

Malaga Island: How the State of Maine Devastated a Resilient Island Community
in the Name of the Greater Good

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“No island on the Maine coast has been so maligned, distorted, or exaggerated historically as Malaga Island.”¹

In Maine, where black people are a mere 1.6% of the population today,² there once existed a small mixed-race community called Malaga Island. In 1912, the state forcibly evicted Malaga’s residents and committed eight to the Maine School for the Feeble-minded. The state and the press branded this cruel tragedy a triumph and their interpretation was accepted for almost 70 years.³ What happened on Malaga Island demonstrates the power of the state--influenced by racism and pseudoscientific eugenic theory and fueled by sensationalistic journalism and economic factors--to define a human tragedy as a societal triumph.

Malaga Island was settled by descendants of Benjamin Darling, a freed slave who purchased adjacent Horse Island in 1794.⁴ By 1900, 45 people called Malaga home.⁵ They were mixed-race: black, white, Native American, and Portuguese. They lived lightly on the land, dependent on seasonally available natural resources. They were subsistence entrepreneurs: fishermen selling their catch to summer people and laundry women washing and mending clothing for mainlanders.⁶ They worked at local resorts and hotels. The children were exemplary students at the island school established by missionaries, described as “fully as bright as the

¹Miram Stover Thomas, *Flotsam and Jetsam* (Harpwell: Self-published, 1973), 83.

²“QuickFacts: Maine,” U.S. Census Bureau, <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/map/me/RHI225217>.

³This narrative was first publicly challenged by William David Barry’s 1980 article in *DownEast*, “The Shameful Story of Malaga Island.” It was the first investigative and humanistic published account of the community.

⁴As evidenced by a deed conveying Harbor Island from William and Sarah Lithgow to Benjamin Darling in 1794, as found in *Lincoln County Records, Book 32*, Maine Historical Society Archives, Portland.

⁵See Appendix A.

⁶Dr. Nathan D. Hamilton and Dr. Robert Sanford. *Everyday Lives: An Interim Report on Archaeological and Environmental Investigations of Malaga Island, Phippsburg, Maine*. (Maine: University of Southern Maine and Maine State Museum, 2012), 17-19.

whites and fully as eager to learn.”⁷ Islanders had simple homes with ordinary household items⁸ and were no different from hundreds of other poor white Mainers living on small islands at the turn of the century.⁹ Their existence had not troubled the neighboring town, Phippsburg, until the early 1900s, when attitudes toward Malaga shifted and it was decided that the island must be cleansed.¹⁰ The key difference, what made it simple for the state to target and destroy their community, was race.

By the end of the 19th century, America was deep in an era of segregation and racial violence. In *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), the Supreme Court ruled “separate but equal” constitutional and Jim Crow laws were allowed to stand. Many Americans believed racial intermingling threatened the social order and anti-miscegenation laws existed in 29 states.¹¹ “It is only the cross in human breed, a mixture of negro blood in a white man’s and white woman’s veins that is causing all this race problem,” wrote one essayist in 1904.¹² Jacob Riis, influential author of *How the Other Half Lives*, an exposé of Manhattan tenement life, wrote, “Than [the] commingling of the utterly depraved of both sexes, white and black, there can be no greater

⁷“The Schoolhouse on Malaga Island,” *Bath Independent*, June 3, 1908, Maine Historical Society Archives, Portland.

⁸Archaeological research and museum analysis has revealed that the islanders owned dishware and tools common at the time. See Katherine A. McBrien, *Malaga Island: Fragmented Lives* (Maine State Museum, 2013), 4, 12, 20, 31-43.

⁹“Nearly Starved on Island,” *The Waterbury Evening Democrat*, February 24, 1906, 1, chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn93053726/1906-02-24/ed-1/seq-1/.

¹⁰John Mosher, “No Greater Abomination: Ethnicity, Class, and Power Relations on Malaga Island, Maine, 1880-1912” (Master’s Thesis, University of Southern Maine, 1991), 97.

¹¹Charles Davenport, *State Laws Limiting Marriage Selection Examined in the Light of Eugenics* (New York: Eugenics Record Office, 1913), 27-31, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.32044053561122;view=1up;seq=5>.

¹²Tressa Hunt [from old catalog], *The Settling of the Race Problem Between the Black Man and the White Man*, (Chicago: 1904.), 6, Library of Congress, <https://lccn.loc.gov/12002874>.

abomination.”¹³ Popular literature such as *The Call of the South* (1908) warned white society of the dangers of miscegenation and “polluted” blood.¹⁴

Compounding the racist national climate was the pseudoscience of eugenics, a widespread movement whose goal was “the elimination of strains that are a burden to the nation or to themselves, and to raise the standard of humanity by the suppression of the progeny of the defective causes.”¹⁵ At the turn of the century, politicians, scholars, authors, and scientists¹⁶ felt that Anglo-Americans were experiencing biological “defeat”¹⁷ due to a recent influx of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe and the growing number of urban poor.¹⁸ They believed that such trends indicated moral and cultural decline in America.¹⁹ From these fears sprang eugenics, which held that certain “undesirable traits” such as ignorance, criminality, and sexual immorality were the result of genetics.²⁰ Influential eugenicists such as Harry Laughlin and Charles Davenport argued that the greater good demanded that “defective” people be removed from society. Davenport wrote, “And as for the idiots, low imbeciles, incurable, and dangerous criminals, they may under appropriate restrictions be prevented from procreation,

¹³Jacob Riis, “The Color Line in New York,” in *How the Other Half Lives: Studies among the Tenements of New York* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1890), 158.

¹⁴Robert Lee Durham, *The Call of the South* (Boston: L.C. Page and Co, 1908), 396, <https://archive.org/details/callosouth00durhiala>.

¹⁵Franz Boas, “Eugenics,” *The Scientific Monthly*, Vol. 3, No. 5 (November 1916): 471, www.jstor.org/stable/6055.

¹⁶President Theodore Roosevelt urged native born American women to abandon birth control to “preserve” Anglo stock, professors such as William Graham Sumner of Yale supported the *Plessy* decision and advocated extensively for the principles of social Darwinism and eugenics, Edith Wharton’s *Summer* and Holman Day’s *King Spruce* reflect concerns about isolation, decline, and impurity, and both social scientists and biologists applied the principles of Gregor Mendel and Charles Darwin to human populations, arguing for “a practicable eugenic solution.”

¹⁷John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism 1860-1925* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1955), 143.

¹⁸Garland E. Allen, “Social Origins of Eugenics,” from *Image Archive on the American Eugenics Movement*, <http://www.eugenicsarchive.org/html/eugenics/essay1text.html>.

¹⁹Harry Bruinius, *Better For All The World: The Secret History of Forced Sterilization and America's Quest for Racial Purity* (New York: Vintage Books, 2007), 149.

²⁰Elof Carlson, “Scientific Origins of Eugenics,” from *Image Archive on the American Eugenics Movement*, http://www.eugenicsarchive.org/html/eugenics/essay_2_fs.html.

either by segregation... or even by sterilization... [to create] a healthier, saner society in the future.”²¹ Eugenicists turned prejudice into science, publishing studies such as Richard Dugdale’s *The Jukes* and Henry Goddard’s *The Kallikak Family* demonstrating the heredity of “undesirable traits” and emphasizing the cost of “degenerate” families on the tax-paying public.²² The eugenics movement was a national phenomenon whose rhetoric impacted Maine and ultimately the fate of Malaga.

In cities, where eugenics was born, slums and tenements embodied degeneracy.²³ In rural areas, where immigration was less concentrated and the effects of industrialization less visible, poor marginal communities exemplified moral and social decay.²⁴ Eugenics ideology was used in Maine to justify the removal of poor communities regarded as breeding grounds for social pathology and disorder.²⁵ The eugenics movement in Maine is notably associated with the Maine School for the Feeble-minded, an institution established to apply Davenport’s principles to remove “decaying stock” from society. Maine State Senator L.M. Staples sponsored the bill that created the school, arguing: “Let us stop the propagation of idiots in the different towns of the state. If you do, the people will not find fault with you for this appropriation, because it goes right to the heart of economy and justice.”²⁶

²¹Charles Davenport, *Eugenics: The Science of Human Improvement by Better Breeding* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1910), 33-34.

²²See Appendix B.

²³“Tenement Dwellers: How Can They Be Helped?” *Eugenics: A Journal of Race Betterment*, Vol. 2. No. 8 (1929): 94, from *Image Archive on the American Eugenics Movement* www.eugenicsarchive.org/eugenics/view_image.pl?id=1734.

²⁴An administrator at the Maine School for the Feeble-minded noted in 1908, “There are a number of scattered hamlets throughout the state peopled by subnormals in ancestral shacks,” from Stephen T. Murphy, *Voices of Pineland*, 109. Also see Arthur Estabrook and Charles Davenport, *The Nam Family: A Study in Cacogenics* (New York: New Era Printing Company, 1912), 1, 102, <https://archive.org/details/namfamilystudyi00esta/page/n4>.

²⁵Mosher, “No Greater Abomination,” 16.

²⁶Stephen T. Murphy, *Voices of Pineland: Eugenics, Social Reform, and the Legacy of "Feeble-mindedness" in Maine* (Charlotte: Information Age Publishing, 2011), 53.

Maine officials also used the economic arguments of Dugdale and Goddard to justify the removal and institutionalization of the Malaga islanders and similar poor people.²⁷ A 1911 report from the Governor's Council states, "Some...people have been paupers for years, being a drain on the treasury of the state, allowed to live remotely from settlements, being indolent, even when able to work, and encouraging around them a thriftless, lazy gang, to help them in consuming supplies furnished by the Commonwealth."²⁸ Prior to Malaga's eviction, state officials and the press emphasized the cost of the islanders to the state, just as Dugdale had done.²⁹

Money and appropriations were especially sensitive subjects in Maine at the turn of the 20th century,³⁰ making eugenic efforts to define the islanders as drains on the state treasury even more impactful. In the latter half of the 1800s, an increase in steamship building and the railroad led to the crash of Maine's economic mainstay, wooden shipbuilding. Fish stocks also declined precipitously, leaving the state poor and in need of economic salvation.³¹ Phippsburg, the town to which Malaga belonged, had long paid pauper support to assist the islanders.³² As the economy worsened, the town suffered from extensive outmigration.³³ Few remained to pay taxes, let alone aid the poor. Phippsburg even feuded with neighboring Harpswell in 1903 to determine who was

²⁷Murphy, *Voices of Pineland*, 55, "The admissions criteria of the school was defined as much in terms of one's socioeconomic status as one's intellectual functioning."

²⁸Edward B. Winslow, et al, "Report of Council Committee on State Beneficiaries and Pensions," in *Reports on Committees of the Council: State of Maine 1911-1912*, (Waterville: Sentinel Publishing Company, 1913), 12.

