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RECIPES FOR RESISTANCE: EXAMINING THE REPRODUCTION OF INDIGENEITY  
THROUGH FOODWAYS AT THE SENECA BOSTON-FLORENCE HIGGINBOTHAM  
HOUSE, NANTUCKET, MA

A Thesis Presented  
By  
CAITRIONA M. PARKER

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 2024

Historical Archaeology Program

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## ABSTRACT

### RECIPES FOR RESISTANCE: EXAMINING THE REPRODUCTION OF INDIGENEITY THROUGH FOODWAYS AT THE SENECA BOSTON-FLORENCE HIGGINBOTHAM HOUSE, NANTUCKET, MA

May 2024

Caitriona M. Parker, B.A. Boston University  
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Directed by Dr. Nedra Lee

In the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, Indigenous peoples on Nantucket defied settler-colonial narratives of erasure. Native Americans negotiated the dynamics of racism by increasingly interacting with a rapidly developing free-Black population on the island. In the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century, a predominately Black racialized community established itself, in which many Native Americans, particularly Native women, began to reside. Among these Native women was Thankful Micah, a fifth-generation Wampanoag who married Seneca Boston, an African American man. Archaeological excavations at the Seneca Boston-Florence Higginbotham House have revealed evidence of Indigenous cultural material; however, Indigenous identity at the site and in the community has been under-studied. This thesis uses documentary and zooarchaeological data to understand the continued presence of Indigenous identity at the Boston-Higginbotham House. Using foodways as an entry point for discussing the reproduction of Indigeneity, this study analyzes the diet of Thankful Micah's household to understand the intentional connections to the family's Native and African American cultural heritage. This thesis discusses how dietary preferences and consumption patterns of certain hybridized Native, African, and Anglo-American foodways reinforce Indigeneity in this

pluralistic space. By disrupting the narratives of erasure for Nantucket's Indigenous people, this work reinforces to scholars and the public that Native women were critical social actors in the past who reproduced culture in the perpetuation of community persistence. Moreover, this work encourages scholars of Indigeneity to examine similarly racialized spaces for evidence of Native persistence.

## DEDICATION

For Thankful, may your story continue to inspire.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

As Europeans disembarked on the shores of what is now New England, Native American peoples faced the onslaught of impending genocide from their new colonial neighbors. Resilient in their opposition to these colonial forces, New England's Native communities developed new ways to persist physically and culturally. In Massachusetts and Connecticut, the Massachusett, Nipmuc, and Wampanoag peoples accommodated subsistence and land-use strategies while maintaining traditional cultural and political structures under a colonially imposed mission system (Bragdon 1979; Little 1982; Mandell 1991; Nicholas 2002; Silverman 2002; Mrozowski et al. 2015, Gould et al. 2020)

The Indigenous experience in New England, before and during colonial encounters, has been the subject of decades of archaeological scholarship (Hutchins 1979; Rubertone 1989, 2000, 2020; Bragdon 1996, 1999; Silliman 2005, 2010, 2014; Gould 2013; Mrozowski et al. 2015, DeLucia 2018; Gould et al. 2020). These studies have been critical to understanding the reproduction of Indigeneity<sup>1</sup> under the dynamics of colonialism by demonstrating how Southern New England's Native populations necessarily accommodated, adapted, and adopted new practices to preserve their ethnic and tribal identities. This body of

---

<sup>1</sup> Indigeneity, in the context of this thesis, refers to the ethnic and tribal identity of Indigenous people, whose long-term histories, traditions, and cultures are tied to a particular place.

research emphasizes how adaptability became a defining tradition of Indigeneity, where change was and remains today an integral aspect of Indigenous identity (Russell 2022:180).

On Nantucket Island, in Massachusetts, the Native American population similarly persevered through navigating such colonial encounters in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries (Douglass-Lithgow 1911; Little 1982, 1992; Vickers 1983; Bragdon 1986; Silverman 2001, 2005; Karttunen 2005). In the year 1763, a vast epidemic resulted in the deaths of hundreds of Nantucket Wampanoag (Little and Sussek 1979). An increasingly diverse free-Black population also began to alter the color line on the island (Karttunen 2005). Together, such factors blurred evidence of Indigenous presence.

However, the Wampanoag people continued to reside on Nantucket and actively contributed to developing a thriving community of color known as New Guinea on the island in the late-18<sup>th</sup> century (Mandell 1998; Karttunen 2005). New Guinea came to possess Native American, African American, and Pacific Islander peoples drawn to Nantucket's rapidly developing whaling industry. Consequently, urbanization and maritime wage labor brought Native Americans residentially, occupationally, and socially engaged with Black freedom on the island (Vickers 1983; Barsh 2002; Karttunen 2005). Native American women intermarried with free Black men, establishing mixed-race families. In his examination of these mixed-race contexts, Russell Lawrence Barsh claims that Black and Native peoples, connected through Southern New England's whaling industry, amalgamated through kinship, and shared economic interests, and become an antebellum era "single socioeconomic class defined by their occupation and their color" (Barsh 2002:81). Barsh defines these communities as "Afro-Indians," who "became distinct from Africans and Indians in their outlook and experience" (Barsh 2002:76).

On Nantucket, racialization in the late-18<sup>th</sup> century relegated Native and African Americans into a single “colored” community in which Afro-Indigeneity was not acknowledged from a racial standpoint. Systems of racialization have similarly affected other communities of color throughout New England and the Northeast. For example, at Setauket on Long Island, New York, racialization muddled the continued presence of Indigenous inhabitants in the Native and African American community (Matthews 2019:28). Similarly, at Eastville on Long Island, the colonially imposed color line between Black and white populations came to structure the daily lives of the Native American people who founded the community (Button 2015:146).

While families shared both Native and African American heritage in New Guinea, self-depictions and historical accounts emphasize their predominantly Black identity<sup>2</sup>. The analysis of 18<sup>th</sup>-century Indigenous identity in New Guinea needs to be redefined. This thesis examines how Indigeneity persisted in many of New Guinea’s most prominent Black families. Archaeological data from the Seneca Boston-Florence Higginbotham House, a domestic site occupied by Thankful Micah, a Wampanoag woman, and her husband, Seneca Boston, a Black man, will be examined for evidence of the reproduction of significant practices connected to Indigenous cultural identity<sup>3</sup>.

The first goal of this thesis is to provide insight into the subsistence strategies of Nantucket’s 18<sup>th</sup>-century Wampanoag population. This thesis uses probate data to understand how the Wampanoag adopted animal husbandry, Anglo food preparation and serving vessels,

---

<sup>2</sup> This project will not apply Barsh’s (2002) terminology of “Afro-Indian” to the discussion of New Guinea and its residents. Instead, it will highlight the connections to cultural heritage representative of the maintenance of distinctly Native American and African American identities within the community.

<sup>3</sup> This thesis uses the term cultural identity to refer to the practices and preferences that indicate Wampanoag and African American heritage as reproduced by members of the Boston family. Cultural identity allows for a more encompassing understanding of identity presentations than using racial or ethnic identity.



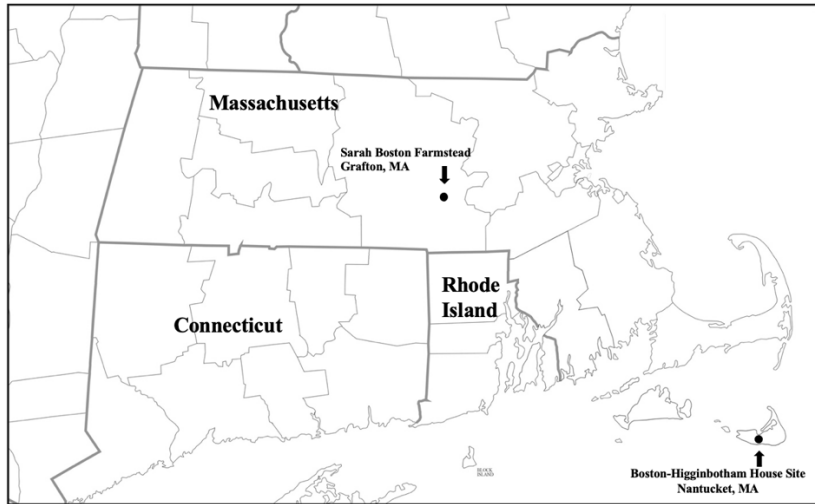
and tableware as part of their foodways repertoire. In doing so, this research offers insight into how Native communities navigated forces of colonialism and racism by establishing hybridized realities in 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup>-century Southern New England. Asking the following question: Can cultural identity be seen through food in pluralistic spaces like the Boston-Higginbotham House? This thesis calls out the discourse that continues in historical analysis and writing that perpetuates the disappearance of Indigenous peoples and their passive response to colonial activities geared toward wiping them out. A large part of this thesis responds to and joins the body of work highlighting how Indigenous people in Massachusetts did not disappear and that their presence remained in these pluralistic spaces (Mrozowski et al. 2009; Gould 2013; Cacchione 2018, 2019; Gould et al. 2020; Law Pezzarossi 2021). Thus, hybridity allows us to understand their persistence, transformation, and adaptation. Hybridity in this research is used to highlight the agency of Indigenous women.

By emphasizing Thankful Micah's resiliency as a Native American woman in a place where Black identity was at the forefront, this research demonstrates the need for future examinations of Indigenous women's power in preserving and maintaining a sense of self while navigating the dynamics of continued colonialism. As colonial forces masked the intersectionality of communities like New Guinea, examining Native women's power in these contexts forefronts their power and returns their agency.

### **Site and Project Context**

Built in 1774, the Seneca Boston-Florence Higginbotham House reflects over two hundred years of free-Black occupation on Nantucket. By owning property, becoming business owners, and becoming successful whaling captains, the Boston family residing at 27

York Street navigated the powerful dynamics of colonialism and racism (Karttunen 2002; Muehlbauer 2021).



*Figure 1. Map of Southern New England*

Archaeological investigations of the Boston-Higginbotham House began in 2008 when the Museum of African American History enlisted Dr. David Landon of the Fiske Center to direct excavations at the property in response to potential site disturbance. The Higginbotham House Archaeology Project (HHAP) continued in 2014 with Dr. Nedra Lee as a Co-Principal Investigator. Together, the two field seasons recovered more than 80,000 objects of material culture, which have become the subject of many discussions concerning the strong Black family and the community it represents. Research has specifically highlighted community building, class consciousness, and how race impacted people’s daily lives in New Guinea (Way 2010; Bulger 2013, 2015; Landon et al. 2017; Landon 2018; Cacchione 2018, 2019; Lee 2019; Herzing 2022; Crawmer 2023). Within this scholarship, there has been an effort to illuminate the importance of women in New Guinea and recognize how race differentially impacts women’s lives (Cacchione 2018, 2019; Lee 2019; Herzing 2022). Together, this research has asserted the Boston family’s existence as part of an

emergent Black middle class whose consumption patterns indicated a certain level of affluence (Way 2010; Bulger 2013, 2015; Cacchione 2018; Herzing 2022). At the same time, scholars have acknowledged the racial and ethnic diversity within the Boston family and New Guinea community, recognizing that Indigenous people were present (Bulger 2013; Cacchione 2018, 2019).

Previous foodways studies from the Boston-Higginbotham House have revealed evidence of African and African American foodways traditions. Michael Way's (2010) Master's thesis "Beef, Mutton, Pork, and a Taste of Turtle: Zooarchaeology and Nineteenth-Century African American Foodways at the Boston-Higginbotham House, Nantucket, Massachusetts," and David Landon's (2018) article "Turtle Feasts and the Commensal Politics of Food: Teasing Out the Flavors of African-American Foodways in New England," assessed the faunal material from the 19<sup>th</sup>-century contexts at the Boston-Higginbotham House, asserting the Boston family expressed the tastes of a middle-class African American diet. However, neither Way (2010) nor Landon (2018) discussed the earlier contexts associated with Thankful Micah's occupation of the site.

Discussions surrounding Indigenous presence at the Boston-Higginbotham House have been carried out by Victoria Cacchione (2018, 2019) in her master's thesis, "There are Among the Coloured People of this Place Remains of the Nantucket Indians:" Identity through Ceramics at the Boston-Higginbotham House" and her article "Public Face and Private Life: Identity through Ceramics at the Boston-Higginbotham House on Nantucket." In both publications, Cacchione used ceramics to argue that the earliest residents at the Boston-Higginbotham House possessed both a private (Native American) and a public

(African American) persona. This thesis is a case study of the Boston family, like Cacchione (2018, 2019), that seeks to contribute to archaeological studies of race in New England.

The present research acknowledges that within these pluralistic spaces, like the Boston-Higginbotham House, where people were battling the forces of colonialism and racism, Native individuals still sought to maintain and express their cultural practices. Indigenous people, particularly women, were critical social actors in New Guinea's early formative period. In the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Indigenous women began marrying Black men to establish social and economic bonds between the two populations (Karttunen 2005). Marrying a Black man brought Native women into a demographically new world consisting of changes in lifestyle, labor, and consumption, which required Native women to employ specific strategies to preserve a sense of community, identity, and autonomy.

### **Theoretical Groundings**

Food and its related practices became the space for the Boston family at 27 York Street to communicate their cultural identities. Like elsewhere in New England in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, recently freed people used the harvesting, selling, and procuring of food as a way of showing the world they could subsist and persist outside the institutions of enslavement and indentured servitude (Bowen 1986; Cipolla et al. 2007; Allard 2010; Way 2010; Pezzarossi et al. 2012; Landon and Bulger 2013; Williams 2014; Gould et al. 2020). For Thankful and Seneca, the negotiated material choices involved in subsistence allowed them to express Native American and African American tastes.

As a place where multiple racial, ethnic, and cultural identities existed and intermixed, the Boston-Micah household was what scholars have called a pluralistic space (Lightfoot et al. 1998; Mrozowski 2010; Deagan 2013; Hayes 2013). Material culture and

customs can combine, transform, and undergo hybridization in pluralistic spaces to create something new. Hybridity describes how two colonized groups, Native Americans, and African Americans on Nantucket in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, developed new material practices to persist outside English colonial institutions (Bhabha 1994; Liebmann 2013, 2015). For Indigenous communities, the process of hybridization led to the intentional accommodation, adaptation, and adoption of certain Anglo practices into their lifeways. The accommodation of such practices did not make these communities any less Native, nor did they alter how these communities viewed themselves (Cipolla et al. 2007; Allard 2010; Silliman 2010, 2014; Bagley et al. 2014; Mrozowski et al. 2015; Law Pezzarossi et al. 2021). Instead, the processes involved in hybridity, under the inherent power imbalance of continued colonialism, necessarily led colonized groups to unite and strategically reformulate certain practices to endure (Mrozowski 2013; Mrozowski et al. 2015; Silliman 2013, 2015).

This thesis employs the theoretical concept of hybridity to describe the foodways of the first generation of Bostons at 27 York Street. Hybridity in this context also acknowledges how enslaved and formerly enslaved African Americans on the island equally experienced hybridizing situations under colonial rule. Such shared experiences made New Guinea a space where Native and African Americans continued to negotiate cultural practices to persist. For the Boston family, hybridity emphasizes how the dynamics of continued colonialism, displacement, and racism dominated their daily lives and led to the intentional and extremely political reproduction of both Native and African American cultural identities.

### **Contextualizing Foodways at the Boston-Higginbotham House**

Anthropologists and archaeologists have recently taken an interest in studying food and its related practices to understand its cultural values better (Mintz 1996; Landon 1996;

Whit 1999; Mintz and Du Bois 2002; Bower 2007). Inherently intertwined with our identities as human beings, how we eat depends on factors like geography, availability, race, and ethnicity, influencing how we procure, prepare, consume, and discard our food (Bowen 1975; Douglas 1984). Utilizing archaeological faunal material and documentary data as conduits for foodways analyses allows archaeologists to discuss the role food has played in the presentation and negotiation of past racial and cultural identities (Bowen 1996; Landon 1996, 2005, 2019; Franklin 2001; Dietler 2001; Allard 2010; Franklin and Lee 2019). This research incorporates documentary data with faunal analysis to understand the food acquisition, preparation, presentation, and consumption practices of Thankful Micah at the Boston-Higginbotham House.

### **Methodologies**

This thesis utilizes the inventories of probate records to understand the subsistence practices of Nantucket's 18<sup>th</sup>-century Indigenous population. The probate records are analyzed for the presence of foodways related data, helping to reveal trends in food preparation and consumption for the island's Native American households. Next, this thesis uses the 2014 HHAP faunal collection to study the foodways of the earliest residents of the Boston-Higginbotham House. This collection consists of 2,215 individual specimens. Before the analysis presented in this thesis, Katherine Wagner cataloged a portion (65%) of the collection for the HHAP site report (Landon et al. 2017). However, a complete analysis of the faunal material from this site necessitates the re-analysis of the previously cataloged portion and the analysis of the remaining 35% of the 2014 collection. In this thesis, intra-site comparison through the sub-assemblages of Thankful Micah and Seneca Boston's occupation of the site (1774-1812) and the second generation of Bostons, Mary Boston Douglass and her

household (1812-1822). This research follows increasing trends in zooarchaeological studies, which incorporate the re-analysis and intra-site comparison of an assemblage (Landon 2009:93). In the context of this thesis, re-analysis allows for a more substantial understanding of contexts associated with Thankful Micah, and the intra-site comparison helps to conceptualize differences between these sub-assemblages which highlight varied cultural contributions to the diet.

Using the identification and recording processes outlined in Beisaw (2013) and the zooarchaeological analysis described in Reitz and Wing (1999), this analysis recorded the taxonomic identification, skeletal part and portion, animal age indicators, and evidence of butchery. Within this analysis, a specific focus was given to the presence of wild taxa in the sub-assemblages. Coupled with reconsidering the role home-raised domesticated mammals played in the diet, these data sources afford a different interpretation of the faunal material than Way's (2010) determination of African American foodways.

Finally, the thesis contextualizes the sub-assemblage associated with Thankful Micah and Seneca Boston by comparing the probate and faunal data from Nantucket against data from the Sarah Boston Farmstead in Grafton, Massachusetts<sup>4</sup>. It reveals how Native women in marginalized spaces used food and its related practices to maintain connections to their Indigenous heritage.

### **Summary of Chapters**

This work uses documentary and zooarchaeological analyses to demonstrate how Wampanoag women on Nantucket used food to maintain a connection to their cultural heritage in the free-Black context of New Guinea.

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<sup>4</sup> This work discusses materials recovered from Hassanamisco Nipmuc lands. May this acknowledgement demonstrate a commitment to working to dismantle the systems and ongoing legacies of settler colonialism.

The second chapter of this thesis discusses the social and historical context for which the Wampanoags adapted their subsistence and land use practices to persist under English colonialism. This chapter also describes how the Nantucket Wampanoag encountered the island's free-Black community as colonization and racism relegated Native and African Americans into subservient roles but led to the development of powerful bonds between the two communities as they intermarried and formed New Guinea.

The third chapter of this thesis presents the archaeological methods used in the 2008 and 2014 excavations at the Boston-Higginbotham House and the methods used to divide the archaeological contexts into more meaningful sub-assemblages to understand the long and complex history at the site. This chapter also provides the methodology for analyzing the inventories of the probate records and the methodology used to analyze the 2014 faunal collection.

The fourth chapter summarizes the findings from the probates and the faunal analysis from the Boston-Higginbotham House.

The fifth chapter incorporates the findings from the sub-assemblage analyses and the documentary data into a framework of hybridity theory to interpret the reconstructed foodways of the Boston family. Next, these interpretations from the Boston-Micah household are compared against the Sarah Boston Farmstead data to facilitate an understanding of race-based foodways preferences in 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup>-century Massachusetts. This comparison addresses the similarities and differences between provisioning, preparing, and consuming food at these two female Indigenous-headed households. The connections these home and market-based decisions have to cultural preference are also addressed. This comparative analysis demonstrates how relationships between Indigenous and free Black populations in



colonial Massachusetts resulted in negotiations of certain Native, African, and Anglo-American foodways preferences.

Finally, the sixth chapter considers how food's connection to culture can highlight Indigenous presence in places like New Guinea. Furthermore, it considers how the circumstances of colonialism on Nantucket, like the emerging racial color line, impacted how Indigenous people held onto their culture.

## CHAPTER 2

### HISTORICAL CONTEXT

#### **Native American History on Nantucket**

Centuries prior to European arrival, Indigenous people traveled to and resided on the islands of Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard. The Native populations on these islands, known as the Wampanoag people, were part of the larger Algonquian language group, spanning much of the Northern Atlantic coast (Bragdon 1996). The descendants of Native people from Martha's Vineyard and Cape Cod currently retain the tribal affiliation of Wampanoag (Wampanoag Tribe of Gay Head (Aquinnah) 2023), and scholarship regarding the island's Native populations has adopted this language, the present thesis will do the same (Douglass-Lithgow 1911; Bragdon 1986; Gardner 1994; Karttunen 2005; Silverman 2005).

Prior to the arrival of European colonists, Indigenous peoples on Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard lived peaceably with the land. The Wampanoag relied primarily on a seasonally available diet, practicing a range of agricultural techniques, including the cultivation of maize (Little 1991). Shell middens excavated from Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket suggest that the Wampanoag primarily utilized mammals like deer and aquatic resources like locally available fish and shellfish for subsistence (Ritchie 1969; Little 1991; Roy 2016). One of the earliest recorded descriptions of Native life on Nantucket came from

Samuel de Champlain in 1605, when he visited the island and saw “a village in Nauset Harbor [Nantucket] surrounded by gardens planted with maize, beans, squash, tobacco, and root crops” (Bragdon 1986:29). Raising these crops and maintaining a seasonally available diet, the Nantucket Wampanoag retained their subsistence and settlement patterns well into the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

Initially, the island's location afforded the Nantucket Wampanoag a certain independence from the colonists arriving on the shores of mainland Massachusetts. However, as the Massachusetts Bay Colony further expanded its territory into Native American homelands, a growing uneasiness between Anglo settlers and their Native neighbors led to the outbreak of war in 1636. The ensuing conflict, known as the Pequot War, resulted in the Massachusetts Bay Colony slaughtering hundreds of Native peoples over access to trade and other factors (DeLucia 2018). Emboldened by their recent “victory,” the colonists sought the immediate subjugation of their Native neighbors.

One method of subjugation was forced conversion to Christianity. Christian missionary John Elliot spearheaded the conversion endeavor on mainland Massachusetts. Elliot gave his first sermon to a group of Native peoples in 1646, leading the General Court of the Massachusetts Bay Colony to quickly pass legislation in support of his missionary program (Salisbury 1974:31; DeLucia 2018). By 1663, Elliot had translated the Bible into the Massachusetts language, a dialect of the Algonquian language, allowing him to pursue a large-scale conversion agenda among Massachusetts’ Native peoples (DeLucia 2018). Establishing a comprehensive system of fourteen conversion centers, called “praying towns,” Elliot and his missionaries sought to confer “Indian Presbyterianism” upon Native communities throughout Massachusetts (Gookin 1972). Through these centers, Elliot sought

the complete cultural accommodation and the acculturation of these populations, assimilating them into “civilized” English society (O’Brien 1997). The land where these “praying towns” developed were resided upon by Native people prior to John Eliot’s arrival. However, these were “remolded during Eliot’s time into more nucleated and bounded locations focused on dislocating Native peoples from their lifeways and land and immersing them in Anglicized dress, Christianity, and sedentary agriculturally oriented labor” (Gould et al. 2020:18). Archaeological evidence from the meeting house in the “praying town” of Magunkaquog demonstrates a space where English material culture and religious practices intermixed with Indigenous customs, practices, and materiality (Gould et al. 2020:71).

### **History of “Praying Towns” on Nantucket**

On Martha’s Vineyard and Nantucket, the “praying towns” were established by Englishman Thomas Mayhew. Mayhew’s missionary agenda began in 1641 when he acquired a deed from the Earl of Sterling for the islands of Nantucket, Tuckernuck, Muskeget, and later Martha’s Vineyard (Hare 1971). A Puritan who had been learning the Massachusetts language, Mayhew was determined to establish himself outside the Massachusetts Bay Colony by converting the islands’ Native populations (Hare 1971). On Martha’s Vineyard, with the help of a Wampanoag man named Hiacoomes, Mayhew established two “praying town” communities at Gay Head (Aquinnah) and Christiantown (Ronda 1981). While proselytizing on the Vineyard, Mayhew frequently visited neighboring Nantucket, bringing Wampanoag men back to share in his teachings (Silverman 2005). This cross-island exchange paralleled what Wampanoag people had been participating in for generations; however, now such transmission encompassed Christianity.

Like the “praying town” of Hassanamisco, in present-day Grafton, Massachusetts, the “praying towns” on Nantucket did not relegate the Wampanoag away from their homelands. The Wampanoag were afforded some independence to maintain their indigenous political structures and cultural practices. In his article, “Indians, Missionaries, and Religious Translation: Creating Wampanoag Christianity in Seventeenth-Century Martha’s Vineyard,” David Silverman argues the Wampanoag’s adoption of Christianity was syncretic; Native populations on the islands “refashioned Christianity into something familiar by placing elite in church offices, using Christian holidays to express Indian communal values, adding Indian oratory to Christian rituals, and even reinforcing certain traditional gender roles” (Silverman 2005:144). Scholars found similar trends in the archaeology of the Nipmuc communities at Hassanamisco and Magunkaquog who also synthesized Christian ideals with their beliefs to establish a form of religious translation that acknowledged analogous aspects of both belief systems and consequently fostered greater tolerance between Indigenous peoples and the English colonists in the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Silverman 2005; Gould et al. 2020).

### **Changing Land-Use and Subsistence Practices**

Before the English settlement of Nantucket, five Wampanoag sachems coexisted with little turmoil between groups, each keeping to their designated regions of the island (Little 1982). However, in 1659, relations between the sachemships became tense when Thomas Mayhew sold the island to a group of English proprietors looking to establish themselves in a place free from the strict Puritan rule of the Massachusetts Bay Colony (Karttunen 2005:19). The following year, 34 English families arrived on the island from Salisbury. Upon English arrival, the Wampanoag population on the island was noted to have been around 3,000 people (Macy 1792). Vastly outnumbered, the colonists initially sought amicable relations

with the Wampanoag. However, their demand for prime land for homes, farming, and grazing, left Nantucket's sachemships battling one another over who had the authority to sell the settlers choice parcels for monetary exchange (Little 1982). The most significant of these land deeds was in 1661 when Sachem Wanachmamack sold all the island's meadow grass and pasture grass to the English (Macy 1835:6-8). With this transfer of ownership, the English established the Nantucket Commons, where Anglo settlers could freely graze their livestock.

Losing access to their traditional hunting grounds through the privatization of land necessitated the Wampanoag to negotiate new subsistence and settlement patterns. For example, the Nantucket Wampanoags began to adopt animal husbandry into their subsistence practices, which like other Native groups in the Northeast, upended their more traditional community-based subsistence and trade practices (McGovern and Mebane-Cruz 2019). Nantucket Wampanoags were initially excluded from owning shares of the commons and had to resort to legal means to utilize the commons. Elizabeth Little (1992) documents Wampanoags' use of deeds to maintain access to these lands. Furthermore, the recording of animals on the commons in probate inventories ensured that these men's families would retain ownership of this land and livestock in the instance of their deaths. For example, Micah Phillips' probate from 1750 listed "one horse commons" (NCP 2:158), and Benjamin Tashime's probate from 1770 listed "the feeding right of one cow on the common" (NCP 3:165). Gaining access to the commons began a transition in Wampanoag subsistence practices, which came to rely more heavily on animal husbandry than hunting, fishing, and acquiring wild resources.

However, the Wampanoag also maintained access to a traditional resource: whales. From the initial land transfers with the English, the Wampanoag legally retained their “whale rights,” which allowed them access to drift whales that washed up on the shores of either English or Native land (Little 1992). Maintaining access to drift whales ensured the Wampanoag could continue recovering whale products such as oil, baleen, bone, tendons, and teeth (Little 1992:5). Increasingly interested in the Wampanoag’s ability to process the whales, the English settlers began to engage the Wampanoag as seafarers, using their knowledge of the land and water to help them hunt whales for their purposes.

### **The Whaling Industry**

On Nantucket, the beginnings of the whaling industry relied heavily on Wampanoag men’s labor. For centuries, the Wampanoag had processed drift whales and harpooned right whales trapped in Nauset Harbor (Little 1981b). English settlers quickly capitalized on the Wampanoag’s knowledge of successfully killing and harvesting whale carcasses and employed them in large numbers. In 1690, the English began along-shore whaling with Native American crews (Little 1981b:5). Wampanoag men were hired as crewmen for their seafaring capabilities and vast knowledge of the local harbors.

Whaling took root throughout New England, becoming the primary economic driving force of numerous 18<sup>th</sup>-century coastal towns. In Massachusetts, the ports of Nantucket, New Bedford, and Mashpee flourished, heavily reliant upon the backs of Native and African American men. However, the coercive nature of whaling contracts left Wampanoag men facing difficulties in accruing capital gains and the means to establish their own Native-run whaling businesses. Income earned from whaling voyages flowed directly from the Native American crews into the pockets of local white men for whom they had signed contracts

(Nicholas 2002). Thus, the Native population remained employed in a vicious capitalistic cycle of oppression.

On Nantucket, the whaling industry failed to provide Native men a livable wage to support their families. With their husbands and fathers engaged in extensive labor contracts with little return, the wives of Native whalers were forced to accrue debts at local country stores to acquire the necessities for survival. While numerous historical sources cite the Wampanoag men's "affinity for the bottle" as an essential source of Native indebtedness (Coffin and Folger 1752 in Vickers 1983:574), these sources misjudged and misunderstood the difficulties their exploitative economy created for Native women and their families.

### **Indentured Servitude**

Many Native American women and children in Southern New England were forced into indentured servitude in the homes of white families to settle debts accrued at country stores. By the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, nearly all Native households in southern New England included at least one person who had spent a sizable portion of their childhood as a servant (Silverman 2001:654). For Anglo families, indenturing Native women and children provided a valuable source of domestic labor. On Nantucket, this labor supplemented Mayhew's program of Christianization and acculturation of Wampanoag peoples by extending the Wampanoag's Christian "education" through socialization with an English family. Native boys were forced to learn trade skills while girls were taught "good housewifery of all sorts," especially receiving instruction in the preparation of English style meals (Salisbury 1974:46). Both were expected to learn to read English and "master Christian principles" during their indentureship (Salisbury 1974:46).



Wampanoag young girls and women were forced to adjust to English gender roles. In Wampanoag society, women's work involved the processing and preparing of food and maintaining the family's garden (Silverman 2001:651). Under indentureship, Wampanoag women learned to care for domestic animals like chickens and cows and learned how to prepare English meals (Silverman 2001:652). This knowledge of Anglo foodways permeated into their daily lives once free from indentured servitude. For example, account books from Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard show that in the 18<sup>th</sup> century Wampanoag people purchased goods like molasses, sugar, biscuits, and apples, all which were common in English meals (Little 1981b; Silverman 2001). Furthermore, the consumption of coffee and tea became popular within New England's Indigenous communities in the later 18<sup>th</sup> century (Silverman 2001:655). Becoming proficient at colonial agriculture, preparing English meals, and conducting Anglo household tasks became an accepted part of 18<sup>th</sup> century-Wampanoag women's lives.

Indentureship was undoubtedly harmful to the familial and kinship relations of Native families and groups. Breaking apart families to indenture Native children in English households strained these relationships and disrupted trends in transmitting Wampanoag culture. Separated from their families and communities, Wampanoag children lost the traditional upbringing which they would have received should they not have been indentured. Spending their developmental years in the home of English families resulted in them predominately speaking English, wearing English clothes, and performing English work and activities, disconnecting them from their Indigenous heritage (Silverman 2001:664).

