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CERAMIC CONSUMPTION IN A BOSTON IMMIGRANT TENEMENT

A Thesis Presented

by

ANDREW J. WEBSTER

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

MASTER OF ARTS

August 2016

Historical Archaeology Program

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CERAMIC CONSUMPTION IN A BOSTON IMMIGRANT TENEMENT

A Thesis Presented

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ABSTRACT

CERAMIC CONSUMPTION IN A BOSTON IMMIGRANT TENEMENT

August 2016

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In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Boston's North End became home to thousands of European immigrants, mostly from Ireland and Italy. The majority of these immigrant families lived in crowded tenement apartments and earned their wages from low-paying jobs such as manual laborers or store clerks. The Ebenezer Clough House at 21 Unity Street was originally built as a single-family colonial home in the early eighteenth century but was later repurposed as a tenement in the nineteenth century. In 2013, the City of Boston Archaeology Program excavated the rear lot of the Clough House, recovering 36,465 artifacts, including 4,298 ceramic sherds, across 14 site-wide contexts. One context, the main midden, has been interpreted as a multi-use household trash deposit dating from the 1870s to the 1910s, during which the tenement was home to a rotation of over 100 working-class families, most of them immigrants. This project couples ceramic analysis with in-depth archival research to illuminate the consumption

strategies of Boston's immigrant working class. I conclude that tenants primarily used decorated but mismatched and older ceramic ware types, valuing thrift and prioritizing family needs while consuming differently than their middle-class counterparts.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This project would not have been possible without the patient support of many people and organizations. I would like thank my committee members Christa Beranek, David Landon, and Judith Zeitlin, Joseph Bagley and the City of Boston Archaeology Program, Suzi Spitzer, Stephen Silliman, Stephen Mrozowski, Jerry Warner, Jennifer Poulsen, Kristen Swett and Boston City Archives staff, Sean Casey and the Boston Public Library Rare Books and Special Collections staff, the Old North Foundation, Andrea Cronin and the Massachusetts Historical Society, Robert Johnson Lally and the Archives of the Archdiocese of Boston, Betsy Webster, and Stephen Brighton.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This project aims to further our understanding of the history of Boston's North End neighborhood, and more specifically, the lives and beliefs of immigrant tenants residing in that neighborhood in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It aims to understand the consumption strategies of Boston's immigrant working class to determine their values and priorities. To accomplish this, I use archival research and ceramic analysis to compare the consumption patterns of the Catholic immigrant working class to those of the Victorian, Protestant middle class and other working-class assemblages in Massachusetts (Beaudry 1987; Charles and Openo 1987; Beaudry, Cook and Mrozowski 1991; Elia 1997; Dudek 1999; Beaudry and Mrozowski 2001; Stevens and Ordoñez 2005; Beaudry 2006; Mrozowski 2006; Heitert et al. 2014), New York (Wall 1991; Fitts 1999; Brighton 2001; Yamin 2001; Wall 1999; Brighton 2011), and California (Praetzellis and Praetzellis 1992; Walker 2008; Yentsch 2011) using materials recovered from the City of Boston Archaeology Program's 2013 excavation of the Clough House at 21 Unity Street in Boston's North End. I conclude that tenants primarily used decorated but mismatched and older ceramic ware types, valuing thrift and

prioritizing family needs while consuming differently than their middle-class counterparts.

Archaeological excavation at the Clough House occurred in May and June of 2013 under the direction of Joseph Bagley, Boston City Archaeologist. Excavations consisted of 10 1x1 meter units placed to mitigate impact from upcoming path construction (Bagley 2013a). Once excavations had been completed, the individual strata recorded in the field were consolidated into 14 site-wide contexts, of which five date to the nineteenth century or earlier. A single deposit, referred to as the main fill, dominates the site, but contains material from c. 1711-1870s, when the backyard was dug up and the drainage system replaced, possibly in conjunction with the construction of a three-story addition on the rear of the house. A second layer, the clay layer, appears similar to the main fill, and may represent redeposited glacial till or a destroyed privy. Two more layers, the layer adjacent to the Jane Franklin House and the mixed C layer are some of the oldest and most intact deposits at the site, although their assemblages are quite small. Finally, the main midden layer is a trash midden which caps the fill and dates from the 1870s to 1910s. I conducted ceramic analysis on each of these five contexts, with extra emphasis placed on the main midden as its date range matched my research question and time period.

When I began this project at the Boston City Archaeology Lab, the dig at the Clough House site had only recently been completed. As such, most artifacts had not been cataloged, the deposits were not fully dated, and only preliminary archival research had been compiled. In order to perform an analysis of ceramic consumption at the site, I

performed archival research, artifact cataloguing, deposit dating, and ceramic vessel analysis. Once I understood the history of the site and its stratigraphy better, I completed a further analysis on one site context, the main midden, in order to understand how the consumption patterns of working-class immigrants in Boston reflected their values and priorities by comparing them to other ceramic consumption patterns from working, middle, and upper classes during the second half of the nineteenth century.

The nineteenth century saw the largest increase in the number and scale of urban settlements in all of human history (Bairoch 1988). Urban archaeology contributes to our understanding of these cities on both the micro and macro scales. At the micro level, archaeology in cities is particularly adept at studying what life was like for the city dwellers, including those of absent from the historical record. At the macro level, the archaeology of cities can be used to illuminate patterns in the overall cityscape, studying things like architecture and landscape studies, showing how neighborhoods change through time (Rothschild and Wall 2014). Current social memory often identifies certain city neighborhoods with one dominant ethnic group, but this oversimplifies the fact that cities are multicultural entities with complex class, ethnic, and social relations (Mullins 2004). The archaeological study of nineteenth- and twentieth-century cities can help us understand the complexity of cities past while informing urban policy of cities present. (Mrozowski 2008).

Urban archaeology brings with it several methodological challenges. Stratigraphy is often very complex, and deposits may be very deep or significantly disturbed. Also, the high visibility of urban archaeology heightens the importance of public outreach efforts.

(Staski 2008). Most of the archaeological research into urban working-class life in the nineteenth century comes from New York or California, with less from Massachusetts, with the notable exception of Beaudry, Mrozowski, and others' study of the boarding houses at Lowell (Beaudry 1987, Mrozowski 2006). Only a handful of studies highlight the working-class experience in nineteenth-century Boston (Charles and Openo 1987; Elia 1997; Dudek 1999; Stevens and Ordoñez 2005; Beaudry 2006; Poulsen 2011; Heitert et al. 2014). Due to the high mobility of the residents in the nineteenth-century North End, urban trash deposits cannot be correlated with one specific household or family, even if they are associated with only one back lot. The varying lengths of occupancy for North End tenants creates another challenge for archaeologists—the refuse from the many short-term tenants may act as noise which masks the consumption patterns of the long-term tenants (Dudek 1999). These types of deposits are relevant but often overlooked by archaeologists in favor of deposits with closer association to a specific household, ignoring the fundamental variety in urban household types (Voss 2008:48). Since all inhabitants in the Clough House during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were in similar socioeconomic situations, the analysis speaks to patterns on a broader scale: the immigrant working class in Boston's North End tenements.

Archival Research Methods

Previous archival research of deed transfers research by Dr. Christa Beranek and City Archaeologist Joseph Bagley identified the owners of 21 Unity Street over time (Suffolk Registry of Deeds [SRD] 1711-1742; Beranek 1999; Bagley 2013b). However,

beginning with the house's early nineteenth-century transformation into tenement housing, the owner did not live on the property, so the deed records did not reveal anything about the site's inhabitants during that time. To supplement this research, I transcribed and analyzed tax records and federal censuses obtained at the City of Boston Archives, the Rare Books and Manuscripts Department at Boston Public Library, and online at Ancestry.com (Boston Taking Books [BTB] 1780-1817; United States Bureau of the Census [USBC] 1790-1940; Boston Valuation Books [BVB] 1818-1821; Boston Poll Tax Records [BPTR] 1822-1920). The poll tax records show the names and occupations of every adult male living in the house for most years between 1780 and 1918 (Appendix 1). Federal censuses provide more information about every inhabitant of the house at ten-year intervals, beginning in 1790 (Appendix 2). The Boston City Directories list the later inhabitants of the Clough House until the early 1960s (Boston City Directory 1960) In addition, I conducted a search of baptismal records for the Old North Church and three area Catholic churches but was unsuccessful at determining the church enrollment of the inhabitants (Massachusetts Historical Society 1569-1997; Archdiocese of Boston Sacramental Registers 1798-1997). All of this demographic information is key to understanding which groups of people lived in the Clough House and how this changed over time, and is presented in Chapter 2.

Outline of the Thesis

Chapter 2 discusses the archival and archaeological background to the history of the North End and the Clough House in particular. Ebenezer Clough, who built the

original two-story single-family home between 1711 and 1715 as a residence for himself and his family, was a master bricklayer. For the next century, the building was owned by only two distinct families: the Clough-Brown family, and the Pierce-Roby family. The early nineteenth century brought the emergence of tenement apartments—multi-storied buildings shared by multiple families. Around 1808, a third story was added to the Clough House and the building transformed from an owner-occupant house into an absentee-landlord tenement. In total, over 180 different middle- and working-class families lived in the Clough House tenement between 1810 and 1917.

For most of the nineteenth century until the 1870s, tenants at the Clough House were primarily Anglo-American, until a three-story apartment was added to the rear of the house around 1874. By the 1880s, the house was primarily but not exclusively home to first- and second-generation Irish working-class immigrants in addition to Anglo-American workers. This lasted until the late 1890s, when Italian immigrants moved into the North End. After a period of cohabitation, competition, and instability between the two ethnic groups, the Irish ultimately moved out and the North End became the Little Italy that we know today (Green and Donahue 1979). Tenement housing as experienced by both Irish and Italian immigrants was extremely crowded and very unsanitary, and as a result, diseases such as typhus fever, tuberculosis, and cholera afflicted immigrant populations on a large scale (Puleo 2007; Brighton 2008; Linn 2008). At the Clough House, most immigrant men found work as unskilled manual laborers while the adult women kept house and took care of their children.

Chapter 3 covers the theoretical framework related to how historical archaeologists study class and consumption, especially among working- and middle-class groups in the later nineteenth century, using a case study approach. During the nineteenth century, members of the Victorian middle and upper classes expressed their class identity in many ways, including the display and use of matching ceramics, especially teaware (Wall 1991). These cultural practices became known as the Cult of Domesticity and were largely followed by the upper and middle classes, but the working class may have constructed their own consumption patterns based on different values (Wall 1999).

Chapter 4 presents the methods and data used for the study. Five contexts from the Clough House excavations were analyzed, including dating through ceramics and small finds. A vessel analysis was then completed for each of the five contexts. These analyses revealed that most contexts dated to long stretches of time in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, whereas the main midden was the most tightly dated context, dating from the 1870s until the 1910s.

The fifth and final chapter presents the results of further analysis of the ceramics from the main midden. The results show that the working-class tenants primarily used older and mismatched ceramics, with a few fancier pieces as well. I then compare the Clough House assemblage to middle-class “Victorian” assemblages from the same time period (Wall 1991; Fitts 1999; Wall 1999; Brighton 2001; Walker 2008; Brighton 2011; and Yentsch 2011) and working-class assemblages (Charles and Openo 1987; Beaudry, Cook and Mrozowski 1991; Elia 1997; Dudek 1999; Wall 1999; Beaudry and Mrozowski 2001; Brighton 2001; Yamin 2001; Beaudry 2006; Mrozowski 2006; Walker 2008;

Brighton 2011; Heitert et al. 2014), all of which I discussed in Chapter 3. I conclude that the Clough House tenants primarily bought their mismatched and older ceramics secondhand from junk stores. This consumption strategy showcases their values of thriftiness and family well-being, as it represents a choice to prioritize the well-being of their immediate families and perhaps their extended relatives abroad over any adherence to a dominant ideology favored by the American middle class.

This study adds an example from Boston's working class to the national discussion on the material aspects of class formation and consumption habits, which has primarily been focused in other areas. It also reveals the nuances of a neighborhood in flux, in which individuals from many countries often lived under the same roof, rather than the popularized narrative of successive ethnic enclaves. Finally, it brings to light over a century of Boston's heritage concerning the immigrant and American working classes, a story that is equally important as the city's colonial roots.

CHAPTER 2

SITE BACKGROUND

The Clough House and Its Occupants

The Ebenezer Clough House is located at 21 Unity Street in Boston's North End neighborhood, on the campus of the Old North Church (Figures 1, 2, and 3). It was built as a two-story single-family home between 1711 and 1715 by Ebenezer Clough, a master bricklayer and one of the builders of Old North Church (Massachusetts Historical Commission 1990). Over the next three centuries, the household and its surrounding neighborhood went through a number of architectural and demographic changes. The most notable of these was the transformation of the building from a single-family owner-occupant home in the eighteenth century to tenement apartments in around 1807, which included the construction of a third story to house the multiple working-class families now living in the building (BTB 1807-1809). In the 1870s, a rear apartment was added to the house to accommodate the high number of Irish and Italian immigrants arriving in Boston and taking low-wage labor-intensive jobs (BPTR 1874). This addition remained until the 1960s, when it was demolished and the house was renovated for preservation (Massachusetts Historical Commission 1990).



Figure 1: The Clough House from Unity Street in 2013. Photo by Joseph Bagley.

In the eighteenth century, the building was owned and occupied by four total generations of two distinct middle-class families: The Clough-Brown family from 1715 to 1756 and the Pierce-Roby family from 1758 to 1807. Notably, the property was transferred from parent to daughter in both cases.

The story of the Clough House began in 1711, when Ebenezer Clough purchased a plot of undeveloped land known as “Bennett’s Pasture” from Susanna Love and Solomon Townsend (SRD 1711:26.72). Upon it, he created what is now Unity Street and built the house between 1711 and 1715, although he may not have lived there himself. (Massachusetts Historical Commission 1990; Beranek 1999; Bagley 2013b). Deed records (SRD 1741:62.158; 1742:67.26A) continue to show that shortly before his death,

the property was passed to his daughter Elizabeth and her husband John Brown, a



Figure 2: Location of the Clough House in Boston on Bonner's 1723 map, with detail in the lower left. Note Old North Church directly behind the Clough House. Map from Levanthal Map Center, Boston Public Library.

blacksmith. The Clough-Brown family lived in the house until 1756, when it was purchased by Joseph Pierce, a mariner, and his wife, Sarah Cruft Pierce. Two years later, Pierce died, and Sarah married Henry Roby. The Pierce-Roby family lived in the house from 1756 until 1807. It appears that Sarah was the mother of many children—the 1790 census shows ten people living in the house from a single family (USBC 1790). According to poll tax data and census records, (USBC 1790; BTB 1780-1807) Henry kept shop as a glazier, or window glass fitter, until he grew frail and retired. His adult son

Joseph Roby worked as a scribe and then later a merchant partner for J. White & Company, which sold paper, pens, and other writing implements. He never married.

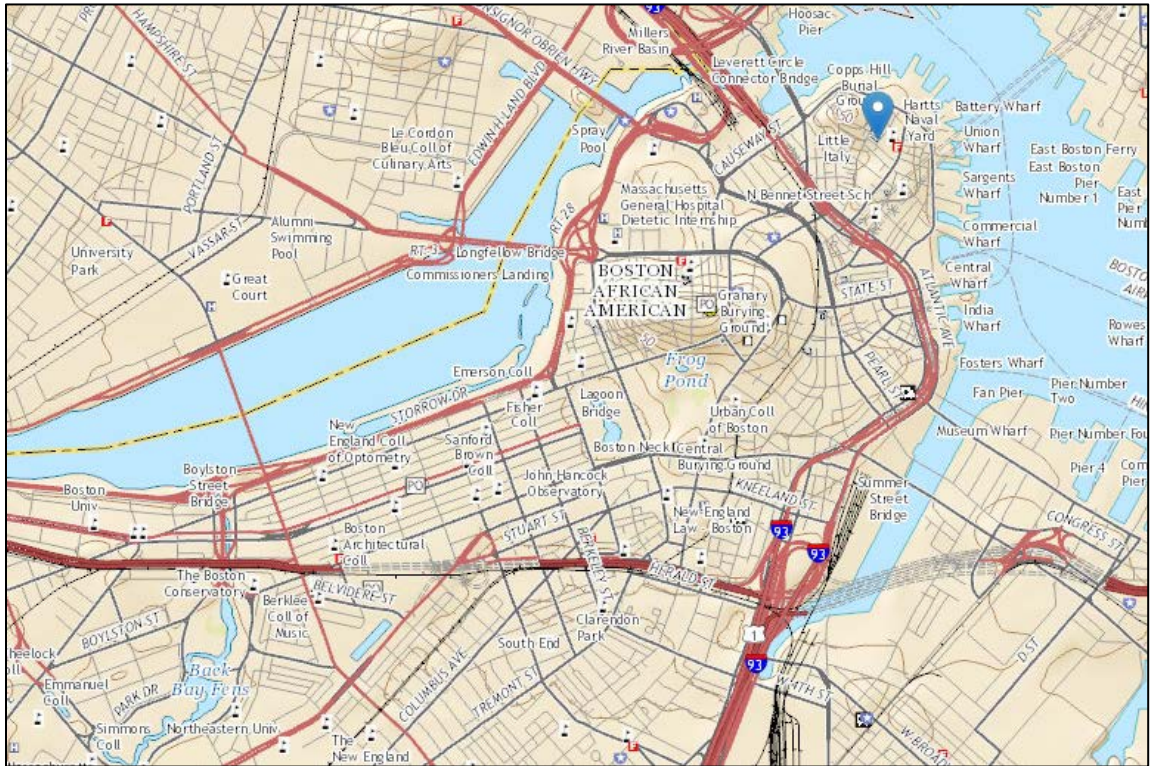


Figure 3: Location of 21 Unity Street on the present-day USGS base map. Boston's shoreline has dramatically changed from the eighteenth century due to many landfilling projects.

By the early nineteenth century, the processes of capitalist industrialization coupled with Boston's position as a shipping hub created an influx of low-income laborers in need of housing. This led to the emergence of tenement apartments—multi-storied buildings shared by multiple families. We know from historic ward maps that some tenements were of new construction, but often older, colonial homes were repurposed to serve as tenement housing, as was the case at the Clough House (Woods

1902). Tenements created from single-family homes often lacked appropriate amenities for multiple families (Sutherland 1973).

When Henry Roby died in 1807, the Clough House was passed to his wife Sarah's two daughters, Sarah and Mary, and their husbands, Samuel Gore and Moses Grant, the latter of whom was a participant in the Boston Tea Party (Bagley 2013b). The building was vacant for a few years as Gore and Grant transformed it from an owner-occupied house to a tenement, adding a third story (Figure 4) (Nylander et al. 1986). The house

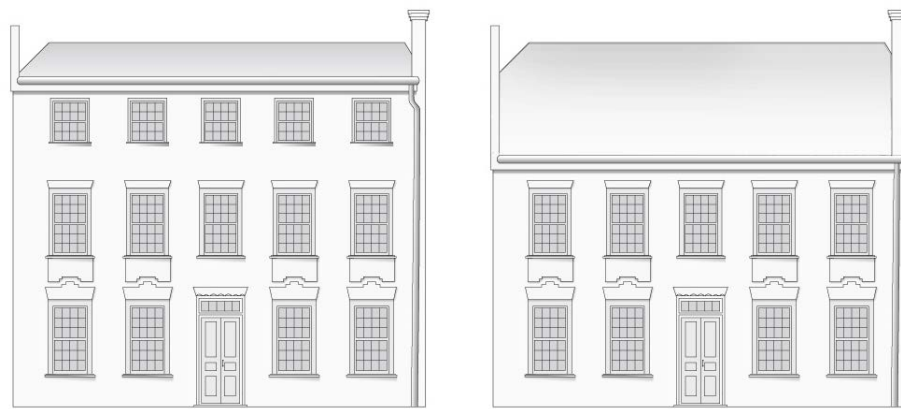


Figure 4: The Clough House in before (left) and after (right) the addition of a third story around 1810. Figure by Joseph Bagley, based on Cummings and Overby 1961.

received its first tenants in 1810, establishing the site's tenement period, which lasted until the mid-twentieth century (BTB 1810; BCD 1960). Whereas the eighteenth century was characterized by two middle-class, landowning families living at the site for multiple generations, the nineteenth century was characterized by demographic instability and population growth. One way of discerning this instability is to look at Boston's poll tax records (BTB 1780-1817; BVB 1818-1821; BPTR 1822-1920) which list the names, ages, and occupations of every adult male living at a particular address in a given year.

Although this demographic information is far from comprehensive, the poll tax records help fill in the ten-year gap between the more detailed federal censuses. Figure 5 uses poll tax records to visualize the instability in the Clough House's population by plotting how many adult males lived in the Clough House each year. Note the relative stability before the building's 1810 transformation to a tenement compared to the high variability after this time. The transformation of the house into a tenement and the addition of a third story also had a profound effect on the building's population over time. Federal Census information presented in Figures 6 and 7 confirms that there were many more people living in the house during the tenement period than previously by showing the number of inhabitants and families every ten years. The census information for both inhabitants and families shows a similar trend in population levels: an initial peak around 1830 and a more pronounced and sustained population increase in the 1870s, when a three-story addition was put on the rear of the house. The poll tax records (Figure 5) confirm this expansion.

In total, over 180 different middle- and working-class families lived in the Clough House tenement between 1810 and 1917, when the poll tax records become less detailed. Most of these families stayed in the Clough House for only one or two years at a time, often moving to other tenements in the North End or what is now Boston's financial district, rarely staying at one place for long (BTB 1810-1817; USBC 1810-1910; BVB 1818-1821; BPTR 1822-1920). Consequently, the Clough House tenement had a very high occupant turnover rate, although a handful of families remained in the house for longer tenures. Please see Appendices 1 and 2 for more specific demographic

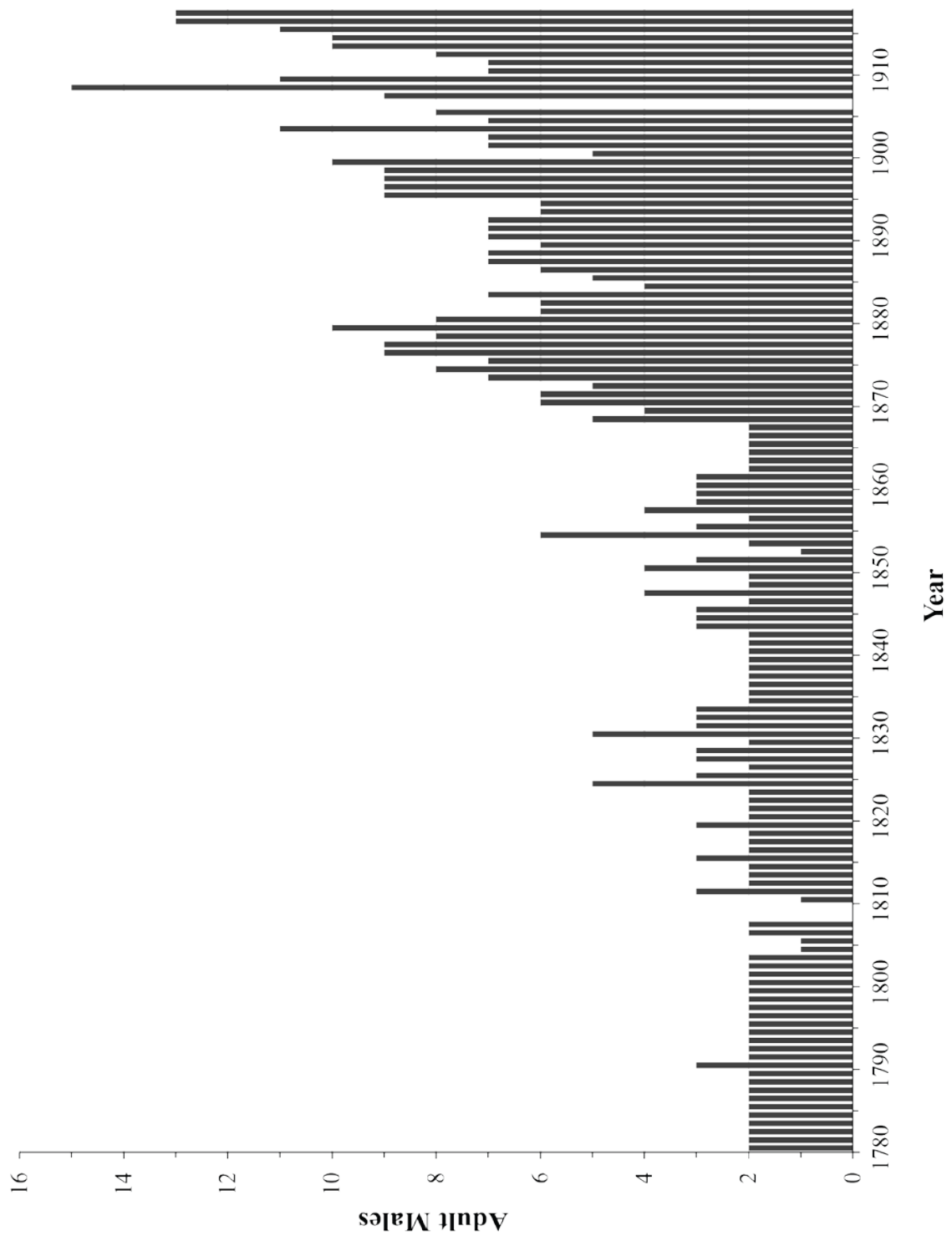


Figure 5: Number of adult males at 21 Unity Street from 1780 until 1917. (Source: BTB 1780-1817; USBC 1790-1910; BVB 1818-1821; BPTR 1822-1917)

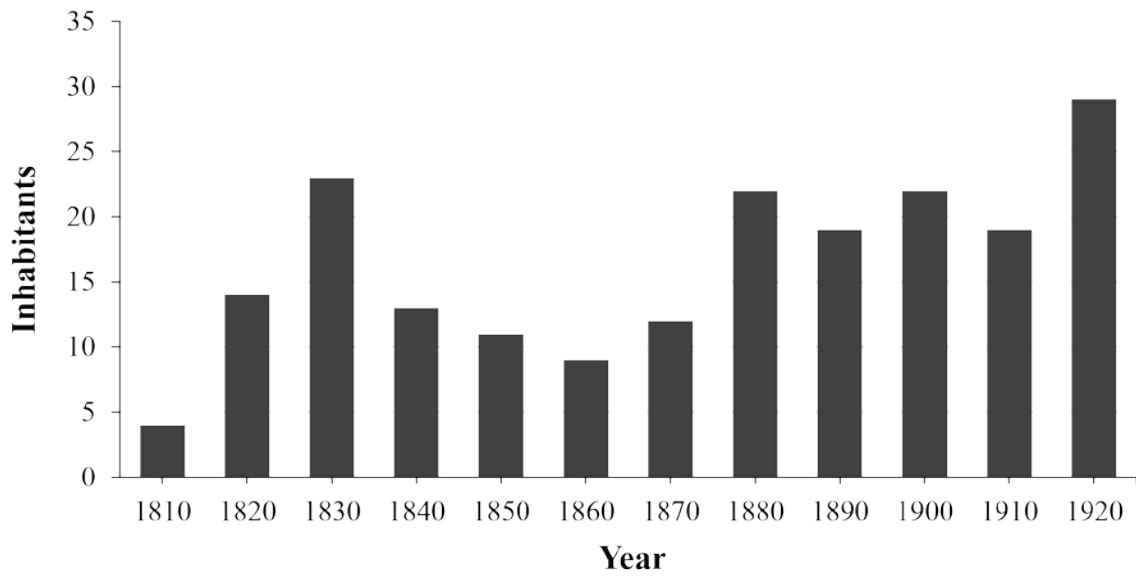


Figure 6: Number of inhabitants at 21 Unity Street from 1810 until 1920. (Source: USBC 1810-1920; BPTR 1890)

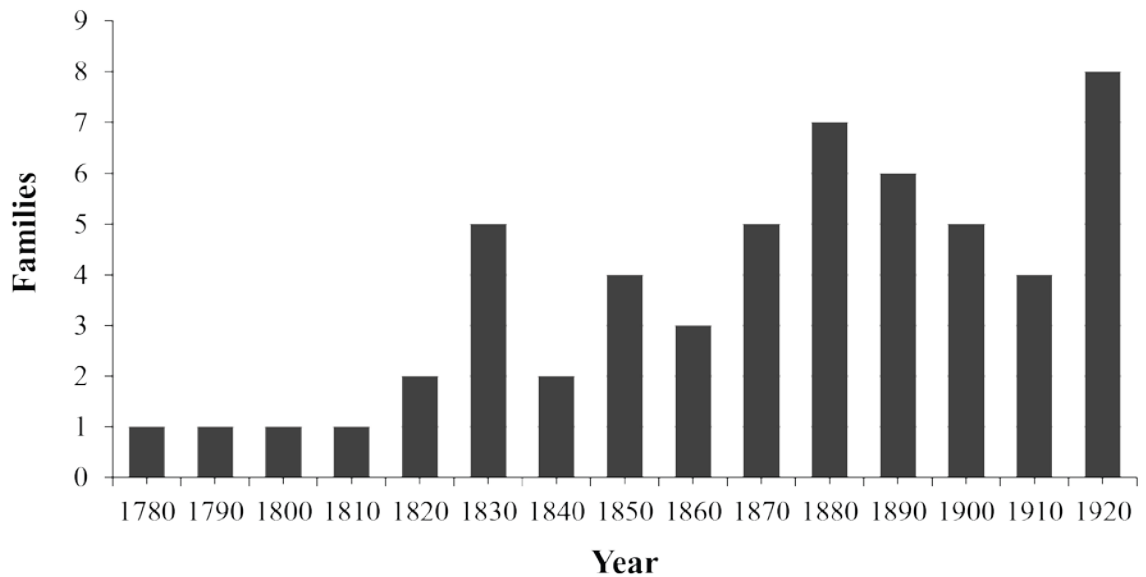


Figure 7: Number of families at 21 Unity Street from 1780 until 1920. (Source: BTB 1780; 1780; 1800; USBC 1790-1920; BPTR 1890)

information, including the complete poll tax and census records for the property. What follows is a summary of the demographic information by decade.

