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Redefining Community: An Analysis of Black Presence on Nantucket in the late 19th and early 20th Centuries

Laura A. Paisley
University of Massachusetts Boston

REDEFINING COMMUNITY: AN ANALYSIS OF BLACK PRESENCE ON NANTUCKET IN THE LATE 19TH AND EARLY 20TH CENTURIES

A Thesis Presented
by
LAURA A. PAISLEY

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Approved as to style and content by:

_____
Nedra K. Lee, Associate Professor
Chairperson of Committee

_____
David B. Landon, Associate Director
Member

_____
Douglas J. Bolender, Research Assistant Professor
Member

_____
Heather B. Trigg, Program Director
Historical Archaeology Program

_____
Patrick Clarkin, Chairperson
Department of Anthropology

ABSTRACT

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Laura A. Paisley, B.S., University of Wisconsin La Crosse
M.A., University of Massachusetts Boston

Directed by Dr. Nedra K. Lee

In the mid-19th century, the decline in whaling initiated massive change on Nantucket Island's cultural landscape. The thriving, but segregated, New Guinea community that formed in the late-18th century was also impacted by this shift. Tourism ultimately became, and still is, Nantucket's primary source of income and has wreaked havoc on the historical narrative that is perpetuated about the island. This narrative rarely moves past Nantucket's whaling history and does not discuss the continued Black presence on the island. This thesis uncovers the relationship between race, space, and community formation that existed on Nantucket between 1860 and 1920. To do this, federal census records were mined for demographic and spatial information of Nantucket's Black population to determine if, and how, race continued to influence the locations in which people lived and their experiences while living on Nantucket. This thesis uncovers the social and spatial fragmentation of Nantucket's Black community in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Nantucket's New Guinea community developed in the late 18th century as recently freed African Americans settled with Native Wampanoag in what would eventually be the southern edge of the town of Nantucket. Today, this is at the intersection of York Street, Pleasant Street, and Atlantic Avenue, also known as Five Corners (Muehlbauer 2021). As Nantucket became the world's whaling capital, New Guinea grew to be more diverse, including people from the Pacific Islands, West Indies, and Cape Verde (Karttunen 2005; Lee 2019). New Guinea was a segregated community where all Black homeowners resided.[1] However, it was also the site of successful

[1] In this thesis, I use Black to refer to people of African descent who are categorized in the census as Black or Mulatto and were born in the United States, Canada, Peru, India, or St. Helena. However, I do specify African Americans when specifically talking about those who have African ancestry but were born in the United States and whose ancestors had not recently immigrated. Many of these individuals likely had other ancestral ties, but their African ancestry took precedence in their categorization in the census. While I do not want to mirror the essentializing nature of racial classifications used within the census, individuals who were marked as Black or Mulatto were all likely racialized similarly in their everyday life on Nantucket. One division that I do make within the broad category of Black people are people who have Cape Verdean heritage. People who were born in or whose ancestors were born in Cape Verde are referred to as Cape Verdean in this thesis. While Cape Verdeans were generally marked as Black or Mulatto in the census, their life experiences and personal identities do set them apart from Black people who are not associated with Cape Verdean immigration to the United States. This distinction is important in determining who formed community with one another on Nantucket.

businesses, schools, and churches that community members operated. Many of these homes were passed down through multiple generations of a single family, solidifying New Guinea's presence as a distinct community on Nantucket (Muehlbauer 2021; Crawmer 2023; Fairweather 2023).

The success that New Guinea and the rest of Nantucket experienced during the whaling era ended abruptly in the mid to late 19th century. Whaling exports were at their height in the 1830s and 1840s, but by 1850, exports had begun to decline quickly, and the last whaling ship left the island in 1869 (Karttunen 2005:241-242). Nantucket's whaling industry sharply declined for a variety of reasons. There was the Great Fire of 1846 that destroyed many of the buildings that processed whale oil, competition with other whaling ports, and ecological change in Nantucket's harbor that prevented ships from landing (Brown 1995:110; Alsop 2004:564). This decline was significant for Nantucket's population as it had been the primary industry on Nantucket and was the sole way many islanders economically supported themselves. There was also a lack of other industries on Nantucket, which resulted in there being few opportunities other than whaling (Alsop 2004; Karttunen 2005; Bulger 2013). Frances Karttunen (2005) notes that many New Guinea community members fled the island in search of better jobs once whaling was no longer an option. Properties that had once been owned by New Guinea community members sat vacant or were purchased by white islanders, disbanding the once spatially close Black community on Nantucket (Karttunen 2005:107).

Although the people who now lived in Five Corners were white, there continued to be a Black population on Nantucket after the decline in whaling, even if their community drastically changed. Church services continued to be held at the African Meeting House until 1911 and the Boston-Higginbotham House at 27 York Street continued to be owned by Black islanders well into the 20th century (Karttunen 2005; Bulger 2013:122; Fairweather 2023:79). Karttunen (2005)

also details that as Nantucket began to incorporate more tourism into their economy, the island's Black population grew as more domestic labor was required. However, where Nantucket's Black population lived changed, suggesting that the way race shaped the landscape also changed. Although the names and stories of these new Black islanders are chronicled by Karttunen (2005), the spatial characteristics of Nantucket's Black community after the decline in whaling have never been comprehensively studied. Understanding how space was racialized differently after the decline in whaling can indicate changes in how racism affected Nantucket's Black population differently than it had before the decline. Therefore, this thesis seeks to answer two primary questions:

1. How did the spatiality of Nantucket's Black community change after the decline of the whaling industry in the mid-19th century?
2. How did the island's Black community form and maintain community in the late 19th and early 20th centuries?

After the whaling industry declined on Nantucket, the island experienced an economic depression as there were few industries that survived the decline of the whaling industry. Industries that did eventually support the island included farming, small factories, fishing, and tourism (Brown 1995; Alsop 2004; Karttunen 2005). Although there was some success in all of these ventures, tourism was most lucrative, marking a turn in the trajectory of the island's history and legacy (Brown 1995; Karttunen 2005; Bruggeman 2015). Across New England, many small cities and towns were being marketed to urban tourists as quaint places that were seemingly not marked by industrialism (Brown 1995; Bruggeman 2015; Jones 2023). Nantucket was marketed as a charming, seaside town that could be an escape from nearby cities on the mainland. The

island's history and the decline in whaling were used to create an image of Nantucket that suggested an old-fashioned atmosphere (Brown 1995; Bruggeman 2015).

The image of Nantucket that was created by promoters of tourism worked. By the 1880s, Nantucket was already welcoming thousands of visitors, and hotels were being sold out (Karttunen 2005:242-243). However, the image that was created of Nantucket was ultimately untrue. Its whaling past was used to evoke a bygone era of a simple society that relied on the sea. Although this is partly true, the industrial nature of whaling was not highlighted. There was class disparity, racial divisions, and industrial landscapes on Nantucket during the whaling era; all of which do not align with an atmosphere that was supposedly rid of industrialism and modernity (Brown 1995:108-110; Bruggeman 2015:200-201; Muehlbauer 2021). Although historians like Brown (1995), Karttunen (2005), and Bruggeman (2015) do discuss Nantucket's history after the decline in whaling, this history is not given the same attention, if any, in the popular historical narrative that is presented to tourists today (Bruggeman 2015; Jones 2023).

Nantucket's popular history is what continues to support the tourist industry on the island. The island still profits off of the quaint atmosphere that was created in the late-19th century to emulate a society that supposedly did not have any marks of industrialism. What Nantucket's buildings and streets look like and the history that is popularly told to tourists ultimately stops where whaling ended. The Nantucket Whaling Museum became the island's chief historical authority in 1930 and, as the name suggests, focused on the island's whaling past. Homes were purposefully renovated or constructed to look like they had during the whaling era, and advertisements for the island harkened back to Nantucket's past, not its present (Brown 1995:131; Karttunen 2005:244-245; Bruggeman 2015:190). Although the historical narrative that was initially promoted to tourists primarily highlighted the island's white residents, the New

Guinea community and their success in whaling began to be included in the narrative in the 1990s after the purchase of the African Meeting House in 1989 by the Museum of African American History (Lee and Landon 2017:17). In congruence with the broader pattern in the narrative that is promoted, New Guinea's history after whaling is not included in the popular historical narrative as it would have proven that Nantucket continued to be divided along race and class lines, hallmarks of industrialism, into the 19th and 20th centuries. This thesis aids in diversifying the island's historical narrative by highlighting how racism continued to exist and affect Black populations on Nantucket after whaling.

As Karttunen (2005) notes, New Guinea's population decreased dramatically, and the once primarily Black Five Corners neighborhood was quickly transitioning into a primarily white neighborhood by the end of the 19th century. To learn exactly what happened to New Guinea and the demographic and spatial information of Nantucket's new Black residents in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, every individual of African, Cape Verdean, or Azorean ancestry within the United States Federal Census from 1860 to 1920 were recorded. Race and birthplace categories in the census were used to assess who may have been considered a part of the island's Black community. Pertinent spatial and demographic information were recorded for each of these individuals and a FileMaker Pro database was developed to store and display this data. ArcGIS Pro was utilized to map the geographic locations of people of African, Cape Verdean, and Azorean ancestry from 1860 to 1920. With this tool, long-term changes in the island's Black community were studied.

This thesis seeks to study how racism persisted as a factor in where Nantucket's Black community was living after the decline of the whaling industry. Before the decline of the whaling industry, Nantucket's Black community was segregated to a location on the outskirts of town, but

after Black residents left their community, their properties were purchased by white islanders. Although residential segregation did foster self-sufficient and tight-knit Black communities, it also limited access to socio-economic opportunities that were detrimental to the well-being of those communities. This thesis borrows theoretical frameworks developed by archaeologists, historians, and geographers to analyze the relationship between race, space, and community formation (Scherzer 1992; Massey and Denton 1993; Canuto and Yaeger 2000; Lipsitz 2007; Shabazz 2015; Hwang 2016; Brouwer Burg 2017; Earley-Spadoni 2017; Prangnell 2020; Trepel et al. 2020; Schachter et al. 2021). Communities comprise of individuals who have a shared identity and interact regularly (Canuto and Yaeger 2000). All communities have spatial attributes, and analyzing how social constructs, such as race, influence those attributes can help determine the extent to which social constructs impacted the day to day lives of historic populations (Scherzer 1992; Massey and Denton 1993; Branton 2009; Skipper 2014; Hwang 2016; González-Tennant 2018). Analyzing the spatial characteristics of Nantucket's Black community provides insight into how race continued to influence the everyday lives of Nantucket's Black community and how the community continued to find ways to support each other.

In Chapter 2 of this thesis, I detail the history of Nantucket following the decline in whaling in the mid-19th century and the rise of other industries that developed, such as farming, fishing, small factories, and tourism in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Examining the role that Nantucket's Black community continued to have in the island's economy gives recognition to their contributions to the island's development into a tourist destination. Focusing on Nantucket's Black history after whaling extends our understanding of how racism persisted on the island even after a massive economic shift. Chapter 3 puts this thesis in conversation with other scholars who study the relationship between race, space, and community formation.

Understanding how communities formed aids in knowing how communities of color resisted racism. Furthermore, this thesis sheds light on the racist ideologies that shaped Nantucket as it grew into a tourist destination. Chapter 4 outlines the specific methods I used to identify who was a part of Nantucket's Black community in the late 19th and early 20th centuries and where they lived. Through the careful examination of demographic and spatial data recorded in federal census records, Nantucket's Black, Cape Verdean, and Azorean communities were displayed in a FileMaker Pro database and placed geographically using ArcGIS software. Chapter 5 discusses the results of the collected spatial and demographic data, which include Nantucket's Black, Cape Verdean, and Azorean populations. This data is instrumental in learning how race impacted the settlement patterns of the island's residents after the decline in whaling. Finally, chapter 6 discusses the characteristics of Nantucket's Black community from 1860 to 1920 and the spatiality of race on Nantucket after the decline in whaling. This chapter counters the erasure of Nantucket's Black community in the late 19th and early 20th centuries from the narrative that has been perpetuated about Nantucket's history.

CHAPTER 2

SOCIO-HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Nantucket Island is located 30 miles off the southern coast of Massachusetts. From the 18th to mid-19th centuries, Nantucket played a key role in the international whaling industry, but the 19th century saw a shift in its economy, which dramatically influenced what the island looks like today (Brown 1995; Karttunen 2005; Bruggman 2015). When whaling began to decline in the mid-19th century, its population dwindled, as did New Guinea, a racially segregated community primarily peopled by descendants of previously enslaved African Americans and Wampanoag people (Karttunen 2005; Muehlbauer 2021). However, soon after, Nantucket began to be marketed to the growing number of wealthy vacationers visiting Nantucket for its seemingly quaint and non-industrious atmosphere (Brown 1995). This chapter contextualizes and provides background on Nantucket's past. Analyzing how the island changed following a massive economic shift provides insight into how space on Nantucket continued to be racialized and the persistence of a Black community on the island.

New Guinea from 1770 to 1850

In the early 19th century, Nantucket became an international hub for whaling. Whale oil was used for a variety of products such as lamp oil, candles, and soap. Relying on maritime resources had always been a part of life on Nantucket. Before English settlement in 1659, native Wampanoag individuals had utilized Nantucket's resources for thousands of years. When whales were first commodified on the island, Wampanoag men who continued to live on Nantucket were employed by English captains, but as whale oil began to be in such high demand, more labor were required (Karttunen 2005:29-32; Bulger 2013; Parker 2024). Whaling was a capitalist venture where profits were the top priority and the industry transformed Nantucket into an industrial center for the processing of whale oil, resulting in a population that resembled the economic and racial stratification seen in cities. (Bruggeman 2015:200-201).

Whaling demanded cheap and exploitable labor. Therefore, white settlers to Nantucket also brought enslaved laborers with them. These enslaved individuals worked both in white homes and on whale ships. However, by the late 18th century, many began to be manumitted from slavery and decided to remain on the island and found community with Wampanoag people on Nantucket. Nantucket's Wampanoag population had begun to dwindle due to disease and land loss, pushing the remaining members to join forces with recently freed African Americans. Many Wampanoag women found partnership and resistance in marrying African American men. Together, they formed a multi-cultural and multi-racial community through building their own homes, raising families, and accruing wealth (Karttunen 2005:66-67; Parker 2024).

Although New Guinea community members were able to find success in whaling by operating their own ships and crews, the economic and settlement patterns of New Guinea show that racism was very much perpetuated on Nantucket (Massey and Denton 1993; Muehlbauer

2021; Prangnell 2020). New Guinea was a spatially segregated community located in the Five Corners neighborhood, at the confluence of York Street, Pleasant Street, and Atlantic Avenue on the southern outskirts of town (Figure 1). Muehlbauer (2021) traced Black home ownership through deeds and censuses from 1750 to 1850, finding that all Black islanders who owned property did so within the Five Corners area. Muehlbauer (2021) uses Canuto and Yaeger's (2000) definition of community to describe New Guinea as a community that was defined by their shared space and shared life experiences. New Guinea community members were all racialized as Black, experienced racial prejudice, worked in the whaling industry, and lived in the Five Corners area of Nantucket (Karttunen 2005; Muehlbauer 2021). New Guinea built their own schools, churches, businesses, and boarding houses, marking of a thriving community (Karttunen 2005). However, this success and prosperity in segregated neighborhoods is argued by Massey and Denton (1993) as being superficial, as there could only be so much upward mobility in segregated spaces. This limited success supports the idea that whaling very much promoted the economic and racial stratification of Nantucket's population.

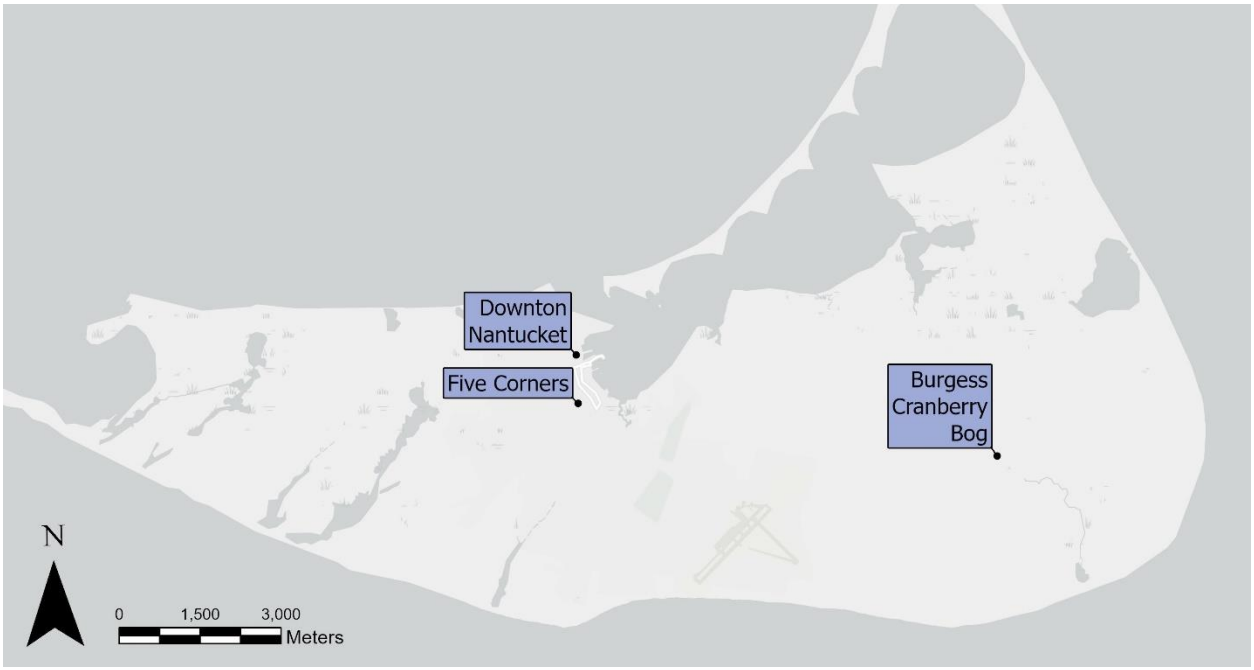


Figure 1. Location of Five Corners and the Burgess Cranberry Bog in Relation to Downtown Nantucket

Although African American and Wampanoag individuals initially formed New Guinea, they were not the only ethnic group to join the community. People from Cape Verde, the Pacific Islands, and the West Indies, who were racialized as Black on Nantucket, were welcomed into the New Guinea community. Cape Verdeans had begun to arrive on Nantucket after working on whale ships owned by Nantucket whalemen. Cape Verde is a group of islands three hundred miles west of Senegal and was colonized by Portugal in the fifteenth century (Halter 1993; Karttunen 2005:32-33). Portugal began exploiting Cape Verde in hopes of developing a cash crop, and while they found success in this, those who actually lived on the islands were rarely able to buy their own land or accrue wealth. With each new generation, there were more and more people who could not support themselves, pushing them to look elsewhere in the world for work. By the early 19th century, Nantucket whale ships required cheap immigrant labor, and Cape Verdeans were able to help fill this demand (Halter 1993; Karttunen 2005).

It was primarily single, Cape Verdean men who worked on Nantucket whale ships in the early 19th century. So, it was primarily these men who comprised the Cape Verdean population on Nantucket at this time. These men regularly married women who were a part of the New Guinea community and joined New Guinea families (Karttunen 2005:124). Elsewhere in the United States, Cape Verdean men also married African American women and were integrated into already established African American communities (Wolforth 1976; Halter 1993; Pilgrim 2006). The racial categories used in Cape Verde were different than the categories used in the United States. How race was determined in the United States during the 19th and early 20th centuries was very black-and-white and left little room for diverse racial background. This meant that in the United States Cape Verdeans were automatically categorized with African Americans as Black, even though they did not share the same ancestry or history with them. Regardless of whether Cape Verdeans self-identified as Black, the racial ideologies and cultural landscape in the early 18th century influenced where and with whom they lived with on Nantucket.

In comparison to Cape Verdeans, Azoreans were another immigrant group from a Portuguese colony but had a different experience once in the United States and on Nantucket. The Azores are located seven to eight hundred miles off the west coast of Portugal (Karttunen 2005:111). Much like Cape Verde, the Azores were colonized by Portugal in the fifteenth century, where a cash crop system was developed and Azorean men also saw Nantucket whale ships as a welcome respite from the low upward mobility on their home islands. However, once Azoreans landed on Nantucket, their experience differed greatly from that of Cape Verdeans (Karttunen 2005; Williams 2007).

The Azorean men who immigrated primarily married Anglo-American Nantucket women and were incorporated into white Nantucket society. During this pattern of strictly male-

migration to Nantucket, there was a lack of explicit Azorean culture practiced on the island, as children born to Azorean and English parentage would be raised by their English mother while their Azorean father was out at sea (Karttunen 2005:18-25). Some Azoreans were also able to start their own whaling fleets, which increased their ability to generate wealth and status on the island (Wolforth 1976; Karttunen 2005; Williams 2007). However, Krahulik (2005) does highlight that the first Azoreans who immigrated to Provincetown, MA, experienced harsh prejudice and were not considered a part of white society. This implies that there was diversity in how immigrants from the same ethnic group were treated differently based on where they settled geographically in New England. The difference in experience of these two groups on Nantucket show that how an immigrant group was racialized in the United States played a role in their livelihoods.

One family that encapsulates the history of New Guinea on Nantucket are the Boston's who owned property on the island from 1774 to 1918. The Boston family's start on the island begins when Boston and Maria were manumitted by their enslaver William Swain, who was an original Nantucket proprietor, in 1751 and 1760. Boston and Maria had six children who were all manumitted by the 1770s (Lee and Landon 2017:10; Karttunen 2005:74-75).

One of Boston and Maria's sons, Seneca Boston, was among the first people to buy land in what would one day be known as New Guinea, and he built the home at 27 York Street in 1774. Although Seneca was manumitted in 1772, he was already married to Thankful Micah, and they already had their first son, Freeborn. At this time, the area of New Guinea was an unsettled part of town and was first known as "Negro Town or Village" (Bulger 2013:10). Thankful Micah was a Wampanoag woman who came from a native Wampanoag community on the island. Wampanoag women marrying Black men was not uncommon on Nantucket, and although white

islanders racialized the New Guinea community as Black, this did not mean that the community was solely African American (Bulger 2013; Parker 2024).

Seneca Boston and Thankful Micah would raise their six children in this household at 27 York Street, and many of Seneca's siblings would remain on the island, maintaining households of their own in New Guinea. As Nantucket's participation in whaling grew, so did the population of New Guinea. The community had its own churches, schools, businesses, boarding houses, and community centers (Bulger 2013:10). Muehlbauer (2021) states that home ownership among Black islanders was an important facet in community building in the early 19th century and this can be seen in the consistent high rate of home ownership within New Guinea from its start in the late 18th century to the island's decline in whaling in the mid-19th century. The next owners of 27 York Street were Mary Boston, the wife of Freeborn Boston, and her second husband, Michael Douglass (Bulger 2013). Michael Douglass was the first Cape Verdean to be recorded on Nantucket and was one of many Cape Verdeans to arrive to Nantucket in search of jobs on whaling ships (Karttunen 2005:124). Mary was listed as head of household in 1810, and her family would occupy the home for the next few decades while New Guinea grew into a prosperous community (Bulger 2013:11).

