skilled and Entrepreneurial	
Dressmaker	1
Nurse	1
Total	2
Unskilled and Semiskilled	
Laundress	10
Housework	6
Cook	3
Hotel waitress/waitress	3
Chambermaid	1
Washing	1
Day Laborer	1
Total	25
Total	27

Source: Twelfth Federal Census

Boston

Table C.39: Boston Black Occupations 1830

Boston Black Occupations 1830	
Occupation	Number
Mariners	171
Laborers	112
Barbers (exclusive of apprentices)	32
Keepers of clothing shops, etc.	23
Waiters or tenders	25
Cartman	8
Tailors	6
Keepers of boarding-houses	5
Boot Polishers	4
Blacksmiths	3
Ordained preachers	2
Stevedores	2
Victualers	2
Boys learning mechanical trade	1
Carpenters	1
Whitewashers	1
Whitesmiths	1
Shoemakers	1
Blacking makers	1
Painters	1
Paperhangers	1
Soap boilers	1
Measurers	1
Cobblers	1
Chimney sweeps	1
Servants (not at service)	1
Total	408

Source: (African Repository, XIII: 90; Greene and Woodson 1930: 5)

Table C.40: Boston Black Male Occupations 1850

Occupation	Number
Professional	7
Skilled and Entrepreneurial	146
Unskilled and Semiskilled	394
Total	547

Source: (Horton and Horton 1999: 9) Taken from the Seventh Federal Census

Table C.41: Boston Black Occupations 1860

Occupation	Number
Professional	20
Skilled and Entrepreneurial	258
Unskilled and Semiskilled	698
Total	976

Source: (Horton and Horton 1999: 9) Taken from the Eighth Federal Census

Nantucket

Table C.42: Nantucket African American Male Occupations 1850

Occupation	Number
Professional	
Baptist Clergyman	
Skilled and Entrepreneurial	
Barber	6
Mason	2
Boarding	2
Restaurateur	1
Butcher	1
Trader	1
Total	13
Unskilled and Semiskilled	
Mariner	167
Seaman	15
Laborer	9
Coasting	2
Fishing	2
Whitewasher	1
Steward	1
Total	197
Unknown	1
Total	212

Source: Seventh Federal Census

Table C.43: Nantucket African American Male Occupations 1860

Occupation	Number
Professional	
	0
Skilled and Entrepreneurial	
Barber/barber shop	3/1
Boarding House	1
Carrier Assistant	1
Total	6
Unskilled and Semiskilled	
Mariner	19
Mariner cook/cook in vessel/cook on steamboat	3
Day Laborer	2
Truckman	1
Domestic	1
Servant	1
Porter in store	1
Total	28
Unknown	1
Total	35

Source: Eighth Federal Census

Table C.44: Nantucket African American Female Occupations 1860

Occupation	Number
Professional	
	0
Skilled and Entrepreneurial	
Dressmaker	1
Unskilled and Semiskilled	
Domestic	13
Steward in a steamboat	1
Cook	1
Total	15
Total	16

Source: Eighth Federal Census

Table C.45: Nantucket African American Male Occupations 1870

Occupation	Number
Professional	
Clergyman	1
Skilled and Entrepreneurial	
Barber	2
Tailor	1
Total	3
Unskilled and Semiskilled	
Seaman	4
Farming	3
Laborer	3
Steward	2
Total	12
Unknown	1
Total	17

Source: Ninth Federal Census

Table C.46: Nantucket African American Female Occupations 1870

Occupation	Number
Professional	
	0
Skilled and Entrepreneurial	
Tailoress	3
Unskilled and Semiskilled	
Keeps house	13
Servant	13
At service	3
Washerwoman	2
Stewardess	2
Total	33
unk	1
Total	37

Source: Ninth Federal Census

Table C.47: Nantucket African American Male Occupations 1880

Occupation		Number
	Professional	
Clergyman		1
	Skilled and Entrepreneurial	
Barber		1
Tailor		1
Total		2
	Unskilled and Semiskilled	
Sailor		2
Fisherman		2
Laborer		2
Farmer		1
Teamster		1
Total		8
Total		11

Source: Tenth Federal Census

Table C.48: Nantucket African American Female Occupations 1880

Occupation		Number
	Professional	
		0
	Skilled and Entrepreneurial	
Coat maker		5
Tailoress		1
Total		6
	Unskilled and Semiskilled	
Keeps house		21
Servant		9
Laundress		1
Total		31
Total		37

Source: Tenth Federal Census

Table C.49: Nantucket African American Male Occupations 1900

Occupation	Number
Professional	
	0
Skilled and Entrepreneurial	
Barber	1
Unskilled and Semiskilled	
Day Laborer	3
Farm Laborer	2
Total	5
Total	6

Source: Twelfth Federal Census

Table C.50: Nantucket African American Female Occupations 1900

Occupation	Number
Professional	
	0
Skilled and Entrepreneurial	
Tailoress	1
Boarding house keeper	1
Total	2
Unskilled and Semiskilled	
Servant	6
Laundress	1
Total	7
Unknown	1
Total	10

Source: Twelfth Federal Census

Table C.51: Nantucket African American Male Occupations 1910

Occupation	Number
Professional	
	0
Skilled and Entrepreneurial	
Electrician	1
Hairdresser	1
Unskilled and Semiskilled	
Laborer	5
Cook	1
Wagon Driver	1
Total	9
Total	6

Source: Twelfth Federal Census

Table C.52: Nantucket African American Female Occupations 1910

Occupation	Number
Professional	
Nurse	1
Skilled and Entrepreneurial	
Tailoress	2
Owns shop	1
Total	3
Unskilled and Semiskilled	
Laborer	3
Laundress	3
Cook	1
Housekeeper	1
Total	8
Total	13

Source: Thirteenth Federal Census

APPENDIX D

BOSTON CITY DIRECTORY BLACK OCCUPATIONS, 1820 TO 1849

This appendix compiles the Black occupations from the Boston City directories from 1820 to 1849.