²⁹Henry Herbert Goddard, *The Kallikak Family: A Study in the Heredity of Feeble-mindedness* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1912), 92, <https://archive.org/details/TheKallikakFamily>.

"Degenerate Family Cost State Heavily," January 18, 1912, from *Image Archive on the National Eugenics Movement*, http://www.eugenicsarchive.org/eugenics/view_image.pl?id=1322.

George Pease, "Conditions at Malaga Island," Maine State Museum Archives, Augusta, 1911, 1-6.

³⁰"The State Finance: Extravagance of the Last Legislature and Governor Fernald Analyzed," *The Maine Democrat*, September 10, 1909.

³¹"The End of the Ocean Highway 1870-1920." Maine Historical Society, <https://www.mainememory.net/sitebuilder/site/905/page/1316/display?page=2>.

³²Mosher, "No Greater Abomination," 92. See Table 2.3: Distribution of poor relief between citizens of the town of Phippsburg and the residents on Malaga Island

³³Allen Breed, Email interview, April 8, 2019.

legally responsible for this “undesirable possession.”³⁴ In 1905, after persistent efforts by Phippsburg to prove Malaga did not belong in its jurisdiction,³⁵ Malaga islanders became wards of the state, and their welfare the responsibility of Maine taxpayers.

A 1905 article described Malaga as “the home of southern negro blood...[an] incongruous scene on a spot of natural beauty.”³⁶ This incongruity troubled Phippsburg, which, like the rest of Maine, had discovered tourism as the solution to economic depression. Summer tourism was driven by affluent city-dwellers who were disillusioned with the industrialization, urbanization, and immigration that characterized the latter 1800s.³⁷ Since the people of Phippsburg were developing a tourism industry,³⁸ they did not want to be associated with poor, mixed-race Malaga, an island highly visible to tourists³⁹ and reminiscent of the poor urban communities the wealthy disliked. An uptick in advertising of coastal property⁴⁰ and flowery accounts of Maine vacations published nationwide⁴¹ further fueled concern about beautifying the state for paying visitors. Malaga and its inhabitants blighted this vision. According to one writer: “But enough of

³⁴“Here and There,” *Oxford Democrat* [Paris, ME], July 25, 1911, 2, chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83009653/1911-07-25/ed-1/seq-2/.

³⁵The state had placed Malaga firmly in Phippsburg jurisdiction, but the town selectmen pushed to have the decision repealed and succeeded in 1905, the year after Malaga residents made up 40% of the poor accounts. See Mosher, “No Greater Abomination,” 95-96.

³⁶Lauris Percy, “Strange Scenes on a Strange Island,” *Casco Bay Breeze* [South Harpswell, ME], August 24, 1905, 2, chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn95068036/1905-08-24/ed-1/seq-2/.

³⁷Rob Rosenthal and Kate Philbrick, “Chapter 5: Malaga Stands Still, Maine Changes,” in *Malaga Island-A Story Best Left Untold*, WMPG, 2009, audio, <http://www.malagaislandmaine.org/audio.htm>

³⁸Casco Bay, where Malaga was located, was considered an prime vacation spot. The Rock Gardens Inn, later the grand Sebasco Estates, was located a mere three miles away, and Phippsburg was attempting to develop tourism at the nearby Popham Beach and Small Point. See *Casco Bay Directory* (South Harpswell: Breeze Publishing Co., 1902), 30, 60, <https://archive.org/details/cascobaymainedir00bree>.

³⁹See Appendix C: steamship routes passed directly by the southern end of the island and offered a clear view of its population.

⁴⁰The *Casco Bay Breeze* was one of many newspapers that advertised shoreline property for development. See “Sebasco,” *Casco Bay Breeze* [South Harpswell, ME], July 30, 1908, 4, chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn95068036/1908-07-30/ed-1/seq-4/. Phippsburg real estate also enjoyed a 100% increase between 1892-1908. See Mosher, “No Greater Abomination,” 106.

⁴¹*The beauties of Portland and scenic gems of Casco Bay* (Portland: G. W. Morris, 1895), 6-20, lccn.loc.gov/19007285.

this poor colored race, we doubt not many of them have white hearts...such a spot of natural beauty as could be made for a few summer homes... and could this gem of an isle be depopulated and rebuilt what a change and what an imposing entrance to our beautiful New Meadows River.”⁴²

At the same time, national and local press developed a near-obsessive fascination with Malaga. In the late 1800s, local newspapers regarded Malaga as an occasional nuisance, nothing more.⁴³ In the early 1900s, however, sensationalistic newspaper accounts seized upon local concerns about Malaga and used eugenics rhetoric to paint its inhabitants as degenerate. They portrayed Malaga as a primitive colony--an affront to the respectable middle class and the State of Maine.⁴⁴ Racist postcards were circulated, contributing to the notoriety of the community.⁴⁵ The work of the Lanes, a missionary family who sought to educate and aid the islanders, also increased press attention. Their fundraising efforts perpetuated a narrative of good-hearted but neglected people, but the turning point came in 1909, when influential journalist Holman Day visited the island and wrote a piece for *Harper's Magazine* complete with photographs of families and their homes.⁴⁶ He referred to their “negro blood,” described them as shiftless and lazy, and claimed they intermarried and had children out of wedlock.⁴⁷ The article garnered national attention. “Ignorance, Shiftlessness, Filth, and Heathenism--A Shameful Disgrace That

⁴²Percy, “Strange Scenes,” 2.

⁴³“The unfortunate people of Malago continue to make trouble.” From “Here and There,” *Oxford Democrat* [Paris, ME], April 29, 1902, 3, chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83009653/1902-04-29/ed-1/seq-3/.

⁴⁴“Homeless Island of Beautiful Casco Bay--Its Shiftless Population of Half-breed Blacks and Whites and His Royal Highness, James McKenney,” *Lewiston Evening Journal*, August 21, 1911, <https://hhrcmaine.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/Sun-Journal-Malaga-Aug-1911.pdf>.

⁴⁵ See Appendix D.

⁴⁶Holman Day, “The Queer Folk of the Maine Coast,” *Harper's Magazine*, September 1909, 521-530, <http://www.cundysharbor.me/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/The-Queer-Folk-of-the-Maine-Coast.pdf>

⁴⁷Day, “Queer Folk,” 529.

Should Be Looked After at Once,” proclaimed the *Boston Transcript* in 1911.⁴⁸ This storm of national press attention⁴⁹ bolstered public opinion, political will, and economic rationale to eradicate the island community in the name of the greater good.

In 1911, George Pease, the state agent assigned to oversee the welfare of Malaga, visited the island and wrote a report on the conditions, commenting on some islanders’ “feeble-mindedness,” noting their race⁵⁰ and the amount each family was costing the state. He included suggestions to clear the island and remove those he deemed undesirable.⁵¹ In July that year, Governor Frederick Plaisted⁵² visited Malaga and remarked, “I think the best plan would be to burn down the shacks with all their filth. Certainly, the conditions are not credible to our state.”⁵³ In December 1911, the state bought the island⁵⁴ and issued an eviction notice, ordering the islanders to remove themselves and their houses from Malaga by July 1, 1912.⁵⁵ Pease arrived on the island with a probate judge’s order to commit Annie Parker and the Marks family to the Maine School for the Feeble-minded.⁵⁶ State officials had previously requested that towns

⁴⁸“Ignorance, Shiftlessness, Filth, and Heathenism,” *Boston Transcript*, August 10, 1911, Maine Historical Society Archives, Portland.

⁴⁹Negative articles about Malaga first appeared in Portland and Boston newspapers but were reprinted as far away as New York, South Carolina, Washington, D.C., and Kentucky. Every account portrayed an improvident and degenerate community.

⁵⁰In “Conditions at Malaga Island,” Pease calls the islanders “octoroons,” “half-breeds,” “negresses” and “full-blooded whites.” He says black men like John Eason are “lazy and won’t work” while white men like James McKenney Jr. are “strong, good to work, self sustaining.”

⁵¹Pease, “Conditions,” p. 5-6.

⁵²It is interesting to note that Plaisted’s character shows traces of eugenic thinking. His 1911 inaugural address includes this quote: “When a decision is to be rendered let the question be: ‘What is right?’ and the answer, ‘The greatest good to the greatest number,’” which was an argument used to justify institutionalization and other eugenic practices. See Plaisted, “Inaugural Address,” 36.

⁵³Susan M. Cover, “Plaisted’s Term A Painful Legacy,” *Kennebec Journal*, August 27, 2007, A8. Plaisted’s words were originally printed in an obscure newspaper account that I could not find in my research. However, the quote regarding the Malaga visit is documented in many secondary sources and I am confident about its accuracy.

⁵⁴Governor’s Executive Council of the State of Maine, “133rd Order of Council,” December 14, 1911, in *Journal Register of Council*, Maine State Museum Archives, Augusta.

⁵⁵Allen Breed, “No Longer a Reproach: The Story of Malaga Island,” in *Maine’s Visible Black History*, by H.H. Price and Gerald E. Talbot (Gardiner: Tilbury House, 2006), 73.

⁵⁶“Agent Pease took seven of them to State school Thursday morning,” *Bath Independent*, December 16, 1911, Maine State Museum Archives, Augusta.

identify likely candidates for the school.⁵⁷ Since Jake Marks and his son Jimmy were terminally ill, three women in the family were of childbearing age, and one already had a child out of wedlock, the Marksese were deemed expendable.⁵⁸ When Pease returned to Malaga seven months later, he found no trace of the community save for their schoolhouse and cemetery.⁵⁹

The eviction of Malaga Island resulted in institutionalization, death, and the loss of a harmonious and hardworking community--the only community many of its residents had ever known. Of the eight sent to the School for the Feeble-minded, only two were released.⁶⁰ The other six died in the institution. Little is known about the school's practices during this time; however, allegations of abuse arose later and eventually led to its closure.⁶¹ Based on prejudiced attitudes towards blacks and the "feeble-minded" it is likely that the islanders received discriminatory and harmful treatment. Islanders not committed to the school were left to fend for themselves. Many floated their houses down the New Meadows River and established residency in other towns, but racism and prejudice followed them.⁶² Because any acknowledgment of connection to Malaga was seen as a confession of immorality and feeble-mindedness,⁶³ many islanders changed their names to dissociate themselves from the island. Some families were even more unfortunate. The Tripp family floated from place to place in a makeshift houseboat and were turned away from

⁵⁷Breed. Email interview.

⁵⁸A main goal of eugenics was to stop "feeble-minded" people from procreating in order to achieve a "fitter" race, and the school was established to quarantine such people and ultimately sterilize them. Thus, it was simple to point to Lizzie Marks's child out of wedlock as an example of proliferating degeneracy and argue that all three women should be institutionalized.