The home was passed down to another generation in 1827 when Mary and Freeborn's daughter, Charlotte Groves, and her husband Charles bought the property from her parents. Although Charlotte and Charles were the technical homeowners, Mary Boston and Michael Douglass were still residing there in 1830. Mary died in 1834, and the deed gave each of her three children ownership of the property (Bulger 2013).

Decline of the Whaling Industry on Nantucket

By the late 1840s, Nantucket began to decline as a whaling port due to a variety of factors, and the last ship left the island in 1869. There was silt accumulating in Nantucket's harbor, which pushed ships to use ports elsewhere, kerosene was replacing whale oil, and the sperm whale population was now decreasing. Likewise, the Great Fire of 1846 on Nantucket burned the center of town and destroyed much of the infrastructure that processed whale oil. Events such as the Civil War and the California Gold Rush also pulled men previously involved in whaling to other parts of the country, and many never returned home (Brown 1995:110; Alsop 2004:564). From 1850 to 1870, the population of Nantucket dropped 50%, down to just 4,123 people (Alsop 2004:563; Karttunen 2005:241-242). Nantucket's population would not reach the same height as the 1840s until 2002 (Alsop 2004:563).

In Muehlbauer's (2021:65) study of New Guinea from 1750 to 1850 he found that the community's population had already begun to decline in the 1850 census. Many families in New Guinea, including the Boston's, were being drawn away to off-island opportunities. Lewis Berry, Mary and Freeborn's son-in-law, moved to San Francisco and found economic success while he was there. When Charlotte Groves, owner of 27 York Street beginning in 1827, died in 1851, her husband Charles took their children and moved to Brooklyn, NY where he had family connections (Bulger 2013:13). When whaling was no longer a profitable option on Nantucket, there was no incentive for many New Guinea community members to remain on the island.

Without whaling, islanders were at a loss as to what industry the island should turn towards to be self-sufficient. In 1856, islanders formed the Nantucket Agricultural Society (NAS). NAS wanted Nantucket to support itself by improving its farming productivity and the creation of small-scale industries (Alsop 2004:566). This organization rose out of the hopes

many islanders had that they could one day reexperience the prosperity that whaling provided. NAS promoted specific farming techniques that were customized to Nantucket's natural environment. They imported beef cattle, dairy cows, and sheep to increase the livestock that was on the island. Irish immigrants began to arrive to Nantucket in hopes of starting family farms. Karttunen (2005:107) mentions that vacant homes in New Guinea were first bought by Irish immigrants after the decline in whaling. However, Nantucket's salty air and terrain did not result in successful crop production. Farming did provide come families economic relief but it never provided as high profits as whaling across the entire island and did not resolve many of the economic and depopulation problems the island was facing (Alsop 2004).

As proposed by the NAS, small-scale industries were also improved upon. Nantucket could not support textile mills like many other previous New England whaling ports were finding success in, as there was no powerful water source on Nantucket (Brown 1995; Alsop 2004). Alsop (2004) and Karttunen (2005) list small straw hat, basket making, boot, shoe, coat, and knitting factories and industries that began to be developed on the island in the 1850s and 1860s. Nantucket's small-scale industries found some success on Nantucket, but they were not extremely profitable, and most eventually shut down (Karttunen 2005).

Textile mills were not the only avenue that previous New England whaling ports chose; many cities also put more effort into their fishing capabilities. Cities such as Gloucester, Newburyport, and Provincetown all found fishing to be profitable post-whaling when they did not have powerful water sources. Fishing was also improved on Nantucket post-whaling (Wolforth 1976; Karttunen 2005). Fishing was an easy transition for cities as there was already the labor force who was knowledgeable about the water and had infrastructure that could support fishing fleets (Wolforth 1976). Fishing happened all year, and with connections to Boston and

New York, fishing could be extremely profitable for port cities. Those who owned fishing fleets could then invest their money in land industries, improving Nantucket's economy broadly (Wolforth 1976).

As whaling ended on Nantucket and across New England, Azoreans and Cape Verdeans were no longer needed to work on whale ships. However, the quality of life in the Azores or in Cape Verde did not improve. Portugal also instituted a military conscription law in 1873, which required every male Portuguese citizen to serve in the nation's military. This law, combined with continued economic struggles on their home islands, influenced many men to leave their home islands and migrate to the United States. Although New England whaling declined at this time, the new, post-whaling New England industries now demanded cheap immigrant labor. However, the experiences and livelihoods of Azorean and Cape Verdean immigrants and their descendants in these new industries were not the same (Halter 1993; Karttunen 2005; Krahulik 2005; Pilgrim 2006; Williams 2007).

By the early 20th century, immigrants in the United States were very concerned with how they were categorized racially and where they fell in the racial hierarchy (Krahulik 2005). Immigrants knew that whiteness was the ideal and that the greatest socioeconomic well-being was reserved for those considered white. Therefore, immigrants had to come to terms with the fact that their ethnic ties and practices would affect their placement in the racial hierarchy. Immigrant groups such as the Irish or Italians faced immense prejudice when first immigrating to the United States but with enough change to their ethnic identity and adopting just enough American practices, they were successful in eventually be considered white (Krahulik 2005:54). As more immigrants poured into the United States during the 20th century, there were increasing anti-immigrant ideologies among white Americans. Dominant, white Americans used elaborate

racial taxonomies to define whiteness and who should be allowed to become an American citizen. The place that immigrant groups were able to attain in the racial hierarchies not only affected the possibility of full citizenship but their socioeconomic status as well (Krahulik 2005; Bastos 2018).

Although Azoreans were able to eventually be categorized as white, Cape Verdeans had a different experience. Despite both groups being of Portuguese nationality, they were treated very differently racially. Due to the United States' racial constructs, Cape Verdeans were racialized as Black due to their darker skin complexion and African ancestry (Pilgrim 2006). However, Cape Verdeans knew that they had a different ethnic history than African Americans. They also knew of the prejudice that African Americans faced. This knowledge, along with racial constructs in Cape Verde being different than those in the United States, Cape Verdeans were caught between how they self-identified and how they were categorized racially by others (Pilgrim 2006:193-194). The racial categorization of Cape Verdeans greatly affected their occupational choices and ultimately their economic success.

For Azoreans, there was a new high demand for cheap immigrant labor to work in textile mills. This labor not just employed men but also women, incentivizing Azorean women to migrate to the United States for the first time (Williams 2007:4). Working in the textile mills did not allow for much economic advancement, and Azoreans who worked in textile mills were grouped in with other poor southern-European immigrant groups (Baganha 1991; Williams 2007). Textile mill work was also an option for new Cape Verdean immigrants, but many were turned away from mills due to racist hiring practices, pushing them to other industries instead (Halter 1993; Pilgrim 2006).

Two other industries that were developing in New England, including Nantucket, and that Azoreans and Cape Verdeans took part in were fishing and farming. In cities such as Provincetown and Gloucester, fishing was able to easily replace whaling as a maritime industry. On Nantucket, fishermen used docks that had previously been used by whale ships (Mojer 2023). Some fishing boats would make trips out to George's Bank, 60 miles east of Cape Cod and bring back cod, haddock and flounder that were then sold to markets in New York City, Boston, Providence, or New Bedford (McCleare and Carlisle 1994; Mojer 2023). Fish packing warehouses were located on Steamboat Wharf, located on the waterfront in downtown Nantucket. This work was year-round, which made it a constant source of income for many on Nantucket (Mojer 2023).

In Provincetown, Azoreans were able to take advantage of the up-and-coming fishing industry. Between 1840 and 1880, Azoreans had almost entirely replaced Anglo-American fishing captains in Provincetown (Wolforth 1976:36). Many of these new Azorean fishermen had previously been whalers and hired their kin who had just recently emigrated. Similar to textile mills, some Cape Verdeans were able to find work on fishing boats but did not find the same economic success as Azoreans did. In fact, some fishing captains, including Azoreans, turned away Cape Verdeans due to their race (Halter 1993:93). The continued unequal job opportunities between Azoreans and Cape Verdeans further exemplify that the differences in their immigrant experiences were shaped by racial constructs in the United States.

Farming was another industry where there were differences in the economic success that Cape Verdeans and Azoreans were able to achieve. Azoreans purchased their own farms in rural areas outside of New England cities (Williams 2007:46-49). On the other side of the country, in California, Azoreans who had migrated to California through whaling had high rates of economic

success in farming; it is possible that New England Azoreans experienced similar outcomes (Baganha 1991:282). On Nantucket, Manny Francis Dias' father, who had migrated from the Azores to the United States, first worked in textile mills in New Haven, Connecticut, but eventually moved his family to Nantucket where he farmed and sold vegetables in a roadside stand (Dias 1998). Mary P. Williams' father, another Azorean immigrant, however, never owned his own farm but instead worked at the Franklin Valley Farm, a dairy farm, on Nantucket (Williams 2000). Azoreans had farming experience in their home islands, which made agrarian work familiar to them (Williams 2007). Azorean farmers were able to achieve some level of success by operating small family farms where they could procure their own goods for sale to larger markets.

Cape Verdeans were involved in New England farming differently; they dominated the growing cranberry bog industry in New England (Halter 1993:99). Although cranberry harvesting had occurred on Nantucket for thousands of years by the Wampanoag and by English settlers earlier in the islands' colonial history, once cranberry harvesting was commercialized, the labor of Cape Verdean immigrants was exploited to propel this new industry. In 1906, the Burgess Cranberry Company was started at Milestone Bog on Nantucket, primarily employing Cape Verdeans (Larrabee and Foley 2021). Cranberry bog workers stayed in shanties that were built by the cranberry company and near the work site. Shanties in other New England bogs were overcrowded, and those living there had to provide their own food (Halter 1993:104-107). Despite the poor living conditions, shanties provided, Halter (1993) claims that these conditions were better than the working and living conditions Azoreans experienced in urban living quarters near textile mills. Working in the cranberry bogs allowed families to stay and live together and have greater control over child-rearing (Halter 1993:111).

The cranberry bogs on Nantucket were located in the central part of the island, well outside of the town limits, potentially creating a secluded atmosphere for Cape Verdeans to form a community (Larrabee and Foley 2021). Cranberry planting and harvesting were temporary jobs, one happening in spring and another happening in summer. Cape Verdeans rarely owned their own bogs, so many were tied to a migratory lifestyle. Some would go off-island to urban centers like New Bedford or Providence, while others remained on the island to work as porters, chambermaids, waiters, and waitresses. There was some opportunity for full-time work in the cranberry industry to manage bogs and prepare for the upcoming season, but this work was limited to only a select number of men (Halter 1993). One of these men who worked year-round in the bog on Nantucket was Joseph Lopes' father, Mathew Lopes, who was a Cape Verdean immigrant who lived on Nantucket. Joseph would work in the bog as a child and oftentimes missed school when it was harvesting season. Their family would later move into town when his father was able to find other work (Lopes 1999). Eventually, Cape Verdeans were able to create permanent roots and buy homes, solidifying their presence on the landscape (Halter 1993). Joseph Lopes and Pauline Singleton's families, both Cape Verdean, were able to leave cranberry harvesting and move to other parts of the island to work in permanent, year-round jobs (Singleton 1993; Lopes 1999). However, Pauline Singleton states that Cape Verdeans, specifically women, were barred from working in jobs other than domestic service (Singleton 1993).

Although Azorean and Cape Verdeans had similar experiences before migrating to New England and similar reasons for leaving their home islands, their immigrant experience was marked by the racial constructs in the United States. As discussed above, when Azoreans and Cape Verdeans first migrated and settled in Nantucket, they were racially categorized differently.

Azoreans married and lived with Anglo-Americans, while Cape Verdeans married and lived within the New Guinea community. In census records, Azoreans were widely marked as white while Cape Verdeans were marked as Black (Karttunen 2005:21). However, this does not mean that Azoreans did not experience discrimination for their immigrant status or prove that they belonged in white society.

Azoreans were among other immigrant groups, such as the Irish or Italians, who experienced prejudice because of their immigrant status in the United States. However, like the Irish and Italians, Azoreans were able to adopt American practices and values to eventually be incorporated into white society. Azoreans in Provincetown purposefully acted in ways that ridiculed Cape Verdeans and African Americans, aligning their values with Anglo-American ones. Some of these actions were that they did not hire Cape Verdeans in their fishing crews and participated in minstrel shows while wearing black face (Halter 1993:93; Krahulik 2005:64). On Nantucket, both Azoreans and Cape Verdeans attended the same church, St. Mary, Our Lady of the Isle Catholic Church. In oral history interviews, Azoreans have described the church as a key location of Azorean culture on the island (Dias 1998). Although many Cape Verdeans attended the church, St. Mary's was also a place of racism and prejudice. Cape Verdean couples were not allowed to get married in the church or participate in church clubs until the 1950s (Singleton 1993; Stanley 2022).

Azoreans in Provincetown, MA, would eventually economically dominate Anglo-Americans and reign over the profitable fishing industry there, but it is not clear if this also occurred on Nantucket (Krahulik 2005). Manny Francis Dias, whose Azorean family moved to Nantucket after working in textile mills on the mainland, describes the cultural differences between those who lived north or south of Main Street. Manny's family, along with other

Azoreans and other working-class islanders, lived in the southern part of town while more affluent and wealthy islanders lived towards the north. Manny states that this division was harsh and that those who lived on either side of Main Street did not associate with one another and were especially not finding community in one another (Dias 1998). The stories that have been preserved imply Azoreans were not yet fully allowed to integrate into the upper classes of Nantucket's white society and, additionally, that Nantucket's landscape was divided along class lines.

Despite hardships faced by both Cape Verdeans and Azoreans, both groups seemed to have had close-knit communities on the island. Communities would have helped immigrants support each other and find others who could sympathize with their unique immigrant experiences (Scherzer 1992; Canuto and Yaeger 2000). Azoreans would eventually construct Alfonso Hall, later named Father Griffin Hall, in 1895, which was located on Cherry Street on the southern edge of town where recent Azorean immigrants settled. Here they would hold church related events, Portuguese holidays, parties, and dances (Dias 1998; Karttunen 2005:117-118). The childhoods of many Cape Verdean islanders were marked by the close-knit network of family members who lived on Nantucket. There were also so many cousins to play with to the point where Pauline Singleton describes that when she got older and began dating, she felt that all Cape Verdean islanders were her family rather than just friends (Singleton 1993). Leslie Gomes Preston explained that her network of family and friends on the island made up for any racial prejudice that she endured (Preston 2022). These communities would have helped Cape Verdeans and Azoreans find solace while living in a new place and improve their experiences on Nantucket (Scherzer 1993; Canuto and Yaeger 2000).

Nantucket Tourism

During the middle to late 19th century, when Nantucket was diversifying its economy, there was a new trend in tourism in New England. Although tourism would be what propelled Nantucket economically into the current day, smaller industries like fishing, farming, and cranberry harvesting likely served as much-needed support during the early years and the tourism off-season. Tourists were now attracted to places that seemed to be stuck in the past. People wanted to escape the industrial cities they were now living in and experience an atmosphere that had seemingly not been marked by industrialization (Brown 1995:106-108). The Nantucket Inquirer and Mirror during the mid-1860s wrote to encourage "islanders to invest in the summer trade, and to think of it as a business proposition" (Brown 1995:111). During the 1850s and early 1860s, gas lighting was also installed along streets and in residences and businesses to make the island more attractive to tourists. There were also elm trees planted along streets and parks to beautify the town (Alsop 2004). These were purposeful actions taken to improve the island's built environment and natural beauty to attract tourists. Targeted advertising to tourists had stopped during the Civil War but was reinstated in the 1860s and 1870s, marketing Nantucket as a summer resort. By the 1880s, it seems the marketing of the island had paid off. In August of 1882 Nantucket Inquirer and Mirror news article stated that hotels were turning visitors away and private boarding houses were overflowing (Karttunen 2005:242-243).

By the 1870s, there had already been some large financial investments in tourism on Nantucket. Many whaling families had returned to the island to try and profit from the newfound industry. One of these families, the Coffins, planned to build a "cottage city," a type of development that had been popular with tourists on Martha's Vineyard. These developments consisted of constructing small rental cottages and creating a new neighborhood. Cottage cities

would take advantage of the large swaths of land that had not been used by whaling and were outside of Nantucket town. These swaths of land had been owned and unused by old whaling families. However, despite the success of these developments on Martha's Vineyard, not all were successful on Nantucket. By the 1880s, lots that had previously been improved and cleared were being sold for much less than their anticipated value. Tourists were instead renting rooms or small cottages from private families in Nantucket town. The lackluster success of cottage cities on Nantucket highlights what tourists wanted out of Nantucket: to experience a quaint small village by the sea (Brown 1995).

With what tourists wanted out of Nantucket and what islanders were able to provide, Nantucket was turning into a "living museum" where the architecture, people, and atmosphere all played a role in what the Nantucket experience was (Brown 1995:108). The new buildings and homes that were built to rent to tourists were not representative of the popular architecture during the 1880s and 1890s but were instead representative of what tourists believed Nantucket to have looked like during its whaling era (Karttunen 2005; Horlacher 2016). As a result of what tourists wanted out of the island, the history that was being portrayed to tourists ultimately stopped at 1850; only the island's history surrounding whaling was what was marketed to tourists (Brown 1995:131; Karttunen 2005:244-245). Nantucket's economy soon entirely depended on tourism, continuing the persistence of historical narratives and architecture promoted by the Nantucket Historical Association and wealthy tourists. This ultimately led to the ignoring and eventual erasure of other histories besides whaling that took place on Nantucket. The Nantucket Historical Association (NHA) was created in 1894 and ultimately became the island's historical authority. The NHA opened the Nantucket Whaling Museum in 1930, solidifying that Nantucket's historical narrative was going to focus on whaling (Bruggeman 2015).

The narrative promoted by the NHA was a reaction to the rising heritage tourism industry across the United States. Bruggeman (2015) described the Nantucket Whaling Museum as being akin to Colonial Williamsburg, Greenfield Village, and Mystic Seaport, opening in 1934, 1933, and 1948. All of these institutions harken to a bygone era but concurrently ignore parts of that history. William Macy, elected president of the NHA in 1924, believed "that Nantucket's past belonged to only some of its residents" (Bruggeman 2015:196). These specific residents were old, prominent whaling families and the new wealthy summer tourists, not the descendants of the whaling working class or the newly arrived Irish and Portuguese immigrants. The histories and houses of the few families who gained wealth and prominence through whaling were preserved while the hardships and economic disparities of the working classes were erased (Bruggeman 2015).

The NHA both promoted and told tourists that Nantucket was never industrial when whaling changed and shaped the island into an industrial landscape dedicated to the processing of whale oil that was collected on whaling ships. There were oil warehouses, refineries, and candle factories concentrated along the waterfront (Jones 2023:62). With money profited from whale products, successful whaling captains built Greek revival mansions and brick commercial buildings in downtown Nantucket (Brown 1995:110; Bruggeman 2015:200-201). The industrial nature of the whaling industry on the island also promoted the stratification of its population by class and race. Both class and race have always played a role in modern capitalism and would have been prevalent on Nantucket during its involvement in the whaling industry (Orser 1996). Whaling captains were able to acquire large amounts of wealth by profiting from the labor of others. This differentiation between those who labored and those who profited resulted in a cultural landscape that reflected these social patterns. Where people lived on the island was

governed by their class and race which ultimately influenced their experiences on Nantucket. (Brown 1995; Bruggeman 2015; Muehlbauer 2021; Jones 2023). Ignoring diverse histories deemphasizes the class and racial stratification caused by whaling and therefore ignores the industrial nature of whaling (Bruggeman 2015). The NHA wanted Nantucket to be seen as racially pure and stuck in the past to attract tourists, but neither of these things were true (Brown 1995:118).

Nantucket was not the only place that was glorifying and whitewashing its whaling past. The city of New Bedford was also manufacturing a historical narrative about its involvement in whaling. In fact, Old Dartmouth Historical Society (ODHS), New Bedford's equivalent to Nantucket's NHA, were inspired by Nantucket's new historical narrative and used it as an example in creating theirs (Lindgren 2019:67). The ODHS, founded in 1903, wanted to preserve its whaling history due to the influx of immigrants in the early 20th century working in textile mills, many of them Azorean and Cape Verdean. William Crapo, ODHS's founder, believed that these new immigrants did not care about New Bedford's whaling past, even though those same ethnic groups worked on whale ships (Lindgren 2019:54). They wanted to highlight the city's original, English citizens' success in whaling. However, the English did not make up the majority of whale ship crews. Much like the NHA, ODHS ignored whaling's industrial nature and how it exploited the working class to make profits for only a few. The ODHS wanted New Bedford to be seen as quaint, like what tourists had begun seeing Nantucket as. The parallels of these cities' tactics towards historical narratives show that to be perceived as quaint or non-industrial, there was no place for racially diverse histories (Lindgren 2019).

New Guinea After Whaling

Despite there being massive population loss of not only New Guinea but also the entire island, there were a few New Guinea community members who did remain on the island and maintained some aspects of the community into the 20th century. Of the Boston's, Eliza Berry, daughter of Mary and Freeborn Boston, had gained part ownership of the 27 York Street home in 1834 and lived out the rest of her life on the island. She died in 1883 under the care of her niece, Elizabeth Stevens (Bulger 2013:13). Phebe Groves, who was a sister to Elizabeth, had moved to Brooklyn with her father, moved back to Nantucket for about 10 years after staying in Brooklyn for a short time. Both Phebe and Eliza worked as domestics in white households during their time in Nantucket in the late 19th century (Bulger 2013:117-118).

Elizabeth Stevens would be the last permanent resident of 27 York Street who was a member of the Boston family. Elizabeth was the daughter of Charlotte and Charles Groves and had spent most of her adult life in Brooklyn, where her father moved after her mother died in 1851. After marrying twice and having no children, she moved back to Nantucket to care for her aunt, Eliza Berry, by 1860. Elizabeth remained on the island until she died in 1915. (Bulger 2013:115, 118).

