Spirits and Spirituality: Temperance and Racial Uplift in Nineteenth-Century Nantucket, MA

John T. Crawmer

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.umb.edu/masters_theses

Part of the African American Studies Commons, Archaeological Anthropology Commons, and the History Commons
SPIRITS AND SPIRITUALITY: TEMPERANCE AND RACIAL UPLIFT IN
NINETEENTH-CENTURY NANTUCKET, MA

A Thesis Presented
by
JOHN T. CRAWMER

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies,
University of Massachusetts Boston,
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

May 2023

Historical Archaeology Program
SPIRITS AND SPIRITUALITY: TEMPERANCE AND RACIAL UPLIFT IN
NINETEENTH-CENTURY NANTUCKET, MA

A Thesis Presented

by

JOHN T. CRAWMER

Approved as to style and content by:

________________________________________________
Nedra K. Lee, Associate Professor
Chairperson of Committee

________________________________________________
David B. Landon, Associate Director
Member

________________________________________________
John M. Steinberg, Research Scientist
Member

________________________________________________
Heather B. Trigg, Program Director
Historical Archaeology Program

________________________________________________
Ping-Ann Addo, Chairperson
Department of Anthropology
ABSTRACT

SPIRITS AND SPIRITUALITY: TEMPERANCE AND RACIAL UPLIFT IN
NINETEENTH-CENTURY NANTUCKET, MA

May 2023

John T. Crawmer, B.A., Pennsylvania State University
M.A., University of Massachusetts Boston

Directed by Professor Nedra K. Lee

Studies of alcohol consumption have shown alcohol’s role in defining social boundaries based on class and ethnicity, but few have interrogated alcohol in the context of race. During the early-19th century, free black communities were encouraged to refrain from alcohol as part of a larger project of racial uplift. Black societies and churches perceived intemperance as not only immoral but a threat to community survival. Excavations of the Nantucket African Meeting House noted a considerable lack of alcohol bottles, but it was unclear whether temperance was equally observed at the neighboring Boston-Higginbotham House. This research uses a minimum number of vessels analysis and probate records to characterize alcohol consumption between two generations of the Boston family. Newspaper editorials are also referenced to gauge the white response to black temperance. Cross-site comparisons show that the rate of...
drinking between Nantucket and other 19th-century free-black sites was similar. Further comparison to the working-class Irish community in New York’s Five Points, shows that drinking rates were higher in Nantucket. Yet the Boston family uniquely abstained from liquor. These findings demonstrate that the Bostons adhered to the temperance standards of their time. This adherence was largely enforced by women who held ambitions towards “respectability” for their family.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to Dr. Nedra Lee, my advisor, for our many long and intellectually stimulating conversations. This research would have been impossible without your unwavering guidance and patience. I am also grateful to Dr. David Landon and Dr. John Steinberg for their invaluable advice which challenged me to think more deeply and critically. I would also like to thank the esteemed faculty at UMass Boston, especially Dr. Stephen Mrozowski, Dr. Stephen Silliman, Dr. Douglas Bolender, Dr. Heather Trigg, and Dr. Christa Beranek, for everything they taught me. I owe a great deal to Stephen Warfel who was brave enough to give me my first opportunity in archaeology. I also want to thank my friends and colleagues who I had the pleasure of working with at the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, especially Annie Greco, Sarah Trebilcock Johnson, Zachary Williams, and Jennifer Poulsen. I’ve learned so much working with such brilliant and competent professionals. Thank you to everyone who has been a part of the Historical Archaeology MA program, especially my 2017 cohort. I owe an enormous debt of gratitude to Nika Zeitlin, Meg Winnick, Lauryn Sharp, Tyler Perkins, Lissa Herzing, Allie Crowder, and Victoria Cacchione. Your friendship, encouragement, support, and insight have meant the world to me.

And finally, to Stephanie Kallwass; thank you for everything.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ................................................................. vi
LIST OF FIGURES ....................................................................... viii
LIST OF TABLES .......................................................................... ix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. BACKGROUND</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Seafaring</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racial Uplift</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temperance</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The African Meeting House</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The African School</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Boston Family</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archaeology in New Guinea</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. METHODS</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizing Archaeological Data</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minimum Number of Vessels</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statistical Methods</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. RESULTS</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparative Statistics</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. ANALYSIS</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Boston Family's Relationship with Alcohol</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparison with Other Sites</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effectiveness of Temperance for Racial Uplift</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**LIST OF FIGURES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>1880 photograph of the Nantucket African Meeting House</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Abridged Boston Family Tree</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Boston-Higginbotham House, Photograph by David Landon</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Site map and total artifact densities of Nantucket African Meeting House</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>excavations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Site map and total artifact densities of Boston-Higginbotham House</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>excavations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Harris matrix of Nantucket African Meeting House and Boston-Higginbotham</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>House lots</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Photographs of turn-mold produced wine bottle fragments with an</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>example of a tapered collar with ring finish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Photographs of the complete “Pinex” medicine bottle and complete olive</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>oil bottle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Summary of Nantucket African Meeting House contexts, test units, and dating</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Number and percent of artifacts by material at the Nantucket African Meeting House</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Summary of Boston-Higginbotham contexts, test units, and dating</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Number and percent of artifacts by material at the Boston-Higginbotham House</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Count of vessel types by context</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Distribution of vessel functional groups by context</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Observed and expected values and adjusted chi-square residuals</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Observed and expected values between alcoholic beverages and pharmaceutical functional groups</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Comparison of ceramic vessels between Boston-Higginbotham House privies.</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Count of glass vessel functional groups at the Nantucket African Meeting House/Boston-Higginbotham House, the Boston African Meeting House, and Abiel Smith School</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Observed and expected values between alcoholic beverages and pharmaceuticals at Nantucket and the Abiel Smith School</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Count of glass vessel functional groups at the Nantucket African Meeting House/Boston-Higginbotham House, the Maynard-Burgess Cellar, and Skunk Hollow</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Observed and expected values between alcoholic beverages and pharmaceuticals at the Boston-Higginbotham House and Skunk Hollow</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table</td>
<td>Page</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Count of glass vessel functional groups at the Boston-Higginbotham House and Five Points, New York</td>
<td>72</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Observed and expected values and adjusted chi-square residuals between alcoholic beverages and pharmaceuticals at the Boston-Higginbotham House and Five Points, New York</td>
<td>73</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Number of alcohol bottles by alcohol type at the Boston-Higginbotham House, Abiel Smith School, and Five Points</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

New England, contrasting itself with the “slave south”, claimed moral leadership of the nation during the 19th century. *The Nantucket Inquirer* (1828:1) characterizes New England as “a land of equal rights; its soil is not polluted by a slave.” On Nantucket, slave ownership became something of a family secret with local histories preferring to emphasize the island’s involvement with the abolitionist movement of the mid-19th century (Kaldenback-Montemayor 2006:18). However, this opposition to slavery did not imply acceptance of black social equality (Bethel 1999:182). Black Nantucketers navigated a system of white supremacy buttressed by racial segregation that excluded their children from public schools, restricted economic opportunity, and limited their citizenship (Saillant 2006; Karttunen 2005; Lee 2019; White 1978; Byers 1987). They created a self-sufficient community, which they called “New Guinea”, where schools, churches, mutual-aid, and fraternal societies could function independent of white-dominated social structures (Bethel 1999:64).

The infrastructures of free black communities like New Guinea served to soften the disadvantages of race and provide a means to combat it (Bethel 1999:64). Black activists were committed to the race-blind promises of the Enlightenment and the liberal
marketplace. Their primary strategy was to expose the hypocrisy of those who professed faith in liberty and equality whilst supporting slavery and racial discrimination (Rael 2002:52). From 1830 through the Civil War, northern black leaders organized National Conventions to discuss their common plight, ponder solutions, and craft statements of their sentiments to the black masses and white America (Rael 2002:29). Delegates to the 1832 National Convention promoted a strategy of moral reform, believing their condition would improve by demonstrating a readiness for equality (Bethel 1999:137-138). “In recommending to you a path to pursue for our present good and future elevation, beware of that bewitching evil, that bane of society, that curse of the world, that fell destroyer of the best prospects, and the last hope of civilized man – INTEMPERANCE” (National Convention 1832:52). The rhetoric of temperance and respectability became intertwined with “racial uplift” during the 19th century (Rael 2002).

Black temperance societies were formed in northeastern cities during the 1830s (Horton and Horton 1999). On Nantucket, the Colored Temperance Society was founded by several New Guinea businessman and held its meetings at the African Meeting House and Zion Methodist Church (*Nantucket Inquirer* 1834b:3). Nantucket’s black-owned businesses commonly advertised themselves as practicing “temperance principals” (*Nantucket Inquirer* 1855:3). Although Nantucket was geographically isolated, Black Nantucketers echoed the national rhetoric of “racial uplift” by presenting themselves as respectable and temperate (Rael 2002; Bethel 1999).

Previous historical research has placed Black Nantucketers back into the larger narrative of Nantucket, detailing the role they played in the island’s social, economic, and
political history (Kaldenbach-Montemayor 1983; Karttunen 2005). The most well-known stories of Nantucket’s black history, the life of its most prominent citizens, and Nantucket’s connection to the national abolitionist movement have been explored by this research (Karttunen 2005). Archaeological research has been undertaken at the African Meeting House, New Guinea’s first church built in the mid-1820s, and the Boston-Higginbotham House, the home of one of the community’s most prominent families (Beaudry and Berkland 2007; Bulger 2013; Bulger 2015; Lee and Landon 2017). Work at the African Meeting House has demonstrated how the building served as a church, hosted community events, and was a public school for black children (Beaudry and Berkland 2007). Likewise, archaeology at the Boston-Higginbotham House has examined how New Guinea’s Boston family displayed the material culture expected of a middle-class household, maintained a connection to their native Wampanoag heritage, and engaged in the island’s market economy (Bulger 2013; Cacchione 2019; Lee and Landon 2017; Way 2010; Muehlbauer 2021; Hering 2022).

Building off prior historical and archaeological research, this thesis examines the extent to which the Bostons practiced temperance. This is accomplished through a comparison of glass vessels between generations of the Boston-Higginbotham House. Glass vessels were also examined at the Nantucket African Meeting House to measure its position as a temperate space. Additionally, Nantucket Inquirer editorials discussing black temperance were studied. These editorials put into question the effectiveness of “racial uplift” in realizing black equality. This research expands understandings of the
experiences of Black Nantucketers, the symbolism surrounding alcohol in racialized contexts, and the use of black temperance as a means of resistance to racial stereotypes.

To summarize the structure of this thesis, Chapter 2 provides a thorough examination of the historical and cultural context of 19th-century New Guinea. This chapter also presents recent research on Nantucket's black-owned businesses, providing novel insights into the historic economic landscape for black entrepreneurs. Chapter 3 focuses on the methods used to organize archaeological data, identify the minimum number of vessels in contexts of interest, and the statistical approach used to compare glass vessel assemblages. Chapter 4 presents the glass vessel and statistical results. Finally, Chapter 5 discusses the Boston family’s relationship with alcohol and situates the findings within the context of racial uplift. This chapter draws comparisons with other archaeological sites and explores the efficacy of temperance and racial uplift as strategies for resisting racial discrimination.
CHAPTER 2
BACKGROUND

The late-17th century saw English colonists on Nantucket resort to sheep raising since their attempts at agriculture failed to yield a surplus (Kaldenback-Montemayor 2006:22). Sheep gobbled up vegetation, exposed the soil to salt-laden wind, and reduced its fertility. By the 19th century, the island’s damaged ecosystem could no longer support its growing population, so settlers turned to whaling to meet their economic needs (Karttunen 2005:42-43). Nantucket’s maritime experience started slowly, with shore fishing and harvesting of “drift” whales but developed into a robust economy that exploded after the War of 1812. By 1823, Nantucket was the world’s largest whaling port with 83 vessels in service (Kaldenback-Montemayor 2006:23). A whaling economy required supplies, materials, and financial services. Its crews needed food, clothing, lodging, and entertainment. As the whaling industry developed, so did Nantucket's land-based economies. Nantucketers who were not mariners or seamen were employed as weavers, ropemakers, carpenters, boardinghouse keepers, shoemakers, seamstresses, domestics, blacksmiths, traders, barbers, and laborers (Kaldenback-Montemayor 2006; Karttunen 2005; Byers 1987; Lee 2019).
The Wampanoag, Nantucket’s native population, were frequently excluded from this economy. They seldom earned enough to cover their needs and were commonly brought to court for stealing food. They broke into mills to carry off grain, warehouses for mutton and pork, and butchered Englishmen’s sheep (Karttunen 2005:48-49). Outraged by these thefts, the English blamed them for their failure to keep their heads above water. Resentments continued well into the 19th century. In 1890, a writer for the *Nantucket Inquirer* (1890:2) remarked, “very likely there is more sentiment lavished upon the Indians to-day, out upon Western Plains, than the great grandparents of the present Islander bestowed upon his dirty, thriftless and thieving Indian neighbor.” Those who ran up accounts beyond their means were made to work off their debts. Terms of service ranged from months, years, and for some extended well into old age and past the grave. “Indian debts” were a commodity to be traded and passed on in wills and Wampanoag children were bound into servitude for the debts of their parents (Karttunen 2005:50-51; Byers 1987:96). The bound servitude of some Wampanoag was not unlike the experience of Nantucket’s African population.

African slaves were brought to the island in the late-17th or early-18th centuries to fill a growing labor shortage from a declining Wampanoag population (Karttunen 2005:60; Byers 1987; Beaudry and Berkland 2007:397). English colonists owned at least 160 slaves during the 18th century and slave owners included some of the island’s most prominent names like Hussey, Coffin, and Pinkham (Bulger 2013:5; Kaldenback-Montemayor 2006:18; Karttunen 2005:60). Slavery on Nantucket was a permanent condition wherein the enslaved were considered transferable property in their owner’s
wills and leasable between families. At least four decades after Nantucket’s Quakers began condemning slavery, some were still in possession of black slaves (Kaldenback-Montemayor 2006:18; Karttunen 2005:60).