⁵⁹"Money Paid Over: What Malaga Islanders Received From State," *Bath Independent*, July 6, 1912, University of Southern Maine Archives, Gorham.

⁶⁰Murphy, *Voices*, 70-75.

⁶¹Murphy, *Voices*, 143-179.

⁶²Kate McMahon, "The Use of Material Culture & Recovering Black Maine," *Material Culture Review*, Vol. 77/78 (2013), <https://journals.lib.unb.ca/index.php/mcr/article/view/22085/25645>.

⁶³"C-SPAN Cities Tour - Augusta: The Eviction of Malaga Island," YouTube video, 21:28, October 5, 2012, www.youtube.com/watch?v=kDEHiLOWiDo&t=34s.

every town. Devastatingly poor and malnourished, Laura Tripp fell ill during a severe storm. When her husband returned with help, he found Laura dead with her children clinging to her lifeless body.⁶⁴

In an effort to remove all trace of Malaga's mixed-race residents from the island, the state exhumed seventeen bodies from its small cemetery and combined them into five caskets, which were then transported to the School for the Feebleminded and dumped into unmarked graves, a shameful and saddening display of cruelty and disrespect towards the islanders.⁶⁵ The term "Malagite" was a racial slur that persisted long after the eviction, and some Phippsburg residents would still prefer to erase Malaga's story from history.⁶⁶ Gerald Talbot, past president of the Maine chapter of the NAACP, notes, "For many of Maine's African-American community, hearing the word 'Malaga' is like hearing the word 'Dachau.'"⁶⁷

The portrayal of Malaga's eviction by the state and press starkly contrasted with the tragic reality. "The dark spots are gradually being whitened," wrote the *Evening Star* in 1914.⁶⁸ "Not only have the inhabitants of the island been raised to a standard of living they have probably never dreamed of before, but the state had saved a little bundle of coin as well," added one reporter.⁶⁹ "All praise to State Agent Pease and the Governor's Council, for they have again made good."⁷⁰ The eviction of Malaga was heralded a success by the state and the press for three

⁶⁴"The Death of Laura Tripp or the Tragedy of Malaga Island," *Lewiston Saturday Journal*, December 5, 1914, 7, <https://hhrcmaine.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/Death-of-Laura-Tripp-article-1914.pdf>.

⁶⁵Rosenthal and Philbrick, "Chapter 9: The Graveyard" in *Malaga Island*.

⁶⁶Rosenthal and Philbrick, "Chapter 13: Racism Continues" in *Malaga Island*.

⁶⁷Deborah DuBrule, "Evicted: How the State of Maine Destroyed a 'Different' Island Community," *Island Journal*, Vol. 16. (1999): 50, Maine State Museum Archives, Augusta.

⁶⁸Alfred Elden, "Redeeming the Maine Coast," *The New York Tribune*, March 29, 1914, chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83030214/1914-03-29/ed-1/seq-65/.

⁶⁹"Cleaning Up Malaga Island: No Longer a Reproach to the Good Name of the State," *Waterville Centennial*, January 3, 1913, Maine Historical Society Archives, Portland.

⁷⁰Steve Mitchell, *The Shame of Maine: Whatever Became of the Residents of Malaga?* (Brunswick: Self-published, 2005), 2.

equally consequential reasons: the state, hence taxpayers, no longer felt financially responsible for the welfare of the islanders; the natural beauty of the island had been restored for tourism; and, by institutionalizing the “unfit” from Malaga, the state had done “a good deed in the cause of humanity.”⁷¹ Reports of the eviction described the fate of the islanders, saying “little hardship resulted,”⁷² and that they will enjoy their new lives.⁷³ The overarching sentiment is captured here: “The good of the state and the cause of humanity demanded that the colony be broken up and the people segregated.”⁷⁴ As no diaries or letters by the islanders exist, the only written record of Malaga’s eviction, until very recently, was comprised of state documents and false newspaper reports, all of which characterized the eviction as a success. Reporters and politicians noted the practicality of institutionalization,⁷⁵ and praised the state for removing a population that caused bad publicity and promoted immorality,⁷⁶ thus restoring Malaga to “undisturbed pristinity.”⁷⁷ Tales and memories remained, but Malaga was rarely spoken of. One resident called it “a story best left untold.”⁷⁸

In recent years, the truth of Malaga’s terrible eviction has been unearthed through archaeological and other research, leading to public discussion and educational initiatives.⁷⁹ At

⁷¹“Agent Pease took seven of them.”

⁷²Winslow, et al, “Report of Council Committee on State Beneficiaries and Pensions,” 12.

⁷³“Malaga People are Moving Their Houses,” *Portland Evening Express*, July 2, 1912, University of Southern Maine Archives, Gorham.

⁷⁴ Winslow et al, “Report of Council Committee on State Beneficiaries and Pensions,” 14.

⁷⁵Murphy, *Voices*, 66, 77.

⁷⁶“Degenerates Ordered Away: Summer Visitors Cause Order of Expulsion from Malaga Island,” *The Watchman and Southron* [Sumter, S.C.], August 19, 1911, 6, chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn93067846/1911-08-19/ed-1/seq-6/.

⁷⁷Elden, “Redeeming the Maine Coast,” 14.

⁷⁸Rosenthal and Philbrick, “Chapter 1: Introduction,” in *Malaga Island*. While attempting to find Phippsburg residents to interview for their radio documentary, Rob Rosenthal and Kate Philbrick spoke to one woman who referred to the eviction this way. Her quote ultimately inspired the title of the project.

⁷⁹The 2012 exhibit *Malaga Island: Fragmented Lives* at the Maine State Museum has begun a conversation about uncovering black history in Maine and using the history of Malaga to teach contemporary lessons about historical atrocities and the subjectivity of triumph. Curriculums have been designed for middle school students and many

the time of eviction, eugenics, the State of Maine, and the press defined the forced displacement as a societal triumph. Today, Malaga descendants, historians, and other experts have redefined it as a human tragedy. Maine has made attempts to right its wrongs,⁸⁰ and the descendants of Malaga islanders, once silenced, now claim their history and speak openly of the atrocities committed against their families.⁸¹

The story of Malaga reveals the subjective nature of triumph and tragedy. Who has the power to define what is in the interest of the “greater good”? These concepts change drastically over time. The government’s intentional obliteration of a resilient community that defied every constricting societal norm of the early 1900s in order to subsist and coexist is an undeniable tragedy when viewed through a twenty-first century lens. Yet at the time, the eviction was hailed as a success, a necessary step for the common good, carried out efficiently and purposefully. It represented a bright future for the State of Maine and a promising step toward achieving cleanliness and order within the United States. The story of Malaga demonstrates the power of the state, influenced by the ideology of eugenics, sensationalistic journalism, and economic factors, to define a tragedy as a triumph.

high school students have visited the island to learn about its history and community. See <https://mainestatemuseum.org/learn/malaga-island-fragmented-lives-educational-materials/learn-malaga-island/>

⁸⁰See articles by Nemitz and Hoey. Also see the April 17, 2010, joint resolution by the Maine State Legislature “recognizing the tragic expulsion of the residents of Malaga Island, Maine in 1912 and rededicating ourselves to the Maine ideals of tolerance, independence and equality for all peoples.”

⁸¹Rosenthal and Philbrick, “Chapter 11: Marnie Voter,” in *Malaga Island*. Marnie Voter is one of many Malaga descendants who has begun to unearth her family’s history after many years of silence. This chapter also includes interviews with other Malaga descendants. Also see John Maguire, “Malaga Island History Revisited at Descendants’ Gathering,” *The Coastal Journal*, September 29, 2011.

Appendix A



John and Rosella Eason, with unidentified children, in front of their home on Malaga Island, July 21, 1911. Islanders' homes were simple, but they lived a productive life. Pictures like these upset many members of Maine's white middle class, who felt the islanders were living in disreputable squalor. Dr. Nathan Hamilton of the University of Southern Maine believes this is one iconic image that led to much gossip and maligning of the Malaga islanders.

“Historic Images of Malaga Island.” Maine State Museum, Augusta,
<https://mainestatemuseum.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/Historic-Images-of-Malaga-Island.pdf>

Appendix B

TABLE II.

Second generation.	Third generation.	Fourth generation.	Fifth generation.	REMARKS.
Ada, harlot before marriage.	A. ♂ B., no crime *.	A. B. ♂ X., crime	A. B. X., crime	Preponderance of males } Bastard line. Semi-successful
	A. ♂ C., no crime	A. B. ♂ D. X., reputable	A. B. D. X., reputable .....		Legitimate. Preponderance of girls.
	A. ♂ D., no crime	A. C. ♂ B. C., no crime	A. C. B. C., no crime	No crime
Bell, harlot before marriage.	A. ♂ X., no crime	A. D. ♂ X., no crime	A. X. E. X., pauper	Legitimate. Distinctly pauper line. Successful branch } Bastard line.
	B. ♂ X., no crime	A. X. ♂ E. X., pauper	Honest .....		Criminal branch }
	B. ♂ C., no crime	B. X. ♂ X., reputable	B. X. X., crime	Legitimate.
Clara, of good repute	C. ♂ X., not traced	B. C. ♂ X., no crime .....	.....	Legitimate. Not traced.
	See A. ♂ C. and B. ♂ C.	.....	.....	Legitimate.
Delia, harlot before marriage	D. ♂ X., no crime	D. X. ♂ X., crime	D. X. X., crime	Bastard line. Bastard line and barren.
	E. = X*	D. X. ♂ B. C., no crime	D. X. B. C., no crime .....		Legitimate.
Effie, reputation unknown.	E. ♂ X., no crime	E. X. ♂ X., crime	Not traced .....	.....

* Explanation. ♂ Married. = Cohabiting with.

THE JUKES

The table above from Richard Dugdale's 1877 study *The Jukes* demonstrates the heredity of crime and pauperism. The cost analysis on the following page emphasizes the cost of the Jukes family to New York State. The use of pedigree and statistical analysis in this manner was shocking to many Americans and had a lasting impact on their opinions of eugenic ideas.

Richard L. Dugdale, *The Jukes: A Study in Crime, Pauperism, Disease, and Heredity*, (New York: Putnam, 1877), 17, <https://archive.org/details/jukes00dugd>.