Although whaling had dramatically changed the New Guinea community, the fact that the Pleasant Street Baptist Church continued well after the decline in whaling indicates that those who remained on Nantucket still identified with the New Guinea community that had existed prior to the decline. Even still, the number of remaining New Guinea community members was minuscule, and the area that previously once housed the island's Black community was described as "a backwater inhabited by a small number of black families" in 1900 (Karttunen 2005:234-235). Karttunen (2005:240) states that those who remained in New Guinea were linked through

their association with the Pleasant Street Baptist Church. The Boston's were always prominent members of the church, as it was located right next door to 27 York Street in the African Meeting House. The Boston's were also a touchstone for the remaining New Guinea community; Elizabeth Stevens was one of the last parishioners and was on the deed of transfer when the church was sold in 1911 (Bulger 2013:122; Fairweather 2023:79). Also, there were battery operated lights installed and roof shingles were replaced at the African Meeting House in the 1880s, implying that it was still seen as important to upkeep and maintain at this time (Fairweather 2023:75). The Pleasant Street Baptist Church had always been important to and attracted the long-standing New Guinea community members during the height of whaling, this importance to the community continued well after the decline in whaling and likely provided solace in a time of dramatic change to the community.

Elizabeth sold 27 York Street to her sister Phebe's children, Caroline B. Talbot and George Groves Hogarth, in 1914. After she died in 1915, there is no evidence that either Caroline or George lived permanently on the property as they spent little, if any time previously on Nantucket. George died in World War I, and Caroline sold the property to Edward H. Whelden, a white man, in 1919, the first non-Boston family member to own the property since 1774 (Bulger 2013:13).

As the remaining original New Guinea community members were slowly dwindling, there was a national phenomenon occurring within the United States. In the 20th century, African Americans who had been living in the southern United States began moving north in large numbers (Norton 1993). They were escaping limited job opportunities, economic immobility, poor education, and racial violence (Tolnay 2003). This period of history has been called the Great Migration by scholars (Norton 1993; Tolnay 2003). One of the hopes that many migrants

had by moving north was having better job opportunities that had higher wages. Although there was some success in finding better job opportunities and wages, segregation, and racist hiring practices still existed in the North. Despite this, Black men found work in northern factories that constantly had a high demand for cheap labor while Black women found success as working as domestic servants (Tolnay 2003; Horlacher 2016:49). On Nantucket, as the tourist industry developed, the incoming wealthy tourists would have required lots of labor to provide the leisurely experience that they desired (Brown 1995; Karttunen 2005). One individual who encapsulates this period of Nantucket's history was Florence Higginbotham, who was a domestic who began working on Nantucket in 1911 (Higginbotham 1989; Karttunen 2005; Horlacher 2016).

Florence had been born in Virginia and made her way to Boston to begin her program at the Boston Cooking School (Higginbotham 1989; Horlacher 2016:7). In the summer of 1911, she along with two of her classmates travelled to Siasconset, a town located on the eastern side of the island, to work as domestic servants (Higginbotham 1989). This is where Florence first met Evelyn Higginbotham, who owned a cottage city (Higginbotham 1989; Booker 2014). These cottages were first built by her husband Edward Higginbotham to take advantage of the growing demand for small and rustic rental properties that represented Nantucket's created fabricated atmosphere for tourists. Edward had died in 1898, and his wife continued his work, with the help of Florence, into the 20th century (Brown 1995; Booker 2014). By 1917, Florence married Robert Higginbotham, who was working as a fisherman in Siasconset, on the eastern edge of the island, and Florence was listed as a laundress on the marriage certificate (Higginbotham 1989; Karttunen 2005). In 1920 and 1921, Florence would purchase the home at 27 York Street that had been owned by a white man, Edward H. Whelden, since the last Boston family descendant

sold the property in 1918. Florence also gave birth to her son William Higginbotham and began working for Evelyn Underhill full-time in the same year. Florence would divorce Robert in 1923 for desertion (Karttunen 2005; Bulger 2013). According to William Higginbotham in a 1989 interview, the home at 27 York Street had not been well-taken care of and on her days off, Florence would work to fix up the property. She and William lived with Evelyn in her cottage in Siasconset, The China Closet, during the summer season and travelled with her to Waltham, MA, to live there during the winter months (Higginbotham 1989).

Sometime between 1929 and 1931, Florence and William moved permanently to 27 York Street and would live there the entire year. Evelyn Underhill also joined them, as she had lost her properties and savings during the Great Depression (Higginbotham 1989; Karttunen 2005; Booker 2014). When remembering this period of his life, William Higginbotham states that Evelyn treated him more like a grandson than a domestic servant's son. He also stated that they ate meals together and did not have separate living quarters inside the house (Higginbotham 1989).

Florence and William were not the only Black people who began making Nantucket their home in the 20th century. Nantucket provided work for many of the Black men and women who were traveling north (Tolnay 2003). On the island, vacationers required others to cook, clean, carry luggage, and do yard work for them, making Black laborers pivotal in sustaining the island's tourist industry. The tourist industry would also support Black owned businesses such as liveries, catering services, and laundries (Kartunnen 2005). There was a mix of temporary and permanent Black residents on Nantucket who created a community that supported the oftentimes arduous job of caring for white tourists. While Black islanders were on Nantucket to work, there was one family who were vacationers to the island, the Carters, and who have been described as

the only Black family to own a summer home on Nantucket (Stewart 2004). The Carters were from Philadelphia and had finished building their Nantucket home, Windsor Cottage, in 1927. Although this suggests that they were more economically well-off that Black domestics, the Carters found community with those who came to Nantucket for domestic work (Stewart 2004; Karttunen 2005).

On Nantucket, Black residents were much less concentrated than previously; the New Guinea community had been a segregated and spatially close community of the island's Black residents (Higginbotham 1989; Karttunen 2005; Muehlbauer 2021). However, William Higginbotham does state that Black residents of Nantucket did not live on the north side of town but on the south side of it. New Guinea had been on the south side (Higginbotham 1989). The African Meeting House, located at 29 York Street, had ceased holding church services in 1911, which had been a facet in New Guinea for generations. What replaced weekly gatherings of Black islanders were get-togethers hosted by Black homeowners on Nantucket for other Black individuals who were new to the island or lived with their white employers (Higginbotham 1989; Karttunen 2005; Horlacher 2016). Domestics regularly had Thursdays and Sundays off from work, making those days when many people could gather in someone's home. David Barret, a next-door neighbor to Florence, described gatherings at Florence's home as a replacement for church services, suggesting that these gatherings were important and valued by their attendees (Karttunen 2005:269-270). Other Black islanders who hosted gatherings like Florence did were Ruth Grant, Louise Phillips, Clarence Wilson, and the Carter family. Many of these individuals would also board seasonal Black workers in their home during the summer season as well (Higginbotham 1989; Stewart 2004; Karttunen 2005). William Higginbotham also notes that "the [Summer Street] Baptist Church let the colored people have a service of their own in the

afternoons." This was not until after World War II, beyond the scope of this thesis, but it does signify that there was a growing Black community on Nantucket in the 20th century (Higginbotham 1989).

Despite gatherings twice a week along with church services being a valuable source of community for domestics on the island, as a child, William Higginbotham does not describe his childhood as a happy one. Although this is one person's experience and may not have been the case for everyone, William states that he was the only Black child who lived permanently on the island in the 1930s (Higginbotham 1989). This implies that the Black community was primarily made up of adults and not families with children. This makes sense as many of Nantucket's Black residents were temporarily living there, and the work that they participated in did not support starting families (Karttunen 2005). William's experience may also suggest that Nantucket's Black community at the time was primarily women, as the tourist industry may have primarily supported the domestic labor of Black women (Tolnay 2003).

William also discusses his friendships with white children on the island and the racial discrimination that he experienced. He states that although white children played with him, as they got older or when other white children arrived for the summer, they abandoned him (Higginbotham 1989). William also states that there were certain beaches, restaurants, and dance halls that Black islanders were not welcome at (Higginbotham 1989). In a Travelers' Green Book from 1962, 1963, and 1966, which advertised hotels, restaurants, gas stations, and businesses that Black travelers were safe to patronize listed The Skipper Restaurant as one of these locations (Victor H. Green & Company 1962a, Victor H. Green & Company 1963b, Victor H. Green & Company 1966c). William's childhood experiences show that racism was prevalent on the island and that Black people were not welcome into white social circles.

Although the listing for The Skipper Restaurant is much later than the time frame of this thesis, the listing, along with William's account, tells us that Nantucket was a racialized landscape where Black people had unequal access to goods and services. William stated that he felt that there was no Black community on Nantucket and that he felt that they had no spatial separation from the dominant white community, making it difficult to find escape (Higginbotham 1989).

However, Black Americans were not the only ones who were racialized as Black in the late 19th and early 20th centuries on Nantucket. Cape Verdeans had begun to arrive on the island in large numbers when, in 1906, the Burgess Cranberry Company industrialized cranberry harvesting in the central part of the island. It would be Cape Verdeans who dominated the labor force at this bog (Larrabee and Foley 2021). Previously on Nantucket, Cape Verdeans had married into and lived with Black families in New Guinea (Karttunen 2005). Although Cape Verdeans and Black islanders could have found community with each other and supported each other on Nantucket, this was not the case. David Higginbotham, who had lived on Nantucket with his grandmother, Florence, for two years in the 1960s, said that he "viewed them with suspicion." When asked if associating with them would have opened his social circle on Nantucket, David responded that they would not have accepted him either (Higginbotham 1989). However, Pauline Singleton whose family had remained permanently on the island after working in cranberry bogs, stated that her dating pool was primarily made up of the young Black men who came to work on Nantucket for the summer (Singleton 1993). These stories show that the experiences these two groups had with each other were not always the same and that it should not be assumed that just because they were racialized as Black by the dominant white class and experienced racial discrimination, they automatically formed a community with one another.

Although William Higginbotham may be correct in that Nantucket's Black community was no longer geographically as close to one another as they once had been, nor found community with Cape Verdeans, Black islanders still all had a shared experience of enduring racial prejudice on Nantucket and regularly interacted with each other in weekly gatherings. Although William states that he did not feel a sense of community, these weekly gatherings likely served a higher number of adults who had come to work in the tourist industry than families with children (Higginbotham 1989; Karttunen 2005). Karttunen (2005) does not mention these widespread Jim Crow-era segregation tactics in her comprehensive history of Nantucket's ethnic communities. This erasure ignores the fact that Nantucket's Black community was likely bonded over not being welcome in all facets of Nantucket life. It also overlooks the fact that Nantucket was not barred from racism existing just because of its seemingly quaint, non-industrial atmosphere (Brown 1995). Instead, Nantucket in the late 19th and early 20th centuries was the site of a racialized landscape that divided its residents by race and class.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW

This thesis is primarily concerned with understanding the relationship between race and space in community formation. By examining demographic and spatial changes in Nantucket's Black community in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, this thesis contributes to this scholarship. Communities have played an integral role in the resistance and persistence of free Black people in the United States. Communities offer a sense of belonging and empowerment which helps Black people to weather racism (hooks 1990; Battle-Baptiste 2011; Douyard 2014; LaRoche 2014). Analyzing the ways Black people maintained communities that they were a part of exposes how racism affected their everyday lives and how they worked to persevere. This thesis specifically seeks to uncover the various ways in which race is spatialized and how Black communities overcome different racialized settlement patterns. Residential segregation is the most common form of racialized space, but it is not the only way race influences the landscape (Massey and Denton 1993; Skipper 2014; Hwang 2016; González-Tennant 2018). Analyzing Nantucket's landscape following the decline of the whaling industry presents a unique

opportunity to study the various ways race manifests itself on the landscape, as the economic depression that followed the decline of whaling dramatically altered the island (Karttunen 2005).

As a study that is interested in understanding and examining the impact of race on the formation and maintenance of communities, this study strives to contribute to the broader archaeological study of community by examining how community members work to continually support one another in racialized spaces. This thesis is also concerned with utilizing the tools and methods used by archaeologists, geographers, and historians to visually represent historic communities on the landscape for easy analysis (Fleiss 2000; Lafreniere and Gilliland 2015; Brouwer Burg 2017; Earley-Spadoni 2017; Trepel et al. 2020). Furthermore, researching and analyzing Nantucket's Black community aids in continuing to diversify the historical narrative that continues to play a role in the island's economy today (Brown 1995; Bruggeman 2015; Jones 2023).

Archaeology of Black Space and Community Formation

In archaeology, understanding how space has been influenced by social constructs is important for fully grasping how past humans interacted with the landscape around them and what everyday life was like. Landscapes are comprised of a myriad of spaces that were given meaning by the people who occupied them (Branton 2009). Race is a social construct that was developed to categorize people by their physical characteristics to condone inequality and white dominance (Hartigan 1997; Smedley 1998; Schachter et al. 2021). Although there have been a multitude of racial categories used throughout history, this thesis is primarily concerned with people who have been categorized as Black. In the United States, the 'Black' racial category was first used to describe individuals of African ancestry who had been forced into chattel slavery.

Although there have been free Black people in the United States for just as long as there were enslaved, slavery would mar the social and economic opportunities of Black people in the United States for centuries (Katznelson 2005; Schachter et al. 2021).

Analyzing the way that space was used by past cultures can expose how space was used as a tool of oppression and a tool of persistence. Space was used to separate and deter social interaction between white and non-white populations, which oftentimes ended in non-white populations being segregated to one geographic area (Lipsitz 2007; Lipsitz 2011). This segregation would limit one's access to services such as health care, job opportunities, and education (Massey and Denton 1993; Shabazz 2015; Lipsitz 2007; Lipsitz 2011). How the racialization of space affected Black populations has been most visible on plantations and in segregated free-Black communities (Massey and Denton 1993; Battle-Baptiste 2011; Shabazz 2015). Scholars such as Massey and Denton (1993), Lipsitz (2007), and Shabazz (2015) state that Black people were controlled in where they could physically move on the landscape to limit their ability to have the same opportunities as white people. This limitation prevented them from achieving the same level of success as white people and breaking from the exploitative power structure of capitalism (Schachter et al. 2021).

However, space has also been used by Black populations to persevere and persist within racist social structures. Communities formed through the seclusion of Black populations to spaces deemed undesirable by whites, in turn, helped Black people survive in societies that benefited from their exploitation (Branton 2009; Lipsitz 2011, LaRoche 2014, McKittrick and Woods 2007; Muehlbauer 2021). To define community this thesis borrows from Canuto and Yaeger (2000) who state that although members within communities are usually spatially close to one another, communities are more broadly defined by a group of people who have a shared

identity and interact regularly. Communities have been used by Black populations to support one another for social, economic, and political empowerment (hooks 1990; Lipsitz 2011, LaRoche 2014, McKittrick and Woods 2007; Battle-Baptiste 2011; Douyard 2014).

Significance of non-Spatially Contiguous Communities

When discussing the spatialization of race, residential segregation is the form of it that gets discussed the most by scholars. Segregation is the de jure or de facto prevention of Black people from residing in homes amongst white residents (Massey and Denton 1993). Although segregated communities may be the most visible on the landscape, it is not the only way race has influenced the way space is used. There have been numerous examples of once spatially contiguous Black communities being displaced because that geographic area was now desired by white people (Skipper 2014, Hwang 2016, González-Tennant 2018; Lewis 2022). Ways in which Black communities were displaced vary from violent (González-Tennant 2018; Lewis 2022) to gradual disappearances of once thriving communities (Skipper 2014; Hwang 2016). Black communities have continually experienced displacement throughout history and is a facet of Black history in the United States. The inability to have permanence is indicative of the lack of respect white people have for the preservation of Black homeplaces (Lipsitz 2007; Massey and Denton 1993; Shabazz 2015).

Although many communities have experienced displacement, it does not mean that those communities or the presence of Black people on the landscape deteriorates entirely. Canuto and Yaeger (2000) highlight the importance of a shared identity rather than a shared location as the most important factor in communities. When Black communities are displaced from a space that was once solely theirs, communities have found ways to persist through this change and continue

providing support for one another (Hwang 2016; Canuto and Yaeger 2000). Non-spatially contiguous communities still served a purpose to their members as living amongst and within primarily white communities would have offered a new set of challenges such as constantly being surveilled by whites and interactions with racist neighbors. In Hwang (2016), McDavid (2011), and Skipper (2014), institutions such as churches and other gathering places still served the communities that were once spatially contiguous.

How non-spatially contiguous communities develop and persist provides insight into how these communities maintain regular interaction amongst themselves for support. Hwang (2016) found that in South Philadelphia, Black residents continued to identify with the historic boundaries of their neighborhood, even after gentrification by white residents. Gentrification is the influx of middle to upper-class residents to an area that had once primarily been the home of lower-class residents (Hwang 2016:102). Black residents in South Philadelphia continue to identify with the original boundaries of their community shows that Black residents continued to value the shared identity that existed before gentrification and still found strength in continuing to use it (Hwang 2016). Skipper (2014) and McDavid (2011) both note that certain gathering places, such as churches, continued to operate as locations where Black communities could regularly interact. Understanding what community centers and locations continued to provide community maintenance opportunities gives insight into how Black communities persisted through gentrification and displacement (Hwang 2016). This thesis contributes to this body of literature that examines the spatiality of race following a massive shift in the previous settlement pattern.

Historical Demography of Black Communities

To study Black communities, many scholars have turned towards utilizing the historical records to understand the spatiality of historic Black communities. These studies fall under the term historical demography, which is a broad discipline that studies past human populations (Sharlin 1977). To represent this data spatially, Geographic Information Systems, or GIS, has regularly been used since its inception in the 1990s (Brouwer Burg 2017:116; Earley-Spadoni 2017:96; Trepel et al. 2020). In archaeology, GIS has been used to show the location of sites, features, or artifacts within the landscape they are in. GIS can help archaeologists handle multiple types of data at once, making it easier to use multiple lines of evidence in their analysis. In utilizing the capabilities of GIS, archaeologists have been able to incorporate historical documents and oral histories into GIS programs (González-Tennant 2016; Trepel et al 2020:426).

In comparison to stereotypical artifact types used within archaeology, historical documents and oral histories offer a unique opportunity to look at a larger geographic area instead of a single site (Fleiss 2000; Trepel et al. 2020). In the case of Nantucket, the African Meeting House and Boston-Higginbotham House are the only sites that have been excavated by archaeologists, but the broader Black population of Nantucket was much larger than those two sites (Karttunen 2005; Muehlbauer 2021). Although the African Meeting House and the Boston-Higginbotham House do likely represent the community well, there is information that can only be answered through the analysis of historical documents (Fleiss 2000; Trepel et al. 2020). Likewise, historians have previously noted that the spatiality of New Guinea's community dramatically changed following the decline of the whaling industry in the late 19th century and,

therefore, material that provides information on the geography of Nantucket's Black community is paramount to understanding this change (Karttunen 2005:107, 234-235).

Historic geographers have coined the term Historical GIS (HGIS) to describe digitizing and spatially referencing historic documents that are not inherently spatial on their own into a GIS software (Lafreniere and Gilliland 2015; Trepel et al 2020). This involves gathering spatial information along with narrative information recorded in censuses, tax records, diaries, newspapers, and oral histories. By using HGIS, narrative information from historical resources can be seen alongside their spatial information, allowing researchers to analyze the spatial locations of people narrated in these documents (Lafreniere and Gilliland 2015). Within archaeology, this allows for historical documents to be treated in a similar fashion to typical, physical artifacts, as documents are also created by humans and can reflect past human cultures (Beaudry 2017). This makes it possible for historical archaeologists to utilize not only artifacts but also historical resources to interrogate the ways power structures, such as race, have impacted settlement patterns.

Countering Historical Narratives

Historical archaeologists have been diversifying and correcting historical narratives since the discipline's inception in the 1960s (Wilkie 2005). Historical archaeologists have used archaeological assemblages to tell more diverse histories, and oftentimes different histories that are told through historical documents. Through this, the history of marginalized communities, many of them being communities of color, can be better told when not solely relying on historic documents. Historical documents and artifacts tell different stories and can help answer different questions, and when both are used congruently by archaeologists, they can provide a

comprehensive scope of the past (Fleiss 2000; Beaudry 2017, Trepel et al. 2020). This multi-disciplinary approach can aid in countering historical narratives that have promoted a mispresented view of history. Historical narratives are a collection of historic stories, themes, events, and historical actors that create an understanding about a historical time period or event (Matthews 2020:59). Narratives that are created about a geographic area can be used as "powerful tools of oppression" when they purposefully leave out specific aspects of the past that do not align with the narrative's goals (Matthews 2020:59). Within historical narratives, people today are oriented to the landscape around them and when certain aspects of history are left out, those histories are not within the general knowledge that the public has about the past (Matthews 2020). This misrepresentation in history can cause displacement and disenfranchisement to the present-day communities whose histories are not being told correctly.

As discussed in the previous section, spatial information can be mined from historical documents and represented geographically using GIS (Lafreniere and Gilliland 2015; Trepel et al. 2020). Therefore, when archaeologists attempt to counter a popular narrative about a place, it is very helpful to utilize methods such as HGIS to represent this data. Wood (2010:111) has coined the term "counter-map" to describe maps made to counter a historical narrative. These maps place previously underrepresented communities back within historical narratives that are told about a particular place. Analyzing the space that historic Black communities used is not only to understand how space is representative of social structures, but it can also benefit the present-day communities who are descendants of those studied by archaeologists, historians, and geographers (Harvey 2015; Matthews 2020). Archaeology can play a critical role in rectifying harmful historical narratives that not only affect descendant communities but also the knowledge that the general public knows about a particular time, place, or event.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

Previous Archaeological Work

Archaeological excavations have taken place at the Boston-Higginbotham House and African Meeting House at 27 and 29 York Street after the properties were purchased by the Museum of African American History (MAAH) in 1989. These properties were once at the heart of New Guinea, and the MAAH worked to preserve the community's history by restoring these two structures to their 19th century appearance (Beaudry and Berkland 2007; Lee and Landon 2017). Results from these excavations have been used to generate a multitude of master's theses (Horlacher 2016; Cacchione 2018; Muehlbauer 2021; Herzing 2022; Crawmer 2023; Fairweather 2023; Parker 2024), a Doctoral dissertation (Bulger 2013), and multiple academic articles (Bulger 2011; Landon 2018; Cacchione 2019; Lee 2019). These publications have helped diversify Nantucket's whaling history with two historic sites still present on the landscape.

Excavations at the African Meeting House were first completed by Boston University, led by Dr. Mary Beaudry and Ellen Berkland, in the 1990s (Beaudry and Berkland 2007; Berkland 1999). The African Meeting House is estimated to have been built sometime around 1825 and

has been the site of a church, school, and community center for the New Guinea community. Artifacts recovered from this site include serving ware, food remains, and other objects relating to the role that the property played in the formation and continuation of New Guinea.

Excavations at the Boston-Higginbotham House took place in 2008 and 2014 by the University of Massachusetts Boston (Lee and Landon 2017). This property was first purchased by Seneca Boston, and he constructed a home there in 1774. Seneca had recently been manumitted from slavery in 1772, had married Thankful Micah, a native Wampanoag woman, and had had their first child, Freeborn Boston, before moving to 27 York Street. This property would continue to be owned by the Boston family until 1918 when it was sold to Edward H. Whelden, the first white person to own the property since 1774 (Bulger 2013:13). Whelden only owned the property for one year until Florence Higginbotham, a Black domestic worker in Nantucket's burgeoning tourist industry, purchased the property in 1920 (Bulger 2013). Florence would purchase the neighboring African Meeting House in 1930 as well (Karttunen 2005). Archaeological investigations at this property uncovered deposits relating to all periods of occupation of the property (Bulger 2013; Lee and Landon 2017).