Ironically, indentureship helped spare some Wampanoag children on Nantucket from a sickness that afflicted their community in 1763. Scholars believe the sickness was yellow

fever, which took the lives of 222 Wampanoag people living on the island (Little 1988). Historical accounts from Coffin (1798) and Starbuck (1797) wrote that the sickness came from a native woman named Mary Norquarta, who fell ill after washing sailors' clothes in town. Quickly spreading through the island's Wampanoag population, only sixty-six Wampanoag people survived, by the end of the year 1764 (Little 1988:2). Karttunen (2005) believes the Wampanoag children living as indentured servants in English households survived the disease because there is no record of the disease passing from the Wampanoags to the English.

### **Thankful Micah and the Boston Family**

One such Wampanoag survivor of the 1763-1764 epidemic was Thankful Micah. Thankful Micah was the matriarch of the first generation of free-born Bostons. With their marriage in 1770, Thankful Micah and Seneca Boston established their mixed-race family (NVR 3:110). Working backward through the documents that mention Thankful Micah (in Table 1), the 1810 Federal Census notes Thankful as 56 years old. Taking this to be accurate, Thankful would have been born in the year 1754. Next, Thankful and Seneca's marriage record indicates their marriage took place in 1770, meaning Thankful would have been sixteen at their marriage (NVR 3:110). The Bostons lived in a home at 27 York Street, which was built for the family by Seneca in 1774 (Bulger 2013:10). Their property was located at the center of the New Guinea community in an area called "Five Corners," at the intersection of five main roads. Adjacent to their house would be the African Meeting House, constructed in 1824, home to the Baptist Church and school. Almost two hundred and fifty years later, their home, which still stands today, has become a testament to Black strength, capability, and power.

<b>Date</b>	<b>Record</b>	<b>Location</b>
1770	Marriage Record to Seneca	NVR 3:110
1790	Federal Census	Household #26, Local ID #1
1800	Federal Census	Household #63
1809	Seneca Boston's Will	NCP 5:214-215, 378
1810	Federal Census	Household #23
1810	Local Census	Household #23
1812	Gravestone at the Colored Cemetery	Nantucket Colored Cemetery

*Table 1. Archive of Thankful Micah*

The Bostons became integral to the development, expansion, and perpetuation of the free-Black New Guinea community. Thankful Micah and her Indigenous identity were critical to the Bostons role in New Guinea. Thus, her livelihood is deserving of investigation. This research provides informed conjectures about who Thankful Micah was and what her life was like in New Guinea. Possibly born into a fifth-generation Wampanoag family on Nantucket whose ancestors survived the initial encounters of colonial forces, Thankful Micah's upbringing likely included traditional Native American practices and English ways of life for which the Wampanoag had adopted as their own. Thankful Micah's heritage conceivably comes from the first recorded "Micah" on Nantucket, Mattakachame Micah. Mattakachame Micah's probate from 1740 indicates that he was an "Indian laborer" who possessed a mixture of "Indian" and English goods, suggesting that this first generation of recorded Micahs participated in the Anglo market economy (NCP 2:35).

<b>Date</b>	<b>Record</b>	<b>Location</b>
1740	Mattakachame Micah's Probate	NCP 2:35
1764	Jonathan Micah I's Probate	NCP 3:34-36, 44
1768, 1760, 1778	Peter Micah Deeds	NCD 6:231, 7:265; 9:414
1801	Peter Micah Death Record	Little (1990b:193)
1768	Jonathan Micah II Deed	NCD 7:263
1763-1764	Also died in the Sickness: Sam Mika and his wife Jo Mika, and Eve Maca	Little and Sussek (1979)

*Table 2. Archive of the Micah Family on Nantucket*

The second documented Micah is Jonathan Micah I, who possesses a probate inventory from 1764. In 1768, his dwelling house was deeded to his grandson Jonathan Micah II by his son Peter Micah (NCP 3:34-36, 44 and NCD 7:263). At the time, Peter Micah owned a house at Miacomet (NCD 6:231, 9:414). These dwelling houses, located at Nobadeer (in between Madequecham and Miacomet Ponds) and Miacomet Village, are significant as Miacomet Village was one of the original “praying towns” on the island (Gookin 1972:67). Miacomet is critical to understanding New Guinea’s development because it was the closest Native settlement to the West Monomoy shores where the first free-Black people settled on the island. Thus, Thankful Micah, daughter of Jonathan Micah I and sister of Peter Micah, would have grown up in one or both dwelling houses near the developing free-Black community. These Micah men are all recorded to have been whale fishermen, meaning they worked alongside other free, enslaved, or indentured Black men. Together, these documents establish an archive for the continued presence of the Micah lineage in 18<sup>th</sup>-century Nantucket.

The probate records for Mattakachame Micah, Jonathan Micah, and Peter Micah provide the greatest insights about Thankful Micah’s life. These documents also provide astonishing details about the lives of Nantucket Wampanoags during the late 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> century. The probate records note these men’s occupations, places of residence, personal and real property, and familial connections making them integral to this thesis’ efforts to reconstruct Thankful Micah’s life outside of her marriage to Seneca and the children she had with him.

The children of mixed-race marriages like Thankful Micah and Seneca Boston, faced a range of social pressures like white perceptions of them, legal and economic

discrimination, and conflicting expectations from their African American and Indigenous communities and ancestors (Mandell 1998:500). Thankful and Seneca's first child, born in 1770, was named Freeborn as he was the first Boston to be born into absolute freedom. Reuben Boston was born the following year, with Thomas Boston in 1775, Hannah in 1778, Absalom in 1785, and Joseph in 1789 (Bulger 2013).

Absalom, the most well-documented of Thankful and Seneca's children, became the first Black whaling captain to sail a whaleship with an all-black crew (Karttunen 2005). From occupying the whaling industry in various roles, from crewman, part-owner, and captain, Absalom produced sufficient wealth to put into investments and properties in New Guinea (Finley 2020:50). Absalom was a critical member in the fight for integration of the schools on Nantucket when he brought a lawsuit against the Nantucket government for barring his daughter Phebe Ann Boston from attending a public school in 1845 (Cacchione 2018). Seneca and Thankful's five other children are less well documented.

Seneca Boston died in 1809, and executors split Seneca's estate among his wife and children. Unfortunately, Thankful and Seneca's firstborn child, Freeborn, predeceased his father, leaving his widow, Mary Boston, to inherit his share, which consisted of the house at 27 York Street. At the time of Seneca's death, the executors of his estate deemed Thankful Micah "insane" and incapable of taking care of herself (NCP 5:214-215). Mary agreed to care for her mother-in-law in exchange for the dwelling house that would have been Thankful's (NRD 22:83). Such claims of insanity were not uncommon for the time. However, they do feed into an ableist narrative surrounding aging Native women. While Thankful may have been experiencing dementia or similar symptoms, it should not have been surprising that a woman in her position may be experiencing some form of "hysteria" given

her traumatic childhood. Witnessing the mass death of her Native community would have remained with Thankful and become exacerbated with age. Nonetheless, by 1810, the Federal census had listed Mary Boston as the head of the household and Thankful Boston [Micah] as a household member (1810 Federal Census). Thankful Micah passed away two years later, leaving Mary Boston, then Mary Boston Douglass, to preside over the 27 York Street property.

Having remarried, this time to a Cape Verdean man named Michael Douglass, Mary Boston Douglass quickly established her household as a space for community gatherings and Black racial uplift (Karttunen 2002; Herzing 2022). Mary Boston Douglass raised three children, William, Eliza, and Charlotte, in the home while simultaneously taking in boarders to supplement the unstable wages earned by Boston men in the whaling industry (Lee 2019:95-96). As Herzing (2022) discussed, Mary Boston and her daughter Eliza Boston Berry actively contributed to racial politics, often using their home as the seat of activism, allowing the New Guinea community to grow and prosper outside of white-dominated town politics. Herzing (2022) argues that the ceramic assemblage from the Boston-Higginbotham House's early-19<sup>th</sup> century deposits reflect Mary Boston Douglass' engagement with ideologies of gender, like republican motherhood and the creation of what Bell hooks terms "homeplace," making the home a space for humanization, dignity, and resistance.

The Boston family's occupation of the 27 York Street property continued until 1918, and in 1920 Florence Higginbotham purchased the property (Bulger 2013). Florence maintained the property until she died in 1972, and, in 1989, the 27 York Street property was acquired by the Museum of African American History to preserve the unique history of the site (Bulger 2013:13).

## **Intermarriage with the Free-Black Community**

By the final quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the population of Native people residing on Nantucket had been so diminished as to be recorded by Obed Macy in 1784 as only “35 Indians remained at Nantucket” (Macy 1880). A far cry from their population of 3,00 at the time of English arrival, the remaining Wampanoag people were again forced to modify their practices to survive on the island. One way Wampanoag women endured was through intermarriage with the rapidly emerging free-Black community on the island.

For many Native groups in the Northeast, intermarriage was encouraged to incorporate new ontologies, strengths, and connections into their communities (Mandell 1998; Nicholas 2002; Button 2015). Establishing such interracial unions asserted Native women’s immense power in the 18<sup>th</sup> century because in 18<sup>th</sup>-century Massachusetts law, Native women were free from bondage and enslavement (Mandell 1998). Thus, many enslaved or indentured African and African American men actively sought unions with Native women so their children could be born free (Mandell 1998:469). For example, Daniel T. V. Huntoon’s 1983 *History of the Town of Canton, Massachusetts*, asserted enslaved Black men came to the town’s Native community, Ponkapoag, “to marry an Indian wife, for then [their] children would be free” (Mandell 1998:469). Similarly, at Mashpee, Massachusetts, Wampanoag women, and Black men “mingled in the same places of work and leisure” and were bound to unite, establishing families and kinship (Nicholas 2002:183). Native women forged powerful connections through intermarriage to maintain their families and communities.

On Nantucket, enslaved African people were brought to the island shortly after the English proprietors arrived in 1659. The first documented enslaved person on Nantucket was

a man named Africa. Enslavement remained legal on Nantucket until 1773 when Prince Boston successfully brought a case for its abolition; with this ruling, many Africans and African Americans gradually received manumission (Karttunen 2005:75). A rapidly developing class of free-Black people began to gather on the outskirts of Sherburne, the primary English settlement on the island. This area was near the island's Native Wampanoag community at Miacomet Village. The area surrounding the former praying town, between the harbor and Popsquatchet Hills, known as the "West Monomoy lots," became a haven for Black and Native peoples in the late-18<sup>th</sup> century (Karttunen 2005:78-79; Bulger 2013:6). Referenced in deeds, the area where this population gathered came to be known as "Newtown," "Negro Town," or most commonly "New Guinea" (NRD 24:133-142). While New Guinea has come to be known as a robust free-Black community, its establishment near Miacomet demonstrates how the Wampanoag population intentionally accommodated this new class of free-Black people through inter-racial unions, which allowed both populations to persevere outside of white-dominated politics and social structures.

In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Nantucket saw twenty-one marriages between people of color. Fairweather (2023) examined the Nantucket Vital Records from the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries in their master's thesis "Sisters and Stewards: Women and Community-Building at the African Meeting House on Nantucket, MA." According to Fairweather's (2023) data, the first recorded marriage between a Native woman and a Black man on Nantucket was that of Ann Ichabod and Cesar in 1763 (NVR 4:89). Next, in 1770, Thankful Micah married Seneca Boston (NVR 3:110), and Seneca's brother, Essex Boston married a Wampanoag woman named Tabitha Cuff (NVR 3:109). Moreover, in 1795, their third brother, Peter Boston, married a Mashpee Wampanoag woman named Rhoda Jolly (NVR 3:109). Outside of the



Boston family, New Guinea businessman Jeffrey Summons, responsible for purchasing the land on which the African Meeting House stood, was married to a Mashpee Wampanoag woman named Martha Dartmouth (Bulger 2013). This trend on Nantucket paralleled trends throughout Massachusetts. For example, in 1765, there were fewer than 728 Indian males and 953 females recorded in Massachusetts, an imbalance due to the whaling industry, which led Native women to increasingly interact with Black men (Hutchins 1979, Mandell 1998). This collection of records demonstrates how Native women persevered on Nantucket as part of a broader trend in establishing interracial families in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

By the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century, marriage records from throughout Massachusetts reflect a trend toward engaging in such interracial unions. Records from Mashpee reveal that in 1757, seven Black men were married to Mashpee Wampanoag women, and by 1788, the number of Black men married to Native women had risen to twelve (Nicholas 2002). Furthermore, marriage records from Grafton, Massachusetts, indicate that Native Nipmuc women established similar traditions of intermarrying with African American men. For example, Sarah Muckamuag, the Nipmuc matriarch at the Sarah Boston Farmstead, married an African American named Fortune Burnee (Allard 2010). Their daughter, Sarah Burnee, married twice, both times choosing to marry a Black man. Sarah Burnee's first husband was "Prince Dam," an African American. In contrast, her second husband, Boston Phillips, was described as "a real full-blooded Indian" claiming descent from "the Great King Philip" and described as a formerly enslaved person (Forbes 1889:177). This long history of Nipmuc women intentionally choosing to intermarry and establish families with Black men demonstrates how generations of free Native and African Americans established a precedent for kinship between their similarly marginalized populations (Gould et al. 2020).

Native women's intentional engagement with free-Black men brought them into a world where race and racialization became dominant forces in their daily lives. As successful as the mixed-race marriages were on Nantucket were, elsewhere in Massachusetts, other Native groups were not as pleased with the adoption of Black newcomers. At Mashpee in 1788, 29 Wampanoag men wrote to the legislature about their fear of "Negroes & English, who, unhappily, have planted themselves here, hath man-aged us, and it is to be feared, that they and their Children, unless they are re-moved, will get away our Lands & all our Privileges in a short time" (Mandell 1998:476). These men were concerned that the intermarriage with Black folk would result in the loss of Native land and autonomy. Similar fears were echoed by Wampanoag men at Chappaquiddick and Christiantown on Martha's Vineyard. On the Vineyard, Native men claimed to have suffered "owing to their Females Marrying Negroes whom they did not wish to have any right to their lands" (Mandell 1998:476). These apprehensive sentiments demonstrate that interracial unions in the 18<sup>th</sup> century were not wholeheartedly adopted or encouraged. Instead, some Native communities in New England reserved hesitation for relating with the rapidly growing free-Black population.

Irrespective of opposition, interracial marriages in southern New England continued in the Early Republic. Embracing their collective power under the discriminatory limitations of the whaling industry, Native and African American peoples on Nantucket converged and coexisted. These mixed-race communities exhibited extraordinary resourcefulness by living in mutual respect with people of different ethnic backgrounds to persevere in a rapidly racializing world (Mandell 2010). Persevering in the face of colonialism while working and living in port towns necessitated Indigenous groups in New England to develop social,

cultural, and political markers that allowed their communities to accept newcomers, namely African Americans. Barsh (2002) believes these interracial unions between Native and African American peoples created distinctly Afro-Indigenous identity. Barsh states that by engaging with free-Black populations, Native American communities created a new “single economic class, defined by their occupation and color” (Barsh 2002:81). While the shared experience of exploitation undoubtedly unified the two populations, distinct connections to racial and ethnic identity remained foundational to the New Guinea community. By intermarrying with Black men, Native women ensured their survival in the face of colonial dynamism.

### **Summary**

Boston family occupation of the 27 York Street property provides insight into approximately 150 years of free-Black and Indigenous life on Nantucket. This thesis will examine data correlating with the first two occupational groups at the Seneca Boston-Florence Higginbotham House: the original household of Seneca Boston, Thankful Micah, and their children (1774-1809), and that of Mary Boston Douglass and her children (1809-1834). The first occupational group, the household of Thankful Micah and Seneca Boston, provides a case study into the early domestic interactions within free-Black and Indigenous households in New Guinea. In objection to such all-encompassing racial and ethnic identifiers, Thankful Micah brokered her Native heritage as a means of surviving under the complexities of the island’s increasing racialization. The second occupational group, Mary Boston Douglass’ household, representing the second generation of Bostons at the site, provides insight into how the family, now a generation removed from enslavement and indentured servitude, operated in the thriving New Guinea community.

By recognizing the historical presence of Native peoples on Nantucket, this work can begin to conceptualize the early development the New Guinea community in the last quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. As the Black and Native populations on this island coalesced, their histories and cultures became intertwined.

## CHAPTER 3

### METHODOLOGY

#### **Higginbotham House Archaeology Project**

The Higginbotham House Archaeology Project excavations commenced in 2008 by archaeologists from the Fiske Center for Archaeological Research at the University of Massachusetts Boston. The excavations were located at the Seneca Boston-Florence Higginbotham House on Nantucket, a property owned by the Museum of African American History. The Museum of African American History enlisted Dr. David Landon of the Fiske Center to conduct the archaeology and assist in mitigating the impacts of the restoration of the property on cultural resources as prescribed by federal legislation (Bulger 2013, Cacchione 2018, Herzing 2022). Several culturally significant locations were identified during the first season of excavation.

Returning to the island in 2014, Dr. David Landon and Dr. Nedra Lee of the Fiske Center co-directed a second round of excavations at the Boston-Higginbotham House. These excavations occurred before the repair of the north retaining wall and the construction of foundations and crawl spaces for the existing outbuildings on the property (Landon et al. 2017:3-4). Eleven excavation units were dug, six of which yielded material culture dating to the earliest occupational periods of the Boston-Higginbotham House, the household of

Seneca Boston and Thankful Micah, and the household of Mary Boston Douglass (Landon et al. 2017:9). Material correlating to Thankful and Seneca’s household was revealed in a privy feature located in the units excavated under the garage. The above ground garage, which was built in 1933, aided in the preservation of the privy feature from external disturbance (Landon et al. 2017:16). Mean ceramic dating of the privy feature provided a date of 1797 corresponding to the occupation of Thankful Micah and Seneca Boston (Cacchione 2018). Furthermore, historic features were revealed near the retaining wall on the north-west side of the property. These features included postholes and a privy. The privy possessed a mean ceramic date of 1822, corresponding with Mary Boston Douglass’ occupation of the site (Landon et al. 2017:25).

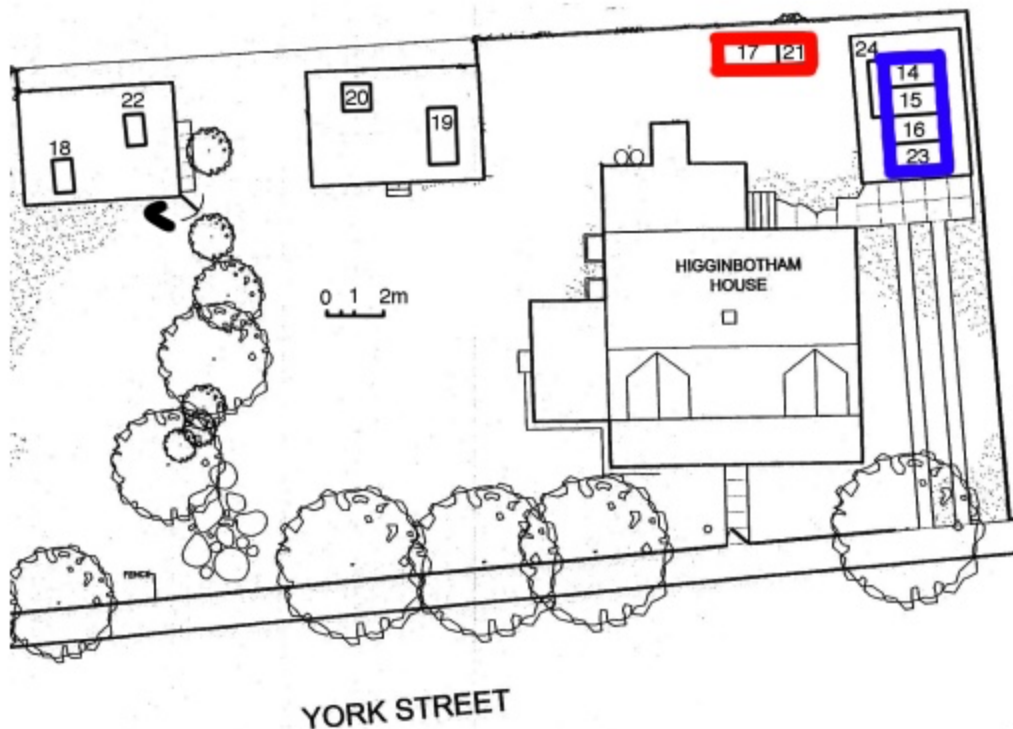


Figure 2. 2014 HHAP Excavation Units. Figure reproduced from Landon et al. 2017:19, with color added to emphasize the units associated with the first two generations of Bostons at the site.

The archaeological collection from 2014 included 94 distinct contexts. In analyzing the archaeological collection from the 2014 excavations, archaeologists organized the contexts into contemporaneous groupings called “lots.” The lots assisted in dating and interpreting the associated material culture. Of the 94 contexts, 39 contexts were divided into lots which were labeled alphabetically from A to R. Mean Ceramic Dates (MCD) were calculated for the 18 designated lots. Of interest to this study are Lots H, I, J, and K, which are temporally associated with the household of Seneca Boston and Thankful Micah. Also, of interest are Lots O and P, which are associated with the household of Mary Boston Douglass.

<b>Lot</b>	<b>Contexts</b>	<b>EU</b>
H	424, 425, 426, 484	14, 16, 23
I	428, 429, 490, 491	15, 17, 23
J	439, 440, 477, 478, 479, 494, 495, 496, 497	14, 15, 23
K	442, 447, 451	14, 15
O	434, 473, 475	17
P	444, 474, 482, 487	17, 21

*Table 3. Contexts in HHAP Lots H-K and Lots O and P*

Lots H-K correlate to contexts within units 14, 15, 16, and 23 which were excavated under the garage building (Figure 2). Lots H-K possess a MCD of 1798 (Cacchione 2018). Lot H and I are comprised of the contexts associated with a buried ground surface that is the original grade at the time of the house’s construction (Landon et al. 2017:29). Additionally, the garage units contained a wood-lined privy feature; the lowest layer of which yielded a MCD of 1797 (Cacchione 2018). Lots J and K correlate to this wood-lined privy feature, Figure 3 presents a visual for the contexts associated with Lots H-K.

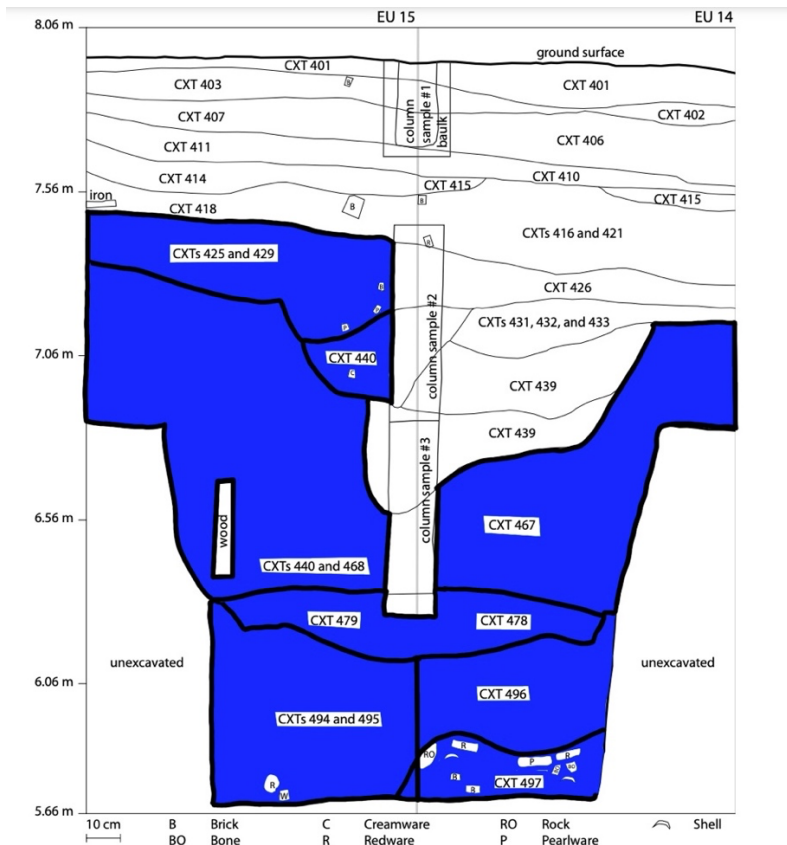


Figure 3. 2014 HHAP West Wall Profile of Excavation Units 14 and 15. Reproduced from Landon et al. 2017:28, with color added to emphasize Lots H-K.

Lot O possesses a MCD of 1818, and Lot P possesses a MCD of 1812 (Herzing 2022:71). Lot O is associated with contexts from excavation unit 17, excavated along a retaining wall and containing a second wood-lined privy. Lot O comprises contexts adjacent to this wood-lined privy's wall. Lot P consists of contexts from the wood-lined privy from excavation units 17 and 21. The terminus post quem (TPQ) for these deposits, based on the earliest manufacture date of the most recent artifact, was also calculated. In Lots O and P, modern artifacts were found, likely due to slight mixing with the contexts located stratigraphically above. To account for the presence of these materials, a TPQp90 was used, which removes from consideration the most recently produced 10% of the artifacts (DAACS 2022). Using this method, Lots O and P have a TPQp90 of c. 1820 (Herzing 2022:71).



Given the MCD of 1797 for the wood-lined privy in units 14/15/23 and the 1822 MCD for the privy feature in EU 17/21, Landon et al. (2017) posit the possibility that the two privies were deposited sequentially. The privy from the earliest period of the property correlates with the household of Seneca Boston, Thankful Micah, and their children, while the later retaining wall privy correlates to the household of Mary Boston and the second generation of Bostons at the site. This thesis will use the faunal data from Lots H-K and Lots O and P understand the foodways practices of the early Boston family.

### **Faunal Analysis**

The initial processing and analysis of the 2014 faunal assemblage from the Boston-Higginbotham House occurred at the University of Massachusetts Boston's Zooarchaeology Laboratory. Under Dr. David Landon's guidance, Graduate student Katherine Wagner processed and began an initial analysis of a portion of the 2014 faunal assemblage. Wagner's analysis was conducted for the 2017 HHAP site report. This thesis builds on Wagner's work to better understand the earliest faunal deposits at the site.

Wagner's analysis separated the 2014 collection by taxonomic class. However, only a portion of the assemblage was identified to the family, genus, or species level. This project began by overviewing Wagner's processing of the assemblage into taxonomic classes. This allowed for a broad understanding of the various taxa present. After examining the taxonomic designations, this project reviewed the sub-section of the assemblage, which received family, genus, or species designations by Wagner.

Analysis of these specimens relied primarily on comparisons with the University of Massachusetts Boston Zooarchaeology Lab's type collection. Laboratory analyses of the faunal remains were conducted according to general zooarchaeological recording practices

(Reitz and Wing 1999). The data recorded from each bone specimen included quantity, taxonomic identifications, skeletal part, portion of skeletal part, fusion states, symmetry or side, bone surface modifications (butchery and weathering), anatomical features of age, and specimen weight. In this study, butchery marks are cataloged as cut, chop, shear, and saw marks based on Crader (1984) and Landon (1996). Care was taken to document the various stages of butchery marks in the collection to understand the nature of meat processing at the site.

Next, to identify the different taxa in the assemblage, the University of Massachusetts zooarchaeological comparative collection and several reference books were utilized (Hillson 1992; Gilbert 1990; Ray, Douglass, and Robins 1999; Reitz and Wing 1999). If a specimen could not be identified to a species or genus, the practice outlined by Landon (1996) was utilized in which a broader taxonomic category was used, identifying the specimen to the family or animal size range (Landon 1996). In re-analyzing this portion of the assemblage, Wagner's original analyses were either maintained or changed based on the author's decisions. In conducting the analysis, time was taken to create a visual presentation of the data. This presentation included documenting the assemblage on skeletal part representation diagrams from Helmer (1987). The skeletal portions of certain species in the collection, *Bos taurus*, *Sus scrofa*, Caprine, and *Gallus gallus*, were recorded and are provided in the text.

Next, analysis was conducted to interpret the previously unidentified portion of the collection. Most of this portion of the collection consisted of unidentified mammal specimens which had been previously sorted into four categories: small mammal (smaller than a rabbit), medium mammal (sized between a rabbit and a pig), and large mammal (larger than a large

pig). From these taxonomic classes, more specific identifications to determine the family, genus, or species of these mammals were made. These analyses were similarly documented on the skeletal representation diagrams. This project also analyzed the previously unidentified fish and bird bones to the genus or species level. Analysis of the fish remains utilized the type collection at the University of Massachusetts Boston and the type collection at the Harvard Zooarchaeology Laboratory to understand vertebrae size and make species designations.

Upon cataloging the assemblage, the number of individual specimens (NISP) was calculated. The NISP is the sum of all the specimens of a taxonomic level (Reitz and Wing 1999:191-194). This calculation counts how many bones came from a particular class, family, genus, or species, providing a basic comparison for the frequency of bones of certain animals. However, NISP counts can be problematic because they can be significantly impacted by elevated levels of bone fragmentation, causing overrepresentation of certain animals and skeletal elements. Similarly, the recovery of many bones from one individual may affect the precision of the NISP count (Klein and Cruz-Urbe 1984; Reitz and Wing 1999). Other factors like “the number of identifiable elements in each animal, site formation processes, recovery techniques, and laboratory procedures” can affect NISP counts and must be considered when analyzing NISP calculations (Reitz and Wing 1999:192). Regardless, the NISP provides a primary means of quantifying a faunal assemblage. NISP and weight were calculated for the overall presence of mammals, birds, and fish in the assemblage.

Standard zooarchaeological quantitative calculations were performed for the two sub-assemblages (Lots H-K and Lots O and P), which included NISP, MNI, and biomass. These calculations make possible the analyses of certain aspects of the two sub-assemblages (Reitz

and Wing 1999). In this analysis, the NISP was also used to determine the representation and distribution of skeletal elements for cattle, caprine, and pigs for each sub-assembly, providing insight into the three main dietary contributors in the collection. The NISP can be considered with accompanying calculations like MNI and biomass to offset any biases from NISP calculation.

The minimum number of individuals (MNI) calculates the smallest number of individuals “necessary to account for all of the skeletal elements (specimens) of a particular species found in the site” (Reitz and Wing 1999:194). MNI counts the repetition of skeletal elements and animal age based on the specimen’s fusion state and tooth eruption. Further, MNI can indicate preferences in cuts of meat and potentially decipher whether an animal was killed on-site or procured elsewhere (Reitz and Wing 1999:203). To calculate an accurate MNI, the analysis recorded bone symmetry, fusion stages, and tooth wear stages, allowing for the differentiation of individual specimens. The MNI is not the actual count of individual specimens, as more individuals were utilized at the site. However, the MNI provides a lower boundary where the actual number of individuals can fall somewhere between the MNI and the NISP’s maximum count (Reitz and Wing 1999:195).

Analysis of the sub-assemblages also calculated biomass. Biomass utilizes a mathematical formula based on an observed allometric relationship between skeletal and overall animal weight (Landon 2005). The equation is:  $\text{biomass (kg)} = \log a + b * \log [\text{bone weight (kg)}]$ , where ‘a’ and ‘b’ are known constants derived from observations of various classes, families, and species of animals, and the observed bone weight is the sum of the weight of a given class, family, or species in the collection (Reitz and Wing 1999:222-225). Biomass can only be calculated for vertebrates, and like MNI, does not give the actual weight

of the individuals in the archaeological collection. Instead, it approximates dietary contributions as “an interpretive unit, used as a proxy for relative dietary importance of different taxa” (Landon 2005:9). Using this allometric equation provides a “biologically based way to estimate body weight or edible meat weight” (Reitz et al. 1987:314). As with NISP and MNI, differential deposition and preservation affect the assemblage and may impinge upon biomass assumptions for the collection (Reitz et al. 1987:307). Calculating the biomass for the sub-assemblages provides an estimate for the potential and relative quantity of meat provided by the specimens.