In the 1810s, the new tenement grew in population from one family of four people in 1810 to two families of 14 total people in 1820, with several other families moving in and out between these census periods. Poll tax records show that many men were employed in businesses having to do with ships and furniture—common occupations at the house include mariner, seaman, shipwright, sail maker, carpenter, and upholsterer—but there are also clerks, block makers (for a printing press), and a Custom House officer. All seem to be of Anglo-American descent. By 1820, a pair of jewelers lived in the Clough House, although their shop was in another part of the city. The 1820s saw a similar pattern of occupations, including skilled craftsmen and government workers. By the early 1830s, the population in the house reached a new high, with 23 individuals from five different families sharing the house. Many men at this time worked as bakers or cabinet makers. Poll tax records for the neighborhood indicate these conditions were becoming typical for the North End as industrialization transformed the neighborhood from single-family homes to rows of rental properties and tenement apartments. The census records from the early nineteenth century show that these men are almost entirely all married, many with children (USBC 1820; 1830).

In 1835, Sarah Pierce Gore and Mary Pierce Grant, now widowed, sold the property to William Dillaway, a wealthy shipwright. Dillaway owned and managed many properties in the area and lived on nearby Salem Street. The 1840s and 1850s documents continue to show members of similar professions, including a tailor, grocer, shoemakers, mariners, shipbuilders, painters, machinists, and a Custom House officer. All were of Anglo-American descent, with the exception of one possible Irishman and one German

sea captain, neither of whom lived in the house for more than three years. During the 1860s, the house's population continued to grow, and the male occupations included a type-caster, sailmaker, watchman, driver, mason, furniture maker, as well as clerks, and shoemakers.

Even though much of the surrounding neighborhood was home to newly-arrived Irish immigrants starting in the late 1840s, the Clough continued to be occupied primarily by Anglo-Americans until the early 1870s, when the building became home to a mixture of Irish and Anglo-American working-class families. This can be seen through an analysis of surnames in the poll tax records and places of birth in the census data. Likely due to the housing demand caused by the influx of immigrants to Boston's working-class neighborhoods, a three-story apartment was added to the rear of the house around 1874. By the 1880s, the poll tax records and census data show that the house was primarily but not exclusively home to first- and second-generation Irish working-class immigrants, along with Anglo-American workers.

Irish Immigrants

An Ghorta Mór, Irish for "The Great Hunger" and variously known as the Irish Potato Famine or the Great Famine, was a series of repeated potato crop failures between 1845 and 1852. During this time, the potato blight caused by the fungus *Phytophthora infestans* repeatedly destroyed the vast majority of potato harvests on the island (Meagher 2005). The blight was particularly devastating in Ireland's rural western and southwestern provinces--Connacht and Munster, respectively (Miller 1985). Far from urban centers,

most rural poor in these areas worked as tenant farmers for British landlords, subsisting almost entirely on potatoes (Orser 2004). When the blight hit Ireland, starvation and disease ensued on a catastrophic level. Many landlords forcefully evicted tenants from their homes when they could no longer afford rent (Dolan 2008). Relief programs run by the British Crown offered minor aid, but ultimately were inadequate for a disaster of this scope (Donnelly 2001). Of Ireland's estimated eight million citizens, approximately one million perished and two million emigrated between the years of 1845 and 1855, mostly to the United States but also to Canada, Great Britain, and Australia (Miller 1985). These events paved the way for a century of emigration, creating one of the world's largest diasporas: as many as 4.5 million more emigrants left Ireland between 1851 and 1921 (Orser 2004, Dolan 2008).

Prior to the 1830s, Irish immigrants to the United States were largely Protestant, with many coming from Ulster in what is today primarily Northern Ireland. By contrast, those hardest hit by the Great Hunger were often poor, Catholic tenant farmers in Ireland's remote and rural west and southwest (Brighton 2009). The journey over was not easy or inexpensive—many emigrants relied on assistance from family, friends, or landlords. During the Famine, the landlords were technically responsible for funding public works projects to relieve their tenants, but some thought it cheaper and simpler to pay for their tenants' emigration costs, clearing their land for the increasingly profitable dairy industry (Hickey 2002; Slater and McDonough 2005). Remittances from friends and family in the new places of settlement provided another form of assisted emigration, as some members of the diaspora could afford to contribute to a relative's voyage.

Favorable reports from American cities painted the New World as a land of freedom and opportunity, where jobs were ripe for the taking in both urban centers and rural farms (Miller 1985). In reality, the Irish faced a great deal of hardship in the new places of settlement, but they generally had food to eat and some hope of upward mobility and self-realization.

Before the 1860s, when the introduction of steamships reduced the transatlantic voyage to a little less than two weeks, emigrants endured five to six weeks in small, poorly constructed boats. Overcrowding and unsanitary conditions coupled with insufficient food supplies and the spread of disease meant that many emigrants did not survive the journey, and the ships soon became known as “coffin ships” for their high mortality rates (Dolan 2008:77).

The vast majority of Irish immigrants to America landed in New York City, although some landed in Boston, Philadelphia, and New Orleans. From their ports of entry, the Irish spread out, most choosing to settle in established Irish communities in urban centers. In 1850, 80% of these were in New England and the mid-Atlantic, with other notable Irish communities taking shape in Chicago, St. Louis, and California. (Dolan 2008).

Most immigrants arrived with very little money and took jobs wherever they could find them. Men generally worked as manual laborers, but a few found employment as semi-skilled workers such as artisans or shopkeepers (Miller 1985). Single women often worked in textile mills, the needletrades, or as domestic servants. Married women rarely worked outside the home but instead took care of their children, managed

household finances, and sometimes ran a side business as a laundress or boarding house keeper out of their homes (Griggs 2001, Brighton 2009). Due to their Catholic faith, immigrant status, and supposedly barbarous culture, the Irish were often discriminated against in the job market, housing market, and social circles (Brighton 2011).

In Irish immigrant neighborhoods across the country, living conditions were abhorrent. In Boston, as in many other American cities, the Irish lived in crowded tenement apartments, mostly in the North End and Fort Hill neighborhoods. Many of these tenements, like the Clough House, had once been inhabited by the upper classes of society, but the influx of working-class citizens and immigrants radically transformed these neighborhoods. Green and Donahue (1979) note:

“living conditions in these ghettos were wretched. Old houses and warehouses were divided to make tenements. In addition, the lots of houses, once inhabited by the bourgeoisie, were filled with frame dwellings that crowded conditions. Once the home of prosperous merchants and self-sufficient artisans, the North End deteriorated into makeshift flats and polluted alleys” (43).

By 1855, the North End was the most densely populated neighborhood in all of Boston, with many immigrants living in dark and damp cellar apartments (Green and Donahue 1979). These cramped and unsanitary conditions were typical of many Irish neighborhoods across the country, and as a result, typhus fever, tuberculosis, and cholera afflicted Irish populations on a large scale. (Brighton 2008, Linn 2008). In 1849, during

the height of a devastating cholera epidemic that was sweeping through Boston, the city's Committee on Internal Health wrote a report on the living conditions in an Irish working-class neighborhood in what is now the heart of Boston's financial district. The report claims:

“During their visits the last summer, your Committee were witnesses of scenes too painful to be forgotten, and yet too disgusting to be related here. It is sufficient to say, that this whole district is a perfect hive of human beings, without comforts and mostly without common necessities; in many cases, huddled together like brutes, without regard to sex, or age, or sense of decency; grown men and women sleeping together in the same apartment, and sometimes wife and husband, brothers and sisters, in the same bed. Under such circumstances, self-respect, forethought, all high and noble virtues soon die out, and sullen indifference and despair, or disorder, intemperance and utter degradation reign supreme” (Boston Committee on Internal Health 1849:12-13).

While this report presents a chilling representation of the Irish living conditions in Boston, it also showcases nineteenth-century attitudes towards the connections between poverty, the environment, and morality.

In the nineteenth century, poverty was not seen as the result of unequal opportunity under a capitalist system, but was attributed to the moral failure of the individual (Ward 1989). In their inner city neighborhoods, the working classes were seen

as morally isolated from “superior” moral influences of the upper classes, leading them to fall prey to the temptations of sin, which was seen to fester in the decrepit environmental conditions of the tenement districts (Ward 1989; Upton 1992). With germ theory yet to be widely accepted, the high mortality rates of immigrants and the working class due to diseases like cholera were linked to a perceived lack of morality on those who died (Upton 1992). Of course, in reality, the widespread epidemics in the working-class neighborhoods of American cities were due to poor sanitation, drainage, and overcrowding. The poor lived in these areas because it was all they could afford, and there were initially few enforced regulations for tenements or protections for tenants. The blame for these environmental conditions fell squarely on the shoulders of the poor, and early movements for reform focused on changing the environmental conditions of these districts in order to set free the working classes from their immoral influence (Ward 1989). This line of thinking is clearly visible in the Boston Committee on Internal Health’s report.

It was not until the mid-1870s that the Clough House became home to working-class families of Irish descent, in addition to many Anglo-American tenants. This was atypical of a North End tenement—the City Archives show that most buildings in the neighborhood housed Irish tenants starting in the 1850s or 1860s. In the case of the Clough House, this demographic change seems to have coincided with the addition of a three-story rear apartment in 1874 (Figure 8) For the North End, this was not a clear transition to an Irish neighborhood; in fact, the house was never home to 100% Irish-born tenants. Nonetheless, in the 1870s and ‘80s, the Clough House was home to a mixture of

Irish and Anglo-American working-class families. As this was a few decades after the initial wave of Irish immigration around 1850, some of the tenants with Irish heritage were first-generation Irish Americans. The working class in Boston was incredibly mobile, and the Irish were no exception—most Irish families in the Clough House stayed only a year or two before moving, often to another nearby tenement.

These Irish families often lived in the rear apartments created by the 1874 addition. In the nineteenth-century urban Northeast, some landowners built ramshackle tenements in the lots behind repurposed colonial homes specifically for immigrant workers as a way to increase their rental income (Woods 1902; Kelleher 2015). As the influx of working-class immigrants continued, more and more multi-story tenements were constructed on all available land. These buildings filled up land plots, turned yards into alleyways, and resulted in a neighborhood of dimly lit and poorly ventilated dwellings (Sutherland 1973). The owners of the tenements rarely lived on-site and acted solely as landlords. Since a landlord's primary goal was to collect the highest possible rent from the property with the least cost, urban tenements across the country became overcrowded, structurally unsound, and unsanitary (Orser 2011).

Both the poll tax records (BPTR 1874) and an 1874 map (Figure 9) provide evidence for my dating the addition to 1874. Beginning in the 1874 poll tax records and continuing thereafter, the word “rear” appears next to the names of certain inhabitants, suggesting that their families lived in the rear apartment. Also, the 1874 map from G.M. Hopkins & Co. shows the shape of the building as it would have appeared with the rear apartment attached (Figure 9). The second and third stories of this rear addition abutted

the adjacent building at 23 Unity Street, leaving a dark and narrow passageway from Unity Street to the rear entrance. (Cummings and Overby 1961). The rear addition was connected to the original building on all three floors via a door to the stairway (Cummings and Overby 1961). The main apartment consisted of three stories and a cellar. All floors, including the cellar, were made up of three small rooms, with one room on each floor possessing a fireplace for heating and cooking (Cummings and Overby 1961; Beranek 1999). Although it must have been very dark and damp, the cellar was most likely used as another living space for immigrant tenants, as was common practice during this time (Sutherland 1973; Green and Donahue 1979). While the architecture of the Clough House is well-documented, it is currently unknown how the various rooms were divided among tenants and families, aside from the front-rear designation on some census and poll tax records.

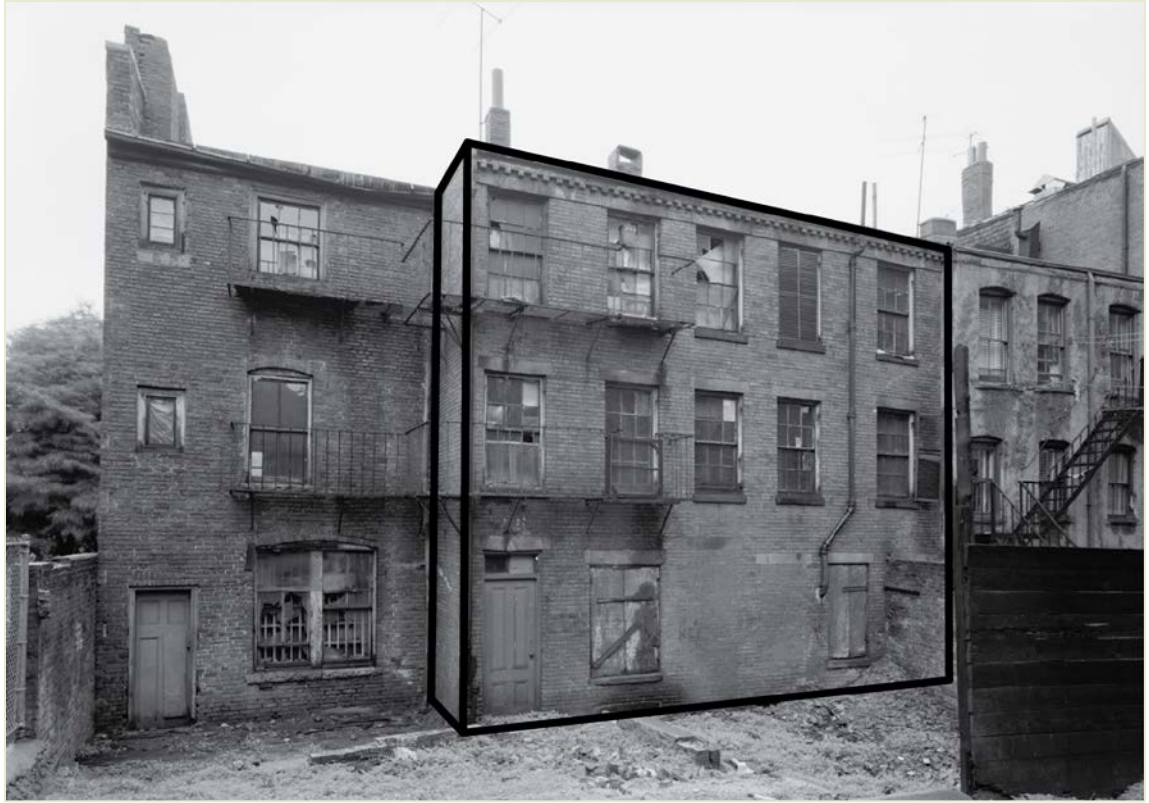


Figure 8: The rear apartment (outlined) c. 1961 (Cummings and Overby 1961)



Figure 9: The Clough House and vicinity in 1874. The shape of the house (in white) shows the new addition protruding from the bottom-left. Note how William Dillaway is shown as owning many nearby properties. Map by G.M. Hopkins & Co., from Ward Maps LLC

Snapshot: The Clough House in 1880

After the 1874 addition, the Clough House's population increased dramatically. While the Clough House was home to 12 people in 1870, by 1880 it had 22 people, with over 40 families coming and going over the decade. With this much mobility and demographic change occurring, it can be difficult to characterize the neighborhood during this volatile time. The 1880 census presents a picture of the Clough House and the overall North End neighborhood during the beginning of my study's time frame. I have decided here to present the inhabitants of the Clough House who are listed on the 1880 census, focusing primarily on two Irish families: the McLaughlins and the Colemans. While every family story is unique, the McLaughlins' story is representative of the many Irish immigrant families who came to the New World during the Great Hunger, and the Colemans are notable for their uncharacteristically long tenure as tenants in the Clough House. To create the following narratives, I synthesized information taken primarily from decennial U.S. Censuses and the Massachusetts State Census accessed online on Ancestry.com, using the poll tax records to fill in the gaps for the years in-between (USBC 1850-1900; BPTR 1861-1892; Massachusetts State Census 1855; 1865) For smaller details, I looked at the birth, death, and marriage records for the state of Massachusetts and the city of Boston, also accessed on Ancestry.com (Massachusetts Birth Records 1856-1866; Boston Births, Marriages, and Deaths Records 1858; Massachusetts Town and Vital Records 1860-1885; Massachusetts Marriage Records 1879-1890; Massachusetts Death Records 1880-1894). The vignettes below are presented

in narrative form; please see Appendix 2 for full citation information. Taken together, these records offer a wealth of information about the sites of inhabitants.

The story of the McLaughlin family began when Bernard “Barney” McLaughlin (b. 1825/6) married Alice Kane (b. 1826/7) in Ireland. They had a son, John, in 1849, and the three came to America sometime between 1849 and 1855, when their second son, Bernard Jr. was born in Boston’s seventh ward—the same notorious neighborhood that the Boston Committee on Internal Health condemned as a “perfect hive of human beings.” Barney Sr. could not read or write and worked as a laborer, while his wife Alice kept house. In time, the couple had at least nine children, some of whom died young. The family never seemed to stay in one place for very long, but moved around from tenement to tenement, first in Ward 7 and later in the North End. Their nine children were born at six different addresses, so by the time they arrived at the Clough House in 1880, it was at least the seventh tenement they had occupied in 25 to 30 years. By this time, three of their nine children had already passed away—Dennis and Alice Jr. as young children and John of tuberculosis at age 25. The three surviving older children had moved out, leaving three to live with their parents in the tenement. In the 1880 census, Barney was 54 and still worked as a physical laborer while Alice, 53, stayed at home. Thomas McLaughlin was 19 and worked as a butcher. His sister Rebecca was 17 and worked as a sales girl, and Charles, the youngest sibling, was 12 years old and still in school. The McLaughlins only stayed at the Clough House for four years, before moving on to presumably another tenement. Their story is one of mobility, personal loss, and working hard to make ends meet.

At the same time, the Coleman family resided in a different apartment at the rear of the Clough House. Dennis and William Coleman lived in the Clough House with their mother Margaret from 1876 to 1891, easily one of the longest tenures of any Irish family at the property. Margaret and Bryan Coleman emigrated from Ireland in 1845 and also lived in Ward 7 before moving to the North End. The couple had seven children. The father, Bryan, died around 1865, so Margaret took up work as a peddler and their oldest son Jeremiah was working by age 15 to help the family scrape by. By the 1880 census, when the family lived in the Clough House, Margaret had endured the death of four of her seven children as well as that of her husband. By 1880, she was 54, suffering from rheumatism and no longer working. Dennis, the eldest child still at home, worked as a cap maker to support his mother and two siblings. A later census shows a continued family connection: in 1900, Dennis and Margaret (Jr.) still lived with and supported their mother and had not married, even though they were both in their forties.

In 1880 the McLaughlins and Colemans were just two of seven families living in the Clough House. There were 22 people in total, with ages ranging from 2 to 69 years old. The Colemans shared the rear apartment with the Hayes family: Alonzo, a first-generation English American painter, and Mary, a first-generation Irish American who remained home to care for their two young children. The McLaughlins shared their rear apartment with Patrick and Mary McGinnis and their infant son, as well as Henry Kane, who may have been a relative of Alice McLaughlin.

Two more long-term and relatively better-off tenant families, the Jenkins and the Frenches, lived in the front of the house. Joseph and Debra Jenkins resided in the front

apartment of the Clough House from 1860 until 1887, the longest tenure of any family during the tenement period. In these years, Joseph Jenkins' career progressed from a watchman, to a mason, to a foreman, to a wharfinger, or keeper of one of the city's wharves. The couple's three children grew up in the house and eventually moved out. Frederick French, an English immigrant shoemaker, moved into the Clough House in 1880 at age 60, with his 69-year old wife Abigail and their adult daughter, Clarisa. The family lived in the front apartment until 1892. Their unit in the front of the house would have been more desirable due to its access to Unity Street, and it appears to have had much less turnover than other units in the building.

As will be demonstrated, in 1880 and in much of the later nineteenth century, the North End was not culturally homogeneous, with different ethnicities often residing in the same home. The next major immigrant group to call the North End home was the Italians.

Italian Immigrants

In 1886, the Clough House was sold by William Dillaway to Joseph Devoto, an Italian immigrant, and the building soon became home to Italians alongside Irish, English, and American-born families. In current social memory, city neighborhoods across the country are often romanticized as isolated enclaves of one ethnic group (Mullins 2004), and the North End is no exception, since it is thought of today as Boston's Little Italy. However, during the 1880s and 1890s, the Clough House was usually home to over 20 people from many different ethnicities, many of whom did not

speak the same language. Rather than a series of homogenous ethnic occupation periods with smooth transitions from an “English” neighborhood” to an “Irish” neighborhood to an “Italian” neighborhood, the archival record shows that ethnicities in the North End varied greatly on a street by street, house by house, and even room by room basis. Despite ethnic tensions, the tenements were often home to members of many different ethnicities. Noticeably missing from the Clough House are any traces of African Americans, Jewish immigrants, or Portuguese immigrants, all of whom called the North End home at some point in the nineteenth century (Goldfeld 2009). In the later nineteenth century, the North End became home to a mixture of both immigrant and American-born low-wage workers whose housing options were limited. This lasted until the early 1900s, when the house did become home to only one ethnic group—the Italians.

After the unification of Italy in 1861, many interacting factors spanning multiple decades led to mass emigration. Several years of poor harvests, natural disasters, and disease, coupled with an increase in population and high taxes on agriculture, led to widespread poverty and unemployment. This was especially true in Italy’s rural south, where agriculture was a way of life for most families (Puleo 2007). Decades of economic hardship led many working Italian men to become migrant workers, first across the Alps in Central and Eastern Europe and later in large numbers to South America, especially Argentina (Amfitheatrof 1973).

After 1880, Italians began coming in greater numbers to the United States, first as seasonal laborers but eventually as permanent immigrants. From 1880 to 1900, the number of Italian immigrants to the United States ballooned from around 12,000 in 1880

to over 100,000 in 1900 (Amfitheatrof 1973). Between 1880 and 1920, over four million Italians immigrated to the United States, with around 25% eventually repatriating to Italy (Puleo 2007). The Italian immigrants were 80% male, 80% from southern Italy, and 80% working age—between 14 and 45 years old. By this time, it was relatively easy for immigrants to raise the \$30 fare for a steerage ticket, with some mortgaging their houses or farms if necessary (Amfitheatrof 1973). Still, immigrants suffered through two to three weeks spent in steerage in cramped and unsanitary conditions, although their tickets did include two or three meals a day, which was often an improvement from their days in the Italian countryside (La Sorte 1985).

Like the Irish a few decades before them, the Italians primarily entered the United States in New York, but some ships landed in Boston, Providence, or Philadelphia. Many found housing in Italian neighborhoods within these cities, while some joined Italian communities in other cities like Chicago, New Orleans, Buffalo, and San Francisco (Puleo 2007). In Boston, the Italians moved in to the North and West Ends, neighborhoods that had been predominantly Irish and Jewish. This demographic change did not take place overnight, and was marred with conflict as the Irish and Italians competed for housing, jobs, and political control; their shared Catholicism did not bridge this gap (Green and Donahue 1979). In many instances, the Irish looked down on the Italians in much the same way that they themselves were looked down upon by the Anglo-Americans (Green and Donahue 1979). Ultimately, the Irish, Jewish, and other ethnic groups left the North End for Roxbury, Dorchester, and Hyde Park, which were considered slightly nicer neighborhoods at the time. By 1920, there were 40,000 people

crowded into the North End—four times the number that live there today—and 97% of the neighborhood was Italian (Puleo 2007).

In many ways, the Italians inherited poor housing and labor-intensive jobs that the Irish left behind. As the North End's population soared, the Clough House and other North End tenements became more and more crowded (La Sorte 1985; Puleo 2007). Life in the tenements continued to be gruesome—rooms were dirty, unventilated, and very dark due the density of buildings in the area (Figure 11) (Chandler 1902). Outbreaks of diseases such as tuberculosis were common and health was poor (Puleo 2007). Most Italian immigrants came to America illiterate and could not speak English, hindering their ability to find paid work. Furthermore, Italians were often discriminated against due to cultural and socioracial differences (Gumina 1973). Italian men found work primarily as unskilled and semi-skilled laborers, often with the services of *padroni*, middlemen who spoke both English and Italian and could arrange for housing and jobs, but who often took a cut of immigrants' meager paychecks (Amfitheatrof 1973). Many worked outdoor labor jobs in construction, which was especially grueling. As one Italian immigrant put it, "I came to America because I heard the streets were paved with gold. When I got here, I found out three things: first, the streets weren't paved with gold; second, they weren't paved at all; and third, I was expected to pave them" (Puleo 2007:93). Other men found work as chauffeurs, clerks, mechanics, carpenters, painters, or vendors of various kinds. Most first-generation Italian women did not work outside of the home, but many second-generation women took up jobs in the needletrades. Even children were expected to

contribute—many skipped school to find jobs as wagon divers, delivery boys, or bootblacks (Puleo 2007).



Figure 11: A North End tenement c. 1961. Photo from the Boston Public Library

In Boston's Clough House, Italian immigrant men found construction jobs such as laborers, glaziers, carpenters, painters, and plasterers. The service and food industries were also well-represented, with several men working as fruit vendors, confectioners, cooks, waiters, bartenders, or barbers.