Although most research on the African Meeting House and Boston-Higginbotham House has focused on the period of New Guinea's history during Nantucket's whaling era, Carolyn Horlacher (2016) took advantage of archaeological deposits that relate to a later time in Nantucket's history. With the decline in whaling in the 1850s, Nantucket experienced an economic upheaval as many islanders relied heavily on whaling profits for their livelihoods. Nantucket turned towards other industries such as fishing, farming, manufacturing, and cranberry harvesting, but tourism is what eventually replaced whaling as Nantucket's most profitable industry. Florence Higginbotham first came to Nantucket in 1911, working as a domestic worker

after being trained at the Boston Cooking School, and eventually purchased the house at 27 York Street in 1921. Carolyn Horlacher (2016) analyzed glass artifacts excavated from Florence Higginbotham's home to discuss how she combated negative stereotypes about Black women by professionalizing her domestic work through using new domestic science practices in her home.

Despite this thesis studying a period of history rarely featured in the island's historical narrative, scholarship on this time period is still lacking. Who made up Nantucket's Black community and where they lived is still unclear. We know from Karttunen (2005:107) that the properties that had once been a part of New Guinea were purchased by white islanders after the island's Black residents moved out.

Although there is archaeological material excavated from the Florence-Higginbotham House and the African Meeting that is associated with the property's later occupants during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, these artifacts can only represent one location within New Guinea. Utilizing historic documents that can represent an entire community rather than just one household aids the interpretation of community-wide social patterns (Fleiss 2000; Trepel et al. 2020). These patterns could be things such as geographic segregation and socioeconomic opportunity. Following the decline of the whaling industry in the mid-19th century, properties that had once been home to the New Guinea community were purchased by white islanders (Karttunen 2005). Therefore, it makes it pertinent for a study of Nantucket's Black community in the late 19th and early 20th century to analyze areas of the island that are well beyond the original location of New Guinea. Utilizing census records from 1860 to 1920 helps analyze the eventual dissolution of New Guinea but the continued presence of a Black community on the island.

Research Methodology

The goal of this thesis is to determine how Nantucket's Black community demographically and spatially changed following the decline of the whaling industry in the mid-19th century and the rise of other industries on the island in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. To do this, the spatial and demographic characteristics of residents who could have been a part of Nantucket's Black community between 1860 and 1920 were analyzed to answer two primary questions:

1. How did the spatiality of Nantucket's Black community change after the decline of the whaling industry in the mid-19th century?
2. How did the island's Black community form and maintain community in the late 19th and early 20th centuries?

To begin, U.S. Federal Census records were transcribed from 1860 to 1920. This 70-year time span also parallels Jared Muehlbauer's (2021) analysis of New Guinea from 1790 to 1850. Although the census began recording every single permanent resident of the United States in 1790, only information about Nantucket's Black, Cape Verdean, and Azorean residents from 1860 to 1920 were included in this analysis to study those communities after the decline of the whaling industry (Snipp 2003; Humes and Hogan 2009). Black and Cape Verdean people had previously made up the New Guinea community prior to the decline of the whaling industry (Karttunen 2005; Muehlbauer 2021). However, the Cape Verdean immigrant experience in New England changed in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. They now separated themselves from other local Black communities; the same may have been true on Nantucket (Halter 1993; Pilgrim 2006; Liu 2019). Analyzing Black and Cape Verdean islanders separately allows me to determine if they formed community with one another after the decline of the whaling industry. Although

Azoreans had not been a part of the New Guinea community, there was an increase in Azorean immigration in the late 19th century across New England, and they regularly experienced race-based and anti-immigrant discrimination. The Azorean experience on Nantucket has never been analyzed, and their incorporation in this study determines how they were racialized on Nantucket. Both Cape Verdeans and Azoreans experienced varying levels of racial prejudice. Therefore, there is potential for either of these groups to have integrated themselves into the remaining New Guinea community members as they arrived in the late 19th century. The spatial and demographic characteristics of these three groups reveal how they were racialized on Nantucket and with whom they formed communities with to persist in a racialized world. The spatial characteristics of Black, Cape Verdean, and Azorean residents show if, and how, race continued to influence the spatiality of Nantucket's residents of color in the late 19th and early 20th century.

Data Selection

I chose federal census records as my primary source material, as they are unique documents that contain both demographic and geographic information. The United States Federal Census was first conducted in 1790 to create a count of the entire population (Snipp 2003; Humes and Hogan 2009). All censuses are organized by county, township, and enumeration district. The specific information that was gathered by census takers changed through time, but the core fields included name, age, sex, and race. Information that was later added that is relevant to this thesis is occupation, birthplace, and home address. Appendix A details what fields of information were recorded in each census year and when new questions census takers asked of each person they recorded (Appendix A).

Like any historical document, census records are not without biases. Censuses were not filled out by the individuals recorded in them but instead were enumerated by esteemed members of the community, usually those with a high socioeconomic status (Duncan and Trejo 2023). This means that any demographic that experienced discrimination had a high likelihood of not being recorded correctly. Also, the categorization into a limited number of options is ultimately an essentializing process. Therefore, people's personal identities or diverse ancestry were not captured in the census. It has also been noted that census fields such as occupation or age are less accurately recorded for marginalized groups. Most notable and relevant to this thesis, the race assigned to individuals in the census is probably the most imprecise. Again, there were a select number of options census takers could choose from when describing the race of an individual. Racial categories are already limiting and based on social constructs. The options that census takers had also changed year to year, exhibiting that race is not biological but is instead a social category and not static (Humes and Hogan 2009; Schachter et al 2021; Snipp 2003) (Appendix D). How each individual recorded in the census personally identified can never be known through the census.

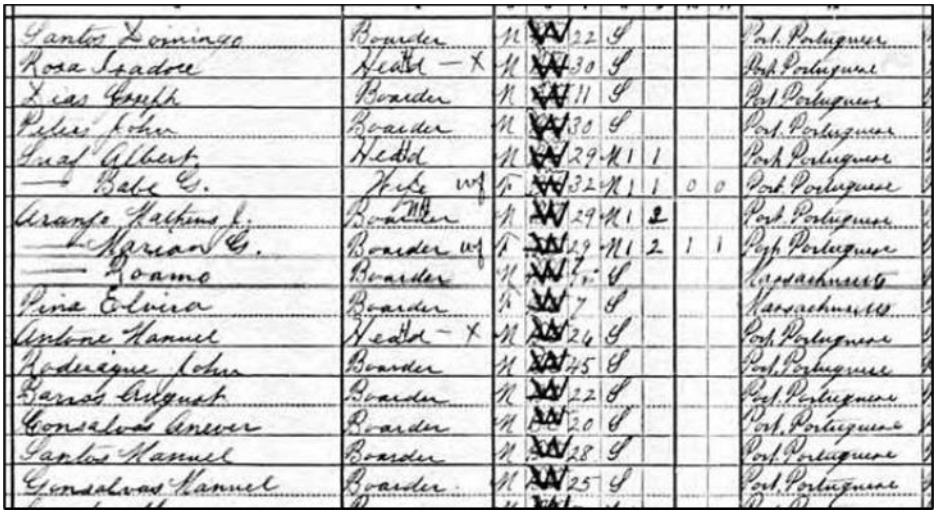


Figure 2. Example of racial categorization of Cape Verdeans changing in 1910 census

Development of a Database

FileMaker Pro, a relational database, was chosen to analyze and display data gathered from transcribing United States Federal Census Records from 1860 to 1920. FileMaker Pro was available to me through the Andrew Fiske Memorial Center for Archaeological Research. This data was organized into three main tables: Federal Census All, Historical Persons, and Street. Additionally, there were four supporting tables: the Birth Country reference table, the U.S. Region Birthplace reference table, the Occupation Category reference table, and the Street reference table. The relationships between these tables and their qualitative capabilities are discussed later in this section.

The Federal Census All table is a rudimentary presentation of all data gathered about a single individual in a single year from the census. This table displays each time a person appeared in a census year as a separate record. From year to year, the information that was gathered by census takers changed, and therefore, the entries in this table vary based on what census year it is displaying. In this table, a field was added to assign a unique identification number to each individual as they appeared across multiple census years. This field is called Person ID. Appendix A details the changes in what the census recorded year to year and what census fields were included in this database. The Federal Census All table could generate data of the Black, Cape Verdean, and Azorean populations on Nantucket for a particular census year, allowing for an analysis of change over time.

The Historical Persons table organizes individuals by their Person ID. This table uses the Person ID field in the Federal Census All table to display a single individual every time they appeared as living on Nantucket in the census from 1860 to 1920 at the same time. The same information that was displayed in the Federal Census All table is now displayed every year that

that person appears in the census in the Historical Persons table. This makes it possible to see changes in how this person was categorized by census takers and how their life circumstances changed throughout their life. This table made it possible to make inferences about a person's ethnicity based on their recorded race and birthplace. Instead of using the Federal Census All table to do this, the Historical Persons table allowed every time this person appeared in the census to be considered. The racial categories available for census takers to use changed year to year, showing that race is socially constructed and not static. Therefore, the Historical Persons table shows the different racial categories used for the same person over multiple census years (Figure 3).

Year	Person ID	First Name	Last Name	Age	Sex	Race
1860	1002	Mary	Farnham	43	Female	Black
1870	1002	Mary	Freeman	52	Female	Mulatto
1880	1002	Mary	Farman	67	Female	Black

Figure 3. View of Historical Persons layout that depicts one individual racially categorized differently across different census years

This thesis primarily uses the Historical Persons table to categorize individuals in the census as either Black, Cape Verdean, or Azorean. Individuals were considered Black in this study if they were racially categorized as Black or Mulatto in the census and were born in the United States, Canada, Peru, India, or St. Helena. Individuals were defined as Cape Verdean if themselves, one of their parents, or one of their grandparents had been born in Cape Verde. Very similarly, individuals were defined as Azorean if themselves, one of their parents, or one of their grandparents had been born in the Azores.

Utilizing the capabilities of the Historical Persons table also made identifying the Cape Verdean population in the censuses taken on Nantucket from 1860 to 1920 possible. Historians

and oral histories have both stated that it was Cape Verdeans who worked in the cranberry bog that was industrialized in the first decade of the 20th century (Morris 1959; Karttunen 2005; Larrabee and Foley 2021). However, in the 1910 census, the original racial category of the 75 individuals who were marked as laborers in the bog, plus an additional 39 individuals not working in the cranberry bogs, had been crossed out and re-categorized as white. Individuals whose original racial categorization had been crossed out, their birthplace had been "Port Portuguese," the same birthplace marked for Azoreans. According to Halter (1993) and Pilgrim (2006), Cape Verdeans dominated the cranberry industry in New England. Therefore, if we interpret these individuals whose birthplace was listed as "Port Portuguese," and originally had a different racial classification other than white, and worked in the cranberry bogs as Cape Verdean, other individuals in the 1910 census who were also re-categorized as white and were born in "Port Portuguese" were also likely Cape Verdean. Although the re-categorization masks how they were originally categorized in 1910, many of these same individuals appeared in the 1920 census and were listed as Black or Mulatto and having been born in Cape Verde (see Figure 2).

The Historical Persons table also made it possible to differentiate between different generations of immigrants. Cape Verdeans and Azoreans could now be designated as first, second, or third generation immigrants. Each person's birthplace and their parents birthplace were used to determine this classification. Beginning in 1880, the census recorded the birthplace of everyone's parents; this was helpful in determining the generational status of Cape Verdeans and Azoreans in my dataset. First-generation immigrations were defined as individuals who had been born in either Cape Verde or the Azores. Second-generation immigrants were defined as individuals who had either both or one parent born in Cape Verde or the Azores. Third-

generation immigrants were defined as those who had at least one grandparent born in Cape Verde or the Azores (Waters 2014:18). These classifications of Black, Cape Verdean, and Azorean, along with their immigration generation, were now linked with each individual's Person ID. Information linked to each individual's Person ID could then be displayed in the Federal Census All table, which allowed for analysis change through time.

The final main table, the Street table, allowed for Nantucket's Black, Cape Verdean, and Azorean communities to be mapped. This utilizes the street information recorded in each census from 1860 to 1920. Per Appendix A, streets began to be recorded in 1880, meaning the dataset can only be represented spatially from 1880 to 1920. The Street table allows for everyone who lived on a street in a particular year to be displayed together rather than individually or in a household or family unit. For each individual living on a street, their name, age, gender, race, place of birth, occupation, and employment type were displayed. As this table was linked to the Federal Census All table, aggregates were added to count the number of Black, Cape Verdean, and Azorean people who lived on each street.

To determine the percentage of Black, Cape Verdean, and Azorean residents that made up each street's total population, a field was added to the Street table of the entire street's population, including people outside of this dataset. This would display the total number of people who lived on that street in that given year. To determine the percentage that Black, Cape Verdeans, and Azoreans made up each street's population, the number of individuals within the dataset who lived on each street were subtracted by the street's total population. This made it possible to compare the number of Nantucket's Black, Cape Verdean, and Azorean residents who lived on a street to those outside of the dataset.

Included in the database were four support tables, which were created to manipulate data from the census to suit the analysis of Nantucket's Black, Cape Verdean, and Azorean populations. These tables included the Birth Country reference table, the U.S. Region Birthplace reference table, the Occupation Category reference table, and the Street reference table.

The first of these supporting tables was the Birth Country reference table. This table consolidates the various iterations and spellings of countries listed as individuals' place of birth in census records from 1860 to 1920. This was most pertinent in both the Azores and Cape Verde as those countries are made up of multiple islands, and in some census years, the specific island was recorded and not the Azores or Cape Verde. Although differences in the immigrants from individual islands could have been analyzed, that was not the focus of this study, and consolidating these birthplaces was essential. This table manipulated the place of birth listed for individuals in the Historical Persons table and made it easier to determine what country an individual was born in, rather than what island.

The U.S. Region Birthplace reference table designates the region of the United States an individual was born. In the census, the state was specified if an individual was born in the United States. This table made it possible to have a consistent demarcation of which states represented which region. Massachusetts was made into its own category to represent individuals who had likely been born on Nantucket or very locally to the island. The categories in this table that had been generated by the birthplaces of US-born individuals were Northeast, South, Midwest, Massachusetts, and Not Listed. The distinction made in this table can be viewed in Appendix C. The table manipulated the birthplaces of those who were born in the United States in the Federal Census All table and consolidated them into five categories.

The Occupation Category reference table consolidated 158 occupation titles that had been recorded within my dataset into 10 occupation categories instead (see Appendix B). These ten categories were Administration, Farming, Fishing, Health and Medicine, Keeping House, None, Retail, Service Work, Skilled Trades, Small Industry, Trades, Transportation, and Whaling. This table was linked to the Federal Census All table and manipulated the occupation titles that had been recorded in the occupation category and consolidated them into one of the 10 occupation categories. This table made it more efficient and succinct to study patterns in what occupations Black, Cape Verdean, and Azorean islanders were, or were not, working in.

The final supporting table is the Street reference table. This table assisted in standardizing the street information that had been recorded within the census. The street names that had initially been recorded by census takers have been changed since then or were spelled incorrectly. This table uses street designations that have been created by the State of Massachusetts's MassGIS system. This way, when eventually using GIS software to represent these streets on a map, MassGIS geometries could be utilized. This table used street names that had been recorded in the Federal Census All table and linked them to a MassGIS street. The MassGIS street name is displayed in the Federal Census All table to aid in transferring data from the database to GIS.

Creating a GIS

Once demographic and spatial data of Black, Cape Verdean, and Azorean individuals were gathered and entered into the database, this data could now be translated into ESRI's ArcGIS software. As previously discussed in Chapter 3, GIS allows for patterns in where Black people, Cape Verdeans, and Azoreans were residing on Nantucket from 1880 to 1920 to be

analyzed. Utilizing GIS software has been commonplace in archaeology for decades, and the methods used in this thesis are derived from historical geographers who have utilized GIS to spatially represent data mined from historical sources

To compare the spatial and demographic information gathered from census records, Ancestry Library Edition's transcription function was used to attain a count of Nantucket's total population from 1860 to 1920. This allowed for comparison between Black people, Cape Verdeans, and Azoreans with the rest of Nantucket's population. It also allowed for the racial and ethnic makeup of individual streets to be calculated. This made it possible to see if Black, Cape Verdean, or Azoreans islanders were concentrated on certain streets or were evenly dispersed amongst people not a part of the dataset.

Within the database, demographic data was now able to be exported for each street where people within the dataset lived from 1880 to 1920. Street geometries used in GIS for this thesis borrowed geometries produced by Massachusetts's Bureau of Geographic Information (MassGIS). Within the database, the same names used by MassGIS were matched with street names recorded in the census. The data developed within the database could now be associated with geographic locations in GIS. The percentage of each street's population that was made up of Black, Cape Verdean, or Azorean. This was possible by utilizing the number of individuals not in the dataset but who were a part of Ancestry Library Edition's transcription for each street. Data for each street was exported from the database to upload to ArcGIS and used the join function to align data derived from the database to street geometries in ArcGIS. To display this data spatially, pie charts were used to represent the number of Black people, Cape Verdeans, Azoreans, and people not in my dataset for each street. Maps could now be created for each

census year that displayed the geographic location of where Black, Cape Verdean, and Azorean islanders lived from 1860 to 1920.

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS

This thesis transcribes six federal censuses (1860, 1870, 1880, 1900, 1910, 1920) and collected demographic and spatial data for 1,170 of them being Black, Cape Verdean, or Azorean. Demographic data that was sourced from censuses made it possible to discern who was a part of Nantucket's Black community and where they resided after the decline in whaling. Studying these locations and the job opportunities of individuals makes it possible to determine if racist ideologies that were still present on Nantucket influenced where people lived and their socioeconomic opportunities. In conjunction with demographic data, maps were generated to spatially represent how racism influenced where people lived on Nantucket. Studying the relationship between race and space makes it possible to learn what happened to the New Guinea community and how Black islanders persisted on the island following the decline in whaling.

Nantucket's New Guinea community had developed in the late 18th century as the island became a hub for the international whaling industry (Karttunen 2005:29-32, 66-67). Whaling attracted people from across the world, and the town of Nantucket is where most whalers lived on the island. Farmers and fishermen lived in other rural and coastal parts of the island

(Karttunen 2005). New Guinea was initially comprised of recently manumitted Black and remaining Wampanoag individuals who settled on the southern undeveloped edge of town (Karttunen 2005). New Guinea later welcomed people from Cape Verde, the Pacific Islands, and the West Indies (Karttunen 2005; Lee 2019). The community comprised its own schools, churches, and businesses during Nantucket's whaling period. However, beginning in the mid-19th century, there was a sharp decline in whaling. This pushed many islanders to leave to find work, including many New Guinea community members (Karttunen 2005). Identifying who was now a part of Nantucket's Black community and where they lived is the focus of this chapter.

From research conducted by historians, three groups were identified that would be helpful in my goal of identifying the New Guinea descendants following the decline in whaling and determining how racist ideologies influenced their spatial and demographic characteristics from 1860 to 1920. These groups are Black, Cape Verdean, and Azorean islanders. As previously stated in this thesis, Black individuals were defined as Black if they were marked as Black or Mulatto in the census and born in the United States, Canada, Peru, India, or St. Helana, Cape Verdeans as those who were born in or whose ancestors were born in Cape Verde, and Azoreans as those who were born in or whose ancestors were born in the Azores. Table 1 shows that Nantucket's total population steadily decreased between 1860 and 1920. Nantucket's Black population also steadily decreased, from 116 people in 1860 to 32 people in both 1910 and 1920. The Cape Verdean population was very small in 1860, but the population grew dramatically in 1910 and 1920 (Table 1). Lastly, Azoreans also experienced population loss but saw an increase beginning in 1900, likely due to new immigration. These shifts in population sizes show the effect of Nantucket's changing economy had on its residents. In particular, the size of the island's permanent Black population never seemed to recover (Table 1). Cape Verdeans and Azoreans

clearly had opportunities on Nantucket that drew them there and sustained their communities in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

	1860	1870	1880	1900	1910	1920
People Not in Dataset	**5973**	**4042**	**3642**	**2957**	**2813**	**2682**
Black	116	79	64	47	32	32
Cape Verdean 1st Gen	1				91	38
Cape Verdean 2nd Gen	4	2	2	2	26	45
Azorean 1st Gen	51	39	36	69	137	91
Azorean 2nd Gen	82	65	82	97	133	128
Azorean 3rd Gen	2	1	14	45	28	31

Table 1. Number of Black Cape Verdean, and Azorean people permanently residing on Nantucket from 1860 to 1920

Space Used by Black Islanders from 1880 to 1920

Understanding how Nantucket's Black community used space in the late 19th and early 20th centuries is key to understanding how the island's changing economy altered the way racism shaped settlement patterns. Previously, Nantucket was unofficially segregated when whaling was the main industry on the island and New Guinea formed out of this de facto segregation. Analyzing the space that Black islanders used after the whaling period can reveal how racism presented itself on the landscape in an understudied part of the island's history.

In 1880, the first census year that provides street information for each resident recorded shows our first glimpse at the streets Black, Cape Verdean, and Azorean islanders lived on Nantucket (Appendix A). Figure 4 shows the boundaries of Black-owned properties from 1825 to 1850 that were defined by Muehlbauer (2021). By 1880, Nantucket's Black islanders were no longer primarily living within these boundaries. Of the 64 Black islanders listed in the 1880 census, only 13 of them lived on a street, Pleasant Street, that had once been a part of the original New Guinea community located on the southern edge of town (Figure 4) (Appendix E). However, 41 Black islanders still lived very near the original boundaries of New Guinea. Only

10 lived towards the center of town (Figure 4) (Appendix E). The southern part of Nantucket town was still where Black islanders wanted to live or were forced to live due to racial or economic limitations.

In 1900, there was a decrease in the Black population on Nantucket, from 64 in 1880 to 47 in 1900 (Table 1). There were only six individuals who lived far from the original New Guinea boundaries (Figure 5) (Appendix E). Figure 5 shows that the rest of Nantucket's Black population lived within and around where the original New Guinea community existed.

The 1910 and 1920 censuses saw a decline and plateau of the Black population on Nantucket (Table 1). Both years had recorded 32 Black people residing on the island. There was also a shrinking of where Black islanders were recorded as living. In both 1910 and 1920, there was a decrease in the number of Black people living far outside of the New Guinea area, and most of them lived near where New Guinea once was (Figures 6 and 7). In both years, the only time Black islanders lived far outside of the original New Guinea boundaries was when they were living alongside Cape Verdeans. There is only one Black person in 1920 who is living within the original New Guinea boundaries (Appendix E).