Table D.1: Boston City Directory Black Occupations, 1820 to 1826

Occupation	1820	1821	1822	1823	1825	1826
Barber			3	1	6	8
Boot black/shoe black/boot polisher	8/4/0	16/7/0	16/3/0	19/5/1	14/2/0	16/1/0
Brass founder						1
Brewer		1	2	1	2	2
boarding house		2	2	2		
Cake baker						1
carter	1					
Clothes cleaner						1
Clothes dealer/clothes shop/clothes dresser		1/1/0	0/1/1	0/2/1	1/1/0	1/0/0
Clothing and fruit shop						1
coachman			1	1		
cook/cook shop		2/0	2/1	2/0	2/0	2/0
Cordwainer		1			2	1
Doctor/doctress (f)	1/1				1/0	
Fur cutter					1	
Fruit seller		1				
gardener			1	1		
Grain man/grain measurer		0/1	0/1	0/1	1/0	0/1
grocer		1				1
hairdresser	17	29	25	33	30	34
Hardcartman/cartman/carmann		1/2/0	1/0/1	1/0/0	2/0/0	2/0/0
housewright					1	1
huckster		1				
laborer		120	95	102	138	127
Laundress/washerwoman		4/14	1/21	1/17	10/5	1/3
mariner, seaman, sailor		22	29	32	36	31
mason						2
musician		1	5	3	6	4
Oyster shop						1
Preacher/reverend		0/1	1/1	1/1	1/0	1/1
Provision store					1	1
ropemaker	2	1				1
servant		1	1	2	3	
Shipping office						1
shop				1		

Occupation	1820	1821	1822	1823	1825	1826
singing master			1	1		
Slop shop	1					
Soup shop						1
Soap boiler		1	1		1	
stevedore			1	2	1	1
steward		1				
surgeon		1				
sweep			1	1	1	1
tailor	2	1	1	1	2	2
teamster				1	1	1
tender			1	1	1	1
trader	1	1			1	1
truckman			1			
waiter	6	8	5	6	7	8
Whitesmith (tinsmith)		1				
Window cleaner		1	2		1	1
Wood sawyer		3	4	3	2	1
total	148	294	269	297	331	355

Table D.2: Boston City Directory Black Occupations, 1827 to 1833

Occupation	1827	1828	1829	1830	1831	1832	1833
barber	13/1	9/0	7/0	10/0	9/0	10/0	8/0
Bar room				1			
Blacking maker				1	1	1	1
blacksmith	1				1		11
boatman		1					
Boot black/shoe black	13/0	11/0	10/0	7/0	5/0	7/1	8/1
Boarding/boarding house	0/2	0/4	4/4	4/3	6/4	3/7	2/3
Brass founder	1						
brewer	1	1					
coachman	1	1	1				
Chimney sweep	1						
Clothes cleaner	1		1	1		1	1
Clothes dealer/clothes shop/clothes/clothing	5/1/0/0	4/4/0/0	3/5/0/5	7/2/4/4	5/2/6/2	4/1/5/2	4/1/7/3
confectioner				1	1		
cook	3	2	3	3	2	2	3
Cordwainer (cobbler)	1	3	1	1	1		
Grain man/grain measurer	1/1	0/1	0/1		0/1	0/1	0/1
hairdresser	25	24	25	24	26	27	24
hardcartman	2	2	2	1	1	1	1
housewright	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Junk shop			1	1	1	1	
laborer	97	67	50	6	14	2	5
Laundress/washerwoman	7/7	6/3	8/1	8/1	7/0	7/0	2/0
mariner	28	31	34	30	17	7	
Musician/music	2/0	4/0	1/0	1/0	3/0	0/1	2/1

Occupation	1827	1828	1829	1830	1831	1832	1833
Oyster room/oysters		2/0				1/0	1/1
packer						1	
physician						1	
porter						1	
Preacher/reverend	1/1	2/1	1/1	1/2	1/0	2/0	1/0
printer							1
Provision store	1	1	1	1	1		
Renovator of human hair	1	1	1				
Rope maker					1		1
School mistress	1						
servant		1	1	1	1	1	1
Ship office						1	1
shop		1	1	1	2	1	1
Soap maker				1	1		
Soup maker	1	1				1	1
stevedore		1		1	1	1	
sweep	1	1	1				
tailor	2	2	4	3	3	3	2
teamster		1					
tender	1	1	2	2	2	1	1
waiter	10	15	9	14	11	9	10
Window cleaner	2	3	3	3	3	1	
Wood sawyer/sawyer	2/0	2/0	1/0	1/1	0/2		
total	291	259	225	175	172	144	141

Table D.3: Boston City Directory Black Occupations, 1834 to 1840

Occupation	1834	1835	1836	1837	1838	1840
barber	11	12	9	13	9	8
basketmaker						1
Blacking maker	1	1	1	1	1	1
blacksmith	1	1	1	1	2	3
Boot black/shoe black	8/1	4/1	4/1	4/1	4/3	5/3
Boarding/boarding house	6/4	4/4	2/0	6/0	5/0	3/1
Chimney sweep						1
Cigar maker		1	1			1
Clothes cleaner/clothes cleaner store	1/0	2/0	1/2	2/2	5/0	1/1
Clothes dealer/clothes shop/clothes/clothing/second hand clothing	5/1/7/3/1	9/1/7/3/1	6/3/5/6/0	8/1/11/6/0	7/1/0/22/0	7/1/10/0/0
cook	1	1	1	1	1	1
Cordwainer	1	1	2	3	1	3
Doctor/doctress (f)		1	0/1			
dressmaker		1				
fruit						1
Fur cutter						
Grain man/grain	0/1	0/1	0/1	0/1		