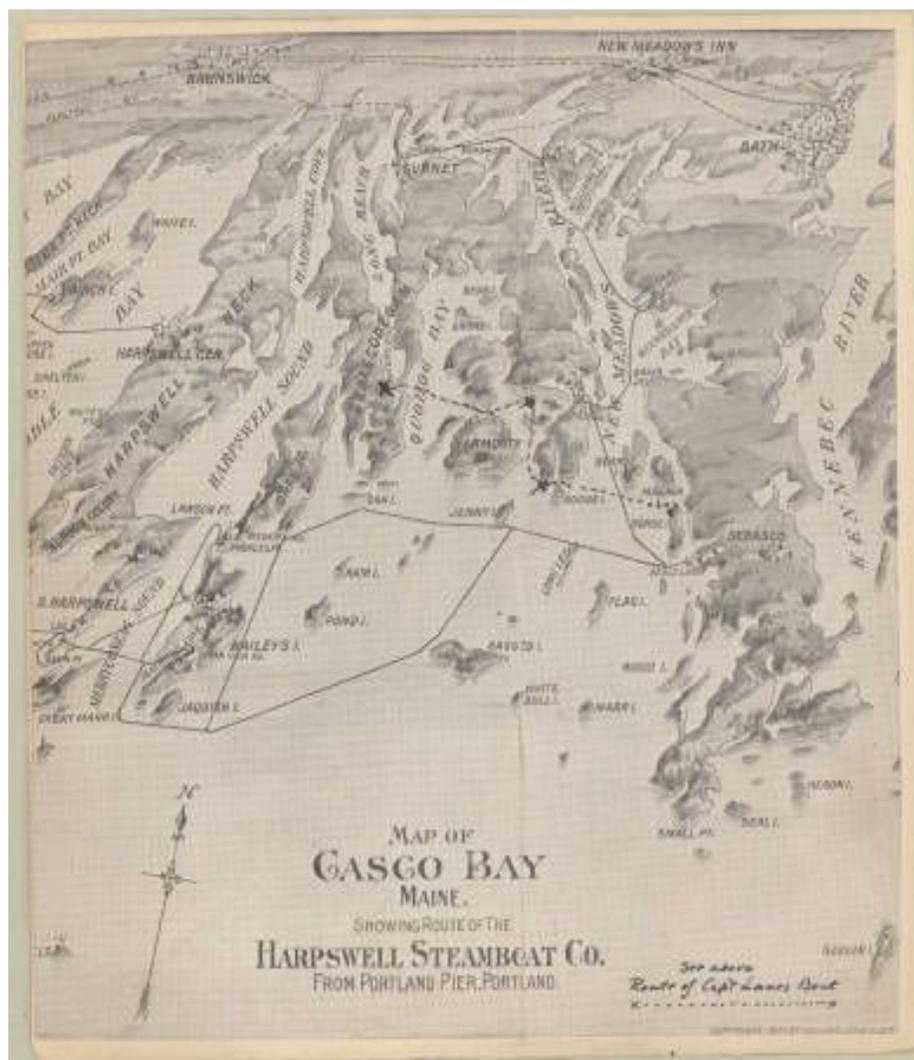
Appendix B (contd.)

	70	<i>THE JUKES.</i>	COST.
Value, at \$1,200 each.....	.....		\$8,400.00
Number of common prostitutes.....	50		.....
Average number of years of debauch.....	15		.....
Total number of years of debauch.....	750		.....
Cost of maintaining each per year.....	\$300.00		.....
Cost of maintenance.....	.....		225,000.00
Number of women specifically diseased.....	40		.....
Average number of men each woman contaminates with permanent disease.....	10		.....
Total number of men contaminated.....	400		.....
Number of wives contaminated by above men.....	40		.....
Total number of persons contaminated.....	440		.....
Cost of drugs and medical treatment during rest of life, at \$200 each.....	.....		88,000.00
Average loss of wages caused by disease during rest of life, in years.....	3		.....
Total years of wages lost by 400 men.....	1,200		.....
Loss, at \$500 a year.....	.....		600,000.00
Average number of years withdrawn from productive industry by each courtesan.....	10		.....
Total number of years lost by 50 courtesans.....	500		.....
Value estimated at \$125 a year.....	.....		62,500.00
Aggregate curtailment of life of 490 adults, equivalent to 50 mature individuals.....	50		.....
Cash cost, each life at \$1,200.....	.....		60,000.00
Aggregate of children who died prematurely.....	300		.....
Average years of life of each child.....	2		.....
Cash cost, each child at \$50.....	.....		15,000.00
Number of prosecutions in bastardy.....	30		.....
Average cost of each case, \$100.....	.....		3,000.00
Cost of property destroyed, blackmail, brawls*.....	.....		20,000.00
Average capital employed in houses, stock, furniture, etc., for brothels.....	.....		6,000.00
Compound interest for 26 years at 6 per cent.....	.....		18,000.00
Charity distributed by church.....	.....		10,000.00
Charity obtained by begging.....	.....		5,450.00
Total.....	.....		\$1,308,000.00

Over a million and a quarter dollars of loss in 75 years, caused by a single family 1,200 strong, without reckoning the cash paid for whiskey, or taking into account the entailment of pauperism and crime of the survivors in succeeding generations, and the incurable disease, idiocy and insanity growing out of this debauchery, and reaching further than we can calculate. It is getting to be time to ask, do our courts, our laws, our alms-houses and our jails deal with the question presented ?

* One house, with furniture worth \$1,100, was burned by a mob.

Appendix C



One can clearly see the close proximity of Malaga to the mainland, as well as the abundance of other islands in its vicinity. Malaga is located northwest of Sebasco (just above the dotted line, center right on the map). It should be noted that the Harpswell Steamship Company passes directly by Malaga on its way to Beals Lodge in Sebasco, which made Malaga very visible to tourists and certainly contributed to the increased notoriety of the community.

“Map of Casco Bay Maine: Showing Route of the Harpswell Steamship Co.,” (Boston: Geo H. Walker and Co., 1907),
digitalcollections.americanancestors.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15869coll14/id/128

Appendix D



This postcard image, titled “The Deuce of Spades” is one of two postcards of Malaga’s residents. Both began circulation in Boston at an unknown date. Many historians believe this image was purposefully posed in an animal pen and given its derogatory title to send a racist message about Malaga’s inhabitants.

“Malaga Island: A Untold, a radio and photo documentary produced by WMPG-FM in collaboration with the Salt Institute for Documentary Studies,” WMPG, <https://www.wmpg.org/malaga-island-a-untold-a-radio-and-photo-documentary-produced-by-wmpg-fm-in-collaboration-with-the-salt-institute-for-documentary-studies/>.

Annotated Bibliography

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“Agent Pease took seven of them to State school Thursday morning.” *Bath Independent*, December 16, 1911. Maine State Museum Archives, Augusta.

This brief news clipping described the institutionalization of the Marks and Annie Parker. It also included a quote which spoke to the state’s characterization of the eviction as a triumph, saying that George Pease believed he was doing a “good deed in the cause of humanity.”

“Bits of Interest.” *The Delta Independent*, August 22, 1902. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress.
<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn86063206/1902-08-22/ed-1/seq-3/>

In the early 1900s, newspapers often published "bits of interest" in the last pages of their issue with brief facts from all around the country. In 1902, Malaga Island suffered from measles, and the story spread all around the country through the "bits of interest" feature, marking the first national press exposure the island received.

Boas, Franz. “Eugenics.” *The Scientific Monthly*, Vol. 3, No. 5 (November 1916): 471-478.
www.jstor.org/stable/6055.

Boas was a professor of anthropology at Columbia. His article summed up the main goals of the eugenics movement quite succinctly, and I used this summation in my paper. In an effort to be unbiased and scientific, I believe, the article included arguments that supported eugenic efforts and warned that the achievement of a “master race” was likely too elusive a goal, one that would be fraught with complications at every turn.

“Bought by the State.” *The Evening Star* [Washington D.C.], February 9, 1912. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress.
chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1912-02-09/ed-1/seq-5/.

This brief piece provided me with information about the purchase of Malaga Island in 1912 by the State of Maine.

Buck v. Bell, 274 U.S. 200 (1927)

This is the most infamous case in the history of eugenics in which the Supreme Court declared the constitutionality of eugenic sterilization. It demonstrated the continuity of the eugenics movement and its national impact throughout the early 1900s.

Casco Bay Directory. South Harpswell: Breeze Publishing Co., 1902.
<https://archive.org/details/cascobaymainedir00bree>.

This book, which included registers of new hotels and tourist destinations in Casco Bay, provided insight into the area's developing tourism industry.

“Cleaning Up Malaga Island: No Longer a Reproach to the Good Name of the State.” *Waterville Centennial*, January 3, 1913. Maine Historical Society Archives, Portland.

This article provided an extremely good summation of the state's perception of the eviction and how the press seized on that definition and spread it through journalism. I used a quote from this article in the body of my paper, which notes the money the state saved and how the islanders will have a higher standard of living away from Malaga.

Day, Holman. “The Queer Folk of the Maine Coast.” *Harper's Magazine*, Sept. 1909.
<http://www.cundysharbor.me/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/The-Queer-Folk-of-the-Maine-Coast.pdf>.

This article, written by a respected journalist for Harper's magazine, heavily influenced public opinion of Malaga. The author traveled to multiple poor and somewhat isolated fishing communities along Maine's coast to report on their lifestyle. There is a clear contrast between his discussion of poor white fishing communities, which he portrayed as quaint, and Malaga, which was described as dirty, immoral, and shiftless. The article allowed me to understand how the opinions of common people and the press developed and how these opinions would come to impact Malaga's fate.

Davenport, Charles. *Eugenics: The Science of Human Improvement by Better Breeding*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1910.

Davenport was a prominent eugenicist and author of a score of scholarly works on the topic. This book provided a comprehensive introduction to the scientific processes of eugenics. In it, I learned how eugenicists were fascinated with Darwinian and Mendelian ideas of genetics and sought to apply both to humans.

Davenport, Charles. *State Laws Limiting Marriage Selection Examined in the Light of Eugenics*. New York: Eugenics Record Office, 1913.
babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.32044053561122;view=1up;seq=5.

This book informed me about eugenic marriage laws during this period and familiarized me with a multitude of eugenic arguments. I used it to find out what Maine's laws were at the time and how they compared to the laws of other states. The chapter on miscegenation argued that mixed-race marriages threatened the social order and that blacks had uncontrolled sexual urges and thus consistently produced degenerate offspring.

“Degenerate Family Cost State Heavily.” January 18, 1912. From *Image Archive on the National Eugenics Movement*, http://www.eugenicsarchive.org/eugenics/view_image.pl?id=1322.

This clipping, included in the online *Image Archive on the National Eugenics Movement*, included neither an author of the article nor the newspaper it was from. It is about the rediscovery of the Jukes records in 1912 and expresses shock about the cost of the family on the state, which was a point reiterated many times in the study.

“Degenerates Ordered Away: Summer Visitors Cause Order of Expulsion from Malaga Island.” *The Watchman and Southron* [Sumter, S.C.], August 19, 1911. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress. chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn93067846/1911-08-19/ed-1/seq-6/

This article from a South Carolina newspaper highlighted the most common arguments used against the Malaga islanders, calling them degenerates and implying that their lifestyle was primitive and uncivilized, and thus they should be removed from society.