Snapshot: The Clough House in 1910

Shortly after the 1900 census, the last Irish American family moved out of the Clough House, and the property became home to 100% Italians and Italian Americans. The site was much less culturally heterogeneous than the decades before, where Irish immigrants were joined by other members of the working class born in the United States, England, and Canada. In 1906, the poll tax records show that the house was being remodeled, but the extent of these modifications on the property are not known. In 1908, the Clough House was home to 15 adult men at the same time, the highest number in its entire history. Some had families with children. Similar to the narratives I presented of the families living in the Clough House in 1880, the following narratives are synthesized from information taken from decennial U.S. censuses (USBC 1900-1920) and poll tax records (BPTR 1907-1917). Complete bibliographical information is presented in Appendix 2.

The 1910 federal census shows 22 inhabitants living in the Clough House. These individuals came from five families: the Florino, Riccio, Brondi, Dandero, and Chiusano families. The first family listed in the 1910 census is the Florino family, whose name sometimes appears as the Anglicized “Florence” in the records. Giuseppe and Maria Florino came to the United States by way of France, where their first child, Placido, was born around 1904. Giuseppe left for America in 1905, leaving behind his wife and child, who followed one year later. The couple had two more children by 1910, when they moved into the Clough House, where they would remain for three years. The 1910 census lists Giuseppe as a 32-year old laborer of “odd jobs,” while Maria, 33, stayed home with

the children. Neither could speak English. Also in the house were Luigi Riccio, a 32-year old iron worker, his wife Gastena, 36, and their 4-year old daughter Orsolina. The Riccio family emigrated together in 1905, and while Luigi could speak English, his wife could not. It appears that the Riccio family stayed at the Clough House for less than a year, as they do not appear in any of the poll tax records. Similarly, Giovanni Brondi, a 32-year-old laborer, his wife Emilia, 25, and their infant daughter Maria-Giuseppa also stayed at the Clough House for less than a year.

The Dandero family continues the emerging trend of young couples with children at the property. Giovanni and Candita emigrated from Italy in 1903 with their oldest son, Adolfo. When they came over, Giovanni was 26, Candita 17, and their son only a newborn. Once in Massachusetts, they had at least four more children: Alfredo, Stefano, Enrico, and Louis, although it appears that Alfredo may have died young. The 1910 census shows that they took on a boarder, Enrico Grecco, a 34-year-old fruit salesman who emigrated in 1893. Grecco lived at the property from 1908 to 1910. The Dandero family lived in the Clough House from 1909 until at least 1920, a relatively long time for tenants. During this time, Giovanni mainly worked at odd jobs, but by 1920 he had secured a position doing wage labor as a salesman in a market, despite his illiteracy and inability to speak English. Candita kept house and took care of the children, all of whom went to school, where they learned English. By 1920, 16-year-old Adolpho, the oldest son, worked part-time as a druggist in a store in addition to attending school—not a small feat for an immigrant teenager. In the later written records, many members of the family

had their first names Anglicized—Giovanni to John, for example—as had several other Italians in the house.

The final family listed as living in the Clough House in the 1910 census is the Chiusano family. This family was another relatively long-term tenant of the Clough House, but the records speak to their mobility into, out of, and within the house during their decade-long tenure. Antonio Chiusano emigrated from Italy in 1902 at age 20 and settled in the Clough House in 1907, after the 1906 remodeling of the property. The following year, Antonio was joined by his younger brother Nicola and parents Guglielmo and Filomena, who had immigrated in 1906. In 1909, the family moved to the rear apartment, only to disappear from the Clough House records entirely by 1911. The following year, they reappear back in the front of the house. During this time, the two brothers worked as barbers to support their family. Unlike their parents, they could speak English, although they were unable to read or write it. In his sixties, father Guglielmo was in and out of work as a laborer, until he retired in 1916 at age 71. The family continued to live at the Clough House until 1918 or 1919. From 1916 on Guglielmo's name appeared as the Anglicized William, and the family's last name became Cusanni.

While the lived experiences of these individual Italian families in the North End are unique, when taken together they speak to similarities in the Italian immigrant experience across the North End during the early twentieth century. Together, these stories paint a picture of life in the North End that was different than in previous decades. By 1910, most of the North End was Italian. Whereas the Irish were never the sole occupants of the neighborhood, by the early twentieth century the Italian presence was

dominant—even today, the North End is Boston’s Little Italy. In this case, the Clough House did in fact represent an ethnic enclave. Most of these immigrants still spoke Italian—it was mainly members of the younger generation who learned English. Both the 1880 and 1910 censuses show that occupants of the Clough House were overwhelmingly families with several children, not single working men. The men primarily worked as unskilled manual laborers—although some found work in skilled laboring positions—and the women were responsible for domestic duties. In 1910, the population of the house was higher than before, and the poll tax records show that most families continued to live in the house for only a few years, with some families managing to stay for a decade or so. Finally, as the years progress we begin to see the Anglicization of both first names and surnames in some Italian families. This is due to two possible factors—white employers, officials, or census takers changing the names to conform to English spellings, or the families themselves changing their names in an attempt to assimilate into the broader American culture (Fucilla 1943). Both hint at the prejudice directed at all immigrants throughout American history.

A Note on Religion

While the archival record has told us many details about the tenants of the Clough House, census records in the United States do not list religion. I conducted a search of baptismal records for the Old North Church and three area Catholic churches but was unsuccessful at determining the church enrollment of the inhabitants (Massachusetts Historical Society 1569-1997; Archdiocese of Boston Sacramental Registers 1798-1997).

I am assuming that the majority of the Irish and Italian immigrants living in the Clough House were Catholic, since most immigrants from those countries to the Boston during this time period were indeed Catholic (Green and Donahue 1979). Fortunately, the archaeological record can often step in where the archival record is lacking—one of the artifacts of personal adornment associated with the late tenement period is a religious medal (Figure 12). Known as the Miraculous Medal, this type of Catholic medal was first produced in 1830, when Saint Catherine Labouré, a French nun, had a vision of the Virgin Mary, who instructed her to design a medal in her image (Romb 2006). To this day, devotees wear the medal as a reminder of their devotion to Mary and the Catholic faith, and anyone who wears it is said to receive special graces (Romb 2006). As a Catholic object, this medal would most likely have been worn by one of the Irish or Italian inhabitants of the Clough House as an affirmation of their faith and the Catholic values that were important to them.



Figure 12: The Miraculous Medal, a Catholic object of adornment. Photo by Joseph Bagley.

The Later History of the Clough House

The artifacts under study begin to taper off around 1920, a year that saw the highest population within the Clough House. The 1920 census shows 29 individuals from 8 Italian or Italian American families. Only nine people spoke English, and most worked as laborers or contractors. This year appears to be the peak occupation of the Clough House, as later records show a steady decline in inhabitants—12 in 1930 and 10 in 1940. In 1944 the heirs of Joseph Devoto sold the property to George Robert White Fund, which intended to renovate the building and make it a house museum. (Massachusetts Historical Commission 1990). However, these plans did not immediately come to fruition, and the house continued to be occupied by a limited number of residents throughout the 1940s and 50s. In 1959, the property was acquired by the Old North Foundation, the current owners, and became unoccupied in 1960 (Cummings and Overby 1961). Subsequently, major renovations were performed in an attempt to restore the house to its eighteenth-century appearance. During this time, the third floor was kept intact, but the rear addition was demolished. The property was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1990 (Massachusetts Historical Commission 1990). Today, the first floor of the home is open to the public as a museum featuring reproductions of an eighteenth-century chocolate shop and printing press, two businesses that were documented in the North End during colonial times, but did not originally take place at the Clough House itself (Conti 2013).

CHAPTER 3

CLASS AND CERAMIC CONSUMPTION

This chapter presents a framework for a class-based analysis of nineteenth-century consumption patterns through historical archaeology. After defining class and consumption, I discuss how the ideals of Victorian domesticity shaped the consumption patterns of the upper and middle classes, and continue by looking at how historical archaeologists have conceptualized urban, working-class consumption patterns.

Archaeology studies the material remains of everyday life of people in the past, making it uniquely suited for analyzing consumption patterns--how people acquired, used, and discarded objects. When combined with a context provided by archival, historical, and archaeological evidence, archaeologists can situate artifacts recovered during excavation into broader cultural frameworks of consumption and identity.

In *The Archaeology of Consumer Culture*, Paul Mullins (2011:2) defines the concept of consumption as “the acquisition of things to confirm, display, accent, mask, and imagine who we are and whom we wish to be. Material consumption may instrumentally display social status, evoke ethnicity, or exhibit gender, but it also can be an unexpressed process of self-definition and collective identification.” Essentially, the material culture we consume actively reflects information about us, intentional or not, at

both the individual and cultural scales. This definition of consumption draws from the work of social theorists Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood. They write that goods are formed from economic production processes but carry social meaning, and individuals construct this meaning through the consumption of these goods (Douglas and Isherwood 1966). Material culture, therefore, is full of information about not only the economic context of their production, but of their symbolic meaning at both the individual and cultural scales as well (Douglas and Isherwood 1979). Mary Beaudry, Lauren Cook, and Stephen Mrozowski (1991) have applied Douglas and Isherwood's theories to the discipline of archaeology. They argue that artifacts are physical representations of past cultural beliefs. Since individuals choose to consume objects that actively speak to their sense of identity, artifacts express their views about society. To interpret this meaning in the present, a thorough understanding of the complete historical, political, economic, and archaeological contexts surrounding an artifact is critical to creating accurate interpretations. (Beaudry, Cook, and Mrozowski 1991).

A key component of this context is socioeconomic class. Theorists of all disciplines have long defined the concept of class in many different ways, with theories ranging from class having little relevance on culture to economic determinism. The concept of class that I draw upon is one that is often used by historical archaeologists, in which "class is defined as fixed rungs on a ladder of inequality, as in strata within an income distribution, occupation structure, or status variations" (Wurst 2006:191). Wurst describes the notion of a class as a group of individuals with similar economic situations. This view of class tends to create class hierarchies under the convenient headings of

“upper class,” “middle class,” and “working class,” which can in turn be theoretically subdivided further. However, class is best understood as more of a continuum than a set of discrete groups, since the lines that separates working class from middle class and middle class from upper class are arbitrary, as are all the subdivisions within these groups. What separates these people is their consumption—he who consumes more and who does so more conspicuously is of a higher class than he who does not consume (Cohen 2003). None of this diminishes the validity of the variety of lived experiences between people of different classes, it just makes the lines dividing the classes harder to define. As such, I prefer a continuum model of class to one of discrete groups, with the labels of “working class” and “middle class” serving as approximations for that group’s location on the continuum rather than tightly-bound categories. Within this framework, the working class label would generally refer to the poor, unskilled, semiskilled, and skilled workers, with the middle class consisting of professionals, craftsmen, and managers, and the upper class made up of capitalists and upper-level managers (Hardesty 1994). Thus, while the early nineteenth-century inhabitants of the Clough House could mostly be defined as members of the middle class, by the later nineteenth century the demographics had skewed greatly toward the working class.

The ways in which historical archaeologists have sought to analyze class have evolved over time (Wurst 2006). Often, these studies have involved ceramic analysis, as I have done here. Ceramics are ideal candidates for archaeological analysis because they are widespread, durable, datable, and vary over time (Majewski and Schiffer 2009). George Miller (1991) established CC indices that tracked the prices of various ceramic

wares over time, seemingly opening the door for quantitative class analysis based on ceramics. However, the relationship between ceramic prices and status was found to be more complex. Factors such as household size, household discard patterns, access to the ceramic market, varying choices by the consumer, and the economic climate of the period under study can all affect the value of ceramics at a particular site (Garrow 1987, LeeDecker et al. 1987, Spencer-Wood 1987, Brighton 2001). Thus, a broader consideration of the location under study and the social norms of the time is necessary for a comprehensive analysis of ceramic consumption. For the nineteenth-century residents of the Clough House, this means a discussion of the prevailing Victorian values of the time.

Consumption and Victorian Values among Middle- and Working-Class Communities

The Victorian era was a transatlantic phenomenon that developed in the mid-nineteenth century and lasted until the end of that century, characterized by the growth of a middle class that was economically strong and socially influential (Praetzellis and Praetzellis 1992). New cultural values known as the “Cult of Domesticity” governed both the public and private lives of the middle class. Before the turn of the nineteenth century, most city dwellers worked from their homes or in nearby areas. With the advent of infrastructural improvements and public transportation options, by the first decades of the nineteenth century many members of the upper class moved to new homes away from the industrializing downtown areas. This was followed by members of the middle class a few decades later, eventually leading to the rise of suburbs in the mid-nineteenth century

(Cantwell and Wall 2001). With the separation of the domestic and commercial spheres, it was the responsibility of women to create a domestic space in line with Victorian values and to pass these values on to their children (Green 1983). Homes were private sanctuaries devoted to relaxation, recreation, and most importantly, gentility and Christian morality. Homes beautified with flowers and natural symbols were believed to foster the proper Christian environment for this morality to flourish (McDannell 1989; Praetzellis and Praetzellis 1992; Fitts 1999).

Not everyone had the capital to participate in this cultural shift—least of all the impoverished. While the upper and middle classes had mostly moved away from the industrial areas by the mid-nineteenth century, the poor were constrained to live in rundown, polluted areas near the centers of industry because they needed to be near their places of work and their small incomes would not allow them to move elsewhere within or outside the city (Harvey 1989). These workers were trapped in a cycle of poverty, which Orser defines as “the physical appearance of social inequality, exclusion, and the unequal distribution of wealth.” (2011:538). Brighton (2008) writes that in Victorian culture, society believed that poverty was the fault of the individual—a moral failure that was within the individual’s control to fix. There were exceptions to this rule—the “deserving poor” consisted of unmarried women, widows with young children, and invalids, and these people were provided with some form of public assistance. Immigrant workers, representing able-bodied men and women, were considered undeserving and immoral. In free market capitalism, poverty alone is hard enough to escape, since it provides a cheap and devalued labor source necessary to increase capital and profits for

the owning class and drive industrial capitalism (Harvey 1989). Victorian ideas of who was deserving of assistance made the escape from poverty even more difficult, if not near impossible, for the immigrant working class.

While Victorian domesticity was initially a Protestant phenomenon, middle-class American Catholics had also adopted a form of it by the later nineteenth century (McDannell 1989). Catholic priests and Protestant reformers taught domestic values to immigrants from Ireland, Mexico, and Italy in an attempt to assimilate them into genteel American culture (Brighton 2001, Yentsch 2011). In the Catholic model, families were to be modeled after the Holy Family, with mothers taking on the central role of Mary in the moral and spiritual growth of their families (McDannell 1989). Over time, some immigrants used material culture to participate in and eventually assimilate into this broader American middle-class culture, while still retaining their sense of religious and ethnic identity (Brighton 2011).

In the Victorian home, everything was to be neat and orderly, and dining was no exception. Etiquette books explained proper place settings and dining behavior (Brighton 2001). Drinking tea became a culturally significant social ritual, with middle-class women often inviting other women into their parlors during the afternoon. Proper ceramic teawares displayed one's gentility (Wall 1991). Beginning in the late nineteenth century, women would host other families in their homes for dinner parties (Wall 1991). At these events, refreshments were handed out by waiters, servants, or the woman of the house herself, depending on the size and formality of the occasion. These parties had been common among the upper classes and became attainable and popular for socially-

conscious middle-class women in the 1880s (Wall 2000). Here too, everything was to be done in the proper manner with the proper materials. Both breakfast and tea, a small evening meal, required a variety of ceramic and glass vessels, including cups, saucers, and plates of various sizes. Dinner, the main meal of the day, was served in the afternoon or evening and required extensive individual place settings for each diner. In addition to the vessels necessary for breakfast and tea, formal dinner place settings called for soup plates, large plates and platters, dessert plates, tumblers, and wineglasses (Wall 2000).

Victorian dining practices are fraught with cultural meanings; therefore the anthropological and archaeological examination of Victorian-era material culture can tell us much about consumers who bought and used these items (Walker 2008; Brighton 2011). Many historical archaeologists have written about Victorian culture and its role in class formation. Most notable is Diana Wall (1991, 1999), who first brought questions of domesticity and Victorianism successfully into historical archaeology. Wall's 1991 paper analyzes the ceramic assemblages from two mid-nineteenth-century homes in Greenwich Village, New York City. She compares an assemblage from an upper-middle-class home to one from the lower-middle class to understand how the women in these homes constructed domesticity with their material culture. Wall finds broad similarities and differences in ceramic consumption patterns between the two sites. For instance, most tableware were made of plain white granite (ironstone), many in a Gothic molded pattern that emulated the contemporaneous trend in Gothic Revival architecture. Wall argues that a home embellished with Gothic-style ceramics and furniture would further invoke the sacredness of domesticity. However, the assemblages differed in the quantity and style of

teaware. The lower-middle-class assemblage had one main ironstone teaware set that matched their tableware. The upper-middle-class assemblage included a similar set, but in porcelain, as well as an additional porcelain teaware with a pedestalled form and fancy gilt decoration. Wall hypothesizes that the wealthier family would use the plain, matching teaware set for private breakfasts and the fancier set for afternoon tea parties with other members of their social stratum, perhaps as form of competitive display and show of status. The lower-middle-class family may have had a different vision of domesticity in which those invited as guests were treated as family and given plain ceramics that spoke to the Gothic ideals of community and mutual help, certainly useful values to members of the lower-working class.

Wall's 1999 article analyzes the ceramic assemblage of a mixed Irish and German working-class immigrant tenement in mid-nineteenth-century New York City and compares its ceramic assemblage to those of middle-class families during the same time period. Working-class women preferred ironstone and whiteware tableware, but these included a variety of molded patterns (including some Gothic) instead of the matching Gothic-style plates favored by the middle class. Likewise, their teaware consisted primarily of paneled ironstone vessels instead of fancier porcelain wares. Wall concludes that, since the working-class women did not emulate the middle class in their ceramic consumption, they were not emulating the Victorian woman's role as moral guardian of the domestic sphere. When the Gothic pattern was used by working-class women, it was not as part of a matched set, and so may have been reserved for small visits by a friend, where the "sacred" quality of the pattern would reinforce community ties. Therefore,

working-class tenement women did not emulate the consumer choices of their middle-class contemporaries regarding ceramics, but rather built their own view of domesticity as one that reinforces the values of community, solidarity, and mutual aid.

Several other studies of ceramic consumption and domestic values have taken place in New York. Robert Fitts (1999) analyzes the assemblages of several households in 1860s Brooklyn, then a middle-class commuting suburb of Manhattan. In addition to discussing the Gothic pattern and matched sets that Wall writes about, Fitts also covers the primacy of nature in Victorian values and the importance of educating one's children in proper domestic behavior. He finds evidence of the Victorian reverence for nature in the many floral motifs and natural designs on ceramics. Furthermore, flower pots were used to beautify the homes of the middle class and center the design of the domestic space on the sacredness of nature, which was believed to best foster values of Christian morality. The recovery of ceramic toy tea sets shows that the parents of these homes were actively teaching their children how to properly perform the genteel manners necessary to maintain their position in Victorian society. Fitts concludes that the material culture in these assemblages represents the active role ceramics played in portraying the values of the middle class and conforming its members to common behaviors and materials.

The excavation of the Five Points area in Manhattan contributed greatly to our understanding of the material lives of working-class immigrants living in crowded tenements in the mid-nineteenth century. Like the North End in Boston, the Five Points was home to a large Irish immigrant population and had a reputation for having some of the worst living conditions in nineteenth-century New York City (Brighton 2001). These

immigrants were the poorest of the poor, and they left behind material culture that speaks to both their social alienation and their access to New York's markets. Recent immigrants appeared to have purchased mismatched ceramics with out-of-date styles, although some purchased fancier wares seemingly above their income level (Brighton 2001, 2011). Even though they were living in poverty, the occupants of the Five Points tenements had access to a large variety of ceramics at many price points by virtue of their living in New York City, America's commercial hub (Brighton 2001). New pottery could be obtained from several area crockeries as well as street auctions, while mismatched sets could be purchased secondhand from junk stores or neighborhood yard sales (Brighton 2001). Teaware made up a significant portion of the ceramic assemblage across time periods, which speaks to the importance of drinking tea, both publically and privately, for these immigrants. (Brighton 2011). Over time, the immigrants in the Five Points tenements shifted from mostly mismatching sets of transfer-printed dishes to plain white-granite ceramics, albeit twenty or so years after these dishes first became fashionable (Yamin 2001). Vessel complexity likewise increased during the later decades of the nineteenth century, perhaps showcasing a change in dining habits more in line with the American middle class (Brighton 2011). Brighton believes that these shifts signify a broader incorporation of Irish immigrants into larger American society around 1880 (Brighton 2011).

Flower pots and figurines were recovered from several deposits, suggesting that these immigrants spent some of their meager incomes on beautifying their homes and had access to more than just essential goods (Yamin 2001). Yamin believes that these

aesthetic pieces provided more than just material comforts; the ceramic figurines could have been a source of emergency money through pawning (Yamin 2001). Likewise, the flower pots could also have been used to grow herbs for use in home medicine or cooking (Brighton 2001). Thus, these objects showcase the values of both beautification and thrift.

Besides New York, the urban centers of Northern California have also been the focus of several studies regarding consumption habits of nineteenth-century working-class immigrants (Praetzellis and Praetzellis 1992; Walker 2008; Yentsch 2011). Much of what the California scholars have found is similar to what I have already outlined concerning the New York scholars, so I will only touch on a few additions here. Many of these studies attempted draw patterns between ceramic consumption and ethnicity, with limited success. Mark Walker writes that the ceramic consumption patterns of railroad workers in West Oakland, California varied along ethnic and socioeconomic lines, with skilled American-born laborers following Victorian norms the most, and unskilled immigrant workers the least (Walker 2008). Similarly, Anne Yentsch concludes that while there were discernible differences in diet among immigrant groups in nineteenth-century California, there remained large class-based differences in diet and material culture, even within ethnic groups (Yentsch 2011). These correlate with studies from the East Coast, where Lu Ann De Cunzo finds no material symbols of ethnic differences discernible in the compared ceramic assemblages of American, French, and Irish American privy deposits in Patterson, New Jersey (De Cunzo 1982). De Cunzo concludes that the deposits were more reflections of mass produced availability and socioeconomic

status than any ethnic boundaries (De Cunzo 1982). What we see in these studies as well as in the Clough House are socioeconomic patterns, not ethnic ones. The ceramic assemblages of working-class immigrant neighborhoods therefore speak more to class-based consumption strategies than to ethnic ones. It is important to note that there will always be the potential for variation within broader class patterns of consumption, since the individuals, generally women, have individual agency in choosing what to consume. Their choices are not solely bound by economics, because consumption is as much a social phenomenon as an economic one (Cook, Yamin and McCarthy 1996). Thus, economic determinism cannot entirely explain the consumption patterns of the working class—while they may not control the means of production, they still express themselves individually and as a collective through their limited but still meaningful choices (Cook, Yamin and McCarthy 1996; Wilkie and Bartoy 2000; Silliman 2006). Taken together, these choices reveal broader consumption patterns among the working class.

Historical Archaeology of the Working Class in Urban Massachusetts

While New York and California have seen significant amounts of study into the material culture of the nineteenth-century working class, Massachusetts has seen comparatively little. One notable exception is the work carried out in the planned factory town of Lowell (Beaudry 1987; Beaudry, Cook and Mrozowski 1991; Beaudry and Mrozowski 2001; Mrozowski 2006). Founded in 1825 by a group of capitalists known as the Boston Associates, Lowell's planned urban landscape included company-owned boarding houses and tenements for factory workers, housing blocks for the middling

overseers, and houses for the company agents (Mrozowski 2006). In their first decades of operation, the mill workers were primarily young Anglo-American women, by the antebellum period the demographics shifted heavily towards Irish and French-Canadian immigrants of both genders (Mrozowski 2006). The lives and schedules of these factory workers were structured by the strict rules of the mill companies, designed to impose social order (Mrozowski 2006). However, the archaeology revealed that the working-class mill operatives found ways to resist these rules and express their ethnic and class-based identities such as drinking clandestinely or smoking from tobacco pipes inscribed with Irish political messages (Beaudry, Cook and Mrozowski 1991; Beaudry and Mrozowski 2001).

The ceramic assemblages from the Lowell excavations show that occupants used flower pots to improve the appearance of their utilitarian living quarters, planting elderberry and grape seeds to beautify their surroundings and add variety to their diets (Beaudry and Mrozowski 2001). A comparison of the ceramic assemblages across class lines showed that the middle-class overseers had slightly fancier wares than the working-class boarding house occupants, with higher percentages of hand-painted and transfer-printed vessels, but overall the assemblages appeared quite similar (Beaudry, Cook, and Mrozowski 1991; Beaudry and Mrozowski 2001). Beaudry, Cook, and Mrozowski (1991) attribute some of the differences in ceramics between household types to differences in household makeup—the families living in the tenements had assemblages that more closely emulated middle-class Victorian domesticity than did the single workers in the boarding houses. Their conclusion correlates with the results of

Clements's (1989) study of Fort Independence in Boston, where the ceramic assemblages of married officers were the fanciest and most complex, and the assemblages of the enlisted men the simplest. These studies highlight the role of the married woman as keeper of the domestic sphere and bearer of Victorian values, but they could also suggest that working-class families and singles did not have the interest or capital to participate much in Victorian consumption practices.

Archaeological studies of working-class life in Boston are few and far between. One such study is the Tremont Street Housing site in Roxbury by Charles and Openo in which excavators uncovered two trash deposits from the mid- to late nineteenth century associated with a working-class immigrant tenement (Charles and Openo 1987). The ceramic assemblage consisted primarily of undecorated English whitewares, with some utilitarian vessel and fancier styles also present, including some gilt-decorated vessels and porcelain, which represented the next most common ware type. The collection exhibited "few cross mends between sherds, few reconstructible vessels, and few vessels with the same pattern, suggesting an absence of matched sets" (Charles and Openo 1987:28). Thus, it appears the tenants at Tremont Street used a mixture of mismatched ceramic styles, most of them affordable but some a bit fancier. This appears to match the descriptions of other working-class assemblages previously outlined and does not correspond with Victorian style.

The Joy Street privy at the African Meeting House represents another residential tenement in Boston, although its privy assemblage dates to the 1820s and 1830s, over a half century before the main midden at the Clough House (Landon and Bulger 2013). The

ceramic assemblage at the African Meeting House tenement was dominated by pearlware, creamware, and redware tablewares, with little evidence for patched sets but a variety of vessel forms, including serving platters, plates, and cups. Landon and Bulger conclude that the assemblage of the tenement was less fancy and more utilitarian than that of the meeting house itself.

There have likewise been few discussions surrounding the archaeology of nineteenth-century working-class culture in Boston's North End. In the 1980s, the nearby Paul Revere House on North Square was the subject of archaeological investigations which primarily sought to study Boston's earliest European history (Elia 1997). In the course of these investigations, a wood-lined privy pit was uncovered, which yielded an upper level of redeposited fill and an intact lower layer dating to around 1870, when the building was a boardinghouse for working-class immigrants, first Irish and then Italian. The lower level of the privy produced many artifacts from the later nineteenth century, including an extensive ceramic assemblage with several intact vessels. Whiteware (including ironstone) was the most common ware type, with small amounts of porcelain, yellow ware, and stoneware also present. The vessels exhibit a wide variety of styles and vessel forms, with only two examples of matching vessels, and these do not represent a whole set. The variety of vessel forms includes tableware, teaware, serving plates, and other specialized forms that would point towards a more genteel consumption, but the mismatched array of styles and ware types are more in line with working-class consumption patterns.