An outbreak of yellow fever swept across Nantucket between 1763 and 1764. The Wampanoag population was decimated with 222 deaths, leaving only 136 remaining on Nantucket, while the English were unscathed (Karttunen 2005:52-55). The epidemic is commonly referenced as the end of the Wampanoag presence on the island, but this narrative ignores the persistence of Native Americans through their unions with African Americans (Karttunen 2005; NHA 1880a; Bragdon 2009; Silliman 2010). In truth, the Wampanoag who remained on Nantucket found a common cause with African slaves and merged into a new community of people of color (Karttunen 2005:52-54, Cacchione 2019).

“New Guinea” formed as a small village situated near a row of wood mills, between Nantucket harbor and Popsquatchet Hills at the turn of the 19th century. At the far southeast was the Newton Gate, through which travelers ventured out of town and into the sheep commons, and Gallows Field, the site of executions during the 18th century (Beaudry and Berkland 2007:399). The neighborhood measured a mere two miles square, contained within Orange, Atlantic, York, and Pleasant Streets (Hudson 2006:153). Continuing south toward the ocean shore lays the Miacomet valley. This is where Nantucket's Wampanoags were displaced by English expansion (Karttunen 2005:65-66; Byers 1987). New Guinea’s position near Miacomet made it a natural
meeting place for Africans and Wampanoags after the decimation of the 1763–1764 fever (Karttunen 2005:65-66).

New Guinea’s residents were mixed race as documented by the three dozen recorded unions between Wampanoag and African families after 1763 (Karttunen 2005:84; Cacchione 2019; Byers 1987). Essex Boston, Peter Boston, and Jeffrey Summons wrote in 1822, “We hereby certify that there are among the coloured people of this place remains of the Nantucket Indians, and that nearly every family in our village are partly descended from the original inhabitants of this and neighboring places” (Karttunen 2005:56). The self-identification of “coloured” rather than “black” was an acknowledgment of their close association with indigenous peoples. New Guinea’s Wampanoag heritage was again recognized in 1844 by school integrationists who question whether the town “means to deprive any child having any appreciable mixture of Negro or Indian blood, of the privilege of attending any schools where there are white children” (Karttunen 2005:66). In 1786, three years after abolishing slavery, the Massachusetts legislature enacted an anti-miscegenation law that stood until 1843. This prohibited joining in marriage “any white person with any negro, Indian, or mulatto, under penalty of 50 pounds and all such marriages shall be absolutely null and void” (Karttunen 2005:65, Byers 1987). Efforts to contain and limit the growth of the “coloured” population was circumvented by a flood of immigrants drawn to Nantucket’s booming whaling industry (Bolster 1990). The 1850 federal census recorded nonwhite migrants from mainland Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Washington D.C., Virginia, South Carolina, and
Louisiana. The greatest number came from New York, but nearly as many came from the slave states (US Federal Census 1850; Lee 2019).

White Nantucketers held negative perceptions of the New Guinea community. Racist media popularized images of incompetent, childlike, bestial, or innately inferior blacks. They were presented as prone to crimes like mutiny, murder, public disorderliness, public drunkenness, rape, and theft (Saillant 2006:58). Gruesome articles of black men raping white women and black women murdering children were regular fare in the Gazette and Inquirer up to 1834 (Saillant 2006:59). Humor in white media presupposed that blacks mimic whites but fail to understand the reason for their actions. For example, in the Nantucket Inquirer (1823:2) “A Negro being asked how late it was by his watch, exclaimed, ‘Sixty-tree minutes pas haf arter twelve, why you no keep a watch yoursef?’”. In other words, a black man can own a watch, but doesn’t have the awareness or intelligence to use it properly (Saillant 2006:60).

Conceptions of New Guinea amongst off islanders were equally unflattering. An 1822 editorial described off-islander’s common “hallucinations” of Nantucket as a place of “heathen darkness” in sore need of “missionary assistance” (Saillant 2006:54). Reports had circulated in New England that “pagan” ceremonies and “idolatrous incantations” were practiced while white Nantucketers ignored them (Nantucket Inquirer 1822b:2). The Inquirer often printed reports of the American Colonization Society’s efforts to move Black Americans to Sierra Leone, Haiti, or Liberia (Saillant 2006:64). In 1832, a writer promoted “the removal of emancipated slaves” by arguing that “it was not the black man
only that had been held in bondage. The whites also had been slaves - slaves to their fears, and to the dangers that beset them; with all their boasted freedom, they could utter their feelings only in whispers in the secret chamber” (Nantucket Inquirer 1832b:2).

The racialization of New Guinea led to serious restrictions on Black Nantucketer’s rights. This is exemplified by the Nantucket school system which prohibited black students from attending high school and by white churches that forbid black membership. It was necessary for New Guinea to create their own institutions, such as schools, churches, and meeting places, apart from Nantucket’s systems. The community’s relative independence was made possible by the economic opportunities provided by the maritime culture of the early-19th century (Bolster 1990).

Black Seafaring

Seafaring offered opportunities for black men in an otherwise racially segregated labor market (Bolster 1990:1173-1174). During the 18th century, most black residents of Massachusetts lived in counties with significant maritime commercial activity, such as Suffolk, Essex, and Plymouth. In the 19th century, many whaling and trading vessels had interracial crews, with black men making up as much as half of the crew (Horton and Horton 1999:xiv)

Maritime culture, while not free of racial discrimination, had a social hierarchy that could provide advantages for black men (Bolster 1990:1179). Positions such as mate, second mate, carpenter, cook, seaman, or ordinary seaman determined an individual’s status within a rigid hierarchy (Bolster 1990:1180). Black men in higher positions earned
more and had authority over their white subordinates. A visitor to a ship in New Orleans observed that high-ranking black sailors would “give twenty lashes with the end of a rope to white sailors, but ashore they dare not even look them in the face” (Bolster 1990:1180). Order and discipline were prioritized over race in determining status aboard commercial vessels.

The whaling industry at that time offered an opportunity for investment and financial gain that was simply not available in more segregated markets. Black Nantucketers like Absalom Boston famously captained an all-black crew aboard the Industry in 1822 (Kaldenback-Montemayor 2006:19; Bolster 1990:1185-1186). In 1830, the Loper, another ship with a majority black crew, returned to port and was celebrated in New Guinea. The voyage brought in nearly 2,300 barrels of oil, worth more than $50,000 (Kaldenback-Montemayor 2006:17).

These opportunities came at tremendous personal risk. Unsanitary shipboard conditions exacerbated dysentery, infection, scurvy, and tropical diseases (Kaldenback-Montemayor 2006:20). As ships traveled further away from shore, sailors were subjected to harsh conditions for extended periods. Traveling to southern ports was particularly dangerous for free black sailors who were feared for their potential influence on slaves (Horton and Horton 1999:88-89). In 1822, the Nantucket Inquirer (1822a:2) reported that the “captain of a New-Bedford vessel has been accused, in Virginia, of taking away two negroes”. There were also complaints of “some person holding an improper conversation with the slaves” (Nantucket Inquirer 1822a:2). Southern states passed Negro Seamen’s
Acts to prevent further contact between black sailors and slaves on shore (Bolster 1990:192-193). As a result, South Carolina, Florida, Alabama, and Louisiana were imprisoning free black sailors by the 1830s (Bolster 1990:192-193; Karttunen 2005:78). Some Black Nantucketers, such as Oliver and Joseph Gardner, David Forting, and James Sims, died of yellow fever in an overcrowded New Orleans jail on account of these policies (Karttunen 2005:78).

Black men accepted the risks of the whaling industry to support their families and establish homes. Unlike their white counterparts, who were typically single and transient, black sailors were older and maintained deep roots at their home ports (Bolster 1990:1189-1191). Black sailors and their families lived in constant separation, at times spending only a few days together between sailing ventures. The labor of black women, in and out of the home, was essential to supplement the inconsistent wages of sailors at sea (Lee 2019: 91). Black women juggled multiple roles as boardinghouse keepers, caregivers, laundresses, domestics, and seamstresses. Approximately 18 percent of Nantucket’s black female population held occupations according to the 1860 census (Lee 2019: 91).

The relationship between Black Nantucketers and the sea shaped their family life, community, and identity (Bolster 1990:1177). Professional black seamen touted their global travels, were proud of their technical skills, and prized characteristics that prepared them for a harsh life at sea (Bolster 1990:1187). Aboard the whaling ship, they were valued for their seafaring skills and shared a sense of comradery with their shipmates,
black or white (Bolster 1990:1180-1181). On Nantucket, they were second-class citizens, barred from public services, and frequently insulted in the media (Saillant 2006). This contrast motivated and prepared them for their involvement in racial politics.

Racial Uplift

Opportunity in the whaling industry empowered black men to be ideal leaders in the fight against racial inequality (Bolster 1990). Black Nantucketers had been slaves themselves and witnessed southern slavery firsthand as sailors. Arthur Cooper escaped bondage in Virginia and fled to Nantucket in 1820. Agents landed on the island two years later to recapture him but were foiled by Nantucket Quakers who hid Cooper and his family (Karttunen 2005:76). Arthur Cooper later served as a minister of the Zion Methodist Church in New Guinea (MHS 1902). James Crawford, minister of the nearby Pleasant St. Baptist Church, also escaped captivity in Virginia. Paler in complexion, James was able to pass as a white man. He traveled to the south in 1858, purchased his sister-in-law and niece, and returned them to freedom (Karttunen 2005:77).

Black Nantucketers also consumed anti-slavery literature. According to Anna Gardner, “Absalom Boston, a colored man, frequently came to see my mother.” He brought the Liberator for her to read. “I at once subscribed for it - his name and mine coming out in the paper as the only subscribers from Nantucket” (Karttunen 2005:68-69). An “Anti-Slavery Library room over Obed Barney’s store” was established in 1841. The corpus of the store’s texts is not known, but a notice of the library’s opening mentions “The Liberty Bell for 1841, and the Slave Boy, by Mrs. Opie” (Islander 1841). Amelia

As the black community claimed their citizenship, the public attitudes of White Americans remained quietly neutral at best (Bethel 1999:182). Abolitionists neglected efforts to secure civil equality and economic opportunity for free black communities (Bethel 1999:173-174). William Lloyd Garrison, editor of the Liberator, became disillusioned with the American government, but his black colleagues did not share this view. They wanted the ideals of freedom and justice to be applied to racial policies to create racial parity (Horton and Horton 1999:93-94). Issues of black citizenship and national belonging rested on the shoulders of black leaders who sought to achieve political advancement through a program of “racial uplift” and character development.

Racial uplift situated claims for black equality on natural-rights arguments which set a shared expectation for what it means to live in a “free” society. Violations of these expectations, such as southern slavery, unequal access to public education, property rights, and voting rights, informed the strategies used to reclaim those democratic promises (Bethel 1999:26; Rael 2002:52). Uplift was, in part, a reaction to the cultural dimensions of white supremacy which equated bourgeois morality with whiteness and mocked black aspirations to equal status (Gaines 1996:67-68).
Delegates to the 1832 Black National Convention believed racial conditions would improve by demonstrating a readiness for equality (Bethel 1999:137). Success was measured by individual character conceptualized as the body, mind, and moral “spirit” (Rael 2002:127). They sought “to reach a position of respectability and character” or to elevate themselves “to a rank of respectable standing with the community” (Rael 2002:130). Respectability often entailed economic independence and those dependent on charity had no claim to it (Rael 2002:127). The Black National Convention of 1848 declared, “Independence is an essential condition of respectability. To be dependent, is to be degraded.” They argued for the value of the self-made man, who was judged on his accomplishments rather than any inherited or immutable status (Rael 2002:131). As Frederick Douglass editorialized, “Without the separating barriers of castes, the avenues to wealth and honor are here open to all who choose to enter them” (*North Star* 1848a:4).

Black Nantucketers traveled a variety of “avenues to wealth” with mixed results. Edward J. Pompey owned a fruitful New Guinea store and, at the time of his death in 1848, his estate was valued at $1,525.40. His general or dry goods store included 207 women’s and children’s shoes and ties, 76 pounds of nails, 84 brushes and combs, over 200 cigars, 3 pounds of snuff, 31 pounds of brown sugar, 21.5 pounds of salt, 30 pounds of cotton, 97 pounds of dried apples, 2 barrels of vinegar, 54 medicines, and a demijohn of N.E. rum. Medicines at Pompey’s store included essence of peppermint, checkerberry, laudanum, syrup of squills, spruce, hemlock, lavender, camphor, lemon syrup, vermifuge, Dr. Townsend’s Sarsaparilla, and Knapp's Indian Strengthening Plaster (*NPC* 1848: PB 17:358-361). Several are enumerated as an “Ulage” or ullage, meaning the bottle was
partially empty. These sampled items were likely measured and blended into a medicinal “cocktail” diluted by rum and sold to customers.

Some Black Nantucketers made a living facilitating the frequent trade between Nantucket and mainland towns. As a “coaster”, Nathaniel A. Borden played the middleman between coastal town economies. Nathaniel was in partnership with George Tappan of New Bedford in 1838. Their business arrangement had Nathaniel receiving and delivering orders of Tappan’s, “Crockery, Glass, China & Stone Wares, …English and American Britannia tea and coffee sets, Cutlery, Castors, Tea Trays, Fancy Articles, & …A good assortment of wooden ware” (Nantucket Inquirer 1838a:3). He traveled aboard the steamboat Telegraph which made biweekly voyages between Nantucket and New Bedford. In 1846 he advertised his carriage service, “for the conveyance of passengers to and from the Steamboat and Rail Road” in New Bedford (Warder 1846:3). Since Nathaniel Borden relocated to New Bedford sometime in the 1840s, he has no death or probate record in Nantucket.