Occupation	1834	1835	1836	1837	1838	1840
measurer						
hairstresser	17	17	22	20	22	26
Hardcartman/ cartman	1/0	1/0	1/0	1/1	1/1	1/0
housewright		1				
laborer	22	35	14	16	23	47
Laundress/ Washerwoman/wash & ironing			0/5/0	0/2/0	0/1/0	
mariner	19	20	15	16	15	38
mantuamaker	1					
milliner	1	1				
Musician/music	2/0	2/0	0/1	1/1	2/0	1/1
Oil stone manufacturer		1	1			
Oyster room/oysters	0/1					
packer	1	1				
painter					1	
physician		1				
preacher	1/0	1/0	1/0	1/0	1/0	1/1
Provision store/provisions			0/1	0/1	1	
rigger				1		
servant	1					
shop	1	1	2	1	1	1
Soap boiler				1		1
Soup boiler			1		1	
Soup maker	2					
stevedore					1	
tailor	3	3	5	4	6	5
teamster		1	1	2	3	3
tender	1					
Variety shop			1			
victualler					1	
waiter	12	14	7	7	10	11
whitesmith						1
whitewasher				1		
Wood sawyer				0/1		0/1
total	136	220	188	203	202	255

Table D.4: Boston City Directory Black Occupations, 1841 to 1848/9

Occupation	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	1848/9
baker							1
barber	7	11	9	11	7	6	19
Blacking maker/ manufacturing blacking		0/1					
blacksmith	1	1	2	2	2	1	2
Boot black/shoe black/boot polisher	6/1/0	4/0/0	3/0/0	4/0/0	3/0/0	4/0/0	1/0/1
bootmaker							1
Boarding/boarding	5/0/0/0	8/0/0/1	5/0/0/0	6/0/0/0	5/0/0/0	5/0/1/0	9/0/0/0

Occupation	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	1848/9
house/boards/ hostler							
Boy's clothing building							1
carpenter							3
caterer							2
Chimney sweep / chimney office	1/0	1/0	1/0	1/0	0/1	1/0	2/0
Cigar maker/cigar factory		1/0	1/0	1/0	1/0	1/1	1/0
clerk					1	1	
Clothes cleaner	2	1					3
Clothes dealer / clothes shop / clothes / clothing / second hand clothing	5/2/12/3/0	4/0/14/6/0	4/0/15/6/0	3/0/14/6/0	4/0/12/6/0	3/0/8/5/0	0/0/0/17/0
Clothes repairer	1						
cook		1	3	2	3	1	6
Cordwainer	3	2	1	1	1	1	
Counsellor							1
dressmaker				2			2
Fancy goods					1	1	
Fruit / vegetables	1/0		0/1		1/0		
Fur cutter							
furniture		2	2	2	2	1	2
gardener	2	2	2	2	3		
glazier					1		
grocer	1		1	4	2	1	2
gymnasium							1
hackman	1	1	1	1			
Hairdresser/hair renovator/haircutter	27/0/0	19/1/0	26/1/0	24/1/0	29/1/0	30/0/0	29/1/0
Hardcartman / cartman	2/0	2/0	2/0	1	1/0	1/0	1/0
housewright	2	1	1	1	1	1	
Indian medicine							1
jeweler						1	
jobber							2
Job wagon				1	1		1
Junk shop							
laborer	42	37	58	35	47	24	78
laundress/ washerwoman/ wash & ironing / washing		1/0/0/0	1/0/0/0				0/0/0/24
Mariner/seaman	33	39	50	35	55	39	28/1
Milliner/millinery/ millinery goods				1			0/0/1
Musician/music	1/1	2/1	2/0	2/0	2/0		2/0
Oyster room/oysters							0/1
painter				1			
Physician / botanic		0/1					2

Occupation	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	1848/9
physician							
porter							3
Preacher/reverend	1/1	1/1	2/1	3/0	3/0	1/0	0/5
printer			1				1
refreshments	1	2	2	2	1	1	1
Restorator/ restorateur				1	0/1	1	3/0
seamstress							1
Shoemaker	1	2	3	4	3		1
Soap boiler	1						
stedore		1	1	2	2	1	1
steward							1
tailor/tailoress	5/1	7/0	4/0	4/0	4/0	6/0	2/1
teamster	2	2	2	3	3	1	2
tender		1	3	1	3	3	11
Temperance house							1
tobacconist		1	1	1	1		
Trunk manufacturer							1
Victualler / victualler cellar	1	1	1				
waiter	16	20	26	25	25	31	23
whitewasher				2	3	2	2
whitener							1
Whitesmith (tinsmith)		1	2	2	1		
Total	255	257	315	283	335	301	394

APPENDIX E

SEX NUMBERS

This appendix provides African American male and female numbers to assist in understanding sex disparities in Andover, Great Barrington, Pittsfield, Plymouth, and Nantucket using data from the Seventh through Twelfth Federal Censuses (excluding the Eleventh Federal Census).

Andover

Table E.1: Age Categories for Total Population of People of Color in Andover from the 1820 Federal Census

Age Groups	All People of Color Female	All People of Color Male	People of Color Households Female	People of Color Households Male	People of Color in White Households Female	People of Color in White Households Male
Under 14 years	10	10	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
of 14 and under 26	10	6	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
of 26 under 45	3	4	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
45 and upwards	12	6	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Total	35	26	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Table E.2: Age Categories for People of Color in Andover from the 1830 Federal Census

Age Groups	All People of Color Female	All People of Color Male	People of Color Households Female	People of Color Households Male	People of Color in White Households Female	People of Color in White Households Male
Under 10	10	7	4	7	6	0
10-24	5	5	3	2	3	3
24-36	5	2	4	2	3	1
36-55	5	3	2	3	1	0
55-100	9	2	6	1	2	0
100+	1	0	0	0	1	0
Total	35	19	19	15	16	4

Table E.3: Age Categories for People of Color in Andover from the 1840 Federal Census

Age Groups	All People of Color Female	All People of Color Male	People of Color Households Female	People of Color Households Male	People of Color in White Households Female	People of Color in White Households Male
Under 10	1	2	0	1	1	1
10-24	2	3	2	2	0	1
24-36	2	2	1	2	1	0
36-55	3	2	1	1	2	1
55-100	4	2	3	2	1	0
100+	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	12	11	7	8	5	3