Durham, Robert Lee. *The Call of the South*. Boston: L.C. Page and Co, 1908. <https://archive.org/details/callofsouth00durhiala>.

This book demonstrated popular attitudes about mixed-race people such as Malaga Islanders and stoked fears of miscegenation, allowing me to understand national attitudes towards mixed-race people.

Dugdale, Richard L, *The Jukes: A Study in Crime, Pauperism, Disease, and Heredity*. New York: Putnam, 1877. <https://archive.org/details/jukes00dugd>.

Dugdale’s study of the family dubbed the “Jukes” was one of the first (and certainly the most influential) studies on the heredity of criminality and other “undesirable traits.” The wealth of visual data and comprehensive numbers accompanying the study had a lasting impact on Americans, and concerns about the cost of paupers on the state elevated considerably. The *Jukes* study helped me understand all these phenomena, and I included images from it in one of my appendices.

Elden, Alfred. “Redeeming the Maine Coast.” *The New York Tribune*, March 29, 1914, 9+. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, Library of Congress. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83030214/1914-03-29/ed-1/seq-59/>

This newspaper article was crucial evidence to support the idea that the eviction of Malaga Island was widely portrayed as successful in the years after it happened and hailed as a triumph throughout Maine and even the Northeast. The article included quotes I incorporated into my paper, including an eyebrow-raising one which expressed satisfaction with "whitening the dark spots."

“Epidemic of Measles on Island.” *The Evening Star* [Washington, D.C.], March 10, 1902. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress. chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1902-03-10/ed-1/seq-13/.

This article provided me with some idea as to how people felt about Malaga Island. In it, the people there were referred to as "suffering half-breed negroes." It also helped me understand how people from the mainland and beyond interacted with Malaga Island from 1900-1906.

Estabrook, Arthur and Charles Davenport. *The Nam Family: A Study in Cacogenics*. New York: New Era Printing Company, 1912. archive.org/details/namfamilystudyi00esta/page/n4.

This study exemplified how eugenicists painted rural communities as plagued by degeneracy and intermarriage. I used it to show the impact eugenic rhetoric had on rural communities as opposed to urban ones.

Galton, Francis. *Hereditary Genius*. 1st ed., London: Macmillan and Co., 1869.

This text is widely cited as the founding of eugenic principles and is a cornerstone of its theory. It helped me understand the beginnings of eugenic theory and some of the reasoning behind it.

Geo. H. Walker & Co, and Maine Central Railroad Company. *Birds eye view of Casco Bay, Portland, Maine, and surroundings*. Portland: Maine Central Railroad Company, 1906. Library of Congress. www.loc.gov/item/80693592/.

This map, more an advertisement than an actual work of cartography, provided a view of Casco Bay. Both the rich colors of the map and the inclusion of lodging/tourist attractions and railroad and steamship routes helped me see how tourism became Maine’s economic engine, and how nearly every work released from within the state reflected a desire to draw tourists to its shores.

Goddard, Henry Herbert. *The Kallikak Family: A Study in the Heredity of Feeble-mindedness*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1912. <https://archive.org/details/TheKallikakFamily>.

This book was a study of a “degenerate” family in New Jersey. It was widely read and cited and it is one of the main reasons the general public and state officials came to believe in the heredity of poverty, “feeble-mindedness,” ignorance, and criminality.

Governor’s Executive Council of the State of Maine. “Minutes of the Meeting of the Governor’s Executive Council.” June 16, 1911. In *Journal Register of Council*. Maine State Museum Archives, Augusta.

These minutes from a 1911 meeting of the Executive Council chronicles the money paid to William Beale who was overseeing Malaga in January and February 1911. It also lists the poor support paid to Malaga during these months and includes an order for the State Land Agent and Attorney General to investigate the ownership of the island, hinting at the state's interest in purchasing the island.

Governor's Executive Council of the State of Maine. "133rd Order of Council." December 14, 1911. In *Journal Register of Council*. Maine State Museum Archives, Augusta.

This was an order signed by the Governor's Council that approved the transaction of 1911 to purchase Malaga Island from its previous owners, the Perrys.

Governor's Executive Council of the State of Maine. "319th Order of Council." June 31, 1912. In *Journal Register of Council*. Maine State Museum Archives, Augusta.

This order of the Executive Council mandates that sums between \$50 and \$250 be paid to the residents of Malaga as compensation for the cost of moving their houses. The sums were only to be paid when the islanders had removed themselves from the island and established residency elsewhere.

Governor's Executive Council of the State of Maine. "137th Order of Council." January 18, 1912. In *Journal Register of Council*. Maine State Museum Archives, Augusta.

This was an order signed by the Governor's Council that approved three things related to Malaga: 1. George Pease's salary as the agent overseeing Malaga, 2. The total sum of poor support paid to Malaga's residents in the last three months of 1911, (\$111.81), and 3. The expense of committing the Marks family and Annie Parker to the Maine School for the Feeble-minded (\$136.80).

Governor's Executive Council of the State of Maine. "390th Order of Council." December 31, 1912. In *Journal Register of Council*. Maine State Museum Archives, Augusta.

This order of the Governor's Council approved the sale of Malaga Island to the highest bidder from the state auction, E.A. Wilson of Belfast, for \$1650, who was reportedly acting on behalf of out-of-state clients who wanted Malaga for a summer home.

Grant, Madison. *The Passing of the Great Race: Or, The Racial Basis of European History*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916. Library of Congress. [archive.org/details/passingofgreatra00granuoft/page/n6](https://www.loc.gov/ead/ead2000/ead2000-granuoft/page/n6).

This book, considered one of the main literary works of 20th-century scientific racism, was a chilling introduction to the theories and ideas pioneered by eugenicists.

“Here and There.” *Oxford Democrat* [Paris, ME], July 25, 1911. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress. chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83009653/1911-07-25/ed-1/seq-2/.

This short article provided me with information about the town feud between Harpswell and Phippsburg, calling Malaga Island an "undesirable possession" and helped me understand how the residents of Phippsburg came to dislike the island.

“Here and There.” *Oxford Democrat* [Paris, ME], April 29, 1902. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress. chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83009653/1902-04-29/ed-1/seq-3/.

Provided more evidence to support the idea that mainland people came to dislike Malaga's inhabitants. This article called them "unfortunate people who liked to make trouble" and I used it to understand the relationship between Malaga's inhabitants and the residents of Phippsburg.

“Historic Images of Malaga Island.” Maine State Museum, Augusta. <https://mainestatemuseum.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/Historic-Images-of-Malaga-Island.pdf>.

The Maine State Museum published a collection of pictures of the families and buildings on Malaga island in the early 1900s which provided me with extremely helpful visuals of island life and allowed me to further understand the nature of the community.

“Homeless Island of Beautiful Casco Bay--Its Shiftless Population of Half-breed Blacks and Whites and His Royal Highness, James McKenney.” *Lewiston Evening Journal*, August 21, 1911. <https://hhrcmaine.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/Sun-Journal-Malaga-Aug-1911.pdf>.

This article in a popular Maine newspaper suggested that the Malaga Islanders live primitively and have never heard of soap. While it does acknowledge that many untrue press accounts about the island were circulating, it does not try to give a correct story, but instead says exaggerating is unnecessary--“the plain truth is bad enough.” I used this article to demonstrate how Malaga was portrayed as a disgrace to the reputable middle class and the State of Maine.

Hunt, Tressa [from old catalog]. *The Settling of the Race Problem Between the Black Man and the White Man*. Chicago, IL, 1904. Library of Congress. lccn.loc.gov/12002874.

This essay, from an “old catalog” (it is unspecified which catalog on the Library of Congress website) provided evidence to support America’s fear of racial commingling. It also demonstrated the great attention paid to the “race problem,” a term popularized after the Civil War and Reconstruction, and showed one woman’s thoughts and solutions.

“Ignorance, Shiftlessness, Filth, and Heathenism.” *Boston Transcript*, August 10, 1911. Maine Historical Society Archives, Portland.

This article was one of the most scathing written about the Malaga community. I used it as evidence to support the slander by the press of an innocent group of people. The article also refers to the islanders as "creatures" providing me with a greater understanding of the slurs and dehumanization used against black people and the poor at the time.

“Isle of Shoals.” *Rutland Weekly Herald* [Rutland, VT], August 21, 1873, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress.
chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84022367/1873-08-21/ed-1/seq-2/

Although this refers to the nearby Isle of Shoals rather than Malaga Island and its neighbors, I used it to understand the flourishing tourism and development industry in Midcoast Maine at the time. The flowery language also demonstrated how the press was a powerful influence on public opinion and could be used to paint a beautiful picture of Maine's islands, as is the case here, or a very degrading one, as with Malaga Island.

“Joy in the Heart of Maine's Woods.” *The Sun* [New York, NY], August 3, 1913. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress.
chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83030272/1913-08-03/ed-1/seq-22/.

This article, published a year after the Malaga eviction, showed the booming tourism industry and helped me understand the transformation the Maine coastline was experiencing during Malaga Island's time. Since the article was published in a New York newspaper, it also showed how the "pristine" coast of Maine was being marketed to city people as an escape.

“King of the Lawless: Strange Colony in Maine, Where Ignorance and Degeneracy Prevail and the Will of One Man Is Supreme.” *The Washington Times*, August 25, 1907. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress.
chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84026749/1907-08-25/ed-1/seq-44/.

This article exemplifies how Malaga was unfairly portrayed in national and local press. “King of the Lawless” refers to James McKenney, the islander who, because of his status as the best fisherman, served as spokesperson for Malaga. The custom of having a “king” was commonplace in coastal Maine fishing communities, but to outsiders, the practice demonstrated the primitivity of the islanders.

Laughlin, Harry. “Direct Cost of the Socially Inadequate on New York State” *American Philosophical Society*, 1928. Eugenics Archive at Cold Spring Harbor,
www.eugenicsarchive.org/html/eugenics/static/images/239.html

This publication explained further how eugenicists used numbers and data about the cost of degenerate populations on taxpayers to support their arguments against removing such populations.

Lincoln County, Maine. Deed conveying Harbor Island from William and Sarah Lithgow to Benjamin Darling, 1794. *Lincoln County Records, Book 32*. Maine Historical Society Archives, Portland.

This deed provided a record of the sale of Harbor Island to Benjamin Darling in 1794. Darling was the ancestor of Malaga Islanders and Horse Island is adjacent to Malaga.

“Maine News Notes.” *Oxford Democrat* [Paris, ME], February 13, 1912. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress. chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83009653/1912-02-13/ed-1/seq-2/

This brief statement documented the dates of the sale of Malaga Island from the Perry family to the state of Maine, as well as the price paid.