Most black business ventures were precarious, often lasting less than three years and incurring debts well above their means. In December 1831, Charles Boston, Absalom’s son, advertised “a respectable COOK SHOP at the store in Main-street” maintaining “a constant supply of Hams, Pigs, Poultry, and the very best of Oysters” (Nantucket Inquirer 1831:3). The venture was a partnership between Charles Boston and John W. Banks under the name “Banks & Boston”, but in May 1832 the partnership was “dissolved by mutual consent” (Nantucket Inquirer 1832a:3). The restaurant continued to be “attended by Charles F. Boston” presumably until his death in 1833. John Banks, in
the same year, opened a shipping office in his New Guinea store to, “supply our ships with the very best of seamen, on the shortest notice. Groceries of all kinds, spiritous liquors excepted, may be had at his store on reasonable terms” (Nantucket Inquirer 1833:1). This shipping office later shifted into a “Variety Store” selling “Dry Goods, Groceries, [and] Ready made Clothing” (Nantucket Inquirer 1834a:3). John Bank’s commercial undertakings relied on large amounts of debt. His Nantucket Inquirer advertisements mention “that from the first of June 1832 to January 5th, 1834, he has paid his creditors in cash $2579.50” (Nantucket Inquirer 1834a:3).

Successful shops were usually located in New Guinea, geared towards a largely black clientele, and maintained by persons with multi-generational Nantucket family histories. While there were several New Guinea-specific shops, many black-owned businesses occupied stores on Main Street near the economic heart of Nantucket. In 1851, the “What Cheer Saloon” was opened on “Mitchell’s block, Main Street, 3d door below the Post Office” by A.M. Nahar and John Melvin (Nantucket Inquirer 1851:3). Nahar was a recent migrant from Suriname, South America (Massachusetts State Census 1855). The saloon served “Oysters, Chowders, and Meats of all kinds. Also, Tea, Coffee, Chocolate, …Cakes of all kinds [and] A fresh supply of Fruit, Currant, Sponge and Pound Cake” (Nantucket Inquirer 1851:3) The space was fashioned “in the neatest manner” with “rooms fitted up expressly for the accommodation of Ladies” (Nantucket Inquirer 1852a:2). The Melvin and Nahar partnership seems to have been short-lived. “What a Cheer” advertisements after 1852 only feature John Melvin and the 1855 Massachusetts State Census describes A.M. Nahar as a barber. John Melvin died in 1856
leaving no property and an estate valued at $35.68 (NPC 1848: PB 19:295). The establishment came under the control of another Black Nantucketer, J.F. Murry, in 1855 and was renamed the “Cottage Saloon”. The “Cottage Saloon” served “Oysters, Meals, Pastry, [and] Soda Water” and featured an “Entrance to the ladies refreshment rooms, at the West Door” (Nantucket Inquirer 1855:3). Advertisements describe “a neat, orderly and respectable establishment, conducted on temperance principles” (Nantucket Inquirer 1855:3). This too was short-lived as the store became occupied by a pair of cobblers in 1858 (Nantucket Weekly Mirror 1858:3).

The words “respectable” and “temperate” are common refrains in black Inquirer advertisements. Respectability connoted a set of values linked with the qualities required for material and moral success in an expanding market economy (Rael 2002:131). This included the usual material trappings of economic success, such as property ownership. The 1850 Federal Census lists thirty heads of households with real estate ranging in value from under a hundred to thousands of dollars. New Guinea's property holdings were modest compared to Nantucket's wealthiest whites, but proportionally more New Guinea residents owned property beyond their dwelling houses (Muehlbauer 2021). Over 150 real estate transactions occurred in New Guinea before 1850. Most involved black residents buying land from whites or circulating it amongst themselves. Rarely was New Guinea land sold to white buyers (Karttunen 2005:72; Muehlbauer 2021). Before 1750, there were three land-acquisition deed records for Black Nantucketers, but this increased to nineteen over the next fifty years (Muehlbauer 2021). Between 1800 and 1850, more than 150 deeds were filed by Black Nantucketers (Kaldenback-Montemayor 2006:25).
These real estate expansions coincided with the construction of black institutions such as the African Meeting House and African School. As Black Nantucketers worked to build wealth, their economic achievements paled in comparison to their white counterparts. Absalom Boston was one of the wealthiest men in New Guinea with his probate being valued at $1351.50, but the wealthiest contemporary white probates exceed $10,000 (NPC 1855: PB 19:127).

Black Americans could not be truly middle class due to their position within a racist social structure (Gaines 1996:17; Bethel 1999:71). Instead, black leaders tempered the economic components of respectability with concerns for the soul (Bethel 1999:55). Black women, who were entrusted with the moral care of their families, championed morality over material wealth (Mullins 2011:152; Rael 2002:132-133). They warned against mimicking “the vices and follies of others” who were assumed to hold “superior stations” (Rael 2002:132). “The respect that is only bought by gold is not worth much, we want more soul, a higher cultivation of all our spiritual faculties” (Rael 2002:133). Expression of one’s “spiritual faculties” took the form of “respectable” pursuits like engagement with the black church, social organizations, and temperance initiatives.

**Temperance**

The temperance movement in the United States can be traced back as early as the 1780s, with physicians like Benjamin Rush being among the first to observe and warn of the negative effects of alcohol (Smith 2008:3). Early temperance philosophy preached moderation, with small amounts of beer, wine, and porter being considered acceptable in
moderate amounts, while gin, rum, and whiskey were deemed intemperate (Reckner and Brighton 1999:66). As alcohol consumption in the United States rose steadily during the early-19th century, reaching a high of nearly four gallons per capita before 1830, temperance rhetoric shifted towards total abstinence (Reckner and Brighton 1999:66). This coincided with the formation of temperance organizations and the movement became closely associated with middle-class respectability (Smith 2008:3). American temperance reformers successfully passed legislation to better regulate alcohol sales by the 1850s, making it more difficult for unlicensed sellers like Edward Pompey to operate (Reckner and Brighton 1999:63). The law in Nantucket stipulated that alcohol could only be sold in small quantities for “medicinal and mechanical purposes, by persons authorized by the municipal authorities” (Nantucket Inquirer 1850:2). This created barriers to entry that prevented black businesses from participating in Nantucket’s alcohol market. Evidence of black businesses selling alcohol, medicinal or otherwise, disappear from historical records after 1848.

Alcohol consumption in the 19th century was demonstrative of a negative character and was closely tied to an individual’s class or ethnic background (Smith 2008, Reckner and Brighton 1999, Mrozowski 2006:126-129). Temperance efforts not only aimed to restrict alcohol consumption but also served to define the social boundaries between groups. In northeastern urban areas, temperance gained popularity among social elites to restrict and reform working-class behavior that was perceived as immoral, non-productive, and detrimental to the nation (Reckner and Brighton 1999:67). For instance, mill owners in Lowell, Massachusetts morally policed their laborers by restricting their
alcohol consumption. This corporate paternalism was intended to create a more efficient workforce and reduce the chances of labor unrest (Smith 2008:76). However, archaeological investigations by Stephen Mrozowski and Mary Beaudry found numerous liquor, wine, and beer bottles in deposits associated with workers (Mrozowski 2006:126-129). Covert drinking was a form of resistance to the dehumanizing effects of industrial labor, but, at the same time, the condemnation of alcohol by factory owners served to rationalize class boundaries and validate their dominant position within the social hierarchy (Mrozowski 2006:126-129; Smith 2008:76).

During the 19th century, social critics portrayed Irish immigrants as lazy intemperate failures. Reform efforts aimed to “cure” the ethnic underclasses or free them from “Old World habits” through total abstinence (Reckner and Brighton 1999:82). This stereotype was not unlike how Irish people were perceived in England, where they were often compared to African slaves and portrayed with ape-like features (Orser 1999:665). A comparative analysis of glass vessels in Five Points, New York by Reckner and Brighton (1999) showed that alcohol use was virtually identical between the reformer and immigrant classes. American reformers’ emphasis on Irish intemperance was unfounded and driven by anti-immigrant intolerance. Through time, Irish immigrants were accepted into white American society, but Black Americans were never afforded the same luxury.

Stereotypes surrounding alcohol were just as weaponized against the black community as they were against the Irish. For example, historian Obed Macy (NHA 1880a:160) described Black Nantucketers as being poor due to their supposed “inebriety
and want of economy.” Tied to the concept of respectability, temperance was co-opted by black leaders to challenge such stereotypes (Rael 2002:65-68). Frederick Douglass advised readers of his newspaper, *The North Star*, to avoid “unseemly demonstrations” during a black festival in Rochester, New York. He wrote, “For the sake of the great cause we shall meet to promote, the character which we always ought to maintain, set your faces like adamant against all intoxicating drinks, and all noisy and unseemly demonstrations. This is our fourth of July; and though white men get drunk on theirs, let us keep sober on ours” (*North Star*, 1848b:2). This reflected a principle echoed throughout the period, “Let us remember,” Douglass admonished, “that every impropriety committed by one of us, is charged to the account of our whole people” (*North Star*, 1848b:2).

Black mutual aid societies, such as the Free African Society in Philadelphia and The African Society in Boston, discouraged the use of alcohol as early as the 1780s (Horton and Horton 1999:28-29; Bethel 1999:70). These societies emphasized the importance of respectable behavior by warning, fining, and ultimately expelling members who engaged in activities such as drinking, gambling, or violating marriage vows. The organizational laws of The African Society in Boston specified that “any member bringing on himself a sickness or disorder by intemperance shall not be considered as entitled to any benefits of assistance from the society” (MHS 1802:5). The emphasis on sobriety in free black communities continued into the 1830s with the formation of black temperance societies.
When the Nantucket Colored Temperance Society was founded in 1834 its officers included, “Edward J Pompey, President; Charles Godfrey, Vice President; Nath. A. Borden, Secretary; William Harris, John Barbour, and John W. Banks, Executive Committee” (Nantucket Inquirer 1834b:3). The Society regularly held public meetings at both the African Baptist and Zion M.E. Churches. These meetings were advertised consistently in the local newspaper from 1834 to 1838 (Nantucket Inquirer 1835:3, 1836:2, 1838:3). Unfortunately, no records of the Society’s minutes have been found, and it’s assumed that the Society disbanded by the late 1830s. No records have been found demonstrating female membership either, but women were probably active participants since all meetings were open to the public. In other towns, black women were instrumental in temperance efforts. For example, in Boston in 1833, Jane Putnam and Susan Paul successfully led 114 Black Americans in taking the “cold-water” pledge to abstain from alcohol (Horton and Horton 1999:32-33). Temperance was likely a priority for women who oversaw the moral and material aspects of their households (Rael 2002:133; Mullins 2011:146-147, 152).

The African Meeting House

Nantucket’s African Meeting House, or African Baptist Church is first mentioned by the Nantucket Inquirer in January 1825, “African Church. An edifice at Newtown, for the purpose of accommodating the coloured population, will be consecrated as a house of worship… A contribution will be taken up after service, to be appropriated towards defraying the expenses of completing the house” (Nantucket Inquirer 1825:2). The
structure, positioned on the corner of York and Pleasant Streets, was likely framed but unfinished during its consecration (Karttunen 2007:80-81; Beaudry and Berkland 2007:402; White 1978:7). Trustees of the African Baptist Society in the mid-1820s included Peter Boston, Absalom Boston, Michael DeLuce, and Charles Godfrey (Nantucket Inquirer 1825:2). The Society’s constitution stipulated that, “any preacher of good moral character, without regard to the sect or denomination to which such preacher may belong. And ministers of all denominations, are respectfully requested to make us a visit as often as may be convenient” (Nantucket Inquirer 1831:4). Being the first dedicated church structure in New Guinea, the African Meeting House was necessarily open to all Christian denominations, including Baptists, Methodists, and Quakers.

The church was reconstituted and formerly recognized as a Baptist church under the name “The York Street Baptist Church” in May 1831. John Barber, Charles Godfrey, Charlotte Boston Groves, Priscilla Thompson, Mary Marsh, Sara Dennison, Rhoda Boston, Hannah Boston, and Sara DeLuce signed the reconstituted charter (Nantucket Inquirer 1872:4). This nearly coincided with the incorporation of the African Methodist Episcopal Church or Zion M.E. Church on the south side of West York Street in 1835 (MHS 1902). The need for a shared non-denominational space was alleviated as other churches were erected to accommodate specific denominations (Figure 1).
Sunday services at the York Street Baptist Church featured a rotating roster of travelling preachers from Cape Cod (MHS 1902). The church wouldn’t see a consistent preacher until 1848 when the church was presented, “before the Council for Examination and Baptism.” Clergymen from Cape Cod, Martha’s Vineyard, and Nantucket officiated a second reorganization of the church. The York Street Baptist Church, formerly the African Baptist Church, was christened the “Pleasant Street Baptist Church” in 1848 with Rev. James E. Crawford at its pulpit (*Nantucket Weekly Mirror* 1848:2). Rev. Crawford held this office for forty-one years until his death in October 1888, making him the longest tenured pastor on the island (MHS 1902). Wider recognition by the Massachusetts Baptist community expanded the church’s financial support network into mainland New England towns. In 1853, the Pleasant Street Baptist Church received $190.24 in donations from individuals and sister churches from Manchester, Boston,
Newport, Providence, and Taunton to liquidate debts and purchase a seraphine

(Nantucket Inquirer 1853:3).

Religious activity in black churches was different from their white counterparts. Black ministers spoke before a congregation of people oppressed by a paternalistic and racist society. Acutely aware of the immediate concerns of their congregations, they emphasized the Old Testament history of the early Hebrews. These stories of slavery in Egypt were not lost on congregants, many of whom had themselves been slaves or who had friends and relatives in slavery. Black ministers inspired and sustained their people with sermons which issued calls for a Moses who would lead black people out of bondage and into the promised land (Horton and Horton 1999:45-46)

The African School

The African School, held within the African Meeting House, was deeded in 1825 to the “Trustees of the School Fund for the Coloured People” (Beaudry and Berkland 2007; Karttunen 2005; Byers 1987; Bulger 2013; White 1978). In 1829, a quarterly examination of the African School reported 47 students enrolled, 34 of whom could read and whose “writing would do credit to scholars whose opportunities have been much greater than these children have had” (Nantucket Inquirer 1829:2) Despite favorable reviews, the school was hampered by inadequate funding. Nantucket's appropriation “in support of the African School” was initially $75 per year but dropped to $60 and the school suffered from high teacher turn over (Karttunen 2005:81). Only primary and
intermediate education were taught at the African School, with grammar and high school education reserved for public schools that forbid black attendance (Karttunen 2005:85).