Table E.4: Age Categories for Blacks in Andover from the 1850 Federal Census

Age Groups	Black Female	Black Male	Black Households Female	Black Households Male	Black People in White Households Female	Black People in White Households Male
0-18	2	0	0	0	2	0
19-39	0	0	0	0	0	0
40-59	3	1	3	0	0	1
60 +	5	2	3	2	2	0
Total	10	3	6	2	4	1

Table E.5: Age Categories for African Americans in Andover from the 1870 Federal Census

Age Groups	Black Female	Black Male	Black Households Female	Black Households Male	Black People in White Households Female	Black People in White Households Male
0-18	7	6	4	4	3	2
19-39	6	7	3	3	3	4
40-59	1	3	1	2	0	1
60 +	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	14	16	8	9	6	7

Table E.6: Age Categories for African Americans in Andover from the 1880 Federal Census

Age Groups	Black Female	Black Male	Black Households Female	Black Households Male	Black People in White Households Female	Black People in White Households Male
0-18	3	4	3	4	0	0
19-39	5	11	2	4	3	7*
40-59	2	2	2	2	0	0
60+	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	10	17	7	10	3	7

*Two individuals were listed as students.

Table E.7: Age Categories for African Americans in Andover from the 1900 Federal Census

Age Groups	Black Female	Black Male	Black Households Female	Black Households Male	Black People in White Households Female	Black People in White Households Male
0-18	14	10	13	10	1	0
19-39	34	30	17	23	17	7
40-59	4	5	2	5	2	0
60+	2	0	2	0	0	0
Total	54	45	34	38	20	7

Plymouth

Table E.8: Age Categories for Total Population of People of Color in Plymouth from the 1820 Federal Census

Age Groups	All People of Color Female	All People of Color Male	People of Color Households Female	People of Color Households Male	People of Color in White Households Female	People of Color in White Households Male
Under 14 years	5	6	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
of 14 and under 26	6	7	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
of 26 under 45	5	4	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
45 and upwards	6	7	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Total	22	24	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Table E.9: Age Categories for People of Color in Plymouth from the 1830 Federal Census

Age Groups	All People of Color Female	All People of Color Male	People of Color Households Female	People of Color Households Male	People of Color in White Households Female	People of Color in White Households Male
Under 10	6	2	5	2	1	0
10-24	6	7	5	5	1	2
24-36	4	3	4	3	0	0
36-55	5	2	3	2	2	0
55-100	3	5	2	3	1	2
100+	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	24	19	19	15	5	4

Table E.10: Age Categories for People of Color in Plymouth from the 1840 Federal Census

Age Groups	All People of Color Female	All People of Color Male	People of Color Households Female	People of Color Households Male	People of Color in White Households Female	People of Color in White Households Male
Under 10	4	3	2	3	2	0
10-24	2	6	2	2	0	4
24-36	5	2	2	1	3	1
36-55	2	0	1	0	1	0
55-100	1	1	1	1	0	0
100+	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	14	12	8	7	6	5

Table E.11: Age Categories for Blacks in Plymouth from the 1850 Federal Census

Age Groups	Black Female	Black Male	Black Households Female	Black Households Male	Black People in White Households Female	Black People in White Households Male
0-18	23	22	22	22	1	1
19-39	14	18	14	17	0	0
40-59	12	12	11	12	1	0
60 +	5	4	4	4	1	0
Total	54	56	51	55	3	1

Table E.12: Age Categories for Blacks in Plymouth from the 1860 Federal Census

Age Groups	Black Female	Black Male	Black Households Female	Black Households Male	Black People in White Households Female	Black People in White Households Male
0-18	20	14	18	11	2	3
19-39	17	14	15	11	2	3
40-59	6	12	5	12	1	0
60 +	3	0	2	0	1	0
Total	46	40	40	34	6	6

Table E.13: Age Categories for African Americans in Plymouth from the 1870 Federal Census

Age Groups	Black Female	Black Male	Black Households Female	Black Households Male	Black People in White Households Female	Black People in White Households Male
0-18	26	26	25	26	1	0
19-39	25	18	20	16	5	2
40-59	7	7	7	7	0	0
60 +	2	8	1	8	1	0
Total	60	59	53	57	7	2

Table E.14: Age Categories for African Americans in Plymouth from the 1880 Federal Census

Age Groups	Black Female	Black Male	Black Households Female	Black Households Male	Black People in White Households Female	Black People in White Households Male
0-18	21	36	19	36	2	0
19-39	21	23	17	18	4	5
40-59	13	9	13	9	0	0
60 +	6	3	6	3	0	0
Total	61	71	55	66	6	5

Table E.15: Age Categories for African Americans in Plymouth from the 1900 Federal Census

Age Groups	Black Female	Black Male	Black Households Female	Black Households Male	Black People in White Households Female	Black People in White Households Male
0-18	30	19	25	19	5	0
19-39	28	28	17	22	11	6
40-59	12	16	10	15	2	1
60 +	9	3	8	3	1	0
Total	79	66*	60	59	19	7

*There were actually 67 males, but the schedules only listed 66.

Great Barrington

Table E.16: Age Categories for Total Population of People of Color in Great Barrington from the 1820 Federal Census

Age Groups	All People of Color Female	All People of Color Male	People of Color Households Female	People of Color Households Male	People of Color in White Households Female	People of Color in White Households Male
Under 14 years	14	13	11	8	3	5
of 14 and under 26	7	11	5	5	2	6
of 26 under 45	10	12	7	8	3	4
45 and upwards	10	5	6	3	4	2
Total	41	41	29	24	12	17

Table E.17: Age Categories for People of Color in Great Barrington from the 1830 Federal Census

Age Groups	All People of Color Female	All People of Color Male	People of Color Households Female	People of Color Households Male	People of Color in White Households Female	People of Color in White Households Male
Under 10	11	12	4	10	8	2
10-24	8	10	3	7	4	3
24-36	9	6	5	5	4	1
36-55	6	3	6	3	2	1
55-100	5	5	4	2	2	0
100+	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	39	36	19	29	20	7