Together, the NISP, MNI, and biomass highlight the various species frequencies in the collection and help address the different activities included in foodways, like procurement, preparation, cooking, and disposal. These calculations allow the Boston-Higginbotham House sub-assemblages to be summarized and characterized. The analytical recording methods and procedures ensure the accuracy of the data and allow the assemblage to be compared with faunal assemblages from contextually comparable sites. This data is presented in the following chapter.

### **Probate Analysis**

To complete a comprehensive understanding of foodways, particularly in racialized contexts like 18<sup>th</sup>-century Nantucket, zooarchaeological, paleoethnobotanical, and documentary evidence must be put into conversation (Landon 2018; Franklin and Lee 2019; Landon and Opishinski 2020; Pavão-Zuckerman et al. 2020). Simply studying the faunal material of a household excludes essential sources, like documents—probates, widow’s allowances, store account books, cookbooks—and archaeological material culture that reveal additional foodways-related information. Including the data from these aspects of foodways

allows for a more robust understanding of Native food procurement, preparation, presentation, and consumption strategies in 18<sup>th</sup>-century Nantucket.

Because probate records articulate information on populations frequently left out of other archival documentation, their existence for 18<sup>th</sup>-century Nantucket poised them as complementary data for the Boston-Higginbotham House faunal assemblage. The large assemblage of probate records for Nantucket's 18<sup>th</sup>-century population of color, many of whom were engaged in the whaling industry, is a valuable resource because it counters trends in probate inventorying elsewhere in the region. For example, in colonial Massachusetts, only one-third of the wealthiest men of the time received probate inventories (Main 1975:97). Further, those participating in "mobile industries" like whaling received probates in lesser percentages than those who remained geographically immobile.

For the documentary analysis, probate records were utilized to understand subsistence practices for Nantucket's Native population in the early to mid-18<sup>th</sup> century. Best studied as partial repositories of past material conditions and cultural values (Stapp 1993:160), these probates help tease out continuities and differences associated with Native and African American tastes in the diet of this mixed-race household. Archival research revealed a collection of 18<sup>th</sup>-century probate records, which disclose information about the food storage, preparation, and consumption capabilities of households of color on Nantucket. The analysis of these sources helps to contextualize and interpret how Thankful Micah and her family procured, prepared, and consumed their food.

To examine probate records in a way that avoids biases, Jones (1980) suggests following one of two sampling models; one option is to take a small and rigorously chosen sample that is geographically wide but restricted by time. The second is to take the entire

population of probate documents for a specific place, making the model geographically restricted but spread through time (Jones 1980). Both strategies have resulted in successful probate analyses, providing data on broader trends in material existence. This thesis utilizes the second model presented by Jones (1980) by taking the entire collection of Native probate record from the 18<sup>th</sup> century on Nantucket. This thesis establishes an understanding of the foodways practices of the Native community through this probate sample.

This localized approach also parallels Daniel Scott Smith's (1975) localized approach, which demonstrates that "...probate records are a much better source for the analysis of a change over time within a small area than for the study of differences between regions" (Smith 1975:106). Studying probates at the local scale may not allow for a complete investigation of wealth inequality. However, by using a small sample size of probates to extrapolate trends in a larger community, an understanding of the material goods and wealth of the "typical" community member may be established. Finally, this analysis acknowledges that the items inventoried in these probates were at the discretion of the person appointed to inventory each estate. Most commonly, the court appointed an English appraiser; thus, these probate records may have omitted items that are not recognizable or of little value in the Anglo market economy.

### **Probate Analysis Framework**

Analysis began with transcribing all 22 probate inventories of 18<sup>th</sup>-century Wampanoag and Black men. Upon transcription, an analysis cataloged inventory mentions of foodways-related items to gain a holistic understanding of the materiality of Native foodways. The analysis began with creating tables for dietary attributes mentioned in the inventories. These tables, based upon McMahon's (1985) probate analysis from rural

Massachusetts, help to conceptualize the materiality of Wampanoag subsistence. The analytical tables utilized for the probate study are divided into primary, secondary, and tertiary tables that speak to diet, food-related activities, and overall wealth within the Native community. The two primary tables are domesticated animals and stored foodstuffs. Seven secondary tables track the mentions of serving vessels, pots, utensils, tea items, dairying-related materials, and food preparation items. Three tertiary tables track the occupations, structures, and debts listed within the probate inventories.

The first primary table records probate listings of domesticated animals, allowing for an understanding of the home-raising of animals for meat and dairy purposes. These animals provided products that could have been processed on or off-site and utilized in the diet in numerous ways. Thus, the inventory mentions of domesticated animals reveals information on the diet's "fresh" side. The second primary table outlines inventory mentions of stored foodstuffs, highlighting the variety of products Native people relied on in Nantucket in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Understanding the frequency of stored cereals speaks to the interactions these Native people experienced with the local market economy. Together, these two tables reveal the stored and the "fresh" portions of 18<sup>th</sup>-century Nantucket Wampanoag subsistence.

Next, seven secondary tables were established, allowing for a broader understanding of the material culture related to food listed within these probates:

1. Food preparation items: This table presents data on the objects reflecting various methods of meal production.
2. Pots: This table records the types of pots within the probates. Cooking pots were an essential aspect of the Native diet and culture in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. They can also speak to the food storage capabilities of 18<sup>th</sup>-century Native households on Nantucket (Noël Hume 1972, Little 1980a).
3. Serving and Consumption Vessels: This table charts how Native people may have performed the act of serving food. Based on Ivor Noël Hume's (1972) classifications, these vessels are recorded as being utilized in food service and can speak to the presentation involved in foodways.



4. Utensils: This table outlines the variety of knives and serving utensils recorded in the probate inventories, highlighting the extent to which Native peoples adopted Anglo methods of food consumption.
5. Dairying-related Items: This table highlights the importance of home-raised animal products in the diet and indicates the levels to which Native people adopted domesticated animal husbandry.
6. Tea-related Items: This table represents the extent to which the Native population adopted Anglo tea consumption practices.
7. Liquid Holding Vessels: This table allows a rudimentary understanding of these households' drinking habits.

These secondary tables record inventory listings of foodways-related items, allowing for a broader understanding of the food preparation, consumption, and storage capabilities of these Native households. Furthermore, three tertiary tables recording occupation, debts, and structures provide metrics for the overall wealth within the Native community at the time of inventorying. The tertiary tables are as follows:

1. Occupation: This table records the deceased's occupation (if listed) for each probate.
2. Structures: This table records the presence of dwelling houses, barns, and other structures owned by the deceased.
3. Debts: This tables recorded any debt owed by the estate at the time of inventorying.

All three groups of tables record both quantity and quality of items. When data from all three groups of tables are put in conversation, an indication of status and standard of living for the Nantucket Wampanoag the 18<sup>th</sup> century can be better understood. For example, the more cows one owns indicates one's standing in the community. Because social and economic values are represented in these inventories, the intricacies of the "daily lives" of Native people living on Nantucket in the 18<sup>th</sup> century can be better understood.

Understanding of the post- "praying town" diet of the Nantucket Wampanoag people is critical for determining how and why Thankful Micah made certain foodways choices within her household at 27 York Street. The probate documents speak to the continued cultural autonomy of Nantucket's Native population in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and how their practices

shifted to accommodate dominant European economic trends. Using these documentary sources as a metric for diet provides an independent resource that exhibits commonalities in subsistence strategies for which archaeological evidence does not exist.

### **Comparative Analysis**

The faunal and probate data provide a comprehensive overview of how Indigenous people on Nantucket in the 18<sup>th</sup> century provisioned their households. This data is then compared against a similar site, the Sarah Boston Farmstead in Grafton, Massachusetts. The Sarah Boston Farmstead site is a parcel of land reflecting five generations of Nipmuc women between 1728 and 1850 (Mrozowski et al. 2015; Gould et a. 2020). Occupation of the farmstead first dates to 1790 when Sarah Burnee and her husband, Boston Phillips, noted as both Native and Black, built a house on the property (Mrozowski et al. 2015). This structure, the Sarah Boston Farmstead, has been the subject of numerous investigations since 2005. Amelié Allard conducted faunal analysis from this site in 2010 and 2015, a valuable comparison for the Boston-Higginbotham House assemblage. Allard's analyses note evidence of subsistence strategies highlighting Native persistence in a mixed-race context. For example, wild taxa like deer and local fowl signify hunting at the Sarah Boston Farmstead, correlating with continued Indigenous practices. Additionally, the adoption of home-raising domesticated animals by the Nipmuc, informs the analysis of the domesticated animals in the Boston-Higginbotham House assemblage. The comparative analysis highlights the similarities and differences in provisioning a mixed-race household when certain racial and ethnic identities were preferable. Finally, the comparison of these two sites allows for a broader understanding of how foodways in 18<sup>th</sup>-century mixed-race households employed a

broad range of practices reflecting the hybridization of Native, African, and Anglo-American lifeways.

## CHAPTER 4

### FINDINGS

This study encompassed an analysis of the faunal remains from the Boston-Higginbotham House and probate records from Nantucket's 18<sup>th</sup>-century Wampanoag population to document the presence of hybridized foodways at the Boston-Higginbotham House. The results of both analyses follow.

#### **Faunal Analysis Results**

##### *Taxonomic Representation*

The complete 2014 HHAP faunal collection comprised 2,215 specimens with a combined weight of 10,983 grams. The whole collection was, at minimum, identified to the level of taxonomic class. Mammals comprised most of the assemblage, accounting for 1939 specimens (88%) and 10,821 g (98%). Birds totaled 225 specimens, 10%, and 142.9 g, which amounts to 1.3% of the total assemblage. Fish totaled 51 specimens, equivalent to 2% of the assemblage, and 19.2 g, which amounts to <1% of the total assemblage weight. The summary of the total 2014 Boston-Higginbotham House assemblage shows that domesticated mammals were the primary source of meat for the Boston-Higginbotham House residents.

<b>Class</b>	<b>NISP</b>	<b>% NISP</b>	<b>Weight (g)</b>	<b>% Weight</b>
Mammals	1939	87.53%	10821	98.52%
Birds	225	10%	142.9	1.3%
Fish	51	2%	19.2	<1%
<b>Totals</b>	2215	100%	10983	100%

Table 4. Total Assemblage Summary by Taxonomic Class

### *Taphonomy*

Many of these bones demonstrated evidence of butchery, burning, weathering, and rodent or carnivore gnawing. Butchery marks were identified on 131 specimens, or 6% of all specimens. These butchery marks consisted of 52 cut marks, 11 chop marks, 46 shears, and 47 saw marks. Of the 131 specimens exhibiting butchery modification, 99.9% were mammals, and <.01% were birds.

Burnt and calcined bones comprised 67 specimens, representing 3% of the assemblage, primarily on mammal bones (96%), and several birds (4%). Weathering was observed on only 14 specimens, or <1% of the total assemblage, and only on mammals. Further, 14 specimens (<1%) showed evidence of rodent gnawing, while only two specimens (<.01%) exhibited evidence of carnivore manipulation.

### ***Biomass***

The complete biomass of all animals in the Boston-Higginbotham House assemblage is 88.6 kg. Mammals contributed much of this biomass with a total of 86.84 kg accounting for 98% of the total biomass. For mammals, cattle (*Bos taurus*) contributed much of the biomass with 57.1 kg (63% of the total biomass), followed by pigs (*Sus scrofa*) with 15.25 kg (17%), and caprine (*Capra hircus/Ovis aries*) with 6.37 kg (7%). Non-mammals made small contributions to the overall assemblage biomass with birds contributing 1.5 kg (1.7%) and fish totaling 0.22 kg (.3%). Biomass figures were not calculated for the whale specimens, because it is doubtful that the animal was consumed at the site. It may have been brought

home as a souvenir of a successful whale hunt by one of the male members of the Boston family employed in the whaling industry.

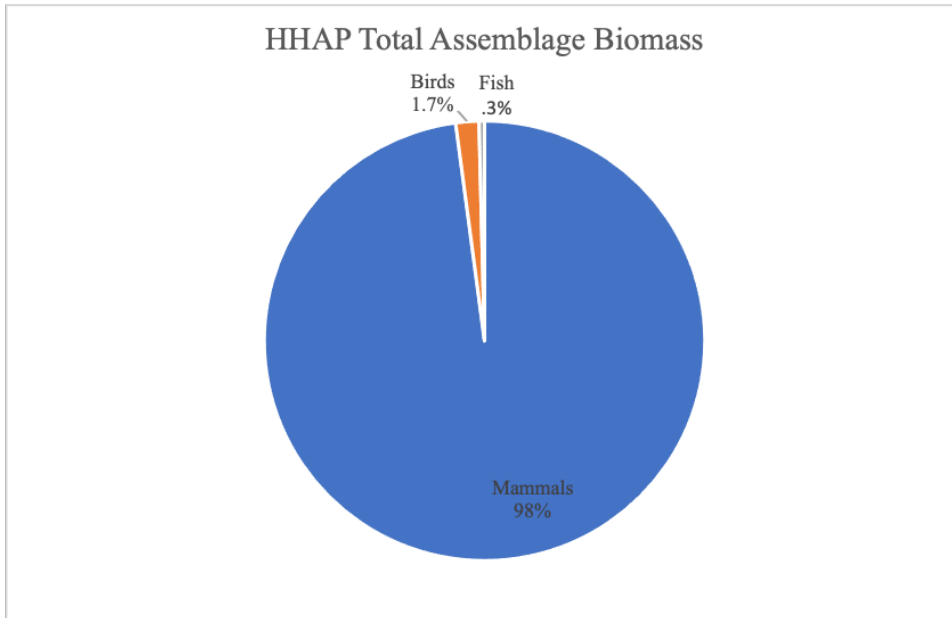


Figure 4. Total Assemblage Biomass

### **Lots H-K Analysis**

#### *Taxonomic Representation*

Of all the specimens recovered from the 2014 excavations at the Boston-Higginbotham House, 747 specimens (34% of total specimens) comprising 6,793.1 grams (62% of total weight) came from the garage privy and the associated buried ground surface. The garage privy and the buried ground surface contexts comprise Lots H-K, which date to 1774-1802 and possess a mean ceramic date (MCD) of 1800 (Crawmer 2023:42). Faunal material in these lots indicates the dietary preferences of Thankful Micah and Seneca Boston's household.

Class	NISP	% NISP	Weight (g)	% Weight
Mammals	733	98.13%	6785.8	99.89%
Birds	4	<1%	5.2	<.1%
Fish	10	1.34%	2.1	<.1%
<b>Totals</b>	747	100%	6793.1	100%

Table 5. *Lots H-K Assemblage Summary by Taxonomic Class.*

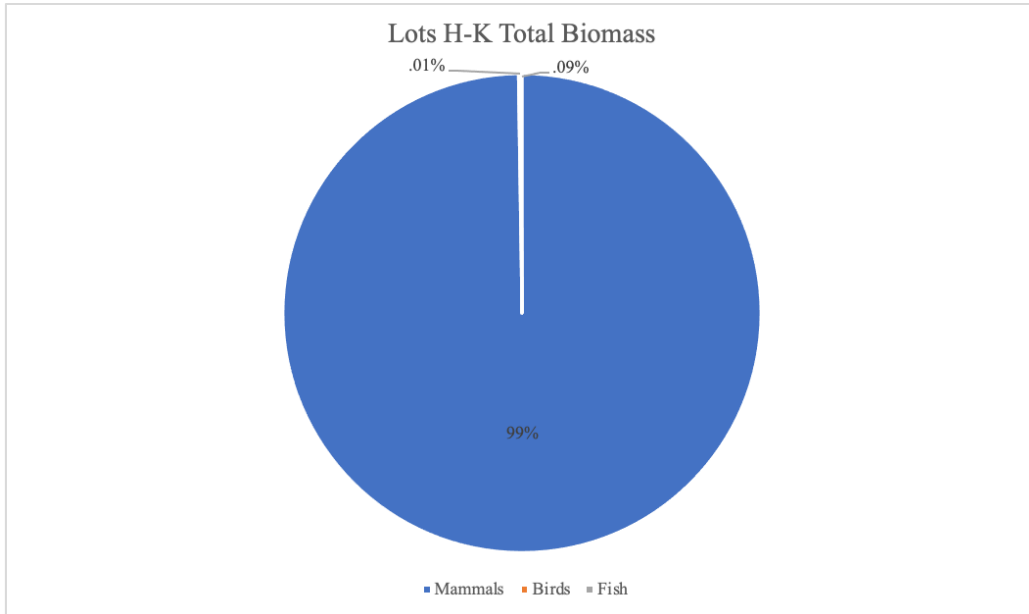


Figure 5. *Lots H-K Total Biomass*

### *Mammals*

Mammals constituted the bulk of the assemblage from Lots H-K, with a NISP of 733 (98.13%) and a weight of 6785.8 g (99.89%). Mammals contributed even more to the biomass, representing 57 kg or 99% of the sub-assemblage biomass. The MNI totaled a minimum of 12 domestic mammals and two wild mammals. One wild mammal, a toothed whale (*Odontoceti*), represented by a singular tooth, is excluded from the biomass calculation.

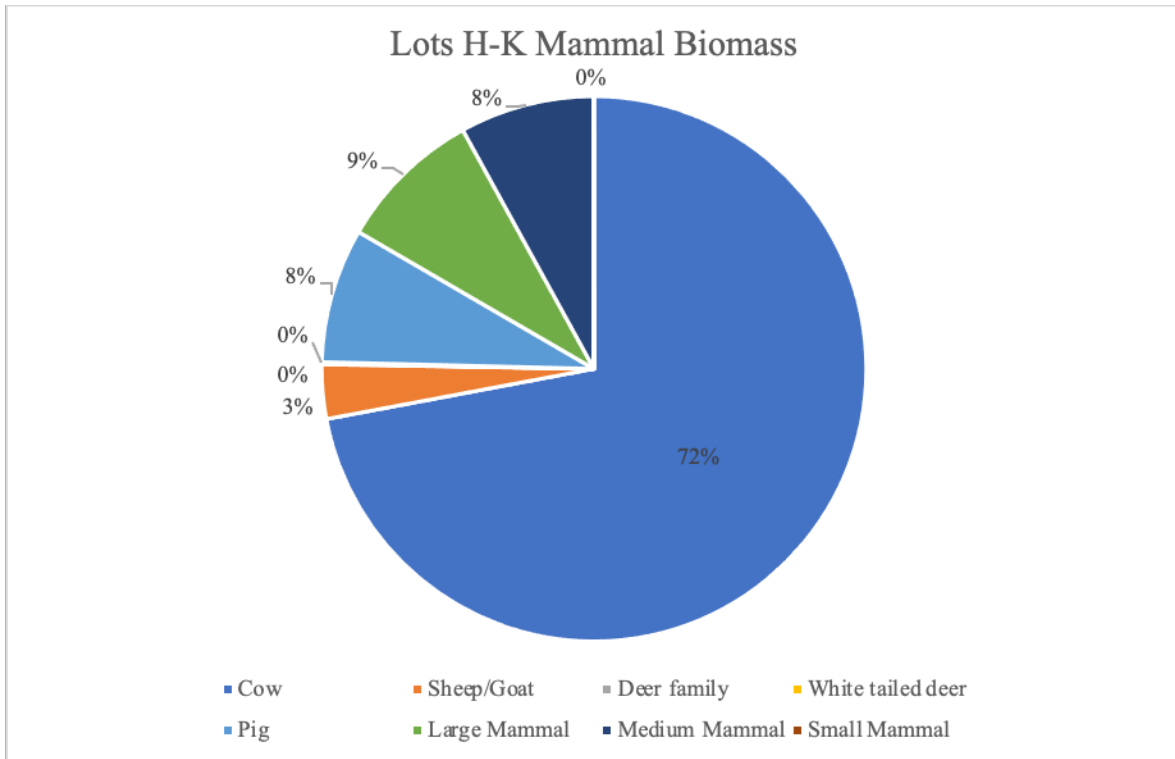


Figure 6. *Lots H-K Mammal Biomass*

Cattle (*Bos taurus*) was the domesticated animal most frequently recovered. This is partly due to the robust bone structure and large mammal size. The NISP for cattle was 222 (30%), representing 5239 g or 77% of the total sub-assembly weight, with a biomass of 45.21 kg. An MNI of four cattle was determined based on the presence of four proximal ends of the right femur. The weight and amount of meat provided by cattle would have been larger than all other domestic species in the Boston-Higginbotham House assemblage, representing their relative importance in the diet of the occupants at the site. The most significant number of cattle specimens recovered were cranial fragments.



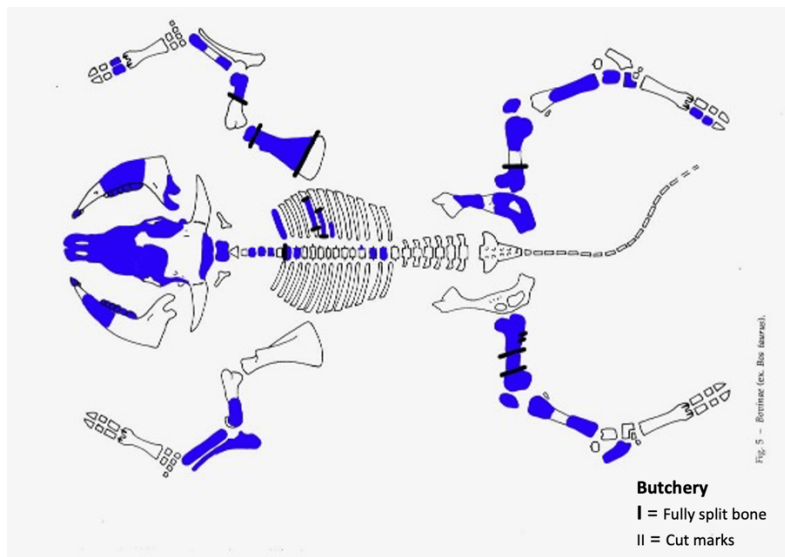


Figure 7. *Bos taurus* Skeletal Representation Lots H-K.

While cattle specimens represented varied portions of the skeleton, most of these bones came from the upper fore and hind limbs, preferably as meatier cuts. These cuts were most likely purchased from a butcher, as butchery signatures were present on numerous specimens, particularly, five ribs with uniformly cut ends (all the same length), and split vertebrae. Such cuts occur mainly when the carcass is divided down the middle, resulting in vertebrae sawn in half and saws, chops, and shears on limb bones as the carcass is dismembered and divided into smaller parts during the primary butchering process (Landon 1996).

Pigs (*Sus scrofa*) were the second most recovered mammal, totaling 51 specimens (7%) and 455.1 g (6.7%) of the assemblage from Lots H-K. The biomass of pigs in the sub-assemblage equaled 5.01 kg, or 8% of the sub-assemblage total biomass. An MNI of three pigs was calculated based on the presence of three left femurs. At least one of these pigs was a juvenile based on the presence of a tibia with unfused epiphyses and a portion of dentary with one unerupted tooth.

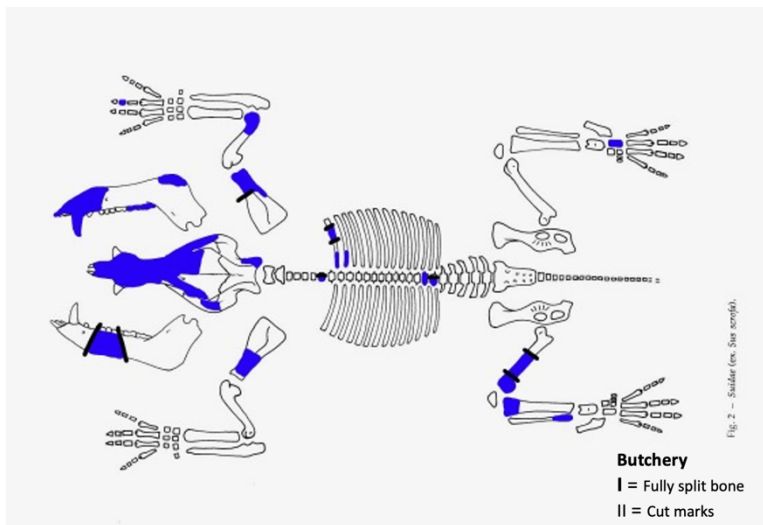


Figure 8. *Sus scrofa* Skeletal Representation Lots H-K.

One pig specimen, a mandible, was chopped cleanly in half with cut marks along the body and angle of the mandible representing the de-fleshing process conducted to remove the meat from the bone. Other butchered pig bones included chopped vertebra, a femur with false start marks and cut marks, and a shorn scapula fragment. The range of butchery marks and presence of pig foot bones may highlight the home-raising of pigs by Thankful Micah and Seneca Boston.

Caprine, sheep or goat (*Capra hircus/Ovis aries*) comprised the third most recovered mammal from the Lots H-K assemblage, constituting 39 specimens (5.2%) and weighing 165.8 (2.4%). The biomass for caprine in the sub-assemblage equaled 2.02 kg, or 3% of the sub-assemblage total biomass. An MNI of three caprine was calculated based on the teeth present in the assemblage. The presence of the complete mandible of one specimen and two additional left M<sub>1</sub> (first molars) indicates three caprine. Fifteen caprine teeth were recovered, along with two dentary fragments. While most skeletal portions were represented, the lack of caprine foot bones in the sub-assemblage indicates the removal of caprine feet during the butchering process. According to Landon (1996), if these carcasses were being purchased at

the local market, the foot bones would have remained at the butcher's shop while portions of the carcass would have been brought home for further processing.

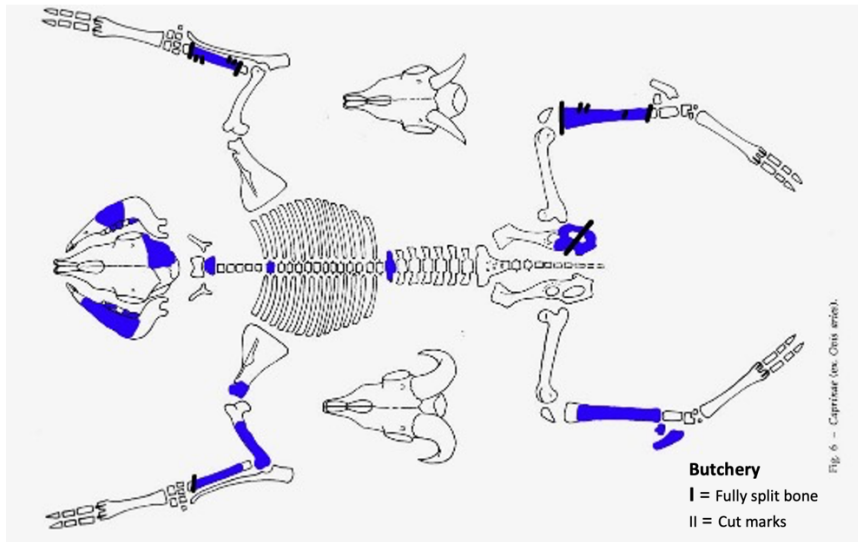


Figure 9. *Caprine Skeletal Representation Lots H-K.*

Two wild mammals from Lots H-K were present in the sub-assembly: a white-tailed deer (*Odocoileus virginianus*) and a toothed whale (*Odontoceti* spp.). A cranial fragment, the occipital condyle, represents the white-tailed deer. A MNI of one deer was established for the sub-assembly. The presence of a white-tailed deer specimen might indicate a reliance on hunting to supplement the home-raised or market purchased meats. The toothed whale in the sub-assembly could not be identified to the species level. Furthermore, its presence likely does not correlate with the consumption of whale in the sub-assembly diet.

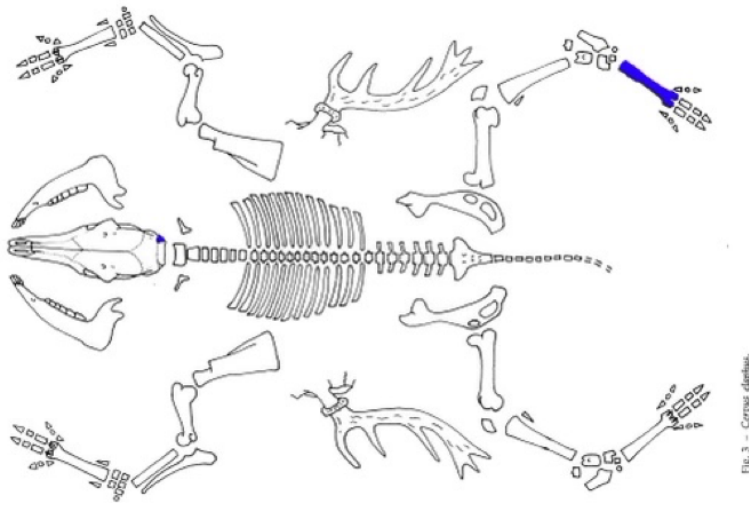


Figure 10. *Cervidae Skeletal Representation Lots H-K.*

### Birds

Birds constituted a small portion of the Lots H-K sub-assembly with four specimens (.54%), a weight of 5.2 g (.08%), and a biomass of .08 (<.01%). Two species of birds were recovered from Lots H-K: geese and chickens. Geese (*Anserinae*) possessed a NISP of two and a MNI of one based on one tibiotarsus and one coracoid bone. Domestic chickens (*Gallus gallus*) possessed a NISP of two and a MNI of one based on two portions of a left femur. No butchery marks were present on the bird bones in the sub-assembly. These chickens may have been home-raised by the Boston-Micah family and utilized for meat and eggs. These geese could have been hunted or purchased at the local market. Early 18<sup>th</sup>-century records from Nantucket indicate the Wampanoag population hunted geese and traded their feathers for goods at the local country store (Little 1983). Thus, the goose bones may indicate both a dietary attribute and an economic endeavor for the Boston family. The presence of only two birds in the sub-assembly indicates that the first generation of Bostons at the site relied little on birds for subsistence.

### *Fish*

Fish contributed only ten specimens (1.3%) to the sub-assembly, with a weight of 1.9 g (.03%) and biomass .03 kg (<.01%). All fish species identified in the assembly represent saltwater fishes locally available in Nantucket. An MNI of four fish was established, which included one cod (Gadidae), one bream or porgy (Sparidae), one tautog (*Tautog onitis*), and one mackerel or tuna (Scombridae). These fish were identified based on vertebrae size and morphology, one dentary fragment, and one opercular bone. The variety of fish species present in Lots H-K indicates the Boston family supplemented their diet with aquatic resources. Because Nantucket Sound remains a primary location for catching Atlantic cod and tuna, the fish from Lots H-K could have been obtained locally at the market or through fishing.

### **Lots O and P Analysis**

#### *Taxonomic Representation*

The second sub-assembly, Lots O and P, consists of the contexts associated with a second wood-lined privy and a wood retaining wall. Lots O and P date to roughly 1820 (Crawmer 2023:52). The sub-assembly from Lots O and P contained 307 identified specimens with a combined weight of 929.7 grams. Like Lots H-K, mammals constituted the majority of the Lot O and P sub-assembly, with smaller proportions of birds and fish. A breakdown of the mammal, bird, and fish species present in Lots O and P can be found in Table 6.