Space Used by Cape Verdeans from 1880 to 1920

Cape Verdeans have a long history on Nantucket that predates the decline in whaling. Previously, they lived alongside and were integrated into New Guinea families on Nantucket (Karttunen 2005:124). However, by 1880, there were very few Cape Verdeans recorded as living on the island; there were just two 2nd generation Cape Verdeans. Only one had their street information recorded and was listed as living on Summer Street, which is not within the original boundaries of New Guinea (Figure 4) (Appendix E). Cape Verdeans on Nantucket followed a

similar pattern in 1900. Joseph and Emma Lewis, brother and sister, were recorded as living on Pleasant Street, which was within the original boundaries (Figure 5). The 1880 and 1900 censuses show that Cape Verdeans followed a similar pattern of Black islanders at the time, where some did reside within the original New Guinea boundaries, but there was movement outside of it.

The 1910 census saw not only a significant shift in the number of Cape Verdeans on Nantucket but also where they were living (Table 1). In 1910, the majority of Cape Verdeans lived at the cranberry bog that was located in the central part of the island. Like elsewhere in New England, Cape Verdeans dominated the workforce at cranberry bogs and made up 91% of people in the dataset who worked at the bog on Nantucket (Table 2). Black islanders only made up 5%. Other places where Cape Verdeans lived on Nantucket in 1910 are along the waterfront in town on Old North Wharf, Washington Street, and Fayette Street (Figure 6). A total of 26 people lived in town (Appendix E). Another location where Cape Verdeans resided on Nantucket in 1910 is on Wauwinet Road, which is located in the rural northwest region of the island, there were just two individuals who lived there (Figure 6) (Appendix E). The 1910 census depicts the Cape Verdean community primarily involved in the cranberry industry, but with some indication that communities were forming in other locations as well.

	N	%
Black	**4**	**5%**
Female	3	75%
Male	1	25%
Cape Verdean	**74**	**91%**
Female	17	23%
Male	57	77%
Azorean	**1**	**1%**
Male	1	100%
Anglo Spouse of Azorean	**1**	**1%**
Male	1	100%
Anglo Spouse of Cape Verdean	**1**	**1%**
Female	1	100%
Total	**81**	**100%**

Table 2. People in dataset who worked in cranberry bog on Nantucket in 1910

In 1920, the Cape Verdean community was represented differently than they were in the 1910 census. There were no Cape Verdeans, or anyone else, listed as living or working in the cranberry bogs in 1920, even though the cranberry bog began operation in 1906 and continued to hire Cape Verdeans well into the mid-20th century (Pilgrim 2006; Larrabee and Foley 2021). This difference in the 1910 and 1920 censuses is due to the seasonal nature of cranberry harvesting. The 1910 census must have counted those living at the cranberry bogs, even though they were not permanently living there, and did not count them in 1920, even though there were certainly still Cape Verdeans laboring in the bogs. Instead, the Cape Verdeans who were recorded in 1920 as living on Nantucket represent the permanent and burgeoning Cape Verdean community that was forming on Nantucket, even though there were likely additional temporary Cape Verdeans on the island but not recorded in the census. Cape Verdeans were recorded as primarily living in town, along the waterfront; this pattern was already seen in 1910 (Figures 6 and 7). There was a total of 58 Cape Verdeans living on the streets along the waterfront; they made up 53% and 74% of Commercial and Washington Streets, the two major streets that they lived on (Figure 6). Only 11 lived on the streets elsewhere in town, all south of Main Street (Appendix E). Generally, Cape

Verdeans were not recorded in the 1910 and 1920 censuses as living alongside Black islanders, a departure from the settlement patterns seen before the collapse of the whaling industry (Figures 6 and 7) (Karttunen 2005; Muehlbauer 2021). The 1920 census depicts a spatially close community of permanent Cape Verdean residents on Nantucket.

Space Used by Azoreans from 1880 to 1920

Azoreans had begun to arrive on Nantucket during the whaling era while working on whale ships. Azoreans and Cape Verdeans had similar histories on their home islands under Portuguese colonial rule (Halter 1993; Karttunen 2005; Williams 2007). During the 19th century, while much of coastal southern New England was involved in the whaling industry, Azoreans were integrated into white society (Karttunen 2005). However, after an immigration boom beginning in the late 19th century, many recent Azorean immigrants experienced xenophobic prejudice and discrimination. This experience was not homogenous across New England, but the demographic and spatial characteristics of the Azorean population on Nantucket reveals their immigrant experiences in the late 19th to early 20th centuries (Krahulik 2005; Williams 2007).

In 1880, there was no real pattern in where Azoreans lived on the island (Figure 4). Likewise, 2nd generation Azoreans made up the majority of the Azorean population at that time, showing that they were an established community (Table 1). The lack of a distinct pattern reflects their history on the island in that they were integrated into white society and had freedom in where they could live (Krahulik 2005; Williams 2007). 1900 saw an increase in Azorean immigrants to the island, with 68 more 1st generation Azorean immigrants arriving on Nantucket between 1880 and 1900 (Table 1). This is when there began to be a more distinct pattern in where Azoreans lived on the island. Although Azoreans still occupied more areas of town than

Black or Cape Verdean islanders, there began to be a concentration of 1st generation Azorean immigrants in the southern part of town in 1900, southeast of where New Guinea once was (Figure 5). This implies that this area was where recently immigrated Azoreans settled on Nantucket. This same pattern continued in 1910, with the concentration of Azoreans growing even more and Azoreans living outside of this area decreasing (Figure 6). The 1910 census also depicted Azoreans living outside of town and in the rural parts of Nantucket and working as farmers (Appendix E). It is very possible that this was the case prior, but that the street information for those rural Azoreans was not recorded in the census. Nantucket's Azorean population decreased from 298 in 1910 to 250 in 1920 (Table 1). The locations of Azoreans in 1920 show the concentration in the southern part of town slightly decreasing (Figure 7). 1920 also depicts a decrease in Azoreans living in rural parts of Nantucket, but again, this could be an inaccuracy in census enumerating, as rural areas were less likely to have street information written down (Appendix E).

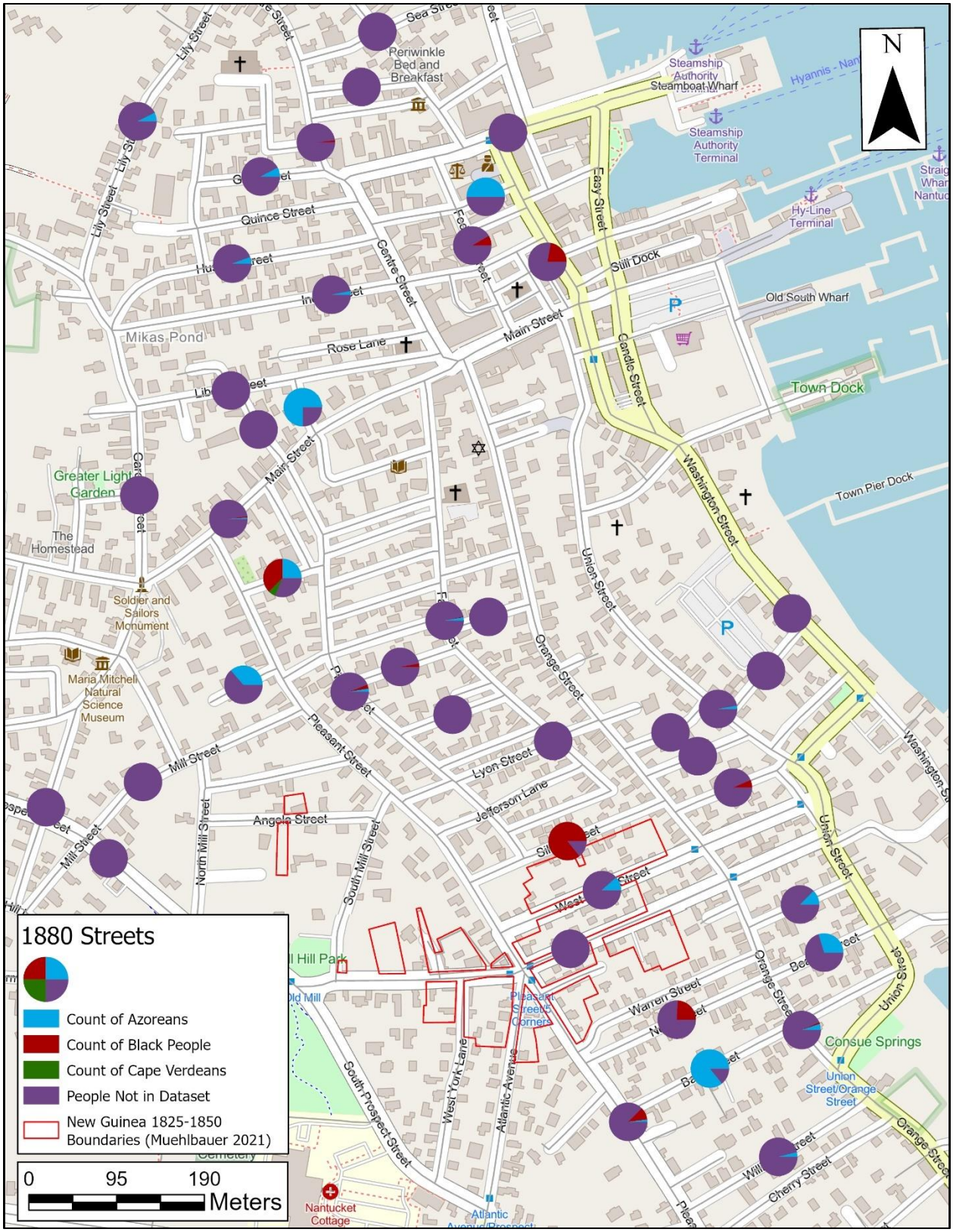


Figure 4. Locations of Black, Cape Verdean, and Azorean people on Nantucket in 1880

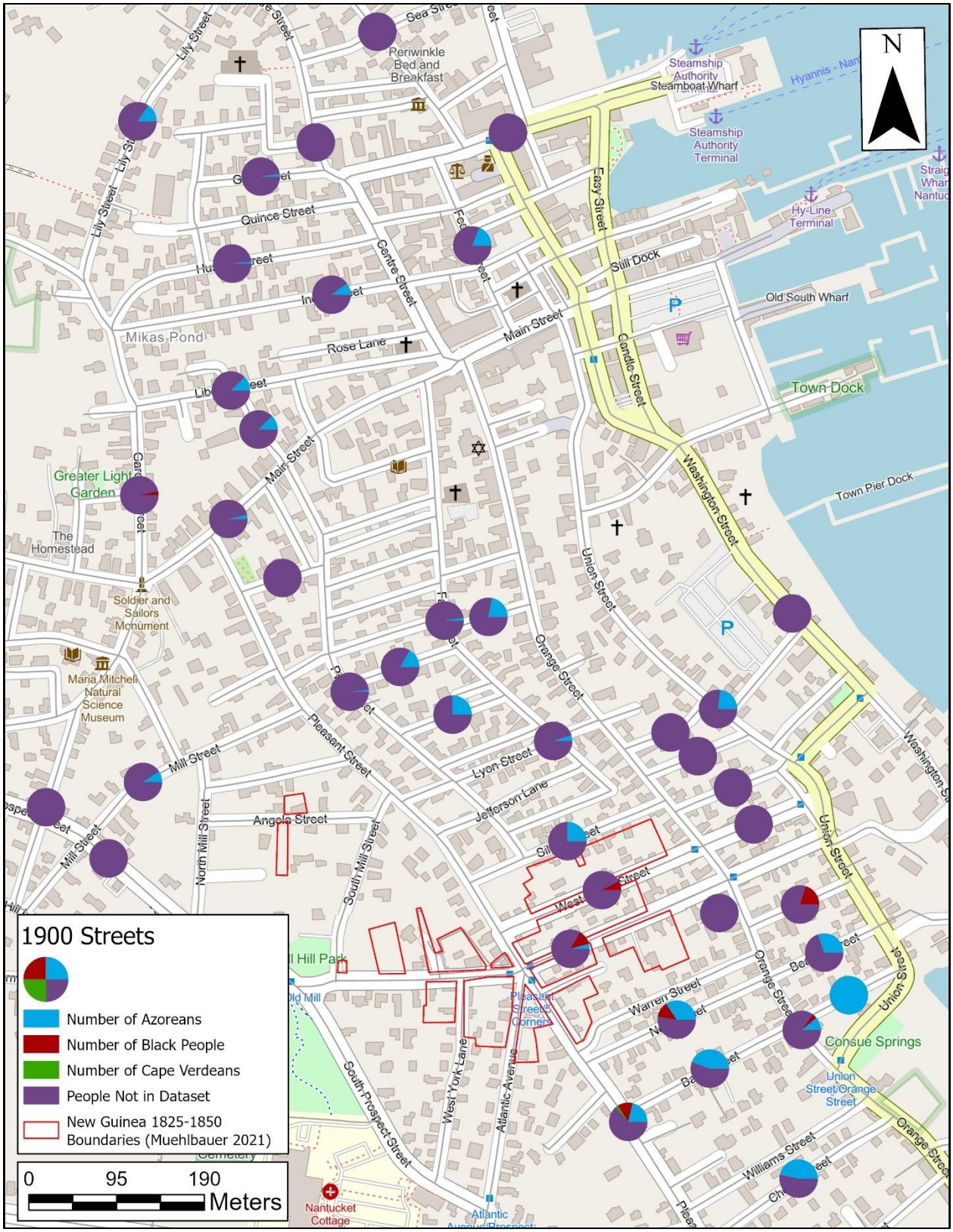


Figure 5. Locations of Black, Cape Verdean, and Azorean people on Nantucket in 1900

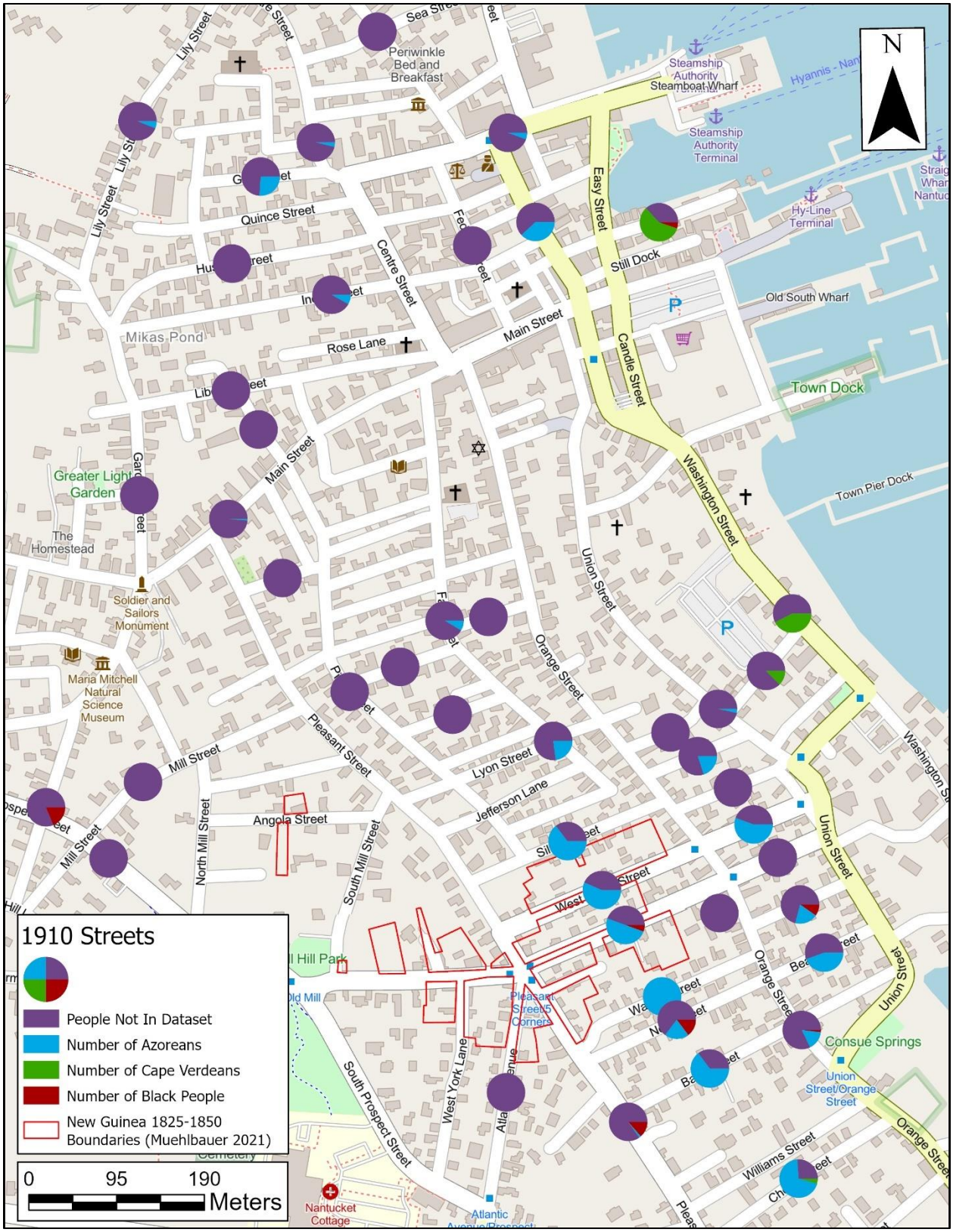


Figure 6. Locations of Black, Cape Verdean, and Azorean people on Nantucket in 1910

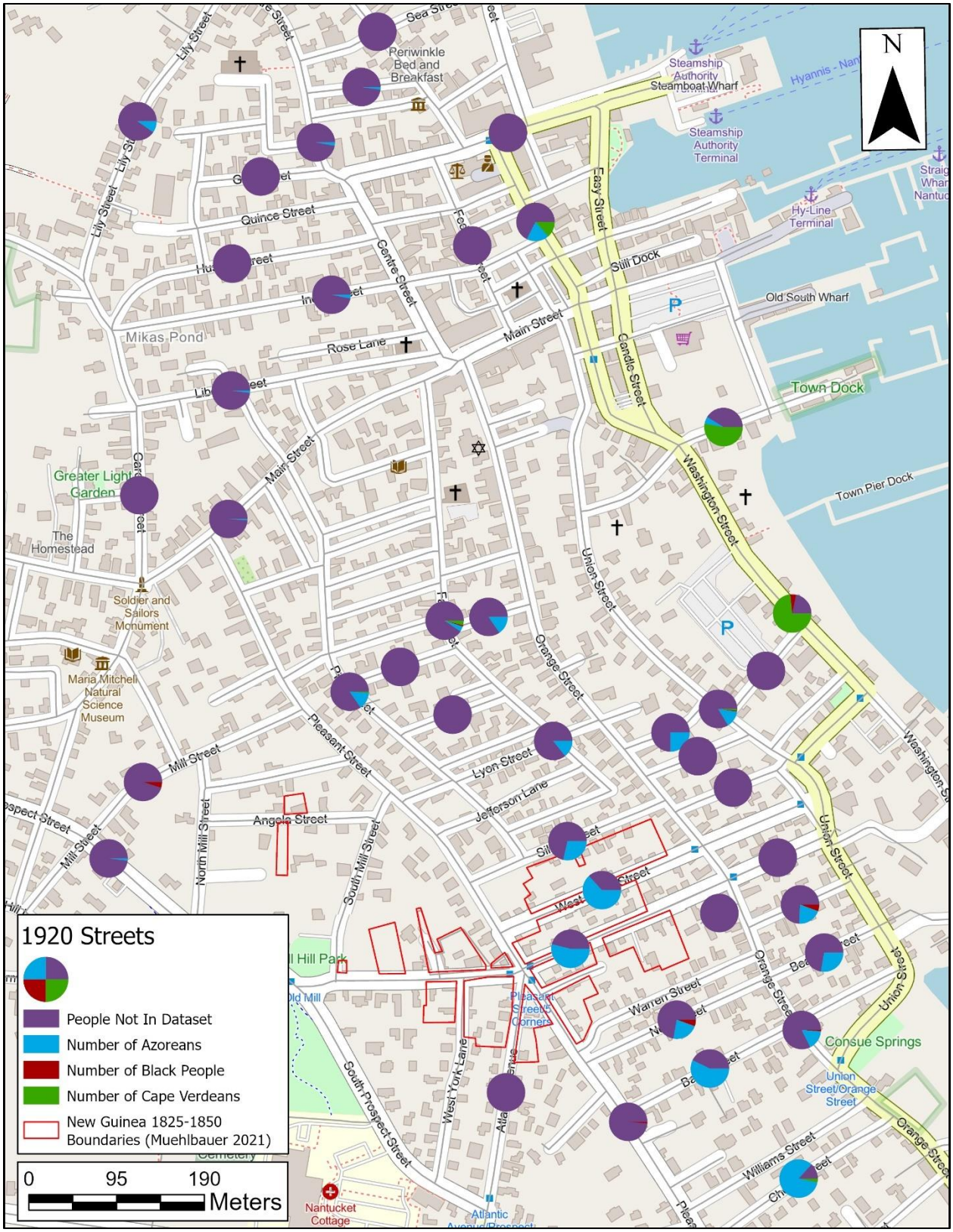


Figure 7. Locations of Black, Cape Verdean, and Azorean people on Nantucket in 1920

Jobs Worked by Black, Cape Verdean, and Azorean Communities from 1860 to 1920

Following the decline in whaling exports on Nantucket in the mid-19th century, the island entered an economic depression (Brown 1995; Karttunen 2005; Bruggeman 2015). Not only the whalers, primarily men, who had worked on whale ships, but also people who had begun businesses that were supported by whalers, such as boardinghouses, inns, taverns, and grocery stores, were now out of work (Karttunen 2005). There were a few other non-whaling-related industries developed on Nantucket, and there was now no economic incentive to remain on the island. However, not all of Nantucket's population left the island, and those who remained developed new or improved old industries that could sustain themselves (Brown 1995; Karttunen 2005). Industries such as fishing, farming, small factories, and tourism all saw varying levels of success on Nantucket but were able to support the island's residents.

Although there was a devastating fire in 1846, changes to Nantucket's harbor, competition with other ports, and changes in whale oil consumption in the mid-19th century, there were still some individuals on Nantucket who continued to work in the whaling industry well into the late 19th century. Table 5 shows that whaling jobs made up 29% (n=27), 34% (n=26), and 13% (n=13) of the jobs worked by Azoreans in 1860, 1870, and 1880. Whereas whaling jobs made up 17% (n=17), 5% (n=4), and 2% (n=1) of the jobs worked by Black people on Nantucket in 1860, 1870, and 1880 (Table 3). From 1860 to 1880, there were only two Cape Verdeans who worked in whaling in both 1860 and 1880 (Table 4). Azoreans continuing to work in the whaling industry implies a privilege they had in being able to continue to support themselves and their families during an economic depression on Nantucket. The island's Black and Cape Verdean population could not continue working in the whaling industry, and many had to ultimately leave the island to seek work elsewhere. Azoreans were able to take advantage of

their higher socio-economic status, as they had been integrated into white society, and remained on Nantucket in their homes with their families while continuing to work in an industry that was dwindling.

