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"A Sufficient Number": The Historic African American Community Of Peterborough in Warren, Maine

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“A SUFFICIENT NUMBER”: THE HISTORIC AFRICAN AMERICAN COMMUNITY OF
PETERBOROUGH IN WARREN, MAINE

A THESIS

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN MAINE

AMERICAN AND NEW ENGLAND STUDIES

BY

KATE E. McMAHON

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THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN MAINE
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July 8, 2013

We hereby recommend that the thesis of Kate E. McMahon entitled "A Sufficient
Number': The Historic African American Community of Peterborough In Warren, Maine"

Be accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts.

Advisor Nathan D Hamill

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Accepted



Dean, College of Arts, Humanities, And Social Sciences

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Abstract

“A Sufficient Number”: The Historic African American Community of Peterborough in Warren, Maine.

(July 2013)

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Warren, Maine is located in the midcoast region of southeastern Maine. The small town has a long history that is intrinsically linked to the maritime activities of the region, which began in the mid-seventeenth century. Sometime around 1782, Sarah Peters was brought to Warren as a slave on a ship owned by Captain James McIntyre. After slavery was outlawed in Massachusetts in 1783/1784, Sarah successfully sued for her freedom and married a man named Amos Peters. Together, they raised a large, mixed-racial family, and settled near South Pond, a good distance away from the main village. By the 1820s, they had their own school district, were part of the Baptist church, and had a good deal of land. Their population and wealth peaked in the 1850s and 1860s, with as many as eighty-two mixed-race people living in the village of Peterborough. This thesis focuses on how African American and mixed-racial communities were able to establish themselves in maritime northern New England in the years prior to the Civil War, particularly during the antebellum period. Peterborough is a case study toward understanding African American communities outside of the plantation setting, and their relationships between agriculture and the sea.

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Chapter 1: Introduction and Historiographical Essay

Warren, Maine is not a place that many would assume once had a thriving African American community. The small, rural town of approximately 4,500 people is located about seventy miles north of Maine's largest city of Portland and is 95.3% white according to the 2010 census.¹ Only 1.7% of the population identifies themselves as African American. In 1860, the total population of Warren was 2,331 people, with eighty-two of those residents listed as African American of "mulatto."² Given that information, over 3.5% of the population of Warren was African American in 1860. This defies the conventional wisdom that Maine, and most of northern New England, was far more white in the mid to late nineteenth century than it is today. In fact, Warren was more ethnically diverse in the years prior to the Civil War than it is today. This statistical data has led to a far greater amount of questions than answers. Who were these African Americans in Warren? How did they support themselves? What was the social climate of the rest of the community that led to such a large community thriving in Warren? What happened to this large population of people? And more broadly, does what happened in Warren apply to what happened in other maritime communities throughout northern New England in the nineteenth century? While the scope of the project does not allow for answers to all of these questions, the community of Peterborough is a case study for understanding life in the North during the antebellum period for African Americans.

¹ "American FactFinder," United States Census Bureau, Accessed November 11, 2012, http://factfinder2.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?pid=DEC_10_DP_DPDP1.

² 1860 United States Census, s.v. "Warren, Maine," Warren, Knox County, Maine, accessed through *Ancestry.com*.

New England identity has been held fast through the formulation of an imagined regional distinctiveness that constructed a parochial history that repudiated the region of implicit racism. Slavery, indentured servitude, and other forms of racial inequity were removed from its regional history, particularly during the late nineteenth century. Joanne Pope Melish has suggested that this is “another element of the ‘negro removal’ process” and was part of “the shaping of a new historical narrative of New England in which the history of indigenous slavery was either suppressed entirely or revised to emphasize its extreme mildness and brevity and its triumphant early abolition.”³ Evidence of these acts, now considered to be particularly taboo in the North, is to this day uncomfortable for New Englanders to confront. Memories of such injustices as what occurred on Malaga Island, Maine in 1912 were buried for nearly a hundred years.⁴

Archaeologists and social historians have focused primarily on the experience of black Southerners and former captives. Because of the construction of a black middle class during the build-up to the Civil Rights Movement, the Southern black identity became the shared history of all African Americans in the United States. The historiography suggested by the archaeological excavations completed in the United States suggests that the value of African American history outside of the South was limited. It was not until very recently that a new historiography, one that displays a deeper understanding of the diaspora, has emerged.

³ Joanne Pope Melish, *Disowning Slavery: Gradual Emancipation and “Race” in New England, 1780-1860*, (Ithica: Cornell University Press, 2000), 210.

⁴ See chapter 2 for more information on the history of Malaga Island and a comparison between the two communities.

Part One: The Development of Racial Identity in the North and Historiographical Traditions

The historiography of New England is one complicated by nineteenth century narratives that challenged historical fact and changed the way New England was seen by the country. From its founding, New England has been constructed around the imagined ideal of a place. Puritans came to New England and settled because they envisioned a place free from religious persecution, and what Joseph Conforti defines as “the moral imagination.”⁵ New England’s identity was carefully erected through religion, literature and art. For example, Nathaniel Hawthorne wrote the majority of his novels during the antebellum period, and their Puritanical themes changed the way that New England not only remembered its founding but also the way it thought of itself. As Conforti continues, “The founding image of New England as a ‘city upon a hill’ (drawn from Matthew 5:14-15) became central to compelling narratives of the Puritan origins of national identity and its expansionist conception of American moral superiority and missionary responsibility to the world.”⁶ New England fashioned itself around these early Puritanical ambitions, positioning its identity in opposition to other regions, particularly the South. By the late nineteenth century, New England was seen by its inhabitants as a “region in decline,” now suffering from post-bellum anxieties due to immigration and the Industrial Revolution, and the ending of the Civil War, which resulted in disastrous economic conditions for New England.⁷ Within this political

⁵ Joseph Conforti, *Imagining New England*, (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 21.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 27.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 203.

environment, New England was securing its cultural history and perceived moral superiority, disowning its own history of slavery and racism.

The Civil War caused serious ideological and moral problems for those abolitionists living in New England. It is during this period that we can find examples in Maine of the shaping of a new racial heritage. Joseph Williamson, Esquire, noted Maine politician and abolitionist, wrote in an 1864 speech to the Maine Historical Society, that those that had been enslaved in Maine during the colonial period suffered very little. Williamson stated that slavery was a short-lived and relatively gentle system in Maine. Captives suffered little harsh treatment, according to Williamson, and its early abolition within the state of Massachusetts in 1783 (which, until 1820, Maine was a part of), meant that these good Northerners overcame their moral dilemma.⁸ Williamson's writings were not unique: after all, Harriet Beecher Stowe wrote *Uncle Tom's Cabin* while in Maine. Anti-slavery and abolitionist societies were commonplace in Maine towns, and their presence helped further distance the North from its own slavery past.

After the end of the Civil War, and emancipation, the United States had an entire population of new citizens that suddenly had new histories and challenges to face. Franklin Delano Roosevelt established the Works Progress Administration (WPA) in 1935 as part of the New Deal in order to bring the country out of the Great Depression. One of the jobs created was to record the oral histories of freed slaves living in the American South. "The story of Negro life must be told—whether by white or by black or

⁸ Joseph Williamson, "Article XI, Slavery in Maine," In *Maine Historical Society Collection*, Vol. 7, (Bath, Maine: Maine Historical Society, 1876): 215.

by both,” stated John B. Cade in 1935.⁹ Cade went on to say that though conflict between the races existed (and thus, could cause incongruities and misconceptions within written works), it was important that the history of slaves in the south be recorded for perpetuity. These slave narratives, along with the reclaiming of Southern black stereotypes in popular culture, eventually served to construct a unified, black identity in the United States based around Southern African American culture by the 1960s.¹⁰ No notable work had been attempted on the African American history of the North, other than in passing to compare it to the South, until the 1940s.

In 1942, Dr. Lorenzo Johnston Greene, a professor of history at Lincoln University in Missouri, published *The Negro in Colonial New England 1620-1776*. Greene was an African American that received degrees at Howard University and his doctorate at Columbia University in the 1940s. According to Greene, *The Negro in Colonial New England* was a complete history of African Americans (free or enslaved) in New England. The first chapter, entitled “Black Merchandise,” describes documentary evidence that Green researched that provided support for the existence of slavery in New England. Greene stated, “As a result of these factors the New England colonies in the eighteenth century became the greatest slave-trading section of America. There came into vogue the famous triangular slave trade, with New England, Africa and the West Indies as its focal points. From New England’s many ports trim, sturdy ships, built

⁹ John B. Cade, “Out of the Mouths of Ex-Slaves”, *The Journal of Negro History*, 20 No. 3 (July 1935), 294.

¹⁰ See Laretta Henderson, “*Ebony Jr!* And ‘Soul Food’: The Construction of Middle-Class African American Identity Through the Use of Traditional Southern Foodways”, *Melius* 32 No. 4 (Winter 2007), 81-97. Henderson argues that slave narratives in particular spoke to the types of food consumed by southern blacks, which was adopted during the years leading up to the Civil Rights Movement in order to create a unified identity through which to effect social change.

from her own forests, carried to the West Indies much needed food and other commodities...”¹¹ Greene’s description of ships that were built for human trafficking and chattel slavery is troubling when read through a twenty-first century outlook. Greene did not implicate any guilt to be had on the part of Northerners. This reflects two things: one, that New England as an entity is *constructed* through a semiological understanding of symbols and abstract ideas that did not implicate guilt on the part of the North; and two, that the environment for ideas of social reform from 1865 until the 1950s did not allow for a dissenting voice for Civil Rights in scholarship.¹²

In a chapter entitled “Social Repercussions,” Greene reinforced the imagined identity of the heroic forefathers of New England and justified their involvement in the slave trade as part of how New England became the culturally superior place that it was in 1942. The opening line for the chapter speaks volumes: “The sale of Negroes enriched not only the merchants, but some of the colonies as well.”¹³ Greene’s work is astounding in that it was published at all. A history of African Americans in colonial New England, for 1940s America, would have been highly unusual. African Americans had no place in the imagined identity and historiography of early America. They were enslaved, yes, but by the South, not by the North.

¹¹ Lorenzo Johnston Greene, *The Negro in Colonial New England 1620-1776*, (Washington, D.C., Kennikat Press: 1942), 24.

¹² In *The Rustle of Language*, Roland Barthes describes this process as structuralism, whereby a language (either visual or written) is defined by a set of rules. These rules and the structures within which they function then are stressed and changed by both internal and external factors that alter their meaning. The objects (or signs) that are visible gain meaning by creating a discourse within their functioning system.

¹³ Greene, *The Negro in Colonial New England*, 50.

Greene was implying that slaves were a tool utilized by merchants and slave owners in order to further the white patriarchal building of New England. In concluding the chapter, Greene stated, "From the Negro trade, likewise, came a great part of the wealth that afforded slave trading magnates the necessary leisure for cultural and intellectual leadership."¹⁴ Seen through the lens of 1940s ideas of civil rights, Greene's analysis of the region is not terribly surprising. A considerable amount of nation-building and patriotism was present in scholarship during World War II, allowing Americans to forgo their traditional set of values and morals for a new set that helped justify and unify American actions.¹⁵ Additionally, conversations surrounding race and subjugation did not begin to occur in Northern historiography until the 1950s. In a 1943 review of Greene's book, Elizabeth Donnan stated of African Americans in New England, "The resulting picture is of a small group better trained and more versatile than were the plantation Negroes."¹⁶ Donnan's position is one that is reflected in the majority of scholarship during that time period, particularly in archaeology: that there was a vast difference between the *type* of African American living on plantations versus those living elsewhere.

¹⁴ Ibid.,70.

¹⁵ Harry Brighthouse, "Justifying Patriotism", *Social Theory and Practice*, 32 No. 4 (Oct. 2006), 549.

¹⁶ Elizabeth Donnan, "The Negro in Colonial New England 1620-1776 by Lorenzo Johnston Greene", *The American Historical Review*, 48 no. 4 (July 1943), 798.

Part Two: The Historical Archaeology of African American Sites in the North

Archaeology has played an integral role in the understanding of African diaspora, as it “is a vehicle through which the origin, evolution, and material components of diasporic communal formations can be understood.”¹⁷ Archaeologists such as Leone, LaRoche and Barbiarz identify that diasporic sites and small ethnic communities not only provided a place for community members to coexist, but also served as sites of resistance.¹⁸ By creating their own communities geographically and physically separate from white communities, African Americans fostered subsistence patterns that made them economically stable in areas in which they may not have been otherwise welcome. Yet the focus of scholars has been largely on Southern plantation archaeology. Laurie A. Wilkie has identified this as an *ideological* problem existing in the United States as a whole. Wilkie states that “by working on these sites almost exclusively, archaeologists inadvertently reflect and reinforce some of the public’s perceptions regarding the African American past. As the public experiences the African American past, it occurs *only* on plantations and *only* under the conditions of enslavement.”¹⁹ Archaeological evidence has been used in order to reinforce the “normative” ideas enculturated within the discourse of the African American past: that the only important history of African Americans prior to the the Civil Rights Movement is slavery.²⁰

¹⁷ Mark P. Leone, Cheryl Janifer LaRoche and Jennifer J. Barbiarz, “The Archaeology of Black Americans in Recent Times”, *The Annual Review of Anthropology*, 34 (2005), 578.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 578.

¹⁹ Laurie A. Wilkie, “Considering the Future of African American Archaeology”, *Historical Archaeology*, 38 No. 1 (2004), 110.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 110-111.

Wilkie goes on to identify that the history of slavery in the United States is deep-rooted within the shared, cultural history of both African Americans and America itself. Indeed, how could one disown the history of slavery in America, when it is such a powerful part of the American experience and identity? “Black identity is formed, lived, and manipulated through bodily performance in everyday life; it is a cultural rather than a biological phenomena [sic].”²¹ Cultural identity is a powerful, driving force within any social hierarchy. It draws groups closer together, and solidifies bonds that can assist the group as a whole. When the WPA chose to collect the narratives and oral histories of slaves in the South, they were, in effect, reinforcing the cultural bond that tied these people together as *ex-slaves*. In Cade’s 1935 article, he states:

Statements regarding food are varied and interesting. Roan Barnes, ex-slave of Morehouse Parish, said:

"No cooking was done in de cabins, but all de slaves went to de cook house to eat. (No doubt he lived on a big plantation.) One woman did de cooking wid de chillun to hep her. We had greens, onions, meat and milk but never had any chicken or cake; only at Christmastime dey would give de slaves some flour and sugar to make cake. Some slaves got plenty to eat; some didn't. Some masters wouldn't give dey slaves enough to eat."²²

The narratives that Cade and others like him were referencing set the framework within which we can look at plantation archaeology. These narratives suggest that the African American experience in the South was singular, not varied as Cade suggests. The WPA did not travel to other parts of the country to find out what the urban or rural black experience was like there. The singular focus and locality of these types of projects led

²¹ Leone, et al, “The Archaeology of Black Americans in Recent Times”, 580.

²² Cade, “Out of the Mouths of Ex-Slaves”, 299.

to the archaeology that has been done since the 1960s and 70s. The work of the WPA and archaeologists have helped homogenize the African diaspora by creating an African American identity that is decidedly Southern. Archaeology has been appropriated by historians in order to contextualize understandings of past societies

In 1945, prominent American archaeologist Ripley Bullen and his wife Adelaide excavated a site that became to be known as “Black Lucy’s Garden,” in Andover, Massachusetts. The Bullens stumbled upon the site while excavating the Stickney site, a Native American settlement in the Ballardvale area of Andover. After documentary and probate research, it was discovered that the archaeological remains, which included a cellar hole and an assemblage of colonial and early to mid nineteenth century refuse, belonged to a woman named Lucy. It was primarily investigated at that time because “certain features of the Indian site can be better interpreted.”²³ Lucy, it appears, was an enslaved girl from Boston who was “given” to the wife of Job Foster. Early in the report, they describe Lucy as a “servant” to the Foster family. It is probable that Lucy was born enslaved sometime between 1750 and 1760, and was living with the Fosters by the 1770s. She and Job had at least one illegitimate child together in 1771.²⁴ The Bullens go on to describe household items recovered and attempt to match them with probate records, spending little time interpreting Lucy’s fascinating life. They do, however, mention near the end of the report that “The fact that she had a child by Job Foster in 1771 cannot be held against her alone. She was fourteen and a slave at the time while Job was forty-five. Certainly Hannah Foster did not hold it against her.

²³ Adelaide K. and Ripley P. Bullen, “Black Lucy’s Garden,” *Bulletin of the Massachusetts Archaeological Society*, 6 No. 2, (1945), 17.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 21.