Class	NISP	% NISP	Weight (g)	% Weight
Mammals	251	82%	889.6	96%
Birds	34	11%	33.5	3.6%
Fish	22	7%	6.6	<1%
<b>Totals</b>	307	100%	929.7	100%

Table 6. *Lots O and P Assemblage Summary by Taxonomic Class.*

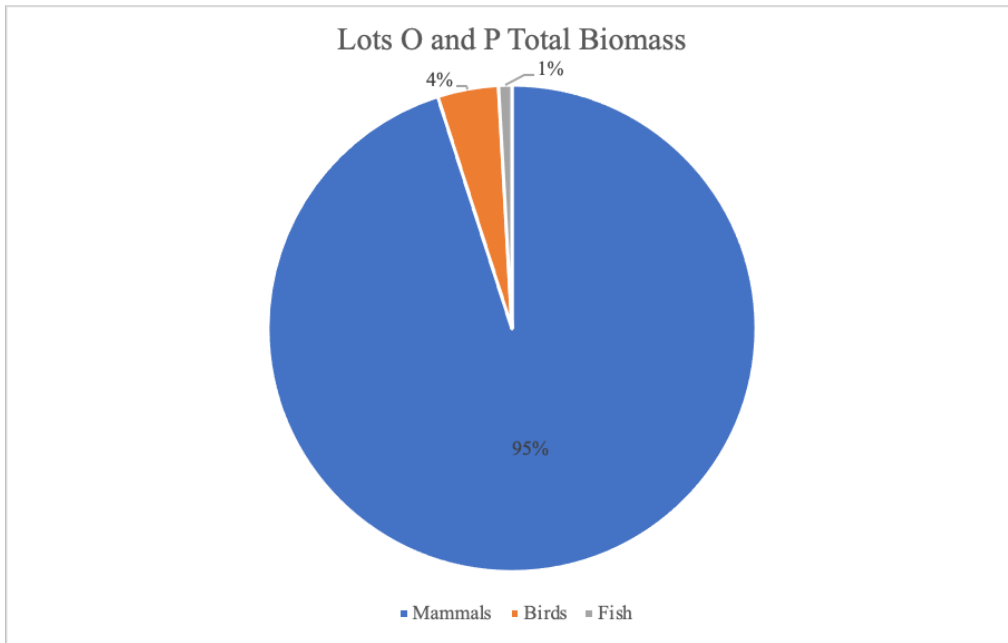


Figure 11. *Lots O and P Total Biomass*

### *Taphonomy*

Butchery marks were observed on 18 specimens, or 6% of all specimens in the Lots O and P sub-assemblage. The butchery marks consisted of five cut marks, one chop mark, seven shear marks, and eight saw marks. Nine specimens indicated rodent gnawing, and one presented evidence of carnivore gnawing.

### *Mammals*

Mammals constituted the bulk of the assemblage from Lots O and P, with a NISP of 251 (82%) and a weight of 888.7 g (96%). Mammals constituted 9.15 kg, or 95% of the sub-assemblage biomass. A total of 71 mammal specimens were identified to the species level, with the remaining specimens cataloged as large, medium, or small mammals. The MNI for

the identified mammals totaled five domestic and three wild mammals. Like the sub-assembly from Lots H-K, one of the wild mammals was a toothed whale, represented by a singular tooth. This whale is excluded from biomass calculation because it is highly improbable that the animal was consumed at the site.

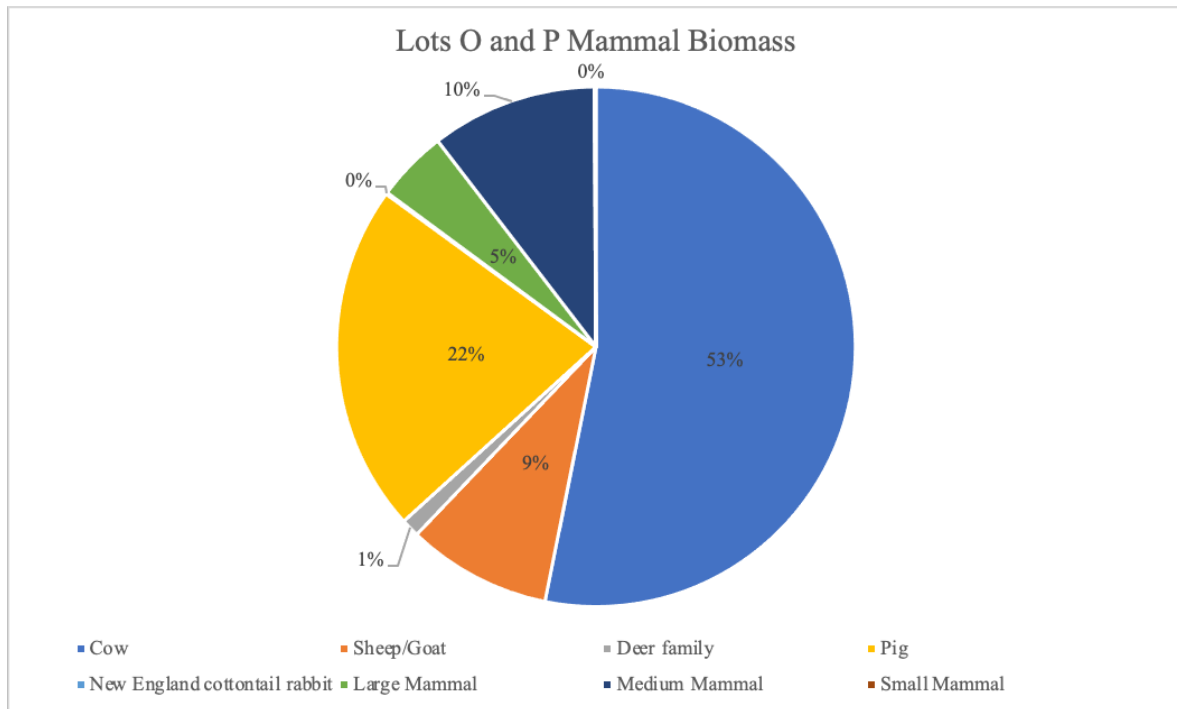


Figure 12. *Lots O and P Mammal Biomass*

Pigs (*Sus scrofa*) were the most common domesticated animal recovered from Lots O and P. The NISP for pigs was 27 (9%), representing 173.4 g or 19% of the total sub-assembly weight. Pigs totaled a biomass of 2.1 kg or 22% of the sub-assembly biomass. A MNI of two pigs was calculated based on the presence of two complete left radii. Butchered pig bones included two shorn lumbar vertebrae and one left humerus with cut marks and one chopped end.

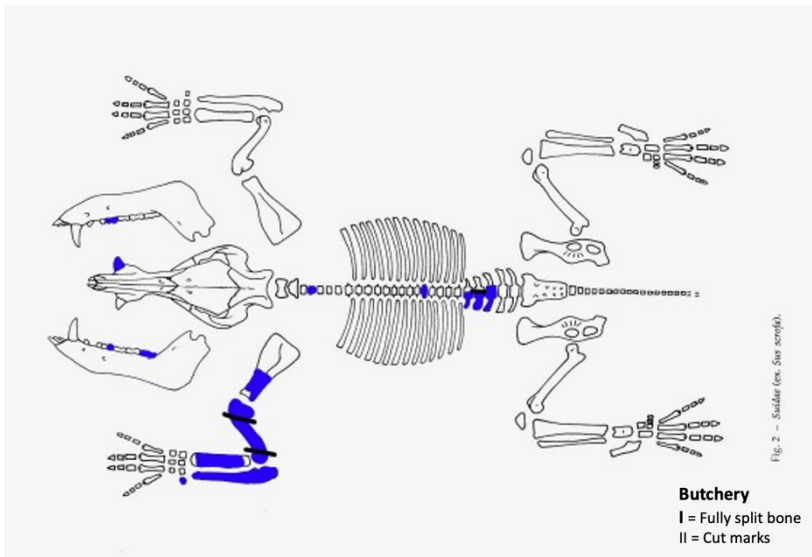


Figure 13. *Sus scrofa* Skeletal Representation Lots O and P.

Cattle (*Bos taurus*) was the second most common mammal in the sub-assembly. The NISP for cattle was 21 (7%), representing 468.1 g or 50% of the total sub-assembly weight. Cattle totaled a biomass of 5.14 or 53% of the sub-assembly biomass. A MNI of one cow was calculated. Butchered cow bones included a femur with the femoral head shorn off, several ribs with cleanly sawed ends, and a sawed tarsal (calcaneus) all demonstrating primary butchery conducted by a professional butcher.

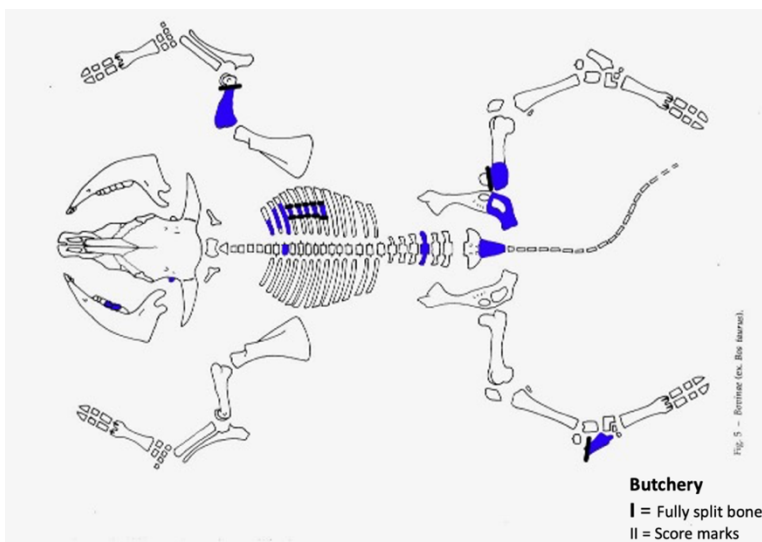


Figure 14. *Bos taurus* Skeletal Representation Lots O and P.



Caprine, sheep or goat (*Capra hircus/Ovis aries*) comprised the third most recovered mammal from Lots O and P, constituting 19 specimens (6%) and weighing 64.7 (7%). The biomass for caprine was .87 kg, or 9% of the total sub-assembly biomass. Caprine specimens indicated a minimum of two individuals based on two left upper M<sub>1</sub>. Several butchered caprine specimens demonstrate the primary splitting of the carcass.

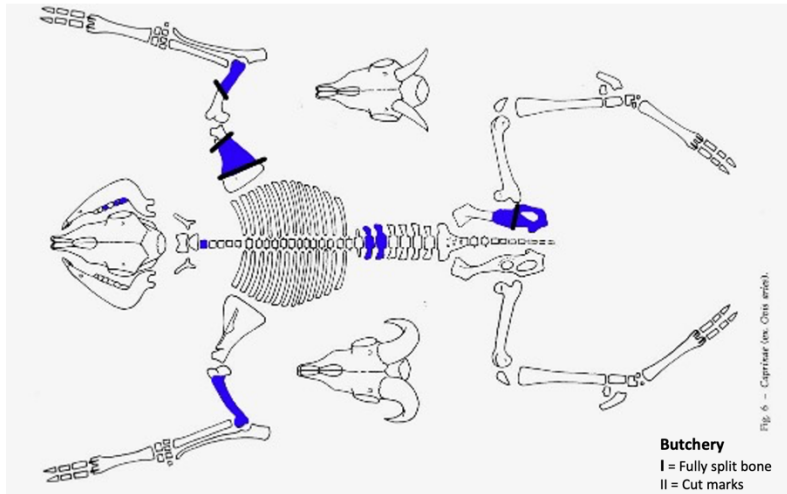


Figure 15. *Caprine Skeletal Representation Lots O and P.*

Wild mammal specimens recovered from Lots O and P included one deer (Cervidae) and one New England cottontail rabbit (*Sylvilagus transitionalis*). The deer is represented by one lumbar vertebra, contributing .11 kg or 1% of the sub-assembly biomass. One left ulna represents the rabbit, contributing .01 kg, or .1% of the sub-assembly biomass. As in the sub-assembly from Lots H-K, deer may represent a reliance on hunting and the utilization of wild species to supplement the household diet. The New England cottontail rabbit was a species native to Nantucket and would have been accessible for the Boston family to supplement and add variety to the domestic species in their diet.

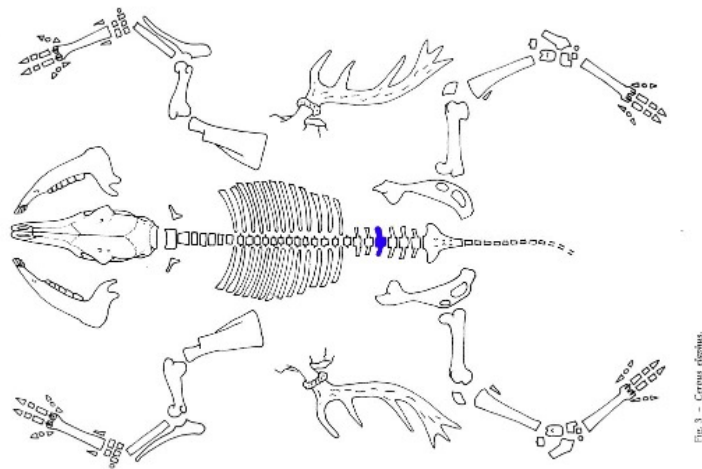


Figure 16. *Cervidae Skeletal Representation Lots O and P.*

### *Birds*

Birds in the sub-assembly from Lots O and P included duck (*Anas* spp.), geese (Anserinae), and chicken (*Gallus gallus*). Birds contributed .40 kg, or 4% to the total sub-assembly biomass. Chickens constituted most bird bones recovered from Lots O and P with a NISP of 32 (10.4%), representing 32.4 g or 4.1% of the total assemblage weight. Chickens represented .39 kg, or 4% of the sub-assembly biomass. A MNI of two chickens was determined based on the presence of two right humeri. No butchery marks were identified on the Lots O and P bird specimens. However, five chicken bones exhibited rodent gnawing, indicating post-depositional rodent activity within the privy context. Chicken would have been available in the local market but could have been raised for consumption at the Boston-Higginbotham House.

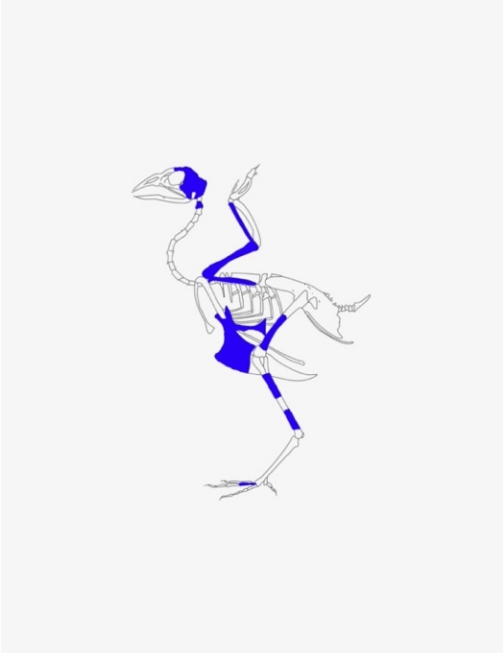


Figure 17. *Gallus gallus* Skeletal Representation Lots O and P.

Duck bones constituted only a fraction of the sub-assembly. One femoral shaft of a duck was recovered, indicating a MNI of one duck in the sub-assembly. Ducks constituted .012kg, or <.1% the sub-assembly biomass. Similarly, one goose bone, a humerus, was recovered, indicating a MNI of one goose, which constituted a biomass of .007kg or <.1% of the sub-assembly biomass. While the chickens in the sub-assembly would have been domestic fowl, the duck and goose could have been domestic or wild.

### *Fish*

Fish contributed only 22 specimens (7%) to the sub-assembly, with a weight of 6.6 g (.71%), and a biomass of .09 kg. A MNI of six fish was established, five representing saltwater fishes locally available in Nantucket. These fish include two haddock (*Melanogrammus aeglefinus*), one cod (Gadidae), one salmon (Salmonidae), and one porgy (Sparidae). One unidentified fish bone was also present in the sub-assembly. The fish were identified based on diagnostic cranial bones, vertebrae size, and two cleithra fragments from the haddock. These fish, like the sub-assembly from Lots H-K, show that the second

generation of Bostons at the Boston-Higginbotham House continued to utilize locally available marine resources in their diet.

Taxonomic Representation Table		Lots H-K				Lots O and P			
Taxon	Common Name	NISP	Weight (g)	Biomass (kg)	MNI	NISP	Weight (g)	Biomass (kg)	MNI
<b>Mammals</b>									
<i>Bos taurus</i>	Cow	222	5239	45.21	4	21	468.1	5.14	1
<i>Ovis aries/Capra hircus</i>	Sheep/Goat	39	165.8	2.02	3	19	64.7	0.87	2
Cervidae	Deer family	1	1.7	0.03	1	1	6.4	0.11	1
<i>Odocoileus virginianus</i>	White tailed deer	1	2.6	0.05	1	-	-	-	-
Odontoceti	Toothed whale	1	7.1	-	1	1	5.5	-	1
<i>Sus scrofa</i>	Pig	51	455.1	5.01	3	27	173.4	2.1	2
<i>Sylvilagus transitionalis</i>	New England cottontail rabbit	-	-	-	-	2	0.5	0.01	1
LG MML	Large Mammal	78	459.2	5.41	-	1	29.9	0.43	-
MD MML	Medium Mammal	338	455	5.01	-	178	139.9	1	-
SM MML	Small Mammal	2	0.3	0.01	-	1	0.3	0.01	-
<b>Total Mammals</b>		<b>733</b>	<b>6785.8</b>	<b>62.75</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>251</b>	<b>888.7</b>	<b>9.67</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>Birds</b>									
<i>Anas</i> species	Duck	-	-	-	-	1	0.7	0.01	1
Anserinae	Goose	2	3.5	0.05	1	1	0.4	0.01	1
<i>Gallus gallus</i>	Chicken	2	1.7	0.03	1	32	32.4	0.39	2
<b>Total Birds</b>		<b>4</b>	<b>5.2</b>	<b>0.08</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>33.5</b>	<b>0.41</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Fish</b>									
Gadidae	Cod/haddock/whiting/pollock family	5	1.2		1	16	3.2		1
<i>Melanogrammus aeglefinus</i>	Haddock	-	-		-	2	2.6	-	2
NID - fish	Unidentified fish	-	-		-	1	0.2		1
Salmonidae	Salmon/trout family	-	-		-	2	0.5		1
Scombridae	Mackerel/tuna/bonito family	1	0.1		1	-	-		-
Sparidae	Porgy/bream family	2	0.5	0.01	1	1	0.1	0.002	1
<i>Tautoga onitis</i>	Tautog	2	0.1		1	-	-		-
<b>Total Fish</b>		<b>10</b>	<b>1.9</b>	<b>0.03</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>6.6</b>	<b>0.09</b>	<b>6</b>

Figure 18. *Lots H-K and Lots O and P Taxonomic Representation.*

## Summary

The faunal material recovered from Lots H-K and Lots O and P suggests the Bostons primarily relied on domestic mammals like cattle and pigs. Birds and fish constituted much smaller portions of the diet in both sub-assemblages. However, the variety of mammal, bird, and fish species, domesticated and wild, indicates a diverse diet that could be manipulated and adapted to fit the household's needs. Domestic livestock were the primary dietary contributors. If home raised, these animals provided products that the Bostons could consume and sell at the local market for additional income. Moreover, the presence of wild fowl and fish in the sub-assemblages indicates knowledge of local resource availability. These wild

species could also have been traded or sold to supplement household income. The following chapter broadens the results of this analysis by comparing the findings from the Boston-Higginbotham House sub-assemblages, particularly the sub-assemblage from Lots H-K to the 18<sup>th</sup>-century Sarah Boston Farmstead in Grafton, Massachusetts. This comparison provides context and insight into the analysis of the Boston-Higginbotham House sub-assemblages, allowing for identifying trends of Indigenous expression in the subsistence strategies of 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century mixed-race households in New England.

### **Probate Analysis Results**

The analyzed probates highlight trends in food-related practices for Nantucket’s early to mid-18<sup>th</sup> century Native population. All inventories used in this study are listed in Table 7.

<b>Name</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Location (Nantucket County Probates)</b>
Isaac Codoode	1719	NCP 1:74
Jeremiah Netowa	1727	NCP 1:129
Peter Mussaquat	1733	NCP 1:180
Peleg Duch	1737	NCP 2:1-3
Isaac Mussaquat	1738	NCP 2:21, 45
Mattakachme Micah	1740	NCP 2:34-36
Ben Abel	1744	NCP 2:77-79
Titus Mamuk	1747	NCP 2:103
Joshua Mammock	1747	NCP 2:128-129
James Codoode	1748	NCP 2:106, 109, 110
Josiah Spotso	1748	NCD 5:147
Micah Phillips	1750	NCP 2:155, 158-160
Eben Caudoode	1755	NCP 2:254
Jonathan Micah	1764	NCP 3:34-36,44
Jospeh Quady	1765	NCP 3:45
Stephen Scrute	1767	NCP 3:74

Isaac Jeffrey, Peleg Titus, and John Charles	1768	NCP 3:78
Benjamin Tashime	1770	NCP 3:109, 110, 165
John Mooney	1770	NCP 3:131, 132
Joel Job	1772	NCP 3:190
Barney Spotso	1793	NCP 4:105

Table 7. *List of Probates of 18th Century Black and Native Men on Nantucket.*

### Dietary Attribute Data from the Probates

Name	Horse	Swine (Hog)	Cow	Ox	Turkeys
Isaac Codoode		1			
Jeremiah Netowa	1	1			
Peter Musaquat					2
Peleg Duch	1	1			
Mattakachame Micah	1	1			
Ben Abel	1				
Joshua Mammock	1		1		
Josiah Spotso	1		X		
James Codode			1		
Micah Phillips	1	2 1/2	1		
Jonathan Micah	1		1		X
Joseph Quady	1			1	
Benjamin Tashime	1		1		

Table 8. *Domesticated Animals (X represents presence with no quantity listed).*

The domesticated animals listed in the inventories range from horses, which would have served as transportation, to dietary animals such as pigs and cows, to turkeys, which provide no labor, only dietary sustenance and perhaps feathers. By the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century in New England more broadly, domestic animals provided sufficient meat for a household to survive (McMahon 1985). Little (1990a) suggests Nantucket's inhabitants quickly adopted horses, sheep, and cattle, allowing the Wampanoag to participate in the market economy and develop a diet less reliant upon season availability of wild resources. Sixty percent of the

probates analyzed in this study listed domesticated animals; however, to raise domesticated animals, one must possess ample resources, and thus, many of the probates (40%) did not list domesticated animals in their inventories.

Interestingly, horses were the most frequently documented domesticated animal, with ten horses recorded in the probates. Horses would have been used for labor and transportation on the island and most likely not consumed as food. Conversely, the cattle listed in the probate inventories would have been utilized for dairy and meat consumption and perhaps used as draft animals on occasion, though, oxen were typically used for these tasks. One probate listed an ox, which would have been utilized as a draft animal for plowing fields and pulling carts. The percent of cattle recorded in this assemblage of probates parallels McMahon’s (1985) findings for rural Massachusetts, in which approximately 50% percent of families living on small farms possessed swine and a similar proportion owned a singular milk cow (McMahon 1985:35).

For domesticated birds, two probates have turkeys listed. It is unclear whether the turkeys listed were domesticated animals being raised in the homes of these Native people, whether they were hunted, or whether they purchased animal carcasses present at the home at the time of inventorying. Regardless, the turkeys indicate a presence of game within the diet of these Native households.

Name	Salt Box	Sugar Box	Barley	Corn	Oats	Wheat	Rye	Beans
Isaac Codoode				20				
Jeremiah Netowa			2 1/4			4 1/4		
Peleg Duch		1						
Mattakachame Micah			X	X	12 1/2	X	X	
Micah Phillips	1 and salt			40	7		X	

Jonathan Micah		1		13 1/2			4	1 1/2
Benjamin Tashime		1+						

Table 9. *Stored Foodstuffs. Recorded in “bushels of” (X represents presence with no quantity listed).*

The probates mention various stored foodstuffs like grains, legumes, and seasonings. Grain cultivation was an essential part of the early New England diet, so various cereals within the probates are unsurprising (McMahon 1985). On Nantucket, corn had become well adapted to the island climate (Little 1991). Corn was the most common cereal listed in the probates, with four men possessing bushels of corn: Isaac Codoode, Mattakachame Micah, Micah Phillips, and Jonathan Micah, with Micah Phillips possessing a striking 40 bushels. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, rural communities would have relied on homegrown corn as a dietary staple (McMahon 1985).

In contrast, larger community centers, like rapidly growing Nantucket, began to purchase flour instead, which is perhaps why fewer bushels are inventoried in the later probates. The most frequently recorded stored foodstuff after corn was rye, with barley, wheat, and oats following. Only one probate, that of Jonathan Micah, lists bushels of beans.

Seasonings, including salt and sugar, were listed in several inventories. Three probates list sugar boxes: Peleg Duch, Jonathan Micah, and Benjamin Tashime, though the presence of sugar within these boxes is not noted. Only Micah Phillips’ probate lists a salt box and salt. Scholars note that Southern Algonquian people ate without salt; however, records from the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century, like these probates, reveal Native people incorporating salt into their practices (Bragdon 1986). For example, salt would have been used to preserve fish, pork, and beef, and by the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the presence of these salted meats would have led to an abandonment of the seasonal variation in their consumption. Unfortunately, no probates list salted fish, pork, or beef. There may be two reasons for this omission: perhaps



these items were not commonly inventoried on the island in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, or more likely, salted meats were not a food commonly consumed by the Nantucket Wampanoag in the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Further, only one inventory in this analysis lists a cellar where salted foods would have been stored. Thus, the practice of salting at home appears uncommon for Nantucket's Native community in the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

**Foodways-Related Data from the Probates**

Name	Frypan/ Skillet	Spit/ Gridiron	Sieve	Mortar/ Pestle	Pan	Warming Pan	Dripping Pan	Earthen Pan	Pudding Pan
Jeremiah Netowa	1								
Peleg Duch		1						1	
Mattakachame Micah			1	X					
Joshua Mammock	2		2						
James Codode	1	1		X					
Micah Phillips	1		2	X					1
Jonathan Micah	1	1		1		1	1		
Benjamin Tashime					2				
<b>Total</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>

Table 10. *Food Preparation Items.*

Nine food preparation items were cataloged from the probates, with the designations of “food preparation items” based on Little (1980) and Noël Hume (1970). These items reflect Native and Anglo food preparation techniques, and a range of items reveals the unique nature of Native foodways in 18<sup>th</sup>-century Nantucket. Within the probates, the frypan (or skillet) was the most frequently inventoried food preparation item, with five inventories listing them. In 18<sup>th</sup>-century New England, long-handled fry pans were an essential kitchen item for colonists, who used them to cook meat, fish, eggs, and other dishes over a hearth (LeFever 2009:63). The presence of frypans and skillets in these probates may be due to the Wampanoag people’s time spent indentured in the homes of colonists on the island, suggesting that frying foods had become commonplace among the Native population on

Nantucket. Additionally, four men had other types of “pans” listed in their probates, further indicating the adoption of Anglo food preparation practices.

Importantly, mortar and pestles were listed in four probate inventories. These mortars and pestles, several of which are enumerated as “stone” in the inventories, indicate the continued use of Indigenous lithic technology within these 18<sup>th</sup> century Native households. These items would have been used for grinding corn and other cereals and are noted as an exemption to English foodways objects by Elizabeth Little in her analysis of several 18<sup>th</sup> century Wampanoag probates (Little 1980a:15). Such items are not listed in probates from English households examined by McMahon (1985).

Name	Pot	Great Pot	Iron Pot	Earthen Pot	Stone Pot	Quart Pot	Pickel Pot
Jeremiah Netowa			1			1	
Peleg Duch	3			3		2	
Mattakachame Micah			1				
Ben Abel			1	1		1	
Joshua Mammock	1	1	1				
James Codode	1				1		
Micah Phillips	3					1	
Jonathan Micah	3	1					
Eben Caudode							2
Joseph Quady			1				
Benjamin Tashime		1					
<b>Total</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>5</b>		<b>1</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>2</b>

Table 11. *Pots*

Pots were the quintessential cooking tool as practically all food was cooked over an open flame, before a fire, or above coals removed from a fireplace or hearth. Pots indicate both the cooking practices and the food storage capabilities of these Native households. Within the probates, 11 men have various types of pots listed. The most frequently listed pot is the iron pot, which has been noted to have been rapidly adopted into Native foodways in

New England (Russell 1980). Iron pots were ideal for simmering directly over the fire; often, these pots possessed three legs and a handle suspended over the fire from a chain or trammel.

The “pots,” “great pots,” “iron pots,” and “quart pots” listed in the probates likely refer to the type of pots used in cooking over the fire (Noël Hume 1970). While the “earthen pots” and “stone pots” listed in the probates more likely refer to those used for food storage. Storage pots used throughout the 1700s were often made of stoneware to hold liquids and dry storage (Lindsey 2017). These pots could also have been used for pickling in the case of the “pickel pot,” which was likely employed to pickle vegetables for winter use. Food storage and pickling pots highlight these households’ capabilities to process agricultural goods and products.

Name	Platter	Basin	Tray	Trencher	Plate	Dish	Porringer/ Bowl
Jeremiah Netowa			1				
Peter Musaquat	2	1					
Peleg Duch		6	2	20	3	10	1
Isaac Mussaquat	4						
Mattakachame Micah				21	2	12	
Ben Abel						7	
Joshua Mammock						5	
James Codode	3	2	2		2	3	
Micah Phillips	2		1	5		1	3
Jonathan Micah	4 (earthen)					1	
Benjamin Tashime	3	1	1		6		14
<b>Total</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>18</b>

Table 12. *Serving and Consumption Vessels.*

The serving and consumption vessels, broadly tablewares, provide insight into how these families took their meals. For this analysis, the tableware is divided between serving

and consumption vessels to understand how the households presented and consumed their food.

Consumption vessels listed in the probates include trenchers and porringers. Only three people possessed trenchers, a wooden dish carved like a trench, in which most meals were consumed directly (Earle 1898:80). Mattakamache Micah possessed twenty-one trenchers, Peleg Duch possessed twenty trenches, and Micah Phillips possessed five trenchers. The quantities of trenchers suggest the communal nature of meal-taking within these households. Three men possessed porringers, which commonly accompanied trenchers as tableware. Poringers were small bowls made to hold soups and stews and often had handles for easy drinking (Earle 1898:86). The high counts of these items may indicate the presence of a tavern or a space for communal dining at these households, as Mattakamache Micah owned the salt box and Peleg Duch owned the sugar box, the only two people to possess these items.

Within the probates, serving vessels, like dishes, were found to have been inventoried in high quantities. Other serving vessels listed in the probates in smaller quantities included platters, trays, and basins. As a primary serving vessel, dishes were recorded in seven probates. Mattakachame Micah possessed the highest count of dishes, with a surprising twelve, while Peleg Duch owned ten dishes. The number of dishes in these households indicate the communal nature of taking meals, in which extended families gathered to share meals, which included many components served out of these dishes.

Name	Spoons	Wooden Spoons	Fork	Knives	Flesh Fork
Peter Musaquat	6				
Mattakachame Micah	4				
James Codode	3	6			1
Micah Phillips	8				
Jonathan Micah			1	X	
Benjamin Tashime	10			X	
<b>Total</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>

Table 13. *Utensils*.

By the 18<sup>th</sup> century, utensils included forks, knives, and spoons, with spoons relied on most heavily for consuming boiled food or stews (Noël Hume 1970:179). Thus, spoons are the most inventoried utensils. Five probates indicate ownership of spoons, with each person owning at least three to as many as ten spoons. Both spoons and wooden spoons are recorded in the probates and highlight the diverse nature of the inventoried estates. Other utensils are less frequently inventoried.