More recent excavations of the Paul Revere House site concentrated on 5-6 Lanthrop Place, a three-story brick and wood building constructed in the Paul Revere House backlot in the 1830s (Heitert et al. 2014). This building was run as a boarding house, and many of its tenants were of Irish, Jewish, and Italian descent. The report's authors conclude that material culture retrieved from 5-6 Lanthrop Place reflects pragmatic consumer choice and mass-produced goods (Heitert et al. 2014). Without more information about the site's boarders, the authors find it difficult to conclude whether the site's inhabitants embraced Victorian ideals but lacked the capital for more expensive purchases or if they eschewed the cult of domesticity for more working-class pleasures.

The Endicott Street site provides another window into the archaeology of working-class life in the North End (Dudek 1999; Stevens and Ordoñez 2005; Beaudry 2006). The site consisted of a privy complex and cistern from the backlot of what used to be 27 and 29 Endicott Street, which in the nineteenth century was part of Boston's red light district (Beaudry 2006). The deposits date to the 1860s and 1870s, and the site functioned as a brothel for part of this time period; it was also home to more middle-class professions, including a physician, policeman, and jeweler (Dudek 1999; Beaudry 2006). The ceramic assemblage included many decorated whitewares and matched table and tea sets, both plain and inexpensive as well as fancily decorated and more expensive (Dudek 1999). This suggests a focus on communal formal dining, either for the clients of the brothel or the later residents of the location. Over time, whiteware fades out in favor of undecorated ironstone (Dudek 1999). While the assemblage is mixed, it seems to

represent a more middle-class pattern than many of the others from similar neighborhoods at this time.

To summarize, historical archaeologists hold that ceramic consumption carries social meaning and can vary across class lines. In comparable late nineteenth-century archaeological sites, the ceramics of upper- and middle-class city dwellers reflected Victorian domestic ideals. These ceramics were generally newer, in-fashion ware types such as ironstone or whiteware, and were often highly decorated. Matching tea sets allowed these women to display their status through their material goods. Similar working-class urban sites produced ceramic assemblages that were comparably less decorated and more mismatched than those from middle-class sites. However, whiteware and ironstone were generally still the most prevalent ware types, and ornamental pieces like flower pots and the occasional high-quality vessel demonstrated a level of consumption above simple functionality. These studies will be revisited and compared to the Clough House assemblage in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 4

PROJECT METHODS AND CERAMIC ANALYSIS

For this project, I performed archival research, artifact cataloguing, deposit dating, and ceramic vessel analysis, as was discussed in Chapter 1. My archival methods were detailed in Chapter 1; what follows is a discussion of the archaeological methods carried out by the City of Boston Archaeology Laboratory, my laboratory methods, and the methods of my ceramic analysis.

Archaeological Investigation and Site Formation Processes

Excavations at the Clough House took place in May and June of 2013 under the direction of Joseph Bagley, Boston City Archaeologist. The subject of the archaeological investigations was the area directly behind the house, which was to be disturbed by the construction of a new path and entranceway (Figure 13). Ten 1x1 meter units were placed (Figure 14) beginning with five units (A2, C2, C4, C6, and C8) placed in an alternating grid that left no more than one meter distance between each unit and the house or walls (Bagley 2013a). This strategy was meant to intersect belowground features such as a privy, however, no privy was found. The remaining five units were placed around these

first five to pursue additional deposits, follow drainage features, and generally provide complete coverage of the area of potential effect. All units were dug to a depth of 125 cm. and produced 36,465 artifacts in total. These artifacts were relatively evenly distributed across all excavation units.



Figure 13: The rear lot of the Clough House with the project area outlined. Photo by Joseph Bagley.

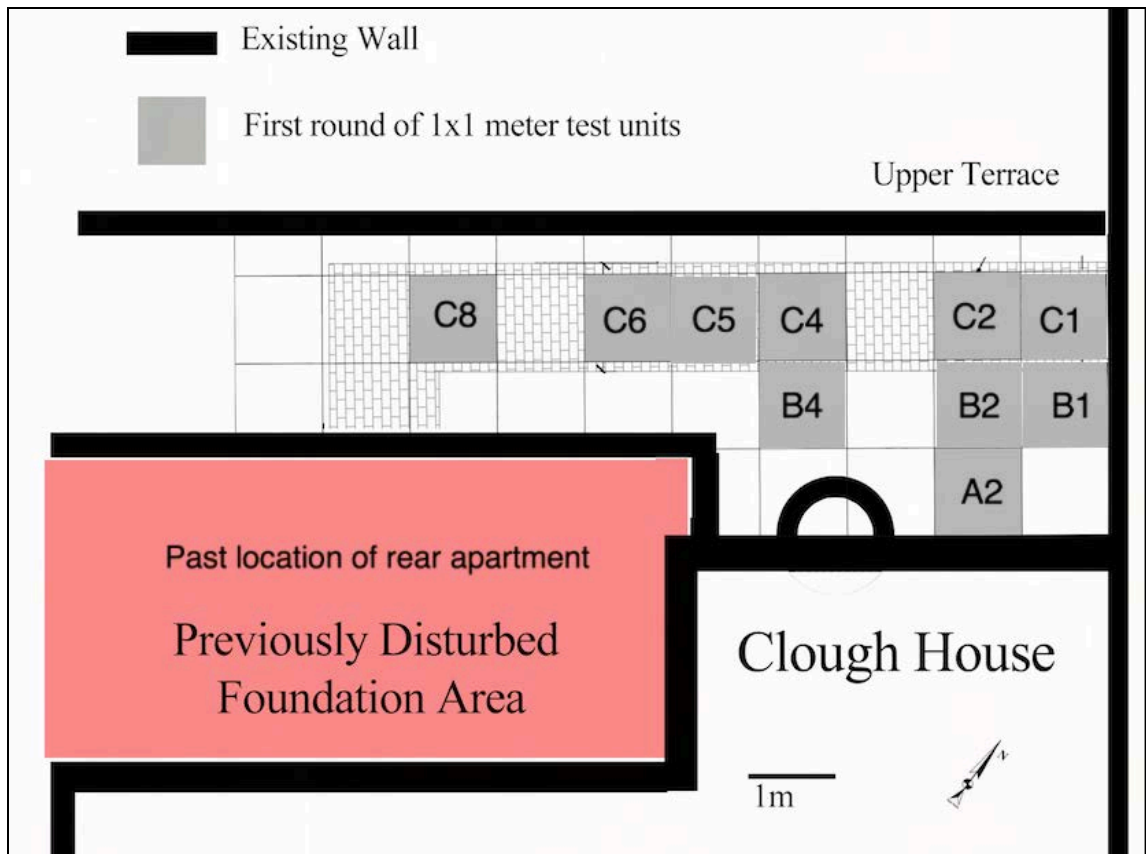


Figure 14: Site map showing the location of the excavation units. Figure by Joseph Bagley.

Once excavations had been completed, the individual strata recorded in the field were consolidated into 14 site-wide contexts, each representing one distinct episode or group of episodes related to the site's depositional history (Table 1). Most of these contexts proved to be more recent filling episodes with few ceramics and consequentially are not relevant to this study. However, a few core deposits that have been dated to the early twentieth century and before are especially worth considering. In particular, ceramics from the main midden, main fill, clay layer, Jane Franklin context, and Mixed

C-soil contexts were vesselized and analyzed for this study. All contexts are summarized below, beginning with the most recent.

Stratum	Unit									
	A2	B1	B2	B4	C1	C2	C4	C5	C6	C8
1	Garden	Garden	Garden	Garden	Garden	Garden	Pathway	Pathway	Pathway	Garden
2	Upper midden	Demo	Upper midden	Builder's trench for light well	Demo	Demo	Garden	Garden	Garden	Main midden
3	Pipe fill/trench	Main midden	Demo	Main fill	Main midden	Main midden	Upper midden	Main midden	Lower pathway	Main fill
4	Upper midden	Main fill	Main midden		Main fill	Main fill	Demo	Main fill	Main midden	Main fill
5	Demo	Jane Franklin	Clay		Jane Franklin	Main fill	Main midden	Below 80cm= Main fill	Main midden	Main fill
6	Main midden	Clay	Main fill		Clay	Main fill	Main fill		Main fill	Drain fill
7	Builder's trench for pipe	Mixed C-soils	Mixed C-soils		Mixed C-soils				Main fill	Main fill
8	Builder's trench for pipe								Main fill	

Table 1: Assigned context by unit and stratum

By analyzing the ground surface level in the 1961 photo of the excavation area (Figure 8), Bagley determined that the garden layer and current pathway were constructed after the 1950s and therefore were not from a period of significance. Under some portions of the pathway is an earlier lower pathway, made of brick. The builder's

trench for the light well was similarly dismissed as later, since the window well is not present in the 1961 photo. The construction activity for this light well most likely disturbed a small portion of the main midden and redeposited it closer to the current ground surface in units A2, C4, and B2. This upper midden contained only six pottery sherds, making it unpractical to analyze in great detail. The pipe fill/trench in unit A2 is probably from the twentieth century when an oil pipe was installed into the wall, providing heating fuel for the house. As unit A2 was excavated further, the excavators expected to find evidence of a builder's trench against the rear wall of the Clough House. However, the presence of a cement support completely covering the exterior foundation of the house down to 125 cm. and the discovery of a thin metal pipe capped with concrete at the bottom of this unit indicated that the new builder's trench for this pipe and repairs to the foundation of the Clough House completely obliterated any remains of the original eighteenth-century builder's trench.

As excavations were carried out, many more pipe and drainage features emerged, resulting in a lattice of crossing pipelines running through most of the site (Figure 15). Central to the site was an old cistern to which almost all of the drainage features lead. This brick cistern with a stone cap was completely empty upon excavation, indicating that it had fallen out of use some time ago and was never filled. Bagley believes that the cistern itself is from the eighteenth century, perhaps dating back to the construction of the house around 1715, since the bricks in the cistern are the same size and shape as the bricks in the house (Joseph Bagley 2016, elec. comm.).

A demolition layer is present in the upper stratigraphic level across most of the site. The presence of large amounts of window glass, brick, mortar, and other building materials in this layer suggest that it was most likely caused by the late twentieth-century demolition of the rear apartment and neighboring buildings. In between the demolition layer and the main midden was a wood board plank floor across most of the site. This may have functioned as a makeshift pathway once household trash deposits ceased, leaving behind a slippery backyard.

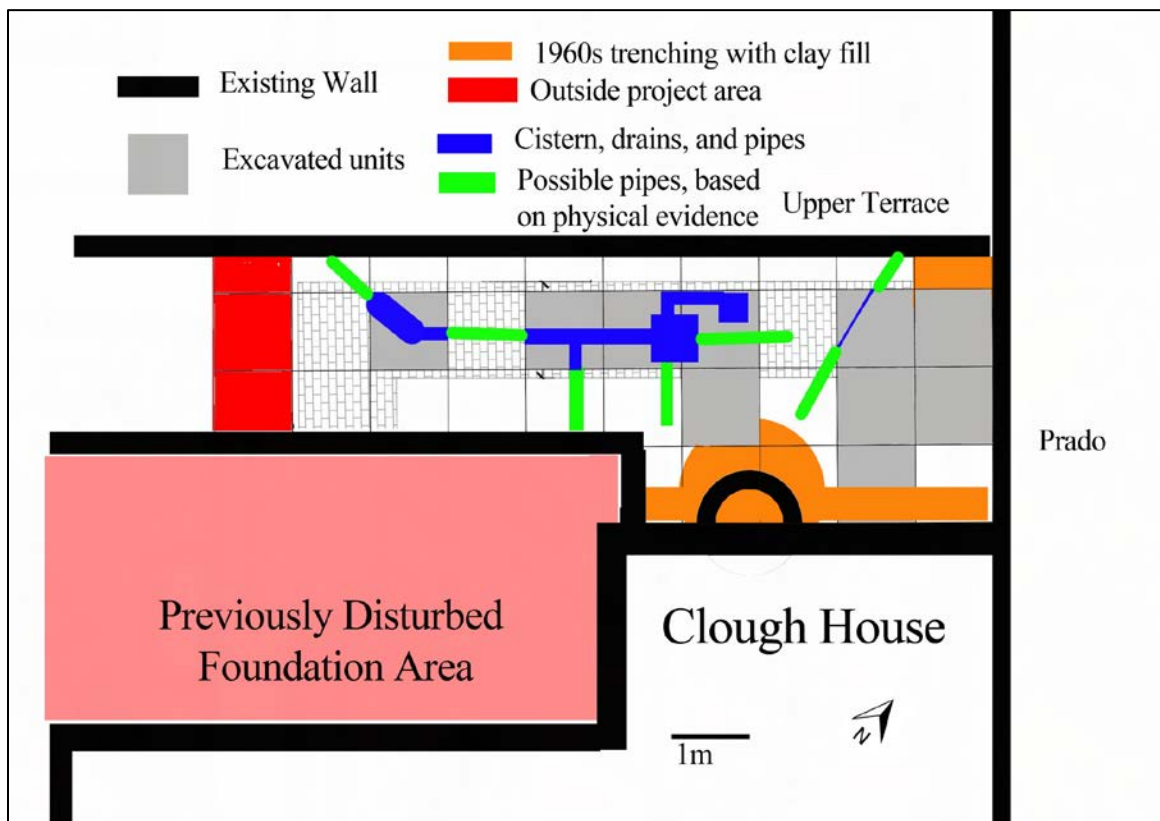


Figure 15: Site map showing drainage features. Figure by Joseph Bagley.

The following five contexts contain artifacts dating back to the building's use as a tenement or before, and therefore will be studied further. Overall, two contexts dominate

the site: the main midden and the main fill. The midden lies stratigraphically above the fill, which was most likely once a trash midden as well based on the volume of artifacts it contains. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it was common practice to dispose of waste in backyard or alleyway trash middens (LeeDecker 1994). These deposits lay immediately behind the Clough House and were separated by a wall from its nearest neighbor to the north, the Jane Franklin House, so I assume that all trash deposits found here came directly from the Clough House.

The main fill, which accounts for the majority of the site's ceramic assemblage, consists of soil redeposited sometime in the mid-to-late nineteenth century, when most of the backyard was dug up to replace an older brick and slate drainage system with newer ceramic pipes. Evidence of the older drainage system was found in unit C8 (drain fill) where an early brick and slate drain led directly into a later ceramic drain, which led to the brick cistern. Once the new drainage system was installed, the now-mixed soils were redeposited in the yard as fill. The residents of the house continued to use the area for trash disposal, capping the fill with the new midden. Figure 16 displays a typical stratigraphic wall profile at the site, showing that the midden is visually and physically distinct from the fill. Mean ceramic dates have confirmed that the many levels of fill lack stratigraphy due to its quick redeposition, while the midden is temporally distinct and developed gradually. Thus, the fill can best be described as a singular event composed of long term deposits that has been mixed and redeposited in one event, whereas the midden is a longer term event comprised of several short term deposits. Coins found in the main fill put a TPQ of 1875 on the filling episode, which may have coincided with the addition

of the three-story rear apartment at some point in the mid-1870s while latest coins found in the main midden carry a TPQ of 1909. Specifically, the main fill's metal assemblage includes two 22-caliber bullet casings with a TPQ of 1857, a mason jar lid with a TPQ of 1858, an unidentified 1860s penny, an 1867 penny, and 1875 Canadian nickel. The main midden, on the other hand, includes two Indian Head cents with a TPQ of 1859, a 32-caliber bullet with a TPQ of 1860, an 1889 Indian Head penny, a 1905 nickel, and a wheat penny with a TPQ of 1909. It also caps the main fill, which has a TPQ of 1875.



Figure 16: South profile photo of units A2, B2, and C2 showing typical site stratigraphy. Photo by Joseph Bagley.

In a few of the units, there are other small deposits located below the midden and the fill. The clay layer could be natural glacial clay that has been redeposited, or it could indicate the presence of a destroyed privy, which would account for the exceptionally large amount of artifacts unearthed at this very small site. Ceramics in the clay layer appear very similar to those in the main fill, including at least one mend, so these contexts are most likely related. The layers adjacent to the Jane Franklin House and the

mixed C layer are some of the oldest and most intact deposits at the site, although their respective ceramic assemblages are smaller when compared to those of the fill and midden.

Laboratory Methods

Upon the completion of excavations at the site (see Chapter 2), the more than 36,000 artifacts were brought to the City of Boston Archaeology Laboratory for processing. Lab volunteers wet or dry brushed each artifact and let dry for two days. Following an initial sorting, all artifacts were cataloged digitally using the Massachusetts Artifact Tracking System by myself, Jerry Warner, Joseph Bagley, and lab volunteers. Upon the completion of the catalog, I created sherd counts and ratios of household ceramics for each context by ware type. Five contexts had large concentrations of household ceramics and were deemed significant for further study (see Chapter 2): the main fill, main midden, the deep layers adjacent to the Jane Franklin House, the mixed C-soils, and the clay layer.

Next, I dated the ceramics in these five contexts, referencing Miller (2000), the Maryland Archaeological Conservation Laboratory (2008), and the Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery (2006). I then used these data to calculate the mean ceramic date (MCD) and ceramic *terminus post quem* (TPQ) for these five contexts (Table 2). I used TPQ-90 for my calculations in order to account for the disturbed nature of the site as well as any excavator errors. Due to their large manufacture and use ranges, redwares and porcelains were excluded in the calculation of the MCD and TPQ-90 of the five contexts.

Following this, I completed a vessel analysis of the five contexts. My vesselization methods were based on Voss and Allen (2010). First, I sorted the

Context	MCD	TPQ-90 (ceramics)	Ceramic Sherd Count	MNV
Main Midden	1816	1840	269	43
Main Fill	1767	1795	2957	182
Clay Layer	1773	1795	244	34
Jane Franklin	1761	1775	128	12
Mixed C	1718	1775	73	17

Table 2: Ceramic dates and counts by context

assemblage by ware type and context, crosschecking with the catalog to make sure everything was there. I then checked each sherd to confirm that all wares were identified correctly, making changes to the catalog as needed. I then separated each ware type into a minimum number of vessels within a context, considering only rim sherds with the exception of extremely unique sherds that were justified as not belonging to any rim. This was done using decoration and vessel size, assuming continuity around the rim. I recorded the FiskeCat info for each vessel, including the ware type, decorative style, vessel form, rim or base diameter (if measurable), height (if a complete profile), any cross mends between contexts, a unique vessel number, and notes justifying why each vessel was different from other similar ones. When the sherds were large enough, I considered rims and bases to determine vessel forms, using Beaudry et al. (1983) and Miller (2011). However, the assemblage was mostly made up of small fragmentary pieces, making rim or base diameters and vessel forms difficult to establish in many cases besides hollowware/flatware or tableware/teaware. Finally, each vessel was photographed. The results of the ceramic analysis are presented below by context.

Results of the Ceramic Analysis

Main Fill

Household ceramics were most abundant in the main fill, with 2,957 sherds (n) representing a minimum of 182 vessels (MNV) (Table 3). The main fill has an MCD of 1767 and a TPQ-90 of 1795 based on ceramics, but several nineteenth century forms as well as coins from the mid-nineteenth century show that the fill contains materials from a long period of the site's history. The fill lacks internal stratigraphy, and is capped by the darker-soiled main midden on top. The fill was most likely once a trash midden that was dug up and redeposited in the 1870s when the drainage features in the rear of the house were replaced, possibly coinciding with the construction of the three-story rear addition. Thus, the ceramics in the main fill represent the house's single-family beginnings in the eighteenth century and its Anglo-American tenement status in the early nineteenth century

Refined earthenware is the most abundant ware type, representing 45% of sherds recovered (n=1327). Among the refined earthenware, pearlware is the most common ware type (n=723; 25%), representing 76 minimum vessels (42% of the MNV). Most of the pearlware dates to the site's early tenement period, with common decorative styles including transfer-print (MNV=32), shell-edged (MNV=21), or hand-painted (MNV=20). The transfer-printed wares were almost entirely blue, with one brown-printed ware. Border patterns varied among these wares, and while the assemblage was too small to establish known print patterns, several motifs were identified. The most common of these were geometric motifs, but a small number of leaf or floral patterns were also present,

and one hanging lantern pattern was identified. One tea bowl rim featured a farm pattern on the interior, with mountains decorating the exterior. Shell-edged wares from a variety of styles were recovered, with both blue (MNV=14) and green (MNV=7) styles present. Among hand-painted pearlware vessels, blue-banded wares were the most common, followed by bands of other colors. Unique decorations included one blue banded hollowware rim with a green leaf pattern, one factory-decorated slipware, and two china-glaze style teaware vessels made to resemble Chinese porcelain.

Main Fill				
Ware Type	Sherd Count	Percent of Total Sherds	MNV	Percent of Total MNV
Redware	411	13.9%	20	11.0%
Staffordshire Slipware	52	1.8%	1	0.5%
Creamware	517	17.5%	13	7.1%
Pearlware	723	24.5%	76	41.8%
Whiteware	66	2.2%	7	3.8%
Ironstone	15	0.5%	1	0.5%
Yellow ware	6	0.2%	2	1.1%
White Salt-Glazed Stoneware	141	4.8%	4	2.2%
British/Fulham Stoneware	18	0.6%	1	0.5%
Rhenish/Westerwald Stoneware	135	4.6%	6	3.3%
Other Stoneware	23	0.8%	3	1.6%
Tin Glazed	624	21.1%	13	7.1%
Porcelain	174	5.9%	28	15.4%
Other/Unidentified	52	1.8%	7	3.8%
Total	2957	100%	182	100%

Table 3: Main Fill ware types

Identifiable pearlware vessel forms include both hollowware and flatware, with bowls being the most prevalent, followed by plates and then tea bowls. Other vessel forms identified included saucers, teacups, an octagonal plate, a platter, a serving dish lid, and a teapot. These forms speak to a variety functions, from dinner to tea serving and

preparation. Despite the large number of pearlware sherds recovered, there was no indication of matched sets, but this may be explained by the fragmentary nature of the assemblage and the fact that the context was not completely excavated. The presence of expensive transfer-printed wares alongside more moderately-priced shell-edged wares and hand-painted vessels is best explained through both the changing popularity in styles over the approximately 150 years that the fill represents, as well as the changes in occupants in the Clough House from a single family to middle-class tenants to working-class inhabitants.

Creamware was also common in the main fill at 18%, with 517 sherds representing 13 minimum vessels (7% of the MNV). The MNV count is much lower for creamware than for pearlware because most of the creamware was undecorated, whereas pearlware is typically highly decorated (Miller 1980). Indeed, of the 13 vessels, 9 are undecorated, although some of these possess a scalloped edge. The other four include one Whieldon-style plate, one piece of factory-decorated slipware, and two handpainted wares—one tea bowl with a red and gold handpainted pattern, and one brown- or gold-banded ware. Other decorations found on body sherds include black transfer-printed ware and cauliflower ware. Creamware vessel forms included plates, bowls, and a tankard, with both tea and tableware present.

Later refined earthenwares are marginally present in the main fill from the house's early Anglo-American tenement period and include whiteware (n=66; MNV=7), ironstone (n=15; MNV=1), and yellow ware (n=6; MNV=2). The whiteware consisted mainly of tableware with a wide variety of decorations, including transfer-print (blue,

brown, and red), lusterware, decalcomania, flow blue, and sponge decorated wares. The small ironstone and yellow ware assemblage primarily consists of thick hollowwares.

Redware sherds represented 14% of the ceramic assemblage (n=411; MNV=20; 11% of the MNV). Black, brown, yellow, and lead glazes, as well as trailed slip and unglazed vessels made up the assemblage, which included a minimum of three chamber pots, one teapot, and one flower pot, many with incised decorations. The redware assemblage speaks to the practical necessities of life, including vessels for personal hygiene, food preparation, and plant growth.

Tin-glaze ware, common during the eighteenth-century single-family occupation of the house, make up 21% of the main fill assemblage (n=624, MNV=13; 7% of the MNV). Most vessels were handpainted blue and red, generally in a banded fashion. Some had a purple glaze. Vessel forms were primarily hollowware, with a minimum of two chamber pots, two bowls, a cup, and a porringer. One polychrome majolica jug was also recovered. In general, vesselization was performed more conservatively on tin glazed vessels due to the inconsistent variation in tin glaze rim sizes and the fragmentary nature of the assemblage.

Porcelain sherds constituted 6% of the main fill ceramic assemblage, with 174 sherds and 28 minimum vessels (15% of the MNV). Among the vessels, underglaze blue was the most common decorative style, but overglaze enamel was also present. Most motifs were simple linear designs with some floral patterns, gilt-decorated wares, and a thistle motif included as well. The assemblage was overwhelmingly composed of teaware, and highlighted the presence of children in the Clough House, with a minimum

of one child's creamer and six pieces of a doll's tea set recovered. Porcelain doll parts were also recovered. The porcelain assemblage would have been more expensive than the other ware types in the fill, which would lead to the conclusion that it was most likely owned by the single-family owners of the house in the eighteenth century, although the presence of later forms, especially the doll sets, and the presence of porcelain in later contexts means that some of these high-class wares may have belonged to the building's nineteenth-century tenants as well.

Stoneware represented 11% of the assemblage (n=317; MNV=14; 7% of the MNV), with German forms (n=135; MNV=6), especially Westerwald, as well as white salt-glazed stoneware (n=141; MNV=4) being the most common ware types. Identified vessels included four Westerwald mugs, three pieces of white salt-glazed teaware, a Westerwald chamber pot, an Albany slip storage vessel, a Nottingham bowl, and a Rhenish bellarmine. Most of the stoneware dates to the eighteenth century and would have been used by either the Clough-Brown or Pierce-Roby families.

Finally, eight vessels of other ware types were identified. Several of these are early forms, including one Astbury teaware, a style in use from 1725 to 1750, A minimum of two Iberian storage jugs were recovered, as well as one piece of footed Jackfield teaware, one Manganese mottled tankard, and two North Devon vessels, one gravel tempered, and the other sgraffito slipped. One Rockingham vessel and one Staffordshire slipped chamber pot round out the assemblage. While these ware types are uncommon in the main fill, they speak to its colonial past as a single-family house.

Overall, the main fill exhibits a mixed assemblage of old and new vessels, ranging from inexpensive to pricy. Ware types cover a long time period from the house's colonial beginnings to the late nineteenth century. While 45% of the identified vessels are teaware, there is insufficient evidence to support the presence of matching sets in the assemblage. Changing styles and ceramic technology coupled with the changing demographics of the Clough House during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries allowed for the recovery of a wide variety of ware types and vessel forms in the main fill.

Clay Layer

The Clay layer could be natural glacial clay that has been redeposited, or it could be the remnants of a destroyed privy, as privies were often lined with clay. This context contained 244 ceramic sherds, representing 34 minimum vessels (Table 4). The MCD of 1773 and TPQ-90 of 1795 appear very similar to the main fill. Furthermore, the only crossmend found between contexts was a creamware octagonal plate with sherds found in both the main fill and clay layer, furthering the possibility that the two contexts are related. Thus, the clay layer likewise contains material from the eighteenth-century single-family occupation period as well as the nineteenth-century Anglo-American tenement period.

Refined earthenware is the most common ware type in the clay layer at 52% of the assemblage (n=128; MNV=14; 41% of the MNV). More than half of this is pearlware, whose 66 sherds represent 12 minimum vessels. Four of these are transfer-printed—three blue and one black. Four are shell-edged, two blue and two green. Three

are handpainted—two gold-banded and one blue-banded. The final pearlware vessel is a piece of factory decorated slipware with a granite inlay pattern very similar to the piece found in the main fill. Vessel forms were a mix of hollowware and flatware, but the fragmentary nature of the sherds meant that the forms or decorative motifs could not be determined in greater detail. Like the main fill, there is a mixture of expensive and inexpensive types present.