“Malaga Islanders Live Like Savages: Untutored, Unclean, the Natives of Malaga Observed Neither the Laws of God Nor Man Until a Few Christians and the State Acted.” *Boston Journal*. August 7, 1911. Maine State Museum Archives, Augusta.

Included in the wealth of bad press Malaga received was this article. It allowed me to further understand how the Boston papers made Malaga a interest story and changed its narrative, turning the island into a blight for Phippsburg through their vicious language. This article praised the state and the missionaries working on the island, developing a false narrative that Malaga’s inhabitants were somehow hurting society and needed to be immediately helped or controlled. This narrative contributed to the definition of the later eviction as a triumph.

“Malaga Island School: The True Story of a Praiseworthy Effort to Help the People of a Lonely Island in Casco Bay.” *Boston Transcript*, November 24, 1908. University of Southern Maine Archives, Gorham.

This newspaper article, published in the Boston Transcript in 1908, helped me understand how the missionary work done by the Lanes on the island was received by the public. The article demonstrated satisfaction with the result of the project and was hopeful about Malaga's future, giving me the impression that most felt both the Lanes and the islanders had triumphed over difficult odds.

“Malaga People are Moving Their Houses.” *Portland Evening Express*, July 2, 1912. University of Southern Maine Archives, Gorham

This newspaper account described how the islanders removed themselves and their property from Malaga without protesting and were gone by the date mandated by the state. It also includes an interesting dissonant perspective--the author, unnamed, asked

“what has the State really gained?” He/she goes on to say that the state will have to pay the same amount of money to support the people since they remain state paupers, just in other towns, and even more because some are now interred at the School for the Feebleminded. However, it was also pacified the fate of the islanders by saying Robert Tripp would “enjoy houseboat life” when in fact he and his family suffered enormously and his wife eventually died of consumption.

“Map of Casco Bay Maine: Showing Route of the Harpswell Steamship Co..” Boston: Geo H. Walker and Co., 1907.
digitalcollections.americanancestors.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15869coll14/id/128.

This map of steamer routes in and around Casco Bay allowed me to understand that steamships were a mainstay of the tourist experiences. It also showed that the steamer routes took passengers right by Malaga Island, putting the islanders in full view of the tourists and partially explaining why Phippsburg residents became adamant about their removal.

McDougall, William. “A Practicable Eugenic Suggestion.” *The Sociological Review* sp3, no. 1 (January 1906): 55–80. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038026106SP300105>.

This paper explained the perceived “dangers” of inadequate populations and validated many Americans’ fears of degenerates. It stated that such fears were widespread because they were entirely valid, and went on to describe “practicable eugenics.”

Minott, Charles V. *Shipyard Records*. 1835-1917. Maine Maritime Museum.
<http://dev.mmmuseum.webfactional.com/?p=collections/controlcard&id=57>.

I used these materials to understand the shipbuilding industry in the town of Phippsburg and its decline. More than anything, I drew dates and numbers from the records, seeking to understand the crash of the industry through the personal papers of the man who was a mainstay of it.

“Money Paid Over: What Malaga Islanders Received From State.” *Bath Independent*, July 6, 1912. University of Southern Maine Gorham Library Archives.

This article briefly describes the steps taken to remove the islanders. It lists the paltry prices paid to the inhabitants to cover the costs of moving their homes and states that by the time George Pease had arrived to remove the rest of the inhabitants and/or burn their homes, they had all left the island, dismantling their residences and taking them along.

Morris, G.W. *The beauties of Portland and scenic gems of Casco Bay*. Portland: G.W. Morris, 1895. lcn.loc.gov/19007285.

Publications such as this guidebook painted Maine as an unparalleled vacation spot, full of quaint hidden localities and natural beauty. This book and others help to cement Maine’s reputation as “Vacationland.”

Nearing, Scott. *The Super Race: An American Problem*. New York: B.W. Huebsch, 1912. Library of Congress. lccn.loc.gov/12016903.

This book is yet another eugenic publication of the early 1900s. It clearly defined the purpose of eugenics, calling the movement “the science of race culture.” The author also laid out six supreme qualities of the “mentally supreme” such as mental capacity and “vision” which were the qualities the press repeatedly attacked Malaga islanders for lacking, allowing me to observe yet another interesting parallel between the tragedy of Malaga Island and the national eugenics movement.

“Nearly Starved on Island.” *The Waterbury Evening Democrat*, February 24, 1906. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress. chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn93053726/1906-02-24/ed-1/seq-1/.

This article helped me prove that poor fishing communities were common off the coast of Maine during this time period, and it was also one of the rare articles that spoke highly of Malaga Island, praising the islanders for the aid they offered to some of their starving neighbors despite their own poverty.

Oxford Democrat [Paris, ME], July 26, 1898. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress. chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83009653/1898-07-26/ed-1/seq-2/.

This brief article provided me with early evidence that nearby communities regarded Malaga islanders as "shiftless," "lazy," and an eyesore on a beautiful island.

Pease, George. “Conditions at Malaga Island.” Maine State Museum Archives, Augusta, 1911.

George Pease was an employee of Governor Frederick Plaisted. He visited Malaga Island in 1911 to assess the conditions there and provide his opinion on what should be done about the community. This report included details about every family on the island as well as a record of how much each family was costing the state.

Percy, Lauris. “Strange Scenes on a Strange Island.” *Casco Bay Breeze* [South Harpswell, ME], August 24, 1905. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress. chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn95068036/1905-08-24/ed-1/seq-2/.

This article, written at the height of Malaga’s poor press attention, described a degenerate and shiftless island population. The author referred to the race of the islanders more than once, and it was fairly easy to tell that he was interested in having them removed rather than reformed. I used his writing as to support the claim that locals became disillusioned by Malaga and that race played an important role in the narrative. It is also interesting to note that the newspaper, the *Casco Bay Breeze*, was geared toward promoting both the real estate and tourist industry of Casco Bay.

Plaisted, Frederick. "Inaugural Address." In *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Maine*, 20-36. Maine Legislature, 1911.

Plaisted's inaugural address helped me understand the statewide climate at the time of the Malaga eviction. Politicians and citizens alike were very concerned with taxes and state expenditures, which Plaisted addressed extensively in his speech with sections such as "Care in Expenditures" and "Strict Economy Necessary." He also included what I felt was a rather damning quote, especially considering the spreading eugenics movement: "When a decision is to be rendered let the question be: 'What is right?' and the answer, 'The greatest good to the greatest number.'"

Plessy v. Ferguson, 163 U.S. 537 (1896).

The landmark Plessy decision sanctioned racial segregation. It is crucial to the historical context of Malaga's story because it shows how the highest court in the land deemed "separate but equal" laws constitutional and sums up racist attitudes in the nation at the time. It also shows how it was widely believed that blacks and whites should be kept from intermingling as they were on Malaga.

"Sebasco." *Casco Bay Breeze* [South Harpswell, ME], July 30, 1908. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress. chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn95068036/1908-07-30/ed-1/seq-4/.

This statement in the local news section of the paper had details about the construction of the Malaga schoolhouse in 1908. I also used the advertisements for cottages and resorts on the same page to understand the growing businesses of tourism in Maine.

Special Committee on Malaga Island. "Report on Bids Made on Malaga Island." July 1912. In *Journal Register of Council*. Maine State Museum Archives, Augusta.

This report from a subcommittee of the Governor's Council established to deal with affairs relating to Malaga lists the sealed bids of 10 people who were interested in purchasing Malaga Island.

Riis, Jacob. "The Color Line in New York." In *How the Other Half Lives: Studies among the Tenements of New York*, 148-159. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1890.

The industrialization of cities sparked widespread concern about the conditions of urban neighborhoods and slums, prompting Riis's famous exposé of urban poverty. The entire text proved useful, but since Malaga Island was a community of mixed-race people, I focused especially on Riis's opinions on mixed race slums in New York City, which, because he was such an influential figure during this time, likely reflected the common opinion on mixed race people living in poverty, which was, needless to say, not a positive one.

“Suffering Off the Maine Coast: Hundreds of Fishermen on Outlying Islands on the Verge of Starvation.” *Breckenridge News* [Cloverport, KY], April 18, 1894. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress.
<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn86069309/1894-04-18/ed-1/seq-2/>.

Malaga Island is only briefly mentioned in this article, but it made clear the press’s early interest in island communities akin to it- they were investigating this lifestyle as early as 1894. The article also showed how the newspapers set Malaga apart early on because of the race of its inhabitants.

“Tenement Dwellers: How Can They Be Helped?” *Eugenics: A Journal of Race Betterment*, Vol. 2. No. 8. (1929). From *Image Archive on the American Eugenics Movement*.
http://www.eugenicsarchive.org/eugenics/view_image.pl?id=1734.

This article in a 1929 journal summed up attitudes towards people living in urban poverty. It looks at these people through a eugenic lens and discusses how to improve their condition using eugenic strategies. Even though the article is from 1929, 17 years removed from Malaga’s eviction, it recounts historical attitudes towards impoverished tenement people and thus I was able to use it as evidence.

“The Death of Laura Tripp or the Tragedy of Malaga Island.” *Lewiston Saturday Journal*, December 5, 1914.
<https://hhrcmaine.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/Death-of-Laura-Tripp-article-1914.pdf>.

This article provided information about tragic death of Laura Tripp, which I used to demonstrate the horrible impact the Malaga Island eviction had on the residents.

“The Deuce of Spades. Malago Island, New Meadows River, Maine.” Boston: n.p., n.d. Maine State Museum Archives, Augusta.

This postcard was a piece of racist propaganda showing two Malaga residents (Annie Parker and Pearl Tripp) on the island. The photographer is unknown, as is the publisher. We do know that the postcard began circulation in 1910 and, like the “Tray of Spades,” its sister postcard, it is possible that the image was purposely posed in an animal pen to send an extremely racist message.

“The Tray Of Spades. Malago Island, New Meadows River, Maine.” Boston: n.p., n.d. Maine State Museum Archives, Augusta.

This was one of two racist postcards circulated featuring Malaga island residents. Given the derogatory title “Tray of Spades,” it portrays Annie Parker, Pearl Tripp, and Abbie Tripp.

“The Maine Seacoast Mission.” *The Sun* [New York, NY], August 10, 1908. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress.
<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83030272/1908-08-10/ed-1/seq-4/>.

This short feature discussed the missionary work being done on the island and helped me understand how people throughout the Northeast learned about Malaga Island and shared their opinions on the church work being done there.

“The Malaga Islanders.” *The Republican Journal* [Belfast, ME], February 15, 1912. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress.
<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn78000873/1912-02-15/ed-1/seq-2/>.