In 1840 Eunice Ross was examined and found qualified for admittance into high school but was barred entrance due to her race (White 1978). This coincided with a report that the trustees of the African Meeting House were unwilling to continue renting it to the town for use as a schoolhouse. Black Nantucketers refused to send their children to the school in protest of Nantucket's segregated school system (Karttunen 2005; Bulger 2013; White 1978). Protests were interpreted as ingratitude by school board members. Chairmen Samuel Jenks believed that the African School offered advantages such as, “a convenient location; an able instructor; and so few pupils that consequently; each demanded more of the attention and services of the teacher” (Karttunen 2005:84).

Black Nantucketers turned to political action in their fight for school integration. Petitions on behalf of, “between thirty and forty children who are deprived of their right to equal education...for no other reason, but...color” were directed to the Massachusetts State House. On March 25, 1845, both houses passed House Bill 45, guaranteeing equal education to all students, and permitting parents to sue for damages if their children were excluded (White 1978:12-13). Nantucket officials responded by renaming the African School the “York Street Grammar School”, but still expected the underfunded schoolhouse to meet state education standards (Karttunen 2005:85). Absalom Boston took advantage of the new law's provision to sue for damages on behalf of his daughter Phebe. Like Eunice Ross, Phebe passed her high school entrance exams but was denied
entry due to her race. The town dodged the issue by referring it to the school committee and a stalemate ensued. The conservative school board was voted out of office and Nantucket's schools were fully integrated in 1846 (Karttunen 2005:85; White 1978:37, 49).

The Boston Family

Seneca Boston purchased a parcel of land in New Guinea in 1774 from Barnabas Coffin, a white property owner (Landon and Lee 2017). The Boston family resided in this home, now known as the Boston-Higginbotham House, for 126 years (Lee 2019:93). They were slaves of William Swain who gradually freed the Boston family by formally manumitting Boston, Maria, and their infant child in 1760. Boston and Maria’s seven other children were freed one by one over the 1760s and 1770s. The year after gaining his freedom, Boston and Maria's son Seneca married Thankful Micah, a Wampanoag survivor of the 1763–1764 epidemic (Figure 2). Seneca and Thankful proudly named their firstborn child Freeborn. Seneca was a mariner and weaver, while his brother Essex made shoes (Karttunen 2005:72). Seneca’s next-to-last child, Absalom, worked his way from mariner to ship captain while operating a store and inn (Kaldenbach-Montemayor 2006).
Seneca and Thankful constructed out houses, a fence, and a shop during their time at the Boston-Higginbotham House (NRD 1802:DB 17:18). In 1802, Seneca sold the home to his eldest son, Freeborn. Upon Seneca’s death in 1809, the property was divided among his children and Mary Boston Douglass, Freeborn’s widow. Mary served as the head of the household until her death in 1834. Per an earlier agreement in 1812, the house
was divided between Mary and Freeborn’s three children, William, Eliza, and Charlotte (NRD 1812:DB 22:82-83). Though not advertised in the *Inquirer*, probate inventories show that William Boston maintained a small tailor shop. The store included vest patterns, cotton linings, a variety of kerseymeres, pocket handkerchiefs, thimbles, and thirty-five pairs of shoes (NPC 1842:PB 16:52-53). It’s not known how long the shop was open, but, at the time of William’s death in 1842, the business had incurred $2,435.06 of debt (NPC 1842:PB 16:194). This constituted a financial crisis for the Boston family. William’s sister, Eliza Berry, and her husband raised $552.94 through personal expense, the sale of William’s goods, and donations from A.M. Nahar, C.F. Winslow, and Asa Bunker to settle the debt (NPC 1842:PB 16:199-200).

Eliza became the primary owner of the home following her husband’s departure to California and the death of her sister Charlotte in 1851 (Bulger 2015:112). Eliza’s niece, Elizabeth Groves Stevens, inherited the house and kept it until its eventual sale in 1915 (Lee 2019:93). For over 125 years, generations of Boston women maintained their familial connection to the property (Lee 2019:93). They were a stabilizing force against the alienation from place suffered by many in the African Diaspora (Lee 2019:101). In 1919, Florence Higginbotham bought the property and stayed in the Higginbotham family until the Museum of African American History purchased it in 2001 (Bulger 2013:13). The Boston’s historical home and the African Meeting House, are now preserved as historic landmarks, keeping alive the memories of New Guinea and the story of race in America (Figure 3).
Archaeology in New Guinea

Boston University conducted excavations at the African Meeting House in 1993 and 1996 to better understand the historic appearance and uses of the property. Researchers placed 15 test units around the structure that identified cultural and natural deposits resulting in the present-day formation of the site (Beaudry and Berkland 2007:403-404). The African Meeting House was built on a natural ravine filled with sand which caused poor drainage (Beaudry and Berkland 2007:405; Schiffer 1996:200). To fix
this, large amounts of earth were placed to supply solid ground for the structure’s foundational stone footings (Beaudry and Berkland 2007:405). Fills in the east yard further leveled the land and demonstrate consistent historic efforts to improve the property. The project revealed a walkway leading to the front door, a swept yard space to the west of the building, planting holes, postholes, and a baby whale burial at the northwest corner of the Meeting House (Figure 4; Table 1). However, excavators did not find evidence of a kitchen, middens, or privies. This lack of cooking facilities suggests that communal meals at the Meeting House were covered dish or potluck-style (Beaudry and Berkland 2007:408).

Figure 4: Site map and total artifact counts of Nantucket African Meeting House excavations.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area/Lot</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Lot Dating</th>
<th>Units</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>West Yard</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Topsoil</td>
<td>Modern</td>
<td>0S 1E, 9S 1E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Swept yard</td>
<td>1860</td>
<td>0S 1E, 9S 1E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Builder's trench</td>
<td>1860</td>
<td>0S 1E, 9S 1E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Planting holes</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>9S 1E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Whale burial</td>
<td>1860</td>
<td>0S 1E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>Fill</td>
<td>1790</td>
<td>0S 1E, 9S 1E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Yard</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>Topsoil</td>
<td>Modern</td>
<td>4S 15E, 8.5S 14E, 9.5S 15E, 13S 14.5E, 14S 17E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>Modern fill</td>
<td>Modern</td>
<td>4S 15E, 14S 17E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Historic fill</td>
<td>1860</td>
<td>4S 15E, 8.5S 14E, 9.5S 15E, 13S 14.5E, 14S 17E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>Historic fill</td>
<td>1820</td>
<td>8.5S 14E, 9.5S 15E, 13S 14.5E, 14S 17E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>Posthole</td>
<td>1790</td>
<td>4S 15E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rear Yard</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>Topsoil</td>
<td>Modern</td>
<td>1N 5E, 1N 6E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>Modern fill</td>
<td>Modern</td>
<td>1N 5E, 1N 6E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>Historic fill</td>
<td>1860</td>
<td>1N 5E, 1N 6E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>Posthole</td>
<td>Modern</td>
<td>1N 5E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Historic fill</td>
<td>1783</td>
<td>1N 5E, 1N 6E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Front Yard</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>Topsoil</td>
<td>Modern</td>
<td>11S 6E, 15S 6E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>Walkway debris</td>
<td>Modern</td>
<td>15S 6E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>Walkway</td>
<td>1860</td>
<td>15S 6E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>Historic fill</td>
<td>1860</td>
<td>11S 6E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U</td>
<td>Drainage ditch</td>
<td>1820</td>
<td>15S 6E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Planting hole</td>
<td>Modern</td>
<td>15S 6E</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Summary of Nantucket African Meeting House contexts, test units, and dating

A total of 13,534 artifacts were recovered from the African Meeting House (Berkland 1999:Appendix A) (Table 2). Some objects, such as writing slate, stylus fragments, marbles, porcelain doll fragments, a jackknife, and harmonica parts, reflect children and the African School (Beaudry and Berkland 2007:407-408). Ceramic artifacts include decorated white earthenware plates, pearlware vessels, plain creamware, and redware crocks and bowls (Beaudry and Berkland 2007:408). Most glass fragments were
from mold-blown or machine-made bottles and include patent medicines (Beaudry and Berkland 2007:408). Few objects of personal adornment were found including three glass beads (Beaudry and Berkland 2007:407-408).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Material</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ceramic</td>
<td>2,079</td>
<td>15.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fabric</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glass</td>
<td>4,901</td>
<td>36.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>3,302</td>
<td>24.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organic</td>
<td>2,498</td>
<td>18.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>706</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stone</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>13,534</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Number and percent of artifacts by material at the Nantucket African Meeting House

The path from York Street leading to the south door of the African Meeting House was built specifically to address the property’s flooding issues. Constructed with mounded sand and flanked by drainage ditches, the walkway was supported by wooden planks with copper nail inlays repurposed from the hull of a ship (Beaudry and Berkland 2007:406). This design not only demonstrates efforts made by Black Nantucketers to improve the property but showcases their knowledge and access to seafaring. An intentional burial of an “immature pilot whale” outside the northwest corner of the Meeting House further supports this connection to the sea (Berkland 1999:23). The burial was likely symbolic of the community’s relationship with the whaling industry and the
maritime culture that provided them the means to build the African Meeting House itself (Bolster 1990:1177)

To the west of the African Meeting House lies a “swept yard” surface. This is characterized as a “culturally distinctive way of maintaining communal space that results in a compact ‘living floor’” (Beaudry and Berkland 2007:405). The practice of “swept yards” has also been seen in Africa, southern slave quarters, and the Caribbean (Heath and Bennett 2000; Fesler 2010; Battle-Baptiste 2011). Beaudry and Berkland (2007:405) argue that yard sweeping was a way for Black Nantucketers to maintain a connection to their shared African heritage, but yard sweeping was not exclusive to African American communities. White households in northern Delaware also swept their yards during the 19th century (Barton 2014:117-120). According to Christopher Barton (2014:120), those who could not afford to maintain the middle-class ideal of well-manicured lawns and hedges, swept their yards to facilitate functional activities like work, cooking, raising livestock, and socializing. At the African Meeting House, these activities included church events, potluck dinners, and other social gatherings. However, the damaged ecology of the island in the 19th century, along with frequent flooding, made it difficult for Black Nantucketers to keep a manicured lawn, even if they desired to. (Beaudry and Berkland 2007:406; Karttunen 2005:42-43)

The meticulous maintenance of yard space could also be attributed to the habits instilled in black seamen (Bolster 1990). Just as the ship was a shared space among sailors, the African Meeting House was a shared space for Black Nantucketers. Keeping
such a space in “shipshape” was an expression of the regimentation and orderliness practiced aboard vessels (Bolster 1990:1180). This practice continued at the African Meeting House and, like the repurposed ship hull and whale burial, reflected New Guinea’s experiences with the sea.

The University of Massachusetts Boston’s Fiske Center for Archaeological Research conducted excavations at the Boston-Higginbotham House in 2008 and 2014 at the request of the Museum of African American History. Excavators placed eight shovel test pits and twenty-four excavation units around the main house and found that, like the African Meeting House, the land had undergone significant modifications during the 19th century (Landon and Lee 2017) (Figure 5). A retaining wall was built behind the house to raise the back of the slope of the area (Bulger 2013:75). Several historic features were found including postholes, a stone footer associated with the original barn, and a privy near the retaining wall. Mean ceramic dating places this privy in 1822, during the time of Mary Boston Douglass’ residency (Landon and Lee 2017:25) (Table 3). A second privy was found under the garage of the house. Built in 1933, the structure’s concrete floor preserved the feature from later disturbances (Landon and Lee 2017:16). Mean ceramic dating puts the privy in 1801, corresponding to the occupation of Thankful Micah and Seneca Boston and predating the African Meeting House by twenty years. The garage and retaining wall privies represent distinct periods of the house’s history and its inhabitants. Comparing the artifacts found in these two privies can provide insights into how the property and its inhabitants changed over time. Importantly, the retaining wall privy is
contemporaneous with the African Meeting House which allows for a direct comparison between the two properties.

A total of 80,070 artifacts were collected from the Boston-Higginbotham House including ceramic sherds, nails, glass fragments, seeds, bones, and shells (Table 4). The assemblage notably includes worked stone objects and low-fired Native American pottery which were not seen at the African Meeting House and are associated with the Wampanoag identity of Thankful Micah (Cacchione 2019).

Figure 5: Site map and total artifact counts of Boston-Higginbotham House excavations.
Table 3: Summary of Boston-Higginbotham contexts, test units, and dating

Table 4: Number and percent of artifacts by material at the Boston-Higginbotham House

Previous research concerning the Boston-Higginbotham House has examined how the Boston family, during the first half of the 19th century, expressed their racial and class identity. Through the analysis of ceramics, personal adornment objects, small finds, and faunal remains, it has been possible to understand how the Bostons portrayed a material expression of middle-class respectability to combat racial stereotypes (Bulger 2013:132-38)
133; Cacchione 2019; Way 2010:123-125; Herzing 2022). They navigated the dominant ideologies of the time concerning citizenship, race, gender, and respectability (Bulger 2013:108-111). At the same time, the Boston family found ways to express their heritage as Wampanoag people and entertain guests (Bulger 2015:132-133; Cacchione 2019; Landon 2018:259-260; Way 2010:125). This thesis builds on prior research by further examining the Boston family’s engagement with themes of respectability.