Clay Layer				
Ware Type	Sherd Count	Percent of Total Sherds	MNV	Percent of Total MNV
Redware	32	13.1%	5	14.7%
Staffordshire Slipware	6	2.5%	1	2.9%
Creamware	60	24.6%	1	2.9%
Pearlware	66	27.0%	12	35.3%
Whiteware	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Ironstone	2	0.8%	1	2.9%
Yellow ware	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
White Salt-Glazed Stoneware	7	2.9%	1	2.9%
British/Fulham Stoneware	2	0.8%	1	2.9%
Rhenish/Westerwald Stoneware	8	3.3%	1	2.9%
Other Stoneware	1	0.4%	1	2.9%
Tin Glazed	46	18.9%	4	11.8%
Porcelain	10	4.1%	4	11.8%
Other/Unidentified	4	1.6%	2	5.9%
Total	244	100%	34	100%

Table 4: Clay Layer ware types

Creamware included 60 sherds, but the few rim sherds present and lack of diversity in decorative styles allowed for the designation of only one minimum vessel, a Whieldon ware. Most body sherds were undecorated, with at least one piece of factory-decorated slipware. There were only two small sherds of undecorated ironstone present in

the clay layer, representing one minimum vessel. No whiteware or yellow ware was recovered from the clay layer.

Redware composed 9% of the clay layer ceramic assemblage, with 32 sherds representing 5 minimum vessels with various glaze types. Once again, the small size of sherds in this deposit made vessel forms difficult to establish, but most are hollowware, with one possible flower pot. Tin-glazed wares made up 19% of the sample (n=46; MNV=4). Two of these vessels are hand-painted blue on a white glaze. One is a blue-glazed bowl, and the other a pink-bodied flatware. Other body sherds showed polychrome painting. Eighteen Stoneware shreds established four minimum vessels: one black basalt ware, one Nottingham ware, one white salt-glazed tea bowl, and one Westerwald hollowware. The black basalt ware was the only vessel of the kind found in these five contexts. The porcelain assemblage consisted of 10 sherds and 4 minimum vessels. All teawares, three had underglaze blue decorations, two of these with additional patterns painted above the glaze. The final sherd was decorated overglaze in red. Three other ware types were recovered from this layer: marble-slipped agateware, sprig-molded Astbury type, and a Staffordshire slipped hollowware vessel. The lone agateware body sherd was the only example of agateware found on the entire site. Overall, the clay layer appears quite similar to the main fill, both in terms of ware type and vessel form.

Jane Franklin Layer

The Jane Franklin layer was a deep deposit found in two units adjacent to the uncovered foundation of the Jane Franklin House, which once abutted the Clough House.

A wall separated the backlots of the two houses, so the materials in this layer certainly came from the Clough House, but were found adjacent to the foundation for the wall, under the main fill and above the clay layer. The Jane Franklin layer has an MCD of 1761, a TPQ-90 of 1775, and a much higher proportion of tin-glazed wares than the two previous layers. This means that most of the ceramics here were most likely used by the Pierce-Roby family during the single-family occupation of the house.

Overall, the Jane Franklin layer produced 128 sherds, representing 12 minimum vessels (Table 5). Tin-Glazed wares were the most common ware type at 47% (n=60; MNV=2; 17% of the MNV). The two minimum vessels included one hand-painted blue hollowware, and one purple-glazed vessel. Other handpainted polychrome body sherds were also recovered, but were not included in the MNV count because they all contained blue as well. Twenty-eight sherds of redware accounted for three minimum vessels. No redware rim sherds were found in this context, so three body sherds represent the minimum number of vessels: one lead glazed on one side and unglazed on the other, one pot that is black glazed on one side and lead glazed on the other, and one with a trailed slip.

Refined earthenware makes up comparably less of the Jane Franklin assemblage, at 13% (n=17; MNV=2). Only pearlware and creamware were recovered, representing one minimum vessel each. The pearlware vessel is an undecorated serving dish lid, and the creamware vessel is an undecorated hollowware. Stoneware consisted of 13 sherds from two minimum vessels. These included one incised white salt-glazed bowl, and one Westerwald bottle or mug. Eight porcelain sherds comprised one minimum vessel, a

teaware with overglaze enamel. One body sherd had a red hatched pattern. Seven Staffordshire-slipped sherds represented a minimum of one hollowware, and there was also one piece of Jackfield teaware. Overall, the Jane Franklin layer consists of older ceramic types with a focus on food preparation and consumption with only two pieces of teaware recovered. This could be due to the fact that the tea ritual gained popularity in the nineteenth century.

Jane Franklin				
Ware Type	Sherd Count	Percent of Total Sherds	MNV	Percent of Total MNV
Redware	21	16.4%	3	25.0%
Staffordshire Slipware	7	5.5%	1	8.3%
Creamware	7	5.5%	1	8.3%
Pearlware	10	7.8%	1	8.3%
Whiteware	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Ironstone	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Yellow ware	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
White Salt-Glazed Stoneware	3	2.3%	1	8.3%
British/Fulham Stoneware	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Rhenish/Westerwald Stoneware	10	7.8%	1	8.3%
Other Stoneware	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Tin Glazed	60	46.9%	2	16.7%
Porcelain	8	6.3%	1	8.3%
Other/Unidentified	2	1.6%	1	8.3%
Total	128	100%	12	100%

Table 5: Jane Franklin ware types

Mixed C-Soils

The mixed C-like layer was found beneath the main fill and clay layer in three units. It was deep and mostly sterile, contributing some of the oldest ceramics found at the site. The mixed C layer possesses a TPQ-90 of 1775 and an MCD of 1718, by far the earliest of the site. Its 73 sherds make up 17 minimum vessels (Table 6).

Mixed C Layer				
Ware Type	Sherd Count	Percent of Total Sherds	MNV	Percent of Total MNV
Redware	12	16.4%	3	17.6%
Staffordshire Slipware	2	2.7%	1	5.9%
Creamware	2	2.7%	1	5.9%
Pearlware	4	5.5%	2	11.8%
Whiteware	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Ironstone	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Yellow ware	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
White Salt-Glazed Stoneware	4	5.5%	1	5.9%
British/Fulham Stoneware	1	1.4%	1	5.9%
Rhenish/Westerwald Stoneware	9	12.3%	1	5.9%
Other Stoneware	1	1.4%	1	5.9%
Tin Glazed	30	41.1%	3	17.6%
Porcelain	5	6.8%	1	5.9%
Other/Unidentified	3	4.1%	2	11.8%
Total	73	100%	17	100%

Table 6: Mixed C Layer ware types

Tin-Glazed wares were the most common ware type in the mixed C layer, representing 41% of the assemblage (n=30; MNV=3; 18% of the MNV). The three minimum vessels include a white glazed undecorated plate, a hand-painted blue and red flatware, and a hand-painted blue hollowware. Fifteen stoneware sherds comprise four minimum vessels—one Nottingham type, one white salt-glazed stoneware, one Westerwald mug, and one handle of unknown type. Twelve redware sherds represent three minimum vessels—one pot with a lead-glazed interior, one hollowware with a trail slip and brown glaze, and one hollowware with black glaze.

Refined earthenwares are uncommon in this context, with six sherds representing three minimum vessels. The four pearlware sherds make up two minimum vessels—one hand-painted blue rim and one transfer-printed blue vessel. The two creamware sherds

make up one minimum vessel, an undecorated plate. The five porcelain sherds represent one minimum vessel, a blue underglaze teacup or tea bowl. The assemblage also includes a minimum of one Staffordshire slipped vessel, one North Devon sgraffito vessel, and one North Devon gravel-free vessel. Overall, the sherds recovered from the mixed C-soils are older than in other contexts, but their highly fragmentary nature makes assigning vessel forms very difficult.

Main Midden

With an MCD of 1816 and a ceramic TPQ-90 of 1840, the main midden is drastically different from the other four contexts analyzed at the site. This darker layer capped the main fill and possesses internal stratigraphy, showing that it was used as a trash midden after the filling episode of the 1870s, which occurred around the time of the rear apartment being added on to the back of the house. Coins date the deposit from the 1870s until perhaps the 1910s. Thus, the material in the main midden was deposited over a shorter time period than other contexts and relates directly to the period in which the Clough House was a densely-packed immigrant tenement (see Chapter 2). In the main midden, 269 total sherds of household ceramics were recovered, representing 43 minimum vessels. As would be expected, refined earthenwares dominate the assemblage at 48% (n=129; MNV=17; 40% of MNV) (Table 7). But it is not the later forms of ironstone and whiteware that are most prominent in this assemblage. Pearlware and creamware make up 60% of the refined earthenware sherds and 70% of the refined earthenware vessels.

Main Midden				
Ware Type	Sherd Count	Percent of Total Sherds	MNV	Percent of Total MNV
Redware	48	17.8%	11	25.6%
Staffordshire Slipware	2	0.7%	1	2.3%
Creamware	32	11.9%	4	9.3%
Pearlware	50	18.6%	8	18.6%
Whiteware	27	10.0%	2	4.7%
Ironstone	19	7.1%	2	4.7%
Yellow ware	1	0.4%	1	2.3%
White Salt-Glazed Stoneware	8	3.0%	2	4.7%
British/Fulham Stoneware	2	0.7%	1	2.3%
Rhenish/Westerwald Stoneware	1	0.4%	1	2.3%
Other Stoneware	7	2.6%	1	2.3%
Tin Glazed	25	9.3%	3	7.0%
Porcelain	36	13.4%	5	11.6%
Other/Unidentified	11	4.1%	1	2.3%
Total	269	100%	43	100%

Table 7: Main Midden ware types

Pearlware is the most common ware type by sherd count and the second highest by MNV, comprising 39% of the refined earthenware sherds recovered from this context (n= 50; MNV=8; 19% of the MNV). These included a minimum of three shell-edge plates (two green, one blue), two blue transfer-printed wares (one flatware, one hollow teaware), one undecorated hollowware, and two handpainted teawares (one blue and orange painted saucer and one gold banded, blue painted hollowware). The pearlwares showcase a mixture of teawares and tablewares with printed, painted, and edged styles. The 32 creamware sherds make up a minimum of 4 vessels (9% of the MNV) and 12% of the sherd count. The vessels represented include three undecorated wares (hollowware, flatware, and bowl), and one brown factory-decorated slipware hollowware. The 27 whiteware sherds represent 2 minimum vessels (5% of the MNV), a brown transfer-

printed teapot and a hollowware with a molded rim (Figure 17). Other body sherds included black transfer-print and blue transfer-print. One of the few maker's marks at the site was found on a whiteware flatware base. It is incomplete, but what remains of the marking date the sherd to either 1884 or 1899 (Birks 2013). The 19 ironstone sherds represent 2 minimum vessels (5% of the MNV), one undecorated hollowware and one gold banded (luster) plate. Finally, the one yellow ware sherd represents one molded vessel. Overall, the refined earthenware assemblage includes a great number of pearlware and creamware vessels that fell out of fashion decades before the 1870s.



Figure 17: Whiteware teapot lid with brown transfer-printed floral decoration from the main midden

By percent of the MNV, redwares were the most common ware type within the main midden assemblage, with 48 sherds encompassing 11 minimum vessels (26% of the MNV), around half of them unglazed. The most unique redware vessel is a pie crust mold (Figure 18). The assemblage is mostly functional in nature, with a minimum of five flower pots (Figure 19), the greatest concentration of flower pots on the site.



Figure 18: Redware pie crust mold from the main midden



Figure 19: Redware flower pot from the main midden

The 36 porcelain sherds contribute to 5 minimum vessels (12% of the MNV), with both earlier and later forms present. These include one nineteenth- or twentieth-century molded mug with a gold gilt rose pattern (Figure 20), one green luster dish with a scalloped edge, and a gold luster, pink-banded teaware. Also included was one Chinese underglaze blue bowl, and one tiny plate from a doll's tea set (Figure 21). The main midden also included porcelain doll parts (Figure 22). While most of the porcelain

recovered from the main midden was later in style, some of it is highly decorated in gilt. Dolls and doll tea sets highlight the presence of children in the Clough House tenement, who may have used the back lot as a place to play and get away from the dozens of other inhabitants of the house.



Figure 20: Molded porcelain mug with gold gilt floral pattern from the main midden

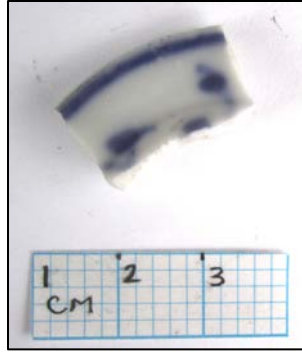


Figure 21: Fragment of a porcelain doll tea set plate from the main midden



Figure 22: Doll part from the main midden. Photo by Joseph Bagley.

The stoneware recovered from the main midden includes 18 sherds representing 5 minimum vessels (12% of the MNV). These include an Albany slip hollowware, a white salt-glazed tea bowl, a white salt-glazed flatware, a Westerwald mug, and a Nottingham inkwell. Overall, the stoneware collection is much older than expected, with only the Albany slip vessel common during the later nineteenth century, and some ware types,

such as the Westerwald mug, having fallen out of use a century or more before. The inkwell confirms that some of the immigrants were literate, and may have written letters back to their relatives abroad.

Twenty-five tin-glazed sherds comprise three minimum vessels (7% of the MNV), a strangely large amount considering the ware type fell out of favor almost a century before the immigrant tenants moved in to the Clough House. The three minimum vessels include one hand-painted blue, one hand-painted polychrome, and one purple-glazed vessel, but the absence of rim pieces from the tin-glazed assemblage makes it difficult to determine vessel forms. Also included in the ceramic assemblage was one Staffordshire slipped chamber pot and one piece of Jackfield teaware. While the Jackfield type is typically associated with the eighteenth century, a revival of the Jackfield type occurred in the late nineteenth century (Maryland Archaeological Conservation Laboratory 2008).

Overall, the ceramics from the main midden present an interesting collection—while some are from common late nineteenth-century ware types such as whiteware, ironstone, and later porcelains, more than half of the vessels are from older ware types that had largely fallen out of favor by this time period, such as pearlware, creamware, tin-glazed wares, and some stonewares.

This main midden represents a substantial amount of time lag between manufacture and deposition dates. The mean ceramic date for the midden is 1816, yet coins show that this midden was not used until the mid-1870s, a gap of around 60 years. Adams (2003) has noted that a time lag of around 15-20 years between the date of a

ceramic's manufacture and the date of its disposition is to be expected at most historical archeological sites. This number can vary according to several factors, including the "frugality effect" that is most likely at play in this assemblage—poorer people tended to use older, secondhand ceramics in order to save money (Adams 2003). Adams states that the frugality effect is signified in archaeological assemblages by a high ratio of patterns to vessels, which would indicate that ceramics were being acquired as individual pieces instead of complete sets. This is exactly the pattern exhibited by the main midden assemblage at the Clough House. Many different patterns are represented, with no one pattern making up more than one minimum vessel, with the exception of undecorated ceramics. Furthermore, the main midden contains ceramics from a wide range of time periods, from the eighteenth century up to at least the late nineteenth century.

Could the main midden simply be another part of the main fill? I argue here that the main midden is a stratigraphically distinct deposit that occurred gradually after a filling event created the main fill that covers much of the site. As I discussed near the beginning of this chapter, the main fill contains metal artifacts, mainly coins, which give it a TPQ of 1875. The main midden, on the other hand, produced two twentieth-century coins, giving it a TPQ of 1909. Furthermore, it would make sense for the filling episode (the replacement of the drainage system under the rear lot) to coincide with construction of the rear apartment onto the Clough House, an addition which I have previously dated to around 1874 based on archival records. The soil from the main midden is both visually and textually distinct from the main fill. Stratigraphically, the midden lies just above the

fill, capping it across the site (Table 1; Figure 16). If the fill has a TPQ of 1875 based on coinage, the deposition of the artifacts in the main midden must postdate 1875.

More evidence that the main midden is distinct from and postdates the main fill comes from the ceramics themselves. While the relative percentages of ware types appear similar between the main midden and the main fill (Tables 3 and 7), the dates of the ceramics themselves tell a different story. When both decoration and ware type are taken into account, the main midden has a TPQ-90 of 1840 to the main fill's 1795, and an MCD of 1816 compared to the main fill's 1767 (Table 2). These dates represent a significant difference of around 50 years. Thus, I posit that the main midden is indeed a more recent deposit distinct from the main fill, and the presence of earlier ceramics in the main midden is caused by a high degree of time lag due to the nature of the Clough House's working-class tenants.

What then can the consumption pattern presented here tell us about the Clough House's primarily working-class, immigrant tenants? What was their consumption strategy, and what can it tell us about their values and priorities? How did it compare to other assemblages of working-class groups, or did it follow Victorian dining norms? In order to find out, I conducted a further analysis on the ceramics from the main midden, comparing the ceramic consumption patterns of the Clough House tenants to others from working, middle, and upper classes during the second half of the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER 5

CONSUMPTION PATTERNS, ECONOMIC STRATEGY, AND WORKING-CLASS VALUES

Comparison to Victorian Assemblages

As a domestic trash pit in use from the 1870s until the 1910s, the main midden was the most tightly dated of all contexts at the Clough House site. This context was chosen for future analysis in order to answer my research question: what were the consumption strategies of working-class immigrant tenants in Boston, and what can they tell us about their priorities and values? How did the consumption patterns of the Catholic immigrant working class compare to other working-class assemblages and to those of the Victorian, Protestant middle class? To answer this, it is necessary to first understand what characteristics showcased the ideals of Victorian domesticity in a ceramic assemblage. Historical archaeologists such as Wall (1991, 1999), Fitts (1999), Brighton (2001, 2011), Walker (2008), and Yentsch (2011) have used a wide variety of techniques to examine the degree to which Victorian ideology was present in the ceramic assemblages from various archaeological sites. I discussed their work and the work of others analyzing the ceramic assemblages of nineteenth-century working- and middle-class sites in Chapter 3.

For this analysis, methods were selected that could be adequately applied to the Clough House collection. One of the challenges with the collection is that the assemblage is highly fragmentary. While ware types, border decorations, and basic vessel forms (such as teaware/tableware and flatware/hollowware) were easily identifiable, many sherds were too small to accurately measure rim diameters or pinpoint specific vessel forms. These restrictions meant that some methods used by other scholars could not be completed on this collection. Chief among these was using Miller's CC-indices to ascertain the value of the cost assemblage and compare it to similar sites (Miller 1991). Besides being mainly used for older sites, Miller's calculations require rim diameters, which could only be calculated for a small fraction of the Clough House ceramics, due to their fragmentary nature. Dating specific decorative patterns (Brighton 2011) or the presence of names or literary motifs (Fitts 1999) could likewise not be completed for the same reason.

These restrictions aside, I used the archaeologists discussed in Chapter 3 to identify a suite of ten so-called "Victorian" characteristics to look for in the ceramic assemblage (Table 8). During the second half of the nineteenth century, a proper middle/upper-class ceramic assemblage would include: 1) A diverse assemblage with many vessel forms (Fitts 1999; Walker 2008; Brighton 2011; Yentsch 2011) and 2) the presence of serving vessels (Wall 1991; Fitts 1999). This would hint at the practice of social dining, as several specific vessel forms were necessary to prepare and present food properly. Similarly, the tea ritual was important for displaying one's respectability, so a Victorian assemblage should include: 3) a high percentage of teaware when compared to

tableware (Fitts 1999; Wall 1991; Yentsch 2011), 4) “fancy” decorated teaware (Wall 1991, 1999), and 5) the presence of matched sets (Fitts 1999; Wall 1999; Brighton 2001, 2011; Walker 2008), which would demonstrate the financial and cultural commitment that tenants had towards social tea drinking. 6) Newer, in-fashion ware types such as Ironstone with the molded Gothic pattern (Wall 1991; Brighton 2011) and 7) more highly decorated vessels than plain ones (Wall 1991, 1999; Fitts 1999) would allow consumers to show off their wealth and status. The Victorians’ affinity for nature and natural symbols could potentially be seen in 8) the presence of flower pots to beautify the home or in 9) floral motifs on ceramics (Fitts 1999; Brighton 2001). Finally, 10) the presence of toys such as dolls and dolls’ tea sets would highlight the importance of teaching children Victorian values (Fitts 1999; Brighton 2001).

Characteristic	As seen in	Present?
High number of vessel forms	Fitts 1999; Walker 2008; Brighton 2011; Yentsch 2011	No
Serving vessels	Wall 1991, Fitts 1999	No
More teaware than tableware	Fitts 1999; Wall 1991; Yentsch 2011	No
Fancy decorated teaware	Wall 1991, 1999	Yes
Matched sets	Fitts 1999; Wall 1999; Brighton 2001, 2011; Walker 2008	No
Newer ware types	Wall 1991; Brighton 2011	No
More decorated than plain vessels	Wall 1991, 1999; Fitts 1999	Yes
Flowerpots	Fitts 1999; Brighton 2001	Yes
Natural motifs	Fitts 1999; Brighton 2001	Yes
Dolls / doll tea sets	Fitts 1999; Brighton 2001	Yes

Table 8: Victorian Ceramic Characteristics

Fitts (1999) also provided three other Victorian characteristics that did not involve ceramics. The first is that the Victorian middle class would wait until they were

financially stable to move out and get married. As a tenement for the working poor, the Clough House did not show this pattern among its tenants, but this may have not been an option for most in the working class. Fitts also writes that the American professional class would generally have fewer children than the immigrant working class. We certainly see families with a high number of Children at the Clough House, but this may be due to cultural differences, since Catholic Irish and Italian immigrant families tended to have more children than their American counterparts (Rosenwaikie 1973; Guinnane, Moehling, and Ó Grada 2006). Finally, Fitts writes that natural motifs on wallpaper served to beautify the Victorian home. Surprisingly, wallpaper analysis is possible at the Clough House, as the many layers of historic wallpaper have been recorded and preserved (Cummings and Overby 1961; Nylander, Redmond, and Sander 1986). The wallpaper in the Clough House exhibits several floral styles during this time period, but it is unlikely that the tenants were the ones buying these. Rather, the choice in wallpaper was most likely up to the absentee, middle-class landlords. The landlords' choice to incorporate floral designs on the walls may be a reflection of the middle class's desire to reform the working class, or it may just be the popular style of the time period among the landed class.

Returning to the ceramic characteristics, from limitations in sherd size, there was no evidence for high degree of vessel complexity or the presence of many serving vessels. The exception to this is a whiteware teapot lid with a floral brown transfer-print pattern. Tea drinking appears to have been practiced by the tenants, but perhaps not in the same ways or at the same frequency as Boston's middle class. Teaware comprised less

than 20% of the identified vessels, compared to the ~50% found in middle--class assemblages (Wall 1999; Yentsch 2011) and there was no evidence for matched sets of teaware or tableware, although this could be affected by the high turnover rate among occupants affecting discard patterns. In their investigation of Boston's African Meeting House, Landon and Bulger (2013) found little evidence of matched sets, which they attributed to the multiple working-class families living in that house together. Still, while mismatched or piece-meal sets showcase economic hardship and may have been used for family meals more than entertaining, economically challenged groups could and did still entertain others, even with mismatched sets (Pezzarossi 2014). The teaware recovered from the main midden at the Clough House is mostly made up of older forms such as pearlware—there is no ironstone teaware present. The general lack of whiteware and ironstone vessels (and none with the Gothic molded pattern) when compared to pearlware, creamware, tin-glazed, and older stonewares indicates that the tenants did not use the most up-to-date styles of ceramics; their absence is remarkably different from contemporaneous assemblages.

Most of the vessels are decorated—around half of the sherds from all categories exhibit decoration beyond glazing, and when only the vessels are taken into consideration, this proportion grows greater, although a vessel analysis is bound to favor decorated forms. Some vessels exhibit fancy gold gilt or have floral patterns and can be associated with Victorian naturalism. Also included in the assemblage is a minimum of 5 flower pots, with rim diameters ranging from 7 to 20 cm. This is a significant number, as it represents a dramatic increase from any earlier contexts at the site (there was only one

flower pot identified in the main fill). These pots may have been used by immigrant women in an attempt to beautify their living space in the Victorian manner, no matter how unpleasant their living conditions may have been. Of course, they may have been used for a practical and thrifty purpose as well: growing herbs for medicinal remedies or tasty recipes (Beaudry and Mrozowski 2001; Brighton 2001). No ceramic figurines were recovered at the Clough House.

Finally, there is strong evidence for the social education of immigrant children—many of whom were first generation Americans. Included in the assemblage is a tiny blue underglaze porcelain plate from a doll's tea set, along with seven porcelain doll parts. Dolls and doll tea sets were used to teach children obedience and proper social behavior. In the Victorian era, children were seen as “mini-adults” who needed to be trained in proper manners and cultural practices from an early age in order to successfully become genteel adults (Green 1983). One way to accomplish this was through the use of toy tea sets, which could be used to teach children about the social practice of tea drinking and the proper manners associated with it. Victorian toys for immigrant children would have helped the new generation assimilate and perhaps succeed in Victorian American culture (Fitts 1999). The presence of these artifacts at the Clough House shows that the small back lot, surrounded by alleyways and other tenements, was used as a play area for children, despite the large amount of household trash accumulating there. This material evidence of the presence of tenement children and the normalcy of these toys reminds us that archival information has its limits: only during decennial census years would the

names of children living in the tenements have been recorded, and children are often forgotten in the archaeological literature.

Overall, the ceramic consumption patterns among Boston's immigrant working class at Clough House site is mostly inconsistent with the Victorian model. Tenants primarily used mismatched and older ceramic ware types, although a few owned "fancier" pieces such as decorated whiteware and gilded porcelain. Most vessels were decorated, including some with natural motifs. Some tenants drank tea, but there is no evidence for matched sets for formally hosting afternoon tea or a Victorian dinner party. If this does not match a proper Victorian assemblage, then how does it compare to the other working-class assemblages discussed in Chapter 3?

Comparison to Working-Class Assemblages

The Clough House assemblage does not contain large amounts of ironstone seen by Wall (1991; 1999) and others in both working- and middle-class assemblages of this time. While some whiteware is present, there are more creamware and pearlware sherds and vessels than whiteware, meaning that whiteware was not being used as a substitute for ironstone in large numbers. Indeed, the ceramic assemblage of the late nineteenth-century Clough House appears quite similar to the tenement at the African Meeting House (Landon and Bulger 2013), even though the African Meeting House assemblage predates the Clough House's main midden by more than fifty years. Instead of whiteware and ironstone, the tenants at the Clough House used mainly pearlware and porcelain teawares, unlike those at Wall's sites. This cannot simply be attributed to regional

differences, as the working-class assemblages at two other Boston sites, the Tremont Street Housing site and the Paul Revere House, both had whiteware as the most common ware type (Charles and Openo 1987; Elia 1997). Nor can it be explained by a difference in household makeup. The Clough House was primarily home to couples with children, not single people like in the Lowell boardinghouses or Fort Independence (Clements 1989; Beaudry, Cook and Mrozowski 1991). However, in other ways, the Clough House assemblage shares similarities with the Tremont Street Housing Site assemblage. Both included a majority of tablewares and teawares, but included some utilitarian vessels in a lesser amount. Both included few cross mends, reconstructible vessels, or matching patterns, suggesting that the overall assemblage was mismatched. And both included significant amounts of porcelain, including some with fancy gilt decorations (Elia 1997). Since both sites were immigrant tenements, this may represent a broader pattern in Boston's immigrant working class, but this argument would be strengthened with more material from similar sites.