Not all Azoreans in New England had privileges in the jobs that they worked. In more urban cities in New England, Azoreans dominated the workforce in mills. Many of the new immigrants from the Azores in the late 19th century took advantage of the demand within these mills. However, these Azoreans had been categorized as an inherently poor immigrant group and did experience harsh prejudice (Karttunen 2005; Krahulik 2005; Williams 2007). On the other hand, when Azoreans settled in more rural parts of New England, they were more likely to have access to other, more economically successful, job opportunities (Baganha 1991:282; Williams 2007:46-49). These jobs were primarily farming and fishing.

There were no mills on Nantucket as there were no strong water sources, so mills were not an opportunity for the island's residents. Other than whaling, from 1860 to 1880, the occupations that employed the most Azoreans were service work, keeping house, fishing, and farming (Table 5). Other than service work and keeping house, both occupations worked primarily by women, fishing and farming employed the majority of Azorean men who were not continuing to work on whale ships (Table 5). When whaling began to no longer be feasible for Azoreans on Nantucket by 1900, there was an increase in Azoreans working in the Trades category (Table 5). This included jobs such as day laborer, carpenter, home painter, and mason. Other top job categories included fishing and service work. Trades continued to be among one of the top occupations held by Azoreans until 1920, but fishing did surpass trades as the top occupation worked by Azoreans (Table 5).

As Nantucket incorporated more industries to support its people, Cape Verdeans began to arrive in large numbers to work in the cranberry bog in the center part of the island (Morris 1959; Larrabee and Foley 2021). On Nantucket in 1860, there were five Cape Verdeans recorded as living on Nantucket. In 1870, 1880, and 1900, there were only two Cape Verdeans living on Nantucket in all three census years. It was not until 1910 did the population of Nantucket's Cape Verdean population significantly increased. There were 117 in 1910 and 83 in 1920 (Table 1). Cape Verdeans who lived on Nantucket from 1860 to 1900 worked in Whaling, Trades, Service Work, and Farming (Table 4). The increase of Cape Verdeans living on Nantucket in 1910 was a result of Burgess Cranberry Bog industrializing cranberry harvesting on the island (Morris 1959; Karttunen 2005; Larrabee and Foley 2021). In 1910, there were 74 Cape Verdeans working in Nantucket's cranberry bog, and 77% of these workers were men (n=57) (Table 4). Overall, men made up 69% of the total Cape Verdean population in 1910 (Figure 8). However, in 1920, there were no Cape Verdeans, or anybody else, listed as working in a cranberry bog on the island. Cranberry bog work was seasonal, and 1920 census enumerators likely did not include bog workers as permanent residents of Nantucket. This means that although they were not recorded in the census, there likely was a population of Cape Verdeans in 1920 who were working in the cranberry bog. The 1920 census lists Cape Verdeans as working in Fishing, Trades, Service Work, and Transportation (Table 4). The population of Cape Verdeans living on Nantucket did decrease from 117 in 1910 to 83 in 1920, showing this change in who was considered a permanent resident of Nantucket (Table 1).

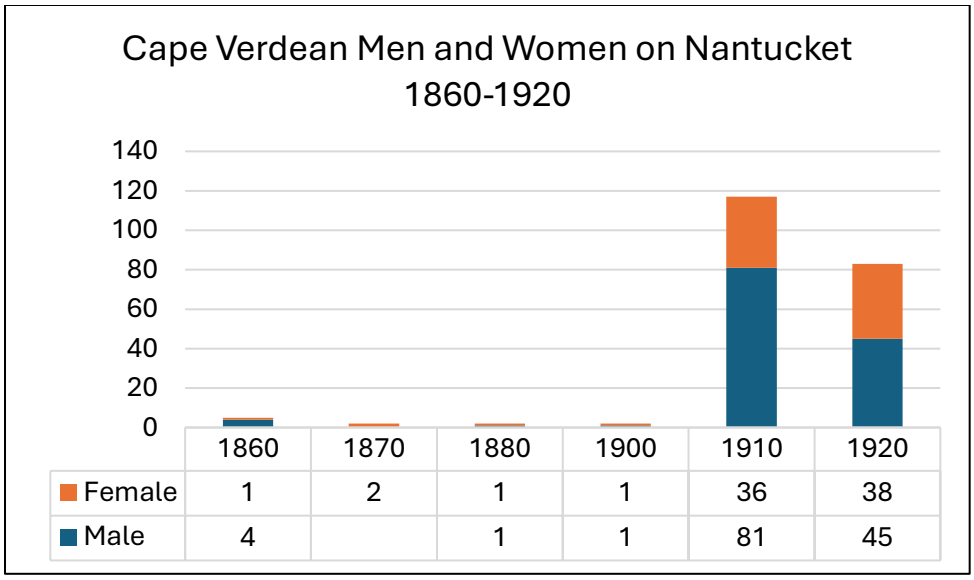


Figure 8. Number of Cape Verdean men and women living on Nantucket between 1860 and 1920

The population of Black islanders, along with the rest of Nantucket's population, declined following the deterioration of the island's whaling industry. Men primarily worked on whaling ships, and historians have noted that once that employment ceased to exist at the same profitable levels, they sought work elsewhere in Massachusetts and the world (Brown 1995; Karttunen 2005). Table 3 shows that in 1860, 17 Black people were working in positions relating to the whaling industry, and by 1870, there were 4. In comparison to Azorean islanders who had 27, 26, and 13 individuals working in whaling-related jobs in 1860, 1870, and 1880 (Table 5). As Nantucket's industries changed following the decline in whaling, who was able to be financially supported on the island most likely changed. Beginning in 1860, service work was the top occupation that was listed for Black islanders. Service work includes jobs such as cook, housekeeper, servant, and chauffeur (Appendix B). However, many individuals were listed as having no occupation or keeping house. In 1870, 20% of Black islanders were listed as keeping house, in comparison to Cape Verdeans and Azoreans, who had 0% and 5% of individuals who were listed as holding that occupation (Tables 3, 4, and 5). Lee (2019) notes that Black women

are significantly misrepresented in census records. In particular, the contributions to their households' finances are not well recorded in the census as it is not seen as permanent or significant (Lee 2019). In 1870, 39% (n=29) of Black people who were recorded as having an occupation worked in service work. In 1880, keeping house, service work, and those listed with no occupation made up 39% (n=24), 19% (n=12), and 23% (n=14) of the occupations worked by Black people on Nantucket (Table 3). Due to the seasonal nature of Nantucket's tourist industry, there were Black women who were service workers but were not permanent residents of Nantucket (Karttunen 2005). The census only collects a window of a city's residents every ten years, but those temporary workers may still have been a part of these permanent communities. From 1890 to 1920, there were very similar patterns in what occupations Black people were working, but cranberry harvesting made up 13% (n=4) of the occupations worked by Black people in 1910 (Table 3). In 1920, fishing made up 14% (n=4) of the occupations worked by Black people. The relatively low percentage of Black people on Nantucket working occupations other than service work implies that the Black community was supported by the tourist industry at the time and that Black women who worked many of the service industry jobs were not taking part in other industries like cranberry harvesting or fishing, compared to Cape Verdeans or Azoreans.

	1860		1870		1880		1900		1910		1920	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Administration			**1**	**1%**	**1**	**2%**						
Female												
Male			1	100%	1	100%						
Cranberry Harvesting									**4**	**13%**		
Female									3	75%		
Male									1	25%		
Farming			**3**	**4%**	**1**	**2%**	**1**	**3%**				
Male			3	100%	1	100%	1	100%				
Fishing					**1**	**2%**					**4**	**14%**
Male					1	100%					4	100%
Health and Medicine							**1**	**3%**	**1**	**3%**		
Female							1	100%	1	100%		
Keeping House			**15**	**20%**	**24**	**39%**						
Female			14	93%	24	100%						
Male			1	7%								
None	**56**	**55%**	**20**	**27%**	**14**	**23%**	**26**	**65%**	**13**	**41%**	**15**	**54%**
Female	48	86%	15	75%	11	79%	23	88%	9	69%	14	93%
Male	8	14%	5	25%	3	21%	3	12%	4	31%	1	7%
Service Work	**24**	**24%**	**29**	**39%**	**12**	**19%**	**9**	**23%**	**10**	**31%**	**5**	**18%**
Female	16	67%	24	83%	10	83%	8	89%	8	80%	2	40%
Male	8	33%	5	17%	2	17%	1	11%	2	20%	3	60%
Skilled Trades	**1**	**1%**							**1**	**3%**		
Male	1	100%							1	100%		
Small Industry					**5**	**8%**						
Male					5	100%						
Trades	**3**	**3%**	**3**	**4%**	**2**	**3%**	**3**	**8%**	**3**	**9%**	**4**	**14%**
Female												
Male	3	100%	3	100%	2	100%	3	100%	3	100%	4	100%
Transportation	**1**	**1%**										
Male	1	100%										
Whaling	**17**	**17%**	**4**	**5%**	**1**	**2%**						
Male	17	100%	4	100%	1	100%						

Table 3. Occupations of Black people on Nantucket between 1860 and 1920

	1860		1870		1880		1900		1910		1920	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Administration									**1**	**1%**		
Female												
Male									1	100%		
Cranberry Harvesting									**75**	**75%**		
Female									17	23%		
Male									58	77%		
Farming							**1**	**50%**	**2**	**2%**		
Male							1	100%	2	100%		
Fishing									**1**	**1%**	**9**	**16%**
Male									1	100%	9	100%
None	**2**	**50%**					**1**	**50%**	**4**	**4%**	**30**	**53%**
Female	2	100%					1	100%	3	75%	24	80%
Male									1	25%	6	20%
Retail									**1**	**1%**		
Female												
Male									1	100%		
Service Work			**1**	**50%**	**1**	**50%**			**6**	**6%**	**2**	**4%**
Female			1	100%	1	100%			6	100%	2	100%
Male												
Trades			**1**	**50%**					**10**	**10%**	**14**	**25%**
Female			1	100%					10	100%		
Male											14	100%
Transportation											**2**	**4%**
Male											2	100%
Whaling	**2**	**50%**			**1**	**50%**						
Male	2	100%			1	100%						

Table 4. Occupations of Cape Verdeans on Nantucket between 1860 and 1920

	1860		1870		1880		1900		1910		1920	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Administration			1	1%	**2**	**2%**	**1**	**1%**	**6**	**3%**	**10**	**5%**
Female			1	100%	1	50%			1	17%	8	80%
Male					1	50%	1	100%	5	83%	2	20%
Farming	**5**	**5%**	**5**	**6%**	**5**	**5%**	**4**	**2%**	**9**	**4%**		
Male	5	100%	5	100%	5	100%	4	100%	9	100%		
Fishing			**6**	**8%**	**14**	**14%**	**11**	**7%**	**17**	**8%**	**27**	**14%**
Male			6	100%	14	100%	11	100%	17	100%	27	100%
Health and Medicine											**1**	**1%**
Female											1	100%
Keeping House			**4**	**5%**	**15**	**15%**						
Female			4	100%	14	93%						
Male					1	7%						
None	**44**	**47%**	**20**	**26%**	**40**	**40%**	**89**	**55%**	**112**	**50%**	**112**	**57%**
Female	24	55%	15	75%	18	45%	70	79%	88	79%	84	75%
Male	20	45%	5	25%	22	55%	19	21%	24	21%	28	25%
Retail	**2**	**2%**			**2**	**2%**	**3**	**2%**	**10**	**4%**	**10**	**5%**
Female									2	20%	2	20%
Male	2	100%			2	100%	3	100%	8	80%	8	80%
Service Work	**6**	**6%**	**6**	**8%**	**2**	**2%**	**6**	**4%**	**23**	**10%**	**11**	**6%**
Female	3	50%	5	83%	1	50%	2	33%	19	83%	8	73%
Male	3	50%	1	17%	1	50%	4	67%	4	17%	3	27%
Skilled Trades	**1**	**1%**					**2**	**1%**	**6**	**3%**	**4**	**2%**
Female											1	25%
Male	1	100%					2	100%	6	100%	3	75%
Small Industry	**4**	**4%**	**5**	**6%**	**1**	**1%**			**2**	**1%**	**2**	**1%**
Female	3	75%	4	80%	1	100%						
Male	1	25%	1	20%					2	100%	2	100%
Trades	**5**	**5%**	**4**	**5%**	**7**	**7%**	**35**	**22%**	**35**	**16%**	**19**	**10%**
Female									1	3%	1	5%
Male	5	100%	4	100%	7	100%	35	100%	34	97%	18	95%
Transportation							**7**	**4%**	**2**	**1%**	**2**	**1%**
Male							7	100%	2	100%	2	100%
Whaling	**27**	**29%**	**26**	**34%**	**13**	**13%**	**3**	**2%**	**1**	**0%**		
Male	27	100%	26	100%	13	100%	3	100%	1	100%		

Table 5. Occupations of Azoreans on Nantucket between 1860 and 1920

Demographics of Nantucket's Black, Cape Verdean, and Azorean Communities from 1860 to 1920

What attracted these three communities to remain on Nantucket after the decline in whaling or to move to Nantucket as new industries began to develop would have affected who was a part of the Black, Cape Verdean, and Azorean communities. The jobs that they worked would have drawn different kinds of people to the island. In data taken from federal censuses from 1860 to 1920, there were differences in the ages and genders represented in these communities. In particular, when trying to trace what happened to the New Guinea community, analyzing how many original community members stayed and determining where in the United States newcomers arrived from can help define the Black community during this time. Analyzing these characteristics in these communities can highlight their experiences as they established themselves throughout the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In turn, this can determine how racism on Nantucket still influenced the lives of non-white people, even if racial segregation no longer existed. The age structure of the Azorean population on Nantucket represents the more normal pattern out of the three groups. When analyzing their age distribution from 1860 to 1920, they have what Saroha (2018:59-60) describes as a population that has high population growth. This is characterized by the 0-9 year old age group being the largest and with a gradual decrease in subsequent age groups (Figure 9). Figure 10 shows the number and men and women who were 1st generation Azorean immigrants between 1860 and 1920. Between 1860 and 1880, there were more men within the Azorean population on Nantucket, but beginning in 1900, more women began to be included in this group (Figure 10). By 1920, there were more women than men as they made up 52% (n=48) of the population (Figure 10). This increase in women also affected the marriage practices of Azoreans on Nantucket. When it was primarily men within the Azorean

population from 1860 to 1880, the majority of married couples involving Azorean people were with Anglo people on Nantucket, not other Azoreans. Couples of two Azoreans increase in 1900 but would not have a significant increase until 1910 (Table 6). Azoreans marrying white, Anglo islanders implies that they were incorporated into white society on Nantucket. Although the number of them does decrease in 1900, Azorean and Anglo marriages never made it below 32% (n=23) of the total married couples involving Azoreans on Nantucket (Table 6). There were few instances of Azoreans being married to Cape Verdeans and there were no instances of them being married to Black people on Nantucket (Table 6). Again, this lack of marriage between Azoreans and groups on Nantucket that were racialized as non-white supports the idea that Azoreans were racialized as white in their everyday lives and were incorporated into white society.

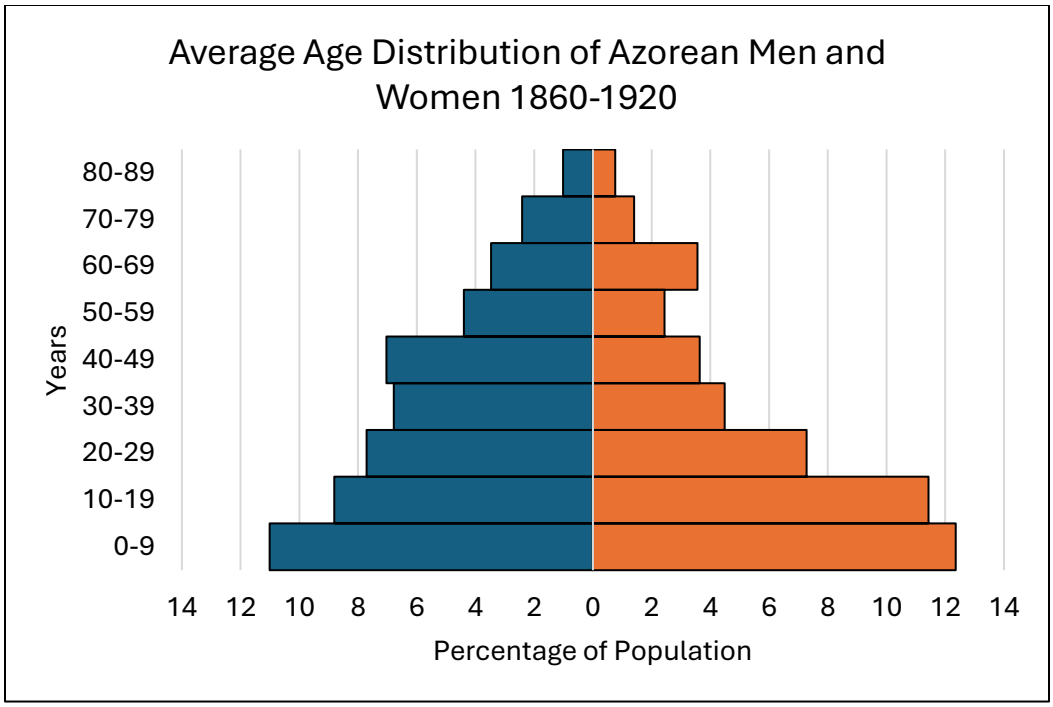
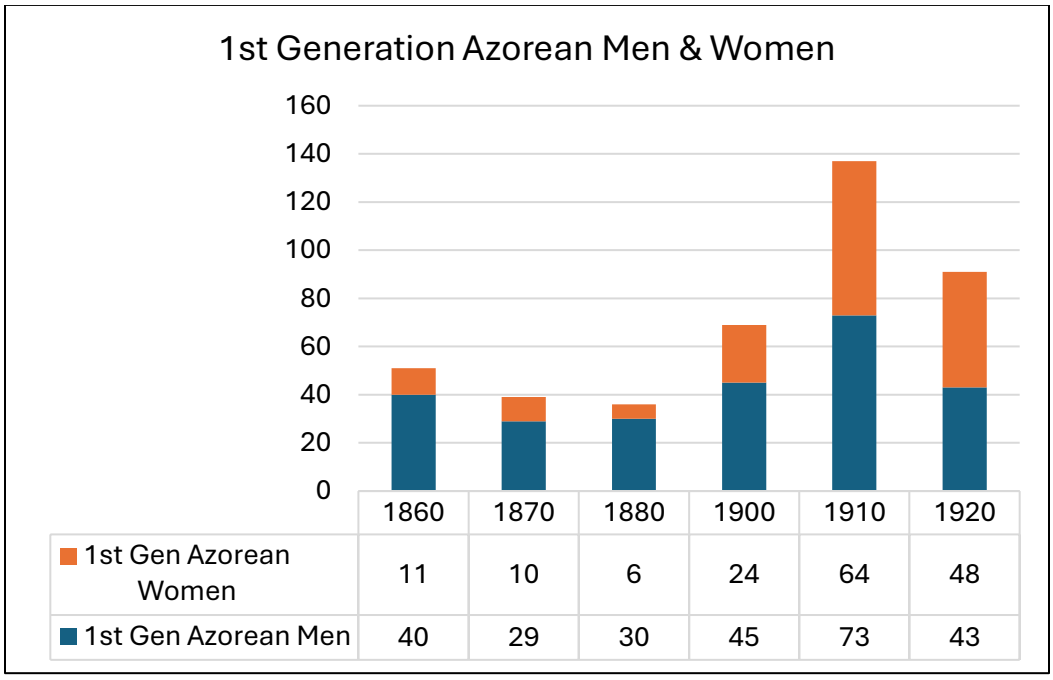


Figure 9. Average age distribution of Azorean men and women between 1860 and 1920



	1860	1870	1880	1900	1910	1920
1st Gen Azorean Women	11	10	6	24	64	48
1st Gen Azorean Men	40	29	30	45	73	43

Figure 10. Number of 1st generation Azorean immigrants between 1860 and 1920

	1860		1870		1880		1900		1910		1920	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Black Marriages	19	100%	13	100%	13	100%	5	100%	5	100%	7	100%
Black/Black	17	89%	11	85%	13	100%	3	60%	3	60%	6	86%
Black/Anglo	1	5%	0	0%	0	0%	2	40%	0	0%	0	0%
Black/Azorean	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Black/Cape Verdean	1	5%	1	8%	0	0%	0	0%	2	40%	1	14%
Azorean Marriages	30	100%	28	100%	31	100%	58	100%	71	100%	54	100%
Azorean/Azorean	4	13%	6	21%	9	29%	24	41%	47	66%	31	57%
Azorean/Anglo	25	83%	21	75%	21	68%	30	52%	23	32%	18	33%
Azorean/Irish	1	3%	1	4%	1	3%	4	7%	1	1%	3	6%
Cape Verdean/Azorean	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	2	4%
Black/Azorean	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Cape Verdean Marriages	1	100%	1	100%	1	100%	0	100%	13	100%	19	100%
Black/Cape Verdean	1	100%	1	100%	1	100%	0	0%	2	15%	1	5%
Cape Verdean/Cape Verdean	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	10	77%	15	79%
Cape Verdean/Anglo	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	8%	1	5%
Cape Verdean/Azorean	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	2	11%

Table 6. Types of married couples involving Black, Cape Verdean, or Azorean people recorded on Nantucket from 1860 to 1920

The characteristics of the Cape Verdean community represent their population on Nantucket, dramatically increasing in 1910 (Table 1). The age distribution of this community shows that there was a concentration of 20–29 year-old men. These men made up, on average, 37% of the total Cape Verdean population from 1860 to 1920 (Figure 11). Figure 11 also depicts this male majority in the population. Cape Verdean men made up 77% (n=70) of the entire Cape Verdean community in 1910 (Figure 8). This number slightly decreased in 1920 to 66% (n=25) (Figure 8). Cape Verdeans who worked in the cranberry bogs were not recorded in 1920 but were in 1910. Cranberry cultivation was seasonal work, and there were likely many Cape Verdeans who did reside on Nantucket during planting and harvesting seasons and not permanently on the island. Although these seasonal workers likely still existed in 1920, as there was still a cranberry bog in operation on Nantucket, the Cape Verdean community recorded in the 1920 census instead solely represents permanent residents. Therefore, the permanent Cape Verdean community supported more women than the temporary one. The seclusion of Cape Verdeans spatially and

occupationally is also represented in who they married while they were living on Nantucket. Although their population number was small between 1860 and 1900, all married couples were between Cape Verdeans and no others (Table 6). In 1910, when 117 Cape Verdeans were on the island, couples of two Cape Verdeans still made up 77% (n=10). Married couples of Cape Verdeans and Black people made up 15% (n=2) in 1910 (Table 6). There were similar patterns in 1920, with married couples involving two Cape Verdeans making up 79% of the total number (Table 6).