Whaling ships placed a high value on the expertise of black sailors, but on Nantucket they were relegated to second-class citizenship. This stark contrast served as a catalyst for their participation in racial politics. Pursuing political advancement through a program of “racial uplift” and respectability, temperance was co-opted by black leaders as a means of challenging negative racial stereotypes. Previous studies of the Boston family’s material culture have demonstrated their aspirations towards respectability. This thesis questions whether these aspirations manifested into a temperate lifestyle within the Boston’s home.
CHAPTER 3

METHODS

The Nantucket African Meeting House and Boston-Higginbotham House were extensively sampled over the course of four excavation seasons, revealing a wealth of cultural material accumulated over 250 years of occupation. Viewing both properties as a single archaeological site, there are 411 total contexts producing 93,604 artifacts. While raw artifact counts hint at trends, interpretations founded on site-wide data ignore important contextual considerations. Archaeological context is intimately connected to our understanding of time, place, and the relationship between objects (Agbe-Davies 2015:30). While an analysis can be accomplished without regard to context, this thesis aims to interpret material culture as a product of social systems and their associated behaviors. Such interpretations cannot be achieved without a concept of an object's setting. For instance, 274 out of the 411 (66%) archaeological contexts at the African Meeting House and Boston-Higginbotham House are mixed or heavily disturbed. Considering site formation processes, most artifacts (75.5%) are situated within these disturbed, mixed, or modern contexts. To overcome this challenge, it is necessary to organize the archaeological data to isolate which contexts and features are appropriate for analysis and interpretation.
Organizing Archaeological Data

A lot system was used to group contexts of similar stratigraphic position, sediment, and date range. Unlike context designations, lot groupings include multiple excavation units to capture large features, such as yard spaces. This system of context numbering and lots was used by Dr. David Landon for the 2014 excavations of the Boston-Higginbotham House and, for this thesis, was applied to contexts at the African Meeting House to support a comparative analysis between the properties (Landon and Lee 2017). Lot groups were assigned temporal phases based on Lot TPQs and stratigraphic position. These are best visualized by a Harris Matrix (Museum of London Archaeology Service 1994:1.2).

Five temporal phases were established (Figure 6). Phase I (1933–Present) represents Florence Higginbotham’s occupation, Phase II (1852–1932) is Eliza Boston Berry’s occupation, Phase III (1827–1851) denotes when Eliza and her sister Charlotte Boston Groves lived together at the house, Phase IV (1803–1826) represents Mary Boston Douglass’ household and the construction of the African Meeting House, and Phase V (1774–1802) reflects Seneca Boston and Thankful Micah’s household. Phases IV (1803–1826) and V (1774–1802) are most significant for comparative analysis since they represent the earliest occupants of the property, Seneca Boston and Thankful Micah, and the construction of the African Meeting House in the 1820s. This was a time of structural growth and engagement with the rhetorical themes of “uplift,” respectability, and temperance (Rael 2002). To understand the impact of this rhetoric on alcohol
consumption, this thesis compares glass vessels from Phases V (1774–1802), IV (1803–1826), and III (1827–1851).

Figure 6: Harris matrix of Nantucket African Meeting House and Boston-Higginbotham House lots

Phase V (1774–1802) includes the privy located in the garage area of the Boston Higginbotham House (Lots H, I, J, K) and the original 18th-century ground surface of both properties. These contexts were created and/or used by Seneca Boston and Thankful Micah from 1774 to 1802. There are 7,004 artifacts in Phase V, with most of them
(82.7%) coming from the garage area privy. The privy's superior preservation, thanks to being capped by concrete in 1933, makes the glass found inside it ideal for analysis. Phase IV (1803–1826) includes the retaining wall privy (Lots O and P) used during Mary Boston-Douglass' time at the Boston-Higginbotham House. Phase III encompasses the Meeting House's swept yard (Lot B) and walkway (Lot S). Five thousand six hundred artifacts are situated in Phase III and IV lots.

As with most archaeological assemblages, the African Meeting House and Boston-Higginbotham House collections are fragmentary. While it’s tempting to use object fragments in an analysis, varying degrees of preservation can complicate comparisons to the point of futility. Statistical tests of comparison like chi-square require numbers of independent individuals, such as vessels, and not related groups of individuals like vessel fragments. For any serious research purposes, sherd or shard counts cannot be used as substitutes for object counts (Sussman 2000). Hence, it is necessary to determine the minimum number of vessels within each context for any meaningful comparison.

Minimum Number of Vessels

Barbara Voss and Rebecca Allen (2010) describe two methods for calculating a minimum number of vessels (MNV) count. A quantitative MNV assessment evaluates the number of diagnostic characteristics such as finishes, shoulders, bases, and handles. This approach allows researchers to accurately replicate results and is most effective for studying mass-produced objects. A qualitative MNV groups objects that likely represent
a single vessel. This is less replicable but allows researchers to consider more attributes in their analysis (Voss and Allen 2010: 1). While both methodologies possess merits, the qualitative MNV count provides the strongest estimate of vessels and was chosen for analysis. Following the above steps, glass from the swept yard (Lot B), walkway (Lot S), garage area privy (Lots H, I, J, K) and retaining wall privy (Lots O and P) were separated into bags based on their context (see Tables 1 and 3). Materials from different features were not included in the same MNV analysis since the selected contexts are spatially discrete and/or temporally separate. Hence, a single vessel should not be in multiple features.

To identify whole and partial vessels within the assemblage, curved and flat glass fragments were separated. Colorless thin flat fragments were assumed to be derived from window glass and were not included in subsequent steps. Glass shards were further separated by color. It is assumed that glass vessels are generally uniform in color, so fragments of various colors likely originated from different vessels. Glass colors include aqua, brown, olive green, light green, frosted, rose/pink, and colorless.

Glass was then analyzed in order of quantity, starting with the color with the fewest number of fragments. The fragments of each group were separated by diagnostic characteristics, such as bases, shoulders, and bottle finishes, and then, types of vessels were identified. Vessel types include containers, wine bottles, beer bottles, medicine bottles, drinking glasses, and unidentified vessels. When fragments within each color group had been sorted into distinct categories of vessel part and type, they were analyzed to determine if any mends or cross mends could be identified. Then, the vessels were
documented on an Excel spreadsheet to retain data such as contextual information, the number of shards in each vessel, vessel production techniques (mold blown, free blown, etc.), vessel typologies, and functional groups. The Society for Historical Archaeology Historic Glass Bottle Identification & Information website (Lindsay 2020), *The Parks Canada Glass Glossary for the Description of Containers, Tableware, Flat glass, and Closures* (Jones et al. 1985), and White (1978), Jones (2000), and Miller and Sullivan’s (2000) work on glass classification and identification were referenced to identify glass vessel types and dates. Vessels were then categorized into functional groups for easier comparison between the Boston-Higginbotham House and African Meeting House. These groups are based on the categories used by Teresa Dujnic (2005) in her study of glass vessels at the Boston African Meeting House. Functional groups include beverages, pharmaceutical, domestic, food, toiletries, tableware, and unidentified.

A major challenge in studying glass vessels is determining the original contents of individual bottles. Many bottles were shipped empty and filled with a variety of contents once they reached their destination. While in circulation they were recycled for a variety of purposes and could be kept for decades before being discarded (Smith 2008:19-20). Site phasing, described by the Harris Matrix, provides a means of recognizing this “time lag” (see Figure 6). For example, a bottle dating to the 18th century found in a 19th-century context was likely in circulation for several years prior to its deposition.
Statistical Methods

It is expected that a temperate lifestyle not only effected what types of alcohol people drank, but the rate at which they consumed it. Characterizing this rate of drinking, or “bottles per person”, is necessary to understand drinking behavior at the Boston-Higginbotham House and other sites. Comparisons of raw counts or percentages are unable to provide this insight because these data types can be influenced by variables like artifact preservation, population densities, and time. A comparison of ratios between a control artifact and the artifact of interest, alcohol bottles in this case, can control for these variables.

Pharmaceutical products were chosen as the control variable for this study. This seemed most appropriate because medicine bottles are ubiquitous across all contexts; are made of glass and should therefore have similar preservation; and were historically widely available and used for the same purpose at all examined sites. Hence, it is assumed that medicines were consumed and disposed of at similar rates across all contexts. It is also assumed that the deposition of alcohol bottles directly reflects drinking activity. Any variations in the ratio of medicine bottles to alcohol bottles between contexts should reflect deviation in the rate of drinking or “bottles per person”, rather other variables like preservation, population, and time.

Chi-squared testing provides a means of measuring the statistical difference in these ratios and was used to compare MNV results between the selected contexts. Chi-square determines the significance of variation between expected and observed values. Statistical hypotheses were tested with chi-square to ensure the tests under consideration
are clearly defined, the terms of rejecting them are understood, and the outcome unambiguously presented. A null hypothesis is a statement that assumes there is no difference between the variables being compared. Testing this null hypothesis produces two possible outcomes. The first is support for the null hypothesis, meaning that there is no difference between the variables of interest. The second outcome is a rejection of the null hypothesis, meaning that there is indeed a difference (VanPool and Leonard 2011:100-101). A p-value less than 0.05 will determine significance for this thesis.

Chi-square testing provides a general description of variation in a dataset, but it does not isolate the relationships driving the statistical variation. It also does not identify the point at which differences shift from being small to significant. Adjusted chi-square residuals provide a standardized measure of variation to determine whether the observed and expected values themselves differ significantly. Residuals which are larger than the critical z-value for $p = .05$ indicate a significant variation between specific variables (VanPool and Leonard 2011:245-246). The adjusted residual is applicable when the chi-square test rejects the null hypothesis but has no utility if the null hypothesis is supported. For this thesis, adjusted chi-square residuals are only used if chi-square testing demonstrates significant difference between variables.

Sample size is an important consideration for chi-square tests. A commonly accepted convention is that at least eighty percent of the expected frequencies must be five or more before chi-square analysis is appropriate. However, research has demonstrated that the chi-square statistic will be correctly distributed if all the expected values are greater than zero (VanPool and Leonard 2011:249; Roscoe and Byars
The chi-square test will produce valid statistical results with small sample sizes, but data can also be organized into larger groups to better adapt small data sets for testing. For this thesis, vessel types were grouped into functional groups to increase the sample size and facilitate more accurate chi-square results.

The statistical significance of variations in artifact distributions does not fully explain the variables driving variation. For the purposes of this thesis, chi-square values are used only to highlight differences or similarities between the selected contexts and vessel functional groups. A more qualitative analysis, supported by historic documents, contextualizes the statistical result and describes its meaning.
CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

Seventy-two glass vessels were identified following the minimum number of vessels methodology described in Chapter Three (Voss and Allen 2010). Notable vessel types include wine bottles (n=16, 22.2%), medicine bottles (n=15, 20.8%), drinking glasses (n=20, 27.8%), lamps (n=3, 4.2%), and plates (n=2, 2.8%). Five vessels (6.9%) are lacking diagnostic features and were categorized as unidentifiable. Sixty-four (88.9%) vessels originate from the Boston-Higginbotham House. Thirty-seven (51.4%) are from the garage area privy and twenty-seven (48.6%) are from the retaining wall privy. The retaining wall privy contains several vessel types not identified in the garage area. These include a beer bottle, lamps, an olive oil bottle, and glass tube. The garage area privy contains a higher number of wine bottles (n=9), medicine bottles (n=8), and drinking glasses (n=15). The number of vessels at the Nantucket African Meeting House is comparatively low (n=8, 11.1%) and lacks the variety of vessel types seen at the Boston-Higginbotham House with the only unique vessel being a perfume bottle (Table 5)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vessel Types</th>
<th>Boston-Higginbotham House</th>
<th>African Meeting House</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Garage Area Privy (1800)</td>
<td>Retaining Wall Privy (1820)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beer bottle</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Container</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decorative glass</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drinking glass</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamp</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medicine bottle</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olive oil bottle</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfume bottle</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tube</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unidentified</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wine bottle</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>37</strong></td>
<td><strong>27</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: Count of vessel types by context

All wine bottles (n=16) are olive green in color. They vary in preservation with eight made up entirely of mending body shards. Three include a complete neck and finish and five feature a complete base. All wine bottles lack visible mold seams and embossed lettering. Bottles with diagnostic features, such as a base, neck, shoulder, or finish, are consistent with free-blown (n=5, 31.3%) and turn-mold production (n=11, 68.8%). Free-blown bottles are formed without the use of molds with the base and finish being hand-formed (Jones et al. 1985:22). Key indicators of this production method are an irregular shape and vertically oriented bubbles throughout the glass (Lindsay 2020). Free-blown manufacturing was most popular during the 18th century. Turn-mold bottles are formed within a pre-made mold and rotated to smooth out mold seams or other imperfections (Lindsay 2020). An indicator of this production method are faint concentric rings running horizontally across the vessel and a uniform shape. Turn-mold production was most popular from 1850 to 1920. Three wine bottles have diagnostic finishes consistent with a
tapered collar with ring. This two-part finish was most common from 1820 to 1860. It is composed of a moderately tall and tapered upper part above a narrow lower part with a distinct outward flare (Lindsay 2020) (Figure 7).

Figure 7: Photographs of turn-mold produced wine bottle fragments with an example of a tapered collar with ring finish (right)

Five free-blown vessels were identified, with two in the garage area privy, two in the walkway, and one in the swept yard. The free-blown wine bottles found in the walkway and swept yard date approximately twenty years prior to the construction of the African Meeting House. These vessels may have originally contained alcohol, but they were likely reused many times to hold a variety of other liquids before their disposal (Smith 2008:19-20). In contrast, all wine bottles identified in the retaining wall privy are turn-mold vessels (n=4). The distribution of wine bottle production types aligns well with the site chronology outlined in Chapter Three, with the exception of the potentially reused wine bottles found at the African Meeting House.
Drinking glasses (n=20) include tumblers and wine glasses which are thin and colorless. These glasses lack embossed lettering and mostly consist of rims and bases. Mold formed decorative glasses include a wine glass, represented by a single complete stem, and a goblet. Most drinking glasses (n=11, 55%) are plain commercial tumblers.

Medicine bottles (n=15) vary in color and shape. Eight are aqua, five are colorless, one is olive green, and one is yellow. Most have square bases and three are complete. Two medicine bottles are embossed with numbering and lettering. One is embossed with “2” and “1” and another with “Pinex / TRADEMARK.” The Pinex Company was established in 1905 and manufactured a cough remedy which could be purchased in nearly any drugstore in the United States. Inconsistencies with the dating of this bottle and its surrounding context suggest the vessel was the result a garden planted in the area during the 20th century (Bulger 2013:75). Due to the high probability of disturbance, a TPQ90 (dating to 1820) rather than a standard TPQ was used when phasing the retaining wall privy for the Harris Matrix. No concentrations of historic glass bottles were found in mixed or disturbed contexts at the Boston-Higginbotham House. Other vessels of note include a complete perfume bottle, three lamps, four Ball glass containers, and a complete olive oil bottle. The olive oil shape was used by S.S. Pierce Co. in Boston starting in 1831. It is similar in shape to Crème de menthe bottles of the same era (Lindsay 2020) (Figure 8).
Figure 8: Photographs of the complete “Pinex” medicine bottle (above) and complete olive oil bottle (below).