For example, only Jonathan Micah owned a fork, while he and Benjamin Tashime were the only ones recorded as owning knives. Moreover, only James Codode owned a “flesh fork.” The “forks” inventoried here are most likely a two-tined variety made of steel, popular from the late-17<sup>th</sup> through mid-18<sup>th</sup> century (Noël Hume 1970). The presence of forks indicates a wider variety of meals was being consumed, meals that did not only require a spoon to be eaten. Forks cut tougher meat and were used to hold items in place on the plate (Noël Hume 1970:180). The low quantities of utensils counter the argument for communal meals. However, the range in utensils listed in the probates suggest the use of complete Anglo table settings by these Native households.

Name	Milk pan or Pail	Churn	Ladle or skimmer
Peleg Duch	1		4
Mattakachame Micah			2
Ben Abel			1
Joshua Mammock		1	
James Codode	2	1	2
Micah Phillips	1		1
Jonathan Micah			1
Benjamin Tashime	2	1	
<b>Total</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>11</b>

Table 14. *Dairying Items.*

Dairying included churns, milk pans, and ladles or skimmers. The churn would have been the most critical item for home-processing dairy products. Dairy products such as butter and cheese were seasonal activities commonly eaten as they were produced. By the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, rural farmers could produce butter and cheese through the winter to last until spring (McMahon 1985:39). Thus, their presence was not typically inventoried.

Three men, Joshua Mammock, James Codode, and Benjamin Tashime, each owned a churn. Each man also had a cow listed in their inventory, signifying their ability to obtain milk and churn it into butter or cheese at home. Micah Phillips and Jonathan Micah also had cows listed in their inventory, with other dairying items, but no churns.

Several men possessed dairying items but no cows. Perhaps they received milk from fellow community members who owned cows and processed it into dairy products in their own homes. Regardless of whether the inventory indicated ownership of a cow or not, the process of dairying was a part of the Native diet by the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Name	Kettle	Tea Kettle/ Tea Pot	Tea Cup	Tea Saucer	Tea spoons
Jeremiah Netowa	1				
Peter Musaquat	2				
Peleg Duch	2				
Mattakachame Micah	1				
Joshua Mammock	1				
Micah Phillips	3				
Jonathan Micah	2	1			X
Benjamin Tashime	1	2	X	X	
<b>Total</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>

Table 15. *Tea Items*

Taking tea was integral to 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup>-century colonial lifeways and necessitated a range of vessels. These vessels and teawares included the teapot or kettle, teacups, tea saucers, and teaspoons composed of various materials. However, according to Earle (1898), china teaware, most associated with the practice of tea, did not become everyday tableware in the colonies until the Revolution (Earle 1898:100). Thus, the teawares listed in these probates are likely of different raw material composition.

Interestingly, only two probates explicitly list tea kettles or teapots; however, eight probates list a “kettle.” These “kettles” may be associated with the practice of tea, though kettles in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries were often referred to as bake kettles, like a Dutch oven (LeFever 2009). However, two inventories explicitly list tea kettles or teapots: Jonathan Micah and Benjamin Tashime. The low frequency of inventoried European tea-related materials in the probates from the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century is countered by the presence of multiple tea-related items in Jonathan Micah’s (d.1764) and Benjamin Tashime’s (d.1770) probates. Jonathan Micah’s probate includes teaspoons, and Benjamin Tashime’s probate includes a teacup and tea saucer.

The late-18<sup>th</sup>-century dates of Jonathan Micah and Benjamin Tashime’s probates may highlight the changing nature of Native foodways on Nantucket. Benjamin Tashime’s probate possessing a tea kettle, teacup, and tea saucer, may be unsurprising for Benjamin Tashime, a minister and schoolmaster for the “praying town” on the island. His life was heavily influenced by the English proprietors for whom he worked.

Name	Mug	Beaker	Jug	Jar	Pitcher	Bottle
Jeremiah Netowa			1			3
Peleg Duch		4				
Mattakachame Micah						2
Ben Abel					1	
Joshua Mammock						5
James Codode	1					1
Micah Phillips				1		
Jonathan Micah			1	1		6
Benjamin Tashime			X			
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>17</b>

Table 16. *Liquid Holding Vessels.*

Bottles were the most common liquid-holding vessels recorded in the probate inventories, with five people possessing a collective of seventeen bottles. Three people possessed jugs, while two possessed jars. These liquid-holding vessels would have been used for various purposes, from storing beverages to consuming tonics to alcoholic drinks. However, it is unclear from the inventory listings whether these vessels were associated with consuming alcoholic beverages.

### A Comprehensive Understanding of Wealth

Name	Dwelling House	Barn	Crib	Cellar
Jeremiah Netowa	X			
Peter MUSAQUAT	X			X



Peleg Duch	X			
Mattakachame Micah	X		X	
Ben Abel	X			
Joshua Mammock			X	
Micah Phillips	X		X	
Joseph Quady	X	X	X	
Benjamin Tashime	X	X		

Table 17. *Structures.*

*Real Estate*

Eight people possess probates where ownership of a dwelling house is recorded. Five of these probates have dwelling houses inventoried in the estate inventory, while the other three probates have dwelling houses listed in separate wills or administration documents. Furthermore, two people had barns listed in their probate inventories, suggesting animal husbandry was taking place. Additionally, four people had “cribs” (likely corn cribs) listed in their probate inventories, suggesting that agricultural production and the storage of those products was taking place in these Native households. Mattakachame Micah's inventory lists a corn crib (NCP 2:34). Interestingly, only Peter Musaquat’s estate includes a cellar (NCP 1:180). This cellar would have been constructed in an Anglo style, recognizable to the colonists inventorying Peter Musaquat’s estate. Thus, it may be an example of adopting Anglo food preservation practices. This cellar would have been used for storing barrels of salted beef or pork, beer or cider, and various fruits and vegetables, allowing them to be kept from freezing in the winter and cool in the summer.

Because less than half of the probates specifically record a dwelling house, this study assumes the English colonists inventorying Native estates recorded “dwelling houses” for those wood-sided structures resembling their own Anglo-style homes. While not all probates in this study specifically mentioned a dwelling house, most wills outlined granting their “real

and personal estate” to their wives or children. This personal estate included the dwelling structure but was not explicitly outlined in an inventory. The 22 men who received probates likely all possessed dwelling structures; they did not all fit the typical Anglo conception of a house at the time of inventorying.

Name	Labourer	Whale fisherman	Minister	Weaver	Sachem	Carpenter/ Cooper	Justice of the Peace
Jeremiah Netowa			X	X			
Peter Musaquat					X		
Peleg Duch	X						
Mattakachame Micah	X					X	
Ben Abel					X		
Titus Mamock	X						
Joshua Mammock			X				
James Codode	X						X
Micah Phillips						X	
Joseph Quady		X					
Stephen Scrute		X					
Isaac Jeffrey		X					
Benjamin Tashime			X				
John Mooney		X					
Joel Job		X					
Barny Spotso		X					

Table 18. *Occupations.*

The probate inventories reveal occupation information for sixteen people. Four men are recorded as laborers, six are recorded as whale fishermen, three are recorded as ministers, two are recorded as sachems, and one is recorded as a cooper. Interestingly, several men have multiple occupations listed in their probates. For example, Jeremiah Netowa is listed as both a minister and a weaver, Mattakachame Micah is both a laborer and a cooper, and James Coode is both a laborer and a justice of the peace. The range of occupations listed in these probates of Native men is shockingly vast. Predominant literature regarding the Nantucket

Wampanoag in the 18<sup>th</sup> century postulates that all Native men on the island were whalers. However, as the probates in this study exemplify, Native men occupied many roles within the community that had no connection to the whaling industry.

For example, the probates show the Native community possessed its own minister and a Justice of the Peace, suggesting self-sufficiency in governing political affairs and establishing social infrastructure in the face of colonization. One minister, Benjamin Tashime, the grandson of Sachem Autopscot, was one of the sachems present on Nantucket when the English arrived in 1659. Benjamin Tashime is known to have run a school for Native children where he taught them to read and write the Massachusetts language (Douglass-Lithgow 1911:34). While this occupation is not listed in his probate, an account of his life in *Miriam Coffin, or the Whale-Fisherman* by Joseph C. Hart, written in 1834, suggests Tashime “lived an industrious life...devoted to study; and he had succeeded, with infinite labour, in adapting his literary acquirements to the language and capacity of his tribe” (Hart 1834). Together, the occupations listed in the probates and contemporary accounts of the livelihoods of Native people allow for a more comprehensive understanding of the labor carried out by Nantucket’s Native community in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. By partaking in multiple industries beyond whaling, the Wampanoag men in this study exemplify the diversity of Native lives and labor.

Name	L	s	d
Peter Mussaquat	50		
Mattakachme Micah	36	10	4
Ben Abel	98		
Joshua Mammock	101	8	3
James Codoode	46	6	6
Jonathan Micah	27	18	0

Table 19. *Debts.*

Six Native men owed debts at their time of death. The debts are recorded at the end of the inventory for the estate to pay the listed creditors. Various sums are associated with the debts owed by each estate. For example, Joshua Mammock had the highest debts to pay off, amounting to 101 pounds, 8 shillings, and 3 dollars (NCP 2:129). While James Codoode only owed half that, owing 46 pounds, six shillings, and six dollars (NCP 2:109). Another notable debt comes from Isaac Codoode's inventory from 1719, which lists, "By Africa in money," Africa being the earliest recorded Black man living on Nantucket. However, this transaction may be a credit and not a debt. Thus, it may reflect how Africa, a free-Black man, engaged in economic transactions with the Native community as early as the 1710s. Because Isaac Codoode's probate is the earliest inventory, it exemplifies the early nature of the interconnectedness of the Native and Black communities on Nantucket.

Unsurprisingly, these debts and credits between Native and Black men on Nantucket continued throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century. These exchanges are exemplified by Jonathan Micah's 1764 estate inventory which owed 1 pound, 2 shillings, and 1 dollar "to Pompey Negro" (NCP 3:36). These transactions show how the Black and Native communities relied on one another for support via money or labor. This interconnectedness was a result of the social and economic exclusion that Black and Native people faced at the hands of Anglo settlers.

### **Summary**

The results of the probate analysis indicate that Nantucket's 18<sup>th</sup>-century Native population owned a range of domesticated animals like cows, pigs, and horses, as well as dairying equipment, which allowed them to process dairy products at their homes. The stored foodstuffs listed in the probates indicate a reliance on dry-goods most likely traded for at the local market. Furthermore, the material items like mortar and pestles suggest traditional

Wampanoag food preparation techniques were being utilized to prepare meals. However, as evidenced by tableware like platters, trenchers, and utensils, the Wampanoag adopted formal Anglo tablewares in their households. The presence of corn cribs and earthen pots suggests the food storage capabilities of these households and demonstrates a continued reliance on maize cultivation. Together, the inventories analyzed in this study highlight a growing reliance on Anglo foodways-related items and activities with the maintenance of certain Indigenous practices.

### **Comparative Analysis with the Sarah Boston Farmstead**

Data from the Sarah Boston Farmstead is used as a comparison because of the active role that a Native American women played in maintaining this household. Furthermore, these Nipmuc women were integral to the passing on of Indigenous cultural practices at the site. The Sarah Boston Farmstead, existing on ancestral Nipmuc land, possesses occupational history dating from at least 4,000 years, up through and into the present. Like the Nantucket Wampanoag, the Nipmuc faced missionary relegation to a “praying town.” In 1654, John Eliot established the “praying town” at Hassanamesit. The Nipmuc eventually received allotments of land, and in 1727, Sarah Robbins (Sarah Burnee’s grandmother) received a tract in what is now Grafton, Massachusetts, located on a parcel of land where five generations of Nipmuc women resided with their families between 1728 and 1850 (Mrozowski et al. 2009; Pezzarossi 2014; Mrozowski et al. 2015; Gould et al. 2020).

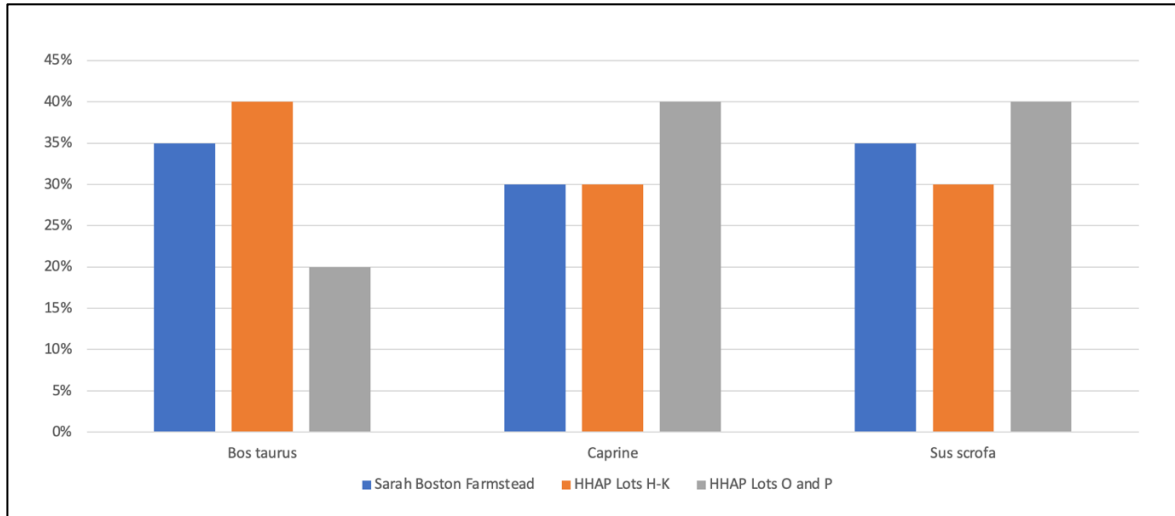
Numerous archaeological studies have investigated the consumption strategies of the residents of the Sarah Boston Farmstead to understand the Nipmuc’s persistence under colonialism. Pertinent to this thesis is Amélie Allard's foodways analysis of Sarah Burnee’s occupation of the Sarah Boston Farmstead from 1790-1837 (Allard 2010:2). In her master’s

thesis “Foodways, Commensality and Nipmuc Identity: An Analysis of Faunal Remains From Sarah Boston's Farmstead, Grafton, MA, 1790-1840” Allard demonstrates how the foodways identified at Sarah Boston’s farmstead, particularly its inhabitants’ adoption of animal husbandry communicated Nipmuc identity in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries and how the site functioned as a place for Nipmuc communal gathering (Allard 2010:3).

Communal dining practices at the Sarah Boston Farmstead are seen through the variability in ceramic vessel forms, the large number (50) of eating utensils (Gould et al. 2020:117), and the elevated amount of glass tableware, which Allard (2010) and Pezzarossi (2008) posit enhanced the public aspect of the household (Allard 2010:99; Pezzarossi 2008:126).

Commensality at the Sarah Boston Farmstead, “encompasses the idea of a group of people gathering to eat and drink to create a sense of [Nipmuc] identity and belonging (Allard 2010:v). Furthermore, Allard notes that “because domestic meals are at the starting point of the creation of shared traditions, they are at the core of archaeologists’ effort to learn more about past social relations” (Allard 2010:18). While Allard’s work centered on Native practices in an outwardly Native context, the results similarly indicated a hybridized reality that continued to perpetuate Native identity in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Allard's (2010) analysis of the Sarah Boston Farmstead examined faunal material from deposits dating from 1790-1840, which indicated that Sarah Burnee and her family raised and butchered their meat and supplemented their diet with various wild resources. Domesticated mammals like cows, sheep or goats, and pigs contributed to most of the assemblage as they did for both sub-assemblages at the Boston-Higginbotham House.



*Figure 19. Percent of Total Domestic Animal MNI from Sarah Boston Farmstead, HHAP Lots H-K and HHAP Lots O and P.*

In terms of MNI, the Sarah Boston Farmstead yielded seven cattle, seven pigs, and six sheep or goats. Based on the MNI of domesticated mammals at the Sarah Boston Farmstead, Allard (2010) believes that Sarah Burnee’s household home-raised a portion of the meat consumed at the site. Domestic fowl like ducks, geese, and chickens were present at the Sarah Boston Farmstead. Raising domestic fowl required little resources and provided returns in eggs and feathers. Regarding biomass, beef provided 39% of the biomass at the Sarah Boston Farmstead, while pork only provided 14% and caprine only 4%.

Although domesticated animals represented a significant proportion of the Sarah Boston Farmstead assemblage, wild animals were also present. Deer were represented at the Sarah Boston Farmstead by several bones indicating a MNI of one white-tailed deer. Butchery marks on the white-tailed deer specimen demonstrated the skinning, splitting, and preparation of the carcass for consumption by the residents of the Sarah Boston Farmstead (Allard 2010:87). Several species of turtle were also recovered from the site, demonstrating a MNI of 9 turtles. No butchery was evident on the turtle remains, but turtle shells exhibited signs of burning, suggesting that turtles were probably eaten (Allard 2010:75). Maintaining

this relationship to hunting mammals, birds, and reptiles at the Sarah Boston Farmstead in the 18<sup>th</sup> century allowed the Nipmuc to reinforce their Native identity.

Furthermore, a range of fish were present in the Sarah Boston Farmstead assemblage. Similarities between the fish recovered from the two sites included fish from the cod, haddock, and mackerel families. As an inland site, the saltwater fish (cod, haddock, and mackerel) would have been obtained through the market network in dried form; however, the freshwater fishes would have been acquired by the occupants of the Sarah Boston Farmstead through local fishing (Allard 2010:96). Again, the act of procuring wild resources demonstrates the Nipmuc's intentionality in augmenting market-bought goods with more traditionally seasonally available food sources.

The wide variety of animals consumed at the Sarah Boston Farmstead demonstrates diversified subsistence strategies. Like this thesis, Allard also incorporated a discussion of material culture recovered from the Sarah Boston Farmstead that indicated Sarah Burnee's foodway preferences. Included in her foodways analysis, Allard (2010) incorporated data from Law et al.'s (2008) ceramic analysis of the site, drawing on their conclusions that the ceramics indicated communal dining practices which brought together the broader Nipmuc community, for the consumption of multiple course meals (Allard 2010:58). The recovered ceramics suggested many meals at the Sarah Boston Farmstead were portioned like roasts and other cuts of meat, and were served with stews or pottages, which had a strong tradition in both Native American and African American cuisine (Pezzarossi 2008; Allard 2010:99). Native peoples practiced, as they do today, communal traditions of sharing, particularly communal gatherings for meals, which brought together networks of relations to share in the wealth of the community (Brooks 2008; Law et al. 2008, Gould et al 2020).



Sarah Burnee's preparation of foods like deer and turtle made her home a place where people of color could share meals and a bond of Native identity in defiance of English colonial forces.

## CHAPTER 5

### DISCUSSION

This thesis sought to demonstrate continued Wampanoag presence on Nantucket in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries by responding to and joining the body of work highlighting how Indigenous people did not disappear and that their presence remained in pluralistic spaces. First, using probate records, this project sought to conceptualize 18<sup>th</sup>-century Wampanoag land-use and subsistence practices through their response to and negotiation of imposed colonial materiality and practices. Next, using the Native and African American Boston family as a case study, this thesis asked whether evidence of continuing African American and Native American identity can be seen through food at the Boston-Higginbotham House. By examining the faunal material from contexts associated with Thankful Micah, this research requisitioned whether, for the Boston family at 27 York Street, food and its related practices showed the mixing of African and Native American practices in a pluralistic space. This research aimed to offer insight into how Native communities navigated forces of colonialism and racism by establishing hybridized realities in 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup>-century Southern New England.

## **Findings**

The probate analysis demonstrated how the early 18<sup>th</sup>-century Nantucket Wampanoag had thoroughly incorporated domesticated animals into their subsistence practices. Ten probates listed horses, six listed swine, and six listed cattle, indicating that a range of domesticated animals was utilized for labor and meat by the island's Native community. As noted by Roy (2016) in his faunal analysis of the 17<sup>th</sup> century-Experience Mayhew site on Martha's Vineyard, the Wampanoags adopted European domesticates as a “means of survival in the face of aggressive European settlement and a changing local ecology” (Roy 2016:17). And, according to Silverman (2003), the Wampanoag on Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard came to use animal husbandry as a tool, denoting “acceptance of colonial ways” while furthering Native values and priorities, like “supplementing their hunting practices with livestock” (Silverman 2003:515).

Furthermore, the probates indicate dairying equipment like butter churns and milk pans, signaling the ability to and knowledge of processing dairy at their homes. The probates also demonstrate a reliance on domesticated fowl like turkeys, which provided meat and feathers that could be traded at the local country store or made into feather beds or pillows (Little 1981b). The rapid mid-century transition towards sedentary place-based subsistence de-seasonalized the Wampanoag diet, leading to a more significant interaction with the Anglo market economy. Nonetheless, the Wampanoag adoption of animal husbandry did not negate their Indigeneity. Instead, they incorporated those new practices alongside their traditional rounds of hunting, fishing, and gathering (Silverman 2003: 520).

Moreover, the probates demonstrate how these Wampanoag households came to serve and consume their meals in a style like their English neighbors. First, most

Wampanoag households possessed a range of English-style food preparation items and consumption vessels. Within the probates, food preparation items like frypans and pots were listed in 50% of the assemblage, and 50% of the probates listed English-style serving and consumption vessels. Furthermore, tea kettles, tea cups, and saucers exhibit a willingness or interest in enacting Anglo notions of “domesticity” by taking tea. Drinking tea was a gendered activity that was more common for the women of the household to participate in, along with women from the community during the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Wall 1991:79). By taking tea, the women in these households would have been creating social bonds with others, while signaling aspirations of uplift, taking action to acquire better socio-political positions for themselves and their communities (Way 2010; Bulger 2013; Herzing 2022).

The probate data represents all aspects of a typical English table setting in the 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Based on Alice Earle’s 1898 book *Home Life in Colonial Days*, this table setting would have included a table with a salt cellar, wooden trenchers for plates, round platters (which held the stew, meat, or vegetables of the meal), a wooden, pewter, or silver tankard to drink from, and several wooden, pewter, or silver spoons, but no forks, glasses, or china (Earle 1898:101). All these tablewares were listed in more than 50% of the probates in this study, revealing the extent to which Indigenous people on Nantucket adopted English subsistence practices, utilized English food preparation and consumption materials, and engaged in the market economy.

The faunal material from the Boston-Higginbotham House indicates that domestic mammals—cattle and pigs—comprised much of the meat consumed by the first and second generations of Bostons. Within the contexts associated with Thankful Micah and Seneca Boston (Lots H-K), 72% of the biomass came from cattle, signifying an immense reliance on

beef in their diet. Based on the percent recovered of the cattle specimens and the over representation of cranial elements present in the sub-assembly, beef for Thankful and Seneca may have been readily available through the home-raising of animals. Home-raising animals would have provided the Bostons with the extra meat and dairy products to feed a family of eight. Corroborating this assumption, Bulger (2013) found a barn present at the 27 York Street property in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century (Bulger 2013:63). Raising their own animals suggests that some may have been butchered at home, with the Bostons familiar with this process.

The data presented in this thesis supports the argument that women had a more active role in foodways than simply cooking. In Native, African American, and even English communities, women possessed a more significant role in the food production process than the gender roles that associated them with the domestic realm. For example, scholars note that Wampanoag women were responsible for farming, processing, and preparing foods (Silverman 2001). Furthermore, Black women worked in drudgery, with the expectation that Black women would also do more than cook and serve food (Lee 2019). Therefore, the data from the Boston-Higginbotham House suggests that by engaging in efforts to show respectability, the Native and African American women at the site enacted a range of gendered foodways practices to persist

For example, several butchered cattle lower leg bones suggest the Boston-Micah household may have been processing these animals at home. As outlined by Landon (1996), colonial-period butchery should be seen as tripartite, in which the "...primary butchery process involves the initial slaughter, carcass dressing, and evisceration. Secondary butchery is the initial division of the carcass into major portions, and tertiary butchery is the final

division that takes place before and during consumption (Landon 1996:58-59). Included in these primary and secondary butchering processes was removing feet from the carcasses, one of the first elements to be discarded by a professional butcher (Landon 1996:121). The presence of butchered cattle lower limbs, caprine tibias, and radii, and pig femurs, demonstrates primary and secondary butchery at the Boston-Higginbotham House.

Furthermore, a complete calf skull in Lot J (Context 497) should be considered consumed and not as evidence of primary butchery waste, given its relation to a typical colonial meal. Cranial elements are often the most well-represented in 18<sup>th</sup>-century New England urban and rural contexts due to their robust nature and durability (Landon 1996:53). However, according to Landon (1996), heads of cows, sheep, goats, and pigs became less represented in late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century Boston, a phenomenon he correlates with changing food preferences and ideas surrounding the relative value of specific cuts of meat (Landon 1996:122). Moreover, Landon claims that “at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the head became one of the parts of a cow that the slaughterer kept; often, heads were sold directly to nearby soap and candlemakers” (Landon 1996:122).

For the Boston family, the calf’s head may represent what colonists termed a “mock turtle.” Mock turtle developed in the 18<sup>th</sup> century in which calf’s heads supplemented turtle meat in the preparation of turtle soup (Schweitzer 2009). In an analysis of Philadelphia’s foodways prior to the American Revolution, Schweitzer found most cookbooks from the mid-18<sup>th</sup> to mid-19<sup>th</sup> century included a recipe for preparing a calf’s head for “mock turtle” soup (Schweitzer 2009:42). And, by the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, most European cooks knew how to properly prepare turtles (Wilk 2006:40). Not quite as exclusive to acquire, mock turtle

remained an expensive meal and would have signaled an understanding of social “events” and worldly food practices for the Boston-Higginbotham House residents.

Together, the butchered animals in the Lots H-K assemblage suggest a portion of meat was processed at the site. Surprisingly, the idea that the “women's work” of domestic food preparation might also involve butchery has been primarily overlooked by historical zooarchaeologists (Landon 2005). However, Thankful's processing of animals through boning out joints to access chunks of meat, and her preparation of calf's head for soup or stew (Landon 1996:76-77), demonstrates the Bostons consumed home butchered meat alongside market-purchased cuts.

Finally, while domestic mammals dominated Lots H-K, domestic fowl were present in the assemblage. The sub-assemblage from Lots H-K contained chicken bones and one goose specimen, constituting only .8kg of the total biomass. However, domestic fowl like chickens and ducks provide both meat and eggs and require far fewer resources to raise than larger domestic mammals. In southeastern Massachusetts, nearly every family raised geese in the 18<sup>th</sup> century as a source of eggs, meat, and feathers, though they could also have been obtained through seasonal hunting of wild fowl (Russell 1982:156; McMahan 1985).

Regarding the sub-assemblage from Lots O and P, while the sample size was small, several notable differences were present in the data. Lots O and P exhibited a decreased presence in head and foot elements, with an emphasis on the meatier portions of the animals. This difference may indicate a greater reliance on butchered meats or those processed off-site. Furthermore, in contrast to Thankful Micah's household, Mary Boston Douglass' household sub-assemblage relied more heavily on pork in the diet. In New England, pork preserved well and could be stored for year-round consumption, and, according to Landon

(1996), pork may have been the most readily available year-round meat source in colonial Boston (Landon 1996:124). Scholarship from the Boston-Higginbotham House discusses Mary Boston Douglass' success in running a boardinghouse at the 27 York Street property (Bulger 2013; Lee 2019; Herzing 2022). Taking in boarders would have required Mary Boston Douglass to serve meals for larger groups of people, in which meat like salt pork may have been the most efficient way to provision her ever-growing household. As seen at the 19<sup>th</sup>-century Boott Mills boardinghouses in Lowell, Massachusetts, pork, salt pork, and ham contributed significantly to the boardinghouse residents' diet (Landon 1987; Beaudry 1993). Despite the smaller scale of the boarding, a similar diet may have been replicated at the Boston-Higginbotham House under Mary Boston Douglass' domestic rule.

For both sub-assemblages caprine specimens contributed the least to NISP and MNI, and no probates from this study listed the possession of sheep or rights to grazing sheep on the commons. The Wampanoag population and Thankful and Mary's households may have relied less on mutton in their diets due to Nantucket's agricultural focus on sheep raising for the export of wool, which, according to Macy (1880), in the last quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the number of sheep on the island rose to between twelve and sixteen thousand (Macy 1880:110).

While the Boston family relied predominately on domesticated mammals, wild taxa in the sub-assemblages indicate that hunting occasionally supplemented the household diet. Wild species from this study's sub-assemblages corroborate Kathleen Bragdon's (2009) analysis of the 18<sup>th</sup>-century Southern New England Native diet. Bragdon cites archaeological evidence, which indicates "that wild animals were hunted or caught and eaten, and the skins of deer, beaver, and other furbearing animals were processed for sale or trade" (Bragdon



2009:141). This continuity in utilizing wild resources can be seen in the sub-assemblage associated with Thankful Micah, in which two deer bones, a metatarsal and occipital condyle (cranial bone), signal the incorporation of a culturally significant source of meat into the meals she prepared for her household. The range in skeletal parts of deer recovered from the Boston-Higginbotham House indicates that portions of one deer carcass were processed in each sub-assemblage.

A comparison with documentary and zooarchaeological data from Martha's Vineyard exemplifies why the presence of deer in this context is meaningful. On Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard, excavated shell middens from 1,200-500 years before present, indicate that the Wampanoag relied heavily upon deer meat and products (Ritchie 1969; Little 1983). However, on both islands in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, cattle and sheep competed with deer for grazing resources, resulting in declining deer populations (Silverman 2003). According to James Freeman's 1807 "Notes on Nantucket," deer continued to live on Nantucket at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century: "They [Wampanoags] could now and then kill a bird; and there were a few deer" (Freeman 1807:35). While colonists in New England initially depended on wild resources, by the 18<sup>th</sup> century, European colonists no longer relied on hunting for any significant portion of their diet (Cronon 1983:101). The consumption of deer continued for the region's Native American population, who possessed the traditional ecological knowledge to maintain the populations for successful hunting. Preparing deer in a space where wild animals were not typically included in meals linked Thankful Micah to her heritage in a time of significant change and disturbance and allowed her to maintain a sense of autonomy and cultural identity.

Supporting the argument for Thankful Micah influencing the foodways at the Boston-Higginbotham House is the notion that Native women were often expected to fulfill European gender roles that relegated them to tasks associated with food preparation; thus, archaeology from the Sarah Boston Farmstead highlights how Native women cooked, prepared, or butchered certain foods in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The Sarah Boston Farmstead was chosen as a comparative source for its contemporaneity, its analogous occupation by people of Native and African American descent, and its centrality to the reproduction of Indigeneity for the Nipmuc community. Allard's (2010) foodway analysis of the Sarah Boston Farmstead demonstrated that their diet was dominated by domesticated animals, some of which would have been home-raised (Allard 2010:101). For the Nipmuc, raising livestock was a political and cultural decision "influenced by land encroachment, missionary agendas, debt, land sale, indentured servitude, and intermarriage between Native women and African American men" (Allard 2010:46), all factors which similarly afflicted Nantucket's 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup>-century Wampanoag population. Adopting animal husbandry allowed the Nipmuc to assert their continued presence on their ancestral land in a way recognizable to the English and defensible in court.

While the residents of the Sarah Boston Farmstead adopted the home raising of domesticated animals, they also relied on hunting animals like deer, wild fowl, a variety of fish, and turtles. Deer bones recovered from the Sarah Boston Farmstead possess evidence of butchery, demonstrating that Sarah Burnee would have been preparing these animals for meals for her family. Unlike the Sarah Boston Farmstead collection, the Boston-Higginbotham House deer bones did not exhibit butchery evidence. However, the variety in

bones present, cranial, phalanx, and vertebra, suggest portions of deer were present at the site and could have been butchered similarly to what Allard observed in Grafton.