The fancier porcelains prove that even in the worst areas of the city, Boston's working class had more than the bare essentials in terms of their ceramics, although ceramics generally did not represent a large cost when compared to other areas of expenditure. Flower pots strengthen this argument, as was also seen in the working classes of New York (Brighton 2001; Yamin 2001) and Lowell (Beaudry and Mrozowski 2001). These aesthetic pieces would provide material comforts while brightening up the tenants' living spaces. Even in a dark, cramped, and disease-ridden tenement district we find small ways in which people were actively improving the spaces around them.

Besides flowers, some of these pots may have been home to herbs which could be used in home remedies or recipes. The redware pie mold shows that cooking was certainly a regular occurrence in the Clough House, and not just basic meals, but baked goods as well. Growing herbs for making food or medicine at home would be a way to save money—a sign that thriftiness was valued in the working-class community.

Access to Ceramics and Locations of Purchase

Brighton argues that over time, Irish immigrants in New York City and surrounding areas became incorporated into broader American society, a shift that occurred around 1880 (Brighton 2011). This shift is signaled in the ceramic assemblages when immigrants began using plain ironstone ceramics with an increase in vessel complexity instead of mismatched sets of transfer-printed dishes (Yamin 2001; Brighton 2011). While this may have been the case in New York, we do not see this shift in Boston, at least in the Clough House, where immigrants continued to use mismatched older ceramics well past 1880. The census records show that the Italian tenants at the Clough House in this period tended to have been in the United States for less than ten years, which might explain the lack of incorporation visible in the ceramics. But many Irish tenants had been in the country since the years following the Irish Famine of the 1840s and 50s, and the Clough House was home to a few American-born workers as well (USBC 1870-1910). Since these groups made up a significant portion of the Clough House's tenants, it would be expected to see some evidence of incorporation in the ceramic assemblage, but this was not present.

Where were the tenants of the Clough House acquiring such a diverse array of older, mismatched ceramics? With the exception of some German stoneware, almost all of the ceramics at the site would have been made in England's Staffordshire potteries, which would have been shipped to crockeries in the United States for purchase. In his study of the Irish in Five Points, Brighton concluded that tenants would have the opportunity to purchase new ceramics from area crockeries or street auctions, and secondhand ceramics from neighborhood sales or junk stores (Brighton 2001). The situation seems to be similar in Boston. The Clough House was located in Boston's urban core, so tenants would have had easy access to a variety of ceramics to purchase, unlike the rural poor. The 1891 Boston City Directory shows at least three crockeries in the North End for purchasing new ceramics and 11 junk stores. These junk stores would have sold older, mismatched, or damaged ceramics secondhand for reduced prices (Brighton 2001). Most North End junk stores were located on Commercial Street, a major one-mile long road that rings the neighborhood along the waterside wharves (BCD 1891). The older and mismatched nature of the ceramic assemblage at the Clough House and the prevalence of junk stores in the area leads me to conclude that many of the ceramics at the Clough House may have been purchased secondhand at these stores.

The acquisition of most ceramics secondhand at junk stores is the very definition of the "frugality effect" that would equate to a large amount of time lag between when the ceramics were manufactured and when they were eventually discarded (Adams 2003). For these working-class consumers, consumption meant the curation and reuse of durable goods instead of throwing items away when they went out of style. In fact, the discarding

of out-of-date ceramics by the upper and middle classes is exactly how the ceramics from the main midden found their way to junk stores in the first place, as many of these ceramics were highly decorated and would once have been in style.

The nuances of time lag are understudied, since many archaeological reports do not comment on the degree of time lag experienced at the site or do not take time lag into account when dating deposits (Adams 2003). Future studies may be able to correlate poverty with time lag, although frugality is and was practiced across class lines (Adams 2003).

Conclusion: Reasons for the Clough House Consumption Strategy

While the Clough House is an urban site and we will never know exactly who used each ceramic vessel recovered archaeologically, the assemblage speaks for the urban immigrant working class as a collective. However, when writing about the urban working class, it is important to remember that these people were individuals with diverse preferences, identities, and constraints. When combined with the narratives constructed from the archival record, the archaeology humanizes the working class and the tenement district (Mayne and Murray 2001). Often, urban working-class districts in all cities are portrayed as uniformly hell-like and homogenous. But, as Mayne and Murray put it:

“To call life in these places ‘hell’ makes impossibly remote the social contexts that shaped the data we study. It drains them of human agency. It saps the data of the immediacy that connected them to past lives. It denies the individual and

collective strategies by which neighbours and communities maximised circumscribed life chances, and pursued goals other than those legitimised by hegemonic cultural determinants... These locales knew frustration, hurt and anger. Yet there was still laughter in the poorest of households, and achievements, and dignity displayed there in forms that diverged from the codes of respectability that were enshrined by manuals of bourgeois etiquette... Everywhere in these places are to be found the prosaic residues of lives that were centred around family and neighbourhood” (Mayne and Murray 2001:3).

My work is not meant to deny the hardships of daily existence among poor laborers. The need for cheap labor and lack of regulatory oversight led to terrible conditions in American cities, and life in the tenements was difficult, unsanitary, and often unsafe. Painting these areas as homogenous, however, ignores the diversity in lived experiences within them and how their inhabitants pursued goals which diverged from the hegemonic norm.

Why were the tenants at the Clough House choosing to purchase older, mismatched ceramics? Their consumption pattern speaks to their economic strategy and values. Part of this strategy was based on prices, since older, mismatched wares bought secondhand would have been significantly cheaper than new ceramics. Some tenants could afford fancier wares, but these were present only in small numbers, meaning that many were choosing to spend their money elsewhere. While some may have simply not had the capital to invest in the Victorian idea of proper ceramics, it seems that most chose

not to buy into this ideology, instead choosing to value thriftiness and self-reliance, as evidenced by the flower pots and pie molds in addition to opportunistic and affordable consumption from junk shops. The meager incomes of the working class and the very nature of their living situation—crowded, unsanitary tenements—may even have made the Victorian lifestyle inaccessible.

The lack of matched sets does not mean that the Clough House tenants did not ever entertain friends, as it has been shown that economically challenged groups could and did still entertain others, even with mismatched sets (Pezzarossi 2014). Wall concludes that working-class women did not emulate their middle-class counterparts, instead constructing their own view of domesticity that values of community, solidarity, and mutual aid, traits that would be especially useful to struggling members of the working class (Wall 1999). The older wares at the Clough House were often still highly decorated and would have once been expensive. In other studies of working-class individuals who used ceramics that were once expensive but had become out-of-date access to newer styles was difficult to obtain, which was not the case in urban Boston (Garman and Russo 1999; O'Donovan and Wurst 2001). Therefore, the choice to purchase older ceramics was a conscious result of a dedication to thriftiness and a priority to spend money elsewhere.

While the archival record does not show us where else the Clough House tenants were spending their money, we can infer a few possibilities given the historical context. As we have seen, conditions in the North End during this time were awful, with people crammed into overcrowded and unsanitary tenements. One reason for thriftiness with

ceramic purchases would be to save money in order to move away from the tenement district and out of the North End. Indeed, several Irish and then Italian families eventually moved out of the crowded downtown to surrounding areas in Boston and Cambridge, especially after a generation or two (Woods and Kennedy 1969). These areas, while still home to tenements like the Tremont Street Housing site, were comparatively more sanitary and comfortable than the congested central districts of the city (Woods and Kennedy 1969).

Some Clough House tenants may have eventually moved away from the North End, but others remained in the neighborhood perpetually. As I showed in Chapter 2, the McLaughlin family remained in the North End for around three decades, moving from tenement to tenement every few years. Perhaps they did not have the money to leave the North End, or perhaps they were spending it on something else. For these immigrants, sending remittances to families back in Europe was a common practice, either to support them economically or sponsor their own immigration (Miller 1985). In many cases, one member of a family would come over first and then send for relatives in a few years. This was the case with the Florino family, who left Italy for France, where their first child, Placido, was born around 1904. Giuseppe left for America in 1905, leaving behind his wife and child, who followed one year later. The family was living in the Clough House at the time of the 1910 census.

Saving money on ceramics was thus an economic strategy that allowed for money to be spent instead on what the tenants valued most—giving their family a better life in Boston, first in the North End and then perhaps in slightly more comfortable districts.

The Clough House tenants chose not to invest in the material culture of Victorian domesticity by prioritizing family and thrift. Perhaps the friends they invited over to entertain did not care what type of ceramics they were served because for members of the immigrant working class, it was understood that there were more important things to worry about. Perhaps the fancier wares found at the Clough House were reserved for guests, but sharing a cup of tea and conversing about shared experiences of hardship hardly requires a perfect tea set, not when the money could be spent instead on bettering the lives of one's family members.

While archaeological studies of ceramic consumption are common and worthwhile within the discipline, perhaps they are not studies of the things that urban working-class people found central to their lives. Still, most historical archaeologists, myself included, use ceramics as central pieces in their analyses of the people they study, sometimes using them to date sites without taking time lag into consideration. Ceramics have become key to so many archaeological analyses due to their high durability and well-known seriation, but we must not forget that many people in the past may have given much less thought to their dishes than do the archaeologists of the present.

Nonetheless, the ceramic assemblage at the Clough House demonstrates that immigrant tenants prioritized thrift and family well-being, with no blind desire to emulate the middle class. In the case of the Clough House, the documentary and archaeological record show a human side of tenement life in the North End: women gardening, children playing, letters to write, pies in the oven, families doing what they could to get by and lead a normal life. These values come out of the hardships of immigration and tenement

life, where providing the best life for one's family at home or abroad takes precedence over aspiring to high status.

In the United States, this cycle of immigration and hardship continues perpetually, but today different immigrant groups take the place of the Irish and the Italians. If we are to understand these hardships and address them in the present, we need to adequately study them in the past. Part of this is understanding the different consumption strategies that various working-class communities undertook. This research has shown that the situation in the Clough House was different than those in New York, and indeed different from other studies in Boston. More archaeological analyses of the nineteenth-century working class are necessary, especially in cities where they have not much been studied. In balancing an acceptance for variation with a search for patterns, we can gain a deeper understanding of what poverty was like in the past, and how we can address it in the present.

APPENDIX 1

CLOUGH HOUSE POLL TAX RECORDS

Author's note: This appendix aims to present a transcription of the poll tax records for 21 Unity Street, some of which are missing, and some of which contain contradictions. These typically record only adult men. The large numbers, when given, are the values for real estate and personal estate, in that order. Sources: BTB 1780-1817; BVB 1818-1821; 1722-1920.

1780 (no negroes, horses, or cows)

Henry Roby, Glazier

Joseph Roby, Jr., 40, trader

1781-1783

Records missing

1784 (they do not own shops, stores, barns, horses, or cows)

Henry Roby, 150, Glazier

Joseph Roby Jr., 50, trader

1785-1789

Records missing

1790

Henry Roby Senior, 175, Glazier, Lamé

Henry Roby Junior, gone to Eas/war, Singleman, scribe, (shop in Ward 5)[?]

Joseph Roby Junior, 50, keeps shop, singleman.

1791 (The Robys do not own a carriage)

Henry Roby Sr., 175, Glazier

Joseph Roby Jr., 50, small shop

1792

Records missing

1793

Henry Roby, Senior, 200, Glazier

Joseph Roby, Junior, 200, scribe

1794

Henry Roby, Senior, 200, Glazier

Joseph Roby, Junior, 200, scribe

1795

Records missing

1796

Henry Roby Senior, 700, Glazier, H. and Shop

Joseph Roby, -, scribe, single, boards with his father

1797

Records missing

1798 (no dogs in the house)

Henry Roby Sr., 750, H. Glazier – Sickly

Joseph Roby Jr., -, scribe, singleman

1799

Henry Roby, Sr., 750, Old Glazier House &c

Joseph Roby Jr., -, With above, single male, a scribe

1800

Henry Roby, Senior, 600 (R. Estate), Old Glazier, no business

Joseph Roby, Junior, -, With above, single male, a scribe

1801

Henry Roby, Senior, 600 (R. Estate), Old Glazier Sto, no business

Joseph Roby, Junior, -, With above, single man a scribe

1802

Henry Robey, Glazer[?], 3000, 500

Joseph Robey, Jr., merchant J White & co., see white & co.

1803

Ebenezer Shute, House Carpenter, 800, 1000

Moses Piper, Rigger, 800, 1000

1804

Henry Robey, Tinnman, 1000, 2000

1805

Henry Robey, Tinnman, 2000, 2000

1806

Henry Robey, Gent, 3200, 2400

Joseph Roby, Stationer, 3200, see co, Partner with White

1807

Henry Roby, Gent, 3000, 1000

Joseph Roby, Stationer, 3000, see co, Ward 6 with white

Owners: Samuel Gore and Moses Grant from 1808 through 1818

1808

Grant and Gore, for Empty H. 3600, 1400

1809 (side note, William Dillaway appears living in a house he owns with 4 other men)

Grant and Gore, for Empty H 3600, 1400

1810

David M. Eaton, Auct-[?]

1811

Francis Holmes, Ship. Carpenter, 1000, 400

Captain Thomas Lambert, Mariner, 1800, 800

John White, mariner, 800, 600

1812

Francis Holmes, Jr. Carpenter, 1400, 200

Thomas Lambert, Mariner, 1400, 800

1813

William Totter[?], Sail maker, 1400, 800

Francis Holmes, Jr. carpenter, 1400, 800

1814

Francis Holmes, carpenter, 1200, 800

Gore and Grant, End H, 1200, 800

1815

Prince Snow, Jr Founder, 600, 200

Francis Homes, Shipwright, 1200, see co, co Rhoades in 2

Abraham Sutton, Seaman, 600, 1200

1816 (owners Samuel Gore and Mary Grant)

William Tilton, Block maker and HS, 1200, 400, sp in 2

Rufus Baxter Jr., Upholsterer + Hs, 1200, 200

1817 (Noah Lincoln* lives next door)

George Johnson, Custom House Officer, 1200, 800

Rufus Baxter Jr., upholsterer, 1200, 400

1818 (owners Grant and Gore)

George Johnson, Custom House Officer, 1200, 800

Henry Fowler Jr., Block Maker, 1200, 400, Shop in 2

Owners: Samuel Gore and Moses Grant heirs from 1819 until 1834

1819 (Owners Grant and Gore Est.)

Benjamin Dodd, Clk, 1200, 400

Freeman Dodd, Clk, 1200, 400

George Johnson, Custom House Officer, 1200, 800

1820 (Owners Grant and Gore)

William Glover, Jeweller, 1200, 400, Shop in 4

Ezekiel Jones, Jeweller, 1200, 400, Shop in 4

1821

William Glover, Jeweller, 1200, 400, shop in 4

Josiah Baldwin, Constable, 1200, 400, separate bill

1822

William Glover, Jeweller, 1200, 400

Josiah Baldwin, Constable, 1200, 200

1823

William Glover, Jeweller, 1200, 400

Rufus Baxter, Jr., upholsterer, 1200, 200

1824

Rufus Baxter Jr., upholsterer, 1200, 600, home in 4

William Cook, Carpenter, 1200, 600, home in 3 or 4

Nathaniel Dyer, jr. Carpenter, 1200, 600

Samuel Ball, jr. Carpenter, 1200, 600

John Cushing, jr. Carpenter, 1200, 600

1825

Rufus Baxter Jr., upholsterer, 1400, 600

James Maleol[...], Jr Baker, 800, 600

John Delay, Clerk, prob. office, 800, 200

1826

Rufus Baxter Jr., upholsterer, 1400, 400

Ebenezer O. Torrey, Jr. Baker, 1600, 400

1827

Edward Bell, mason, 1400, 600

Ebenezer O. Torrey, Jr. Baker, 1600, 600

John Pratt, Jr. Cabinet maker, 1600, 600

1828

Edward Bell, mason, 1600, 600

Ebenezer O. Torrey, Jr. Baker, 1600, 600

John Pratt, Jr. Cabinet maker, 1600, 600

1829

Ebenezer O. Torrey, Jr. Baker, 2800, 1000

John Pratt, Jr. Cabinet maker, 2800, 1000

1830

Ebenezer O. Torrey, Jr baker, 2800, co

John Pratt, jr cabinet maker, 2800, co

Joseph Loring, Jr sail maker, 2800, co

Caleb Pratt, jr. cabinet maker, 2800, co

Jon Davis, jr. cabinet maker, 2800, co

1831

Ebenezer O. Torrey, Jr baker, 2800, co

John Pratt, jr cabinet maker, 2800, co

Joseph Loring, Jr cabinet maker, 2800, co

1832

Ebenezer O. Torrey, Jr baker, 2800, 200

John Pratt, jr cabinet maker, 2800, 200

Joseph Loring, Jr Sail maker, 2800, 200

1833

Ebenezer O. Torrey, jr. baker, 2800, 200

John Pratt, jr cabinet maker, 2800, 200

Joseph Hollis, jr cabinet maker, 2800, 200

1834

Ebenezer O. Torrey, laborer, 2800, 400

Joseph Hollis, laborer, 2800, 400

Owner: William Dillaway from 1835-1886

1835

Ebenzer O. Torrey, Laborer, 2800, co2

Joseph Holles, Jr Laborer, 2800, co2

1836

Samuel N. Jenny, hardware, 2800, 3000

William A. Bates, Jr. paint, 2800, 3000

1837

W. A. Bates, Jr Paint, 2800, 1600

John Snelling Jr., co, taylor, 2800, c08, Co SNelling, Ward [...] Congress St.

1838

John Snelling Jun., Taylor, 2800, 1200, sp. 8 + sp 3 +P. 66

W. A. Bates, Paint, 2800, 400, sp 3 P.19

1839

John McCloud/McLeod [erased and corrected], jr tailor, 2800, co

John Snelling Jr., draper, 2800, 1200

1840

John Snelling Jr., drafter/draper [?] 28, 2800, 600

John McLeod, Jr. tailor, 30, 2800, 600 (Mccloud in 1840 Census)

1841

Thomas Lyford, grocer, 32, 3200, 800

John M. Silva, [...Rig], 37, 3200, 800

1842

Thorndike Chase, Co, shoes, 59, 3200, co, Co Buzzell 2

Charles Gray, Clothes, 3200, 1000, sp ann

1843

Thorndike Chase, Co, shoes, 3200, co, co buzzell 2

Thomas Pratt, jr. mast, 3200, co

Tomas Learnard, tender, 3200, co [tender could be machinery]

1844

Thorndike Chase, jr shoe, 3200, see co,

Thomas Pratt, jr. mast, 3200, see co

Tomas Learnard, jr tailer, 3200, see co

1845

William Alexander, Inspector CH. 3200, co

John W. Anderson, Mariner, 3200, 200

David T. Robinson, Boatman, 3200, 200

1846

John W. Anderson, mariner, 3200, see co

William Alexander, W Insp. C. H.

1847

John Lewin, Sea Captain, 3200, 400

James B. Leeds, painter, 3200, 400, see co, co Ricker Hanover St 2

Joshua M. Weeks [?], Jr. broker?, 3200 see co

George W. Leeds, [?], 3200, see co [line is crossed out]

1848

John Lewin, Sea Captain, 3200, 400

James B. Leeds, painter, 3200, see co, pt, by Mrs. Belcher, co Ricker 2 [?]

1849

John Lewin, Mast Mariner, 3200, 400

James B. Leeds, co, painter, 3200, 400

1850

John Lewin, mast mariner, 3200, 1000

James B. Leeds, co, painter, 3200, 1000, co D Ricker 4 Howard St

Osgood Chase, clerk, 3200, 1000

Edward Dickenson, caulker, 3200, 1000

1851

James B. Leeds, co, painter, 3200, co, co Ricker 3 Union St

Osgood Chase, clerk, [?]

George Golbert, Jr mast

1852

George Golbert, Jr mast, 3200, 400, pt Empty

1853

George Golbert, Jr. Mast, 3200, co

Theophilus Nash, Gent, 3200, co

1854

George Golbert, Jr. Mast & Spar, 3600, 500

Samuel F. Holmes, Jr. Mast & Spar, 3600, 500

Joseph Hubbard, Jr. Caulker, 3600, 500

Hiram Nickerson, Jr. Machinist, 3600, 500

George H. Nickerson, Jr. Machinist, 3600, 500

Theophilus Nash, Gent, 3600, 1000

1855

Theophilus Nash, Gent, 3600, 2000

William H. Mason, Pattern maker, 3600, 2000

John Holbrook, Clerk, 3600, 2000

1856

William H. Mason, Pattern maker, 3800, 400

Theophilus Nash, Gent, 3600, 2000

1857

John M. Eaton, Type, 5000, 400

Benjamin F. Eaton, Sail, 5000, 400

George W. Dillaway, Gent, 5000, 400

Theophilus Nash, Gent, 5000, 2000, Rear, In California

1858

Benjamin F. Eaton, Sail, 5000, 500

Theophilus Nash, Gent, 5000, 500

Thomas S. Lathrop, Bunker, 5000, 500, rear.

1859

John M. Eaton, Jr. Type Caster, 5000, 500

Benjamin F. Eaton, Junior Sailmaker, 5000, 500

Theophilus Nash, Gent, 5000, 500

1860

John M. Eaton, Jr. Type Caster, 5000, 400

Frank C. Scott, Pattern Maker, 5000, 400 [penciled in] [not in census]

Benjamin F. Eaton, Junior Sailmaker, 5000, 400

1861

John M. Eaton, Jr. Type Caster, 4800, 400

Benjamin F. Eaton, Junior Sailmaker, 4800, 400

Joseph G. Jenkins, Watchman, 4800, 400

1862

Samuel E. Mills, Driver, 4500, 400

Joseph G. Jenkins, Watchman, 4500, 400

1863

Joseph G. Jenkins, Watchman, 4500, 600

Frederick W. A. Rankin*, Jr. Shoe, 4500, 600

1864

Joseph G. Jenkins, Watchman, 4500, 500

Frederick W. A. Rankin*, Shoemaker, 4500, 500

1865

Joseph G. Jenkins, Watchman, 4500, 300

John Fox, Provision/Provisory[?], rear, 4500, 300

1866

Joseph G. Jenkins, Watchman

John Fox, Furniture, Shop on Salem, rear, 400

1867

Alexander McDonald*, Gent

Joseph G. Jenkins, Watchman

1868

Joseph G. Jenkins, Mason

Alpheus F. Jenkins, Clerk

Willard R. Jenkins, Clerk

Henry J. Stevenson, Bootmaker

Alpheus Barry, Saloon

1869

Joseph G. Jenkins, Mason

Alpheus F. Jenkins, Clerk

Willard R. Jenkins, Clerk

Henry J. Stevenson, Bootmaker

1870

Joseph G. Jenkins, Mason

Henry J. Stevenson, Bootmaker

Selid P. Matthews, Clerk

Henry Joan, Laborer

Alpheus F. Jenkins, Clerk

Willard R. Jenkins, Clerk

1871

Joseph G. Jenkins, Foreman

Alpheus F. Jenkins, Upholsterer

Willard R. Jenkins, Clerk

Henry J. Stevenson, Bootmaker

Edward H. McCain, Furniture

Henry P. Coan, Clerk

1872

Joseph G. Jenkins, Foreman

Alpheus F. Jenkins, Upholsterer, "If John Persall is here he is a [?] citizen"

Thomas J. Pomeroy, Tender

James H. McKay, Ship Caulker

Henry J. Stevenson, Bootmaker

1873

Joseph G. Jenkins, Foreman

Alpheus F. Jenkins, Upholsterer

Henry J. Stevenson, Bootmaker

Alvin Rogers, Laborer

Nicholas Greet, Caulker

John Flaters, Clerk

Smith, Clerk

1874

Joseph G. Jenkins, Foreman

Andrew Peterson

Henry J. Stevenson, Bootmaker

Andrew Peters, Laborer, rear

Jacob C. Wall

William Kellary, Laborer

Richard Butler, Loafer

Edward O'Malley, Grocer, 300

1875

Henry J. Stevenson, Bootmaker

Joseph G. Jenkins, Foreman

Samuel Bangs, Tender

Jay Cook Smith, Bookkeeper

John R. Haslam, Hatter, rear

Edward O'Malley, Grocer, rear 300

Thomas Carroll, Fish, rear

1876 (new field is location in previous year)

Charles W. Green, Tender, 31 N. Bennett

Frank Schiller, Tender, 31 N. Bennett

Andrew C. Smith, Clerk, 31 N. Bennett

Joseph Frates, Tender, 31 N. Bennett

John R. Haslam, Hatter, rear, Here

William Allen, Tender, rear, Noyer[/s] Pe

Dennis Coleman, Capmaker, rear, Orleans St EB

Peter Mahoney, Fireman, rear, Orleans St EB

Charles Hoofner, Sailmaker, rear, Linden EB

1877

Charles W. Green, Tender, here

Andrew C. Smith, Gent, here

Frank Schiller, Groceries, here

Joseph G. Jenkins, Wharfinger, here

John R. Haslam, Hatter, rear, here

William Allen, Tender, rear, here

Dennis Coleman, Capmaker, rear, Orleans St EB

John Reynolds, Mariner, rear, ?

Charles Sullivan, Laborer, rear, ?

1878

Joseph G. Jenkins, Wharfinger, here, 600

Leander Poggs, Junk, ?

James Hunt, Fish, ?

Marshall Oakes, clerk, ?

William Blanchard*, clerk, ?

Dennis B. Coleman, Hatter, rear, here

James Halpin, Laborer, rear, rear 458 com. st

John R. Haslam, Hatter, rear here

1879

Joseph G. Jenkins, Wharfinger, here

John Martin I, Laborer, 1st rear, ? “1st rear, formerly nos. 1 & 2 Salem Ct.[Cr?] Now partitioned off only entrance from unity st.

John Martin II, Laborer, 1st rear, ?

Cornelius Sullivan, Laborer, 1st rear, ?

Samuel Sullivan, Laborer, 1st rear, ?

Dennis O’Neil, Laborer, 1st rear, ?

Patrick Rilry [Riley?], Laborer, 1st rear, ?

Dennis B. Coleman, Hatter, 2nd rear, here

Alonzo [?], painter, 2nd rear [?]

George Clark, pedlar [peddler], 2nd rear, [?]

1880

Tax records missing

1881

Joseph G. Jenkins, Wharfinger, here

Frederick W. French, shoemaker, here

Bernard McLaughlin, laborer, 1st rear, here “1st rear, formerly no 1-2 salem Ct now partitioned off only entrance from unity st”

Patrick McGinnis, laborer, 1st rear, here

Henry J. Cane, Hostler, 1st rear, OC

Dennis B. Coleman, Hatter, 2nd rear, here

1882

Joseph G. Jenkins, Wharfinger, here

Frederick W. French, shoemaker, here

Bernard McLaughlin, laborer, 1st rear, here “1st rear, formerly 1-2 Salem Ct now partitioned off only entrance from unity st”

Patrick McGinnis, laborer, 1st rear, here

Dennis B. Coleman, Hatter, 2nd rear, here

Thomas W. Dwyer, Fish, 2nd rear, 37 Baldwill

1883

Joseph G. Jenkins, Wharfinger, here

Frederick W. French, shoemaker, here

Bernard McLaughlin, laborer, 1st rear, here “1st rear, formerly 1-2 Salem Ct now partitioned off only entrance from unity st”

Patrick McGinnis, laborer, 1st rear, here

Thomas W. McLaughlin, laborer, 1st rear, 21/83 Unity Street

Dennis B. Coleman, Hatter, 2nd rear, here

Thomas W. Dwyer, Fish, 2nd rear, here

1884

Joseph G. Jenkins, Wharfinger, here

Frederick W. French, shoemaker, here

House by Women, 1st rear

Dennis B. Coleman, Hatter, 2nd rear, here

Thomas W. Dwyer, Fish, 2nd rear, here

1885

Joseph G. Jenkins, Wharfinger, here

Frederick W. French, shoemaker, here

Amasa Welch, Tender, ?