While we cannot tell what motivated people to help build her cottage, they would not have done so if she was not accepted as a respectable member of the community [sic].”²⁵

The excavation of Lucy Foster’s cottage is an anomaly in the first half of the twentieth century for archaeology. No other notable sites had been excavated with a focus on African Americans with a report published. The excavation of Lucy’s home was happenstance, a byproduct of the focus of American archaeology upon Native American sites. It wasn’t until the 1970s that archaeologists began to shift their focus to previously ignored locals, including plantation sites.

In the 1960s, Lewis Binford, a prominent American archaeologist and theorist, began to publish works that helped establish “New Archaeology,” also known as processual archaeology. Binford and his followers believed that human populations responded to pressures and changes in the environment, and thus, the archaeological record would reflect these changes.²⁶ The New Archaeologists ignored cultural-historical archaeologists, who believed that diffusion, migration and social change was the cause of adaptations in human behavior over time.²⁷ These archaeologists were hypothesis-based, meaning they began their excavations with a hypothesis in mind, and then used materials collected to support their claims. As a chronology had been established in the United States for prehistory by cultural-historical archaeologists, New

²⁵ Ibid., 28.

²⁶ Bruce Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought*, 2nd ed. (London: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 394-395.

²⁷ Ibid, 395.

Archaeology focused on providing legitimacy for the field itself as a science. New Archaeology was an entirely empirically based archaeology, using the scientific method to test and replicate archaeological distributional patterns and findings. New Archaeologists were attempting to push the field away from anthropology and prove its worthiness as a hard science.

Bruce G. Trigger asserts, “The antihistorical bias of the New Archaeology can also be viewed as an ideological reflection of the increasing economic and political intervention of the United States on a global scale after World War II. Its preoccupation with nomothetic generalizations implied the study of any national tradition as an end in itself was of trivial importance.”²⁸ As Trigger states, the post-war period was especially productive in terms of Euro-American assertion of international cultural dominance, both abroad and at home. The Cold War fueled the desire of creating a true American identity in the United States, especially in the aftermath of the Civil Rights movement, which polarized the country during the 1960s and 70s. James S. Miller has argued that beginning in the 1930s, Americans were in search of “a usable past” in order to create an American identity.²⁹ American archaeology during this formative period also strived to create a new American identity and began to look inward upon itself as a discipline. Archaeologists began to look at cultures and parts of American history that had not been previously a focus of the discipline, ranging from colonial archaeology to plantation archaeology. Groups that had been previously overlooked as being unimportant to the

²⁸ Ibid, 409.

²⁹ James S. Miller, “Mapping the Boosterist Imaginary: Colonial Williamsburg, Historical Tourism, and the Construction of Managerial Memory”, *The Public Historian*, 28 No. 4 (Fall 2006), 52.

scope of American history now became part of the new definition of American archaeology.

In 1979, renowned New Archaeologist Stanley South wrote an article for *American Antiquity* called “Historic Site Content, Structure, and Function.” South introduced his article: “My goal here is to examine site content, structure, and function using information drawn from historic sites, ethnographic observation, and modern material-culture studies in an attempt to understand more about the relationship of past cultural systems to their material by-products.”³⁰ South’s analysis followed the empirical value-system of New Archaeology. He used archaeology as a way to try to determine site context and meaning. He stated that behavior should be viewed in the “systematic context” as a way to understand the *products* (materials) produced by behaviors.³¹ He created a distinction between a “site” and a “ruin”, stating that a site would be the entire space inhabited by a culture (such as a plantation) and a ruin would be the structure itself (such as a home).³² For South to distinguish between “site” and “ruin” is important; it created distinctive interpretive features for the classifications.

Using South’s model, archaeologists would posit that certain artifacts should be left behind in ruins, leading to understanding of the site as a whole. While this can be seen as a natural conclusion, by binding themselves to a necessary conclusion based upon the scope of the excavation, they limited themselves from a deeper understanding

³⁰ Stanley South, “Historic Site Content, Structure, and Function”, *American Antiquity*, 4 No. 2 (April 1979), 213.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 215-216.

³² *Ibid.*, 216.

of cultural interaction. South went on to state that the control over artifacts by historical archaeologists and control over cultural processes could further the discipline as a science.³³ South's position indicates that he believed that culture and cultural remains can be explained via the artifacts alone, using limited ethnographic data. His stance on "looking it up" and connecting it to certain modern (or historically recorded) behaviors indicated New Archaeology's push away from anthropology and cultural history. South continued that artifacts and artifact percentages could be linked to behavioral activities within the site/ruin.³⁴ This still rings true today, to some extent. Archaeologists can tell based upon the percentage of certain artifact types what kinds of activities were happening at a location. South's analysis, however, leaves little room for legitimate connections to culture, specifically plantation culture. New Archaeologists had a hard-line scientific look at human behavior as a pattern, ignoring variables in human behavior and changes and adaptations that may occur, as well as historical textual data. In this way, New Archaeologists fell into the trap of the earlier historiography.

While challenging the paradigm in archaeology that had previously constructed the archaeological tradition in America around Native American sites, archaeology as a discipline did not begin to focus upon diasporic sites outside of the plantation settings until very recently. Anne Yentsch states that "Archaeologists constantly confront individual imprints and ethnically driven derivations."³⁵ Indeed, archaeologists deal with what *individuals* (or groups of individuals) left behind at a particular time. Each stratum

³³ Ibid., 216.

³⁴ Ibid., 229.

³⁵ Anne Yentsch, "Excavating African American Food History", in *African American Foodways: Explorations of History & Culture*, Ed. Anne L. Bower, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 60.

reveals what certain people left behind for material culture at a specific place in time. As Yentsch goes on to state, archaeologists have to grapple with coming from an elite class and looking at what those from a lesser class (from which they do not belong) have left behind.³⁶ Current archaeological and historical scholarship has, at least, led to members of the underclass reclaiming their own personal history. Archaeologists such as Leone identify that there is a deep importance of descendent communities excavating their own ancestors' sites. As Hester Davis discovered during his excavations of the African American cemetery in Texas, input and excavation by the descendent community is a powerful tool that not only increases the archaeological understanding, but can also provide an outlet for healing.³⁷

The historiography of the North is evolving to include communities of free blacks, as well as including the deeper histories of slavery in the North. Recent high-profile excavations of the African Burial Ground in New York City as well as a smattering of others in the North have more fully contextualized the apparent lack of focus from the 1940s until the 1990s. The appropriation of archaeology as a discipline by historians, which has become a more reflexive and interdisciplinary relationship in the last decade, has shifted the focus from purely scientifically-based studies to a more thorough understanding of the past lifeways and motivations of people living within these communities and households. Current movements, such as Black Feminist Archaeology, spearheaded by archaeologist Whitney Battle-Baptiste, calls for a more

³⁶ Ibid., 61.

³⁷ Hester A. Davis, "Folk Narratives and Archaeology: An African-American Cemetery in Texas," *Journal of Field Archaeology*, 22 (1995), 349.

thoughtful and thorough understanding not just of African American archaeological sites, but also towards an understanding of societal norms during these historical periods.³⁸

Peterborough, then, can be seen as a site of a new look at the diaspora. Founded by formerly enslaved individuals, the birth of a large community in a rural area confronts conventional wisdom about African American settlements and lifeways. Historians and archaeologists have focused upon plantation sites because the current paradigm suggests that black history was born on the plantation. According to the historiography, communities of free blacks in the North didn't appear until the end of the Civil War. Conventional history also suggests that the only way for African Americans to have established large and meaningful populations outside of the urban setting was through the use of the Underground Railroad. This simply is not the case.

What is extraordinary about Peterborough isn't that it is very unusual. What is special about the community is that it probably was the *norm* in the North. African Americans made it to the North through a number of different ways, but a reevaluation of the importance of the Underground Railroad in African American communities needs to be undertaken by historians and archaeologists. In Maine, for example, the Portland Freedom Trail and the Maine Underground Railroad Association have listed seventy-five possible sites where there may have been Underground Railroad ties. However, none of these sites have any documented proof of their connection to the Underground

³⁸ See Whitney Battle-Baptiste, *Black Feminist Archaeology*, (Walnut Creek, California: Left Coast Press, 2011).

Railroad.³⁹ Since the passage of HR1635(PL 105-203)—the bill that established the National Underground Railroad Network in 1998—historical sites, such as the Abyssinian Meeting House in Portland, Maine, have focused the majority of their scholarship on proving the connection to the Underground Railroad Network. This over-emphasis on the Underground Railroad does the history of African Americans in New England a disservice. African Americans were establishing communities, families, and meaningful connections in northern New England decades prior to the Civil War and outside of the context of slavery.

The Peterborough community is important for this very reason. Large African American communities did indeed exist outside of slavery and outside of the South. By focusing upon sites and communities that were physically separated from the South and surviving in rural communities, we can expand upon the scope of the diaspora to more fully understand not only the lives of individuals living within these enclaves, but also about the general attitudes of average, rural, working Americans during the antebellum period. Shifting the focus away from the Underground Railroad Network toward communities that had to survive in an often hostile environment, both physically and emotionally, will give scholars a deeper understanding of the years that led up to the Civil War and the efforts of average citizens toward emancipatory goals for enslaved individuals.

³⁹ The Abyssinian Meeting House was listed on the National Register of Historic Places on the basis of their connection to the Underground Railroad. However, repeated attempts by the author to get documentation of this connection have proved unsuccessful. A manuscript is being prepared for publication by the author that addresses this very issue, titled “The Abyssinian Meeting House: Slavery and Memorialization in Northern New England.”

Chapter two will address the individuals and families that primarily made up the community of Peterborough. While no archaeological work has been undertaken for this study, this preliminary understanding of the demographics and landscape of Warren will provide the basis for future archaeological investigations in the community. The chapter addresses the broader points about African Americans living in the North prior to the Civil War: primarily, how the communities functioned and survived in geographically marginalized locals. Chapter three briefly discusses the decline of the community after 1870, and the rapid changes in the social climate of Warren by the turn of the century. Archaeology will play an integral role in further understanding the community, as very little information has been found that described their everyday existence there. The author hopes that the first phase of archaeological research will take place in the summer of 2014, with preliminary mapping and permissions taking place in the summer of 2013.

Chapter 2: Peterborough: Its Residents and Its History

There has been a renewed interest in African American communities in Maine during the last decade. One of these communities, Malaga Island, has been the focus of a large public archaeology and history project in recent years. The Malaga Island project has given the community a way to begin a discourse about the history of race in northern New England. Malaga Island was a mixed race fishing community of anywhere between forty and fifty people. The island was home to eight or nine families from just after the Civil War until 1912. Newspapers in Portland and Boston wrote stories of how the islanders were incestuous, illiterate, and thieves, the majority of which was untrue. In 1912 the state of Maine forcibly evicted all inhabitants from the island by legislative decree. Most went to the mainland; eight former residents were institutionalized at Pineland Home for the Feeble Minded.¹ Their institutionalization and poor treatment by the state was largely based on eugenics, pseudo-scientific theories that poverty and race were linked and hereditary. Several that were institutionalized died at Pineland. The cemetery on Malaga island, including the burials of children, was removed and the bodies of the deceased reinterred at Pineland in mass graves. The island had no permanent inhabitants after the removal and it has continued to function as a strategic fishing locus for nearby Phippsburg's lobstering industry.

The history of Malaga island reflects the broader problems of race in New England. While at one point championing anti-slavery causes, New Englanders in the nineteenth century were also uncomfortable with African Americans and other ethnic

¹ Nathan D. Hamilton and Robert M. Sanford, *Everyday Lives: An Interim Report on Archaeological and Environmental Investigations of Malaga Island, Phippsburg, Maine*, (Augusta, Maine: University of Southern Maine and Maine State Museum, 2012), 11.

minorities living in the state, particularly when they became a visible group. Because of the rise of tourism in Casco Bay in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Malaga Island became a blight that needed to be removed for the state of Maine. Yet in areas of geographical marginalization, such as the community of Peterborough, African American communities were able to thrive in relative harmony with the larger caucasian population of Maine towns. By examining the structure of the community of Peterborough in Warren, including the economic and social factors that led to the development of such a large enclave in a rural part of Maine, we can understand how subjugated and minority communities adapted and thrived in rural areas.

Part One: African American Communities in Maine

Cyrus Eaton was a seminal character in midcoast Maine during the nineteenth century. Eaton published the town histories of most of the midcoast region, including Thomaston, South Thomaston, Rockland and Warren. Eaton's histories are voluminous and follow within the tradition of nineteenth century town histories, including information that is both noted and reliable as well as seen through the lens of region-building in New England. The inclusion or exclusion of aspects of town histories, and the over-emphasis of some facts, creates a discourse of its own. Eaton's history of the town of Warren is particularly of note for this study, as he included information about the African American community of Peterborough. According to Eaton, Peterborough was established in the late eighteenth century in Warren. In the map included in Eaton's

Annals of the Town of Warren, Eaton's daughter Emily, who drew the map, located the community near South Pond [Figure 1]. Warren has had a varied and complicated



Figure 1: Emily Eaton, *Plan of the Town of Warren with the Lots as Originally Laid Out*, In: Cyrus Eaton, *Annals of the Town of Warren*, (Hallowell, Maine: Masters, Smith, & Co. , 1851). Osher Map Library, Accession Number OS-1851-12.

relationship with its African American inhabitants throughout the centuries, at times being almost proud of the size of the community and at others being noticeably uncomfortable.

Free blacks in Maine were engaged in all manner of employment in the state, primarily focusing upon agriculture and jobs relating to the sea, at least until the 1870s. This rings true for most of New England, as these booming economies allowed for the employment of anyone who was physically able to do the job, at least during this time of growth in New England. In America as a whole, approximately twenty thousand African Americans were engaged in some sort of shipping or sea-faring employment in the early nineteenth century.² This was hard work, and meant time away from their families and home. Yet as employment as an African American in New England could be difficult to come by, it meant enough money to support themselves. W. Jeffrey Bolster has argued that, “For blacks in the first generations of freedom, moving out from under the roof of a white master and creating a home often entailed long absences. Even short-haul coasting voyages took a week or two; sailors bound on coasting trips to the South, or on European or West Indian voyages, commonly were gone for three or four months.”³

In Maine circa 1840, approximately seven percent of African Americans were involved in maritime activities; the overwhelming majority of blacks in Maine were employed in agriculture. By 1850, those African Americans with maritime occupations

² W. Jeffrey Bolster, *Black Jacks: African American Seamen in the Age of Sail*, Kindle Edition (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1997), location 51.

³ *Ibid.*, location 2110.

rose to forty-five percent.⁴ By 1870, employment for African Americans in Maine became more diversified, and began to become less dominated by the sea.⁵ This follows the decline in the maritime industry in the state after the end of the Civil War, particularly by the end of the century. In 1775, the fishing industry in New England employed over four thousand men and shipped forty-two thousand tons of fish abroad.⁶ Larger communities, therefore, would centralize around where African Americans could get employment: Portland, Bath, Brunswick, Bangor, and Warren. In 1850, Portland had an African American population of three hundred ninety-five, Brunswick had one hundred nineteen and Warren had fifty-three. Other towns with sizable populations were Bath, Augusta, Eastport, Gardner, and Machias.⁷ These towns had the types of employment that African Americans could get in Maine during the antebellum period: agricultural and maritime.

Bangor's African American population was founded via many of the same methods as other African American communities. In the early part of the nineteenth century, the community was small in terms of the relative percentage of African Americans in Bangor. Maureen Elgersman Lee has characterized the rapid growth of Bangor's African American population as corresponding to the post-Civil War Great

⁴ Randolph Stakeman, "The Black Population of Maine 1764-1900," *New England Journal of Black Studies*, No. 8 (1989): 31.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁶ Margaret Ellen Newell, "The Birth of New England in the Atlantic Economy: From its Beginning to 1770," in *Engines of Enterprise: An Economic History of New England*, ed. Peter Temin (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2000), 44.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 30.

Migration.⁸ In 1870, there were eighty-four African Americans living in the city of Bangor, at less than half a percent of the city's population; the highest that the population ever got was 0.83 percent in 1910, when the African American population was numbered at two-hundred five.⁹ While this diasporic pattern may have been true after the Civil War, prior to the war the majority of African Americans in the state of Maine had been born here, summarized by the 1850 census. Others came from Massachusetts (with sixty-six claiming Massachusetts as their birthplace on the census) or from Canada (at ninety-six people).¹⁰

Randolph Stakeman, noted Africana Studies professor and chronicler of Maine's black population from Bowdoin University, states that these statistics can be somewhat misleading. While the post-war pattern of South to North shows a much larger percentage of African Americans in Maine born in the South, the antebellum period saw the majority of them being born elsewhere in New England.¹¹ Two of Maine's most notable communities, Warren (with perhaps the largest percentage of African Americans in the state), and Malaga Island, currently the most thoroughly researched community in the state, had the majority of their residents Maine or New England-born. The Great Migration not only effected the movement of African Americans from South to North, but it also changed the dynamic of rural and maritime African American communities in northern New England.