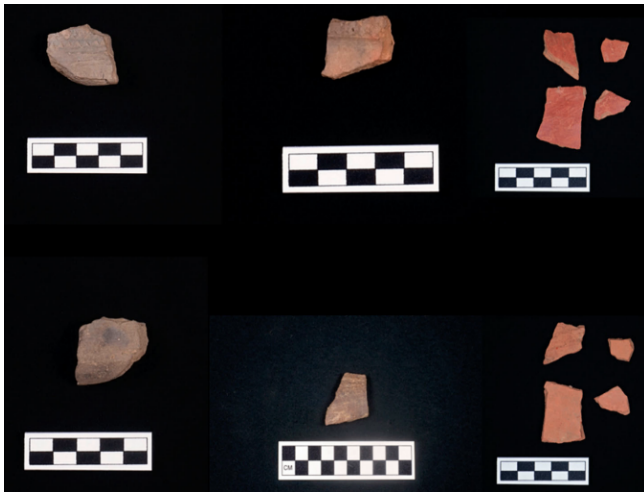
Also included in Allard's foodways analysis was the discussion of ceramics recovered from the site, which demonstrate multi-course, communal meals. Similarly, at the Boston-Higginbotham House, the ceramics recovered from contexts associated with Thankful Micah included large counts of serving dishes and individual tableware settings, indicating the Bostons hosted communal meals in their home (Cacchione 2018:73). The adoption of Anglo tableware suggests Thankful Micah, like Sarah Burnee expressed her Native American heritage through choices of meat, while also adopting the more European style of portioned meals.

The comparison between the Boston-Higginbotham House and the Sarah Boston Farmstead demonstrates how Thankful Micah's continued implementation of traditional Indigenous foodways was consistent with other Native households in Massachusetts in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. While hybridized Indigenous and English practices were expected for the Sarah Boston Farmstead, their presence at the Boston-Higginbotham House represents Thankful Micah's ability to persist in a place where her ancestral community was almost completely diminished.

### **Supplementary Foodways Materiality**

Complementary to the probate data, faunal remains, and comparative analyses, several objects of material culture highlight hybridized foodways at the Boston-Higginbotham House. The glassware and tableware recovered from the Boston-Higginbotham House excavations demonstrate the influence of Anglo dining practices by adopting a range of English wares. According to the HHAP site report, creamware,

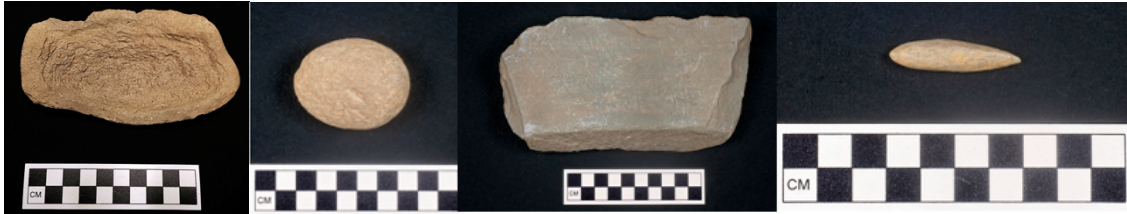
pearlware, and redware dominated the assemblage from Lots H-K (Landon et al. 2017:29). John Crawmer's (2023) analysis of the glass assemblage from the Boston-Higginbotham House, found that cups, drinking glasses, and goblets constituted over 90% of Seneca and Thankful's tableware collection (Crawmer 2023:70). Therefore, the ceramic and glass assemblage demonstrate a substantial utilization of Anglo consumer wares. The probate data identified similar trends for the Wampanoag community in the 18<sup>th</sup> century in which platters, basins, trays, trenchers, plates, dishes, and porringers or bowls listed in the probates indicated the use of complete English-style table settings and serving vessels.



*Figure 20. Locally Made Native Ceramics from the Boston-Higginbotham House (Photo reproduced from Cacchione 2019).*

However, the archaeology and the probates indicate the continued presence of Indigenous food preparation objects in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. In the sub-assemblage from Lots H-K, six locally made ceramic vessels and nine worked lithics present evidence of the continued use of Native creations. Cacchione (2018, 2019) discusses the significance of the ceramics in what she calls the private Indigenous identity of Thankful Micah at the Boston-Higginbotham House. However, these ceramics demonstrate more than Cacchione's conclusion of representing a private Native identity. Based on the data from the probate

analysis, two other Wampanoag households possessed earthen pots and pans (NCP 2:2, 77); however, is unclear whether the earthen objects in the probates are Native ceramics or English earthenware. If these earthen pots and pans are Native-made, the continued possession of earthenware food preparation items alongside English items demonstrates intentionality in reproducing aspects of Indigeneity through foodways.



*Figure 21. Lithic Objects From the Boston-Higginbotham House. From left to right: ground stone mortar, cobble hammerstone, abrading stone, ground stone tool (Images reproduced from Landon et al. 2017:35).*

Furthermore, the probate inventories revealed how stone mortars (and pestles) remained household objects for Wampanoag families on Nantucket in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Four probate inventories listed mortars and pestles, including the probates of Mattakachame Micah and Jonathan Micah (NCP 2:35, 3:34). While incorporating English food preparation items, the maintenance of Indigenous lithic technology within these 18<sup>th</sup>-century Wampanoag households, underscores their intentionality in maintaining certain connections to their cultural heritage. The stone mortar, ground stone, grindstone, hammerstone, and abrading stone recovered from Lots H-K demonstrate the trends found in the probate analysis.

Archaeological investigations reveal similar trends in the maintenance of lithic technology in 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup>-century Nipmuc households. In their 2014 article, “Continuity of Lithic Practice at the Eighteenth-through Nineteenth-Century Nipmuc Homestead of Sarah Boston, Grafton, Massachusetts,” Bagley et al. argue that stone tools, like mortars and pestles, recovered from a late 18<sup>th</sup> early 19<sup>th</sup>-century kitchen midden, were used alongside recovered historic ceramics, representing connections to deep histories for the Nipmuc

residents of the site (Bagley et al. 2014:179). For both Native and African American families, the possession of European-made items mixed with more culturally indicative objects reinforces the intentionally Native foodway practices in a space where the dynamic forces of colonialism dictated the adoption of predominate foodway trends.

Such a range of lithic objects at the Boston-Higginbotham House, in combination with the locally-made Native ceramics, suggests Thankful Micah maintained space in her kitchen and her foodways repertoire for tools that have been used by Native people in Southern New England for thousands of years (Bagley et el. 2014:179).

### **Significance**

These findings critically illustrate Indigenous perseverance in 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century Nantucket. While colonial and capitalistic forces sought to homogenize the Boston family racially, the Bostons procured, prepared, and consumed meals expressing their mixed-race tastes. In doing so, the Boston family intentionally communicated their Native American and African American heritage.

Thus, the implications of the continuous reproduction of such diversified foodway choices at the Boston-Higginbotham House are best understood through the theoretical concept of hybridity. Hybridity in this research is used to highlight the agency of Indigenous women and how their culture persisted even when they intermarried with people of African descent and adopted European goods, foods, and activities. Discussion of foodways in this chapter encompasses the Boston family's food procurement, preparation, and consumption to argue that the reliance on domesticated mammals as their primary source of meat, the intermittent supplementing of their diet with wild game, the utilization of Native American

food preparation tools, and the adoption of Anglicized table settings suggests hybridized foodways that reflected all aspects of identity at the site.

## **Hybridity**

In historical archaeology, hybridity describes the processes by which two or more colonized or subaltern groups developed new practices, identities, or material objects (Bhabha 1994; Liebmann 2013, 2015). Hybridity recognizes how the colonized or subaltern adopt and adapt the ways of their colonizers and other subaltern beings to formulate something new, allowing them to persist, particularly outside of colonial institutions (Liebmann 2013). Hybridity affords an understanding of how the inherent power imbalance of colonialism necessarily led colonized groups to reformulate certain practices to persist strategically. The Homi Bhabha argues that:

“[H]ybridization is not some happy, consensual mix of diverse cultures; it is the strategic, translational transfer of tone, value, signification, and position— a transfer of power— from an authoritative system of cultural hegemony to an emergent process of cultural relocation and reiteration that changes the very terms of interpretation and institutionalization, opening up contesting, opposing, innovative, “other” grounds of subject and object formation” (Bhabha 1994 as quoted in Liebmann 2013:31).

The Boston family lived during a time when chattel slavery remained an integral part of the United States society economy, as well as the continued dispossession and oppression of Native American people. Living under such domineering colonial forces, colonized peoples had to persist in spaces where the diversity of peoples allowed for the transfer of significant aspects of culture, identity, and practices (Liebmann 2013). Scholars have termed such places of diverse interactions as “pluralistic spaces,” foci where multiple racial, ethnic, and cultural identities exist and intermixed (Lightfoot et al. 1998; Mrozowski 2010; Deagan 2013; Hayes 2013). In these pluralistic spaces, discrete entities like practices or material culture are combined and transformed to create something new. However, these discrete

entities need not be pure. Instead, they must possess inherent “differences” holding hybrid potential (Card 2013:9; Silliman 2013:489; Liebmann 2015:323). According to Liebmann’s assessment of hybridity, one of the most significant aspects of hybrid practice is resistance, particularly resistance to dominant colonial forces, which often seek to suppress Indigenous forms (Liebmann 2015:323). However, such resistance came in the form of utilizing the material items available to them, which may have been identical to what colonists used; regardless, Indigenous identity can be seen through this shared materiality (Silliman 2014:67).

Before their marriage, both Thankful Micah and Seneca Boston experienced situations in which aspects of their traditional cultural practices became mixed with the practices of the colonizers under which they labored. As a fifth-generation Wampanoag woman on Nantucket, raised under colonial missionary rule, the potential for Thankful Micah to have been indentured in the home of an English family on the island would have required her to reproduce English food preparation and cooking, becoming central to her worldview. None of these interactions and learned practices made Thankful Micah any less Native American.

Historical and archaeological studies of Native Americans in New England emphasize the persistence and continued presence of these populations in the region through the adoption of practices that did not necessarily look Native American to outsiders (Bragdon 1986; Nicholas 2002; Cipolla et al. 2007; Silliman 2010, 2014; Mrozowski et al. 2015; Gould et al. 2020). Silliman argues that Indigenous communities’ adoption of new practices does not negate their Indigeneity but allows for the persistence of explicitly Native identity (Silliman 2005, 2010, 2014). Thus, studies of Indigeneity cannot place a false dichotomy



between what was considered English vs. Native. Instead, by understanding that the overarching colonial structures and power relations did not deny indigenous agencies, intentions, resistances, or traditions, we see these adoptions as a means of Indigenous people changing to stay the same (Silliman 2005:63; 2014:70). This thesis calls attention to continued influence of Indigenous practice at the Boston-Higginbotham House by highlighting food and artifacts that are definitively Native American despite being blended with and altered by their mixture with European and African practices and objects.

Therefore, hybridity in this context denies the binary classifications of strict racially associated lifeways by making room for the prior influences of Anglo practices adopted by Thankful Micah and Seneca Boston. Understanding the Bostons as denying binary classifications highlights the Homi Bhabha's idea of a "third space," which acknowledges how hybridizing interactions often consisted of differing degrees of concentration of the original entities (Bhabha 1994). The notion of a third space allows for the concurrent influence of Anglo, African, and Indigenous cultural practices on all individuals existing within the colonial setting of Nantucket. The third space for foodways at the Boston-Higginbotham House leaves room for the influence of learned English provisioning practices.

Together, the experiences of enslavement and indentured servitude show how Thankful Micah and Seneca Boston had already adapted to colonial changes and were most likely already eating similar meals to those who indentured and enslaved them, meaning they brought varied notions regarding Anglo foodways into their home. Instead, Thankful Micah's ability to express her Native identity through foodways was an act of resistance. Thankful Micah actively asserted her Native identity in which the continued presentation of Native American foodways practices at the Boston-Higginbotham House was intentional and

political; Native American culture actively contributed to the racial politics of the New Guinea community.

In their analyses of hybridized realities for Indigenous peoples in pluralistic spaces, Silliman and Mrozowski link their arguments to contemporary Native people's struggles for political recognition and independence. Cacchione linked the presence of Indigeneity at the Boston-Higginbotham House to the need to counter historical narratives of Native American disappearance. However, Cacchione (2018, 2019) confined Thankful Micah's Indigeneity to her home. In contrast, Nantucket's probate and marriage records demonstrate that Thankful Micah was not alone in her Indigenous influence in her home and community. Other Native and African American households on the island were raising strong, independent mixed-race children whose Indigenous heritage held immense power in gaining resources for their community.

In 1822, two of Seneca's brothers, Essex Boston, and Peter Boston, along with new Guinea businessman Jeffrey Summons, wrote to the Society for Propagating the Gospel Among Indians and Others in North America in hopes of attaining funds for education based on the continued presence of Indigenous people in their community. Their letter states, "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" (Bulger 2013: 8-9; Cacchione 2018:63). Thus, for the Boston-Higginbotham House and New Guinea, the presence of Indigeneity was explicitly political as the colonial agenda sought to eliminate them from a racial standpoint. Understanding Indigenous persistence on Nantucket also defies scholarly and local narratives that argue "The disappearance of the Nantucket's indigenous population can be attributed to various

pernicious practices of the English settlers...leading inevitably to failure of the Wampanoags' traditional way of life" (Karttunen 2005:22), and such publications as Larry Jones' book *The Last Indians Of Nantucket Island* which lays out the history and expulsion of the Indians of Nantucket.

### **Alternative Interpretations**

This research has interpreted the Boston-Higginbotham House faunal material to indicate hybridized foodways. Previous analyses of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century faunal assemblage from the site have offered alternative interpretations. For example, Way's (2010) foodways analysis of the 2008 HHAP collection found that the Bostons possessed foodways that reinforced their African American identity. Structured by a combination of market availability and home raising, in which no wild animals were consumed, Way's analysis understood the Bostons' consumption of cuts of beef, veal, mutton, lamb, and pork as creating and maintaining their middle-class status (Way 2010:123). Moreover, Way argues the presence of turtle in the Boston-Higginbotham House assemblage demonstrates connections Afro-Caribbean cuisine. Although Way (2010) attributes the turtle bones to African American dietary preferences, the same species of turtles were recovered at the Sarah Boston Farmstead. Therefore, turtle in should be seen to represent hybrid cuisine, equally reflecting Native influence in the hybridized Boston-Higginbotham House foodways.

Thus, the two rabbit left ulnar fragments recovered from Lot O may represent the same for Mary Boston Douglass's household. Turtle and rabbit at the Boston-Higginbotham House may reflect the community-wide African American identity; and negotiated foodways practices incorporating multiple cultural tastes at the site.

## **Implications**

First, this study implies how documentary and archaeological data from Nantucket reveal Indigenous persistence on the island in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in defiance of racist and colonial circumstances encouraging their erasure. Second, this research highlights how colonial dynamics led to the emergence of a racial color line, which impacted how people of color held on to culture in New Guinea. Such dynamics led to hybridizing interactions with those of different ethnic heritage, establishing new cultural conditions in connection to and perpetuating community persistence. Next, using the theoretical concept of hybridity to understand the foodways at the Boston-Higginbotham House this research highlighted how the preferences, influenced by ethnic and cultural factors, demonstrate the varied subsistence practices employed by Thankful Micah at 27 York Street. Thus, the food and material choices reveal connections to Indigenous culture in a Diasporic community. For Thankful Micah, foodways were an intentional act of preserving identity, a reminder and incorporation of Indigeneity into the dynamic “colored” identity in the Boston Higginbotham House and New Guinea more broadly.

Finally, this research is significant because it highlights a long and continued Indigenous presence in a place where contemporary Indigenous people lack recognition, unlike the federally recognized Wampanoag groups at Gay Head (Aquinnah) on Martha’s Vineyard and at Mashpee on Cape Cod. For Nantucket, the Wampanoag mostly moved to reside in these communities in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Karttunen 2005). However, the evidence put forward in this thesis shows they persisted on the island during colonial encounters and were essential to the history of Nantucket for centuries.

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSION

Both Native Americans and African Americans faced the dynamics of colonialism and its inherent racism in 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century New England. For Native Americans, these dynamics began with genocide and forced relocation to “praying towns” and, for Black folk, throughout the diaspora, enslavement. On Nantucket, persisting under these systems of oppression necessitated that Native American and African American populations unify. Finding power in their exclusion from white colonial society, Native and African Americans on Nantucket established the New Guinea community, a pluralistic space, where identity could be communicated outside prescribed colonial racial classifications.

This thesis has emphasized how Indigenous people persisted in Nantucket’s New Guinea community in defiance of historical narratives claiming their disappearance. This thesis’s documentary and archeological data have underscored how the Nantucket Wampanoag population adopted and adapted to specific subsistence and land-use changes. Furthermore, this research has highlighted how the Wampanoag adjusted to the arrival of enslaved Africans and African Americans on the island. Coming to engage through the context of their labor, the island’s Native and African American populations relied on one

another economically to get by. Thus, working within and against the colonial systems that controlled them, Nantucket's people of color unified, finding power in their shared exclusion.

For the Boston family, their prominent Native and African American heritage transcended colonially imposed racial categorization of their community. In studying the Native American and African American Boston family, hybridity allowed this research to fully understand the persistence, transformation, and adaptation of traditions in their home. Such hybridity, part of a conscious process of mixing, created new traditions that came to include different ideas and practices, mirroring what Hunn (1993) has noted for other pluralistic sites, that newly developed traditions “fit into a complex fabric of existing traditional practices and understandings... [allowing them to become] enduring adaptations” at the Boston-Higginbotham House (Hunn 1993 in Russell 2022:180).

At the Boston-Higginbotham House, food became a tradition that reproduced Indigeneity and African American identity. The kitchen of 27 York Street became a space where the Thankful Micah and Seneca Boston could prepare meals that included flavors from all aspects of their cultural identities. The faunal data indicates that the Bostons both home-raised animals and engaged the market economy to acquire specific cuts of meat. The probate records encourage such an interpretation by demonstrating Wampanoag households' widespread ownership of cattle and swine in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Wild taxa like deer, fowl, and a range of fish species demonstrate that the Boston family incorporated a variety of meat sources into their diet. These species, in conjunction with the Native ceramics and food preparation tools, establish the hybridization of traditional Indigenous foodways with the English-style tableware and consumption vessels found in Lots H-K. The presence of such food preparation items suggests they were being used to

prepare meals that reflect one of Richard Wilk's tenants in *Home Cooking in the Global Village*, that "Tastes people learn in childhood are mentally and physically connected with important emotions and memories" (Wilk 2006:122). For Thankful Micah, the selective incorporation of wild animals and utilization of Indigenous food preparation tools in her foodways maintained such connections to her childhood and reproduced culture to keep a sense of community and belonging on her ancestral land. Furthermore, by preparing meals like mock turtle, Thankful Micah and Seneca Boston signaled their broad culinary knowledge and socio-political ability to engage with foodways traditions rooted in Afro-Caribbean practices.

In the previous chapter, similarities between the foodways at the Sarah Boston Farmstead and the Boston-Higginbotham House showed that both household diets relied heavily on beef and pork. The comparison also showed that both households incorporated wild taxa into their diets, with deer, rabbit, and fish supplementing the home-raised and market-purchased meat sources. Similarly, lithic objects and Native-made ceramics at the Sarah Boston Farmstead and the Boston-Higginbotham House indicated that Sarah and Thankful prepared meals with tools reflective of their Indigenous heritage. The ceramic assemblages from the two sites demonstrated a reliance on individually portioned meals, with quantities of ceramic and glass vessels indicating meals would have been shared with their wider communities (Pezzarossi 2008). Based upon the similarities between the two sites, interpretations of the Boston-Higginbotham House that dismiss Indigeneity do a disservice to Thankful Micah and her legacy.

Because Thankful Micah is the only late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup>-century Indigenous woman for whom we have archaeological data, she becomes critical in the discussion surrounding

how Native people persisted on the island well into the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The approach put forward in this work has foregrounded how Native women like Thankful Micah were critical social actors in the past. This study engendered the past by recognizing the racist and androcentric bias in the creation of the archival and archaeological records. Based on the evidence from the probate inventories, Native women came to own real estate and material wealth on the island in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Moreover, as whaling brought more men of color to Nantucket, the industry's long contracts necessitated women take on more duties, leading their household in the absence of their husbands. In doing so, Thankful and the other Native women residing in New Guinea reproduced Indigenous practices for their children.

New Guinea residents were cognizant of their Indigenous heritage and wished to evoke that Indigeneity to support their community when necessary. While scholarship needs to acknowledge the current political agenda of the Museum of African American History and how its interpretation of the property at 27 York Street is situated in Black politics, it cannot negate the presence of Indigeneity. Thankful Micah's presence at the Boston-Higginbotham House is deserving of sufficient engagement.

Therefore, this work has considered how Indigeneity in historically Black spaces can be examined through archaeological and documentary data. By studying food, related activities, and materiality, this thesis has considered how Native American identity at the Boston-Higginbotham House was not as discrete as previously studied. Instead, this thesis acknowledged how Indigeneity contributed to creating something unique at the site.

The implications of this work are how scholars of Indigeneity can use foodways to understand how Indigenous people persist in racialized spaces like New Guinea. Thankful Micah was not alone in her Indigeneity in New Guinea, as evidenced by the probate and



marriage records; other Native women married Black men and would have been negotiating the same preferences in their homes. Therefore, the only way to better contextualize the foodways from the Boston-Higginbotham House is to obtain archaeological evidence from another contemporary mixed-race household on Nantucket. Archaeological data would augment this analysis of hybrid foodways by determining broader community-wide patterns of Indigenous influence in New Guinea. Finally, by emphasizing how Native women on Nantucket persevered by incorporating aspects of their cultural heritage into their daily traditions, this thesis highlights Indigenous women's persistence through the dynamic forces of colonialism in these Diasporic contexts.

APPENDIX

A. PROBATE TRANSCRIPTIONS

**Isaac Codoode 1719 (NCP 1:74)**

Inventory of Isaac Coddodah Estate Deceased

1 hog 152 at 3 <sup>rd</sup> -----	1-18-0
1 coat -----	5-0-0
1 hat-----	0-15-0
1 gown & petticoat----	2-15-0
1 chest -----	0-8-0
20 bushells of corn-----	3-0-0
By Africa in money-----	0-7 -0
	<hr/>
	14-3-0

**Jeremiah Netowa 1727 (NCP 1:129)**

Inventory of the Estate of Jeremiah Netowa

Richard Gardner Esqr Commissioned by his Excellency Samuel Shute Esqr Capt Generall and Governor in Chief in an over his Majesties province of Massachusetts Bay in New England by and with the advice and consent of the Council to be Judge of the probate of wills and for granting letters of Administration on the Estate of persons deceased having good Chattels Rights or Credits in the County of Nantucket within the province aforesd To Joseph Marshall of Sherborn within sd County of Nantucket Cordwainer Greeting whereas Jeremiah Netowa an Indian of Sherborn within sd County of Nantucket weaver deceased having while he lived and at the time of his decease goods chattels rights or credits in the County afore sd lately died interstate whereby the power of committing administration & full disposition of all and singular the goods chattels rights & credits of the sd deceased and also the hearing examining and allowing the accompt of such administration doth appertain unto me Trusting therefore in your Care and fidelity I do by these represents commit unto you full power to administer all and singular the goods chattels rights and credits of the sd Deceased and well and faithfully to dispose of the same according to law and also to ask gather levy Recover & Receive all and whatsoever Credits of the sd Deceased which to him while he lived and at the time of his Death did appertain and to pay all Debts in which the sd Deceased stood bound so far as his goods Chattels Rights and Credits can Extend according to the value thereof and to make a true and perfect Inventory of all & singular the goods Chattels Rights and Credits and to Exhibit ye same into the Registry of the Court of probate for the Country aforesd at or before the fifteenth day of October Next Ensuring and to Render a plain and true accompt of your sd Administration upon Oath at or before the last Day of June with will be in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and twenty Eight and I do herby ordain Constitute and appoint you administrator said In Testimony where of I have here unto set my hand and the seal of the sd Court of probate Dated at Sherborn the thirteenth day of June anno Domini 1727

Eleazer Folger Regr

Richard Gardner

Inventory of the Estate of Jeremiah Netowa

Vizt

One house -----	33 - 0 - 0
One Horse -----	13 - 0 - 0
a pr Looms -----	3 - 0 - 0
warping bars -----	0 - 10 - 0
3 slays and harness	

{No1 4/ No2 /6 No3 8/ }	0	18	0
Quilling wheel 6/ and			
a Spezme (?) 2/6	0	8	6
a linen wheel	0	1	0
a Iron pot and hooks	2	0	0
a quart pot	0	3	0
a frying pan	0	8	0
a Iron Kettle	0	17	0
a bedstead	0	12	0
a half barrel	0	4	0
a woollen Spinning wheel	0	6	0
a Rundlet	0	2	6
a pr Stillyards	0	12	0
a pr Shoes	0	8	0
his woollin Cloths	3	7	0
an ax	0	3	0
a Jugg	0	3	6
a pr bellows	0	4	6
3 Glass bottles	0	(?)	6
a trammel	0	15	0
4 Chairs	0	8	0
4 plank	0	6	0
a wooden harrow	0	2	0
a wooden tray	0	1	0
1 Chest 2/ 1 do 4/	0	6	0
a blanket 10/ 1 Ditto 20/	1	10	0
a hog	0	11	6
48 Spooles	0	2	0
a box	0	1	0
4 ¼ bushels wheat	1	1	3
2 ¼ bushels barley	0	6	9
	66	6	0
His voyage in the spring	11	13	2
	77	19	2

A true Inventory of Jeremy Netowas Estate taken by us the  
 Subscribers     John Swain  
                       John Folger

**Peter Mussaquat 1733 (NCP 1:180)**

To the honourable George Bunker Esqr Judge of Probate &c for the County of Nantucket. We the subscribers Children of Peter Mussaquat late of Nantucket Deceased having well Informed ourselves of the Estate left by the ed Deceased. and also of the Debts Just & Due from sd Estate to several persons to prevent the Charge and trouble that might arise thereon have by our mutual and voluntary Consent and agreement Concluded to divide and order the Same among our selves in Manner following of the Debts which we find to be about fifty pounds we have agreed that Isaac Peterson shall pay about fourty nine pounds and Jonathan Calep in behalf of Hannah his wife one of the Daughters of the sd Deceased about twenty shillings and we have concluded agreed & consented that Isaac shall have the Dwelling house and fence & a Kettle four old Chairs a Chest and bedstead a platter a trammel and two turkies and Hannah the wife of Jonathan Calep shall have a kettle a table an old box tongs

two Chairs a bason a platter Six wooden Spoons and whereas the ad Peter Mussaquat had two grandsons by another Daughter wife of John Dimon who Deceased long since and During his last sickness he gave Peleg 'the Eldest twenty acres of land therefore we pass him by and to the younger of sd Grandsons we give and allow fifteen shillings and this agreement we have made and done with the consent and approbation of Hannah the widow of the sd Deceased and without prejudice of her right of Dower praying it may be Received as a full and final settlement of sd Estate In witness whereof' we have hereunto set our hands and seals the Eighteenth day of' January in the seventh year of' his Majesties Reign Annoque Domini 1733/4

By George Bunker Esqr Judge of Probate On the Eighteenth day of January 1733/4 the above was presented unto me by the Indians above named and having well Considered thereof and not finding any fraud therein or wrong Done to any person do allow the same to 'be a settlement of' sd Estate unless something should hereafter appear that might cause some other or further order thereon

the mark of Hannah the widow the mark of Isaac Peterson the mark of' John Dimon the mark of' Jonathan Calep the mark of' Hannah Calep  
George Bunker Eleazer Folger Reagr

### Peleg Duch 1737 (NCP 2:1-3)

An Inventory of the Estate of Peleg Duch Deceased

To the Dwelling house - - - - -	150	0	0
to 1 Table 20/ Ditto 1 Table 5/ 1 Joynt Stool 10/ - - - - -	1	0	0
to 6 Chairs 15/ to 2 wheels for spinning 20/ - - - - -	1	15	0
to a Reel 8/ to 1 Chest 20/ to a box 4/ - - - - -	1	12	0
to 1 Chest 12/ to a pr of Bellows 10/ - - - - -	1	2	0
to a Spit 15/ to a pair of Andirons 43/ - - - - -	2	18	0
to a fire Shovel 10/ to 1 Trammel 16/ Ditto 1 Trammel 114/ - - - - -	2	0	0
to 1 pot 35/ Ditto 1 Small po't 10/ - - - - -	2	5	0
to a Kettle 15/ Ditto 1 Sma]. Kittle 6/ pair of Stilyards 10/- - - - -	1	11	0
to 2 quart pots 15/ to 3 platters & 2 basons 15/ of the best - - - - -	3	7	6
to 4 basons 1 platter and porrenger 13 1/2 old pewter- - - - -	1	7	0
to 1 Tin Tunnel 2/6 to an Iron Ladle 3/6 a hame 1/- - - - -	0	7	0
to 3 Earthen plates 10/ To 4 Glass beakers 10/ - - - - -	1	0	0
to 2 planes 6/ to an Iron box and heaters 8 - - - - -	0	14	0
to 2 Earthen pots 1/14 to 1 Earthen pan 1/ - - - - -	0	2	4
to 10 wooden Dishes 10/ to 20 Trenchers 3/4 Sugar box 6/ - - - - -	0	19	4
to 2 wooden Ladles & a wooden Skimmer 2/ to I large Trey 1/6 - 0 - 3 - 6	0	3	6
to 6 barrels 25/ to 2 gimblets 1/8 to one bible 12/ - - - - -	1	18	8
to 1 hat 6/ to a Saddle 75/ to a line 7/ to l#powder 4/6 - - - - -	4	12	6
to 1 bedstead 20/ Ditto Small bedstead 4/ - - - - -	1	4	0
to a Small bed and 2 blankets 14-0/ ye bed 7-0-0 with ye pillow - - - - -	9	0	0
to 1 large bed 10-0-0 to a bolster and pillow 20/ - - - - -	11	0	0
to 2 blankets & Coverlet 60/ to 1 bedsted 10/ ditto 1 small bedsted 10/ - - - - -	4	0	0
to 4 barrels and 2 hogsheads 8/ to 20 # feathers 50 to 1 Tray 6/ - - - - -	3	4	0
to 2 Sicles 4/ to a Cart Saddle 5/ to a pair of hames 3/ - - - - -	0	12	0
to (ie ?) Swivels 2/ and a Sturgeon Iron 2/ - - - - -	0	4	0
to 13 1/2 bone at 8/ & Some undivided unto Solomon Sassey - - - - -	5	8	0

to 2 Studding hoes 20/ Ditto 2 hoes 6/ ax 4/ -----	5-8-0
to a horse Cart 4-0-0 to the fencing stuf about the house 4# ----	8-0-0
to Timber and plank 4-0-0 To a hog 40/ horse 40/ -----	8-0-0
	231-11-10
to Cash- -----	10-8-2
	242-0-0
Court Charges Deducted - - - -	2-7-6
	239-12-6
Clear Estate 247-12-6	Andrew Gardner
	Nathaniel Allen
	Ebenr Calef

By George Bunker Judge of Probates

On the second Day of September 1737 Thomas Brock & Daniel Bunker administrators on the Estate of Peleg Duch presented the above Inventory and made oath that it is a true Inventory of said Estate so far as is come to their knowledge and that if more appear hereafter they will cause it to be added.  
 Eleaz Folger Regr George Bunker

George Bunker Esq Commissioned by his Excellency Jonathan Belcher Esqr Capt General and Governor in Chief in & over his Majesties province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England by and with the advice and Consent of the Council to eb Judge of the probate of wills and for granting letters of administration on the Estate of persons Deceased having Goods Chattels Rights or Credits in the County of Nantucket within the province aforesd To Bethiah Duch widow Relief of Peleg Duch late of Sherborn on the Island of Nantucket labourer Deceased and Daniel Bunker and Thomas Brock of Sherborn on Nantucket aforesd Greeting whereas Peleg Duch late of Sherborn on Nantucket aforesd Deceased having while he lived and that the time of his Decease goods Chattels Rights or Credits in the County aforesd lately Died interstate whereby the power of committing administration and full Disposition of all and singular the goods Chattels Rights and Credits of the said Deceased and also the hearing Examining and allowing the accompt of such administration both appertain unto me Trusting therefore in your care and fidelity I do by these presents Commit unto you full power to administer all and singular the good Chattels Rights & Credits of the sd Deceased & faithfully to dispose of the same according to law and also to also gather levy Recover and Receive all and whatsoever Credits of those Deceased which to him while he lived and at the time of his Death Did appertain and to make a true and perfect Inventory of all and singular the goods Chattels Rights and Credits and to Exhibit the same into the Registry of the Court of probate for the County aforesd at or before the tenth Day of July next Ensuring and to Render a plain and true accompt of your sd administration upon oath at or before the tenth day of September which will be in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred & thirty seven and I do herby ordain Constitute & appoint you administrator of all and singular the goods Chattels Rights and Credits aforesd In testimony whereof I have here unto set my hand & seal of the sd Court of probate dated at Sherborn the ninth Day of April Anno Domini 1737 Eleaz Folger Regr George Bunker

To Thomas Brock Distiller & Daniel Bunker yeoman both of Sherborn within the County of Nantucket Greeting Whereas Peleg Duch late of Sherborn within the county of Nantucket Labourer Deceased left four children Minors whereby the power nominating and appointing Guardians for sd Minors both appertain unto me Trusting therefore in your care & fidelity I do herby nominate and appoint you to be Guardians unto the sd Minors with full power and authority for them in their name and to their use to ask and demand due for Recover Receive and take into you possession and custody all and singular such part and portion of Estate whatsoever as both of Right belong and appertain unto sd minors or Either of them by any ways or means whatsoever and to manage Imploy & Improve the same to their Refs profit and advantage during their Minority and to do all and whatsoever May be necessary in and about the premises as fully and effectually as they themselves Might or could do being of full age In Testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and the seal of the Court of

Probate dated as Sherborn May the Twentyeth Anno que Domini 1738 George Bunker Eleaz Folger Regr

Final Admin of Estate (NCP 2:3)

By George Bunker Esqr Judge of Probates

Whereas Peleg Duch late of Sherborn within the County of Nantucket labourer lately Died Intestate and the administrators in his Estate having finished the Inventory and accompt it appears that there Remains of Clear Estate to be Divided to the value of 247-12-6 and there being a widow and five daughter of the sd Deceased I do Hereby order the sd Estate to be Divided among them in manner following The widow shall have the third part of the Real Estate During her life which amount to And the third part of the personal Estate for Even amounting to

In the whole

And the five daughters shall Each of them have

Which amounts in the whole to

The Remaining parts of the Estate and at the Decease of their mother- her part of the Real Estate shall be divided Equally between the sd five daughters or those that legally Represent them

And I do order that this Shall be a final settlement of sd Estate Leaving to any one aggrieved their Right of appeal to the Governour and Council In Testimony hereof I have hereunto set my hand and the seal of the Court of Probate Dated at Sherborn the Twentyeth Day of May 1738

Eleazr Folger Regr      George Bunker

**Isaac Mussaquat 1738 (NCP 2:45)**

George Bunker Esqr Commissioned by his Excellency Jonathan Belcher Esqr Capt General and governour in Chief in and over his Majesties province of the Massachusetts Bay in new England by and with the advice and consent of the Council To be Judge of the probate of wills and for granting Letters of Administration on the Estates of persons Deceased having Goods Chattels Rights or Credits in the County of Nantucket within the Province aforesd To all unto whom these presents shall Come Greeting.