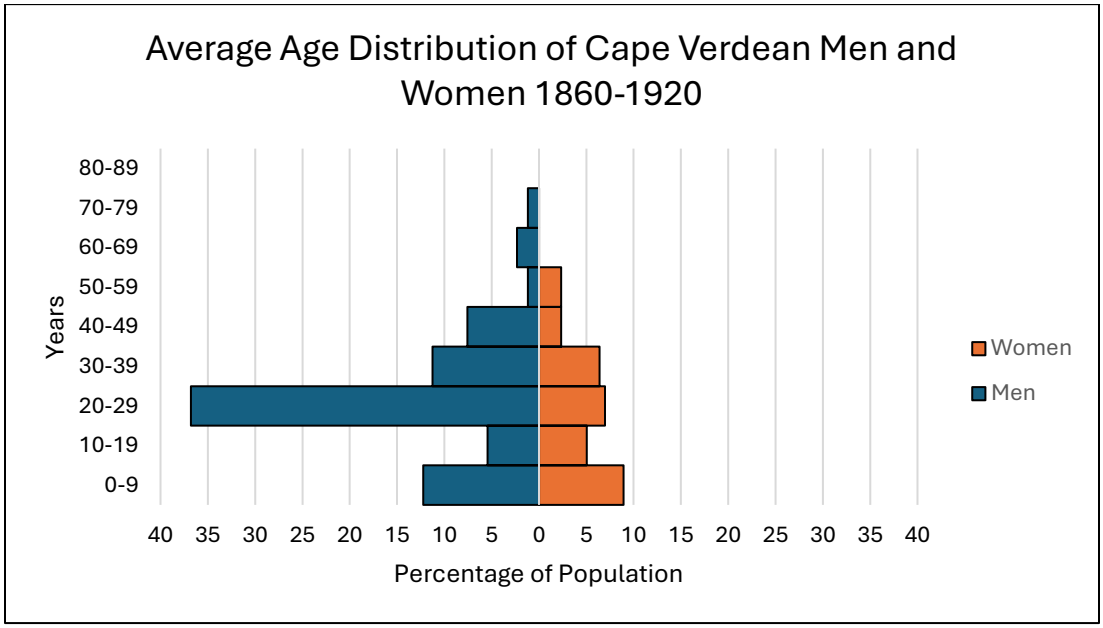
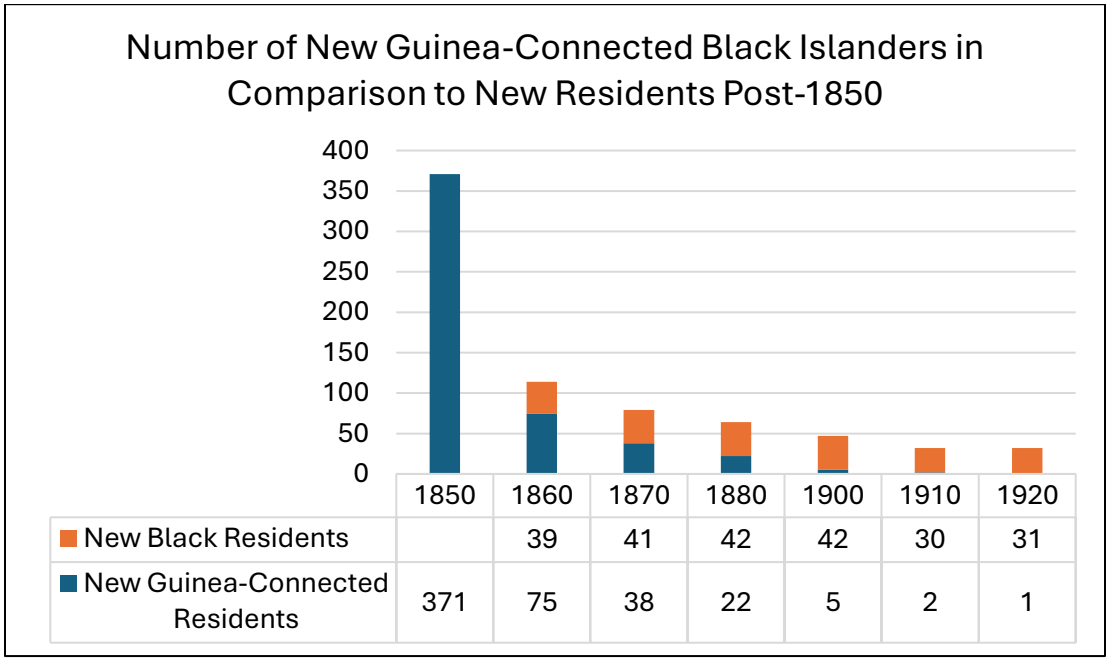


Figure 11. Average Age Distribution of Cape Verdean men and women from 1860 to 1920

In trying to understand if, and how, race continued to affect settlement patterns on Nantucket, the characteristics of Nantucket's Black community are important in achieving this research goal. The New Guinea community had existed on Nantucket as a racially segregated community that formed in the late 18th century. However, historians like Karttunen (2005) have noted that properties within the area that had once held the New Guinea community were purchased by white islanders after Black islanders had left in search of better work after the

decline in whaling on Nantucket. Jared Muehlbauer's (2021) data was used to match individuals that he identified in the 1850 census as belonging to the New Guinea community to identify those same individuals in my dataset. Figure 12 shows the dramatic decrease in Nantucket's Black population between 1850 and 1860. The number of Black islanders continued to gradually decrease after 1860. By 1900, there were just 5 individuals who had been a part of New Guinea in 1850 (Figure 12). Figure 13 shows that, on average, young adult to middle-aged women made up most of Nantucket's Black community from 1860 to 1920. This can also be seen in Figure 14 that across all census years from 1860 to 1920, there were more women than men in Nantucket's Black community. It was not until 1920 that this division began to even out. Table 7 shows the birthplaces of Nantucket's Black community from 1860 to 1920. Beginning in 1910, there was an increase in Black people living on Nantucket who had been born in the South or the Midwest; this trend continued in 1920. Previously, the Black population was primarily comprised of people who were born in Massachusetts or the Northeast (Table 7). Black people had fewer married couples than both Cape Verdeans and Azoreans on Nantucket (Table 6). The 1860 Federal Census recorded the most married couples at 19. 89% of these couples were comprised of two Black people. In both 1870 and 1880, each census recorded 13 married couples. Recorded married couples continued to be primarily between Black people, but there was some diversity in the 1900, 1910, and 1920 census years; the total number of recorded couples in these years was small. According to Table 1, there were a total of 32 Black people recorded in both 1910 and 1920 (Table 6). The lack of married couples suggests that those who were living on Nantucket or were attracted there due to the tourist industry did not necessarily have the goal of starting

families. Figure 14 further supports this idea that Black men did not seem to have been supported on Nantucket during this period, even though this unevenness does begin to even out in 1920.



	1850	1860	1870	1880	1900	1910	1920
New Black Residents		39	41	42	42	30	31
New Guinea-Connected Residents	371	75	38	22	5	2	1

Figure 12. Number of Black people listed in the 1850 Federal Census who continued to live on Nantucket until 1920

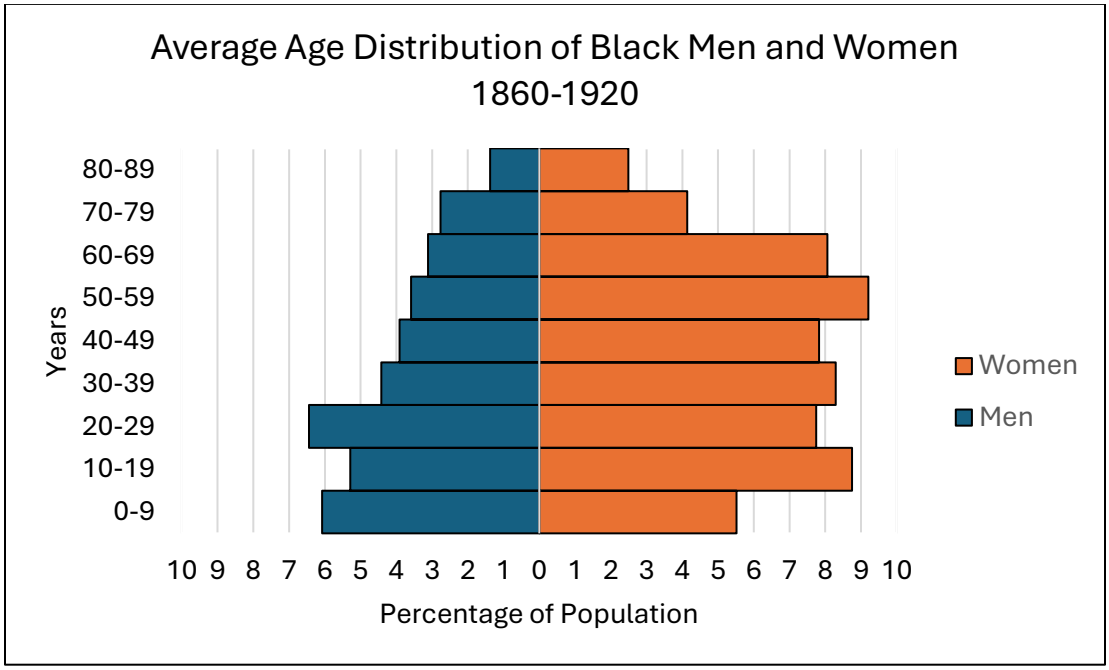


Figure 13. Average age distribution of Black men and women from 1860 to 1920

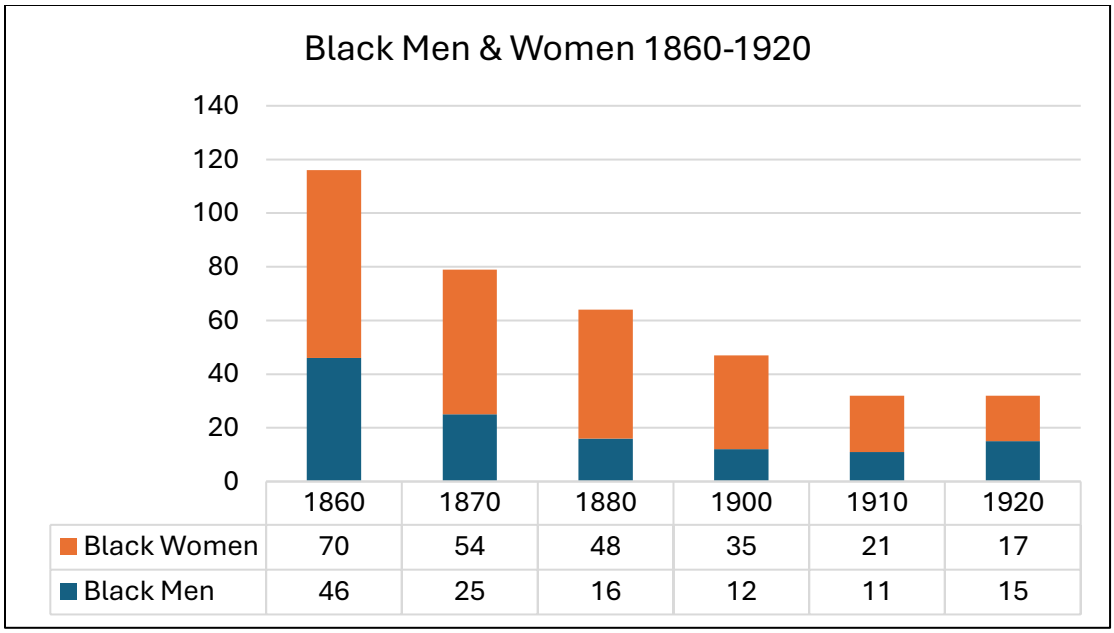


Figure 14. Number of Black men and women from 1860 to 1920

	1860		1870		1880		1900		1910		1920	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Massachusetts	94	78%	62	76%	56	84%	42	88%	22	67%	18	56%
US-Northeast	13	11%	6	7%	6	9%	1	2%	3	9%	3	9%
US-South	8	7%	7	9%	4	6%	3	6%	7	21%	7	22%
US-Midwest	0	0%	0	0%	1	1%	1	2%	1	3%	4	13%
Canada	1	1%	0	0%	0	0%	1	2%	0	0%	0	0%
Peru	1	1%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
India	1	1%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
St Helena	0	0%	1	1%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Not Listed	2	2%	6	7%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Total	120	100%	82	100%	67	100%	48	100%	33	100%	32	100%

Table 7. Birthplaces of Nantucket's Black population between 1860 and 1920

Conclusion

Following the decline of the whaling industry on Nantucket, the island experienced an upheaval in its economy and settlement patterns. Whaling was no longer the island's primary source of income, and the occupations worked by the island's Black, Cape Verdean, and Azorean populations reflect this change (Tables 3, 4, and 5). The demographic and spatial characteristics of these three groups also reflect change in who was a part of Nantucket's Black community

following the decline in whaling in the mid-19th century (Figures 4, 5, 6, 7, 12, 13, and 14) (Table 6 and 7). Previously, everyone who was racialized as non-white on Nantucket had been integrated into the New Guinea community, but this changed following the decline of the whaling industry (Karttunen 2005; Muehlbauer 2021). Although both Black and Cape Verdean people on the island were racialized as non-white in the census, these two groups diverged into two separate communities, both socially and geographically. Black and Cape Verdean islanders were also no longer limited in where they lived on Nantucket (Figures 4, 5, 6, and 7). However, both groups were dispersed across the southern side of the town of Nantucket, with a concentration of Cape Verdeans living at the cranberry bogs in the center part of the island. This continued limitation implies that race was still governing where people lived on the island after the decline of the whaling industry, and as other industries, like tourism, grew. When Cape Verdeans lived in the town of Nantucket, they were concentrated on streets that had a high percentage of Cape Verdeans living on them and not with Black islanders (Figures 4, 5, 6, and 7).

The area that had once been known as New Guinea and contained all of Nantucket's Black homeowners was no longer a concentration of non-white islanders (Figures 4, 5, 6, and 7). Instead, white islanders purchased homes there after New Guinea community members could no longer afford to remain on Nantucket (Karttunen 2005). Among these white islanders were Azoreans who were recent immigrants to the island. However, despite prejudice that Azorean immigrants experienced elsewhere in New England, on Nantucket, they experienced more economic and geographic freedom than both Black and Cape Verdean islanders (Figures 4, 5, 6, and 7) (Tables 3, 4, 5, and 6). The marriage patterns of Azoreans also show that they regularly married other white islanders, suggesting that they were also integrated into white society (Table 6). Therefore, just because Azoreans were living where New Guinea once was, their economic

and social opportunities imply that they were not racialized as non-white. Instead, Nantucket's Black community was characterized by their occupations in the tourism industry, the higher ratio of women to men in the community, and the growing number of Black islanders who were born in the southern United States (Figures 13 and 14) (Table 3 and 7). Although Nantucket's Black community changed drastically from what had existed prior to the decline of the whaling industry, there was still a community that integrated itself into the island's new industries.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Collecting, transcribing, and analyzing federal census data of Nantucket's Black, Cape Verdean, and Azorean populations revealed the spatial and demographic characteristics of Nantucket's Black community from 1860 to 1920. The Black community on the island became more fragmented, both spatially and socially. Although both racialized as Black, Cape Verdeans and other Black islanders, primarily African Americans, no longer formed a single, spatially contiguous community like they once did prior to the decline of the whaling industry in the mid-19th century. Cape Verdeans and other Black islanders lived in different locations on Nantucket as they once had; they were both dispersed across the town's southern portion and Cape Verdeans were also located in the central part of the island at the cranberry bogs. The place that was once New Guinea was now dominated by white islanders, including the Azorean immigrant community. Even though new Azorean immigrants were concentrated in the southern part of town likely due to their immigrant status, this immigrant community was afforded more freedom in where they lived and what jobs they worked than Black and Cape Verdean islanders. This southern region of Nantucket was considered a working-class neighborhood and not where

wealthy islanders lived. Nantucket's Black community being relegated to this area of Nantucket after being displaced from their once spatially contiguous community of New Guinea suggests that space continued to be racialized on Nantucket in similar ways than it had before, and that Black islanders had to alter their methods in maintaining community.

Nantucket's Black Community Spatiality from 1860 to 1920

The analysis of federal census records reveals a change in where Nantucket's Black community was living after the decline of the whaling industry in the mid-19th century. Prior to this decline, New Guinea, a community comprised of the island's residents who were racialized as Black, was a segregated, spatially contiguous neighborhood located on the southern outskirts of town. It was here that they were able to use homeownership to form a community of recently freed African Americans and others who were racialized as non-white who resided on Nantucket, such as native Wampanoag, Cape Verdeans, and Pacific Islanders (Karttunen 2005; Muehlbauer 2021). However, when there was a sharp decline in the whaling industry on Nantucket in the mid-19th century, many New Guinea community members left as they could no longer support themselves on the island (Karttunen 2005).

The demographic and spatial patterns seen in the analysis of federal census records from 1860 to 1920 show that Nantucket's Black community was no longer segregated to a single, contiguous location (Figures 4, 5, 6, and 7). There were a few Black islanders who were a part of New Guinea who did remain, but many of the homes that were a part of the community were eventually purchased by white islanders. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Nantucket's Black residents were now spread across the town of Nantucket's south side, rather than in a single location on the south side. Cape Verdeans did, however, concentrate on a few streets in

town and dominated the workers' housing at the cranberry bogs in the center of the island; these two locations were approximately four and a half miles from each other. Other Black islanders, primarily African Americans, were scattered across the town's south side, approximately within an area of one square mile (Figures 4, 5, 6, and 7). Although these locations are within walking distance, it is a major change from the spatiality of New Guinea, where its community members were spatially contiguous. Although Nantucket's Black community from 1860 to 1920 does not represent the same kind of segregation that represented the New Guinea community, this segregation was marked by their seclusion on the southern side of town and in workers housing.

The southern half of the town of Nantucket has been described as where the town's working class, both white and non-white, lived in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Higginbotham 1989; Dias 1998). Black and Cape Verdean residents both experienced job discrimination that was not experienced as much by Azorean residents, who were an immigrant group and were racialized as white, in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Tables 3, 4, and 5). Pauline Singleton, who grew up in Nantucket's Cape Verdean community, states that Cape Verdean women were limited to solely cleaning or janitorial work on Nantucket and that she had to leave the island in order to have better economic freedom (Singleton 1993). Cape Verdeans also primarily made up the laborers who worked at the Burgess Cranberry Bog (Halter 1993; Karttunen 2005; Pilgrim 2006). The limitation in the occupations that Cape Verdeans labored in shows that they continued to endure racism on Nantucket even if they were now geographically distant from other Black islanders.

Black islanders who remained on Nantucket were involved in occupations that were influenced by the recent turn towards tourism on the island. These jobs were primarily in the domestic service industry and included maids, cleaners, gardeners, and seamstresses. Keeping

house was a common occupation recorded for women in the census, but those women still likely participated in labor that contributed to the tourist industry through taking in boarders and strengthening community ties between Black homeowners and more temporary workers (Higginbotham 1989; Karttunen 2005; Lee 2019). Both Black and Cape Verdean islanders were limited in their occupational opportunities, which shows that they both continued to endure racism in similar ways. This limitation of economic opportunity, in turn, limited where people who were racialized as Black on Nantucket could live on the island.

Discriminatory hiring practices that were occurring on Nantucket in the late 19th and early 20th centuries resulted in both Black and Cape Verdean people being limited to the south side of the town of Nantucket, and for Cape Verdeans, also at the cranberry bogs in the center part of the island where they worked. However, the economic statuses of Black and Cape Verdean islanders were not the only reason for their limitation in where they resided on the island. Although there is only one known example, the only summer vacation home owned by a Black family, the Carters, on Nantucket was also located on the southern side of town (Stewart 2004:6-7). While this is only one instance and therefore not conclusive evidence, it does suggest that the Black community's limitation to the southern side of town was not purely due to their economic status, but that even with wealth, Black people were not welcome to own homes elsewhere in town and associate with the wealthy white population.

The spatiality of Nantucket's Black community in the late 19th and early 20th centuries represents a continuation of residential segregation on the island. Black islanders had been segregated to a spatially contiguous community during Nantucket's whaling period, but after the decline of the whaling industry, Black and Cape Verdean islanders were now dispersed across the town's southern portion. Although this may seem like a foregone conclusion of a racialized

landscape, the southern portion of town was still where the island's Black community lived. Cape Verdean residents were also still primarily segregated to certain areas of the island, in the southern part of town, and at the cranberry bogs. Therefore, even though islanders who were racialized as Black lived in different locations than they had before the decline of the whaling industry, racism continued to govern where Black islanders lived in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Social Maintenance of Nantucket's Black Community

The New Guinea community that existed and thrived on Nantucket before the decline in whaling disappeared as whaling ceased to be the island's main export. The number of people who were associated with New Guinea prior to 1860 rapidly left the island, and by 1900, only 5 remained out of the total 47 Black people who lived on the island. In 1860, there were 75 people associated with New Guinea out of a total of 114 (Figure 12). However, there were newcomers to Nantucket's Black community who arrived in the late 19th and early 20th centuries who were employed in the island's new industries. Black women from across the United States were attracted to Nantucket for the growing tourist industry and the demand for service jobs that were required. Cape Verdeans had primarily arrived on the island to initially work in cranberry bogs, but many eventually moved into town and found jobs in other industries. Therefore, Cape Verdeans and other Black people who lived on Nantucket had to find ways to support each other in a racialized landscape.

Like Canuto and Yaeger (2000:248) state, a necessary component of communities is that they have a shared identity and regular interaction. The lack of a spatially contiguous community drastically changed the way that the island's Black residents were able to support one another to

attain social, economic, and political empowerment for their community (McKittrick and Woods 2007; Lipsitz 2011; Hwang 2016; González-Tennant 2018). Previously, there were churches, schools, and boardinghouses that helped sustain regular interaction within the New Guinea community, but these institutions dwindled as the whaling industry declined (Karttunen 2005). The Pleasant Street Baptist Church located in the African Meetings House which was once the hub of Black community life in New Guinea decreased in members after the decline of the whaling industry and disbanded in 1911 (Bulger 2013:122; Fairweather 2021:79). These institutions, that served both Black and Cape Verdeans islanders, could no longer be relied on for community maintenance by the early 20th century.