⁸ Maureen Elgersman Lee, *Black Bangor*, (Durham, New Hampshire: University of New Hampshire Press, 2005), 7.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁰ Stakeman, "The Black Population of Maine," 20.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 21.

Part Two: The Beginnings of Peterborough

Sarah Peters was definitely living in Warren by the late 1780s. Sara and Amos's first child, Isaac, was born around 1784. Eaton chronicles their arrival to town:

The first colored person was brought to this town by Capt. J. McIntyre, who this year purchased Sarah, as a slave, of one Capt. Brown of Damariscotta, who brought her from Guinea. He gave \$50 or \$100 for her; but, about a year after this purchase, all slaves in Massachusetts were declared free under the Constitution. Hearing a rumor of this, she gave the representative P. Pebbles, one dollar to ascertain its truth, and claimed her freedom. This woman is believed to have sustained a good character, and was early and long a member of the Baptist church. She was married to Amos Peters, from whom those of that name are descended. Others of their race joined them from time to time, till in 1823 they had formed a sufficient number to be set off into a separate school district.¹²

Whether or not Sarah was actually enslaved has proved difficult to ascertain. She does not appear on the census record until 1790. Shipping records or probate records for Captain Brown may provide more clues; efforts to locate them have proved unsuccessful. However, given that her son Isaac was born in 1784, and slavery had been outlawed in Massachusetts in 1783, it can be assumed that she was living in Warren by 1782.

Amos was probably born in Andover, Massachusetts around 1737. He was enslaved by a man named John Peters. John Peters was born in 1705 in Andover, Massachusetts and had a large family, many of which would go on to become founding community members of Blue Hill, Maine.¹³ Perhaps Amos was the illegitimate child of

¹² Cyrus Eaton, *Annals of the Town of Warren*, (Hallowell: Masters, Smith & Co., 1851), 201.

¹³ "Blue Hill, Maine Founding Families," Ancestry.com, accessed 17 June 2013, <http://wc.rootsweb.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/igm.cgi?op=GET&db=bluehillme&id=1482>.

John and an enslaved woman; perhaps he was born enslaved elsewhere. Regardless, Amos was able to secure his freedom by fighting in the Revolution. He enlisted on May 4, 1775 and served for just over three months in Captain John Bridgham's company, which was part of Colonel Theophilus Cotton's regiment, as a private.¹⁴ Like many who were enslaved prior to the Revolution, his service in the army secured his freedom. Local folklore states that Amos had part of his ear shot off during his service in the the Revolution.¹⁵

Much of the history of the community has been intertwined with folklore such as the story of Amos's ear. Sarah's arrival to town, her freedom, and "good standing" within the community closely resembles the story of Mum Bett (Elizabeth Freeman). Mum Bett was an enslaved woman who lived in Massachusetts. Her case was a landmark decision in Massachusetts, one that would eventually lead to the case of *Commonwealth v. Jennison*, in which Quock Walker's freedom ultimately led to the question of the legality of slavery in the new Massachusetts constitution. Walker had been a captive of James Caldwell. After Caldwell's death, his widow married a man named Nathaniel Jennison, who was apparently cruel and brutal to Walker. Walker had left the home of Jennison and fled to Caldwell's sons' farm, and had worked for them. Jennison found Walker, brutally beat and re-enslaved him, which ultimately led to Walker bringing a civil case against Jennison, *Walker v. Jennison*. Walker was represented by Levi Lincoln, who supported total abolition of all enslaved people in

¹⁴ Secretary of the Commonwealth, *Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors in the War of the Revolution. Vol. XVII*, (Boston: Wright and Potter Printing Co., 1896), 240.

¹⁵ Jack Neeson, "The Rise and Fall of Petersborough: Former Slave Found's Settlement," *Discover Maine: Maine's History and Nostalgia Magazine*, Lincoln/Knox/Waldo Counties, (2000), 33.

Massachusetts. Walker won his case and a fine was levied against Jennison.¹⁶

Meanwhile, Jennison sued the Caldwell brothers for luring Walker away from him.

Jennison won this suit. Both of these initial cases were appealed to the Supreme Judicial Court in 1781. Jennison lost for failure to appear, while the Caldwells were successful in their appeal.¹⁷

Jennison was then prosecuted by the state of Massachusetts in *Commonwealth v. Jennison* for assault on Walker. The landmark case, in which Levi Lincoln argued that slavery was contradictory to the new constitution of Massachusetts, was eventually heard by the Supreme Judicial Court in 1783. Chief Justice William Cushing found that:

. . . [T]hese sentiments [that are favorable to the natural rights of mankind] led the framers of our constitution of government - by which the people of this commonwealth have solemnly bound themselves to each other - to declare - that all men are born free and equal; and that every subject is entitled to liberty, and to have it guarded by the laws as well as his life and property. In short, without resorting to implication in constructing the constitution, slavery is in my judgment as effectively abolished as it can be by the granting of rights and privileges wholly incompatible and repugnant to its existence. The court are therefore fully of the opinion that perpetual servitude can no longer be tolerated in our government, and that liberty can only be forfeited by some criminal conduct or relinquished by personal consent or contract. And it is therefore unnecessary to consider whether the promises of freedom to Quaco, on the part of his master and mistress, amounted to a manumission or not.¹⁸

Much like Walker, Mum Bett had been enslaved during the pre-Revolutionary period.

“Freedom suits” became increasingly common in the years just prior and following the

¹⁶ Emily Blanck, “Seventeen Eighty-Three: The Turning Point in the Law of Slavery and Freedom in Massachusetts,” *The New England Quarterly*, 75 No. 1 (March 2002), 25-26.

¹⁷ “The Massachusetts Constitution, Judicial Review, and Slavery: The Quock Walker Case,” The Massachusetts Judicial Branch, accessed June 17, 2013, <http://www.mass.gov/courts/sjc/constitution-slavery-e.html>.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

Revolutionary war, where at least thirty cases were heard in Massachusetts courts.¹⁹ *Brom and Bett v. Ashley* set a legal precedent for the Massachusetts court system, as the prosecuting attorneys did not suggest that Ashley broke a specific law, unlike Jennison. Instead, they argued that the entire system of slavery was illegal and that Brom and Bett were not the property of Ashley. Mum Bett went on to become the beloved servant of the Sedgwicks, her lawyer's family.²⁰

Sarah's emancipation story is quite similar to that of Mum Bett. According to Eaton, Sarah hired a lawyer, "P. Pebbles," who helped her discover that slavery had indeed been outlawed in Massachusetts. Patrick Pebbles was indeed a lawyer in Warren. Sarah's case certainly never made it to court. Perhaps she retained Mr. Pebbles, who researched the landmark decisions of 1781-1783, which was enough to satisfy Captain McIntyre enough to manumit her. Regardless, Sarah and Amos settled very close to the McIntyre family [Figure 2]. The location of their home and the subsequent community that was established by their offspring does suggest that perhaps the McIntyre family did indeed have some kind of relationship to Sarah and Amos Peters. Perhaps they gave or sold a parcel of land to Sarah and Amos in the late 1780s. By the 1790 census, Sarah and Amos had established a homestead near the bottom of South Pond, and had a total of six members of their household, with Amos listed as the head of household [Figure 3]. There were several African Americans living in the households of other community members, probably as domestic servants or

¹⁹ Arthur Zilversmit, "Quok Walker, Mumbet, and the Abolition of Slavery in Massachusetts," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series Vol. 25 No. 4 (October 1968), 617.

²⁰ "The Massachusetts Constitution, Judicial Review and Slavery: The Mum Bett Case," The Massachusetts Judicial Branch, accessed June 17, 2013, <http://www.mass.gov/courts/sjc/constitution-slavery-d.html>.

boarders. One other sizable African American family, headed by a man named Sylvester Prince, is also recorded. Neither Prince or any other members of his family appear again in Warren, suggesting that they relocated after 1790.

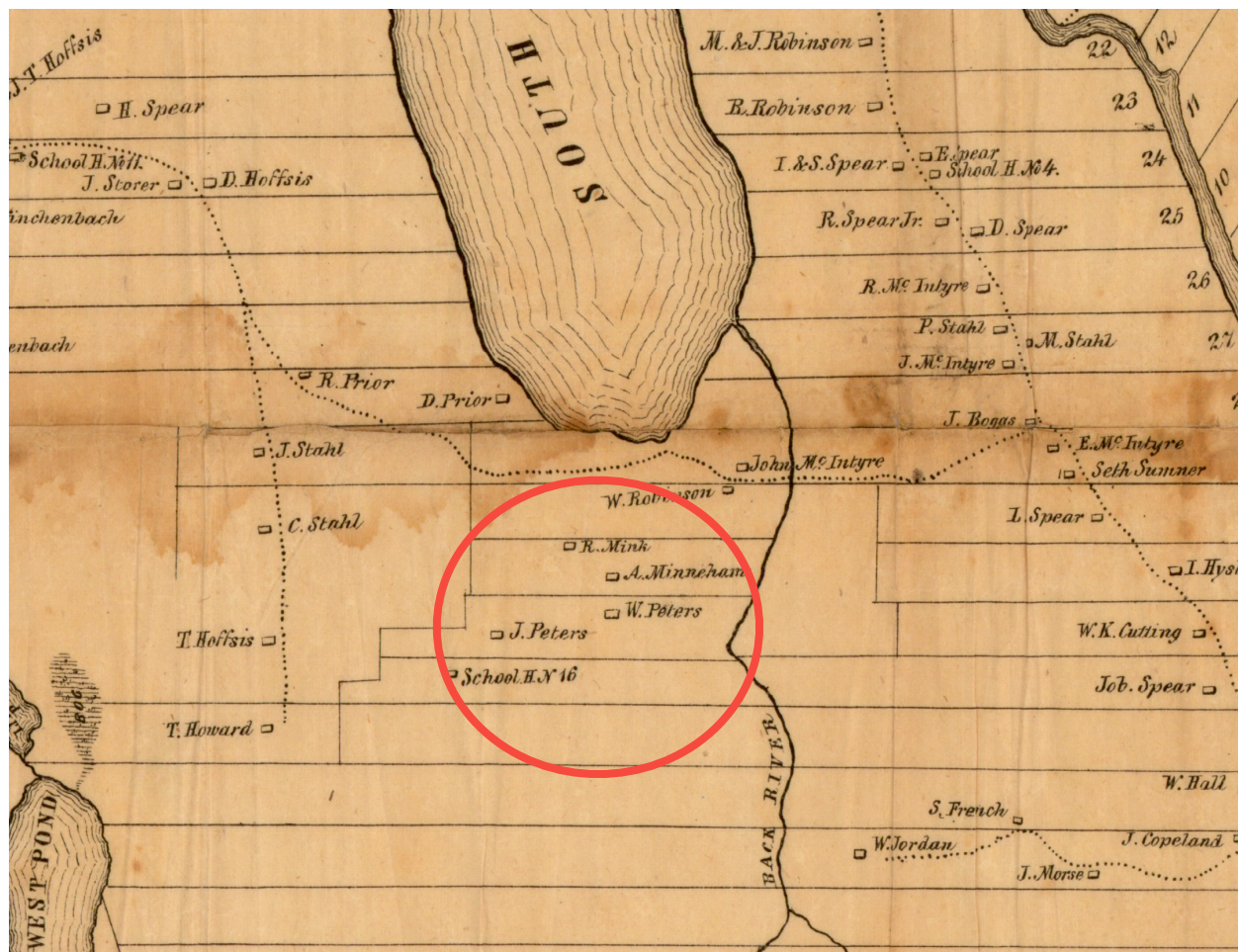


Figure 2: Enlarged view of Peterborough community located near the tip of South Pond in Warren, Maine, showing the proximity to the McIntyre family. From Emily Eaton, *Plan of the Town of Warren with the Lots as Originally Laid Out*, In: Cyrus Eaton, *Annals of the Town of Warren*, (Hallowell, Maine: Masters, Smith, & Co. , 1851).

The image shows a handwritten census record from 1790 for Warren, Maine. It lists various households with columns for the number of individuals in different age groups. A specific section is highlighted with a box, showing the household of Prince and Peters, and a summary row for the total number of African Americans in the town.

John Spear	5	5	5	
Robert Spear	2		1	
William Robinson	2	3	2	
Patrick Peoples	1	2	2	
John W. Putney	1	1	2	black
John W. Putney Jun	1		2	
Stephen Selman	2	1	2	
Ezra Sumner	1		4	
Stephen Wall	3	2	5	
Michael Libby	2	3	4	
Nathan Buckland	3	3	5	
Susanna Leitch	2		2	
John Hook	1			
Glenn Fuller	1	1	1	
William Otis	1			
Walter Leach	1			
Hylocia Prince				5 blacks
Amos Peters				6 1/2
	178	148	307	13 646
John Bellows	3	2	4	
Richard Goddard	1	1	2	
Nathanial Gates	2	1	1	

Figure 3: Enlarged view of 1790 United States Census record for Warren, Maine, showing the households of Prince and Peters and the total number of African Americans residing in Warren in 1790.

Little biographical information is available about the early years of the community. Sarah and Amos had at least five children that lived to adulthood: John, Isaac (I),²¹ Jacob, Benjamin (I), and Charles. All five lived to a marriageable age and had spouses, though it is not known if Charles and John and their wives had any children.²² They do not appear as heads of households on later censuses and may have relocated or died. Benjamin, Isaac, and Jacob, however, each had very large families with most of their children living to adulthood and having children of their own. The population explosion in the first half of the nineteenth century in Warren was caused largely by the virility and low infant mortality rate of the Peters family, as the majority of marriages taking place during this period attracted African Americans from other communities to Warren. The

²¹ The Peters family used many of the same names throughout the development of Peterborough during the nineteenth century. I have added roman numerals to names that are most often repeated in order to clarify which person I am discussing. For example, Sarah and Amos's son Isaac will be written as "Isaac (I)." The son of Jacob and Rebecca Peters will be known as "Isaac (II)" and so forth. Clarifications of genealogical ties will be made in the text or in the footnotes.

²² See Appendix 1 for a compiled view of genealogical charts.

majority of those who married in Warren at this time stayed in Warren for the duration of their lives.²³

Benjamin Peters (I) married Nancy How in 1816. They had eight children: Jane, Paul, Sarah, Abraham, Benjamin (II), Edmund, Charles, and Albert. Benjamin (I) was born around 1790 in Warren. His father, Amos, was already well into his fifties by the time that Benjamin (I) was born. Unfortunately, the census records prior to 1850 are scant in their information. In Warren, the 1790 to 1840 censuses generally contain very little vital information other than the total number of household members, sometimes their ages, sometimes individuals, but most often the census records only indicate who the head of the household was, how many members of the household there were, and their race. Benjamin (I) is listed as the head of his household on the 1830 census, with a total of five other household members living there at the time. What happened to Benjamin (I) and his family after 1830 is mysterious. Benjamin (I) died on May 29, 1833 in Boston, Massachusetts. His cause of death is listed as drowning, and the vital record states that he was living in the city poorhouse prior to his death. It appears that he was buried in the pauper cemetery [Figure 4]. How Benjamin (I) ended up in Boston is unknown, as is how he drowned. His burial is listed as "South Gd," probably an abbreviation for South End Burying Ground, which was founded in 1810 in the Roxbury Neck area of Boston and was primarily used for the internment of criminals and paupers.²⁴

²³ See Appendix 2 for a database of all African American individuals listed on the United States Federal Census from 1790 to 1870 in Warren with relevant census information gathered.

²⁴ City of Boston, "South End Burying Ground," accessed 10 May 2013, <http://www.cityofboston.gov/parks/hbgi/SouthEnd.asp>.

1811 Nov. 11	✓	Ann	25	City Poor	"	South Id.
1833 May 29	✓	Benjamin (col)	38	"	Drowned	112 "
1837 June 9	✓	Catharine	45	House of Industry	Dro'ficy	So. Boston Farm
1847 Feb. 24	✓	Catherine	6	"	Lophus River	"

Figure 4: Selection of *Massachusetts Town and Vital Records, 1620-1988*. Ancestry.com. *Massachusetts, Town and Vital Records, 1620-1988* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2011.

Benjamin's occupation while he lived in Warren is unknown. However, given the proximity to the ocean and the various shipbuilding activities of Warren during this time period, it is likely that he was somehow involved in the maritime trades. By 1850, four out of forty-six African American residents of Warren were listed as either sailors or seamen on the census. It is likely that there were other members of the community at that time who were also engaged in trades or crafts related to the shipbuilding industry of Warren. In his book *Black Jacks: African American Seamen in the Age of Sail*, W. Jeffrey Bolster asserts that African American men were deeply involved in the advancement of the shipping industry in maritime areas prior to the Civil War. He states that "until the Civil War black sailors were central to African Americans' collective sense of self, economic survival, and freedom struggle—indeed central to the very creation of black America."²⁵ Indeed, Warren's development as an economic center for the midcoast region that was able to house a self-sustaining African American population was inextricably tied to the sea.