Know ye that upon the day of the Date hereof before me at Sherborn in ye County aforesd the will of Isaac Mussaquat late of Sherborn in the County of Nantucket sachem Deceased to these presents annexed was proved approved & allowed who having while he lived and at the time of his death goods, chattels Rights or Credits in the county aforesd and the probate of the sd will and power of Committing administration of all and singular the goods Chattels Rights and Credits of the sd Deceased by virtue thereof appertaining unto me the administration of all and singular the goods Chattels Rights and Credits of the sd Deceased and his will in any Manner Concerning is hereby Committed unto Hannah Mosaquat Executor in the same will named or Implied well and faithfully to Execute the sd will and to administer the Estate of the said Deceased according thereunto and to make a true and perfect Inventory of all & Singular the goods Chattels Rights and Credits of the sd Deceased and to Exhibit the same unto the Registry of the Court of probate for the County afoersd at or before the first day of November Next Insuring and also to Render a plain and true accompt of her sd Administration upon oath

In Testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and the seal of the sd Court of probate Dated at Sherborn the first Day of September Anno Domini 1738

Eleazr Folger Regr      George Bunker

The Last Will and Testament of Isaac Mosaquat Indian of Myohcomet vil To my wife Hannah I give twenty acres of land to be at her disposal During her natural life and that out of my other Estate my sd wife shall pay my debts the which being paid my will is that my son Isaac be the sole heir to the Remainder of my Estate and to the twenty acres given to my wife after her Decease

And I hereby ban my son & heir from selling the land or any part of it thus given him

In witness whereof I hereunto sign and seal this second day of July Anno Dom 1738 and in the Twelvth year of the Reign of King George the Second

Witness  
Benjamin Teshame  
Solomon Hosues  
John F Potter

The mark and seal of Isaac Mosauit

I Commit my son to the Guardianship of John Coffin Esqr & Benjamin Tashame  
Nantucket Sept 1: 1738

Then personally appeared Ben Tashame and Solomon .... Of the witness to the within written will before me the subscriber and Testified that they saw John Potter sign it as witness and that they saw the sd Isaac Mosaquat sign as his last will and that he was at the time of a disposing mind according to their judgement

Elazr Folger Regr

George Bunker Judge of Probate

Know all men by these presents that I Isaac Mussaquat a minor about Eighteenth years of age and son of Isaac Mussaquat late of Sherborn on sd Island of Nantucket in New England Sachem Decd Have Nominated and Chosen and do hereby Nominate Make Choose of & depute Hannah my Mother to be my Guardian with full power and authority for me in my name and to my use to ask demand sue for Recover Receive and take into her possession & Custody all and singular such part and portion of Estate whatsoever as doth of Rights belong and appertain unto me sd minor by virtue of the last will and Testament of my father or by any other manner of ways or Means whatsoever & to Manage and Imploy and Improve the same unto my best profit & advantage during my Minority and to do all and whatsoever may be necessary in and about the premises as fully and Effectually as I my self might or could do being of full age praying that she may be accordingly accepted in the same power and trust witness my hand and seal hereunto set the Nineteenth day of March Annoque Domini 1741/2

Sealed & delivered

Isaac Mussaquat

In presence of

Caleb Bunker

Zechariah Hays

By George Bunker Esqr Judge of Probate & The above named Isaac Mussaquat personally appeared before me and acknowledged the above written letter of Guardianship to be his act and Deed which upon his desire I do approve March e Nineteenth 1741/2 George Bunker

Eleazr Folger Regr

### **Mattakachame Micah 1740 (NCP 2:34-36)**

George Bunker Esqr Commissioned by his Excellency Jonathan Belcher Esqr Capt General & Governour in Chief and over his Majesties province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England by and with the advice and consent of the Council to be Judge of the probate of wills and for granting letter of administration on the Estates of person Deceased having Goods Chattels Rights or Credits in the County of Nantucket within the province aforesd

To Jonathan Micah of Sherborn within the County of Nantucket labourer Greeting

Whereas your late father Micah of Sherborn on Nantucket and province aforesd labourer Deceased having while he lived and at the time of his Decease Goods Chattel Rights or Credits in the County aforesd lately dyed Intestate whereby the power of committing administration and full Disposition of all and singular the goods Chattels Rights & Credits of the sd Deceased and also the hearing Examining and allowing the accompt of such administration doth appertain unto me Trusting therefore in your care and fidelity I do by these presents commit unto you full power to administer all and singular the goods Chattels Rights and Credits of the sd deceased and well and faithfully to Dispose of the same according to law and also to ask gather levy Recover and Receive all and whatsoever Credit of the sd Deceased which to him while he lived and at the time of his Death did appertain and to pay all Debts in which the sd Deceased stood bound so far as the goods Chattels Rights Credits can Extend according to the value thereof and to make a true and perfect Inventory of all and singular the Goods Chattels Rights and Credits and to Exhibit the same into the Registry of the

Court of probate for the County aforesd at or before the third day of October next Ensuing and to Render a plain and true accompt of your sd administration upon oath at or before the tenth day of November which will be in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred & fourty and I do herby ordain constitute and appoint administrator of all and singular the goods Chattels Rights and Credits aforesd In Testimony whereof I have hereto set my hand and the seal of the sd Court of probate Dated at Sherborn the fifth Day of September Anno Domini 1740

Eleazr Folger Regr      George Bunker

Nantucket ye first of ye 8 mo 1740

An accompt of Sundry Goods taken and aprised by us the Subscribers belonging to the Estate of Mattakachame Micah an Indian lately Deceased. shewn to us by the Widdow of Sd Micah and. Jonathan her son, apprised as followeth

To one Iron Pot - - - - -	2-2-0
to on pr pot hooks - - - - -	0-4-0
to one Trammel - - - - -	0-18-0
to 2 hoes - - - - -	0-3-0
to 1 Ditto - - - - -	0-9-0
to 1 Carpenters adds - - - - -	0-8-0
to 1 hand Saw - - - - -	0-12-0
to 1 Stone pessel - - - - -	0-10-0
to 3 plain Stocks - - - - -	0-2-0
to 1 Iron Square alias piece - - - - -	0-3-0
to 1 piece Drawing Knife - - - - -	0-1-0
to 1 Great Coat - - - - -	3-0-0
to 1 Table - - - - -	0-5-0
to 1 Doz Trenchers - - - - -	0-1-0
to 1 Covered - - - - -	0-12-0
to 1 pr old looms & furniture - - - - -	4-0-0
to broad ax & hatchet - - - - -	0-15-0
to 1 large stubho - - - - -	0-16-0
to 1 Do Smaller - - - - -	0-8-0
to 2 quart bottles - - - - -	0-1-0
to old Iron - - - - -	0-6-0
to 2 Spike Gimolets - - - - -	0-2-0
to trowel 1/ & to 2 Chisels 2/ - - - - -	0-3-0
to 1 wheat sive - - - - -	0-2-0
to 1 Reell - - - - -	0-2-0
to 1 meal trough - - - - -	0-4-0
to 1 bag 2/6 3 sickles at 7/ - - - - -	0-9-6
to 8 old Cask at 16/ Ditto 2 new at 16/- - - - -	1-12-0
to 1 Smal bedstead - - - - -	0-4-0
to 12 ½ bushels oats - - - - -	2-10-0
to 1 pr hames & traces - - - - -	0-4-0
to 1 old Colash - - - - -	2-0-0
to Colash Saddle Collar & hames - - - - -	0-9-0
to Crib an old one - - - - -	0-18-0
to old Sith mounted 10/ D <sup>o</sup> pitch fork 2/6 plow 15/ - - - - -	1-7-6
to 1 trundle bedstead 16/ to grindstone 24/ - - - - -	1-14-0
to 1 hog 30/ to 1 horse at 15-a-o - - - - -	16-10-0
to old towwarp - - - - -	0-13-0



to 1 ladder 30/ Rails 50/ ----- 4-0-0  
to Rye 48/ to Corn Growing 10-0-0 wheat barley 13/ 13-1-0  
to house that he dwelt in ----- 95-0-0  
Carried over 157-2-3  
To 2 Chairs ----- 0-7-0  
To 9 trenchers & 2 plates wood----- 0-2-4  
to 4 Spoons & 2 ladles----- 0-1-6  
to one Iron Trammel at ----- 0-16-0  
to 1 Kettle at ----- 0-10-0  
to 1 hoe at ----- 0-5-0  
to bedstead----- 0-15-0  
2-16-10

The above being apprizd by us the Subscribers

Nathan Coffin  
Barnb Colman  
Richard Mitchel

The accompt of Jonathan Micah of Sherborn on Nantucket Indian labourer administrator on the Estate of Micah an Indian late Sherborn in the County of Nantucket labourer Deceased as follows  
The Sd accomptant chargeth him with all and. Singular the goods Chattels Rights and. Credits of the Sd. Deceased Specified in an Inventory thereof made and Exhibited into the Registry of the Court of probate

amounting as by Sd Inventory appears to the Sum of - - - 159-19-1  
Item with 12 1/4 yards of cloth since discovered 4-5-9  
164-4-10

And prays allowance of the Sevrall Charges & disbursements as follows

To Bethiah Barker a Debt 6-15-8  
To John Coleman 12-2-9  
To John Swain 4-4-0  
To Jeremiah Gardner 2-2-5  
To Barnabas Coleman 1-16-6  
To Nathan Coffin 1-0-0  
To Richard Mitchel 1-0-0  
To Jonathan Micah 4-0-0  
To funeral Charges to Deceased 3-9-0  
36-10-4

X the mark of Jonathan Micah

Whereas the Estate of Micah an Indian late of Nantucket Deceased remains to be settled and finished and the Inventory and accompt having been brought in amounting in the whole all Charges deducted unto 127-14-6 and there being but one son left I do order it to be divided in the names following  
The widow shall have the third part of the Real Estate During her life beside a third part of the personal Estate for Ever while 1-18-2 and the Son Jonathan Micah Shall have all the Residue of the Estate and after his mother Decease the whole of the Real Estate for Ever In Testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and the seal of the Court of probate Dated at Sherborn December 5<sup>th</sup> 1740  
Eleazr Regr George Bunker

**Ben Abel 1744 (NCP 2:77-79)**

An Inventory of the personal Estate of Ben Abel Indian of Sherborn Deceased

To Great Coat ----- 4-10-0  
to 1 Flanning jacket ----- 0-15-0  
to 1 shirt----- 1-8-0  
to 1 thick Jacket----- 1-18-0

to 1 thick pr briches- ----- 1-0-0  
 to 1 pr mens Shooes ----- 0-13-0  
 to 1 old blanket- ----- 0-11-0  
 to 1 D° almost new- ----- 2-8-0  
 to 3 wooden Dishes- ----- 0-6-0  
 to 1 old hat- ----- 0-3-0  
 to 1 Saddle- ----- 4-0-0  
 to 1 pewter quart pot- ----- 0-3-0  
 to 1 Iron pot ----- 0-17-0  
 to 1 Trammel- ----- 0-18-0  
 to 1 Lamp- ----- 0-4-0  
 to 1 Colash without wheels- ----- 0-10-0  
 to 1 ----- 12-0-0  
 to 3 boards- ----- 0-9-0  
 to 1 Chest- ----- 1-0-0  
 to 1 bedstead- ----- 0-16-0  
 to 1 D°- ----- 0-5-0  
 to 1 old barril- ----- 0-5-0  
 to 1 old hatchet & some old Iron- --- 0-5-0  
 to 4 old Dishes- ----- 0-2-0  
 to 1 old hammer 1/6 & 2 powder horns 1/0- -- 0-2-6  
 to 1 old table 5/1 ladle /6- ----- 0-5-6  
 to 3 old Chairs 1/6 1 Stubhoe 12/0- --- 0-13-6  
 to 1 Earthen pot 1/ alias pitcher- ----- 0-1-0  
 to 1 Corn hoe 8/ Joynt Stool 1/ ----- 0-9-0  
 to 1 old Chest Ditto- ----- 0-5-0  
 to some feathers- ----- 0-5-0  
 to 1 old stub hoe D°- ----- 0-5-0  
 to some old fencing stuff- ----- 1-15-0  
 to 93 new posts at-1/10- ----- 8-10-6  
 to a hundred ¾ & ten Rails at -5-12-0- -- 21-9-0  
 to Cash with John Macy 19-3-6 D° 20/ 20-3-6  
 89-12-6

The above Inventory by us the Subscribers being taken and the Above Goods apprizd according to the best of our Judgements 12m 1744 Peter Barnard Zephaniah Coffin By George Gardner Judge of Probate April 3 1745 Barnabas Coleman appeared and Testified on the penalty of Perjury that the above is a true Inventory of the estate of Ben Abel Decd So much as is Come to his hands & knowledge that if more appears hereafter he will cause it to be added

Eleazr Folger Regr                      George Gardner

Whereas I have taken on my left the Goods within Inventoried of the Estate of Ben Abel Deceased as also the paying of the Debts of sd Deceased so far as his Estate already Come to light will do is I do therefore pray this Courts allowance of the same as also if any other Debts shall here after appear against sd Estate together with my own Charge and Trouble

Cash paid the appraisers              1-0-0

To what I paid for bringing down the goods      0-10-0

To my labour & trouble 5-0-0

The Creditors demands are as followeth on Ben Abel Estate

Jeo      30-9-0

Jos Roach      18-13-6

Eben Barnard      3-1-0

Peter Gardner      0-5-0

To John Hunter 0-10-0  
 To John Way 0-5-0  
 Sam Gardner Debt is 8-17-0  
 Jonathan Russel 1-4-3  
 John Beard 1-2-6  
 Eben Calef 1-1-0  
 Nathan Coleman 0-6-6  
 Jonathan Gardner 0-10-6  
 Bar Coleman 1-8-0  
 Micah Coffin 1-3-0  
 D: Smith 1-3-0  
 Daniel Long 0-5-0  
 Rober Evyer 1 -10-0  
 97-10-8  
 To Paul Starbuck 0-15-0  
 98-5-8  
 To Abigail Folger 0-4-0  
 98-9-8

By George Gardner Judge of Probate April 5: 1744 Barnabas Coleman appeared and solemnly  
 Declared that the above is a true accompt so too as he has proceeded in is which I allow of  
 Eleazr Folger Regr George Gardner

George Gardner Esq Judge of the probate of wills & for the County of Nantucket  
 To Barnabas Coleman administrator on the Estate of Ben Abel an Indian late of Nantucket Deceased  
 Whereas the Inventory of the Estate of the sd Deceased amounts all Charges first Deducted to 80-8-9  
 and the Debts comes to 98-9-8 you are hereby ordered and directed to pay out the several Creditors 0-  
 16-3 on the pound 2 on the shilling Being Near the true proportion and the Dwelling house of the sd  
 Deceased you are hereby directed to let out at the best Rate you can and the Income thence [urifing]  
 to pay out to the sd Creditors in proportion to their Credits In whereof I have hereunto let my hand  
 and the seal of the Court of probate dated July the 22 Anno 1745  
 Eleazr Folder Regr George Gardner

**Joshua Mammock 1747 (NCP 2:128)**

Nantucket the 2<sup>rd</sup> 12<sup>th</sup> m 1747

The following Inventory being taken of the Estate of Joshua Mammock, Indian Late of Nantucket  
 Deceased by us the Subscribers--

To one plow and Irons- ----- 4-0-0  
 To 2 pair irons ditto old- ----- 2-0-0  
 To one old Calash- ----- 2-10-0  
 To Cross bar- ----- 1-18-0  
 To 1 narrow ax- ----- 0-10-0  
 To 1 hatchet- ----- 0-4-0  
 To 1 Scyth and Sneed- ----- 0-12-0  
 To 1 Whifel Tree- ----- 0-4-0  
 To 1 Hammer ----- 0-5-0  
 To Sundry things of old irons ----- 2-0-0  
 To 2 Leads Weight 2 ½ #- ----- 0-6-0  
 To 1 Grinding Stone and Wench- ----- 1-0-0  
 To 1 pair fire tongs and Shovel- ----- 0-10-0  
 To 2 file 2- ----- 0-2-0  
 To 1 Stub hoe new Laid 15/ Ditto 1 10/- ----- 1-5-0



Barnabas Coleman administrator to said Estate

Eleazr Folger Regr

By Jeremiah Gardner Esqr Judge of Probate & for the County of Nantucket where sd Joshua Mamuk and Indian late of Nantucket deceased has left an Estate which by the Inventory all Charges Deducted amount unto

58-18-2 and the Debts of the sd Deceased amount unto 101-8-3

Which comes to six pence three farthings nearest on the shilling or Eleven shillings & three pence on the pound which the administrator on sd Estate is herby in that proportion to pay to the several creditors of the sd Deceased In whereof I have hereunto set my hand and the seal of the Court of probate Dated at Sherborn on Nantucket March ye 25<sup>th</sup> 1749

Eleazr Folger Jerh Gardner

**Titus Mamuk (NCP 2:103)**

Jeremiah Gardner Esqr commissioned by his Excellency William Shirley Esqr capt General all and Governour in Chief in and over his Majesties province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England by and with the advice and consent of the Council to be judge of the probate of Wills and for Granting letters of Administration on the Estates of persons deceased having Goods Chattels Rights or Credits in the County of Nantucket within the province aforesd

To Micah Coffin of Sherborn in the County of Nantucket yeoman Greeting

Whereas Titus Mamuk of Sherborn in the County labourer deceased having while he lived at the time of his Decease good Chattels Rights or Credits in the County aforesd lately Died Intestate whereby the power of committing administration & full Disposition of all and singular the Goods Chattels Rights and Credits of the sd Deceased and also the hearing Examining & allowing the accompt of such administration doth apper—tain unto me Trusting therefore in your care and fidelity I do by these presents commit unto you full power to administer all and singular the goods Chattels Rights and Credits of the sd Deceased and well and faithfully to Dispose of the same according to law and also to ask gather levy Recover and Receive all and whatsoever Credits of the said Deceased which to him while he lived and at the time of his Death did appertain & to pay all debts in which the sd Deceased stood bound so far as his Good Chattels Rights and Credits can Extend according to the value thereof and to make a true and perfect Inventory of all and singular the Goods Chattels Rights and Credits & to Exhibit the Same into the Registry of the Court of Probate for the County aforesd at or before the first Day in March next Ensuring and to Render a plain and true accompt of your said year of our Lord One Thousand Seven hundred and fourty Eight and I do hereby ordain Constitute and appoint you administrator of all and singular the goods Chattels Rights and Credits aforesd In Testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and the seal of the said Court probate Dated at Sherborn the sixth Day of November Annoque Domini 1747

Eleazr Folger Regr

Jerh Gardner

**James Codode Inventory 1748 (NCP 2:106, 109, 110)**

An Inventory of the personal Estate belonging to James Codode of late Deceased at Sherborn on Nantucket April ye 5 1748 apprizd by Thomas Jenkins & Bethuel Gardner in Money old tenor

1 bed and bolster 19-2-0 bedstead and curtain rods 70s	22, 12, 0
a pair blue curtains 57s/ 1 large platter 44s/	5, 1, 0
1 Small Good platter 25s/ and old Deep platter 24/9	2, 9, 9
1 large Bason 44s/ a Small bason & 2 plates 30/	3, 14, 0
3 Spoons 3s/ a warming pan 50s/ Maple Table 90s/	7, 3, 0
1 pewter quart 20s/ 1 stone mug 5/ and Iron Skillet 5/	1, 10, 0
a felt Hat 15s/ candlestick 2/6 Glass bottle 2/6	1, 0, 0
a looking Glass 30/ flesh fork 8/ 2 Ink jugs 3/	2, 1, 0
a lamp 4/6 a large wooden Tray 8/ Ditto 1 pecked 4/	0, 16, 6
a long Dish 1/6 2 Round ones Ditto 1/6 wood Spoons 1/6,	0, 4, 6
a ladle and Skimmers 3/2 milk pans 5s/ Stone pot 7/6	0, 15, 6

a pair bellows 15s/ a pair tongs 25/ Shovel 5/	2, 5, 0
2 low Chairs 14/3 three back Chairs 36/ a white Chest 55/	5, 5, 0
a Clock Reel 25s/ a Great Chair 20/ a large pot old 35/	4, 0, 0
a Churn 5/ an old table 10s/ a pair of AnIrons 70s/	4, 5, 0
a Lignum vita Morter 50/ Iron Spit 20s	3, 10, 0
1/2 a morticing ax 12/6 Ivory headed cane 20s	1, 12, 6
a Stone Pestle 8/ a linnen wheel 20 old ax 10s	1, 18, 0
one cow	18, 0, 0
	88, 2, 9

Thos Jenkins

Bethuel Gardner

April ye 4th 1748 the above Inventory was taken on oath before me Jerh Gardner

Jeremiah Gardner Esqr Commissioned by his Excellency William Shirley Esqr Capt general and Governour in Chief in and over his Majesties province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England by and with the advice and Consent of the council to be Judge of the probate of wills and for granting letters of administration on the Estates of persons Deceased having Goods Chattels Rights or Credits in the County of Nantucket within the province aforesd

To Margaret Caudoode and Abigail Folger both of Sherborn in the county of Nantucket Greeting Whereas Caudoode an Indian late of Sherborn in the County of Nantucket labourer Deceased having while he lived at the time of this Decease Goods Chattels Rights or Credits in the County aforesd lately Died Intestate whereby the power of committing administration and full disposition of all and singular the Goods Chattels Rights and Credits of the sd Deceased and also the hearing Examining & allowing the accompt of such administration Doth appertain unto me Trusting therefore in your care and fidelity I do by these presents commit unto you full power to administer all & Singular the Goods Chattels Rights and Credits of the sd Deceased and well and faithfully to Dispose of the same according to law and also to ask gather levy Recover and Receive all and whatsoever Credits of the sd Deceased which to him while he lived and at the time of his Death did appertain and to pay all Debts in which the Deceased stood bound so far as his goods Chattels Rights and Credits can Extend according to the value therefor and to make a true and perfect Inventory of all and singular the Goods Chattels Rights and Credits and to Exhibit the same unto the Registry of the Court of probate for the County aforesd at or before the tenth day Aprill next Ensuing and to Render a plain and true accompt of your ad Administration upon Oath at or before the tenth day of May which will be in the year of our Lord One thousand Seven hundred and fourty Eight and I do hereby ordain Constitute and appoint you administrators of all and singular the goods ^Chattels Rights & Credits aforesd In Testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and the seal of the sd Court of probate Dated at Sherborn the first day of April Annoque Domini 1748

Eleazer Folger Regr

Jerh Gardner

By Jeremiah Gardner Judge of probate & for the County of Nantucket

Whereas Codode an Indian late of Sherborn lately Died Intestate and left a widow & three Children and they having made application to me to have the Estate of the sd deceased Settled I do hereby order the Settlement to be in the following manner-

Margaret the widow of the sd Deceased shall have and use the third part of all the housing and lands the sd deceased Died possessed of for and During the term of her natural life. And Eben the Eldest shall have a Double part of sd housing and lands to him and his heirs for ever

And Sheba and Dorcas the youngest Children shall have the remaining part Equally between them to them and their heirs for ever and at the widows decease her part to be Divide among the Children in the Same manner and proportion

And the personal Estate as by the inventory appears

Amounting to 88-2-9

And Debts and Charges to 46-6-6

There rests Dividable 41-16-3

Of which the widow Shall have one third



Eleazr Folger Regr

Jerh Gardner

Know all men by these presents that I Abraham Phillips a minor about sixteen years of age and Son of Micah Phillips late of Sherborn in the County of Nantucket in the province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England labourer Deceased have nominated and chosen and do hereby Nominate make choice of and Depute my Trusty friends William Aldridge of Sherborn on Nantucket aforesd Blacksmith to be my Guardian with full power and authority for me in my name and to my use to ask Demand Sue for Recover Receive and take into his possession & custody all and Singular Such part and portion of Estate whatsoever as doth Right belong and appertain unto my sd Minor by any Manner of ways or means whatsoever and to manage Employ and Improve the same for my best profit and advantage during my Minority and to do all and whatsoever my self might or could do being of full age praying that he may be accordingly accepted in the same power and trust as witness my hand & seal the sixteenth day of October Anno Domini 1750

Signed Sealed & Delivered

In presence of us

Josiah Coffin

Daniel Pinkham

By Jeremiah Gardner Esqr Judge of probates &

The above named Abraham Phillips personally appeared before me and acknowledged the above written letter of Guardianship to be his act and Deed which upon his Desire I approve and allow of October 16: 1750

Eleazr Folger Regr

Jerh Gardner

The mark of

Abraham Phillips

By the Honourable Jeremiah Gardner Esqr Judge of the probate of wills and for granting letters of administration on the Estates of persons Deceased having Goods Chattels Rights or Credits in the County of Nantucket within the province aforesd

To Elizabeth Phillips widow & Paul Starbuck yeoman both of Sherborn in the county of Nantucket greeting

Whereas Micah Phillips late of Sherborn in the County of Nantucket labourer Deceased having while he lived and at the time of his deceased Goods Chattels Rights or Credits in the County aforesd lately died Intestate whereby the power of committing administration and full Disposition of all and Singular the good Chattels Rights & Credits of the sd Deceased and also the hearing Examining and allowing the accompt of such administration doth appertain unto my trusting therefore in you care & fidelity I do by these presents commit unto you full power to administer all and Singular the goods Chattels Rights and Credits of the sd Deceased and well and faithfully to dispose of the same according to law & also to ask gather levy Recover and Receive all & whatsoever credits of the sd Deceased which to him while he lived and at the time of his Death did appertain and to pay all Debts in which the sd deceased stood bound do far as his goods Chattels Rights & Credits can Extend according to the value thereof and to make a true and perfect Inventory of all & Singular the Goods Chattels Rights and Credits and to Exhibit the Same into the Registry of the Court of Probate for the County aforesd at or before the sixteenth day of October next Ensuring and to Render a plain and true account of your said administration upon oath at or before the Eighteenth day of October Instands which will be in the year of our Lord one Thousand Seven hundred and fifty and I do hereby ordain constitute and appoint Administer apprise & administrator of all and Singular the good Chattels Rights and Credits aforesd

In Testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand & the seal of the sd Court of Probates Dated at Sherborn the Eighth day of October Annoque Domini 1750

Eleazr Folger Reg

Jerh Gardner

Nantucket Is By the Honourable Jeremiah Gardner Esqr Judge of Probate & for the County of Nantucket



Whereas Micah Phillips of Sherborn in the County of Nantucket labourer lately died Intestate and has left a widow & three Children and his Real Estate amounting

As Inventory to 40-0-0 lawfull money

And his personall all Debts and Charges Deducted to 17-5-8 ½

Which by law is to be Settled on the widow & children I do order the same to be divide in the manner following

The widow of the sd Deceased shall have one third part of the personall

Estate for Ever which is 5-15-3

And the Eldest Son a Double part which is 5-13-2 ½

And the two youngest Each of the 2-17-7 ¼

And the widow shall have one third part of the Real Estate during

her Natural life amounting to 13-6-8

and the Eldest son a double part for Ever 13-6-8

and the youngest Each of them 6-13-4

and at the Death of the widow her part of the Real Estate shall be among the three sons in the Same proportion and Manner

And the administrator is hereby ordered and directed to deliver to the widow & children or their Guardians the Estate of the sd deceased according to the above Division

And this Shall be a final settlement Saving to any one aggrieved heir Right of appeal

In Testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and the seal of the Court of probate Dated at Sherborn the third day of November Anno Domini 1750