House by Women, 1st rear, here

Dennis B. Coleman, Hatter, 2nd rear, here

Margaret E. Coleman, female, 2nd rear,

Thomas W. Dwyer, fish, 2nd rear, here

Mary A. Crowley, female, 2nd rear

“Tax 1886 [?] 2 estates to Joseph Devoto ½ + Louisa + Seraphina Urata ½ [?]”

Owners: Joseph Devoto ½ Louisa and Seraphina Urata ½

1886 (new field is supposed age)

Joseph G. Jenkins, 62, Wharfinger, here

Frederick W. French, 66, shoemaker, here

Amasa Welch, 22, Tender, here

John H. Driscoll, 30, Packer, 1st rear, ?

Timothy J. Crowley, 21, Clerk, 1st rear, ?

Dennis B. Coleman, 30, Hatter, 2nd rear, here

Margaret E. Coleman, 27, female, 2nd rear, here

Mary A. Crowley, female, 2nd rear, here

1887

Joseph G. Jenkins, 63, Wharfinger, here

Frederick W. French, 67, shoemaker, here

Amasa Welch, 23, Tender, here

John H. Driscoll, 31, Packer, 1st rear, here

Timothy J. Crowley, 22, Clerk, 1st rear, here

Dennis B. Coleman, 31, Hatter, 2nd rear, here

Daniel Ahearn*, 28, laborer, 2nd rear, here [try Ahern(e) and O'Hern]

1888

Frederick W. French, 68, shoemaker, here

Clarissa R. French, 40, female,

Timothy J. Crowley, 24[23], Clerk, 21 unity 1st rear

Mary A. Crowley, 28, female

Julia Crowley, 55, female

Frank Raffaello, 30, Jeweler [?], 1st rear, [?]

John Rosetta [?]. 48, Steam Filler [?], 1st rear, ditto

Dennis B. Coleman, 32, Hatter, 2nd rear, here

Ellen Coleman, 28, female, 2nd rear

William H. Coleman, 22, Gilder, 2nd rear

Margaret Coleman, female, 2nd rear

Daniel Ahearn*, 29, Laborer, 2nd rear, here

Mary Ahern, 32, female, 2nd rear

1889

Frederick W. French, 69, shoemaker, here

Timothy J. Crowley, 24, Clerk, here

Frank Raffaello, 30, Fruit, 1st rear, here

John Rosetta [?]. 48, Filler, 1st rear, here
Dennis B. Coleman, 32 [33], Hatter, 2nd rear, here
Daniel Ahearn*, 29, Laborer, 2nd rear, here

1890

Frederick W. French, 70, shoemaker, here
Timothy J. Crowley, 25, Clerk, here
Frank Raffaello, 31, Fruit, 1st rear, here
John Rosetta [?]. 49, Fruit, 1st rear, here
Dennis B. Coleman, 34, Hatter, 2nd rear, here
William H. Coleman, 25, Gilder, 2nd rear, here
Daniel Ahearn*, 30, Laborer, 2nd rear, here

1891

Frederick W. French, 71, shoemaker, here
Timothy J. Crowley, 26, Clerk, here
Frank Raffaello, 33, Fruit, 1st rear, here
John Rosetta, 50, Fruit, 1st rear, here
Dennis B. Coleman, 34, Hatter, 2nd rear, here
William H. Coleman, 26, Gilder, 2nd rear, here
Daniel Ahearn*, 31, Laborer, 2nd rear, here

1892

Frederick W. French, 72, shoemaker, here
Timothy J. Crowley, 27, Clerk, here
Frank Raffaello, 23, Fruit, 1st rear, here
John Rosetta, 50, Fruit, 1st rear, here
Daniel O'Hern*, 39, Laborer, 2nd rear, here
A[b]raham White, 40, laborer, 2nd rear, oc

Henry Roach [?], 35, laborer, 2nd rear, oc

1893

House vacant

Frank Raffaello, 24, Fruit, 1st rear, here

John Rosetta, 51, Fruit, 1st rear, here

Henry Roach [?], 36, laborer, 2nd rear, here

Daniel O'Hern*, 40, Laborer, 2nd rear, here

Amos White, 45, laborer, 2nd rear, ?

Daniel Sullivan, 36, laborer, 2nd rear, 33 no. Bennett

1894

Bartholomew Merry, 29, laborer, ?

Frank Raffaello, 25, Fruit, 1st rear, here

John Rosetta, 52, Fruit, 1st rear, here

Henry Roach, 37, laborer, 2nd rear, here

Daniel O'Hern*, 41, Laborer, 2nd rear, here

Daniel Sullivan, 37, laborer, 2nd rear, here

1895

Murdoch White [scot?], 47, Tin [?], ?

Abraham White, 36, Tin [?], ?

Frederick Cuzio, 36, Printer, [?]

Daniel O'Hern*, 42, Laborer, 1st rear, 21 unity st 2nd rear

Cesare Salvi, 25, Engraver [or Engineer], 1st rear, [?]

Henry Roach, 38, laborer, 1st rear, 21 unity st 2nd rear

James Emery, 38, Ship[?], 2nd rear, 13 Fleet

Domenico Ratti, 25, Builder[?], 2nd rear, ?

John Mundano, [Mondano?] 30, Peddler, 2nd rear, ?

1896

Murdoch White [scot?], 48, Tin [?], here
Abraham White, 37, Tin [?], here
Redmund [Redmond] P. Cook, 45, Fish, ?
Martin J. Cook, 21, Builder
Daniel O'Hern*, 43, Laborer, 1st rear, here
Henry Roach, 39, laborer, 1st rear, here
William Parker, 30, laborer, 1st rear, ?
James Emery, 39, Shipping[?], 2nd rear, here
Domenico Ratti, 26, Builder[?], 2nd rear, here

1897

Fortunato Farega, 30, laborer, ?
Angelo Letto, 31, laborer, ?
Redmond P. Cook, 46, laborer, here
Michael Redmond, 65, Fish, 1st rear, New Street
Michael J. Redmond, 30, music, 1st rear, new st
Andrew Redmond, 28, printer, 1st rear, new st
James Emery, 40, Shipping, 2nd rear, here
Edward Rogers, 30, mason, 2nd rear, [?]
Domenico Ratti, 27, mason, 2nd rear, here

1898

Fortunato Farega, 31, laborer, here
Angelo Letto, 32, laborer, here
Daniel O'Hern*, 45, laborer, 1st rear, here
Redmond P. Cook, 47, laborer, 1st rear, here
Michael Redmond, 66, Fish, 1st rear, here

Michael J. Redmond, 31, music, 1st rear, here

Andrew Redmond, 29, printer, 1st rear, here

Edward Rogers, 31, mason, 2nd rear, here

Domenico Ratti, 28, mason, 2nd rear, here

1899

Giovanni Pentolari, 35, painter, ?

Giobattista Grecco, 25, carpenter, ?

Giovanni Moglia, 30, glazier, ?

Giuseppe Ferazza, 29, Confectioner, ?

Bedetto Molini, 23, Confectioner, ?

Daniel Ahern*, 45, laborer, here

Luigi Moltedo, 33, laborer, marble, ?

Sylvio G. Schiaffino, 33, packer, ?

Redmond P. Cook, 48, packer, rear, here

Edward Rogers, 32, mason, rear, here

1900

Record missing

1901

Giovanni Pentolari, 37, painter, here

Giovanni Moglia, 32, glazer, here

Bedetto Molini, 25, confectioner, here

Luigi Moltedo, 35, marble, here

Giuseppe Garbarino, 26, glass, rear, here

Giambatista Guiecco, 28, carpenter, rear, here

Arturo Albertini, 40, o.c., marble, rear

1902

Luigi Moldedo, 36, here, marble
Luigi Caugiano, 24, o.c., music
John Parasso, 45, 27 charter, fruit
Bartolomeo Tachella, 45, 130 Medford st, laborer
Giovanni Botacchi, 28, 11 unity, oiler
Giovanni Bregoli, 28, 11 unity, oiler
Angelo Ferrari, 35, 127 north, candy, rear

1903

Luigi Moldedo, 37, here, marble
~~John~~ Joe Parasso, 46, here, fruit
Bartolomeo Tachella, 46, here, laborer
Giovanni Botacchi, 29, 11 unity, oiler
Antonio Delicato, 28, here, glass
Giovanni Bregoli, 29, 11 unity, oiler
Antonio Ferrari, 36, here, candy, rear
Pilado Mardotti, 35, o.c. marble, rear
John F. Cuneo, 23, 34 no. Bennett, sales, rear
Giovanni Batta Nassano, 60, o.c., none, rear
Raffaele Nassano, 28, o.c., glass, rear

1904

Luigi Moldedo, 38, here, marble
Joseph Parasso, 47, here, fruit
Bartholomeo Tachella, 47, here, laborer
Antonio Delicato, 29, here, glass
Giovanni Bregoli, 30, here, oiler
Giovanni Batta Nassano, 61 here, none, rear

Raffaele Nassano, 29, here, glass, rear

Canio Panara, 40, o.c., laborer, rear

1905 (after the records were taken, a large vacant was added to all records at 21 unity st for this year

Joseph Parasso, 48, here, fruit

Bartholomeo Tachella, 48, here, laborer

Antonio Delicato, 30, here, glass

Enrico Cavaliere, 31, shipper

Raffaele Nassano, 30, here, glass, rear

Canio Panara, 41, o.c., laborer, rear

Antonio Di Giuseppe, 23, laborer, rear

1906

21: House being remodeled

21 rear: House being remodeled (See in 1902-)

1907

Felice Ricci, 35, laborer

Antonio Chiusano, 25, barber

Nicola Calamanto, 25, waiter

Michele Caprozzo, 20, laborer

Giuseppe Floriano, 25, laborer

Francesco Anzalotti, 28, laborer

Salvatore Vassalo, 35, laborer, rear

Giuseppe Schenori, 30, laborer, rear

Antonio Ruggiero, 45, candy, rear

1908

Antonio Chiusano, 26, here, barber

Nicola Calamanto, 26, here, waiter
Carlo Zulillo, 43, here, baker
Giuseppe Florino, 27, plasterer
Gugliermo Chiusano, 62, here, laborer
Pietro Cuneo, 25, rear 21 unity st, painter
Leonardo Pucci, 24, here, sales
Giovanni Cuneo, 37, 4 prince, laborer
Enrico Grecco, 32, o.c., fruit
Bartolomeo Repretto, 24, laborer
Michele Manciano, 30, o.c., laborer
Giovanni Manciano, 32, o.c., baker
Antonio Ruggiero, 46, here, candy, rear
Pasquale Angelo, 33, o.c., candy, rear
Giobatta Ferrara, 30, here, laborer, rear

1909

Antonio Chiusano, 27, here, barber, rear
Nicola Calamanto, 27, here, waiter
Carlo Zulillo, 44, here, baker
Guglielmo Chiusano, 63, here, laborer, rear
Giovanni Cuneo, 38, here, laborer
Enrico Grecco, 33, here, fruit
Bartolomeo Repetto, 25, here laborer
Severino Querio, 36, bartender
Giovanni Dondero, 32, o.c., laborer
Giobatta Ferrara, 31, here, laborer, rear
Armadio Guarardi, 36, cook, rear

1910

Giuseppe Florino, 29, here, laborer

Giovanni Brunio, 38, here, laborer

Enrico Grecco, 24, here, fruit

Severino Querio, 37, here, bartender

Giovanni Dandero, 33, here, laborer

Antonio Chiusano, 28, here, barber, rear

Guglielmo Chiusano, 64, here, laborer, rear

1911

Giuseppe Florino, 30, here, laborer

Giovanni Brunio, 39 here, laborer

Giovanni Dandero, 34, here, laborer

Felice Rizzo, 35, here, laborer

Pasquale Cangiano, 35, here, laborer, rear

Armadio Guarardi, 38, cook, rear

Giobatta Ferrara, 22, here, laborer, rear

1912

Giuseppe Florino, 31, here, laborer

Giovanni Dandero, 35, here, laborer

Felice Pizzo, 36, here, laborer

Guglielmo Chiusano, 66, here, laborer

Nicola Chiusano, 23, here, barber

Antonio Chiusano, 27, here, barber

Antonio Ferrara, 23, here, laborer, rear

Giobatta Ferrara, 22, here, laborer, rear

“

“

1913

Felice Pizzo, 37, here, laborer
Guglielmo Chiusano, 67, here, laborer
Nicola Chiusano, 24, here, barber
Antonio Chiusano, 28, here, barber
Ettore Mocci, 31, here, laborer
Giobatta Ferrara, 24, here, laborer, rear
Giovanni Dandero, 35, 21 unity st [front], bricklayer, rear
Angelo Ferrara, 40, here, waiter, rear
Lorenzo Appice, 29, here, market, rear
Primo Morelli, 29, o.c., laborer, rear

1914

Guglielmo Chiusano, 68, here, laborer
Nicola Chiusano, 25, here, barber
Antonio Chiusano, 29, here, barber
Gaetano Ricci, 39, here, laborer
Marco Fopriano, 29, unknown, polisher
Giovanni Romani, 21, 3 Salem Ct, printer
Giovanni Dandero, 36, here, bricklayer, rear
Angelo Ferrara, 41, here, waiter, rear
Lorenzo Appice, 30, here, market, rear
Antonio Latorella, 58, unknown, laborer, rear

1915

Guglielmo Chiusano, 68, here, laborer
Nicola Chiusano, 26, here, barber

Antonio Chiusano, 30, here, barber
Giovanni Romani, 22, 3 salem ct, printer
Giovanni Assinari, 31, 183 endicott, trackman
Angelo Ferrara, 42, here, waiter, rear
Antonio Latorella, 59, here, laborer, rear
Crescenzo Barasso, 34, here, foreman, rear
Quinto Prosperi, 27, 183 Endicott, laborer, rear
Michele Prosperi, 31, 183 Endicott, butcher, rear
Santo Nardini, 44, Battery st, laborer, rear

1916

Nicola Avaggi, 34, Italy, laborer
Giovanni Asinarri, 40, 40 Bennet, laborer
Antoni Cusanni, 33, here, barber
Nicola Cusanni, 26, here, barber
William Cusanni, 71, here, retired
John Romani, 22, here, printer
Antoni Esposito, 25, 21 Webster, laborer
Raffaele Scopa, 45, 70 Charter, laborer, rear
Felipe Cortelli, 22, 32 Battery, cook, rear
John Dondero, 41, here, laborer, rear
Antonio La Turelle, 59, here, laborer, rear
Michele Prospero, 33, 183 Endicott, laborer, rear
Nardini Saute, 44, 32 Battery, laborer, rear

1917

Nicola Avaggi, 35, here, laborer
Giovanni Assinari, 41, here, laborer

Antonio Cusanni, 34, here, barber
Nicola Cusanni, 27, here, barber
William Cusanni, 72, here, retired
John Romani, 23, here, printer
Antoni Esposito, 26, here, laborer
Sabatini Sargente, 61, 82 Charter, tinsmith
John Dondero, 42, here, laborer, rear
Michele Prospero, 34, here, laborer, rear
Nardini Saute, 44, here, laborer, rear
Eugenio Tesa, 30, 5 Prince, laborer, rear
Salvatore Bonofina, 40, 12 Greeno Lane, laborer

1918

21: Dwelling Ho Brick, 3 polls, entrance
21a: Store ~~vacant~~ grocer
21b: John Merino (lives Snelling Place) Store, grocer
21 rear (passageway): Dwelling Ho Brick, 4 polls, entrance

1919

21: Dwelling Ho, 3 polls, occ brick
21a: Store by grocer
21b: John Merino (lives Snelling Place) Store, grocer
21 rear (passageway): Dwelling Ho, 4 polls, occ brick

1920

21: Single Ho, 3 polls, occ brick, store by candy
21A: Single Ho, 3 polls, occ brick,
21 B: Store by grocer
Passageway

21 rear: 3 family ho., 4 polls, occ. brick

APPENDIX 2

CLOUGH HOUSE CENSUS RECORDS

Author's Note: Several censuses have been lost over the years, and are thus not included.
Primary source: USBC 1790-1940.

1790 Census

Census shows: 2 males (16+) 4 males (under 16), and 4 females.

1820 Census

All are listed as white.

William Glover

Family includes:

1 male (10-16)

1 male (26-45)

2 females (under 10)

1 female (16-26)

1 female (26-45)

1 female (over 45)

1 person is engaged in manufactures.

Ezekiel Jones

Family includes:

2 males (under 10)

1 male (10-16)

1 male (26-45)

1 female (under 10)

1 female (10-16)

1 female (26-45)

1830 Census

No colored people living in the house.

The census is not listed by house number, but the names from the poll tax records allow for the following reconstruction:

Ebenezer O. Torrey

Family includes

1 male (10-15)

1 male (30-40)

1 female (under 5)

2 females (5-10)

1 female (30-40)

Caleb Pratt

Family includes

1 male (20-30)

1 female (under 5)

1 female (20-30)

John Pratt, Jr.

Family includes

1 male (under 5)

3 males (20-30)

1 female (under 5)

1 female (20-30)

Joseph Loring

Family includes:

1 male (40-50)

1 male (60-70)

1 female (30-40)

John Davis

Family includes

1 male (under 5)

1 male (15-20)

1 male (20-30)

1 female (15-20)

1 female 40-50)

1840 Census

John Snelling Jr.

Family includes:

1 male (30-40),

2 females (under 5)

2 females (15-20)

1 female (20-30)

1 female (30-40)

1 person works in the commerce sector.

1 person works in manufactures and trades.

John McLeod

Family includes:

3 females (15-20)

1 female (20-30)

1 female (30-40)

1 female (40-50)

1 person works in manufactures and trades.

1850 Census

APARTMENT 1

James B. Leeds, male, (age 31), b. MA, Painter and Glazer

Helen Leeds, female, (age 25), b. MA

James B. Leeds, male (age 8) b. MA, attends school

Helen F. Leeds, female, (age 6) b. MA, attends school

Osgood C. Leeds, male (age 1) b. MA

Osgood C. Leeds, male (age 20), b. MA, produce store

Mary Durant, female (age 16), b. MA

APARTMENT 2

John Lewin [Laven], male, (age 42), b. Germany, Master Mariner

Mary Ann Lewin, female, (age 38), b. MA

Daniel G. E. Dickenson, male, (age 22), Caulker, b. MA

Ann R. Dickenson, female (age 19), b. MA

1860 Census

Joseph G. Jenkins, (age 37), b. Falmouth, MA

Deborah R. Jenkins, wife (age 34), b. Otisfield, ME

Alpheus F. Jenkins, male, (age 13), b. Boston, attends school

Almira A. Jenkins, female, (age 10) b. Boston, attends school

Clara E. Jenkins, female, (age 9), b. Boston, attends school

Almira T. Winship, female, (age 30), b. Otisfield, ME

Rebecca Eaton, female, (age 70), b. Boston, widow

John M. Eaton, male (age 33), b. Boston, Type maker

Benjamin F. Eaton, male (age 29), b. Boston, Sail maker

1870 Census

Everyone is listed as white.

APARTMENT 1

Joseph Jenkins, (age 46), white b. MA to MA parents, Clerk in store

Debra R. Jenkins, wife (age 43), white b. MA, keeps house

F. Apheus Jenkins, male, (age 23), white b. MA, clerk in store

E. Clara Jenkins, female, (age 19), white b. MA, no occupation

E. Emma Jenkins, female (age 15) white b. MA, at home, attended school within the year

R. Willard Jenkins, male (age 27) white b. MA, clerk in store

APARTMENT 2

J. Henry Stephenson, male, (age 55) white b. MA, bootmaker

Jane Stephenson, female (age 27) white b. MA, keeps house

Melvina Cann, female, (age 29) white b. MA, dressmaker

Cecilia Matthews, male, (age 20) white b. MA, clerk in store

J. Henry Cann, male (age 23) white b. MA, clerk in store

Joseph Webb, male (age 29) white b. MA, laborer

1880 Census

Everyone is listed as white.

FRONT APARTMENT

Joseph T./G. Jenkins, (age 57) b. 1823 in MA to MA parents, works on Coal Wharf

Debra R. Jenkins, wife (age 54) b.1826 in ME to ME parents, keeps house

Frederick French (age 60), b. 1820 in England to English parents, book cutter

Abigail French, wife (age 69) b. 1811 in MA to MA parents, keeps house

Clarasin R. French, daughter, single (age 32) b. 1848 in MA, book cutter

FIRST REAR APARTMENT

McLaughlin, Bernard “Barney” (age 54), b. 1825/6 in Ireland to Irish parents, Laborer, cannot read or write

McLaughlin, Alice (age 53), wife, b. 1826/7 in Ireland to Irish parents, keeps house.

Both immigrated sometime between 1849-1855.

McLaughlin, Thomas W., son, single, (age 19) b. 11/20/1860 on 30 Cross St. Boston, Butcher in 1880 (marries Annie Clark on 7/19/1885)¹

McLaughlin, Rebecca, daughter, single (age 17) b. 1863 in MA, sales girl.

McLaughlin, Charles, son, single (age 12), b. 8/28/1868 on 3 Thacher St, Boston, at school in 1880.

More notes on the McLaughlins:

1855 MA census² shows Bernard & Ally, age 29, living in ward 7 (not north end) with Rebecca (9), John (6) and Bernard Jr. (1).

1856 the couple lives at 14 Batterymarch St, Boston, where Henry is born (see below).

1860 Nov 20 Thomas is born, Bernard and Alice live on 30 Cross St. Boston (North End) (see above)

1865 MA census³ show Bernard and Alice plus John, Bernard Jr., Henry, Mary, Thomas, and Rebecca.

1870 Census⁴ shows these(?) children plus Henry (b.1857 in MA) and Mary (b. 1859 in MA) , Bernard and Alice. The family lived in Ward 2 (north end).

¹ Massachusetts Town and Vital Records 1860; 1885

² Massachusetts State Census 1855

³ Massachusetts State Census 1865

⁴ USBC 1870

John is born to Bernard and Alice in 1849 in Ireland. He dies a clerk in 1880 at the age of 31 at 25 Hinchman St, Boston (N. End). Cause of death = *Phthisis Pulmonalis*, or tuberculosis of the lungs⁵

Bernard Jr. is born in Boston in 1855 to Bernard and Alice. He marries Rosa Kane / Rose Kaine (They name their daughter Alice in 1899)⁶ (b. Ireland 23, possibly related to his mother Alice Kane) on 5/21/1890, listed as a laborer⁷

Henry J. is born to Bernard and Alice on 4/7/1856, at home 14 Batterymarch, Boston⁸ and marries Sarah McGlone on 9/30/1879 at age 23 in Boston, working as a printer⁹. He dies at age 38 on 12/9/1894 from "Ventral and Aortic Insufficiency".¹⁰

Mary Ann is born to Bernard and Alice on 7/29/1858 in Boston, who are listed at living on 29 Cross St., Boston.¹¹

Dennis is born 5/6/1866¹² on 51 Endicott St to Bernard and Alice but doesn't appear to live to his fourth birthday, as he is not present in the 1870 census.¹³

Alice (1866-1867) at 80 Cross Street, dies of Meningitis.¹⁴

⁵ Massachusetts Death Records 1880

⁶ USBC 1900

⁷ Massachusetts Marriage Records 1890

⁸ Massachusetts Birth Records 1856

⁹ Massachusetts Marriage Records 1879

¹⁰ Massachusetts Death records 1894

¹¹ Boston Births, Marriages and Deaths 1858

¹² Massachusetts Birth Records 1866

¹³ USBC 1870

¹⁴ Massachusetts Town and Vital Records 1866, 1867

McGinnis, Patrick, (age 24), b. 7/1857¹⁵ in Ireland to Irish parents, laborer.

Immigrated 1866, age 9. Surname popular in Northern Ireland.

McGinnis, Mary A., wife (age 22) b. 8/1859¹⁶ in MA to Irish parents, keeps house.

McGinnis, Charles (age 7 months), b. 11/8/1879 on 25 Henschman St., Boston (N. End)¹⁷

Lived on 25 Pearl st (Charlestown) in 1900 with 3 kids (jobs listed)

Kane, Henry J., boarder, (age 32) b. 1848 in Ireland to Irish parents, laborer/hostler. Related to Alice nee Kane? According to 1900 census, shows up as a widowed farm manager in Townsend, MA, naturalized at some point after arrival in 1861. (b may 1847)¹⁸

Immigrated in 1861?

SECOND REAR APARTMENT

Coleman, Margaret E., widowed, (age 54), b. 6/1825 in Ireland to Irish parents, rheumatism, cannot write, keeps house.

Immigrated 1845. Surname popular in Cork

Coleman, Dennis B., son, single, (age 28) b. 2/1851 in MA to Irish parents, catheter, cap maker.

Coleman, Margaret E., daughter (age 21), b. 4/1859 in MA to Irish parents, at home.

Coleman, William H., son, single (age 14), b. 1866 in MA to Irish parents.

¹⁵ USBC 1900

¹⁶ USBC 1900

¹⁷ Massachusetts Town and Vital Records 1879

¹⁸ USBC 1900

More notes on the Coleman family:

1850 Census also has Jeremiah (infant) and Brian/Bryan/Brien Coleman (b. 1823 Ireland d. ~1864/5? MA), Margaret's husband.¹⁹

1855 MA census has Bryan and Margaret living with many other families in Boston Ward 7. They have Jeremiah, Dennis, Julia, and Catherine.²⁰

1865 MA census has the Colemans living with 4 other families (23 total people), some were born in US, Ireland, France, and Spain. Margaret, already widowed, works as a peddler with 6 children: Jeremiah, 15, picture frames, Dennis, 14, Julia, 12, Michael, 9, Margaret, 7, and William, 2.²¹ Of these, Jeremiah, Julia, and Michael do not show up in the 1880 census.²²

1870 Census has the three children from 1880 plus Jeremiah Coleman (b. 1850) and a non-relative child. Margaret is still widowed. In Ward 1 (East), Boston.²³

1900 has Margaret Sr. living with Dennis and Margaret Jr, who are unmarried, with 2 servant brothers, but she still can't write.²⁴

So the father Bryan dies, as do several children: Jeremiah, Julia, Michael, and Catherine, leaving only Dennis, Margaret Jr. and William surviving.

Hayes, Alonzo, (age 40), b. 1840 in MA to English Parents, painter.

Hayes, Mary A., wife (age 37) b. 1843 in MA to Irish Parents, keeps house.

Hayes, Millisa A. (age 5) b. 1875 in MA to MA parents.

Hayes, Elwood A. (age 2) b. 1878 in MA to MA parents.

¹⁹ USBC 1850

²⁰ Massachusetts State Census 1855

²¹ Massachusetts State Census 1865

²² USBC 1880

²³ USBC 1870

²⁴ USBC 1900

1900 Census

The entire household is listed as white.

A'Hearn, Daniel, white, (age 47) b. 8/1852 in MA to Irish parents, married 23 years. Family is white and all can read, write, and speak English. Stevedore [dockworker], 4 months not employed

A'Hearn, Mary A., wife, (age 47) b. 12/1857 in Nova Scotia to Nova Scotian parents, married 23 years, immigrated to U.S. from Canada in 1871 (29 years ago), Mother to 9 children, of which 8 are living in 1900 (all at 21 Unity with their parents)

A'Hearn, Lora M., daughter, (age 21) b. 11/1878 in MA, silver soderer

A'Hearn, William J. son, (age 19), b. 6/1880 in MA, water boy sewer D.