From 1790 until the Civil War, the majority of African Americans in Peterborough were likely somehow related to the active shipping and ship building industries in town, either directly as tradespeople or indirectly by farming. Of the forty-six people who have

²⁵ Bolster, *Black Jacks: African American Seamen in the Age of Sail*, Locations 65-66.

occupations listed from the years 1790 through 1870, eighteen of them, or nearly forty percent, were farmers or engaged in agricultural labor. This self-sustainability was key to the community's ability to survive. Unlike Malaga Island, where the health of the community depended largely upon their ability to successfully fish and sell lobster, and upon the help they received from the town of Phippsburg and the state, Peterborough was able to amass and support a large population due to their ability to feed themselves and purchase goods by selling their crops. In Table 1, an analysis of available census data illustrates this point. Between the years 1850 and 1860, a population explosion occurred in Peterborough. The African American population of Warren was one and one half times its size in 1860 than the total number of African Americans in 1850. However, the total population of Warren grew by less than one percent between 1850 and 1860. This suggests that the rapid growth of Warren's African American population was due to internal health and strength of the community, rather than an overall population growth of the town.

The first generation of Peters men to marry all married women from neighboring communities, or from somewhere outside of Warren. For example, Benjamin Peters married Nancy How, whose origins are unknown. There were no other people with the surname of How living in Warren in the early nineteenth century. That does not mean, however, that the Peters family was the only African American family living in town. There was also a large family with the surname of Mink that intermarried often with the

Year	Number of Households Headed By African Americans	Number Belonging to Households of White Townspeople	Total Value of Property Owned By African Americans	Total Number of Paupers	Total Number of Children Attending School	Total Number of African Americans in Town	Total Population of Warren
1790	2	2	-	-	-	13	646
1800	1	0	-	-	-	10	941
1810	6	0	-	-	-	26	1,443
1820	7	0	-	-	-	54	1,826
1830	10	0	-	-	-	56	2,030
1840	-	-	-	-	-	57	2,228
1850	10	-	\$2,200	2	26	53	2,312
1860	12	3	\$9,820	0	37	82	2,331
1870	15	0	\$10,040	0	19	65	2,003

Table 1: Data totaling the population of African Americans living in Warren, Maine from 1790 to 1870. Information compiled using United States Federal Censuses, accessed on *Ancestry.com*.

Peters family. There were two branches of the Mink family that settled in Warren. One branch was caucasian, while the other was African American. Paul Mink arrived in Warren sometime prior to 1802. He married a woman named Jane Watson in that year, and together they had eight children. It is unknown what race Jane was, but their children are listed as “mulatto” on subsequent censuses. This classification of race is particularly unreliable during the antebellum period, as it varied wildly upon the census taker and their own definitions of race.

Regardless of Jane’s race, it can be stated with a fair amount of certainty that Paul Mink was either born in Africa and brought to America as a young child or was an illegitimate child of one of Johann Mink’s sons and an enslaved woman, or perhaps Johann himself. Johann George Mink was born in Germany and emigrated to nearby Waldoboro as one of the area’s first settlers. He and his wives Elizabeth, who died in

1772, and Anna Maria, who he married later in 1772, had ten children of their own, who were all born between 1770 and 1793. One of their sons, George, who was born in 1802, moved to Warren at some point prior to the 1830s.²⁶ Paul Mink is the first Mink man in the region to be listed as “black” on the census, and his birthplace is listed as Maine. The caucasian Mink family was very involved in the politics and happenings of Waldoboro, which had a large German-descended population.²⁷

Paul and Jane Mink had eight children. Their daughter Margaret married Jacob and Rebecca Peters’s son, Isaac (II). In one of the few certain cases of immigration to Warren from out of state, Paul and Jane’s daughter Lucy married Lorenzo D. Carter in 1838. She had been married to another man, Ebenezer Olney, since 1825.²⁸ Olney probably died sometime between 1836 and 1837, as her youngest child with Ebenezer, Francis, was apparently adopted by Lorenzo and given the name Francis Olney Carter. Lorenzo had come to Warren as a sailor, originally born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. He is listed as having lived in the household of Reuben Mink, who was Lucy’s younger brother.²⁹ Lorenzo and Lucy resided in the home of Reuben. He is listed as the head of their household in 1850, with a total of thirteen people residing at that residence. His home was valued at \$600. Three of the thirteen household members were sailors, including one, William Sims, a fifty year old man who was not related. Reuben was only

²⁶ Eaton, *Annals of the Town of Warren*, 415.

²⁷ Samuel L. Miller, *History of the Town of Waldoboro, Maine*, (Wiscasset, Maine: Emerson Printer, 1910), 210-211.

²⁸ The Olney surname is also spelled as Onny on some census records.

²⁹ Lorenzo and Lucy’s last name appears as DeCarter, DeCaster, and Carter on various census records. I have chosen Carter as the most recent spelling, though it may be possible that the name was shortened from another surname.

twenty-eight at that time, and Reuben and Lucy's youngest brother, Amos, also resided with them.

The data suggests that by 1850, Paul Mink had passed away and left Reuben with the household. Unfortunately, the census data collected in 1840 did not include any information about individuals of color residing in Warren. It listed a total number of "colored" residents (fifty-seven), and white heads of households.³⁰ Paul Mink's second wife, Priscilla Quarry, died in 1840. At such a young age, and with such a large household, it is likely that the home of Paul Mink was left to Reuben to take care of. Reuben was not married nor did he have any children of his own in 1850. Perhaps he took in some additional boarders, as well as his sister's family, in order to help him farm his land. His household is shown on the 1851 *Plan of the Town of Warren* map by Emily Eaton [see Figure 2]. In addition to the sailors, an eighty-four year old woman named Sally Davis also resided in Reuben Mink's household. She is listed as a pauper on the 1850 census. She had appeared as the head of her own household thirty years earlier, though it is unclear if she was a domestic or otherwise worked in town. Regardless, it seems that Reuben Mink's household in 1850 comprised of a wide variety of people from varying backgrounds.

The example of Reuben Mink's home in 1850 provides insight to the kinds of relationships that existed within Warren that may have helped the community retain its autonomy in a time of increasing racial tension. Not only was there a movement of people in and out of Peterborough during that time period due to the shipping and ship

³⁰ See Appendix 2 for a list of all census records pertaining to African American residents of Warren from 1790 through 1870. The white heads of households listed could potentially be landowners or landlords of some of the African Americans living in town.

building industry in Warren, but there was also a thriving community who survived by both working within and outside of the larger caucasian community. It should be noted that by 1850, very few African Americans resided outside of the Peterborough community in Warren. In fact, there were no African Americans listed living in white households on the 1850 census. This dramatic shift, away from white households that had African American domestics or other African American employees residing in them, toward a more unified African American community, occurred by 1840. The large population boom that occurred when Amos and Sarah's progeny had large families of their own in the first decades of the nineteenth century led to a community that became increasingly segregated from the white population, for better or for worse.

The community of Peterborough had grown so large, that by 1823 the town realized that it needed its own schoolhouse. Prior to that, the residents of Peterborough traveled to one of the original fifteen school districts that were outlined and established by a committee that comprised of Cyrus Eaton, J. Creighton, and S.C. Burgess in September of 1822.³¹ By 1823, however, the population explosion of the offspring of Peterborough's first generation of residents meant that a new school district was needed to accommodate Warren's African American population. School district number sixteen was established in 1823 to serve this purpose, specifically established for Peterborough residents only. It is unclear where the students attended school prior to the construction of a school house in 1845 [Figures 5 and 6]. Eaton states that the schoolhouse was funded by a surplus in fishing from the town fishery, which was built for the fishing of alewives and shad during their annual spring runs. The

³¹ Eaton, *Annals of the Town of Warren*, 308.

overabundance of fish that year produced a surplus of money, of which the town voted to have \$900 go to support the school districts in town, and \$75 toward the building of this schoolhouse.³²



Figure 5: Schoolhouse for school district number sixteen in Warren, Maine. Photograph property of Warren Historical Society (no catalog number). Photograph depicts students in front of the schoolhouse.

³² *Ibid.*, 316.



Figure 6: Undated photograph of students of school district sixteen in front of the schoolhouse. Photograph property of Warren Historical Society. Photograph depicts four girls and six boys with a male teacher.

The separation of Peterborough's residents from the white population was deliberate. In *Annals of the Town of Warren*, Eaton describes the various ethnic backgrounds of the 1850-era townspeople as being primarily descended from northern Europeans. However, he makes a distinction for the "fourth" wave of immigration, which included those of "German, English, Highland Scotch [sic] and Celtic Irish origin, with one small school district of African descent. The characteristics of these several classes, with the exception of that of color, have now become assimilated and combined into a tolerably homogenous population."³³ Eaton's analysis of the lack of miscegenation of the African American population of Warren with the white population is

³³ Ibid., 10.

false. While not many clear instances are present, it is certain that at least one family was of mixed-racial heritage, which contradicts the idea of a homogenous town.

Eldridge Davis,³⁴ a “mulatto” man, lived with his caucasian wife, Sarah Jane Linscott, in Warren. It is unclear if there is a relationship between Eldridge and Sally Davis, the elderly woman who resided in the home of Reuben Mink at the same time. Sarah Jane Linscott was born in Waldoboro, one of thirteen children of Ezekial Linscott and his wife Saloma, who owned and operated a farm in Appleton, Maine.³⁵ Both Ezekial and his wife were listed as white on all available census records. Eldridge and Sarah Jane were young and without children in 1850, at twenty-seven and twenty-three years old, respectively. Eldridge is listed as a “shipwright” on the 1850 census. They are not listed on the census in 1860, but reappear on the census in 1870. By this point, Eldridge was in his late forties and had settled into a life as a farmer, with nearly \$1,600 worth of property. They had several children, who were all listed on the censuses as “mulatto.” This is the most easily visible instance of miscegenation. There were probably many more instances, particularly early in the settlement’s history; these relationships have been clouded by years of intolerance of interracial relationships and post-bellum anxieties.

³⁴ Eldridge Davis’s first name is also listed as “Elbridge” on other censuses. I have chosen to write his name as Eldridge as it is the most likely and most often used spelling of his name.

³⁵1860 Selected U.S. Federal Census Non-Population Schedules, s.v. “Ezekial Linscott,” Appleton, Knox County, Maine, accessed through *Ancestry.com*.

Part Three: Conclusion of Chapter 2

The community of Peterborough can be seen as both an example of maritime African American communities in northern New England prior to the Civil War as well as a unique situation in which perhaps the largest percentage of African Americans was able to aggregate in one small town in the nineteenth century. Peterborough was physically marginalized by its distance relative to the downtown village of Warren, yet was still inextricably linked to the vitality of the town. African Americans were attracted to the area because the residents of Peterborough were able to create a safe space, away from the harsher attention of northern racism. In his book *Joining Places: Slave Neighborhoods in the Old South*, Anthony E. Kaye suggests that the geographies of living spaces were adapted by enslaved individuals in order to create connections between community members. “Autonomy, in turn, enabled the social ties, loyalties, and culture of enslaved people to burgeon unfettered by owners.”³⁶ While the residents of Peterborough were free, and only Sarah and Amos Peters and one other individual were definitively ever enslaved, the geography of separation allowed for a more cooperative existence between community members that helped boost their numbers and the health of the community.

Reuben Mink’s mixed household is an example of this type of communal living. Most of the residents of Peterborough were self sufficient prior to the Civil War, or they were taken care of by other community members as they became unable to support themselves. They created their own neighborhood with its own set of rules and mores,

³⁶ Anthony E. Kaye, *Joining Places: Slave Neighborhoods in the Old South*, Kindle Version, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), Location 146.

largely operating without the influence of caucasians in Warren. The complexities of the relationships between individuals also lends itself to these close bonds. Husbands and wives were also cousins. Many of the early generations stayed in Warren their entire lives. Family homes were passed down through generations. As we will see in the final chapter, the Civil War changed the economic viability of the community so much that by the early twentieth century, there were no longer enough children to support their own school district. By the 1950s, the community had all but been abandoned. The relationship between Warren's African American residents and the sea was tantamount. When the economy of Maine's shipbuilding industry changed, so too did Peterborough.

Chapter 3: Conclusion and Epilogue: The Future of Peterborough

Part One: The Civil War and Its Aftermath in Warren

In 1864, Joseph Williamson, Esquire presented a paper during a meeting of the Maine Historical Society titled “Slavery in Maine.” The paper went on an attack of the system of slavery, as Williamson was an abolitionist. In a rare move for the time, Williamson also acknowledged that slavery had indeed existed in New England since the country was founded. He states, “In the momentous crisis through which our country is now passing, when a severe if not annihilating blow is being aimed at an institution coeval with our earliest settlement, and which once obtained throughout our whole territory, it may not be appropriate or uninteresting to review briefly the existence, progress and extinction of that institution in our own State [sic].”¹ Williamson’s history of New England’s slavery past was given at the moment when the war was being decided in the South and the United States had suffered the loss of thousands of young men on both sides of the conflict. The North was headed for a major change. The years of war had been hard on Mainers, and the economic and social repercussions of that would be felt for generations. African Americans living in the state were perhaps the most vulnerable to these consequences, as they were susceptible to not only what was happening to the local economics and living close to poverty, but also because the changing social climate would eventually lead to a rapid decline in the viability of African American communities. Peterborough was no exception.

¹ Williamson, “Article XI, Slavery in Maine,” 209.

At least six of the young men of Peterborough fought in the Civil War. Reuben M. Peters, son of John and Jane Peters, fought for the United States Colored Heavy Artillery. He was mustered in as a private on January 2, 1864 in Augusta, Maine, as part of the 11th Regiment of the United States Colored Heavy Artillery, which later organized as the 14th Rhode Island Heavy Artillery.² Reuben was killed in action sometime in 1864 and is buried at a cemetery in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Reuben's brother James was also killed sometime in 1864. He was mustered into the same regiment as his brother on December 21, 1863 in Augusta. He eventually served with the 43rd United States Colored Troops Company B, and was declared missing in action at Petersburg, Virginia on July 30, 1864.³ Abraham Peters was enlisted in the United States Navy on August 16, 1864. He served on the USS *Pembina*, a screw steam gunboat. He was a barber aboard the ship. He survived the war.⁴ Merrill Peters also served in the United States Navy. He was admitted to the United States Naval Hospital of Chelsea, Massachusetts on September 19, 1864, having come down with a case of "rubeola," or measles. Whether or not Merrill survived the war is unclear, as is his enlistment date. Daniel Lineo, who was born in Louisiana, served in the United States Colored Troops 81st Regiment, Company E as a private. He relocated to Warren by

² National Archives and Records Administration; Washington, D.C., *Compiled Military Service Records of Volunteer Union Soldiers Who Served With the United States Colored Troops: Artillery Organizations*; Microfilm Serial: *M1818*; Microfilm Roll: *206*.

³ National Archives and Records Administration, *General Index to Pension Files, 1861-1943*, T288, 546 rolls. See Appendix 3 for all available images of military service records for individuals in Peterborough.

⁴ *Ibid.*

1871 and married the daughter of Daniel Peters and Jane McClara, Julia, on May 18, 1871.⁵

When Emily Eaton republished a second edition of her father's *Annals of the Town of Warren* in 1877, she identified Francis Olney as being the only one who served "well" of all those drafted on July 23, 1863 in Warren. Of the war she states:

Difference of opinion now, was something more than former differences in politics. It meant liberty or slavery, the safety or the destruction of our grand American Union. Government being at last forced to raise men by conscription, it is not surprising that opposition to the enrolment [sic] and egging of the Provost Marshal by boys took place in one instance and that considerable excitement arose, here as elsewhere, especially July 23, when the names of the men drafted to fill this town's quota arrived; and some few of the faint-hearted or disaffected fled to parts unknown. Of the total number drafted, 72, only one Francis Olney, of District No. 16, actually entered the army and did good service; but has since died at home; six furnished substitutes...⁶

Unfortunately for Francis, and the other Peterborough men who enlisted, there was no ability to purchase a substitute. Francis Olney was born in Warren, the son of Lucy Mink and Ebenezer Olney. Francis was a young child when his father passed away, and was adopted by his mother's new spouse, Lorenzo Carter. He also served in the United States Colored Troops 43rd Regiment Company C. Olney did return home from the war and settled back into a life of farming and raising his young children with his wife, Nancy Peters, according to the census of 1870.

Only five of these men are listed on the official Civil War Memorial that rests in the center of Warren, erected in 1889 [Figures 7-10]. The memorial is "Dedicated to the memory of the heroes who fell and the patriots who fought for the Union and liberty

⁵ It has proved unsuccessful so far to locate any additional information about Daniel Lineo's military service, or whether he was a formerly enslaved individual.