Table E.18: Age Categories for People of Color in Great Barrington from the 1840 Federal Census

Age Groups	All People of Color Female	All People of Color Male	People of Color Households Female	People of Color Households Male	People of Color in White Households Female	People of Color in White Households Male
Under 10	14	28	14	18	0	10
10-24	11	10	6	5	5	5
24-36	17	15	11	11	6	4
36-55	8	10	7	10	1	0
55-100	5	1	5	1	0	0
100+	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	55	64	43	45	12	19

Table E.19: Age Categories for Blacks in Great Barrington from the 1850 Federal Census

Age Groups	Black Female	Black Male	Black Households Female	Black Households Male	Black People in White Households Female	Black People in White Households Male
0-18	31	25	24	23	7	2
19-40	19	22	16	10	3	12
41-70	12	11	10	8	2	3
71 +	2	3	2	2	0	1
Total	64	61	52	43	12	18

Table E.20: Age Categories for Blacks in Great Barrington from the 1860 Federal Census

Age Groups	<u>Black Female</u>	<u>Black Male</u>	<u>Black Households Female</u>	<u>Black Households Male</u>	<u>Black People in White Households Female</u>	<u>Black People in White Households Male</u>
0-18	28	37	22	28	6	9
19-39	27	19	17	12	10	7
40-59	14	14	11	12	3	2
60 +	6	4	6	2	0	2
Total	75	74	56	54	19	20

Table E.21: Age Categories for African Americans in Great Barrington from the 1870 Federal Census

Age Groups	<u>Black Female</u>	<u>Black Male</u>	<u>Black Households Female</u>	<u>Black Households Male</u>	<u>Black People in White Households Female</u>	<u>Black People in White Households Male</u>
0-18	19	11	16	11	3	0
19-39	22	13	16	10	6	3
40-59	6	10	5	7	1	3
60 +	8	4	8	4	0	0
Total	55	38	45	32	10	6

Table E.22: Age Categories for African Americans in Great Barrington from the 1880 Federal Census

Age Groups	<u>Black Female</u>	<u>Black Male</u>	<u>Black Households Female</u>	<u>Black Households Male</u>	<u>Black People in White Households Female</u>	<u>Black People in White Households Male</u>
0-18	26	21	24	18	2	3
19-39	28	16	24	16	4	0
40-59	8	11	6	10	2	1
60 +	7	6	7	4	0	2
Total	69	54	61	48	8	6

Table E.23: Age Categories for African Americans in Great Barrington from the 1900 Federal Census

Age Groups	Black Female	Black Male	Black Households Female	Black Households Male	Black People in White Households Female	Black People in White Households Male
0-18	15	9	14	6	1	3
19-39	31	30	13	20	18	10
40-59	20	12	15	9	5	3
60 +	6	7	4	6	2	1
Total	72	58	46	41	26	17

Pittsfield

Table E.24: Age Categories for Total Population of People of Color in Pittsfield from the 1820 Federal Census

Age Groups	All People of Color Female	All People of Color Male	People of Color Households Female	People of Color Households Male	People of Color in White Households Female	People of Color in White Households Male
Under 14 years	21	21	19	18	2	3
of 14 and under 26	23	22	13	15	10	7
of 26 under 45	18	13	13	7	5	6
45 and upwards	10	19	9	17	1	2
Total	72	75	54	57	18	18

Table E.25: Age Categories for People of Color in Pittsfield from the 1830 Federal Census

Age Groups	All People of Color Female	All People of Color Male	People of Color Households Female	People of Color Households Male	People of Color in White Households Female	People of Color in White Households Male
Under 10	16	21	11	9	5	12
10-24	26	16	15	9	11	7
24-36	23	19	9	8	14	11
36-55	14	14	11	10	4	4
55-100	9	9	7	9	2	0
100+	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	88	79	53	45	36	34

Table E.26: Age Categories for People of Color in Pittsfield from the 1840 Federal Census

Age Groups	All People of Color Female	All People of Color Male	People of Color Households Female	People of Color Households Male	People of Color in White Households Female	People of Color in White Households Male
Under 10	26	28	25	26	1	2
10-24	27	19	11	5	16	14
24-36	23	25	16	18	7	7
36-55	14	8	13	7	1	1
55-100	15	14	12	10	3	4
100+	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	105	94	77	66	28	28

Table E.27: Age Categories for Black People in Pittsfield from the 1850 Federal Census

Age Groups	Black Female	Black Male	Black Households Female	Black Households Male	Black People in White Households Female	Black People in White Households Male
0-18	69	65	60	61	9	4
19-39	44	44	41	29	3	15
40-59	25	24	21	22	4	2
60 +	8	8	8	7	0	1
Total	146	141	130	119	16	22

Table E.28: Age Categories for Black People in Pittsfield from the 1860 Federal Census

Age Groups	Black Female	Black Male	Black Households Female	Black Households Male	Black People in White Households Female	Black People in White Households Male
0-18	64	57	57	53	8	4
19-39	44	39	32	33	11	6
40-59	24	20	18	18	6	2
60 +	10	5	9	5	1	0
Total	142	121	116	109	26	12

Table E.29: Age Categories for Pittsfield African Americans from the 1870 Federal Census

Age Groups	<u>Black Female</u>	<u>Black Male</u>	<u>Black Households Female</u>	<u>Black Households Male</u>	<u>Black People in White Households Female</u>	<u>Black People in White Households Male</u>
0-18	66	57	63	53	3	4
19-39	59	60	44	44	14	17
40-59	26	21	23	17	4	3
60 +	13	9	13	7	0	2
Total	164	147	143	121	21	26

Table E.30: Age Categories for Pittsfield African Americans from the 1880 Federal Census

Age Groups	<u>Black Female</u>	<u>Black Male</u>	<u>Black Households Female</u>	<u>Black Households Male</u>	<u>Black People in White Households Female</u>	<u>Black People in White Households Male</u>
0-18	80	58	74	54	6	4
19-39	58	60	45	39	13	21
40-59	26	20	21	16	5	4
60 +	14	15	13	15	1	0
Total	178	153	153	124	25	29