Eleazer Folger Regr

Jerh Gardner

#### **Eben Caudoode Will (NCP 2:254)**

Province of the Massachusetts Bay

To the Honourable Jeremiah Gardner Esqr Judge of the Probate of Wills & c: for & Within the County of Nantucket within the Province aforesaid Whereas Ebenezer Caudoode late of Sherborn in the County of Nantucket in the Province Aforesaid being sized of a Considerable Estate both Real & Personal lately died Intestate and there being a Widow Dill Caudoode & two sons to wit James Caudoode & Mark Caudoode which are the only surviving Heirs to the said Estate we the said Dill Cadoode & James Caudoode and Mark Caudoode have agreed to settle & divide the same as following Manner that is to say the Widow Dill Caudoode doth, by the Presents Quit & Surrender up her thirds of the Estate to her two sons James & Mark & the said James & Mark Caudoode do by these presents agree to Maintain their Mother Hansomely during her widowhood she doing what is proper for such a person to do towards her own Support and the sd James Caudoode & Mark Caudoode do by these presents agree & Conclude to divide the Whole Estate both Real & Personal of what kind or Nature forever or whenever the same is or maby be found Equally part & part alike to them & their heirs, & assigns forever and if any Lawsuits once concerning Title to any Part of said Estate we the sd James & Mark have agreed to bear the Charge equally and the loss if any be to bear likewise equally and if their father was justly indebted to any Persons that they the said James & Mark have agreed to pay the same Equally and we the aforesaid Dill Caudoode & James Caudoode & Mark Caudoode do pray that the above Division & Agreement may be allowed of to stand and abide for ever in witness whereof we have to these presents set out hand & seal this Fifth Day of December and in the Twenty Ninth year of the reign of George the Second of Great Britain the King Annoq Dom 1755

The mark of Dill Caudoode

The mark of James Caudoode

The mark of Mark Caudoode

Nantucket fs Decb ye 5: 1755



By 1 Skimmer -----0-7-0  
 By 1 Stript Gown,- ----- 0-15-0  
 By 2 Swivels ----- 0-10-0  
 By 1 lock ----- 0-15-0  
 By 2 leads ----- 0, 3, 0  
 By 1 Small Stone pestel ----- 0-10- 0  
 By 1 large ----- 0-5-0  
 By 1 1/2 Bushels Beans at 30/- ---- 2-5- 0  
 By 1 round Table ----- 3-10-0  
 By Stone Crockery ----- 0, 12, 0  
 By 1 tin Cannister ----- 0-2-6  
 By tea Spoons -----0, 5, 0  
 By 8# yarn at 5/ -----2- 0-0  
 By 6# worsted at 5/ -----1-10-0  
 By 1 stick basket -----0-8-0  
 By 1 brass ladle ----- 0-7-0  
 By 23# pweter at 8/Plb -----9-8-0  
 By 1 Dripping pan -----0-15-0  
 By 1 pickel pot ----- 0-5-0  
 By 3 earthen platters -----0-9- 0  
 By 1 pickel pot ----- 0-8-0  
 By 1 Mortar -----0- 6-0  
 By knives & forks ----- 0-10-0  
 By 1 bag,- ----- 0- 5-0  
 38-15-0  
 By 1 Jug- -----0- 2- 0  
 By 5 bottles ----- 0-10-0  
 By 1 lamp ----- 0-12-0  
 By Screwers ----- 0-2-6  
 By 1 Spit --- ----- 0-15-0  
 By 1 frying pan ----- 1-0-0  
 By 1 pair tongs ----- 0-12-0  
 By 2 Shovels- ----- 0-8-0  
 By 1 toast Iron -----0-10-0  
 By warming pan ----- 1-0-0  
 By 1 pair Stilyards ----- 1-15-0  
 By 4 trammels at 25/y ----- 5-0-0  
 By 1 cracked kettle ----- 0-6-0  
 By Do at -----0-5-0  
 By 1 whole kettle- -----0, 15, 0  
 By 1 Great pot broke ----- 0-10-0  
 By 1 Small kettle ----- 0-10-0  
 By 1 large pot -----3-0-0  
 By 1 no leg pot----- 0-18-0  
 By 1 little pot ----- 0-18-0  
 By 1 tea kettle ----- 3-0-0  
 By 1 Gun- ----- 1-0-0  
 By 1 ax- -----1-5-0  
 By 1 Great Chair- ----- 1-10-0  
 By 6 Chairs- ----- 1, 10, 0  
 By ads and auger ----- -0-10-0  
 By 1 pair Bellows- ----- 1-0-0  
 By 2 Stubbing hoes -- -----1-10,-0  
 By 2 hoes -----0-10-0  
 By 2# Mopyarn -----0-10-0  
 By 1 Dish ----- 0-5-0

By 1 pocket - - - - -	0-10-0
By 4 Bushels Rye at 16/ - - - - -	3-4-0
	35-12-6
By plow Gear - - - - -	1-0-0
By old Chains - - - - -	0-10-0
By hames - - - - -	0-12-0
By old Ax - - - - -	0-5-0
By 1 Iron Goose - - - - -	0-10-0
By 1 block - - - - -	0-5-0
By old Saw - - - - -	0, 5, 0
By 1 Grind Stone - - - - -	0-10-0
By 1 old Plow - - - - -	0-10-0
By 1 Clash box - - - - -	0-3-0
By 1 harrow- - - - -	0-0-1
By old traces - - - - -	0-15-0
By 1 Iron Square - - - - -	0-5-0
By 1 Jar - - - - -	0-5-0
By 1 old Saddle - - - - -	1-10-0
By 1 old Bedstead - - - - -	1-5-0
By old Andirons - - - - -	1-0-0
By 1 small Bedstead - - - - -	2-5-0
By 1 Codline - - - - -	0-5-0
By 2 little Baskets - - - - -	0-5-0
By 1 pair mogersins, - - - - -	0-5-0
By 1 little Bottle - - - - -	0-5-0
By 1 wooden stow - - - - -	1-0-0
By 13 1/2 of Corn at 18/ - - - - -	12-3-0
By 1 Boat - - - - -	3-10-0
By 1 Clash - - - - -	2-10-0
By 1 table Cloth, - - - - -	0-10-0
By hay - - - - -	6-0,-0
by turkies - - - - -	1-14-0
	41-2-0
	35-12-6
	82-5-0
	38-15-0
Total amount old Tenor	197-14-6
The Same in lawfull Money is	26-7-3

Paul Bunker

Uriah Gardner

Edward Starbuck

Nantucket Is April ye 27th 1764

This Day Richard Mitchel Junr Gave his Solemn Affirmation on the Penalty of Perjury that this Inventory Contains all the Estate of Jonathan Micah that is come to his Knowledge and if he knows of any More he will add it to this Inventory  
Jerh Gardner Judg of Probate

By Jerh Gardner Elgr Judge of Probate for the County of Nantucket in the Province aforesaid-  
To Richard Mitchel Junr Administrator on the Estate of Jonathan Micah Indian late of Sherborn in the county aforesd Deceased Whereas Jonathan Micah late of Sherborn aforesaid Deceased having left an Estate which having become administered upon hath been Represented Insolvent and Commissioned being appointed according to Law to Examine the Claims of the Several Creditors to sd Estate who

have made their report accordingly; and the Several Charges that have arisen upon said Estate by the administration account on Record is as follows viz

Commissioners Charge for Examining the Claims	2-8-0
The Apprisers Charge	0-18-0
Abigail Homming for attendance	1-0-0
Anna Robin for Do	0-7-0
Administrators Charge	0-14-0
Court of Probate Charges	1-16-3
Being in the whole	7-3-5

And the Inventory of Said Deceaseds Estate returned by the administrator and now on Record appears to be 26- 7-3

From which the above Charges being deducted there remains 19-3-10

To the Persons to whom due as soon as Conveniently may be

And the Debts Due from said Estate by the Commission report and

Record appears to be in the Whole 27-18-0

By which it appears the Estate will pay 13 -9 on the pound and 8 on the

Shilling you are therefore required to pay the Several persons

Underwritten the Respective Sums following being their proportion of said Estate agreeable to the Commissioners Report viz

to Richard Mitchel	7-8-10
to Richard Mitchel Junr,	4-17-9
to David Coffin	0-3-0
to Mary Macy	0-1-8
to Uriah Gardner	0-6-0
to Matthew Ellis	0-8-2
to Reuben Swain	0-4-11
to Jonathan Moon	0-11-10
to Silvanus Allen	0-9-6
to Sam:ll Cartwrite	0-5-4
to Elizabeth Coffin	0-2-1
to George Pinkham	0-2-11
to Elizabeth B	0-7-9
to John Meder	0-5-9
to Obed Hussey Elgr,	0-5-0
to Benj:n Tupper	1-12-10
to John Coffin	0-8-2
to Pompey Negro	1-2-1

And this shall be a full and final Settlement of said Estate Saving any one aggrieved their Right of appeal to the Governor and Council; In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and the seal of the said Court if Probate;

Dated at Sherborn this Sixteenth Day of January Annoque Domini 1765

Frederick Folger Jerh Gardner

### Joseph Quady 1765 (NCP 3:45)

1765 An Appraisement of the Estate of Jospheh Quady late of Sherborn Deceased by us the Subscribers-

Carried of in Lawfull Money

	L, S, d	L, S, d,
To 1 Grindstone	0, 7, 6	0, 1, 0
To 1 Plow	4, 10, 0	0, 12, 0
To 1 Harrow	6, 10, 0	0, 17, 4
To 1 Seithe	2, 0, 0	0, 5, 4
To 1 bedstead	2, 5, 0	0, 6, 0
To 1 broad Stubbing hoe	1, 0, 0	0, 2, 8
To 1 Narrow Do	1, 5, 0	0, 3, 4
To 1 Yoak	1, 2, 6	0, 3, 0

To 1 Corn hoe	1, 2, 6	0, 3, 0,
To 1 old Chest	1, 2, 6	0, 3, 0
To 1 red Chest	0, 15, 0	0, 2, 0
To 1 Do	0, 10, 0	0, 1, 4
To 1 Trammel	2, 0, 0	0, 5, 4
To Crib for Corn	3, 10, 0	0, 9, 4
To 1 Iron pot	0, 10, 0	0, 1, 4
To 1 old Cart	5, 0, 0	0, 13, 4
To 1 Steer ox	40, 0, 0	5, 6, 8
To 1 Stag ox	18, 10, 0	2, 9, 4
To 1 Horse kind	20, 0, 0	2, 13, 4
To 1 Barn	<u>9, 0, 0</u>	<u>1, 4, 0</u>
	123, 0, 0	16, 8, 0

Nantucket January 4th 1765 this Day Abishai Folger & Richard Coffin Administrators on the Estate of Joseph Quady appeared and gave their Solemn Affirmation on the Penalty of Penalty of perjury that the within written Inventory contains all the Estate of the said Joseph Quady that is come to their Knowledge and if more appear hereafter they will Cause it to be added before me  
 Frederick Folger                      Jerh Gardner Judge of Probate

**Stephen Scrute 1767 (NCP 3:74)**

Province of Massachusetts Bay

By the Honourable Grafton Gardner Esqr Judge of the Probates Wills and for Granting Letters of Administration on the Estates of Persons Deceased having goods chattels rights or credits in the County of Nantucket in the Province aforesaid-

To Obed Hussey of Sherborn in the County aforesaid Esqr: Greeting Whereas Stephen Scrute late of Sherborn in the County of Nantucket aforesd Indian Whale fisherman Deceased having while he lived and at the time of his death Goods Chattels Rights and Credits in the County aforesaid lately dyed Intestate where by the power of Committing Administration and full Disposition of all and Singular to goods Chattels Rights and Credits of the said Deceased and also the Hearing Examining and allowing the account of such Administration doth Appertain unto me, Trusting therefore in you Care and fidelity I do by these Presents Commit unto you full power to Administer all and singular the Goods Chattels Rights and Credits of the said deceased and to Dispose of the same according to Law and to Assign and Demand all & whatsoever Credits of the said Decd and to pay all Debts in which he stood bound so far as his Goods & can attend according to the value thereof and to make an Inventory of all the Goods Chattels and Exhibit the same into the Court of Probate on or before the first Day of January next ensuing and to render a true account of your Administration upon oath on or before the fifth Day of February which will be in the year of our Lord 1768 and I do appoint you Administrator of all the Goods & Chattels aforesaid

In Testimony whereof I have hereunto set my Hand and the Seal of the Court of Probate this 2<sup>nd</sup> Day of October Annoque Domini 1767

Frederick Folger Regr                      Grafton Gardner

**Isaac Jeffrey, Peleg Titus, John Charles 1768 (NCP 3:78)**

Administration of the Estate of I: Jeffrey P: Titus and John Charles

Province of the Massachusetts Bay

By the Honourable Grafton Gardner Esqr: Judge of the probate of wills and for granting Letters of Administration on the Estates of Persons Deceased having Goods Chattels Rights or Credits in the County of Nantucket within the province aforesaid-

To John Gardner of Sherborn in the County and Province aforesaid and Agent for the Town of Sherborn Greeting-

Whereas Isaac Jeffrey Peleg Titus and John Charles all of Sherborn in the County of Nantucket and Province aforesaid Indian Whale fishermen Deceased having while they lived and at the Time of their Decease Goods Chattels Rights or Credits in the County aforesaid lately Died Intestate whereby the Power of Committing Administration and full Disposition of all & Singular the Goods Chattels Rights and Credits of the said Deceased and also the hearing Examining and allowing the account of such Administration doth appertain unto me; Trusting therefore in Your care and Fidelity I do by these Presents Commit unto you full Power to Administer all and Singular the Goods Chattels Rights and Credits of the said Deceased which to them while they Lived and at the Time of their Death did appertain and to pay all Debts in which the said Deceased Stood bound so far as their goods Chattels Rights or Credits can extend according to the value thereof: And to make a true and Perfect Inventory of all and singular the Goods Chattels Rights & Credits : and to Exhibit the same unto the Registry of the Court of Probate for the County aforesaid on or before the fifth day of June next ensuing; and to render a Plain and true account of your said Administration upon oath at or before the fifth Day of August which will be in the Year of our Lord one Thousand Seven hundred and Sixty Eight and I do hereby Constitute & appoint you Administrator of all and Singular the goods Chattels Rights & Credits aforesaid In Testimony whereof I have hereunto set my Hand and the Seal of the Court of Probate: Dated at Sherborn the 5<sup>th</sup> Day of February Annoque Domini 1768-  
 Frederick Folger Repr                      Grafton Gardner

**Benjamin Tashime 1770 (NCP 3:165)**

A List of an Apprisement of Benjamin Tashimays Estate late of Sherborn  
 Decd taken by us the Subscribers appointed by Grafton Gardner Judge

Probate as followeth:

To 1 Covered,	0, 8, 0
To 1 Striped blanket	0, 5, 4
to 1 do	0, 5, 4
To 1 do plane	0, 6, 8
To do Striped	0, 2, 8
To 1 bed & bolster	3, 1, 4
To 1 bedsted	0, 2, 8
To 1 Case of draws	1, 0, 0
To 1 Spinning Wheel & real	0, 6, 8
To 1 Chest	0, 5, 4
To 3 Chairs,	0, 6, 8
To 12 do all together	0, 8, 0
To 1 round table	0, 6, 0
To 1 Great Iron pot	0, 5, 4
To 1 Smaller do	0, 2, 4
To 2 Smaller do	0, 2, 4
To 1 kittle	0, 2, 8
To 3 tramels	0, 8, 0
To 1 pr andirons	0, 9, 4
To 1 large tongs	0, 2, 8
To 1 Shovel & tongs small	0, 2, 8
To 1 table or stool	0, 0, 8
To 1 large old platter	0, 2, 0
To 1 small do	0, 1, 4
to 1 do	0, 2, 4
To 3 porringers	0, 1, 7
To 6 plates	0, 4, 0
To 10 Spoons	0, 1, 4
To 1 Tea pot & cup	0, 1, 4
To 7 bowls	<u>0, 2, 3 ½</u>

	10, 5, 2 ½
To 1 milk pan & pail	0, 1, 6
To platters & Jugs earthen	0, 1, 7 ½
To 2 pans & 4 porringers	0, 1, 4
To tray and Churns	0, 2, 0
To Sugar boxes & piggin	0, 1, 6
To 1 box & knives	0, 2, 8
To 1 teapot Cups & Saucers	0, 1, 4
To 1 bb & bedsted Cord	0, 1, 4
To 1 table wheel Chest	0, 9, 4
To Baskets	0, 0, 8 ½
To Clash & Tackling	0, 16, 0
To 1 Cartrope	0, 1, 4
To 1 horse	6, 0, 0
To 1 Cow	4, 0, 0
	12, 0, 8
	10, 5, 2 ½
	22, 5, 10 ½
To 1 Bason	0, 2, 8
	22, 8, 6 ½
Personal Estate prised by us the Subscribers April 1770	
To old Hovel or barn	0, 12, 0
To 1 dwelling House	16, 0, 0
To the feeding right of one	
Cow on the common	12, 0, 0
	28, 12, 0

Real Estate not prised till now by reason the Executors have not been able to tell us how Much Land there was belonging to said Tashime about the said House & still remains uncertain-  
Nantucket ye 29th Novemr 1770

Tabor Morton

Richard Mitchel Junr

Province of the Massachusetts Bay

By the Honourable Grafton Gardner Esqr Judge of the Probate of the Wills and for Granting Letters of Administration of the Estates of persons Deceased having Goods Chattels Rights or Credits in the County of Nantucket within the Province aforesaid

To all ... whom these presents shall come Greeting- Know ye that upon the Day of the Date hereof before me at Sherborn in the County aforesaid the Will of Benjamin Tashime late of Sherborn in the County of Nantucket Minister deceased to these present witnessed was provided approved and Allowed who having while he lived and at the Time of his Death Goods Chattel Rights or Credit in the County aforesaid: And the Probate of the Said Will the Power of Committing Administration of all and Singular the Goods Chattels Rights & Credits of the Said deceased by virtue where of appertaining unto me: The Administration of all and Singular the Goods Chattel Rights Credits of the said Deceased and his will in any manner concerning is hereby Committed unto Zacchery Macy & James Coffin both of Sherborn in the County of Nantucket aforesaid & Joint executors in the same will Named well and faithfully to Executor of the said Will and to Administer the Estate of the said Deceased according thereunto and to make a nice and perfect Inventory of all and Singular the Goods Chattel Rights & Credits of the said Deceased and to Exhibit the same unto the Registry of the Court of Probate for the County aforesaid at or before the fifth day of May next ensuing and also to Render a plain & true account of their said administration upon oath-

In Testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and the seal of the said Court of Probate Dated at Sherborn the fifth day of January Anno Domini 1770

Frederick Folger Regr

Grafton Gardner

I Benjamin Tashime Indian Man; of Sherborn in the County of Nantucket in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England Minister being under some Indisposition of Body but through the





Will in any Manner Concerning in hereby Committed unto Stephen Paddack of Sherborn in the County of Nantucket aforesd Marriner and sole Executor in the same Will Named well & faithfully to Execute the said will and to Administer the Estate of the sd Decd according thereunto and to make a true and perfect Inventory of all and Singular the Goods Chattels Rights & Credits of the sd Deceased and toe Exhibit the same unto the Registry of the Court of probate for the County aforesaid at or before the tenth day of January next Ensuring and also to render a plain & true account of this said Administration upon oath-

In Testimony whereof I have hereunto set my Hand and the Seal of the said Court of Probate. Dated at Sherborn the Eleventh Day of October Anno Domini 1770

Frederick Folger Regr                      Grafton Gardner

**John Mooneys Will (NCP 3:132)**

The Last Will and Testament of John Mooney ye 2<sup>nd</sup> of Sherborn in the County of Nantucket in the Province of Massachusetts Bay in New England Indian Whale fisherman

The said John Mooney being weak and sick of Body but of Sound Mind and Disposing Memory do make and ordain my last Will and Testament in Manner and form following viz

First I Give Devise and Bequeath unto Reuben Paddack the son of Stephen Paddack of Nantucket aforesaid all of my Estate upon the Island of Nantucket and Elsewhere both Real & Personal of every kind and Nature nothing excepted or reserved that is to say all the Estate that I have both in Possession and Reversion or remainder as well what is derived to me or may hereafter Descend to me or my Heirs from my Uncle Benjamin Tashime Deceased by virtue of his last will and Testament or which by any other Ways or Means whatsoever may can or ought to descend to me of every kind and Nature as aforesaid all which I Give Devise and Bequeath unto him the said Reuben Paddack and to his Heirs & assigns forever.-

Lastly I make and ordain my Friend Stephen Paddack sole executor of this My last Will and testament In witness whereof I the said John Mooney have hereunto set my Hand & Seal this Thirtieth Day of September and in the tenth year of the Reign of George the third of Great Britain &: King Annoque Domini 1770

Signed Sealed published Pronounced and Declared by the sd John Mooney to be his last Will & Testament in the Presence of us-

John Mooney Junr

Nathaniel Coffin

Tho Jenkins

George Hussey

Nantucket Is Sherborn Oct 11<sup>th</sup> -1770

This Day the above named Nathaniel Coffin George Hussey and Thomas Jenkins all personally appeared & Declared under the Penalty of Perjury that they saw the said John Mooney sign and Seal the above written Will and heard him declare it to be his last Will and Testament and that he was then of a Disposing Mind according to their Judgements

Frederick Folger

Grafton Gardner

**Joel Job 1772 (NCP 3:190)**

Administration on Joel Jobs Estate

Province of Massachusetts Bay

By Grafton Gardner Esqr Judge of the Probate of wills and for Granting Letters of Administration on the Estates of Persons Deceased having Goods Chattels Rights of Credits in the County of Nantucket within the Province aforesaid-

To George Hussey 2<sup>nd</sup> of Sherborn in the County & Province aforesaid Painter Greeting-

Whereas Joel Job of Sherborn in the County of Nantucket whale fisherman Deceased having while he lived and at the Time of his Decease Goods Chattels Rights or Credits in the County aforesd lately died Intestate whereby the Power of Committing Administration and full Disposition of all and

Singular the goods Chattels Rights & Credits of the said Deceased and also the hearing Examining & allowing the account of such administration doth appertain unto me.

Trusting therefore in your Care and fidelity I do by these presents commit unto you full power to administer all and singular the Goods Chattels Rights and Credits of the sd Deceased and well & faith to Dispose of the same according to Law and also to ask Gather levy recover and receive all and whatsoever Credits of the sd Deceased which to him while he lived and at the time of his Death did appertain and to pay all Debts in which the said Deceased stood bound so far as his Goods Chattels Rights and Credits and to Exhibit the same into the Registry of the Court of Probate for the County aforesaid on or before the tenth Day of March next ensuring And to render a plain and true account of your said Administration upon oath at or before the tenth Day of June which will be in the year of our Lord one thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy three and I do hereby Constitute and appoint you Administrator of all and Singular the goods Chattels Rights & Credits aforesaid.-

In Testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand & the Seal of the said Court of Probate Dated at Sherborn the fourth of December Annoque Domini 1772

Frederick Folger Regr

Grafton Gardner

### **Barney Spotso 1793 (NCP 4:105)**

#### **Probate of Barney Spotso's Will**

By Jethro Hussey Esqr Judge of Probate for the County of Nantucket

To all to whom these presents shall come Greeting Know ye that on the Day of the Date hereof before Me at Sherborn the Will of Barny Spotso of Sherborn in the County of Nantucket- Indian Labourer Deceased to these Presents annexed twas proved, approved, and allowed, who having while he lived and at the time of his Death Goods Chattels Rights and Credits in the County aforesaid, The Administration of all and Singular the Goods Chattels Rights & Credits of the said Deceased and his Will in any manner concerning is hereby committed unto Abithai Folger sole Executor in the same Will named well and Faithfully to Execute the said Will and to Administer the Estate of the said Deceased according thereunto and to do all and everything the Law Requires of him as Executor Given under my Hand and the Seal of the court of Probate this Seventeenth Day of October Anno Domini One thousand seven hundred and ninety three

Abner Coffin

Jethro Hussey J. Prob.

### **Barny Spotso's Will (NCP 4:105)**

The Last Will and Testament of Barny Spotso of Sherborn in the County of Nantucket in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England Indian Whale Fisherman-

I the said Barny Spotso being in good Health of Body and of sound Mind and Memory considering the uncertainty of this Life do make and Ordain this my Last Will and Testament in Manner following.

And first I Give Devise and Bequeath unto my Good Friend Abishai Folger Junr All my landed Interest and Commonage upon the Island of Nantucket aforesaid that is descended to me from Grande-father Barny Spotso Deceased of every kind & Nature whatsoever or whether the same coma and devolved to him my said Grand-Father, and also all my Real and Personal Estate of every kind and nature wheresoever the same shall or may be found, Nothing excepted of Reserved, to Him and his Heirs and Assigns for Ever- But it hereby to be meant and understood that if at the Time of my Decease I should leave behind me any Lawful Heirs or Heir of my own Body that then the above Devise and Bequest shall be utterly Void & of no Effect as the same had never been made

And Lastly I make and ordain my aforesaid Friend Abishai Folger Junr sole Executor of this my Last Will and Testament In witness Whereof I the said barny Spotso have hereunto set my Hand and the Seal this Twenty first Day of August & in the fifteenth year of his Majesty's Reign Annoque Domini 1775.

Signed Sealed & Published by the said Barney Spotso in the presence of us

James Gardner

Matthew Bunker  
Peregrine Folger

The Mark of Barnabas Spotso

Nantucket Is: October 1793 At a Probate Court held by adjournment personally appeared Matthew Bunker one of the witnesses to the within Will made Solemn Affirmation that he saw Barny Spotso within mentioned Testator, Sign, Seal & heard him Declare the same to be his Last Will and Testament and that the said Testator was then of sound and disposing mind and Memory according to the best of his judgements & that James Gardner & Peregrine Folger Signed at the same time with him as Witnesses at the request if the said Barney Spotso

Jethro Hussey J. Probate

Nantucket Is. October 17<sup>th</sup> 1793 At a Probate Court held by Adjournment Personally appeared Peregrine Folger one of the Witnesses to the within written Will & made solemn Affirmation upon the Penalty of Perjury that the saw Barny Spotso the within mentioned Testator Sign Seal & heard him Declare the within written Intestament to be his Last Will and Testament that the said Will was Read to him before signing or sealing & that the said Testator was at that Time of sound Mind Memory & understanding according to his best Judgment that James Gardner & Matthew Bunker signed at the same Time with him at the Request of the said Testator as Witness

Abner Coffin Repr

Jethro Hussey J. Prob.

### Africa 1728 (NCP 1:146-147)

This a Inventory of Africa Estate that was sold at venue by Eben Gardner administrator to sd Estate sold the 31 of December 1728

	L, S, d
To 1 lance 8/ to 1 saddle 6/2 to one quart pot 4/5	0, 18, 7
to 1 pot 1/10 to 6 chairs 1 to 1 hand saw 4/8	1, 7, 6
to 1 Bible 12/ to waits & seals 0/0 to real 5/0	0, 17, 0
to 56 pound of old Iron at 5d per pound	1, 3, 4
to a pr of worked Comps 1-11-0 to 1 spoon Mold 9/	2, 0, 0
to weavers goods 1-14-0 to a pr of shovel and tongs 16/	1, 10, 0
to old tongs 2/2 to pigen 6/ to 2 platters 1-7-0	1, 9, 8
to 1 gun 1-17-0 to 1 tramel 16/ to 2 wood Dishes 1/10	2, 14, 10
to 3 pewter plate 9/6 to shoe 5/ to 1 bedsted 16/	1, 10, 6
to warming pan 1-0-0 to 9 pound yarn at 2/o pr pound	1, 18, 0
to spit 7/6 to a trunk 12/6 to a Jacoat 1-10-0	3, 10, 0
to a pr Andirons 1-11-0 to waits and seals 3/3	1, 14, 3
to 2 Jugs 3/2 to 1 lamp 2/1 to 1 bason and porringer 7/,	0, 12, 3
to a ladle 2/ to a fish and drawing knife 5/6	0, 7, 6
to a piss pot 2/6 to 16 trenchers 2/6	0, 5, 0
to Kitchen stuff 10 at 10 1/2d/pr pound,	0, 8, 9
to 8 spoons a porringer 3/2 to 8 1/2 candles 15d pr pound	0, 13, 9
to 1 line 4/ to 1 skin 4/6 to muslin 3/1	0, 11, 7
to Dripping pan 2/10 to 1 Chest 17/3	1, 0, 1
to 1 gun 4/6 to 1 gun 8/ to brigs 3/ shears 1/6	0, 17, 0
to cards 3/10 to 1 hat 19/ to sugar box 1/6,	1, 4, 4
to candle stick 1/6 to 1 pr of Candy 3/2 to 1 capt 1/8	0, 6, 8
to a basket 1/6 platter 8/ to saucer and fork	0, 7, 6
to a pail 1/2 1 pot 1/10 the mare 8-10	8, 13, 0
to 83 3/4 pound of feathers at 2/5 to 1 mug 1/2	10, 3, 2
to sugar box 1/6 Rumlets 1/7 hammer 1/9	0, 4, 10
to basket 2/7 1 hoe 2/2 1 box 2/ to sill 4d	0, 7, 1
to glass 1/ ladle 4d sift 2/ Keler and fal 1/3	0, 4, 7
to 4 # wooll at 6d pr pound to ax 11d 2 hooks 2/	0, 4, 11
to tramell 1/2 bed 25/ 1 pr saps 1/8	1, 7, 8
to compass 1/ to peticoat 13 to Jacket 1/	0, 15, 0
to 1 ax 9/1 pan 2/ pr shears 8d / plates 2/ Chair 1/7	0, 15, 3

to 1 blanket 17/ 1 blanket 3/6 1 blanket 1	1, 1, 6
to 1 knife and gimblets 5/8 1 covered 17/ 1 lock 9/1	1, 3, 8
to porringer 1/1 chest 17/ leather breeches 2/	1, 19, 0
to 1 blanket 6/ to bedsted 14/6 1 rug 6/3	1, 6, 9
to a rug 2/6 a Great coat 17/6 a blanket 5/6	1, 5, 6
to a mat 2/ stubing hoe 5/6 a cao & a bottle 8d	0, 9, 7
to a Slay 4/ a bottle 4d/ shirt & hanker 7/	0, 11, 4
to Rake 6/ Stockings 6/10 Cag 2/8 glass 8d	0, 10, 8
to gimblets 11d hasp and staples 1/3 can 4d	0, 2, 6
to Buckles 6/8	0, 6, 6
to a chair 1/4 2 shoos 5/ to a pan 11d sundry 2/7	0, 9, 10
to jug 1/2 to 7d to 4d a pr of cards 1/7 books 2d	0, 3, 10
to Chest 12/11 to 1 to 10 to 3/ 1 book 6d	0, 9, 0
to 1 sneed 2/10 2 Chairs 5/ to Rayls at 30s pr hundred	3, 7, 10
to Cash 1/ barn and bords 33/ 65 ft Iron at 3 b pound 1/3	1, 15, 9
to box and cag 8/ pails 1/ half bushell 1/7 1 tub ½	0, 4, 11
to 1 tub up to cash 4d box 117 to cash 2d shop 38/6	2, 0, 11
to 1 shift 5/6 towel 1/2 towel 10 p towel 1/3	0, 8, 9
to linnen jacket 3/5 cloth 7d/ cloth 2/2 cloth 1/3	0, 10, 0
to Cloth 1/9 cloth 3d/ cloth 1/10 cloth 2/2 cloth 1/3	0, 7, 5
to Cloth 7/ apron razor 3/6 basket 1/1 sneed 1	0, 7, 8
to buttons 1/10 1/2 cash 8d/ razor 1/2 chest 13	0, 16, 8
to spectacles 1/ paper 4/ 1/2 barrel of salt 2/	0, 3, 4
to cards 3/2 rope 7d 2/6 1 pr of sizzers 6d	0, 6, 9
to tinder box 4d cash Received of John Boaz	0, 10, 4
to the house 25 to cash 00-0 to cash 7/ a Chair 2/3	25, 9, 3
to cash 20/ to cash 18/	1, 18, 3
brought from the other side	<u>60, 0, 5</u>
	99, 7, 11
to 7 yrds of cloth at 6/	2, 2, 0
by Nathan Chase	0, 9, 0
by lame Jonathan	<u>0, 18, 0</u>
	102, 16, 11

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