⁶ Emily Eaton and Cyrus Eaton, *Annals of the Town of Warren and the Neighboring Settlements on the Waldo Patent*, 2nd Edition, (Hallowell, Maine: Masters & Livermore, 1877), 420.

1861-1865.” It is no doubt that the town felt the heavy effects of the war, both by the loss of many young men in town, as well as the devastating economic changes that began to take place in the state of Maine as the war ended. The overall population of



Figure 7: Civil War Memorial of Warren, erected in 1889, located near the intersection of Main and Western Streets.. Photograph by the author.



Figure 8: Photograph showing the inscription for Daniel Lineo. Photograph by the author.



Figure 9: Photograph showing the inscription for Reuben Peters. Photograph by the author.

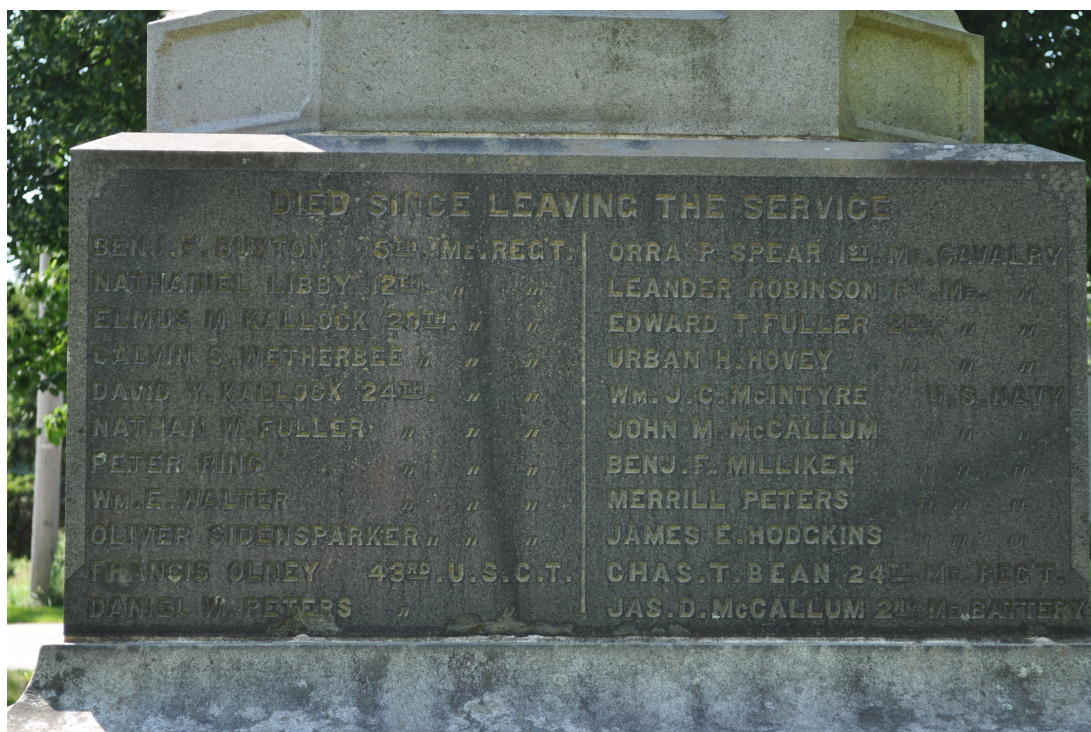


Figure 10: Photograph showing the inscriptions for Merrill Peters, Daniel Peters, and Francis Olney.

Warren declined from a high of 2,331 in 1860 to 2,003 in 1870, a loss of nearly fifteen percent of its total population. Peterborough itself lost seventeen residents, down from a high of eighty-two residents in 1860 to just sixty-five in 1870, totaling a loss of over twenty percent of the population of the community.⁷

While just several of the losses were due to death in the service, the resources of the community began to shift greatly. In 1860, four out of thirteen heads of households were listed on the census as seamen. By 1870, none of the heads of households were employed as seamen; in fact, none of the residents of Peterborough were in any activity directly related to the sea. The average household size shrunk from six to five between 1860 and 1870, with only two families that had more than six household members,

⁷ See Table 1 in Chapter 2 for a complete breakdown of the population year by year.

whereas in 1860, there were six families that had large households. The community had sustained itself with a mix of farming and industry related to the sea. By 1870, the economy of the region had shifted so dramatically that residents of Peterborough, and Warren itself, had to rely upon new ways to support themselves.

The entire state suffered during the aftermath of the Civil War. A multitude of unfortunate economic, social, and environmental factors coalesced to make a “perfect storm” of an economic situation. African Americans and other vulnerable groups were hit especially hard by these problems. The first, and perhaps most dramatic, crisis was the collapse of many of the species of fish that the coastal communities of Maine had come to rely upon as the basis of their diets and their economies. Particularly hurtful to the economy of Warren was the loss of shad. Shad are an anadromous fish, which live the majority of their life in saltwater but travel up freshwater streams and rivers in order to spawn every year. Shad and alewives were taken in large quantities in the spring runs, and as previously mentioned, much of the economy of Warren depended upon the fishing of these animals. But by the late 1860s, shad—and many other species of fish in the Gulf of Maine—were no longer plentiful. Prior attempts had been undertaken in order to protect Maine’s fisheries, even before Maine became independent of Massachusetts.⁸ Maine appointed its first independent fishing commission in 1867. W. Jeffrey Bolster identifies the transition from an economy based upon traditional fishing

⁸ Deborah C. Trefts, “Canadian and American Policy Making in Response to the First Multi-Species Fisheries Crisis in the Greater Gulf of Maine,” in *New England and the Maritime Provinces*, ed. Stephen J. Hornsby and John G. Reid, (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2006), 218.

mechanisms to ones that targeted new species and new methods of fishing. This shift caused a dramatic change for those engaged in the maritime economies of Maine.⁹

New England was transitioning from a pre-industrial, agrarian economy to an industrial one. The war hastened the depopulation, because Maine's residents relied even more heavily upon the ocean in order to feed their families. Anadromous species were particularly at risk, as they could be easily caught during their yearly migrations. If these species were not allowed to spawn, then each year the population would dwindle even further. Entire rivers in New England had lost the majority of their salmon populations; by 1850 the Penobscot River was the only river that still had a sustainable salmon population.¹⁰ Investigations by a number of interested parties, including a number of elected officials both in New England and in the maritime regions of eastern Canada, all attempted to address the continually crashing stocks of fish throughout the late nineteenth century. Weirs, dams, and overfishing were all pinpointed as causes of the decline of fish populations both locally and in the entire Gulf of Maine.¹¹ The bounty of New England, which was presumably limitless prior to the late nineteenth century, had met its limits by the end of the Civil War.

Another crisis loomed for Warren's residents. The Industrial Revolution not only changed the market economy of New England, but it also changed the way the other major business was conducted in town: shipbuilding. Between 1840 and 1850, at least seventy-four vessels were built in the shipyards of Warren, located along the St. George

⁹ W. Jeffrey Bolster, *The Mortal Sea: Fishing the Atlantic In the Age of Sail*, Kindle Edition (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2012), Location 3406-3429.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 216.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 225.

River.¹² The river was an ideal location for shipbuilding. It was deep enough for large vessels to travel up and down, yet protected from ocean waves and currents. By the mid-1850s, however, the shipbuilding industry of Warren began to collapse. In 1840, there were eleven shipyards in operation in Warren. By 1850, there were only five. By 1870, it seems that there was only one shipyard, owned by T.P. Burgess, still operating in Warren. Between 1850 and 1867, only forty-four ships were built in Warren. Worse, between 1858 and 1867, only one vessel was constructed per year.¹³ In 1850, the total size of the vessels constructed was 5,698 tons; in 1870, the vessels only totaled 456 tons.¹⁴ Ships constructed prior to the Civil War were made primarily of wood. The war gave rise to new ships that were constructed largely of metal, which left Maine, with its railroad system in its infancy in many locals, without the sufficient raw material to continue its shipbuilding industry in the same manner.

These two forces combined for economic disaster for Warren. The loss of three hundred twenty-eight of the town's residents between 1860 and 1870 is a reflection of this changing economy. As a community that had relied so heavily upon the sea, it was not prepared for the Industrial Revolution. By the early 1870s, the first factories were erected to harness the power of the St. George River, a woolen mill and a shoe factory. These two came late, however, after the local economy began to stumble. Locals had already begun to feel the effects of the economy, the population of the town being an indicator. While there were many casualties of the Civil War who were from Warren, the dramatic loss of the town's population can only be explained as having stemmed from a

¹² Eaton, *Annals of the Town of Warren*, 1st edition, 369-371.

¹³ Eaton, *Annals of the Town of Warren*, 2nd edition, 698-699.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 699.

loss of a viable economy. With no fish to take, and no ships to build, families had to move to communities where there was more work.

The residents of Peterborough never recovered from the loss of these two industries. Not only did they suffer the economic consequences of war, but they also suffered from the changing social climate of Maine. There was a large influx of Irish and French speaking Canadians, who immigrated to New England in order to work the many textile factories of the region. Combined with the Reconstruction-era Great Migration of African Americans out of the South, racism and social tension began to rapidly change the social climate of New England. After a late nineteenth century crackdown by the federal government in response to violence in the South, the Ku Klux Klan began to have a revival by the early decades of the twentieth century. In Maine, the primary target of the Klan's ire was in response to the influx of Catholics, using their platforms of "Americanism and nativism."¹⁵ The Klan was successful in Maine during this time because they had sympathetic, protestant townspeople who supported their cause. While African Americans were in small numbers in Maine, their very presence in Maine towns would have been the cause for even more negative attention by townspeople.

By 1910, the community of Peterborough had all but collapsed. Only twenty-six African Americans resided in Warren, with only three or four families still residing in the area that had once been Peterborough. There were several African Americans that resided in town as either housekeepers or did other kinds of domestic work, living in the households of white townspeople. Most of the African American residents of Warren were unemployed, including several of the heads of households, according to the 1910

¹⁵ Mark Paul Richard, "'This Is Not a Catholic Nation': The Ku Klux Klan Confronts Franco-Americans in Maine," *The New England Quarterly*, Vol. 82 no 2 (June 2009), 291.

census. Only seven people were employed, who had the following jobs: housekeeper, laundress, doing “odd jobs,” and farm labor, of which four out of seven employed individuals had this profession. None were listed as “farmers” as they had been on previous censuses, probably meaning that they worked on the farms of others in town. By 1911, the school was no longer in use.

Some of Peterborough’s residents went to nearby towns. For example, Alpheus Peters and Frederick E. Peters both resided in Thomaston for many years, each having families and settling there, according to the censuses of 1910 and 1930. The majority of the other Peterborough residents certainly left the midcoast region in order to find work. Perhaps they went to Portland and Boston; perhaps they went to Canada, following the Great Migration patterns of the American South. What is known is that by the 1950s, there were almost none of Peterborough’s residents left residing in town. Today, there are no African Americans living in Warren with the last name of Peters. Perhaps there are people living in town who have ancestry to the Peterborough families; if there are, people in town have not been forthcoming with that information. Peterborough has been lost to folklore and the memories of the older generations, who are slowly forgetting that Warren ever had African American residents outside of the Maine State Prison.

Part Two: Folklore and Warren

I first heard of Peterborough while leafing through Harriet Price and Gerald Talbot’s book, *Maine’s Visible Black History: The First Chronicle of Its People*. Marion

Barrett Smith contributed a section titled “The Story of Peterborough 1782-1961” to the book. At seven pages, it briefly outlined the history of Peterborough. Smith is a longtime Warren resident, and went to school with several of the children of Peterborough, including Sidney Peters. In 1968, she had an assignment for a class at the University of Maine in Orono to record an oral history. Much of her story derives from Cyrus Eaton’s work, as well as other stories told throughout town and church histories in Warren. Smith stated in this piece that there were conflicting reports about how Amos and Sarah came to Warren. It has been suggested that Amos either knew, or was a slave of, General Henry Knox.¹⁶

I also found the connection to Knox referenced in various pieces and manuscripts currently housed at the Warren Historical Society. However, I have found that this connection is probably untrue, based largely upon the location of lands, the proximity of neighbors, and the fact that there is no written proof in Knox’s records that he had any sort of connection to Amos Peters. Much of what Smith discusses in her story are the memories that the living relatives of Peterborough’s residents had in the 1960s. Her work is invaluable, however, as it provides the insight not only into Peterborough, which has certainly never been mentioned in any local history textbook save for the town histories of Warren, but also to the way that Warren’s ethnic history has been remembered and memorialized in the community.

On January 30, 1993, Smith gave a lecture at the Tropical Garden Room at Plants Unlimited in Rockport, Maine. She recalled her first interactions with the community in 1939, when there were only two families left in Peterborough. Smith

¹⁶ Marion Barrett Smith, “The Story of Peterborough 1782-1961,” in *Maine’s Visible Black History: The First Chronicle of Its People*, (Gardiner, Maine: Tillbury House Publishers), 77.

discussed her memories of these various people, their hard lives and their employment in town. Smith took a class at the University of Maine with Dr. Edward “Sandy” Ives, who went on to found the Maine Folklore Center in 1992. Smith focused on oral history and some documentary evidence. However, her speech in 1993 still shows the racial baggage of an earlier time. She referred to Peterborough’s residents as “darkies” and noted that the community was still widely known as “Niggertown.” Smith stated in this talk that the majority of Peterborough’s residents were the offspring of Native American and African Americans. This has proven to be largely untrue, as there are only a few Native Americans who lived in Peterborough throughout its history.¹⁷

Smith was not the first to recall the importance of the settlement of Peterborough, however. In 1936, Warren celebrated its bicentennial. The event attracted thousands, including the governor. A July 31, 1936 newspaper article in the *Press Herald* describes the scene as having over five thousands onlookers and participants. The massive celebration included a parade, a ball, and a play that reenacted the history of the town. Episode six, scene one of the play was called “The Negro Settlers.” [Figure 11] The scene included a song—“Deep River”—sung by Gladys Beebee (who was actually from Thomaston, as was her family), and a band called “Old Zip Coon,” accompanied by the dancing of Fred Peters.

The reenactment of the history of Peterborough is both a testament to the nativism of 1936 Maine, and an attempt to reclaim the uniqueness of an economically depressed area. The inclusion of Peterborough in the pageant is probably the reflection

¹⁷ Marion Barrett Smith, “Peterborough, The First Black Community In Knox County, A Lecture By Marion Smith, Warren, Maine, January 30, 1993,” trans. Harbour Mitchell III, Warren Historical Society, Warren, Maine, 04.09.10.39. It is possible that Amos Peters was mixed racial—Native American and African American—but documentary evidence to support this claim has proven to be impossible to find so far.

of its mention in Cyrus Eaton's book, as Eaton's text plays a central role in the way that the pageant was designed. There is a photograph of Eaton's home included in the program, the only image present. The popular culture of the 1930s celebrated the minstrel shows that had been popular since the late nineteenth century. The choice to have Gladys Beebee sing "Deep River," an African American spiritual born out of chattel bondage in the South, shows the complicated nature of African American citizenry in Maine in the early part of the twentieth century. Only three residents of Peterborough in its entire history were born outside of New England, save for Sarah and Amos Peters. Of those born outside of New England, Daniel Lineo, who was born in Louisiana, did not settle in Warren until after the Civil War. Birteen Peters, who was born in British Guiana, now the independent nation of Guyana, lived in Warren for a short time and probably did not mother any children there. The vast majority of Warren's residents were born in Maine or Massachusetts. The singing of the spiritual, the band "Old Zip Coon," and the dancing by Fred Peters can be seen as a continuation of the minstrel tradition. For the onlookers, this was an appropriate way to depict African Americans. They were not from the South; they were from Warren, yet still somehow outside.

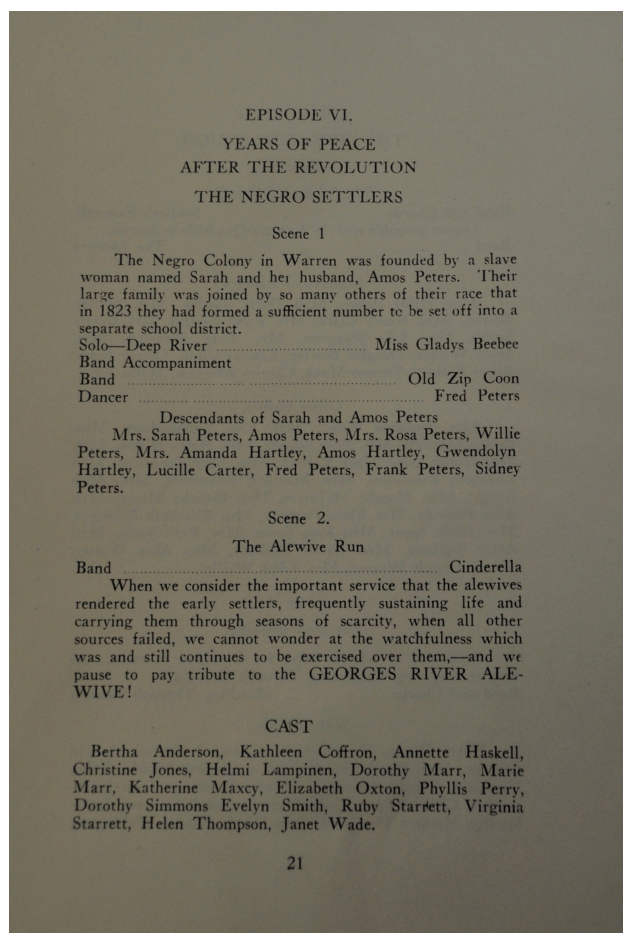


Figure 11: Page 21 of the 1936 Bicentennial Pageant Program by Miss Frances Kirkpatrick Spear. Program in the collections of the Warren Historical Society. Photograph by the author.