Functional groups were created following Teresa Dujnic’ s (2005) Master’s thesis for comparison to the Boston African Meeting House glass assemblage. Functional
groups include beverages, made up of beer and wine bottles; domestic, including decorative glass, lamps, and perfume; food, which include sauce containers and an olive oil bottle; pharmaceutical, made up of medicine bottles and a glass tube; tableware, including tumblers, plates, a goblet and wine glass; and unidentified, made up of vessels which were too fragmentary to be placed within other groups.

All functional groups are represented at the Boston-Higginbotham House, but tablewares and unidentified are not present in the Meeting House assemblage. At the Boston Higginbotham House, tablewares make up most of the assemblage (n=22, 34.4%), followed by pharmaceuticals (n=15, 23.4%), and beverages (n=14, 21.9%). Vessels at the Nantucket African Meeting House are mostly beverages (n=4, 50%), followed by domestic (n=2, 25%), and pharmaceutical (n=1, 12.5%) (Table 6).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Functional Groups</th>
<th>Boston-Higginbotham House</th>
<th>African Meeting House</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Garage Area Privy (1800)</td>
<td>Retaining Wall Privy (1820)</td>
<td>Swept Yard (1820s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beverages</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharmaceutical</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tableware</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unidentified</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>37</strong></td>
<td><strong>27</strong></td>
<td><strong>3</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: Distribution of vessel functional groups by context

There are notable differences in functional group distributions at the Boston-Higginbotham House between tableware, food, and beverages. Tableware is better
represented in the garage area privy, but food vessels are better represented in the retaining wall privy. Beverages, particularly wine bottles, make up a higher percentage of the garage area privy (n=9, 24.3%) assemblage than the retaining wall privy assemblage (n=5, 18.5%). At the Nantucket African Meeting House, beverages represent 50 percent (n=4) of the vessel assemblage. Three are free-blown wine bottles that date 20 years prior to the African Meeting House's construction and were probably recycled to hold a variety of liquids before their deposition. Such a low number of alcohol related vessels indicates that drinking did not occur at the Meeting House. Medicine bottles vary in their distribution across both sites. They are 21.6 percent (n=8) of garage area privy vessels, 25.9 percent (n=7) of retaining wall privy vessels, and 12.5 percent (n=1) of Meeting House vessels.

Comparative Statistics

In examining the distribution of vessel functional groups, notable differences between tablewares, food, and beverages are apparent. For instance, there seems to be an inverse relationship between tablewares and food vessels between the garage area and retaining wall privies. This assumption can be tested under the null hypothesis “there is no difference in the distribution of tableware and food vessels”. This hypothesis is rejected with a $p$-value < .05. Testing all tableware and food vessels by their respective contexts produces $X^2 = 0.02, df2, p < .05$. The null hypothesis is rejected. The distribution of tablewares and food functional groups are significantly different.
Since the null hypothesis is rejected, adjusted chi-square residuals are calculated. The results show that the differences between tableware and food vessels are most significant in the garage area privy. This privy contains sixteen (43.2%) glass tablewares to one (2.7%) glass food vessel. This difference may be due to a lack of available glass food storage containers during the late-18th and early-19th centuries (Table 7).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Provenience</th>
<th>Functional Group</th>
<th>Observed</th>
<th>Expected</th>
<th>Adjusted residuals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Garage Area Privy</td>
<td>Tableware</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13.85</td>
<td>2.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1800)</td>
<td>Food</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.15</td>
<td>-2.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retaining Wall Privy</td>
<td>Tableware</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8.15</td>
<td>-2.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1820)</td>
<td>Food</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.85</td>
<td>2.20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ X^2 = 0.03, df = 2 \quad z\text{-value} = 2.50 \]

Table 7: Observed and expected values and adjusted chi-square residuals between tableware and food functional groups.

The ratio of alcohol to pharmaceutical bottles were compared to gauge potential variation in the rate of drinking between the privies. This is tested under the null hypothesis “there is no difference in the distribution of pharmaceutical and beverage vessels”. This null hypothesis is rejected with a \( p \)-value < .05. Testing all beverage and pharmaceutical vessels by their respective contexts produces \( X^2 = 0.45, df \), \( p < .05 \) (Table 8). The null hypothesis is supported. The distribution of beverages and pharmaceutical functional groups are similar between privies at the Boston-Higginbotham House.
Table 8: Observed and expected values between alcoholic beverages and pharmaceutical functional groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Functional Groups</th>
<th>Garage Area Privy (1800)</th>
<th>Retaining Wall Privy (1820)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcoholic Beverages</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharmaceutical</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \chi^2 = 0.55, df = 2 \]

Table 8: Observed and expected values between alcoholic beverages and pharmaceutical functional groups.

In summary, statistical analyses of glass vessels show that: 1) the distribution of tablewares and food vessels are significantly different (\(\chi^2 = 0.02, df2, p < .05\)) with the most significant difference occurring in the garage area privy (\(\chi^2\) adj. res. = 2.21, -2.21, \(z\)-value = 2.50); 2) the distribution of beverage and pharmaceutical vessels are statistically similar (\(\chi^2 = 0.45, df2, p < .05\)).
The decision to quench one’s thirst with alcohol, rather than water, milk, soda, or coffee, carries a variety of contextually dependent meanings (Smith 2008:135). The choice to abstain from “spirits” also carries significance. Temperance gained popularity in the 19th century among social elites who wanted to distinguish themselves from the working class (Mrozowski 2006:126-129; Reckner and Brighton 1999:82). Alcohol came to represent a corrupted character, immorality, unproductiveness, and a detriment to the nation (Reckner and Brighton 1999:67). Ethnic and racial stereotypes around excessive drinking were weaponized to demarcate social boundaries and validate the dominant position of one group over another (Reckner and Brighton 1999:82; Mrozowski 2006:126-129; Smith 2008:78-79).

The decision to abstain from hard spirits for New Guinea’s Boston family was informed by a broader project of racial uplift (Bethel 1999:26; Rael 2002:52). Like Reckner and Brighton’s (1999) study of 19th-century German and Irish drinking, this thesis demonstrates that racial stereotypes surrounding black “inebriety” and “public drunkenness” were a symptom of racism that was deliberately contradicted by the consumption practices of the Bostons.
Results of the minimum number of vessels (MNV) analysis show that alcohol consumption was similar between contexts at the Boston-Higginbotham House. The garage area privy, representing Seneca Boston and Thankful Micah’s household circa 1800, includes 9 wine bottles. The retaining wall privy, used by Seneca and Thankful’s daughter-in-law Mary Boston Douglass, contains 4 wine bottles and 1 beer bottle. When examined as functional groups, beverages make up 24.3 percent of the garage privy and 18.5 percent of the retaining wall privy assemblages. Chi-square tests of the ratio between alcohol and pharmaceutical bottles demonstrate that the rate of alcohol consumption did not significantly change between generations of the Boston family. Not only is the rate of drinking consistent, but the types of alcohol consumed are remarkably consistent. Wine bottles dominate the privy assemblages with no liquor bottles being present in either.

During Seneca and Thankful Micah’s time at the Boston Higginbotham House (1774–1802), temperance philosophy allowed for small amounts of beer, wine, and porter but prohibited hard “spirits” (Reckner and Brighton, 1999:66). This message shifted towards total abstinence near the tail-end of Mary Boston Douglass’s residence (1803–1826) as the Colored Temperance Society was founded in 1834 (Smith 2008:3; Nantucket Inquirer 1834b:3). The consistent lack of liquor bottles at the Boston-Higginbotham House suggests that the Boston’s were adhering to the temperance standards of their day.
The African Meeting House itself is nearly devoid of alcoholic material culture with only one beer bottle and three reused wine bottles in the swept yard and walkway. This highlights the Meeting House as a temperate space, unsurprising given its use as a Baptist church, school, and the location of numerous Colored Temperance Society meetings (Beaudry and Berkland 2007:408; *Nantucket Inquirer* 1835:3, 1836:2, 1838:3).

Mary Boston-Douglass had a strong connection to the African Meeting House as her family served as founding and reconstituting members of the African Baptist Society, her children attended the African School, and Elizabeth Stevens, Mary Boston Douglass’ granddaughter, took possession of the church’s bible when the building was sold in 1910 (Bulger 2013:122). Absalom and Peter Boston were founding trustees of the African Baptist Society in 1825, and three Boston women, including Mary’s daughter Charlotte, were signatories on the 1831 reconstitution charter (*Nantucket Inquirer* 1825:2, 1872:1). They also supported the church financially with Absalom’s store accepting church donations (*Nantucket Inquirer* 1852b:2).

While the Bostons helped to shape the African Meeting House, the institution also shaped them. Their close relationship granted a level of prestige within the black community but came with pressures to maintain respectable ideals (Gaines 1996; Rael 2002; Horton and Horton 1999:37). This pressure likely influenced the avoidance of liquor seen at the Boston-Higginbotham House. Though not explicitly stated, church minutes show that membership could be revoked for inappropriate behavior, which could include incidents of intemperance. In church minutes it was “resolved that any member of the Church who shall neglect the ordinance of the Lords Supper for two months…shall be
excluded by a vote of the Church at any regular meeting” (NHA 1851:7). The African Society in Boston was more explicit when they stated that, “any member bringing on himself a sickness or disorder by intemperance shall not be considered as entitled to any benefits of assistance from the society” (MHS 1802:5). Maintaining temperance, like prayer or church attendance, was necessary to preserve the Boston family's relationship with the African Meeting House.

As the Bostons upheld the temperate values of the time, other aspects of their household materiality evolved. For instance, the ratio of glass tableware to food vessels at the Boston-Higginbotham House changed significantly between 1800 and 1820 (see Table 7). Mary Boston Douglass, in the 1820s, used significantly more glass storage vessels than her in-laws, but Seneca and Thankful used more utilitarian ceramics than Mary (Table 9).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ceramic Functional Groups</th>
<th>Garage Area Privy (1800)</th>
<th>Retaining Wall Privy (1820)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tableware</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaware</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utilitarian</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>163</strong></td>
<td><strong>107</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9: Comparison of ceramic vessels between Boston-Higginbotham House privies.

This implies that glass storage vessels began to replace ceramic storage vessels during the early-19th century at the Boston Higginbotham House. However, the rate at which this change happened still left Mary Boston Douglass with far fewer total storage vessels than her predecessors. Mary’s lack of utilitarian vessels represents a shift in
subsistence strategies as the whaling industry progressed and New Guinea developed a
greater reliance on local markets for food (Lee 2019:95). Women played a key role in
these markets, shaping household materialism through their representation in public
consumer spaces (Mullins 2011:146-147).

The economic realities of the whaling industry required black women to work
outside of the home to supplement the inconsistent wages of sailors at sea (Bolster
1990:1189-1191; Lee 2019: 91). This led to a more public perception of black
womanhood compared to the traditional concept of womanhood in white communities
(Bulger 2013:39). In New Guinea, black women played important roles as teachers at the
African School, signatories for the African Baptist Church’s reconstitution, and advocates
for school integration during the 1840s (Karttunen 2005; White 1978). As black women
took on more public roles, they were still expected to perform their domestic
responsibilities, such as the moral training of their families, while abiding by the values
of “purity, piety, submissiveness, and domesticity” (Mullins 2011:152; Bulger 2013:41;
Lee 2019). They achieved this, in part, through the curation of their homes (Bulger 2015;
Cacchione 2019; Lee 2019; Herzing 2022).

The black household served as a sanctuary from public racism (hooks 1990;
Brandon 2004:198). By creating and sustaining their “homeplace”, black women made an
overly political statement against a white culture that excluded them from the concepts
of domesticity and womanhood (hooks 1990:42). The material culture of the Boston-
Higginbotham House illustrates how the Boston women fostered a culture of
“respectability” in their home (Bulger 2015; Lee 2019; Herzing 2022; Bethel 1999:55;
Rael 2002:131). Transfer print motifs associated with Mary Boston Douglass include children in gardens, families by lakes, bucolic scenery, and chinoiserie patterns. The image of a mother bird guarding her nest on two teacups and two bowls, embodies the “respectable” themes of domesticity and motherhood that Mary sought to demonstrate (Bulger 2015:108-109; Lee 2019; Herzing 2022). Mary’s adherence to temperance standards similarly reflects this ambition towards “respectability” (Smith 2008:81; Horton and Horton 1999:28-29; Bethel 1999:70; Rael 2002:65-68). Her choice to avoid liquor, both for herself and her family, is significant within the context of the 19th-century racial uplift movement. In contrast to their white neighbors, temperance at the Boston-Higginbotham House illustrated their belief in the qualities of resistance that racial uplift sought to achieve. The enforcement of temperance by women within their “homeplace” was a conscious political action, both to support the racial uplift movement and to challenge white culture’s sole claim to virtues like respectability and temperance (hooks 1990:42).

Though the Boston women kept a temperate home and had strong connections to the African Meeting House, the Bostons are conspicuously absent from the Colored Temperance Society. Records reveal that some Boston men were involved in the alcohol business, including Absalom who held a liquor license and kept a public inn as early as 1812 (Karttunen 2005:68-69). His nephew William, Mary’s son and Eliza’s brother, owned a small tailor shop at the time of his death in 1833. Along with vests, thimbles, and kerseymeres, William’s probate includes two barrels of cider (NPC 1842: PB 16:52-53). This was too much for personal consumption and was likely sold at his shop. Mary
Boston Douglass, the primary caretaker of the Boston-Higginbotham House from 1803 to 1826, kept her home temperate despite her son’s and brother-in-law’s involvement in the alcohol business. The Bostons probably attended public meetings of the Temperance Society, despite not joining formally due to their financial associations with alcohol.