Table E.31: Age Categories for Pittsfield African Americans from the 1900 Federal Census

Age Groups	<u>Black Female</u>	<u>Black Male</u>	<u>Black Households Female</u>	<u>Black Households Male</u>	<u>Black People in White Households Female</u>	<u>Black People in White Households Male</u>
0-18	56	58	50	56	6	2
19-39	51	43	46	37	7	4
40-59	25	22	21	22	2	2
60 +	9	15	8	12	1	3
Total	142*	138	125	127	17*	11

(* Adds a female listed with an unrecorded age)

Nantucket

Table E.32: Age Categories for Total Population of People of Color in Nantucket from the 1820 Federal Census

Age Groups	All People of Color <u>Female</u>	All People of Color <u>Male</u>	People of Color Households <u>Female</u>	People of Color Households <u>Male</u>	People of Color in White Households <u>Female</u>	People of Color in White Households <u>Male</u>
Under 14 years	33	30	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
of 14 and under 26	39	37	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
of 26 under 45	23	51	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
45 and upwards	17	14	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Total	112	132	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Table E.33: Age Categories for People of Color in Nantucket from the 1830 Federal Census

Age Groups	All People of Color <u>Female</u>	All People of Color <u>Male</u>	People of Color Households <u>Female</u>	People of Color Households <u>Male</u>	People of Color in White Households <u>Female</u>	People of Color in White Households <u>Male</u>
Under 10	31	22	29	21	2	1
10-24	38	41	27	37	11	4
24-36	45	33	32	30	13	3
36-55	22	26	21	26	1	0
55-100	9	10	6	9	3	1
Total	145	132	115	123	30	9

Table E.34: Age Categories for People of Color in Nantucket from the 1840 Federal Census

Age Groups	All People of Color <u>Female</u>	All People of Color <u>Male</u>	People of Color Households <u>Female</u>	People of Color Households <u>Male</u>	People of Color in White Households <u>Female</u>	People of Color in White Households <u>Male</u>
Under 10	21	36	18	31	3	5
10-24	57	140	43	31	11	3
24-36	24	148	17	35	7	3
36-55	29	82	23	43	6	0
55-100	19	10	17	6	2	1
Total	150	416	118	146	29	12

Table E.35: Age Categories for Blacks People in Nantucket from the 1850 Federal Census

Age Groups	Black Female	Black Male	Black Households Female	Black Households Male	Black People in White Households Female	Black People in White Households Male
0-18	45	58	37	42	8	4
19-39	39	171	30	32	9	3
40-59	29	37	29	27	0	0
60 +	7	8	6	7	1	0
Total	120	274	108	102	18	7

Table E.36: Age Categories for Blacks People in Nantucket from the 1860 Federal Census

Age Groups	Black Female	Black Male	Black Households Female	Black Households Male	Black People in White Households Female	Black People in White Households Male
0-18	22	20	17	16	5	4
19-39	18	17	12	15	6	2
40-59	22	14	17	11	5	3
60 +	11	4	10	4	1	0
Total	73	55	46	56	17	9

Table E.37: Age Categories for Blacks People in Nantucket from the 1870 Federal Census

Age Groups	African American Female	African American Male	African American Households Female	African American Households Male	African Americans in White Households Female	African Americans in White Households Male
0-18	8	6	5	4	3	2
19-39	14	7	9	6	5	1
40-59	15	6	9	6	5	0
60 +	17	7	12	6	6	1
Total	54	26	35	22	19	4

Table E.38: Age Categories for Blacks People in Nantucket from the 1880 Federal Census

Age Groups	African American Female	African American Male	African American Households Female	African American Households Male	African Americans in White Households Female	African Americans in White Households Male
0-18	3	5	2	5	1	0
19-39	19	1	18	2	1	0
40-59	9	6	6	5	2	0
60 +	16	5	11	5	6	0
Total	47	17	37	17	10	0

Table E.39: Age Categories for Black People in Nantucket from the 1900 Federal Census

Age Groups	African American Female	African American Male	African American Households Female	African American Households Male	African Americans in White Households Female	African Americans in White Households Male
0-18	10	6	9	6	1	0
19-39	7	3	2	2	5	1
40-59	12	2	9	2	3	0
60 +	8	2	7	2	1	0
Total	37	13	27	12	10	1

APPENDIX F

MASSACHUSETTS TOWNS AND CITIES WITH AFRICAN AMERICANS (1850 TO 1900)

This appendix provides all known towns and cities in Massachusetts with African Americans from 1850 to 1900 using census data from the Seventh through Twelfth Federal Censuses.

Table F.1: Towns and Cities in Massachusetts with African Americans from 1850 to 1900

Towns and Cities	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890*	1900*
Abington		37	42		6	5
Acton		6	3			
Adams	38	47	57	13	4	18
Acushnet		7	5			
Agawam		13	15?			8
Alford	7	0	1			
Amesbury	0	0	11		40	23
Amherst	80	84	87	79	110	199
Andover	13	0	30	27	52	98
Arlington			33	26	48	75
Asburnham		6	7			
Ashby	1	0	0			
Ashfield	0	0	12?			
Ashland	6	0			6	
Athol		5	4	2		9
Attleboro/Attleborough	16	19	50	138	115	111
Auburn		4	5			
Barnstable	30	29	68	57	52	87
Barre	14	12	10			
Becket	1	12	9			
Bedford	0	5	3			
Belchertown	19	8	17			
Bellingham	0	3	0			
Belmont		0	8			9
Berkley	12	1	2			
Berlin	8	2	7			
Bernardston	2	2	0			
Beverly		7	6	25	22	51
Billerica	0	0	4			37