Peter Stanfield has argued that while minstrel shows had waned in popularity by the 1920s, the introduction of sound to movies in the late 1920s provided a renewed fascination with blackface and minstrel-types of entertainment in popular culture.¹⁸ For example, Irving Berlin's 1942 movie *Holiday Inn*, starring Fred Astaire and Bing Crosby, features a scene celebrating Lincoln's Birthday, where Crosby and female lead Marjorie Reynolds wear blackface and extoll Lincoln's accomplishments for the black race.

¹⁸ Peter Stanfield, "An Octoroon in the Kindling?: American Vernacular and Blackface Minstrelsy in 1930s Hollywood," *Journal of American Studies*, Vol. 31 No. 3 Part 1: Looking At America: The USA and Film (December 1997), 407-408.

Stanfield goes on to argue that “the evocation of an American vernacular tradition inevitably leads into the fantasy world of blackness formed out of the conventions of blackface minstrelsy.”¹⁹ The use of minstrel-type performances by the pageant coordinators of Warren’s bicentennial was an attempt not only to normalize the presence of African Americans in Warren (and in Eaton’s book), but it was also a way to make the reenactment more current with popular culture. Stanfield continues to assert that these types of performances were vessels through which African American culture could be reconciled.²⁰ Both the performance and the way in which the residents of Peterborough were portrayed in photographs and the print culture of Warren suggest that their presence was acceptable only when it was mediated through popular culture.

Photographs currently in the collection of the Warren Historical Society also tell the story of Maine’s black history. Written on the back of one of the photographs, which depicts Grace and Lucille Peters standing in front of a tarpaper shack, is the term “Niggertown.” [Figures 12-13] In *Maine’s Visible Black History*, Smith vaguely mentions the “other” names for the community, though she does not labor on the point.²¹ Derogatory place names were common in the state of Maine, and there was no legislative action against these kinds of names until 1977, when Gerald Talbot, then a state legislator in Maine, introduced “An Act to Prohibit the Use of Offensive Names for Geographic Features and Other Places in the State of Maine.”²² This bill left Talbot with

¹⁹ Ibid., 408.

²⁰ Ibid., 410.

²¹ Marion Barrett Smith, “The Story of Peterborough,” 78.

²² F. Mark Terison, “Law and Politics: Lawyers,” in *Maine’s Visible Black History: The First Chronicle of Its People*, eds. Gerald Talbot Ross and Harriet Price, (Gardiner, Maine: Tillbury House Publishers), 283.

death threats from many, but Talbot was successful. However, locals in many towns still refer to certain areas as their colloquial, derogatory names.



Figure 12: Photograph of Grace and Lucille Peters in front of a tarpaper shack in Warren, circa 1930s. Photograph property of the Warren Historical Society.

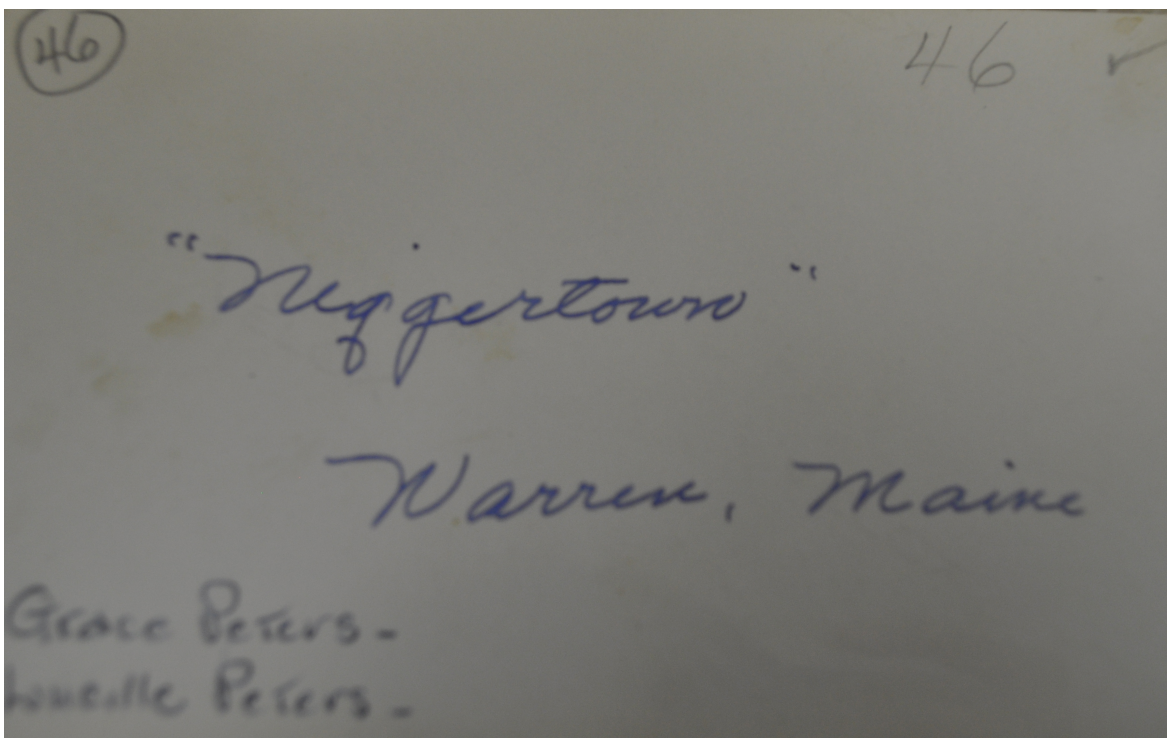


Figure 13: Back of Figure 12, a photograph of Grace and Lucille Peters, circa 1930s. Photograph property of the Warren Historical Society.

The folklore of Peterborough, both historically written and more recently retold, suggests that there is a broader issue to be understood about the way in which Maine’s ethnic history is told and retold. The history and memorialization of slavery in New England is complex, and tied both to regional history and identity and the national memory of slavery. Ron Eyeran has argued that slavery is a “cultural trauma” which has created a collective memorialization to slavery that binds all African Americans under the same collective identity. He states that “slavery was traumatic in retrospect, and formed a ‘primal scene’ which could, potentially, unite all ‘African Americans’ in the United States, whether or not they had themselves been slaves or had any knowledge

of or feeling for Africa.”²³ Cultural trauma disrupts the collective history of a culture. The incidence of slavery in New England, and New England’s place in the Civil War, created a cultural trauma for African Americans. Eyerman continues to argue that the Civil War attributed blackness with “slavery and subordination.”²⁴ The pageant, then, is a reinforcement of this cultural memorialization to slavery, where African Americans are *always* from the South, and their history is *always* enslaved. The true history of Peterborough confronts this cultural memory directly, as it existed outside the boundary of the plantation landscape. Their daily lives, so far, are unknown, but what is known is that they thrived in this landscape in Warren.

The documentary evidence of Peterborough does not afford for much knowledge of their daily life. More research needs to be completed, which was out of the scope of this thesis. However, this paper will serve as the basis for a more in-depth study of the community. In the last paragraph of her piece in *Maine’s Visible Black History*, Smith states that finding the schoolhouse would be very difficult, as it has grown over significantly. She states that finding the community would be even harder, as the road to where they once resided has long since been closed. In the summer of 2013, I intend upon attempting to reconstruct where the possible locations of the schoolhouse, as well as any other buildings associated with Peterborough, were located. I will also attempt to get permission from the town to undertake more thorough research on the cemetery, as the local folklore states that there are at least one hundred people buried there, but only a few dozen marked graves. In the summer of 2014, I will attempt to get

²³ Ron Eyerman, *Cultural Trauma: Slavery and the Formation of African American Identity*, Kindle Edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), Location 37.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Location 247.

permissions from landowners to do some initial testing and excavations on any extant foundations.

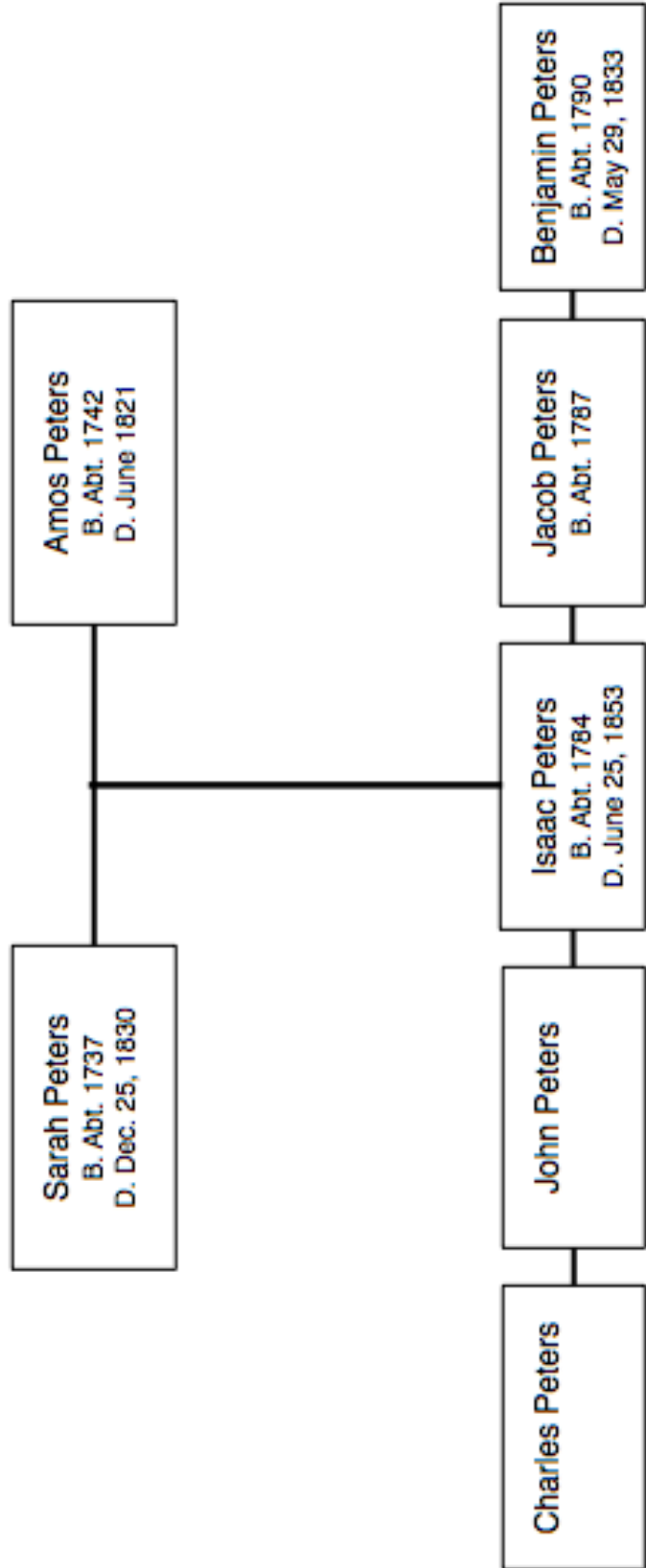
These archaeological investigations will be undertaken in order to further contextualize the black experience in the state of Maine. Little written record is available for Peterborough, and what has been written has only been filtered through the nineteenth century voice of white townspeople. My hope is to get a more accurate picture of life for the families of Peterborough, and to more fully understand the health of the community. Attempts are currently being made to find a descendant community. One person has been contacted thus far, who showed an interest in the project. The scope of the project will hopefully allow for any descendant population to be involved. My hope is also for it to become a site for community and local learning, particularly for the young people of the midcoast region, to further understand the ethnic history of the midcoast region.

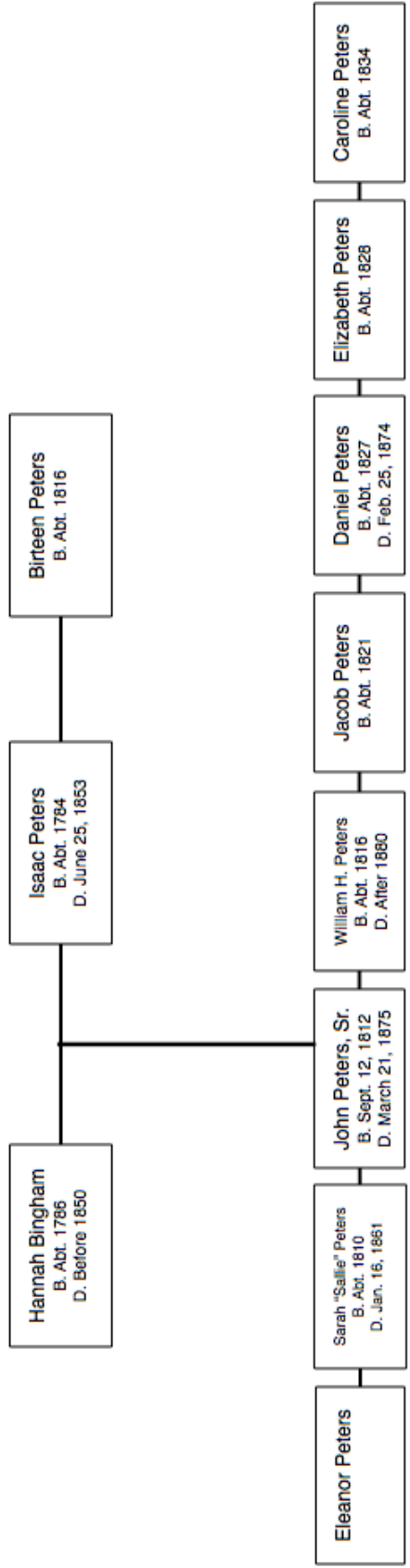
Twenty-first century archaeology is now heading toward a more interdisciplinary process, one that includes all aspects of history and science. Archaeologists must not only rely upon the artifacts themselves, but also upon the folklore and social history of a community. In their paper "Folk Narratives and Archaeology: An African-American Cemetery in Texas," Leah Carson Powell and Helen Danzeiser Dockall identify the importance of including local folklore in the archaeological analysis, particularly for sites of complicated or contested histories. They assert that "The application of folklore methodology to archaeological excavations can provide the archaeologist with valuable data unrepresented by material collection at a site."²⁵ Indeed, the complexity of the local

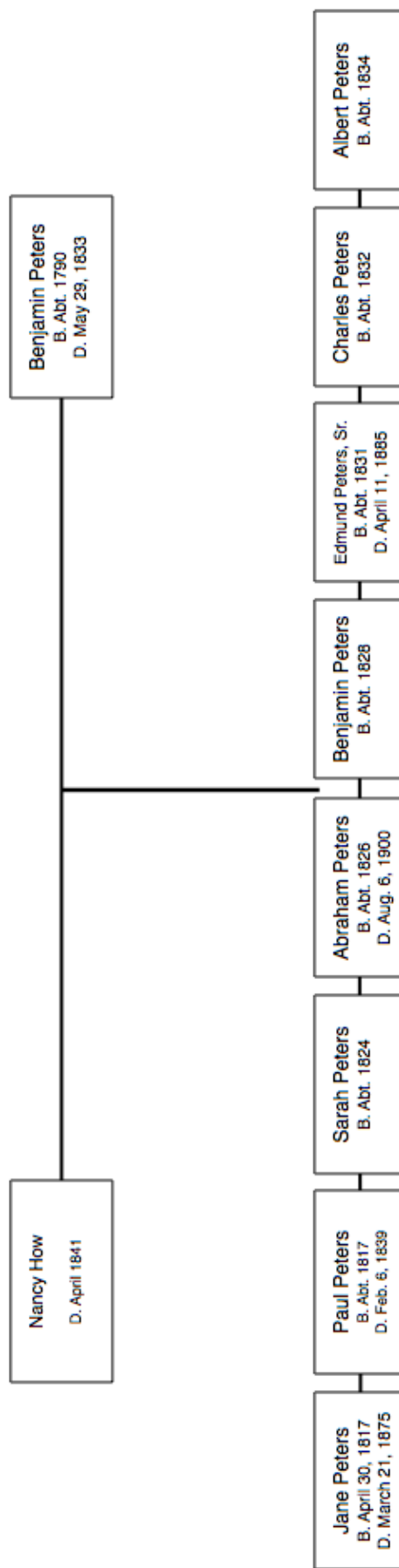
²⁵ Leah Carson Powell and Helen Danzeiser Dockall, "Folk Narratives and Archaeology: An African American Cemetery in Texas," *Journal of Field Archaeology*, Vol. 22 (December 1994), 349.

folklore of Warren and the surrounding communities can contextualize the archaeological data by either proving or disproving the folklore. It can also provide an important way for historians to interpret the social and physical space that African Americans had to inhabit historically, as well as the cultural and physical landscape of Maine. My hope is that future investigations in the community will provide not only an understanding of the past, but also a way for the community to talk about its history.