This article informed me of a visit to Malaga Island made by officials from the state in 1912. It included a savage description of the "primitive" islanders and detailed the next steps that would be taken to remove the "appalling" community.

The Republican Journal [Belfast, ME], January 9, 1913. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress.
<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn78000873/1913-01-09/ed-1/seq-5/>.

This short statement in the newspaper gave information about the sale of Malaga Island in 1913 to a man who was acting on the order of an out of state bidder. It showed how after the islanders were removed, the property quickly became highly desirable for purposes of development.

“The Schoolhouse on Malaga Island.” *Bath Independent*, June 3, 1908. Maine Historical Society Archives, Portland.

This article included a glowing description of the Malaga children's schoolwork, which I cited in my paper as evidence to support the fact that the school was indeed a triumph as well as to demonstrate the public's general satisfaction with its endeavors.

“The State Finance: Extravagance of the Last Legislature and Governor Fernald Analyzed.” *The Maine Democrat*, September 10, 1909.

This was an anonymous editorial in a Democratic newspaper that criticized the administration that preceded Governor Plaisted. The sentiments expressed and figures provided helped me understand the economic state of Maine at the time of Malaga's eviction. There was widespread poverty and discontent with state spending, and these trends are necessary to understand in order to understand the eviction. I accessed the article at the Portland Public Library.

Turgeon, Charles L., et al. “Report of Council Committee on School for Feeble-Minded.” In *Reports on Committees of the Council: State of Maine 1911-1912*, 16-20. Waterville: Sentinel Publishing Company, 1913.

This was a report from the years 1911-1912 from the Maine state government committee assigned to oversee Pineland. It provided me with information about the development of the institution during the year the Malaga islanders were committed there.

Winslow, Edward B., et al. "Report of Council Committee on State Beneficiaries and Pensions." In *Reports on Committees of the Council: State of Maine 1911-1912*, 10-15. Waterville: Sentinel Publishing Company, 1913.

This report specifically mentioned the Malaga Island eviction and multiple quotes from it were used to support the idea that government officials portrayed the event as triumphant and necessary for the welfare of Maine.

Woolley, Fred H.C. "A history of parts of Capt. and Mrs. Lane's and their daughter's work among a neglected people on Malaga Island, Maine and reference to other localities when the new motor boat will make it easier for them to carry messages of love and helpfulness." 1906-1908. New England Historical Genealogical Society. <http://digitalcollections.americanancestors.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15869coll14/id/128>.

This was a scrapbook compiled by Fred Woolley, the Massachusetts correspondent of the Lane family, missionaries who worked on Malaga Island. It included a plethora of valuable resources, from newspaper articles calling for monetary donations to support the "reform" work being done there, to letters from Lucy Lane to Fred Woolley that provided a window into life on Malaga Island, to letters from Payson Smith, the Maine Superintendent of Schools, expressing support for the efforts to educate the children of Malaga. It also included the only available written record by the islanders themselves: thank you notes to Fred Woolley written by the children who attended the school. Each primary source could certainly warrant its own citation, but as the collection includes over 60 pages of material, I felt this would be unnecessarily extensive. In summation, this scrapbook demonstrated how the Lanes' involvement on the island dramatically increased its press attention as well as providing an intimate look at the island community through the letters of Lucy Lane, Payson Smith, and Fred Woolley.

Secondary Sources

Acheson, James A. *The Lobster Gangs of Maine*. Lebanon: University Press of New England, 1988.

This book explained the history, development, and inner workings of lobstering/fishing communities such as Malaga. It also provided comprehensive analysis of the importance of these communities to local economies and reflected on their historical impact.

Allen, Garland, E. "Social Origins of Eugenics." From *Image Archive on the American Eugenics Movement*. <http://www.eugenicsarchive.org/html/eugenics/essay1text.html>.

This essay provided me with a comprehensive understanding of the motives behind eugenics as well as the political, social, and cultural climate of the late 1800s and early 1900s in which the movement flourished.

Barry, William David. Phone interview. April 15, 2019.

My phone interview with William David Barry, a renowned Malaga historian and author of the 1980 *DownEast* article--the first investigative and humanistic account of Malaga Island--allowed me to ask an expert very specific questions about the eviction. He was also able to provide clarity about some of the more unclear records I had found in my research and their meaning. Barry, who was an employee at Pineland (formerly the Maine School for the Feebleminded) was incredibly knowledgeable and helpful. He clarified my questions, and provided me with new evidence to support my thesis.

Barry, William David. "The Shameful Story of Malaga Island." *DownEast Magazine*, November 1980.

This article marks the first positive and fair press the island received. Barry is a renowned historian and exceptionally knowledgeable about Malaga's story as well as Maine history. His writing represents a changing attitude and increasing sense of shame about the events that occurred there.

Breed, Allen. Email interview. April 8, 2019.

Allen Breed is an AP reporter and knowledgeable historian on Malaga Island who is currently writing a book on the eviction. It was a valuable experience to converse with someone whose knowledge of both Malaga's history and turn of the century United States history is so comprehensive. He provided detailed answers to my questions regarding historical sentiment towards Malaga Island as well as inquiries about certain sources.

Breed, Allen. "Living in the North Gave Blacks No Guarantee Against Land Grabs." *Hartford Web Publishing*, December 7, 2001. www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/45a/392.html.

Allen Breed is a reporter for the Associated Press. In this article, he introduced an idea that would become an integral part of my thesis- the idea that the North was not a haven from racism nor a region free from racially motivated atrocities, as it is often portrayed.

Breed, Allen. "No Longer a Reproach: The Story of Malaga Island." In *Maine's Visible Black History*, by H.H. Price and Gerald E. Talbot, 69-75. Gardiner: Tilbury House, 2006.

Allen Breed is one of the foremost historians on Malaga Island. His account of the eviction took my paper in new directions and encouraged me to consider aspects of the story I had not previously given much attention to. His piece also introduced new evidence (little known letters, town reports, and unpublished accounts) which gave a new richness and complexity to my paper and prompted me to reach out to him for an interview.

Bruinius, Harry. *Better For All The World: The Secret History of Forced Sterilization and America's Quest for Racial Purity*. New York: Vintage Books, 2007.

As the title implies, this book gave me sufficient background on the eugenics movement in the United States. I used ideas and quotes from it in my paper to show how the eviction of Malaga Island would have been perceived as triumphant given the climate of the time.

Carlson, Elof. "Scientific Origins of Eugenics." From *Image Archive on the American Eugenics Movement*. http://www.eugenicsarchive.org/html/eugenics/essay_2_fs.html.

This essay by a professor at State University of New York provided background information about the scientific methods used by eugenicists in the early 1900s. It helped me understand how the movement developed out of a fascination with Mendelian and Darwinian principles and is seen by many experts as an overextension and misapplication of Darwinism.

Cover, Susan M. "Plaisted's Term A Painful Legacy." *Kennebec Journal*, August 27, 2007, A1+. Maine State Museum Archives, Augusta.

This contemporary article provided an overview of Governor Plaisted's term, including a description of the Malaga Island eviction. It provided a window into Plaisted's character and thought process, as well as listing some of his other actions during his two year tenure as governor.

"C-SPAN Cities Tour - Augusta: The Eviction of Malaga Island." YouTube video, 21:28. October 5, 2012. www.youtube.com/watch?v=kDEHiL0WIDo&t=34s.

In this video, Kate McBrien, a Malaga Island expert, does a walkthrough of an exhibit of items found on the island during archeological excavations, which allowed me to learn more about how the Malaga islanders lived. The video also included an interview with a descendant of the community, which provided a new perspective on the impact of the eviction.

DuBrule, Deborah. "Evicted: How the State of Maine Destroyed a 'Different' Island Community." *Island Journal*, Vol. 16. (1999): 50-53, 90-91. Maine State Museum Archives, Augusta.

This article was an exceptionally gripping one. It is similar in structure to Allen Breed and William David Barry's articles on Malaga, but it includes a full page about Gerald McKenney, a descendant of the islanders, featuring quotes from an interview by the author. It helped me realize that although Malaga can be studied and historically analyzed through records, documents, and archeology, it is an event that very directly impacted many people alive today, and it is important to make that human connection. DuBrule's article and interview inspired me to pursue talking to some of the Malaga descendants, many of whom live in Connecticut.

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

This report was crucial to my understanding of life on Malaga Island during the early 1900s. Comprehending the archaeological research is key to grasping how the history of Malaga Island was redefined and corrected in the 21st century. The information I received from this report was key to my ultimate analysis of the settlement.

Hamilton, Nathan D. Personal interview. April 1, 2019.

I was able to speak face to face with Dr. Nathan Hamilton, a professor at the University of Southern Maine who, along with Robert Sanford, was in charge of archeological excavations on Malaga Island in the early 2000s. Dr. Hamilton is an anthropologist and archeologist who was able to provide greater insight about Malaga's community. He also sent me many resources--posters his students had made about the island, a scholarly report done in conjunction with another professor about shellfish and the shellfish economy on Malaga, and a digitized archive of newspapers that contained mention of Malaga Island. Since he has been involved in research and archeology on Malaga since the 1980s, his perspective was incredibly valuable.

Herrick, Matt. *Dis Place: A True History of Malaga Island*. Brunswick: Self-published, 2008.

This quirky and exceptionally detailed book on Malaga Island recounted the history in true narrative form, interspersing the facts of the eviction with bursts of fabricated dialogue. The book had the effect of humanizing the islanders and immortalizing their perspective in a way that all other sources had failed to do.

Higham, John. *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism 1860-1925*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1955.

This book explained the founding of the eugenics movement as well as influence of the nativist movement on eugenic ideas. It thoroughly explained the factors behind ideas such as "race suicide" and even eugenic sterilization and was a comprehensive introduction to the historical movements and forces that fathered the American eugenics movement.

Hoey, Dennis. "New Monument to the People of Malaga Island Offers 'Healing and Closure'." *Kennebec Journal and Morning Sentinel*, July 14, 2017. www.centralmaine.com/2017/07/14/new-monument-to-the-people-of-malaga-island-offer-s-healing-and-closure/.

This article contained an interview with Marnie Voter, a descendant of the Tripp family, and helped me to understand the impact the eviction had, and continues to have, on the families of Malaga Island.

Jester, D.F. "The Dark Secrets of This Now-Empty Island in Maine." *Atlas Obscura*, July 14, 2016.
<https://www.atlasobscura.com/articles/the-dark-secrets-of-this-nowempty-island-in-main-e>

Another example of the conciliatory press attention Malaga received in the 21st century, this article allowed me to assess how attitudes toward the event changed dramatically over a century and gave me some insight regarding the long term impact of the eviction.

Kaelber, Lutz "Maine Eugenics." *The University of Vermont*, 2012.
www.uvm.edu/~lkaelber/eugenics/ME/ME.html.