Towns and Cities	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890*	1900*
Blackstone	11	2	5	2	2	0
Blandford	10	16	11			
Bolton	0	7	5			
Boston	1,999	2,261	3,496	5,873	8,125	11,591
Boston Corner	0					
Boxborough	11	12	13			
Boxford	1	2				
Boylston	8	6	17			
Bradford	0	1			27	
Braintree	3	0	6		5	22
Brewster	9	12	6			
Bridgewater	32	47	49		84	52
Brighton	5	4	64			
Brimfield	2	2	3			
Brockton			41	39	72	310
Brookfield	10	10	14		11	4
Brookline	5	3	23	17	42	161
Buckland	0	0	0			
Burlington	0	0	1			
Cambridge	141	354	848	1,504	1,988	3,888
Canton	18	33	14	18	18	22
Carlisle	0	0				
Carver	10	8	5			
Charlemont	7	0	11			
Charlestown	206	202	127			
Charlisle			0			
Charlton	10	0	6			
Chatham	0	5	1			
Chelmsford	7	0	2		0	1
Cheshire	1	1				
Chester	8	13	7?			
Chesterfield	0	0	0			
Chelsea	37	136	238	519	668	731
Chicopee	7	1	6	1	3	10
Chilmark	13	0	2			
Clarksburg	0	0	0			
Clinton	6		2	11		24
Cohassott	0	10	0			34
Coleraine	11	8	1			
Concord	29	14	20		27	41
Conway	1	1	2			
Cummington	8					

Towns and Cities	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890*	1900*
Dalton	34	41	21		33	50
Dana	4	5	1			
Danvers	0	0	18	16	10	10
Dartmouth	42	26	81		43	79
Dedham	18	25	44	64	64	65
Deerfield	19	16	40		24	
Dennis	0	2	0		7	
Dighton	13	23	18			
Dorchester	6	10	-	-	-	-
Douglas	0	0	8			
Dover	0	1	0			
Dracut	40	20	14			4
Dudley	8	15	23		11	11
Dunstable	0	0	0			
Duxbury	18	9	5			
East Bridgewater	3	2	7		6	8
Eastham	0	0	0			
Easthampton	2	3	1	14	4	42
Easton	11	8	12		16	19
Edgartown	26	16	32			
Egremont	10	17	11			
Enfield	2	0	4			
Erving	0	0	0			
Essex	13	24				
Everett			17	39	72	634
Fairhaven	48	24	17		39	41
Fall River	80	60	106	144	179	324
Falmouth	5	7	11		28	79
Fitchburg	22	34	42	37	31	65
Florida	0	7	0			
Foxborough/Foxboro	0	4	11		15	12
Framingham	16	8	12	11	24	38
Franklin	2	2	10	15	0	6
Freetown	1	12	12			
Gardner	12	40	58	44	56	53
Gay Head			134			
Georgetown	3	0	0			
Gill	0	0	0			
Gloucester	11	13	11	20	12	39
Goshen	0	0	0			
Gosnold		0				
Grafton	12	16	24	16	0	13

Towns and Cities	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890*	1900*
Granby	0	0	2			
Granville	4	1	6?			
Great Barrington	123	149	93	123	125	138
Greenfield	32	19	23		19	17
Greenwich	0	0	1			
Groton	5	27	38			
Groveland	2		0			
Hadley	17	22	26			
Halifax	0	0	0			
Hall	0					
Hamilton	10	8	4			
Hancock	0	0	21			
Hanover	12	1	13			
Hanson	10	1	0			
Hardwick	11	12	6		1	1
Harvard	7	10	11			
Harwich	0	2	6		39	
Hatfield	15	18	18			
Haverhill	11	0	21	167	260	373
Hawley	0	1	1			
Heath	1	0	1			
Hingham	5	34	43	47	103	85
Hinsdale	21	41	42			
Holden	0	1	0		0	
Holland	1	5	0			
Holliston	9	1	2		10	0
Holyoke	19	1	18	31	10	40
Hopkinton	2	1	3	2	6	2
Hubbardston	12	13	22			
Hudson			4		2	11
Hull		0	0			
Huntington		0	3			
Hyde Park			16	149	98	116
Ipswich	9	10	26?		21	17
Kingston	3	4	1			
Lakeville		11	11			
Lancaster	1	10	29			
Lanesborough	90	71	60			
Lawrence	10	5	106	150	104	87
Lee	88	67	130		101	83
Leicester	1	0	0		2	1
Lenox	125	64	104		104	83

Towns and Cities	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890*	1900*
Leominster	5	1	0	20	19	75
Leverett	0	0	0			
Lexington	5	1	12		14	13
Leyden	0	1	0			
Lincoln	0	1	8			
Littleton	23	4	11			
Longmeadow	2	3	4			
Lowell	55	41	111	177	274	136
Ludlow	28	10	27			2
Lunenburg	1	2	0			
Lynn	115	226	371	564	715	784
Lynnfield	5	0	1			
Malden	0	18	31	55	107	446
Manchester	0	1	0			11
Mansfield	2	14	10		5	5
Marblehead	7	2	13?	17	37	23
Marion		0	0			
Marlborough/Marlboro	10	4	11	16	38	31
Marshfield	16	0	5			
Mashpee		17	307			
Mattapoisett		21	5			
Marynard					0	0
Medfield	7	0	3			18
Medford	10	11	23	21	55	244
Medway	0	7	8		1	7
Melrose	5	5	9	21	48	130
Menden	35	48	42			
Merrimac					0	
Methuen	0	0	7	2	0	17
Middleborough/Middleboro	16	10	18	27	37	60
Middlefield	1	3	6			
Middleton	0	0	0			
Milford	12	25	40	43	17	24
Millbury	3	2	9	2	0	2
Milton	10	1	28		47	64
Monroe	0	0	0			
Monson	67	75			60	42
Montague	1	1	3	0	3	1
Monterey	38	33	25			
Montgomery	7	0	3?			
Mount Washington	7	2	1			
Nahaut		2	9			