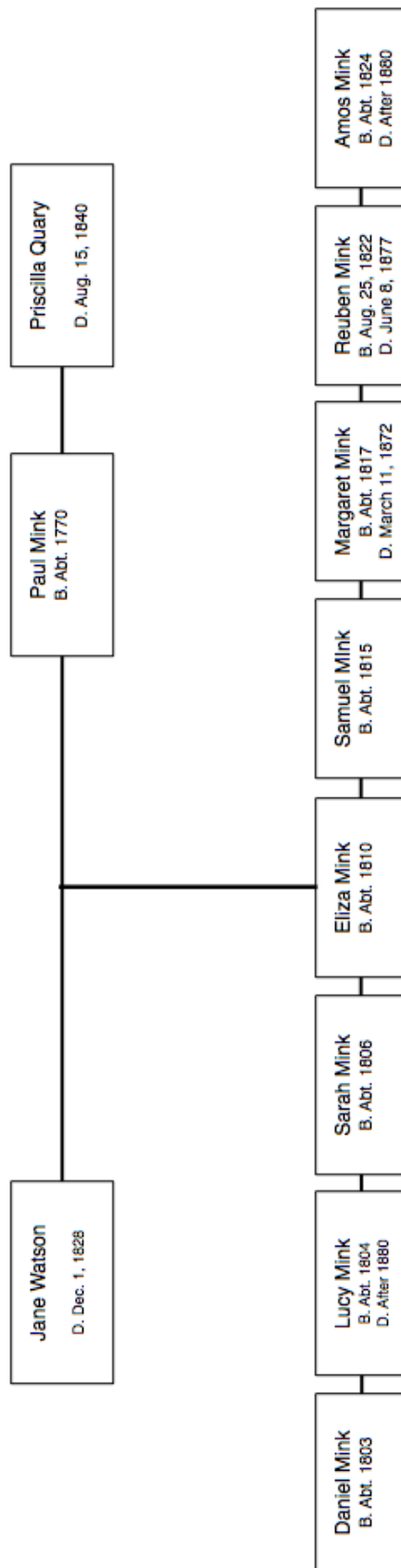
Appendix 1: Selection of Genealogical Charts

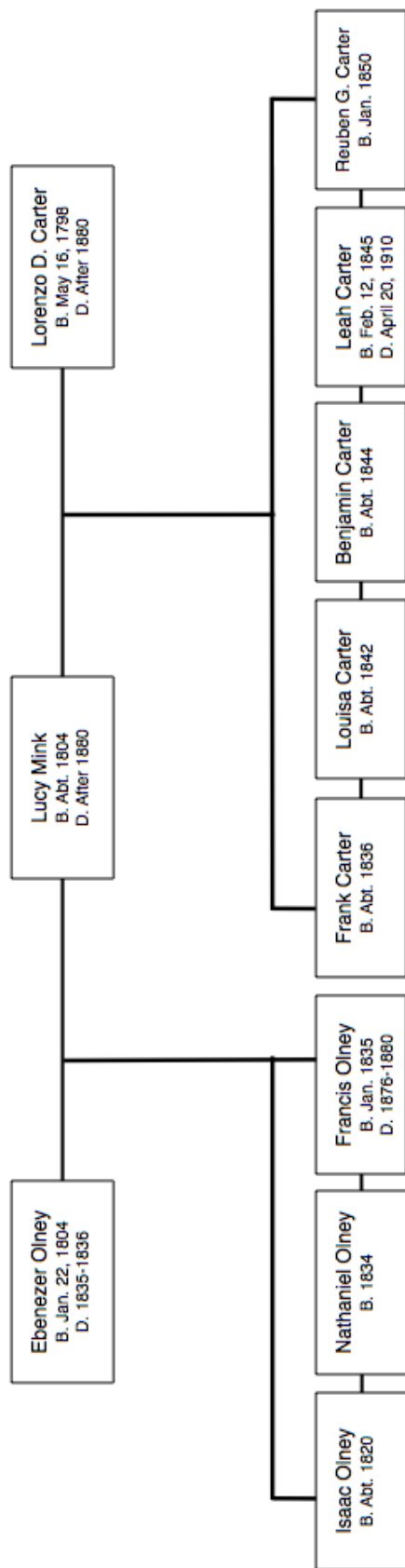


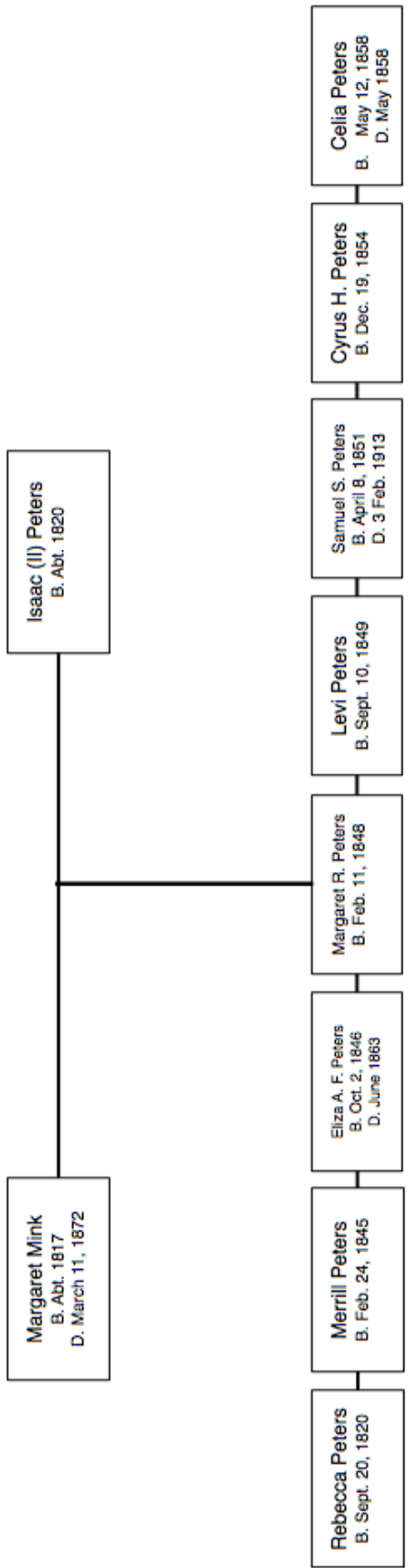


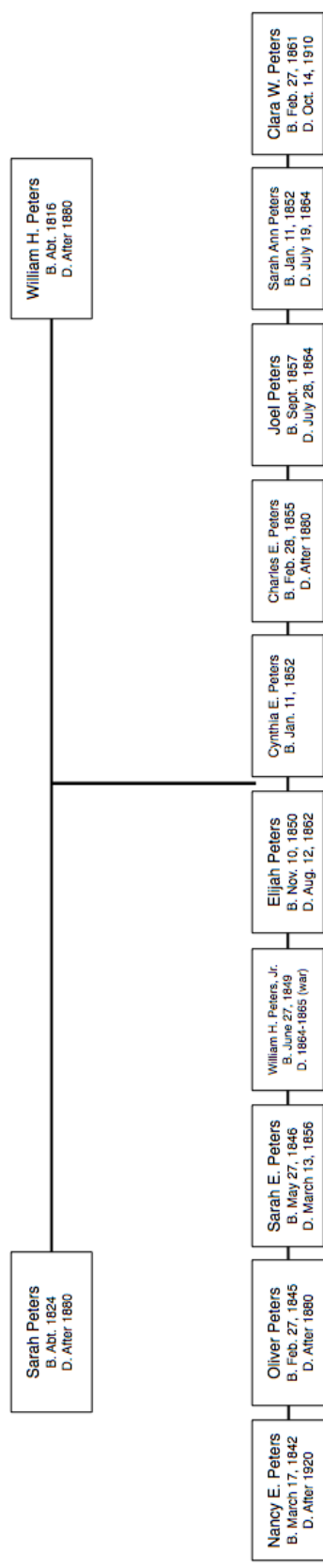












Appendix 2: Database with All Individuals Recorded on the Census from 1790 to 1870 and Relevant Data

Census Year	Name	Belong to Household	Total Number in Household (white)	Total Number of Black in Household	Occupation	Address	Total Population of Town	Place of Birth
1790	Not Listed	McIntyer, John	4	1		Warren		
	Peters, Amos	Peters, Amos	0	6		Warren		
	Prince, Sylvester	Prince, Sylvester	0	5		Warren		
	Not Listed	Dunbar, Daniel	10	1		Warren		
Total For Census Year			13			646		
1800	Peters, Amos	Peters, Amos	0	10		Warren		
Total For Census Year				10		638		
1810	Over, Daniel	Over, Daniel	0	1		St. George		
	Brakeley, Issac	Brakeley, Issac	2	6	Hatter	Warren		
	Peters, Amos	Peters, Amos	0	7		Warren		
	Peters, Paul	Peters, Paul	0	5		Warren		
	Patterson	Patterson	0	4		Warren		
	Perkim, Leonard Yapetes	Perkim, Leonard Yapetes	0	2		Warren		
	Douglass, Jack	Douglass, Jack	0	1	Hatter	Warren		CT
Total For Census Year			26			1443		
1820	Davis, Sall	Davis, Sall				Warren		
	Brakeley, Isaac	Brakeley, Isaac			Manufacturing, 2	Warren		
	Peters, Amos	Peters, Amos			Agriculture, 1	Warren		
	Minck, Paul	Minck, Paul			Agriculture, 1	Warren		
	Peters, Jacob	Peters, Jacob			Agriculture, 1	Warren		
	Peters, Isaac	Peters, Isaac				Warren		
	Patterson, Lucy	Patterson, Lucy				Warren		
Total For Census Year			54					
1830	Mink, Paul	Mink, Paul	0	10		Warren		
	Swain, Francis	Swain, Francis	0	2		Warren		
	Smith, Hager	Hager, Smith	0	1		Warren		
	Griffin, Enoch	Griffin, Enoch	0	5		Warren		
	Peters, Rebecca	Peters, Rebecca	0	9		Warren		
	Peters, Amos	Peters, Amos	0	4		Warren		

Census Year	Name	Belong to Household	Total Number in Household (white)	Total Number of Black in Household	Occupation	Address	Total Population of Town	Place of Birth
	Peters, Isaac	Peters, Isaac	0	9		Warren		
	Peters, Benjamin	Peters, Benjamin	0	6		Warren		
	Davis, Nancy	Davis, Nancy	0	1		Warren		
	Brakeley, Issac	Brakeley, Issac	0	9		Warren		
Total For Census Year				56				
1840	Not Listed	Kirkpatrick, Jaber	6	1		Warren		
	Not Listed	Bond, Phineas	5	11		Warren		
	Not Listed	McIntyre, Robert	3	6		Warren		
	Not Listed	Stall, Philip	9	5		Warren		
	Not Listed	Crane, Betsy	1	9		Warren		
	Not Listed	Crane, Calvin	4	3		Warren		
	Not Listed	McIntyre, Thomas	2	13		Warren		
Total For Census Year		Census itself lists 57 "colored" people in town, clearly not all listed		48			2228	
1850	Peters, Jefferson	Rookey, Isaac		1	None	Warren		Maine
	Decaster, Lorenzo	Mink, Reuben		13	Sailor	Warren		PA
	Decaster, Lucy	Mink, Reuben		13	None	Warren		Maine
	Mink, Reuben	Mink, Reuben		13	Farmer	Warren		Maine
	Mink, Amos	Mink, Reuben		13	Sailor	Warren		Maine
	Onny, Isaac	Mink, Reuben		13	Farmer	Warren		Maine
	Onny, Nathaniel	Mink, Reuben		13	Farmer	Warren		Maine
	Onny, Francis	Mink, Reuben		13	None	Warren		Maine
	Decaster, Levezer	Mink, Reuben		13	None	Warren		Maine
	Decaster, Benjamin	Mink, Reuben		13	None	Warren		Maine
	Decaster, Leah	Mink, Reuben		13	None	Warren		Maine
	Decaster, Reuben	Mink, Reuben		13	None	Warren		Maine
	Sims, William	Mink, Reuben		13	Sailor	Warren		Maine
	Davis, Sally	Mink, Reuben		13	None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Isaac	Peters, Isaac		2	Farmer	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Birteen	Peters, Isaac		2	None	Warren		Guiana
	Peters, John	Peters, John		9	Farmer	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Jane	Peters, John		9	None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, James	Peters, John		9	Farmer	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Cynthia A.	Peters, John		9	None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Hannah	Peters, John		9	None	Warren		Maine

Census Year	Name	Belong to Household	Total Number in Household (white)	Total Number of Black in Household	Occupation	Address	Total Population of Town	Place of Birth
	Peters, Reuben	Peters, John	9		None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, John	Peters, John	9		None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Martha J.	Peters, John	9		None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Delia F.	Peters, John	9		None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Sarah	Peters, John	4		None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Daniel W.	Peters, John	4		None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, William	Peters, John	4		None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Abraham	Peters, John	4		None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Jacob	Peters, Jacob	5		Farmer	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Antionette	Peters, Jacob	5		None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Ann M.	Peters, Jacob	5		None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Dexter	Peters, Jacob	5		None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Olivia O.	Peters, Jacob	5		None	Warren		Maine
	Griffin, Jane	Griffin, Jane	4		None	Warren		Maine
	Griffin, Farin	Griffin, Jane	4		None	Warren		Maine
	Griffin, Priscilla	Griffin, Jane	4		None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Hannah	Griffin, Jane	4		None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, William H.	Peters, William H.	8		Farmer	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Sarah	Peters, William H.	8		None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Nancy E.	Peters, William H.	8		None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Oliver	Peters, William H.	8		None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Sarah E.	Peters, William H.	8		None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, William H.	Peters, William H.	8		None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Albert	Peters, William H.	8		None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Charles	Peters, William H.	8		Farmer	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Daniel	Peters, Daniel	5		Farmer	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Jane	Peters, Daniel	5		None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Emmy J.	Peters, Daniel	5		None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Caroline	Peters, Daniel	5		None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Amanda	Peters, Daniel	5		None	Warren		Maine
	Davis, Eldridge	Davis, Eldridge	2		Shipwright	Warren		Maine
	Davis, Sarah J.	Davis, Eldridge	2		None	Warren		Maine
	Davis, Nancy	Crawford, Niven	11		None	Warren		MA
Total For Census Year			53				2,312	
1860	Thomas, Edward	Thomas, Edward	7	1	Cooper	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Daniel	Peters, Daniel	8		Farmer	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Jane	Peters, Daniel	8		None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Emmy J.	Peters, Daniel	8		None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Caroline	Peters, Daniel	8		None	Warren		Maine

Census Year	Name	Belong to Household	Total Number in Household (white)	Total Number of Black in Household	Occupation	Address	Total Population of Town	Place of Birth
	Peters, Julia	Peters, Daniel	8		None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Hannah E.	Peters, Daniel	8		None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Daniel P.	Peters, Daniel	8		None	Warren		Maine
	Mink, Reuben	Mink, Reuben	3		Day Laborer	Warren		Maine
	Sewall, Ambrose	Mink, Reuben	3		None	Warren		Maine
	Jabbert, Clarissa A.	Mink, Reuben	3		None	Warren		Maine
	Carter, Lorenzo D.	Carter, Lorenzo D.	10		Seamen	Warren		PA
	Carter, Lucy	Carter, Lorenzo D.	10		None	Warren		Maine
	Carter, Loisa	Carter, Lorenzo D.	10		None	Warren		Maine
	Carter, Leer	Carter, Lorenzo D.	10		None	Warren		Maine
	Carter, Benjamin	Carter, Lorenzo D.	10		None	Warren		Maine
	Carter, Reuben	Carter, Lorenzo D.	10		None	Warren		Maine
	Carter, Frank	Carter, Lorenzo D.	10		Day Laborer	Warren		Maine
	MInk, Samuel	Carter, Lorenzo D.	10		Seamen	Warren		Maine
	Mink, Sarah	Carter, Lorenzo D.	10		None	Warren		Maine
	Mink, Rosilla	Carter, Lorenzo D.	10		None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, James	Peters, James	4		Day Laborer	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Rhoda J.	Peters, James	4		None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, James H.	Peters, James	4		None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Calvin M.	Peters, James	4		None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Charles	Peters, Charles	5		Seamen	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Sally	Peters, Charles	5		None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Daniel W.	Peters, Charles	5		None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, William	Peters, Charles	5		None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Abraham	Peters, Charles	5		None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Jacob	Peters, Jacob	8		Day Laborer	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Antionette	Peters, Jacob	8		None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Maria	Peters, Jacob	8		None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Dexter	Peters, Jacob	8		None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Olivia	Peters, Jacob	8		None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, M. Harriet	Peters, Jacob	8		None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Elizabeth	Peters, Jacob	8		None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Mary	Peters, Jacob	8		None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Isaac	Peters, Isaac	9		Seamen	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Margaret	Peters, Isaac	9		None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Marieff	Peters, Isaac	9		None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Eliza Ann	Peters, Isaac	9		None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Margaret	Peters, Isaac	9		None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Levi	Peters, Isaac	9		None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Samuel	Peters, Isaac	9		None	Warren		Maine