The Bostons weren’t alone in Nantucket’s alcohol market. Edward Pompey was the President of the Colored Temperance Society and a successful merchant who sold a medicinal “cocktail” made of rum to his customers (*Nantucket Inquirer* 1834:3; NPC 1848: PB 17: 358-361). Although his business was illegal at the time, he represented a black-friendly alternative to an otherwise white-dominated marketplace. Black consumers negotiated a hostile local market as white stores could be known to cheat their black customers (Mullins 2011:161). Paul Mullins (2011:161) found that black households in Annapolis, Maryland turned to brand-name products to circumvent this kind of local market racism. Paul Edwards’ (1969:159) 1932 study of consumers in the urban South noted that black shoppers “have often been taken advantage of by unscrupulous merchants.” As a result, they were careful with whom they did business, preferring trusted salespeople rather than “risk their fate with others” (Edwards 1969:159). Absalom Boston’s public inn, Edward Pompey’s store, and William Boston’s shop were trusted establishments in the eyes of their black clients. These merchants did not sell alcoholic goods merely out of personal economic necessity. William Boston’s probate inventory is dominated by clothing, Edward Pompey’s inventory is mostly dry goods, and Absalom Boston managed several other properties (NPC 1842: PB 16:52-53, NPC 1848: PB 17:358-361; Kaldenbach-Montemayor 2006). They were likely motivated
by the danger posed by a market exclusively occupied by white sellers. Despite personal convictions, they sold alcohol to insulate black consumers from shopkeepers who could deny service, swindle, or tamper with alcoholic products.

Comparison with Other Sites

The Beacon Hill community in Boston, like New Guinea, had formal groups created by black residents to provide community services, protest discriminatory restrictions, and lobby for social and political change (Horton and Horton 1999). One such group was the African Society, which offered social welfare services in the form of financial relief and job placement to its members and their families (Bethel 1999:70). The Society held its meetings at the African Meeting House, the home of the African Baptist Church, on Beacon Hill (Dujnic 2005; Landon and Bulger 2013). The Abel Smith School, a school exclusively for Black Bostonians, was located next to the African Meeting House (Jordan 2021). This arrangement was similar on Nantucket where the Meeting House also served as a school for New Guinea’s children. Both sites were built on undesirable land with poor drainage, evidenced by filling events in Nantucket and a network of drains in Boston. (Beaudry and Berkland 2007:405; Landon and Bulger 2013:27; Jordan 2021:37-41). The Boston African Meeting House, Abiel Smith School, and Nantucket glass vessel assemblages were compared due to these similarities (Table 10).
The distribution of vessel functional groups is nearly identical between Nantucket and the Boston African Meeting House, with the frequency of beverages, pharmaceuticals, and tablewares varying by 1.9, 2.1, and 2.9 percent respectively. Similar proportions of tableware can be explained by the inclusion of a domestic residence, the Boston-Higginbotham House, in the Nantucket assemblage and community functions at the Boston African Meeting House (Landon and Bulger 2013:129). The Nantucket African Meeting House also hosted gatherings, but this is better evidenced by an abundance of ceramic fragments rather than glass tablewares (Beaudry and Berkland 2007:408).

At the Abiel Smith School, the frequency of beverage and pharmaceutical vessels is five percent higher than the other two sites, with 77.8 percent of beverage vessels being alcoholic and 36.5 percent liquor bottles. This is contrasted by the neighboring Boston African Meeting House where investigators noted that “the number of liquor bottles is relatively small and the consumption of alcohol at the site seems limited” (Landon and...
Bulger 2013:129). The 18 beverage vessels found in New Guinea are all alcoholic with at least three from the Meeting House being reused before disposal. Using chi-square analysis to evaluate the difference in the ratio of alcohol bottles to pharmaceuticals reveals no significant difference between New Guinea and the Abiel Smith School ($X^2 = 0.42, df_2, p < .05$) (Table 11). This implies that the rate of alcohol consumption was similar at both sites. However, only beer and wine were found at Nantucket while the Abiel Smith School assemblage includes wine, liquor, beer, and champagne (Jordan 2021:50). The rate of drinking appears consistent, but what people were drinking varied greatly.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Functional Groups</th>
<th>Nantucket African Meeting House and Boston-Higginbotham House</th>
<th>Abiel Smith School</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alcoholic Beverages</td>
<td>$O$ = 18, $E$ = 15.9</td>
<td>$O$ = 49, $E$ = 51.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharmaceutical</td>
<td>$O$ = 16, $E$ = 18.1</td>
<td>$O$ = 60, $E$ = 57.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$X^2 = 0.42, df = 2$

Table11: Observed and expected values between alcoholic beverages and pharmaceuticals at Nantucket and the Abiel Smith School.

Dania Jordan (2021:63) argues that the presence of alcohol bottles at the Abiel Smith School is suggestive of community gatherings, while their absence at the Boston African Meeting House is consistent with the sobriety norms for places of worship. The Nantucket African Meeting House and African School occupied the same building that was also used for community events, but unlike the Abiel Smith School, there is little to no evidence of alcohol present. This suggests that religious norms, such as temperance,
were consistently followed at the Meeting House regardless of the event taking place there.

The Boston and Nantucket vessel assemblages are similar, but their contextual differences are striking. Boston’s urban contexts reflect multiple surrounding households while Nantucket’s relatively rural community is mostly represented by a single domestic site. The stark disparity in sample size, with 373 glass vessels in Boston and only 72 in Nantucket, further highlights the sheer difference in population density. The tight alleys of Beacon Hill prevented Black Bostonians from organizing space as freely as Black Nantucketers. For example, as little as 25 feet separate the Boston African Meeting House from the Abiel Smith School (Jordan 2021:40). Clear attempts were made to restrict drinking at both Meeting Houses, but limited space in Boston led to a “relatively small number of liquor bottles”, while Nantucket’s Meeting House remained virtually devoid of alcohol (Landon and Bulger 2013:129; Beaudry and Berkland 2007:408). The shared maritime cultures of Boston and Nantucket, as port towns, may have influenced their regimentation of Meeting House spaces (Bolster 1990; Horton and Horton 1999). Nantucket’s whale burial, repurposed ship hull walkway, and “shipshape” swept yard all serve as physical reminders of this shared life at sea.

The Nantucket glass vessel assemblage was also compared with two other free black domestic sites to broaden the scope of this thesis. Domestic sites were preferred over black meeting houses, churches, or schools since most of the Nantucket assemblage originates from the Boston-Higginbotham House. The comparative sites include the Maynard-Burgess Cellar in Annapolis, Maryland, which has a similar quantity of glass
vessels, and Skunk Hollow in New Jersey, which has a similarly rural setting. In the case of Skunk Hollow, certain glass vessels such as perfume and ink bottles were placed in a “unidentified” category rather than being grouped with toiletries, domestics, or tableware (Geismar 1982:137). While all functional groups may not be directly comparable across all sites, the categories of beverages, pharmaceuticals, food, and tableware remain useful for analysis.

The glass distribution at these other sites highlights a dramatic contrast in the frequency of tableware (Table 12). Nantucket boasts over 30 percent, while the Maynard-Burgess Cellar has less than 8 percent. Skunk Hollow also falls short with only 1.7 percent of total glass shards being recognized as tableware (Geismar 1982:127).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Functional Group</th>
<th>Nantucket African Meeting House and Boston-Higginbotham House</th>
<th>Maynard-Burgess Cellar</th>
<th>Skunk Hollow</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beverages</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharmaceutical</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tableware</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unidentified</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>72</strong></td>
<td><strong>87</strong></td>
<td><strong>261</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12: Count of glass vessel functional groups at the Nantucket African Meeting House/Boston-Higginbotham House, the Maynard-Burgess Cellar, and Skunk Hollow

One possible explanation for this disparity could be the inclusion of Meeting House contexts since Nantucket’s high tableware frequency is most similar to the Boston African Meeting House (see Table 10). However, all 22 tablewares were found in privies at the Boston Higginbotham House. Sixteen of these (72.7%) are attributed to Seneca
Boston and Thankful Micah during the late-18th century. A large tin-glazed punch bowl, found in the same context, implies that the Boston family hosted large social gatherings at their home (Cacchione 2019:68; Landon 2018; Lee 2019:94). Cups, drinking glasses, and a goblet make up over 90 percent of Seneca and Thankful's tableware collection. Their social gatherings during the late-18th century may explain why the frequency of tableware at the Boston-Higginbotham House is more akin to a community space, like the Boston African Meeting House, than other domestic sites.

Mary Boston Douglass and her daughter Eliza Boston Berry added extra rooms to their home to accommodate boarders between 1812 and 1836 (Bulger 2015:109; Lee 2019). Despite this, the frequency of glass vessels found in their home seems like other non-boarding domestic sites. Chi-square testing shows no significance in the ratio of alcohol bottles to pharmaceuticals between New Guinea and Skunk Hollow ($X^2 = 0.10$, $df = 2$, $p < .05$) (Table 13). Just as with the Abiel Smith School, the rate of drinking was similar, but New Guinea lacks the hard spirits seen at Skunk Hollow (Geismar 1982:137). This reinforces the idea that the Boston women curated their household’s materiality and influenced its occupants (hooks 1990; Bulger 2015; Cacchione 2019; Lee 2019; Herzing 2022). They were committed to the virtues of temperance and respectability and carried those attitudes into their business. This commitment to racial uplift was unwavering, and they expected the same of their boarders.
This thesis takes a temporal approach to contrast the glass vessel collection of two
generations of the Boston family. A comparable study was done by Rebecca Yamin
(2001:161-162) who examined glass vessels from different deposits of working-class
Irish and German immigrants in Five Points, New York. She compared two levels of a
large communal cesspool rather than privies (Yamin 2001:161-162). Five Points saw the
racialization of 19th-century Irish immigrants who were exposed to ever-growing
volumes of temperance rhetoric (Orser 1999:665; Reckner and Brighton 1999). Glass
vessels from Five Points were compared to the Boston-Higginbotham House privy
vessels due to these contextual and methodological similarities.

The number of pharmaceutical vessels varies slightly between the Boston-
Higginbotham House privies. Medicine bottles make up 21.6 percent of Seneca and
Thankful’s and 25.9 percent of Mary Boston-Douglass’ assemblages. Rebecca Yamin
(2001:161-162) observed a similar distribution at Five Points, where a 23.7 percent
increase in non-alcoholic beverages, mostly represented by mineral water, coincides with
a 13.8 percent decrease in alcohols between 1854 and 1870. During this period,
temperance advocates promoted total abstinence to regulate the drinking habits of Irish

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nantucket African Meeting House and Boston-Higginbotham House</th>
<th>Skunk Hollow</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcoholic Beverages</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>13.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharmaceutical</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>20.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$X^2 = 0.10, df = 2$

Table 13: Observed and expected values between alcoholic beverages and
pharmaceuticals at the Boston Higginbotham House and Skunk Hollow
immigrants, which seems to have led to a decrease in overall alcohol consumption (Reckner and Brighton 1999:82). Mineral water bottles could have been a remedy for excessive drinking and their increased usage is further evidence of the impact of the temperance movement (Yamin 2001:160). Unlike Five Points, the Boston-Higginbotham House shows no signs of a shift towards mineral water (Table 14).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Functional Groups</th>
<th>Boston-Higginbotham House</th>
<th>Five Points, 472 Pearl St., Feature J</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Garage Area Privy (1800)</td>
<td>Retaining Wall Privy (1820)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcoholic Beverages</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Alcoholic Beverages</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharmaceutical</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tableware</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unidentified</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>37</strong></td>
<td><strong>27</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 14: Count of glass vessel functional groups at the Boston-Higginbotham House and Five Points, New York

The temperance narrative experienced by the Boston family deviated slightly from that of the Irish community in Five Points. Mary Boston-Douglass’ temperance was rooted in the racial uplift movement and temperance messaging from 1800 to 1820 differed from the rhetoric during the second half of the 19th century (Bethel 1999:55; Rael 2002:131). Chi-square testing nearly reaches significance when comparing the ratio of alcohol bottles to pharmaceuticals between the Boston-Higginbotham House and Five Points ($X^2 = 0.07, df/2, p < .05$) (Table 15). Adjusted residuals suggest that alcohol was
consumed at a higher rate in the Boston-Higginbotham House than at Five Points. Mary Boston Douglass faced a temperance message that was moving towards increased strictness, while temperance in Five Points called for complete abstinence from 1854 to 1870 (Smith 2008:3; Reckner and Brighton 1999:66).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Provenience</th>
<th>Functional Group</th>
<th>Observed</th>
<th>Expected</th>
<th>Adjusted residuals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boston-Higginbotham House</td>
<td>Alcoholic Beverages</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>1.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pharmaceutical</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>-1.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five Points, Feature J (1870)</td>
<td>Alcoholic Beverages</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>52.2</td>
<td>-1.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pharmaceutical</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>102.8</td>
<td>1.81</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ X^2 = 0.07, df = 2 \]

\[ z\text{-value} = 2.50 \]

Table 15: Observed and expected values and adjusted chi-square residuals between alcoholic beverages and pharmaceuticals at the Boston Higginbotham House and Five Points, New York

Since the Five Points assemblage can be divided into distinct temporal periods, additional chi-square tests comparing these periods can highlight when rates of alcohol consumption decreased. Comparing the Boston-Higginbotham House with Five Points’ 1854 context (Feature J, AS V) produces a chi-square of \( X^2 = 0.15, df = 2, p < .05 \), suggesting the rate of drinking was similar between these contexts. However, tests including Five Points’ 1870s context (Feature J, AS III) yields a significant result (\( X^2 = 0.04, df = 2, p < .05 \)). The 1870s context not only features a significant deviation in the rate of alcohol consumption but includes a notable increase in the number of non-alcoholic beverages like mineral water at Five Points (Yamin 2001:160). The increasingly absolute tenor of the temperance movement during the second half of the 19th century was likely the cause in this observed decrease in drinking. It may also explain the differences in
drinking rates and the use of mineral water between the Boston-Higginbotham House and Five Points.