A primary method of community formation for Nantucket's Black community was weekly gatherings held at homes of individuals who owned their own homes, where Black islanders who were either permanent residents or working temporarily on the island during the summer season could gather. These have been described as a welcome respite from an atmosphere that prioritized the needs and desires of wealthy, white vacationers. The holders of these gatherings would purposefully seek out temporary summer workers and include them in their socializing, welcoming them into the community (Higginbotham 1989; Karttunen 2005:269-270). William Higginbotham, son of Florence Higginbotham, who worked as a domestic, remembered experiences of discrimination and segregation from various beaches, businesses, and restaurants (Higginbotham 1989). These weekly gatherings would have helped form and sustain a community when Black islanders were no longer as geographically close as they once were.

Cape Verdeans who lived on Nantucket, separated from other Black islanders, formed geographically closer communities and maintained their communities in other ways. In town,

they were primarily concentrated along the coast, where they made up 52% and 73% of two streets (Figure 6). Singleton (1993) and Stanley (2022) detail the close-knit atmosphere she experienced while growing up there, where they continued traditions from their home islands. The Cape Verdeans who settled in town were closely associated with, and oftentimes were, those who were laboring in the cranberry bogs. Halter (1993) states that although it was backbreaking work for low pay, the workers' housing, where Cape Verdeans made up most of the population, allowed them to rely on each other for support. Although Cape Verdeans may have settled separately from other Black islanders in the late 19th and early 20th century, they were still very much racialized as Black and endured racial discrimination while on Nantucket. Elsewhere in New England, Cape Verdeans distanced themselves from other Black communities as they saw themselves as distinctly different and did not want to be racialized the same way. This feeling may have been heightened on Nantucket as Azorean immigrants were moving to Nantucket in large numbers. In 1900, the total population of people of Azorean ancestry increased from 132 in 1880 to 211 in 1900 (Table 1). Cape Verdeans and Azoreans are both Portuguese-speaking and have similar ancestries but yet Cape Verdeans were racialized as Black in the United States based on their shared physical characteristics with African Americans and the proximity of Cape Verde to Africa (Halter 1993; Pilgrim 2006). Therefore, Nantucket's Cape Verdean community may have wanted to avoid associating with other non-Cape Verdean Black islanders to appear different than them and that they were not a single community. Despite this complex relationship between Cape Verdeans and other Black people, their shared experience of racial oppression on Nantucket bonded the two groups as Nantucket's Black community, albeit fragmented.

Conclusion

The results presented in this thesis show that space on Nantucket was still influenced by race after the decline of the whaling industry. However, the way that race operated on the landscape was different, meaning people who were racialized as Black lived in different locations than they once had. Nantucket's Black community was now dispersed across the southern portion of town. Both Cape Verdeans and other Black islanders were limited in their job opportunities, which limited the portions of town in which they could reside. Race continued to influence where the island's Black community lived and what their experiences were like. Racism does not always result in a segregated community, but it can also result in a community that is forced to be geographically distant due to displacement. Nantucket's Black and Cape Verdean communities sought out new ways to interact regularly and support one another while Nantucket's economy became entrenched in the leisurely living of white vacationers.

The confinement of Nantucket's working class and Black communities to the town's southern region contradicts a popular historical narrative that has been told about Nantucket. When tourism was first started to be advocated for in the late-19th century, promoters marketed the island as a pre-industrial place and not having characteristics of cities. These characteristics were about class stratification and the presence of non-white communities (Brown 1995; Bruggeman 2015; Jones 2023). Wealthy people likely saw the realities of lower-class neighborhoods and people of different ethnic backgrounds as unsightly and inconvenient. Despite the wealthy profiting from racism and the labor of the working class, they wanted a place to escape these realities of living in a capitalistic world (Brown 1995; Bruggeman 2015; Jones 2023).

The historical narrative that was produced about Nantucket's past in the late-19th century supported claims that Nantucket was not industrious, implied that whaling was not an industry, nor supported a capitalistic society (Brown 1995; Bruggeman 2015; Jones 2023). However, Nantucket was an international whaling hub that attracted a racially diverse and economically stratified population (Karttunen 2005). The whaling period was not the only period in Nantucket's history to have a racially diverse and economically stratified population. But, as Nantucket's historical narrative was being developed at the same time as these new industries, they were not included within the narrative (Brown 1995; Bruggeman 2015; Jones 2023). Those who worked in these industries have also largely been ignored by historians. The hiring practices that existed in the late 19th and early 20th century imply that racism still permeated every-day life on Nantucket and affected the livelihoods of those racialized as non-white. The spatial locations of these groups further support the idea that space was still being racialized on Nantucket from 1860 to 1920, even after the dissolution of a segregated Black community.

A. CENSUS FIELDS INCLUDED IN DATABASE

		Key:		Included in Database			
				Not Recorded in Censuses			
			X	Field Available in Census			
Info Category	Field Name	1860	1870	1880	1900	1910	1920
Administrative Info	Enumeration District			X	X	X	X
	Dwelling Number	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Family Number	X	X	X	X	X	X
Household Location	Street Name			X	X	X	X
	House Number			X	X	X	X
Basic Demographic	Name	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Relationship to Head of Household			X	X	X	X
	Sex	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Race	X	X	X	X	X	X
Birth Info	Age	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Place of Birth	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Birth Year				X		
	Birth Month		X		X		
	If Born Within the Year			X			
Occupation Info	Occupation	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Industry					X	X
	Employment Type					X	X
	Number of months unemployed			X	X	X	
Home Ownership Info	Homeownership Status	X	X		X		X
	Home Owned Free or Mortgaged					X	X
	Value of Property	X	X				
	Value of Personal Estate	X	X				
	Farm or House				X	X	
	Number on Farm Schedule				X	X	
Immigration Info	Immigration Year				X	X	X
	Years in the United States				X		
	Naturallization Status				X	X	X
	Naturallization Year						X
Ancestry Info	Father's Birthplace			X	X	X	X
	Mother's Birthplace			X	X	X	X
	Father of Foreign Birth		X				
	Mother of Foreign Birth		X				
	Father's Native Language						X
	Mother's Native Language						X
Marriage Info	Years Married				X	X	
	Marital Status			X	X	X	X
	Married within the Year	X		X			
	Marriage Month		X				
Children Info	Number of Children Born				X	X	
	Number of Children Living				X	X	
Literacy Info	Attended School	X	X	X	X		X
	Can Speak English				X	X	X
	Native Language						X
	Ability to Read		X	X	X	X	X
	Ability to Write		X	X	X	X	X
	Person over 20 years of age who cannot read and write	X					
Disability Info	Wether deaf and dumb	X	X	X		X	
	Whether Blind					X	
Citizenry Info	Male Citizen		X				
	Denied Voting Rights		X				
	Survivor of Civil War					X	

B. OCCUPATION CATEGORY TABLE

Occupation Category	Occupations in Census
Administration	Alms House Keeper, Cal of Customs, Clergyman, Clerk, Clerk of Courts, Fireman, Keeper, Keeper of Asylum, Lighthouse Seaman, Operator, Surf Man, Secretary, Surfman, Teacher, Undertaker, US Service, W.S. Lighthouse Keeper, Book Keeper
Farming	Farm, Farm Laborer, Farmer, Farming
Fishing	Fisherman, Fishing
Health & Medicine	Apothecary, Chiropodist, nurse
Retail	Apt Merchant, Cash Girl, Dealer - Furniture, Dealer - Hardwar, Delivery Clerk, Furniture Dealer, Grocer, Grocery Merchant, Grocery Store, Liquor Store, Lumber Dealer, Manager, Merchant, Merchant Oil, Merchant R, Merhcant (Grocer), Proprieter, Ret Merchant, Retail Market, Retail Merchant, Retailer, Salesman, Salesman - Grocery, Salesman (Furniture), Saleswomen, Tailor Merchant
Service Work	at service, Barber, Barber Shop, Boarding House, Boarding House Keeper, chauffer, Coachman, Cook, Cook in Steam Boat, Domestic, domestic servant, Dress Maker, Dressmaker, Gardener, Hairdresser, House Work, Housekeeper, Housework, Janitor, Laundress, Laundry, Liveryman, Mainucurist, Seamstress, Servant, Sewing, Sewing Woman, Steward, Stewardess, Stewardess in Steam Boat, Tailor, Tailoress, Tailoring, Work Woman, Hostler, Matron, Porter in Store
Skilled Trades	Electrician, Engineer, Librarian, M Cabinet Maker, Piano Trainer, Plumber, Printer
Small Industry	Basket Maker, Coat maker, Coat Making, Cobbler, Making Coats, Sewing Coats, Shoe Binder, Shoe Maker, Shoe Makers Apprentice, Shoe Repairer, Shoemaker, Straw Hat Maker
Trades	Apprentice, Brick Mason, Carpenter, Carpenter Appr, Compositor, Contractor, Day Laborer, Home Painter, House Painter, Laborer, Mason, Painter, Watchman
Transportation	Engineer - Steamboat, Boatman, Carriage Driver, Marine Engineer, Teamster, Truckman, Wagon Driver
Whaling	At Sea, Cook in Vessel, Cooper, Deck Hand, M Mariner, Mariner, Mariners Cook, Regger, Ret Mariner, Retired Mariner, Sailor, Seaman, Seaman, Whaler

C. UNITED STATES REGION CATEGORIES

Region	State of Birth Listed in Census
Massachusetts	Massachusetts
Northeast	Connecticut, Maine, New York, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Pennsylvania
South	Alabama, South Carolina, Southern States, North Carolina, Mississippi, Georgia, Maryland, Washington DC, Virginia
Midwest	Illinois, Missouri, Ohio
Not Listed	Not Listed

D. RACE CATEGORIES USED IN CESUS

Year	Available Race Categories	Year	Available Race Categories
1790	White, Free Persons, and Enslaved Persons	1860	White, Black, Mulatto
1800	White, Free Persons, and Enslaved Persons	1870	White, Black, Mulatto, Chinese
1810	White, Free Persons, and Enslaved Persons	1880	White, Black, Mulatto, Chinese, Indian
1820	White, Free Persons, and Enslaved Persons	1900	White, Black, Chinese, Japanese, Indian
1830	White, Free Persons, and Enslaved Persons	1910	White, Black, Mulatto, Chinese, Japanese, Indian, Other
1840	White, Free Persons, and Enslaved Persons	1920	White, Black, Mulatto, Chinese, Japanese, Indian, Other
1850	White, Black, Mulatto	1930	White, Negro, Indian, Chinese, Japanese, Mexican

E. DATABASE EXPORT OF STREET DATA

YEAR	MassGISStreet	Street's Total Population	Number of People not in Dataset	Count of Azoreans	Count of Black People	Count of Cape Verdeans
1880	Ash St	30	30			
1880	Atlantic Ave					
1880	Back St	14	2	12	0	0
1880	Beaver St	64	45	19	0	0
1880	Broad St	37	37			
1880	Cambridge St	9	7	0	2	0
1880	Centre St	173	169	0	4	0
1880	Cherry St					
1880	Chester St	26	26			
1880	Cliff Rd	116	111	5	0	0
1880	Commercial St					
1880	Coon St	16	14	2	0	0
1880	Cottage Ct					
1880	Darling St	35	34	0	1	0
1880	Dover St	42	42			
1880	E Chestnut St	6	3	3	0	0
1880	E Dover St					
1880	Eagle Ln	30	28	0	2	0
1880	Fair St	151	146	4	1	0
1880	Farmer St	17	17			
1880	Fayette St	21	21			
1880	Federal St	24	22	0	2	0
1880	Fish Rd					
1880	Flora St	12	12			
1880	Gardner Rd					
1880	Gardner St	40	40			
1880	Gay St	13	12	1	0	0
1880	Hussey Farm Rd					
1880	Hussey St	73	69	4	0	0
1880	India St	33	32	1	0	0
1880	Liberty St	90	90			
1880	Lily St	41	38	3	0	0
1880	Lyon St	22	22			
1880	Madaket Rd					
1880	Main St	263	257	3	3	0
1880	Milestone Rd					
1880	Milk St					
1880	Mill St	99	99			
1880	Monomoy and Polpis					

YEAR	MassGISStreet	Street's Total Population	Number of People not in Dataset	Count of Azoreans	Count of Black People	Count of Cape Verdeans
1880	Mulberry St	14	14			
1880	Muskeget Islands					
1880	N Liberty St	42	35	7	0	0
1880	N Water St	63	63			
1880	New Mill St	66	66			
1880	New St	29	22	0	7	0
1880	Old N Wharf					
1880	Orange St	364	340	19	5	0
1880	Pine St	114	107	3	4	0
1880	Pleasant St	104	89	2	13	0
1880	Plumb Ln	11	11			
1880	Polpis Rd					
1880	Polpis, Quidnet, and Siasconset					
1880	Poverty Point					
1880	Prospect St	37	37			
1880	S Water St					
1880	Sankaty Rd					
1880	Siasconset	123	116	7	0	0
1880	Siasconset - Main Street					
1880	Siasconset - New Street					
1880	Silver St	7	1	0	6	0
1880	Spring St					
1880	Starbuck Ct	11	7	4	0	0
1880	Suburban	252	252			
1880	Summer St	16	5	4	6	1
1880	Union St	224	218	6	0	0
1880	W Chester St	50	50			
1880	W Dover St	26	23	3	0	0
1880	Walnut Ln	4	1	3	0	0
1880	Warren St					
1880	Washington St	22	22			
1880	Weymouth St	31	29	0	2	0
1880	Williams St	26	25	1	0	0
1880	Winter St	72	72			
1880	York St	29	29			
1900	Ash St					
1900	Atlantic Ave					
1900	Back St	9	5	4	0	0
1900	Beaver St	23	16	7	0	0
1900	Broad St	49	49			

YEAR	MassGISStreet	Street's Total Population	Number of People not in Dataset	Count of Azoreans	Count of Black People	Count of Cape Verdeans
1900	Cambridge St					
1900	Centre St	110	110			
1900	Cherry St	15	8	7	0	0
1900	Chester St	24	24			
1900	Cliff Rd	150	144	1	5	0
1900	Commercial St					
1900	Coon St	15	12	0	3	0
1900	Cottage Ct	14	14			
1900	Darling St	24	20	4	0	0
1900	Dover St					
1900	E Chestnut St					
1900	E Dover St	9	9			
1900	Eagle Ln	18	18			
1900	Fair St	128	125	3	0	0
1900	Farmer St	16	12	4	0	0
1900	Fayette St					
1900	Federal St	58	47	11	0	0
1900	Fish Rd					
1900	Flora St	7	7			
1900	Gardner Rd					
1900	Gardner St	32	31	0	1	0
1900	Gay St	48	47	1	0	0
1900	Hussey Farm Rd					
1900	Hussey St	58	57	1	0	0
1900	India St	70	63	7	0	0
1900	Liberty St	57	50	7	0	0
1900	Lily St	13	11	2	0	0
1900	Lyon St	21	20	1	0	0
1900	Madaket Rd					
1900	Main St	201	194	7	0	0
1900	Milestone Rd					
1900	Milk St	95	90	5	0	0
1900	Mill St	55	50	5	0	0
1900	Monomoy and Polpis	50	50			
1900	Mulberry St	7	7			
1900	Muskeget Islands					
1900	N Liberty St	59	59			
1900	N Water St	87	87			
1900	New Mill St	33	33			
1900	New St	61	32	21	8	0
1900	North Ave					

YEAR	MassGISStreet	Street's Total Population	Number of People not in Dataset	Count of Azoreans	Count of Black People	Count of Cape Verdeans
1900	Old N Wharf					
1900	Orange St	300	255	33	12	0
1900	Pine St	133	131	2	0	0
1900	Pleasant St	94	59	20	13	2
1900	Plumb Ln	9	7	2	0	0
1900	Polpis Rd					
1900	Polpis, Quidnet, and Siasconset	50	50			
1900	Poverty Point					
1900	Prospect St	37	37			
1900	S Water St					
1900	Sankaty Rd					
1900	Siasconset	50	50			
1900	Siasconset	50	50			
1900	Siasconset - New Street					
1900	Siasconset Main Street					
1900	Silver St	16	12	4	0	0
1900	Spring St	3	0	3	0	0
1900	Starbuck Ct					
1900	Suburban					
1900	Summer St	8	8			
1900	Union St	100	77	23	0	0
1900	W Chester St	50	49	1	0	0
1900	W Dover St	13	12	0	1	0
1900	Walnut Ln					
1900	Warren St					
1900	Washington St	41	41			
1900	Weymouth St	23	23			
1900	Williams St					
1900	Winter St	8	7	1	0	0
1900	York St	24	19	1	4	0
1910	Ash St					
1910	Atlantic Ave	50	50			
1910	Back St	17	6	11	0	0
1910	Beaver St	27	15	12	0	0
1910	Broad St	18	17	1	0	0
1910	Cambridge St					
1910	Centre St	131	126	5	0	0
1910	Cherry St	23	6	16	0	1
1910	Chester St	14	14			
1910	Cliff Rd	87	74	13	0	0

YEAR	MassGISStreet	Street's Total Population	Number of People not in Dataset	Count of Azoreans	Count of Black People	Count of Cape Verdeans
1910	Commercial St					
1910	Coon St	31	22	6	3	0
1910	Cottage Ct	13	13			
1910	Cranberry Bog	66	6	1	1	58
1910	Darling St	20	20			
1910	Dover St					
1910	E Chestnut St					
1910	E Dover St	18	8	10	0	0
1910	Eagle Ln	30	16	14	0	0
1910	Fair St	117	107	10	0	0
1910	Farmer St	14	14			
1910	Fayette St	8	7	0	0	1
1910	Federal St	30	30			
1910	Fish Rd	9	9			
1910	Flora St	5	5			
1910	Gardner Rd	17	15	2	0	0
1910	Gardner St	39	39			
1910	Gay St	23	17	6	0	0
1910	Hussey Farm Rd	19	11	8	0	0
1910	Hussey St	29	29			
1910	India St	74	68	6	0	0
1910	Liberty St	67	67			
1910	Lily St	33	31	2	0	0
1910	Lyon St	48	37	11	0	0
1910	Madaket Rd	20	17	3	0	0
1910	Main St	226	223	3	0	0
1910	Middle York St	18	7	9	2	0
1910	Milestone Rd	66	66			
1910	Milk St	77	77			
1910	Mill St	42	42			
1910	Monomoy and Polpis					
1910	Mulberry St	15	12	3	0	0
1910	Muskeget Islands					
1910	N Liberty St	15	13	2	0	0
1910	N Water St	14	14			
1910	New Mill St	16	13	0	3	0
1910	New St	34	22	7	5	0
1910	North Ave					
1910	Old N Wharf	19	7	0	1	11
1910	Orange St	314	258	50	6	0
1910	Pine St	97	97	0	0	0

YEAR	MassGISStreet	Street's Total Population	Number of People not in Dataset	Count of Azoreans	Count of Black People	Count of Cape Verdeans
1910	Pleasant St	59	50	1	8	0
1910	Plumb Ln	15	15			
1910	Polpis Rd	41	37	4	0	0
1910	Polpis, Quidnet, and Siasconset					
1910	Poverty Point	14	14			
1910	Prospect St	55	55			
1910	Quidnet Rd	15	14	1	0	0
1910	S Water St	21	13	8	0	0
1910	Sankaty Rd	12	12			
1910	Siasconset	91	80	1	4	6
1910	Siasconset - Main Street	17	17			
1910	Siasconset - New Street	28	28			
1910	Silver St	17	6	11	0	0
1910	Spring St					
1910	Starbuck Ct					
1910	Suburban					
1910	Summer St	9	9			
1910	Union St	178	172	6	0	0
1910	W Chester St					
1910	W Dover St	23	10	13	0	0
1910	W York St	10	10			
1910	Walnut Ln					
1910	Warren St	5	0	5	0	0
1910	Washington St	47	27	0	0	20
1910	Wauwinet Rd	25	23	0	0	2
1910	Weymouth St	17	17			
1910	Williams St					
1910	Winter St	6	6			
1920	Ash St	47	46	1	0	0
1920	Atlantic Ave	73	73			
1920	Back St	7	3	4	0	0
1920	Beaver St	36	26	10	0	0
1920	Broad St	12	12			
1920	Cambridge St					
1920	Centre St	70	68	2	0	0
1920	Cherry St	30	4	26	0	0
1920	Chester St	10	9	1	0	0
1920	Cliff Rd	26	25	1	0	0
1920	Commercial St	17	7	1	0	9
1920	Coon St	35	26	7	2	0

YEAR	MassGISStreet	Street's Total Population	Number of People not in Dataset	Count of Azoreans	Count of Black People	Count of Cape Verdeans
1920	Cottage Ct	21	21			
1920	Darling St	30	30			
1920	Dover St	25	25			
1920	E Chestnut St					
1920	E Dover St					
1920	Eagle Ln					
1920	Fair St	177	160	8	2	7
1920	Farmer St	21	21			
1920	Fayette St	11	11			
1920	Federal St	33	33			
1920	Fish Rd					
1920	Flora St	8	6	2	0	0
1920	Gardner Rd					
1920	Gardner St	25	25			
1920	Gay St	35	35			
1920	Hussey Farm Rd					
1920	Hussey St	29	29			
1920	India St	65	63	2	0	0
1920	Liberty St	50	49	1	0	0
1920	Lily St	31	28	3	0	0
1920	Lyon St	14	12	2	0	0
1920	Madaket Rd					
1920	Main St	245	242	3	0	0
1920	Milestone Rd					
1920	Milk St	68	68			
1920	Mill St	40	38	0	2	0
1920	Monomoy and Polpis					
1920	Mulberry St	5	5			
1920	Muskeget Islands					
1920	N Liberty St	19	19			
1920	N Water St	54	54			
1920	New Mill St					
1920	New St	36	26	8	2	0
1920	North Ave					
1920	Old N Wharf					
1920	Orange St	356	293	59	4	0
1920	Pine St	98	83	14	0	1
1920	Pleasant St	74	73	0	1	0
1920	Plumb Ln	13	11	2	0	0
1920	Polpis Rd	34	34			

YEAR	MassGISStreet	Street's Total Population	Number of People not in Dataset	Count of Azoreans	Count of Black People	Count of Cape Verdeans
1920	Siasconset - New Street	38	38			
1920	Silver St	14	10	4	0	0
1920	Spring St					
1920	Starbuck Ct					
1920	Suburban					
1920	Summer St					
1920	Union St	129	108	18	1	2
1920	W Chester St	65	65			
1920	W Dover St	19	7	12	0	0
1920	W York St	18	18			
1920	Walnut Ln					
1920	Warren St					
1920	Washington St	60	13	0	3	44
1920	Weymouth St	20	20			
1920	Williams St					
1920	Winter St					
1920	York St	26	12	14	0	0
1920	Polpis, Quidnet, and Siasconset					
1920	Poverty Point					
1920	Prospect St	53	52	1	0	0
1920	S Water St	37	25	7	0	5
1920	Sankaty Rd	22	22	0	0	0
1920	Siasconset					
1920	Siasconset - Main Street					

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