Census Year	Name	Belong to Household	Total Number in Household (white)	Total Number of Black in Household	Occupation	Address	Total Population of Town	Place of Birth
	Peters, Rebecca	Peters, Isaac	9	None	None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Cyrus	Peters, Isaac	9	None	None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Rebecca	Peters, Rebecca	4	None	Farm Manager	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Lucy Ann	Peters, Rebecca	4	None	None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Matilda F.	Peters, Rebecca	4	None	None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Emerson	Peters, Rebecca	4	None	None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Washington	Peters, Washington	2	None	Seamen	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Sarah Ann	Peters, Washington	2	None	None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, William	Peters, William	10	None	Farmer	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Sarah	Peters, William	10	None	None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Nancy	Peters, William	10	None	None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Oliver	Peters, William	10	None	None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, William	Peters, William	10	None	None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Elijah	Peters, William	10	None	None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Cynthia E.	Peters, William	10	None	None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Charles E.	Peters, William	10	None	None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Joel	Peters, William	10	None	None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Sarah Ann	Peters, William	10	None	None	Warren		Maine
	Seco, Henry	Seco, Henry	3	None	Day Laborer	Warren		Maine
	Seco, Priscilla	Seco, Henry	3	None	None	Warren		Maine
	Seco, Alfred H.	Seco, Henry	3	None	None	Warren		Maine
	Griffin, Jane	Griffin, Jane	1	None	Washer Woman	Warren		Maine
	Peters, John	Peters, John	12	None	Farmer	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Jane	Peters, John	12	None	None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Cynthia	Peters, John	12	None	None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Reuben	Peters, John	12	None	None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, John Jr.	Peters, John	12	None	None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Martha	Peters, John	12	None	None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Delia	Peters, John	12	None	None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, David	Peters, John	12	None	None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Joseph Henry	Peters, John	12	None	None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Josephine	Peters, John	12	None	None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Frederic	Peters, John	12	None	None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Esther	Peters, John	12	None	None	Warren		Maine
	Foreman, Augustine	Peters, John	12	None	None	Warren		Maine
	Foreman, Frances M.	Peters, John	12	None	None	Warren		Maine
	Fox, Patsey	McCollum, Paolina	2	None	Domestic	Warren		Maine

Census Year	Name	Belong to Household	Total Number in Household (white)	Total Number of Black in Household	Occupation	Address	Total Population of Town	Place of Birth
	Fox, Lizette	McCollum, Paolina	5	2	None	Warren		Maine
Total For Census Year				82			2,331	
1870	Peters, Daniel	Peters, Daniel		4	Waiter in Hotel	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Jane	Peters, Daniel		4	"Keeping house"	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Julia	Peters, Daniel		4	None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Daniel Jr.	Peters, Daniel		4	None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Washington	Peters, Washington		2	Farmer	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Sarah M.	Peters, Washington		2	"Keeping house"	Warren		Maine
	Peters, William	Peters, William		7	Farmer	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Sarah	Peters, William		7	"Keeping house"	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Oliver	Peters, William		7	Farm Worker	Warren		Maine
	Peters, William S.	Peters, William		7	Farm Worker	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Cynthia E.	Peters, William		7	None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Charles E.	Peters, William		7	None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Clara	Peters, William		7	None	Warren		Maine
	Olney, Francis	Olney, Francis		4	Farmer	Warren		Maine
	Olney, Laney	Olney, Francis		4	"Keeping house"	Warren		Maine
	Olney, Joel J.	Olney, Francis		4	None	Warren		Maine
	Olney, Edwin G.	Olney, Francis		4	None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Isaac	Peters, Isaac		6	Farmer	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Margaret	Peters, Isaac		6	"Keeping house"	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Levi	Peters, Isaac		6	None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Samuel	Peters, Isaac		6	None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Rebecca	Peters, Isaac		6	None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Cyrus	Peters, Isaac		6	None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, John	Peters, John		10	Farmer	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Jane	Peters, John		10	"Keeping house"	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Martha	Peters, John		10	None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Delia	Peters, John		10	None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, David	Peters, John		10	None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Josephine	Peters, John		10	None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Joseph Henry	Peters, John		10	None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Frederick	Peters, John		10	None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Florence	Peters, John		10	None	Warren		Maine

Census Year	Name	Belong to Household	Total Number in Household (white)	Total Number of Black in Household	Occupation	Address	Total Population of Town	Place of Birth
	Peters, Aurelia	Peters, John		10	None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, William H.	Peters, William H.		5	Farmer	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Caroline E.	Peters, William H.		5	"Keeping house"	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Cora E.	Peters, William H.		5	None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Everett C.	Peters, William H.		5	None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Abram	Peters, William H.		5	Barber	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Rhoda J.	Peters, Rhoda J.		5	"Keeping house"	Warren		Maine
	Peters, James H.	Peters, Rhoda J.		5	None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Calvin M.	Peters, Rhoda J.		5	None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Sydney L.	Peters, Rhoda J.		5	None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Alice E.	Peters, Rhoda J.		5	None	Warren		Maine
	Mink, Reuben	Mink, Reuben		4	Farmer	Warren		Maine
	Mink, Alvan J	Mink, Reuben		4	None	Warren		Maine
	Mink, Edith E.	Mink, Reuben		4	None	Warren		Maine
	Mink, Amos	Mink, Reuben		4	None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, John Jr.	Peters, John Jr.		4	Farm Worker	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Leah	Peters, John Jr.		4	"Keeping house"	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Frederick E.	Peters, John Jr.		4	None	Warren		Maine
	Peters, Nathaniel W.	Peters, John Jr.		4	None	Warren		Maine
	Carter, Lorenzo D.	Carter, Lorenzo D.		5	Laborer	Warren		Maine
	Carter, Lucy	Carter, Lorenzo D.		5	"Keeping house"	Warren		Maine
	Carter, Louisa	Carter, Lorenzo D.		5	None	Warren		Maine
	Carter, Benjamin	Carter, Lorenzo D.		5	Laborer	Warren		Maine
	Carter, Reuben	Carter, Lorenzo D.		5	Laborer	Warren		Maine
	Davis, Elbridge	Davis, Eldridge	1	4	Farmer	Warren		Maine
	Davis, Sarah J.	Davis, Eldridge	1	4	"Keeping house"	Warren		Maine
	Davis, Elbridge H.	Davis, Eldridge H.	1	4	None	Warren		Maine
	Davis, Levette	Davis, Levette	1	4	None	Warren		Maine
	Seco, Henry	Seco, Henry		6	Laborer	Warren		Maine
	Seco, Priscilla	Seco, Henry		6	"Keeping house"	Warren		Maine
	Seco, Alfred H.	Seco, Henry		6	None	Warren		Maine
	Seco, Mawbeck	Seco, Henry		6	None	Warren		Maine
	Seco, Alton	Seco, Henry		6	None	Warren		Maine
	Seco, Anna	Seco, Henry		6	None	Warren		Maine

Census Year	Name	Belong to Household	Total Number in Household (white)	Total Number of Black in Household	Occupation	Address	Total Population of Town	Place of Birth
Total For Census Year				65			2,003	

Appendix 3: Available Military Records for Peterborough Residents

NAME OF RAISON		<i>Peters, Abraham</i>			
NAME AND CLASS OF DEPARTMENT		<i>Victory Regiment</i>			
NAVAL SERVICE		RANK		ENLISTED	
		<i>Lieutenant</i>		<i>1862</i>	
ADDITIONAL SERVICE		<i>Enlisted in Sabine Battalion</i>			
DATE OF FILING		CLASS	APPLICATION NO.	LAW	CERTIFICATE NO.
<i>1880</i>		<i>Private</i>	<i>6711</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>5323</i>
<i>1880</i>		<i>Private</i>	<i>4922</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1211</i>
REMARKS		<i>See 214</i>			

Appendix 3 a.: Abraham Peters pension file. National Archives and Records Administration. *U.S., Civil War Pension Index: General Index to Pension Files, 1861-1934* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2000.

NARA 346

1148

Peters Daniel M.

Co *B*, 43 U.S. Col'd Inf.

Private | *Private*

CARD NUMBERS.

1	5866707	26
2	5869182	27
3	5869277	28
4	5869378	29
5	5869476	30
6	5869574	31
7	5869692	32
8	5867598	33
9	5867529	34
10	5867744	35
11	5867673	36
12	6869940	37
13	5870036	38
14	5870132	39
15	91148317	40
16		41
17		42
18		43
19		44
20		45
21		46
22		47
23		48
24		49
25		50

Book Mark:

See also *11 uscta.*

Appendix 3 b.: Daniel Peters service record. National Archives and Records Administration (NARA); Washington, D.C.; *Compiled Military Service Records of Volunteer Union Soldiers who Served with the United States Colored Troops: Infantry Organizations, 41st through 46th*; Microfilm Serial: M1994; Microfilm Roll: 48.

NARA 387

1160
Peters, James
 Co. *B*, **43** U.S. Col'd Inf.
Private | *Private*

CARD NUMBERS.

1	5866710	25
2	5869187	27
3	5869280	28
4	5869375	29
5	5869502	30
6	5870186	31
7	91118330	32
8	P-110-RCJ 1266	33
9		34
10		35
11		36
12		37
13		38
14		39
15		40
16		41
17		42
18		43
19		44
20		45
21		46
22		47
23		48
24		49
25		50

Book Mark:

P-110 Vol 4 RCJ 66

See also

IN 115 C 112

Appendix 3 c.: James Peters service record. National Archives and Records Administration (NARA); Washington, D.C.; *Compiled Military Service Records of Volunteer Union Soldiers who Served with the United States Colored Troops: Infantry Organizations, 41st through 46th*; Microfilm Serial: M1994; Microfilm Roll: 48.

(2-H-3)				
NAME OF SOLDIER: <i>Peters, James</i>				
NAME OF DEPENDENT: <i>Widow, Peters, Rhoda J.</i> <i>Minor, Peters, Alice E.</i>				
SERVICE: <i>B 43 U. S. C. Inf.</i>				
DATE OF FILING.	CLASS.	APPLICATION NO.	CERTIFICATE NO.	STATE FROM WHICH FILED.
	<i>Invalid,</i>			
<i>1865, May 8</i>	<i>Widow,</i>	<i>92,637</i>	<i>90,265</i>	
<i>1890, Sep 12</i>	<i>Minor,</i>	<i>494,911</i>		<i>Maine</i>
ATTORNEY:				
REMARKS:				

Appendix 3 d.: James Peters pension file, showing his widow Rhoda J. Peters receiving his pension funds. National Archives and Records Administration. *U.S., Civil War Pension Index: General Index to Pension Files, 1861-1934* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2000.

228

Form G.
HOSPITAL TICKET

U. S. Ship *Ohio* left *10th* 1864.

To *Joseph Deale*
Surgeon. *U. S. Naval Hospital Chelsea*

SIR:
You are hereby requested to receive *Merrill Peters Lass*
afflicted with *Rubeola* in the Hospital under your direction,
and to provide for him according to the rules and regulations of the Navy.

LIST OF PATIENT'S CLOTHING, &c.

No.	Hammock.	Blankets.	Sheets.	Mattress.	Bags.	Chests.	Coats.	Jackets.	Waistcoats.	Trowsers.	Drawers.	Frocks.	Shirts.	Shirts, flannel.	Stockings.	Boots and Shoes.	Handkerchiefs.	Hats.	Caps.	Stocks.	Gaiters.	Cash.	Watch.	Books.	Knapsacks.	Muskets.
	/	/		/						/	/		/	/	/	/			/							

Respectfully, &c.,

W. Byler Surgeon U. S. Navy.

APPROVED: *Chas. Green*
Commanding.

APPROVED: *Alfred Taylor*
In Command.

I CERTIFY that I have received the above articles belonging to me on receiving my discharge
from the Hospital.

WITNESS:

Portland
London 17th 1864
Sept 17. 1864
Rubeola

Appendix 3 e.: Merrill Peters United States Naval hospital intake ticket from September 19, 1864. Ancestry.com. *U.S., Naval Hospital Tickets and Case Papers, 1825-1889* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2013.

Original data: Hospital Tickets and Case Papers, compiled 1825-1889. ARC ID: [2694723](#). Department of the Navy, Records of the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery, Record Group 52. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

R | 11 H. Art'y. | U.S.C.T.

Reuben M. Peters

Appears with rank of *Pvt* on

Muster and Descriptive Roll of a Detachment of U. S. Vols. forwarded
(for the Colored Troops)
for the *11. Reg' U.S.C.T.* Roll dated
August 21st Jan'y 14, 1864.

Where born *Warren M^e*

Age *22* y'rs; occupation *Farmer*

When enlisted *Jan'y 2*, 1864.

Where enlisted *August 21st*

For what period enlisted *3* years.

Eyes *Blk*; hair *Blk*

Complexion *Blk*; height *5* ft. *8* in.

When mustered in *Jan'y 5*, 1864.

Where mustered in

Bounty paid \$ *100*; due \$ *100*

Where credited *Warren M^e & Asst*

Company to which assigned

Remarks: *Raw recruit*
Name not taken up in muster
rolls of regt.

Book mark:

Reuben

(839) Copied.

Appendix 3 f.: Reuben M. Peters muster in service record. National Archives and Records Administration (NARA); Washington, D.C.; *Compiled Military Service Records Of Volunteer Union Soldiers Who Served With The United States Colored Troops: Artillery Organizations*; Microfilm Serial: M1818; Microfilm Roll: 206.

NARA 447

1153

Peters, William A.

Co *B*, **43** U.S. Col'd Inf.

Private *Corporal*

CARD NUMBERS.

1	<i>5866709</i>	26
2	<i>5869185</i>	27
3	<i>5869299</i>	28
4	<i>5869380</i>	29
5	<i>5869478</i>	30
6	<i>5869576</i>	31
7	<i>5869666</i>	32
8	<i>5869750</i>	33
9	<i>5869794</i>	34
10	<i>5869892</i>	35
11	<i>5869989</i>	36
12	<i>5870085</i>	37
13	<i>7148319</i>	38
14		39
15		40
16		41
17		42
18		43
19		44
20		45
21		46
22		47
23		48
24		49
25		50

Book Mark:

See also

Appendix 3 g.: William Peters service record. National Archives and Records Administration (NARA); Washington, D.C.; *Compiled Military Service Records of Volunteer Union Soldiers who Served with the United States Colored Troops: Infantry Organizations, 41st through 46th*; Microfilm Serial: M1994; Microfilm Roll: 48.

P | 11 H. Art'y. | U.S.C.T.

William H. Peters

Appears with rank of *P* on

Muster and Descriptive Roll of a Detachment of U. S. Vols. forwarded

for the *11th Reg't Col. Heavy* Roll dated *August 14, 1864*

Where born *Warren, Maine*

Age *18* yrs; occupation *Farmer*

When enlisted *June 2*, 1864

Where enlisted *Augusta, Me.*

For what period enlisted *3* years.

Eyes *Blk*; hair *Blk*

Complexion *Blk*; height *5 ft. 0* in.

When mustered in *June 5*, 1864

Where mustered in

Bounty paid \$ *100*; due \$ *100*

Where credited *Warren, Me. Dist. Me.*

Company to which assigned

Remarks *Law recruit*

Name and location of co. or organization

Order of aupt.

Book mark:

Dec'd

(389) Copist.

Appendix 3 h.: William Peters muster in service record. National Archives and Records Administration (NARA); Washington, D.C.; *Compiled Military Service Records Of Volunteer Union Soldiers Who Served With The United States Colored Troops: Artillery Organizations*; Microfilm Serial: M1818; Microfilm Roll: 206.

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