Chi-square testing implies that the rate of alcohol consumption was somewhat constant between contexts. Comparing New Guinea to the Abiel Smith School, Skunk Hollow, and Five Points’ circa 1854 does not show a significantly different ratio between alcohol bottles and pharmaceutical products. While the rate of drinking seems consistent, what people drank greatly varied. There is no evidence of liquor at the Boston home whereas liquor bottles are present in every other context examined in this study (Table 16).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Boston-Higginbotham House</th>
<th>Abiel Smith School</th>
<th>Five Points, Feature J</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wine</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquor</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Champagne</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown Alcohol</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>14</strong></td>
<td><strong>49</strong></td>
<td><strong>48</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 16: Number of alcohol bottles by alcohol type at the Boston-Higginbotham House, Abiel Smith School, and Five Points.

Temperance philosophy of the early-19th century preached moderation, with small amounts of beer, wine, and porter being considered acceptable in moderate amounts, while gin, rum, and whiskey were deemed intemperate (Reckner and Brighton 1999:66). Historic documents, like Edward Pompey’s probate, demonstrate that liquors were available to the Boston’s, yet they clearly chose not to partake in them, adhering to the temperance standards of the time. Temperance reformers successfully passed
legislation to regulate alcohol sales and their rhetoric shifted towards total abstinence by the 1850s (Reckner and Brighton 1999:63, 66; Smith 2008:3). This cultural shift in attitude towards alcohol likely drove the decreasing rates of alcohol consumption at Five Points, New York.

To put the collections in broader context, it is helpful to compare them with contexts with clear links to alcohol. The Nantucket alcohol and pharmaceutical bottles were compared to the same vessel functional groups at the Corner Saloon, Mascot Saloon, Vanoli Brothel, and Hill 60 Brothel (Spude 2005; Blee 1991). These western frontier sites, active from 1880 to 1915, demonstrate how high drinking rates can manifest archaeologically. Vessel counts presented in Catherine Blee’s (1991: 179–184, 199–205) doctoral dissertation were referenced for comparison (Table 17).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Functional Group</th>
<th>Nantucket Contexts</th>
<th>Corner Saloon</th>
<th>Mascot Saloon</th>
<th>Vanoli Brothel</th>
<th>Hill 60 Brothel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcoholic Beverages</td>
<td>18 52.9</td>
<td>558 95.1</td>
<td>108 93.9</td>
<td>1787 72.2</td>
<td>96 79.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharmaceutical</td>
<td>16 47.1</td>
<td>29 4.9</td>
<td>7  6.1</td>
<td>687 27.8</td>
<td>25 20.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>34 100</td>
<td>587 100</td>
<td>115 100</td>
<td>2474 100</td>
<td>121 100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 17: Count and percentage of alcoholic beverage and pharmaceutical vessels at Nantucket and western frontier sites.

Alcohol bottles in saloons and brothels greatly outnumber the Nantucket alcohol bottle assemblage. Alcohol bottles are over ten times greater in absolute counts with an alcohol to pharmaceutical ratio of 5:1 at brothels and 10:1 at saloons. This is contrasted by Nantucket’s 1:1 ratio. Chi-square tests of the alcohol bottle to pharmaceutical ratio are
highly significant with the Mascot Saloon and Hill 60 Brothel producing $X^2 = 0.006 \times 10^{-12}$, $df = 2, p < .05$ ($X^2$ adj. res. = 5.81, -5.81, $z$-value = 2.50) and $X^2 = 0.002, df = 2, p < .05$ ($X^2$ adj. res. = 3.08, -3.08, $z$-value = 2.50) respectively when compared to the Nantucket contexts. The rate of alcohol bottle deposition at Nantucket, Boston, and Five Points is a fraction by any measure and suggests temperance relative to these saloon and brothel contexts.

Blee (1991) also found a high frequency of liquor-related artifacts in late-19th century western frontier family households. This is contrasted by a low percentage of liquor-related artifacts in all-male residences (Blee 1991:177). Men’s drinking was primarily taking place in saloons whereas the same behavior by women was more hidden, happening in the privacy of their homes (Hardesty 1994:138). These gendered dimensions surrounding alcohol and space may explain the higher frequencies of pharmaceuticals seen in brothels compared to saloons. In the brothel, pharmaceuticals could have served as an acceptable alternative to liquor for women.

While statistical comparisons point to temperance at Nantucket, Boston, and Five Points, it’s important to remember the context from which these data sets are derived. The Nantucket assemblage mostly represents a private home context. Like the all-male residences of the western frontier, it is possible the Boston’s drinking took place in public spaces which resulted in the observed lack of alcohol at the Boston-Higginbotham House (Hardesty 1994:138, Blee 1991:177). A similar caveat should be made regarding the Abiel Smith School and Five Points’ Feature J. Although these contexts are substantially
different from taverns or brothels, they do not capture the entirety of Black Bostonian or Irish working-class drinking. What is clear is that drinking in the privacy of the Boston-Higginbotham House is materially distinct from drinking in taverns or brothels. This distinction points to an adoption of temperance, driven mostly by women, in the Boston household.

**Effectiveness of Temperance for Racial Uplift**

Nantucket’s local histories prefer to emphasize the island’s involvement with the abolition movement, highlighted by hosting Fredrick Douglass, but an opposition to slavery did not imply the island fully embraced social equality (Bethel 1999:173-174, 182; Kaldenback-Montemayor 2006:18). Racial tensions boiled over when Fredrick Douglass and Stephen Foster condemned the church’s role in slavery during Nantucket’s second Anti-Slavery Convention in 1842 (Karttunen 2005:84, Peters 2006:120-122). *The Liberator* (1842) wrote of Douglass’ argument, “He endeavors to prove that we have no right to talk of northern liberty and southern slavery, while all parts of the country are equally involved in the guilt of slaveholding; and that the church, both in the North and the South, is pro-slavery.” A mob formed in reaction to Douglass’ criticisms of the clergy (Peters 2006:121). *The Liberator* (1842) reported that, “the convention is annoyed by noisy and riotous proceedings of persons, assembled around the hall, who, by hooting, screeching, throwing brick-bats and other missiles, manifests their determinations not to listen to the truth, and the want of all argument with which to combat it; but as those within the hall keep as quiet as possible, the convention is able to proceed its
deliberations without material interruption.” A fiery oration by Stephen S. Foster (MHS 1886) intensified the fervor by denouncing the island’s clergy as “accomplices of Satan” for their support of southern “sister institutions” engaged in slave trading and owning. This sparked a riot that prevented the remaining session from being held at the Atheneum for fear of property damages (Peters 2006:120-122). No amount of “respectability” served to immunize Black Nantucketers from racial violence, demonstrating the limitations of racial uplift efforts (Gaines 1996:60).

Previous archaeological studies of alcohol consumption have examined alcohol’s role in defining social boundaries based on class and ethnicity. Temperance was wielded as a tool to control laborers and unruly immigrants, but low-wage workers could climb the economic ladder and Irish immigrants would eventually be accepted as “white” (Mrozowski 2006:126-129; Reckner and Brighton 1999; Orser 1999:665). Respectability, temperance, or racial uplift were powerless to alter the permanent condition of race for Black Americans. Their pursuit of equal citizenship was hindered by the vicious cycle of institutionalized racism and prejudice which rendered racial uplift insufficient to address the underlying economic, legal, and political structures upholding white supremacy. (Gaines 1996:166; Rael 2002:208).

Peter Paul Simons, speaking at the African Clarkson Association of New York City in 1839, framed racial uplift as a means of maintaining black submissiveness and docility, not a catalyst for liberation (Rael 2002:157-158). “This long talk of moral elevation,” he declared, “has made us a moral people, but no more,” for uplift “has carried along with it blind submission.” In the “great respect” and “soft manners” it
demanded that blacks show whites the “roots of degradation.” This was a conscious design “to hinder our people from acting collectively for themselves...from acting in another way to obtain their rights” (Colored American 1839:3).

This thesis demonstrates that alcohol consumption was non-existent at the African Meeting House and was remarkably low between generations of the Boston household. Temperance was the rule, rather than the exception, and words like “respectable” and “temperate” are replete throughout New Guinea’s Nantucket Inquirer notices. These efforts towards respectability did not go unnoticed by their white neighbors. An 1838 letter to the editor of the Nantucket Inquirer summarized Nantucket’s temperance societies. “Several other societies were also formed, among which is the ‘Colored Temperance Society’, which still exists; and the labors of its members have been, and are, both honorable and useful; and might with great truth and justice, be cited for the imitation of their brethren of paler complexions” (Nantucket Inquirer 1838c:2). Though seemingly supportive, white media underpinned black temperance as a mere copy of white society.

Some Inquirer articles carried a more paternalistic undertone. An 1844 article from the Morning Telegraph recounts the temperance narrative of Siegs from Portland, Maine. “Our right hand man Siegs, the celebrated wood sawist and temperance advocate - undertook the other day to enlighten us as to the nature of alcohoine—as he called it. Honest, industrious and respected, he is doing much good among his color, in promoting temperance and morality. His english is not the most fashionable, but his heart is right,
and we bid him and his co-workers God speed” (Morning Telegraph 1844:2). The theme of ignorance, as in other editorials, was used to color black temperance efforts.

The Boston family’s choice to abstain from alcohol reflected their belief in the resistant qualities of racial uplift, but their white neighbors saw this as a naive emulation (Bethel 1999:26; Rael 2002:52). The benefits of temperance were reserved for whites to reinforce their societal dominance (Reckner and Brighton 1999:82; Smith 2008:78-79; Gaines 1996:67-68; Nantucket Inquirer 1838c:2). Black Nantucketer’s faced a lose-lose situation. Either refuse temperance and face slurs as “drunkards” or embrace it and be perceived as counterfeit and unenlightened. Equality was never an option. Their only way forward was “by acting another way to obtain their rights” (Colored American 1839).

Political action and lengthy legal battles, as exemplified by the fight for school integration in the 1840s, were required to achieve even a minimal level of civil equality. (Karttunen 2005; White 1978).
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Agbe-Davies, Anna
2015 *Tobacco, Pipes, and Race in Colonial Virginia: Little Tubes of Mighty Power.* Left Coast Press Inc., Walnut Creek, CA.

Barton, Christopher P.

Battle-Baptiste, Whitney

Beaudry, Mary C., and Ellen P. Berkland

Bethel, Elizabeth Rauh

Blee, Catherine Holder

Bolster, Jeffery W.

Bragdon, Kathleen J.
Brandon, Jamie C.

Bulger, Teresa Dujnic

Byers, Edward

Cacchione, Victoria A

Colored American

Dujnic, Teresa

Edwards, Paul K.

Fesler, Garrett
Gaines, Kevin K.

Geismar, Joan H.

Hardesty, Donald L.

Heath, B. J. and Bennett, A.

Herzing, Lissa

hooks, bell
1990  *Yearning: Race, Gender, and Cultural Politics*. South End Press, Boston, MA.

Horton, James O. and Lois E. Horton

Hudson, Lynn M.

*Islander*

Jones, Olive
Jones, Olive, and Catherine Sullivan, with contributions by George L. Miller, E. Ann Smith, Jane E. Harris, and Kevin Lunn

Jordan, Dania

Kaldenback-Montemayor, Isabel

Karttunen, Frances R.

Landon, David B

Landon, David B., and Teresa D. Bulger

Landon, David B., and Nedra Lee
2017  *Archaeological Site Examination of the Seneca Boston-Florence Higginbotham House 27 and 29 York Street, Nantucket, Massachusetts.* Boston, MA.

Lee, Nedra K.

*Liberator*
Lindsey, Bill  

Massachusetts Historical Society (MHS)  

Miller, George L. and Catherine Sullivan  

Morning Telegraph  

Muehlbauer, Jared  

Mullins, Paul R.  

Museum of London Archaeology Service  

Nantucket Historical Association (NHA)  
1851  Pleasant Street Baptist Church Minute Book, MS84, Folder 29. Nantucket Historical Association, Nantucket, MA.  
1880b  View of the African Meeting House, PH166. Nantucket Historical Association, Nantucket, MA.
Nantucket Inquirer
1836 No title. *Nantucket Inquirer* 14 September, 16(74):2. Nantucket, MA.
1838a George Tappan, Importer and Dealer in Crockery, Glass, and China Ware. *Nantucket Inquirer* 23 May, 18(41):3. Nantucket, MA.

Nantucket Probate Court (NPC)
1848 Edward Pompey, Probate Book 17: 358-361, Nantucket Probate Court, Nantucket.
1855 Absalom Boston, Probate Book 19: 127, Nantucket Probate Court, Nantucket.

Nantucket Record of Deeds (NRD)
1802 Seneca Boston, Deed Book 17: 18, Nantucket Record of Deeds, Nantucket.
1812 Seneca Boston, Deed Book 22: 82-83, Nantucket Record of Deeds, Nantucket.

_Nantucket Weekly Mirror_
1848 For the Weekly Mirror. _Nantucket Weekly Mirror_ 22 April, 3(42):2. Nantucket, MA.
1858 Monday, April 5th. _Nantucket Weekly Mirror_ 3 April, 13(40):3. Nantucket, MA.

National Convention
1832 Minutes and Proceedings of the Second Annual Convention, for the Improvement of the Free People of Color in these United States. Philadelphia, PA.

_North Star_

Orser, Charles E.

Rael, Patrick
2002 _Black Identity and Black Protest in the Antebellum North_. The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, NC.

Roscoe, J. T., and Byars, J. A.

Saillant, John

Silliman, Stephen W.

Smith, Fredrick H.
2008 _The Archaeology of Alcohol and Drinking_. University Press of Florida, Gainesville, FL.
Spude, Catherine Holder  
2005  
Brothels and Saloons: An Archaeology of Gender in the American West.  
Historical Archaeology 39:89-106.

Sussman, Lynne  
2000  

VanPool Todd L, and Robert D. Leonard  
2011  
Quantitative Analysis in Archaeology. Wiley-Blackwell.

Voss, Barbara, and Rebecca Allen  
2010  
Guide to Ceramic MNV Calculation Qualitative and Quantitative Analysis.  
Technical Briefs in Historical Archaeology 5:1–9.

Warder  
1846  

Way, Michael Andrew  
2010  

White, Barbara  
1978  
The African School and the Integration of Nantucket Public Schools, 1825-1847.  
Boston University Press, Boston.

White, John R.  
1978  