Towns and Cities	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890*	1900*
Nantucket	394	128	80		40	46
Natick	26	28	31	39	52	52
Needham	3	16	14	25	16	19
New Ashford	0	0	0			
New Bedford	1,027	1,515	1,505	1,541	1,699	1,685
New Braintree	3	1	0			
Newbury	15	0	6			
Newburyport	39	54	81	66	66	98?
New Marlborough	13	12	10			
New Salem	0	0	0			
Newton	6	7	88	212	342	505
Norfolk	-	-	7			
North Adams			0	41	46	90
Northampton	158	93	158	116	92	108
North Andover	-	8	2		10	
North Attleboro					23	
Northborough	1	2	0			
Northbridge		1	6	1	9	4
North Bridgewater	31	32	41			
North Brookfield	0	1	5	11	11	15
North Chelsea	2	1	1			
Northfield	4	2	2			
North Reading		10	5			
Norton	4	1	11			
Norwich	0		0			
Norwood					9	19
Oakham	0	0	0			
Orange	0	0	0		0	1
Orleans	1	1	0			
Otis	3	23	32			
Oxford	8	26	38		44	26
Palmer	21	7	15	47	48	29
Pawtucket	4	4	0			
Paxton	1	1	3			
Peabody			16	4	8	38?
Pelham	0	5	1			
Pembroke	8	15	14			
Pepperell	4	10	3		20	15
Peru	0	11	10			
Petersham	1	5	12			
Phillipston	0	0	0			
Pittsfield	285	263	311	329	226	277

Towns and Cities	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890*	1900*
Plainfield	2	1	1			
Plymouth	110	86	119	131	87	146
Plympton	0	0	0			
Prescott	0	0	0			
Princeton	8	0	2			
Provincetown	1	1	1	15	24	54
Quincy		6	15	91	16	27
Randolph		8	15	10	4	2
Raynham	24	27	24			
Reading	14	7	3		2	6
Rehoboth	9	4	13			
Revere					24	43
Richmond	16	9	2			
Rochester	44	5	5			
Rockland			0	11	0	6
Rockport	0	2	2		1	4
Rowe	1	0	0			
Rowley	6	1	0			
Roxbury (part of Boston in 1867)	107	60	-	-	-	-
Royalston	0	0	1			
Russell	1	15	12			
Rutland	3	0	0			
Salem	324	278	243	208	116	156
Salisbury	0	0	1	2		
Sandisfield	15	4	1			
Sandwich	65	17	38			
Saugus	2	2	1		17	27
Savoy	0	0	0			
Scituate	0	4	0			
Seekonk	28	33	17			
Sharon	1	0	1			
Sheffield	182	127	163			
Shelburne	1	4	3			
Sherbourne/Sherborn	10	12	8			
Shirley	6	1	1			
Shrewsbury	5	1	1			
Shutesbury	6	7				
Somerset	4	0	17			
Somerville	20	28	26	77	65	140
Southampton	0					
Southborough	0	1	1			
Southbridge	18	5	3	30	33	29

Towns and Cities	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890*	1900*
South Danvers		2				
South Hadley	6	7	2		0	3
South Hampton		0	0			
South Reading (became Wakefield in 1868)	1	3				
South Scituate	81	91	0			
Southwick	4	9	2			
Spencer	12	5	2	7	8	5
Springfield	271	276	567	775	811	1,021
Sterling	10	0	22			
Stockbridge	19	46	71			
Stoneham	0	3	30	41	35	11
Stoughton	26	15	21	8	4	9
Stow	1	0	2			
Sturbridge	11	37	23			
Sudbury	0	0				
Sunderland	2	0	0			
Sutton	1	0	6		2	3
Swanzy	43	24	17			
Swampscott		4	8?		16	44
Taunton	120	112	121	110	138	226
Templeton	2	4	5		6	11
Tewkesbury	0	6	30		18	43
Tisbury	14	2	41			
Tolland	10	10	2			
Topsfield	2	1	1?			
Townsend	15	5	15			
Truro	0	0	0			
Tyringham	23	19	18			
Tyngsborough	4	6	6			
Upton		0	3			
Uxbridge		37	16		10	43
Wakefield			8	31	12	25
Wales	0	0	0			
Walpole	1	1	1		3	11
Waltham	2	9	9	19	16	51
Ware	3	8	2	5	2	0
Wareham	25	12	20		23	187
Warren	28	21	18		3	18
Warwick	0	0				
Washington	8	14	17			
Watertown	2	3	15	24	25	53
Wayland	0	0	6			

Towns and Cities	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890*	1900*
Webster	0	5	8	39	16	37?
Wellesley					6	17
Wellfleet	2	2	4			
Wendell	3	2				
Wenham	4	4	3?			
Westborough/Westboro	16	29	23	23	7	26
West Boylston	0	8	7		3	
West Bridgewater	17	9	14			
West Brookfield	0	9	9			
West Cambridge	2	2	0			
Westfield	17	14	38	59	63	81
Westford	4	7	6			1
Westhampton	3	0	1			
Westminster	9	8	5			
West Newbury	0	1	11			
Weston	0	0	0			
Westport	45	22	29		13	24
West Roxbury		24	58			
West Springfield	13	1	6	10	4	16
West Stockbridge	19	53	37			
Weymouth	16	9	31	50	29	40
Whately	0	0				
Whitman					3	38
Wilbraham	11	11	11			
Williamsburg	0	0	9			
Williamstown	130	77	67		118	138
Wilmington	0	0	6			
Winchendon	5	0			2	8
Winchester	0	2	10		45	140
Windsor	0	0	1			
Winthrop		0	0		28	43
Woburn	4	8	3	31	100	261
Worcester	192	272	513	763	944	1,104
Worthington	13	1	6			
Wrentham	16	10	27		8	23
Yarmouth	10	5	18			

*Towns/Cities with 2,500 or more inhabitants.

Source: Seventh through Twelfth Federal Censuses 1850 to 1900

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United States Federal Censuses

First Federal Census

Second Fifth Federal Census

Third Federal Census

Fourth Federal Census

Fifth Federal Census

Sixth Federal Census

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Ninth Federal Census
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