Lutz Kaelber is an Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of Vermont. His article provided information about sterilization efforts in Maine, specifically at Pineland, the institution where eight Malaga Islanders were forcibly committed. It helped me to hone in on eugenic laws and practices in Maine in addition to researching nationwide trends.

Lee, Maureen Elgersman. *Black Bangor: African Americans in a Maine Community, 1880-1950*. Lebanon: University of New Hampshire Press, 2005.

This book provided me with historical context about black communities in Maine around this time so I could further understand the state's general attitude towards blacks and thus more of the possible motivations behind the eviction of Malaga.

Long, Burke O. "The Children of Malaga Island." Bowdoin College, 2019,
research.bowdoin.edu/children-of-malaga-island/essay/.

This was one of the first sources I encountered when I was first searching the web for Malaga Island. It provided an extremely helpful summation of the events on the island as well as a wealth of primary source photos.

Maguire, John. "Malaga Island History Revisited at Descendants' Gathering." *The Coastal Journal*, September 29, 2011.

This article documented a reunion of Malaga descendants in 2011. It shows how the descendants, after years of forced silence, have spread the truth about their family history and connected with each other almost 100 years after the state forcibly dispersed their ancestors' community.

Maine Historical Society. "The End of the Ocean Highway 1870-1920."
<https://www.mainememory.net/sitebuilder/site/905/page/1316/display?page=2>.

This was an overview on the Maine Historical Society's website of the fishing and maritime industries at the turn of the 20th century. I used the information provided to

understand the declination of fish stocks that left many towns and families in Maine impoverished.

Maine State Legislature. "Joint resolution recognizing the tragic expulsion of the residents of Malaga Island, Maine in 1912 and rededicating ourselves to the Maine ideals of tolerance, independence and equality for all peoples." April 17, 2010. Maine Historical Society Archives.

This resolution passed by the Maine State Legislature showed how public perception and the state's definition of the 1912 eviction shifted drastically over time. The state went from sanctioning the terrible action to passing this in the legislature, which reflects sorrow about what happened to the residents and apologizes for the tragic intolerance of previous politicians.

McBrien, Katherine A. *Malaga Island: Fragmented Lives*. Augusta: Maine State Museum, 2013.

This book, which was a summation of the 2012 Maine State Museum exhibit of the same name and written by its curator, provided information about the islander's community. It also included information about the educational initiatives and other contemporary attempts made to reveal the story of Malaga.

McBrien, Katherine A. Phone interview. January 7, 2019.

Kate McBrien is an expert on Malaga Island and curated the 2012 exhibit "Malaga Island: Fragmented Lives" at the Maine State Museum. She provided invaluable information about the island community and also led me to multiple primary source documents.

McMahon, Kate. "The Use of Material Culture & Recovering Black Maine." *Material Culture Review*, Vol. 77/78 (2013).
<https://journals.lib.unb.ca/index.php/mcr/article/view/22085/25645>.

This article explored the wider black population in Maine, helping me understand the true significance of the term "black Yankees" as well as how the Malaga community came to be. The bibliography also provided me with multiple resources, including a wealth of primary source articles.

Mitchell, Steve. *The Shame of Maine: The Forced Eviction of Malaga Island Residents*. Brunswick: Self-published, 1999.

This book, essentially a collection of photographs accompanied by short blurbs explaining the images and their origin, helped me understand the trajectory of the press attention towards Malaga. Once outrage developed, more and more pictures were taken of the island, more visitors came, and racist postcards were even circulated. This

publication helped me understand all of that and the images provided a powerful look at the Malaga Island community.

Mitchell, Steve. *The Shame of Maine: Whatever Became of the Residents of Malaga?* Brunswick: Self-published, 2005.

This book explained the prejudice and racism that followed islanders after they were forcibly removed from Malaga. It helped me understand how residents never forgot the island--one woman's dying wish in 1997 was to be buried there, but her wish was never granted. The book also included transcripts from newspaper articles that I could not find elsewhere, and these articles contained valuable quotes that supported my identification of a triumphalist narrative around the eviction.

Mosher, John. "No Greater Abomination: Ethnicity, Class, and Power Relations on Malaga Island, Maine, 1880-1912." Master's Thesis, University of Southern Maine, 1991.

John Mosher's thesis was a coveted source that I finally discovered at the Portland Public Library in Maine. It is the first scholarly analysis of the Malaga story and was instrumental in supplementing my own thesis as well as introducing new ideas about the social and economic conditions of Maine. Mosher had done thorough examination of state directories and national census records, which helped clarify questions I had about both Malaga and Phippsburg. Overall, this thesis proved invaluable as I refined my draft and Mosher's claims helped me think more seriously about the parts of the story I gave the most emphasis to in my own paper.

Murphy, Stephen T. *Voices of Pineland: Eugenics, Social Reform, and the Legacy of "Feeble-mindedness" in Maine.* Charlotte: Information Age Publishing, 2011.

This book helped me understand both the undercurrent of darker motivations that spurred the Malaga eviction- specifically, the eugenics movement of the early 1900s, an integral part of my thesis, and the attitude of the public towards people with mental health problems at that time. Both are crucial to understanding the events on Malaga.

Nemitz, Bill. "After 98 Years, an Apology Long Overdue." *Portland Press Herald*, September 17, 2010.
https://www.pressherald.com/2010/09/17/after-98-years-an-apology-long-overdue_2010-09-17/.

This article documented the formal apology issued to the descendants of Malaga's residents by Maine governor John Baldacci. Through it, I was able to understand how the state ultimately came to understand that the expulsion of Malaga's residents was indeed a terrible tragedy.

Norrgard, Karen. "Human Testing, the Eugenics Movement, and IRBs." *Nature News*, Nature Publishing Group, 2008.

www.nature.com/scitable/topicpage/human-testing-the-eugenics-movement-and-irbs-724

This article provided a comprehensive background about the history and science behind eugenics theory, as well as allowing me to understand precisely how it was put into practice through methods such as sterilization and human testing. It helped me to comprehend the scope of eugenics and the references for the article also led me to eugenicsarchive.org, where I discovered multiple primary sources.

Parker, S. M. *The Rattled Bones*. New York: Simon Pulse, 2017.

This book, a fictional story with the history of Malaga intertwined with the plot, was my first introduction to the island's tragic past, providing me with bare-bones information about the Malaga island tragedy and leaving me interested in learning more.

Phippsburg Historical Society. *Phippsburg: Fair to the Wind*. Lewiston: Penmor Lithographers, Inc, 1995.

This book included crucial facts about the Phippsburg community. It helped me gain a comprehensive understanding of the area in which the eviction occurred. It also contained a falsified version of the Malaga Island story, which provided further evidence to support that the eviction was misdefined and the tragic details hidden.

Remsburg, Rich. "Found In The Archives: America's Unsettling Early Eugenics Movement." NPR, June 1, 2011.

www.npr.org/sections/pictureshow/2011/06/01/136849387/found-in-the-archives-america-as-unsettling-early-eugenics-movement.

This NPR article included multiple images from a scrapbook by the American Eugenics Society and helped me to understand the scope of eugenics as a national movement, as well as what eugenic propaganda historically looked like, allowing me to compare the similarities between press attention on Malaga and eugenic pamphlets.

Rodick, Burleigh Cushing. *My Own New England: Tales of Vanishing Types*. New York: W. Neale, 1929.

This book included a chapter on Malaga Island that was almost entirely false. Published in 1929, it perpetuated negative stereotypes about the islanders and helped me understand how myths and falsehoods about Malaga were upheld until almost a century after the eviction, widely due to fictionalized and prejudiced books like this one.

Rosenthal, Rob, and Kate Philbrick. *Malaga Island-A Story Best Left Untold*. WMPG, 2009, audio. <http://www.malagaislandmaine.org/>.

This radio documentary provided an incredibly detailed description of Malaga Island and the events that occurred there, and the bibliography the researchers used for their project led me to multiple other sources. The project also included interviews with the descendants of Malaga and Phippsburg residents, helping me to understand the longevity and impact of the Malaga eviction and the persisting racism in Maine.

Sanford, Robert. Email interview. January 10, 2019.

Dr. Robert Sanford is one of the foremost experts on the Malaga story and was a leader in the archeological investigations that took place on the island in the early 2000s. He not only provided information about both life in Phippsburg today and in the 1900s, but sent me a copy of his interim archeological report, which was a crucial source for me when it came to learning about the nature of the Malaga community.

Thomas, Miram Stover. *Flotsam and Jetsam*. Harpswell: Self-published, 1973.

This book contained a chapter on Malaga Island called Pockets of Poverty. Published seven years before William David Barry's DownEast article, it was mainly historically accurate, but the text contained prejudiced strains. It helped me understand how amateur and anecdotal history contributed to myth and prejudice about the island throughout the 20th century.

Torow, Joanna, et al. "Malaga Island Archeology Interview." Maine State Museum, June 20, 2017.

mainestatemuseum.org/learn/malaga-island-fragmented-lives-educational-materials/malaga-islands-archaeological-record/.

The University of Southern Maine excavated the island in 2006-2007 and is a leader with respect to Malaga research. This interview provided details of the excavations, allowing me to hear what the heads of the project had to say about the way the islanders lived based on archeological evidence that had been collected.

U.S. Census Bureau. "QuickFacts: Maine."

<https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/map/me/RHI225217>.

This provided me with recent data on the demographics of Maine and its black population.

Vitelli, Giovanni. "From Acadia to Arcadia: 19th Century Visitors and the Influence of 'Maritime Pastoral' on Maine Island Archeology." In *Exploring Atlantic Transitions: Archaeologies of Permanence and Transience in New Found Lands* edited by Peter E. Pope and Shannon Lewis-Simpson, 115-125. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2013.

This work broadened my knowledge of the growing tourism in Maine in the 19th and early 20th centuries and detailed some of the quietly racist ideas behind the tourist boom.

It helped me understand how tourism and the ideas behind it impacted how the Malaga community was dealt with.

Woodard, Colin. "Malaga Island: A Century of Shame." *Portland Press Herald*, May 20, 2012. www.pressherald.com/2012/05/20/a-century-of-shame_2012-05-20/.

This article had multiple photos of Malaga Islanders which were provided by a descendant or private source and also demonstrated how press attention towards Malaga changed dramatically in the 21st century, showing significant shame about the eviction rather than praising it.

"Yellow Journalism." Public Broadcasting Service, www.pbs.org/crucible/journalism.html.

This provided a brief overview of the history of yellow journalism as well as multiple examples of articles by Pulitzer and Hearst newspapers. Through it, I learned more about the growth of yellow journalism in the late 1800s and early 1900s and was able to juxtapose articles written about Malaga Island to other sensationalized accounts of the time.