A'Hearn, Alfred, son, (age 16) b. 2/1884 in MA, Driver Team

A'Hearn, Theresa, daughter, (age 12), b. 7/1887 in MA, at school

A'Hearn, Sofia A., daughter, (age 11), b. 3/1889 in MA, at school

A'Hearn, Walter J. son (age 9), b. 1/1891 in MA, at school

A'Hearn, Francis, daughter, (age 5) b. 5/1895 in MA

A'Hearn, Gertrue, daughter, (age 2), born 7/1897 in MA

Pendolari, John[y?] (age 30) b. 10/1869 in Italy to Italian parents, immigrated in 1887 (13 years ago), Chair Painter, 0 months unemployed, can read and write but does not speak English. Married 6 years.

Pendolari, Theresa, wife (age 31), b. 1/1869 in Italy to Italian parents, mother of 3 children, of which 2 are alive in 1900 and live with their parents here at 21 Unity St. Married 6 years. Immigrated in 1892 (8 years ago). Can read and write but does not speak English.

Pendolari, Romeo, son, (age 5) b. 12/1894 in MA

Pendolari, Medeas, daughter (age 3) b. 9/1896 in MA

Sheehan, Mary, (age 65), widowed. Born 5/1835 in Ireland to Irish parents. Immigrated 1867. Never had children. Is on a civil War pension. Cannot read or write but does speak English.

Peraso, Francesco, (age 37), b. 9/1862 in Italy to Italian parents, married 2 years. Immigrated in 1898 (2 years ago), Day laborer, unemployed for 4 months, Cannot read, write, or speak English.

Peraso, Mary, wife (age 42) b. 5/1858 in Italy to Italian parents. Married 2 years, never had children. Cannot read, write, or speak English.

Mogolia, John[y?] (age 33) b. 7/1866 in Italy to Italy parents, married 8 years. Immigrated 1891 (9 years ago), Glass Polisher, unemployed 2 months. Can read and write but does not speak English.

Mogolia, Candida, wife (age 29) b. 10/1870 in MA to an Italian father and MA-born mother. Married 8 years, had 5 children, 3 survive in 1900 and live in 21 unity st. Can read, write, and speak English

Mogolia, Louisa, daughter, (age 7), b. 1/1893 in MA, not in school.

Mogolia, Lena, daughter (age 4) b. 6/1895 in MA

Mogolia, Frank, son (age 3) b. 8/1896 in MA

1910 Census

Florence, Giuseppe (age 32), born in Italy to Italian parents. Immigrated to US 1905. Speaks Italian, works as a laborer doing odd jobs. Can read and write.

Florence, Maria, wife (age 33). Married 8 years, has had 3 children, all living, born in Italy to Italian parents. Immigrated to US in 1906. Speaks Italian, doesn't work. Cannot read or write.

Florence, Placido, son (age 6), born in France to Italian parents.

Florence, Antonio, son (age 3) born in Mass.

Florence. Rosina, daughter (age 7 months) born in Mass.

Riccio, Luigi (age 32) Immigrated from Italy 1905. Speaks English. Works as an iron worker in a foundry. Can read and write.

Riccio, Gastena, wife (age 36) Married 10 years, has had 1 child, living. Immigrated from Italy 1905. Speaks Italian, doesn't work. Cannot read or write.

Riccio, Orsolina, daughter (age 4). Born in Mass.

Chiusano, Guglierno, (age 64) Immigrated from Italy in 1906. Speaks Italian. Doesn't work. Can read and write.

Chiusano, Filornena, wife (age 64) Married 41 years. Has had 6 children, 3 are still living in 1910. Immigrated from Italy in 1906. Speaks Italian. Doesn't work. Can read and write

Chiusano, Antonio, son (head of family) (age 26) Single. Immigrated from Italy in 1902. Speaks English. Works as a barber in a barber shop. Can't read or write

Chiusano, Nicola, son (age 20) Single. Immigrated from Italy in 1906. Speaks English. Works as a barber in a barber shop. Can't read or write.

Dandero, Giovanni (age 33). Born in Italy to Italian parents. Immigrated from Italy in 1903. Speaks English. Works as a laborer doing odd jobs. Can read and write.

Dandero, Candita, wife (age 24) Married 6 years, 4 of 4 children living. Born in Italy to Italian parents. Immigrated from Italy in 1903. Speaks Italian. Doesn't work. Can read and write.

Dandero, Adolfo, son (age 6) Born in Italy. Immigrated from Italy in 1903.

Dandero, Alfredo, son (age 4) Born in Mass.

Dandero, Stefano, son (age 2) Born in Mass.

Dandero, Enrico, son (age 6 mos.) Born in Mass.

Grecco, Enrico, boarder (age 34). Works as a fruit salesman. Born in Italy to Italian parents. Immigrated from Italy in 1893. Speaks English. Can read and write.

Brondi, Giovanni (age 32). Works as a laborer. Born in Italy to Italian parents. Immigrated from Italy in 1899. Speaks English. Works as a laborer doing odd jobs. Can read and write.

Brondi, Emilia, wife (age 25), 1 of 2 children still living. Born in Italy to Italian parents. Immigrated from Italy in 1902. Speak English. Doesn't work. Cannot read or write.

Brondi, Maria-Giuseppa, daughter (age 1 month). Born in Mass.

1920 Census

29 individuals from 8 families. All Italian (22) or Italian-American (7). Only 9 speak English. 2 butchers. All who work wage labor.

Dondero, John, (age 43) immigrated 1905 from Italy, cannot read or write or speak English. Works wage labor as a salesman in a market.

Dondero, Candita wife, (age 34) immigrated 1907 from Italy, cannot read or write or speak English. Doesn't work.

Dondero, Adolph son, (age 16) immigrated 1907 from Italy, attends school, can read and write and speak English. Works wage labor as a druggist in a store [while attending school at age 16!]

Dondero, Stephen son, (age 12) born in Mass. attends school, can read and write and speak English.

Dondero, Erico son, (age 10) born in Mass. attends school, can read and write and speak English.

Dondero, Louis son, (age 3) born in Mass. Not yet in school.

Rosalie, Francis (mother) (age 60), widowed, immigrated from Italy in 1914, cannot read, write, or speak English.

Rosalie, Eugene (son) (age 32), single, immigrated from Italy in 1914, can read and write, but does not speak English. Contractor.

Nardini, Santo (age 46), married (but no wife in house), immigrated from Italy in 1912, can read and write, but does not speak English. Butcher.

Prosperi, Michael, cousin (age 37), single, immigrated from Italy in 1915, can read and write, but does not speak English. Butcher.

Esposit, Antonio, (age 28) immigrated 1911 from Italy, cannot read or write or speak English. Works wage labor as a salesman in a market.

Esposito, Grace wife, (age 33) immigrated 1911 from Italy, cannot read or write or speak English. Doesn't work.

Esposito, Edmund son, (age 5) born in Mass. cannot read or write or speak English; does not attend school.

Esposito, Millie daughter, (age 3) born in Mass. cannot read or write or speak English; does not attend school.

Esposito, Frank son, (age 5 months) born in Mass. cannot read or write or speak English; does not attend school.

De Lorenza, Vito (age 56), immigrated in 1910 from Italy. Cannot read or write or speak English. Works as a contractor.

De Lorenza, Marie, wife, (age 44) immigrated in 1910 from Italy. Cannot read or write or speak English. Doesn't work.

Carbonelli, Jagamo [?](age 60), immigrated from Italy in 1913. Cannot read or write or speak English Works as a laborer (contractor)

Carbonelli, Marie, wife (age 60), immigrated from Italy in 1913. Cannot read or write or speak English. Doesn't work.

Carbonelli, James, son (age 25), single, immigrated from Italy in 1913. Reads, writes, and speaks English. Works as a laborer (contractor)

Carbonelli, Nicholas, son (age 24), single, immigrated from Italy in 1913. Reads, writes, and speaks English. Works as a laborer (contractor)

Carbonelli, Joseph, son (age 18), single, immigrated from Italy in 1913. Reads, writes, and speaks English. Works as a laborer (contractor)

Rosa, Marie (mother, widowed) (age 58) immigrated from Italy in 1913. Cannot read or write or speak English. Doesn't work.

Rosa, Antonetta (daughter, single) (age 35) immigrated from Italy in 1913. Cannot read or write or speak English. Works as a tailoress in a shop.

Anchi, Nicola (age 38), immigrated in 1915 from Italy. Cannot read or write or speak English. Works as a laborer for the city.

Anchi, Lena, wife (age 37) immigrated in 1915 from Italy. Cannot read or write or speak English. Doesn't work.

Anchi, Frank, son (age 10) immigrated in 1915 from Italy. Attends school, Language abilities unclear.

Anchi, Saverio, son (age 7) immigrated in 1915 from Italy. Attends school, Language abilities unclear.

Anchi, Lena, daughter (age 3) born in Mass. Language abilities unclear.

1930 Census

12 Italian individuals from 4 families, including a taxi driver and fruit buyer.

1940 Census

10 Italian individuals from 5 families, including manufacturing (factory), laborer (paving), church housekeeper. Some are not yet American citizens.

APPENDIX 3

CLOUGH HOUSE CERAMIC VESSEL CATALOG

<i>Context</i>	<i>Vessel #</i>	<i>Ware Type</i>	<i>Vessel Form</i>	<i>Decoration</i>	<i>Context #</i>	<i>Portion(s)</i>	<i>Rim d. (cm)</i>	<i>base d. (cm)</i>	<i>height (cm)</i>	<i>Notes</i>
Main Midden	6	Jackfield	teaware		52232	body				only Jackfield in this context.
Main Midden	10	Pearlware	flatware	shell-edged green	53202	rim				Vessels 10 and 11 have different shell-edged green patterns
Main Midden	11	Pearlware	flatware	shell-edged green	50002	rim				Vessels 10 and 11 have different shell-edged green patterns
Main Midden	12	Pearlware	flatware	shell-edged blue	53378	rim				
Main Midden	13	Pearlware	teaware, hollow	HP polychrome, gold banded with blue	53376	rim				
Main Midden	14	Pearlware	teaware, saucer	HP polychrome, blue and orange	53373	rim				
Main Midden	15	Pearlware	teaware, hollow	TP blue	49716	rim				Although both blue TP, vessel 15 is thin and hollow, while vessel 16 is thick and flat
Main Midden	16	Pearlware	flatware	TP blue	52544	rim				Although both blue TP, vessel 15 is thin and hollow, while vessel 16 is thick and flat

Main Midden	17	Pearlware	hollowware	undecorated	53797	rim				The other decorated pearlwares have designs that would go all the way around the rim
Main Midden	105	Yellow ware	hollowware	undecorated	52602	rim				molded design
Main Midden	108	Creamware	hollowware	FDSW brown	52210	rim				FDSW
Main Midden	109	Creamware	flatware	undecorated	49746	rim				flatware
Main Midden	110	Creamware	bowl	undecorated	52585	rim	15			bowl
Main Midden	111	Creamware	hollowware	undecorated	53213	rim				thinner hollowware with different rim shape
Main Midden	132	Ironstone	plate	gold banded (luster)	51866/ 53801/ 49167	complete profile	18		2	
Main Midden	133	Whiteware	teapot	TP overglaze brown	49633	3 lid sherds	7.5		5	The other vessels are clearly not teapots
Main Midden	134	Whiteware	hollowware	molded	53798	rim				Other interesting (body) sherds that were not included in the vesselization include Black TP, TP blue, and a base with an incomplete maker's mark dating it to either 1884 or 1899 (registry number was cut off. It is English. See pictures). Some of these could prove to be different vessels.
Main Midden	144	Ironstone	hollowware	undecorated	55142	Rim				Other undecorated rim/body sherds were also present but are not included

Main Midden	151	Porcelain	mug	gold gilt flower band	53214	rim	9			Porcelain note: Much of this is industrial porcelain or doll parts/ doll tea sets. This piece is gold luster rose pattern with molding on sides
Main Midden	152	Porcelain	dish	green glaze, scalloped edge	49631	complete profile	9.5	4	2.5 +	rim slants strangely. Green luster
Main Midden	153	Porcelain	teaware	gold gilt, pink band	49627	rim				gold luster and pink painted band
Main Midden	154	Porcelain	bowl	Chinese underglaze blue	52786	base		10		the only chinese porcelain here
Main Midden	155	Porcelain	tea plate (doll)	blue underglaze	52599	complete profile	4	2.3	1	Part of doll's tea set. The MM also has porcelain doll parts. Other interesting porcelain sherds that were photographed include 3 handles, one HP purple, and one strange green hollowware
Main Midden	184	Tin Glaze		HP Blue	53393	body				light paste There are no TG rim sherds in the MM. While there were several body sherds, only these 3 were chosen as representative of larger vessels
Main Midden	185	Tin Glaze	hollowware	HP Polychrome	52795	body				medium-dark paste. Extra glaze 52796. Different color scheme, different blue
Main Midden	186	Tin Glaze		Purple glaze	51905	base				dark paste
Main Midden	208	Stoneware	inkwell	Nottingham	52596	base		< 6 cm		small, possible inkwell. There were no Nottingham rim sherds
Main Midden	209	Stoneware	mug	Westerwald	49736	base		12		There were no Westerwald rim sherds

Main Midden	210	Stoneware	hollowware	Albany Slip	53794	body				There were no Albany slip rim sherds. Thick, possible storage vessel
Main Midden	211	Stoneware	tea bowl	White Salt Glazed	53201	2 rim sherds	8			flared rim, curved
Main Midden	212	Stoneware	flatware?	White Salt Glazed	52677	rim				whiter glaze, straight rim, possibly flat vessel
Main Midden	245	Staffordshire	hollowware: bowl/chamber pot?		49609	base		7		no staff rims here.
Main Midden	258	Redware	hollowware	unglazed	49745	rim				unique vessel form: pie crust rim
Main Midden	259	Redware	hollowware: bowl/pot	brown int/unglazed ext	53775	rim	22			
Main Midden	260	Redware	flowerpot	unglazed	C8 Str2 Lev4	2 rim sherds	7			shortest neck
Main Midden	261	Redware	flowerpot	unglazed	51305	rim				short neck
Main Midden	262	Redware	flowerpot	red painted	52688	rim	9			large neck, red paint and small diameter
Main Midden	263	Redware	flowerpot	unglazed	53289	rim	20			large neck, largest diameter
Main Midden	264	Redware	flowerpot	unglazed	C4 Str5 Lev5	rim	15			large neck, medium diameter and slanted shoulder
Main Midden	265	Redware	bowl	lead glaze int/ext	49149	rim				unique glaze
Main Midden	266	Redware	hollowware	unglazed	55598	rim				unique size, shape, and color
Main Midden	267	Redware	hollowware	black glaze/brown glaze	52219	body				unique glaze
Main Midden	268	Redware	hollowware	black glaze/yellow glaze	49152	body				unique glaze
Main Fill	2	Astbury	teacup or bowl		50663	Rim				This context has two rim sherds of Astbury ware , but one is fragmented, so it is impossible to determine if they go together. There are also several small body sherds. Therefore, the MNV = 1

Main Fill	4	Jackfield	teaware		53614	Rim			1 rim (body sherds dismissed). A foot was also found and photographed later
Main Fill	18	Pearlware	bowl	TP Brown	49836	Rim			Only Brown TP in MF. Thick
Main Fill	19	Pearlware	platter	shell-edged blue	54357	4 Rim sherds			Cord and Herringbone
Main Fill	20	Pearlware		shell-edged blue	55426	Rim			Different pattern, embossed with campus
Main Fill	21	Pearlware	hollowware	shell-edged blue	54355	Rim			beaded, large beads
Main Fill	22	Pearlware	hollowware	shell-edged blue	50106	Rim			beaded, small beads
Main Fill	23	Pearlware	teaware	shell-edged blue	55655	Rim			Shell pattern not to edge, wide band at rim
Main Fill	24	Pearlware	teaware	shell-edged blue	51753	Rim			Shell pattern not to edge, narrow band at rim
Main Fill	25	Pearlware	octogonal plate	shell-edged blue	55503	Rim			straight edge and incised
Main Fill	26	Pearlware	plate	shell-edged blue	54339	Rim			scalloped edge, not incised
Main Fill	27	Pearlware	flatware	shell-edged blue	C1 Str4 Lev6	Rim			scalloped edge, not incised, smaller scallops
Main Fill	28	Pearlware	flatware	shell-edged blue	53050	Rim			scalloped edge, incised, lightly incised with longer scallops
Main Fill	30	Pearlware	flatware	shell-edged blue	51740	Rim			scalloped edge, incised, short scallops
Main Fill	31	Pearlware	plate	shell-edged blue	54038	Rim			scalloped edge, incised, smaller vessel
Main Fill	32	Pearlware	plate	shell-edged blue	53052	Rim			scalloped edge, incised, larger vessel
Main Fill	33	Pearlware		shell-edged blue	54356	2 Rim sherds			scalloped edge, incised, curly design
Main Fill	34	Pearlware	tableware	shell-edged green	49795	Rim			no incision or design
Main Fill	35	Pearlware	flatware	shell-edged green	50518	Rim			smooth, thin feathers
Main Fill	36	Pearlware	plate	shell-edged green	51231	Rim			short scallops
Main Fill	37	Pearlware		shell-edged green	51688	Rim			strange, design on exterior

Main Fill	38	Pearlware	tableware	shell-edged green	54545	Rim				thinner feather lines and a thinner green band at rim, smaller vessel
Main Fill	39	Pearlware	plate	shell-edged green	51699	2 Rim sherds	17			thin, lighter green bumpy design
Main Fill	40	Pearlware	flatware	shell-edged green	54161	Rim				thicker feather lines and a thicker green band at rim
Main Fill	41	Pearlware	hollowware	TP Blue	49651	Rim				little dots on exterior
Main Fill	42	Pearlware	bowl	TP Blue	52134	Rim	16			large leaf interior border, decorated exterior
Main Fill	43	Pearlware	hollowware	TP Blue	57385	Rim				small leaf interior border
Main Fill	44	Pearlware	saucer	TP Blue	54533	2 Rim sherds	16			wavy interior border
Main Fill	45	Pearlware	saucer	TP Blue	B2 Str6 Lev7 / C1 Str4 Lev6	2 Rim sherds				V with dots border
Main Fill	46	Pearlware	tableware	TP Blue	52631	2 Rim sherds				headphone border, scalloped, blue on rim edge
Main Fill	47	Pearlware	tea bowl	TP Blue	C1 Str4 Lev6	Rim	9.5			white circles int/ext border
Main Fill	48	Pearlware	saucer	TP Blue	C1 Str4 Lev6	Rim				peacock border
Main Fill	49	Pearlware	hollowware	TP Blue	C1 Str4 Lev6	Rim				dark mound within white mound border
Main Fill	50	Pearlware	bowl	TP Blue	C5 Str4 Lev12	Rim	14			messy white pools int. border, no ext.
Main Fill	51	Pearlware	hollowware	TP Blue	C2 Str4 Lev7	Rim				white 'U's with notch on right border
Main Fill	52	Pearlware	hollowware	TP Blue	51656	Rim				very thick, no similar patterns
Main Fill	53	Pearlware	bowl	TP Blue	C2 Str4 Lev7	Rim				messy pools int. border, messy wavy ext. border
Main Fill	54	Pearlware	hollowware	TP Blue	C6 Str6 Lev6	Rim				headphone border, white on rim edge
Main Fill	55	Pearlware		TP Blue	50639	Rim				long wavy border

Main Fill	56	Pearlware	hollowware	TP Blue	52746	Rim				dark with stars
Main Fill	57	Pearlware		TP Blue	C6 Str6 Lev6	Rim				int. border = 'U's with dots, ext. border = white eyes
Main Fill	58	Pearlware	teacup or bowl	TP Blue	C5 Str4 Lev9	Rim				simple dark blue band int border
Main Fill	59	Pearlware	hollowware	TP Blue	B1 Str4 Lev8	Rim				headphone border ext, X pattern on int
Main Fill	60	Pearlware	bowl	TP Blue	B1 Str4 Lev7	Rim	17			blue band int border with white
Main Fill	61	Pearlware	tea bowl	TP Blue	55427	Rim	9			int: farm, ext: mountains
Main Fill	62	Pearlware	tea bowl	TP Blue	51006 / C5 Str4 Lev9	2 Rim sherds	9			white band border, int = blue background, ext = white background
Main Fill	63	Pearlware	teaware	TP Blue	50163	Rim				fire hydrant ext border
Main Fill	64	Pearlware	tea bowl	TP Blue	50995	Rim	10			int = blue floral border w white background, ext = scene
Main Fill	65	Pearlware	flatware	TP Blue	53046	Rim				wavy interior border + floral design
Main Fill	66	Pearlware	hollowware	TP Blue	54343	Rim				floral design with no border
Main Fill	67	Pearlware	hollowware	TP Blue	51125	Rim				unique patterns on both int and ext
Main Fill	68	Pearlware	bowl	HP Polychrome, blue, green, and yellow	52355	3 rim sherds	12			thick blue band ext border
Main Fill	69	Pearlware	teapot	HP Blue	55786	Rim	9			sloppy medium blue band ext border and distinct rim shape
Main Fill	70	Pearlware	bowl	HP Blue	52353	Rim	13			medium blue band int border
Main Fill	71	Pearlware	hollowware	HP Blue	53167	Rim				thin blue band border both sides
Main Fill	72	Pearlware	hollowware	HP Blue	50669	Rim				thin blue band border both sides, no white space at top
Main Fill	73	Pearlware	flatware	HP Blue	54349	Rim				thick with distinct pattern
Main Fill	74	Pearlware	teacup	HP Blue	50678	Rim				blue rim edge, floral pattern ext

Main Fill	75	Pearlware	hollowware	HP Blue	53648	Rim			blue edge, blue ext
Main Fill	76	Pearlware		HP Blue	53644	Rim			scale border int
Main Fill	77	Pearlware	teacup or bowl	HP Blue	52178	Rim			distinctive int/ext borders
Main Fill	78	Pearlware	hollowware	HP Blue	51714	Rim			blue edge, blue int
Main Fill	80	Pearlware	hollowware	HP Blue	53048	Rim			distinctive sloppy blue band border
Main Fill	81	Pearlware	hollowware	HP Polychrome, green and blue	53106	2 Rim sherds			blue edge with green leaf pattern ext
Main Fill	82	Pearlware	hollowware	HP Polychrome, blue and orange	51749	Rim			blue band with orange
Main Fill	83	Pearlware	hollowware	HP Polychrome, gold banded	49554	Rim			int = 1 band, ext = 1 band
Main Fill	84	Pearlware	hollowware	HP Polychrome, gold banded	B1 Str4 Lev7	Rim			crisp dark brown band int/ext
Main Fill	85	Pearlware	hollowware	HP Polychrome, gold banded	54345	Rim			blurry light brown band int/ext
Main Fill	86	Pearlware	hollowware	FDSW Agate	50604	Rim	13		Granite inlay decoration int (Sussman 1997: 40)Same decoration as V.99 in Clay layer
Main Fill	87	Pearlware	hollowware	HP Red	51732	Rim			Red painted
Main Fill	88	Pearlware		molded	51126	Rim			molded pattern
Main Fill	89	Pearlware	hollowware	undecorated	55544	Rim	2.5		small opening- unidentified undecorated hollowware. Other undecorated vessel forms not represented in the rims include a serving dish lid and a possible teapot, but I couldn't confidently exclude other undecorated rims from portions of the already vesselized deocrated ones

Main Fill	100	Iberian Storage Jug	Storage Jug		49660	1 body sherd				thick vessel blue int white ext
Main Fill	101	Iberian Storage Jug	Storage Jug		54535	1 body sherd				thin vessel
Main Fill	102	Polychrome Majolica	jug	Polychrome, pink int.	53174 / 52350	2 Rim sherds (one is the spout)				A handle fragment may be part of this vessel as well
Main Fill	103	Yellow ware	hollowware	undecorated	51026 / 51178	2 Rim sherds	24			very large
Main Fill	104	Yellow ware	hollowware	undecorated	52883	handle				too small to go with 103
Main Fill	114	Creamware	hollowware	FDSW	50618	Rim				green ext., machine turning rim
Main Fill	115	Creamware	tea bowl	HP Polychrome, red and gold	53168	Rim	10			Floral pattern ext. only HP rim
Main Fill	116	Creamware	hollowware	undecorated	49584	Rim				beaded molded border pattern
Main Fill	117	Creamware	plate	Whieldon	50909	Rim				possibly octagonal
Main Fill	118	Creamware	plate	undecorated	54126	2 rim sherds and 1 complete profile	22	16	3	inslanting walls. Plain circular plate
Main Fill	119	Creamware	bowl	undecorated	55720	Rim	16			bowl
Main Fill	120	Creamware	plate	undecorated	49909	Rim				outslanting walls
Main Fill	121	Creamware	plate	undecorated	B1 Str4 Lev6	Rim				scalloped edge
Main Fill	122	Creamware	tankard (mug) or cup	undecorated	53034	Rim	8.5			mug/tankard. With incision
Main Fill	123	Creamware	flatware	undecorated	50085	Rim				scalloped edge, molded border pattern
Main Fill	124	Creamware	hollowware	HP polychrome, brown/gold	54547	2 Rim sherds				faded brown or gold painted band around rim
Main Fill	125	Creamware	hollowware	undecorated	53182	Rim				deeper glaze with distinct rim shape

Main Fill	126	Creamware	teaware	undecorated	54175	Rim			very thin. Other CW that was not vesselized but was photographed (body sherds) includes blue HP, black TP, Red/gold HP, and cauliflower ware
Main Fill	127	Pearlware	teaware	HP Blue	53624	Rim			china glaze, thin. Probable teaware
Main Fill	128	Pearlware		TP Blue	C5 Str4 Lev9	Rim			"hanging lantern" pattern
Main Fill	129	Pearlware		TP Blue	51029	Rim			thin blue line border int with flowers
Main Fill	130	Pearlware	hollowware	TP Blue	52771	Rim			int floral design with small dots and white background, ext plain.
Main Fill	131	Pearlware	hollowware	TP Blue	53623	Rim			light blue int, white ext
Main Fill	135	Whiteware	bowl	undecorated	53487	Rim	34		large and thick. C8 Str5Lev3
Main Fill	136	Whiteware	flatware	molded	52667	Rim	10		C5 Str4 Lev12
Main Fill	137	Whiteware	hollowware	decalomania	55924	Rim			
Main Fill	138	Whiteware	bowl	gold banded (luster)	50697	Rim	14		banded int
Main Fill	139	Whiteware	bowl	banded	52390 / 53173	2 Rim sherds	17		banded ext
Main Fill	140	Whiteware	tableware	Flow Blue	50492	Rim			
Main Fill	141	Whiteware	plate or platter	TP Blue	55215	Rim			Other body sherds that were not included (but may prove to be) include several brown TP sherds (at least 2 vessel: one bowl and one flatware), a red Tp sherd (HW?), and several sponged decorated sherds. These were photographed.

Main Fill	142	Ironstone	hollowware	undecorated	52882	Lid, etc.			All other ironstone sherds from this context, including a handle, could not be proven to be distinct from this vessel, which is large and thick
Main Fill	156	Pearlware	hollowware	HP Blue	54381	Rim			China glaze & ptn made to appear like porcelain (int) Comparison photo 137-1340
Main Fill	157	Porcelain	teaware	Chinese overglaze enamel	54389	Rim			Gold & black band
Main Fill	158	Porcelain	teaware	Chinese overglaze enamel	55466	Rim			red and gold patter, thin
Main Fill	159	Porcelain	teaware	Chinese overglaze enamel	53184	Rim			laurel design (red), thicker
Main Fill	160	Porcelain	teaware	Chinese overglaze enamel	49835	2 Rim sherds			red (both sides) and gold band
Main Fill	161	Porcelain	teaware	Chinese overglaze enamel	52881	Rim			red and gold int, solid brown ext
Main Fill	162	Porcelain	teaware	Chinese overglaze enamel	51742	Rim			simple red band with gold design
Main Fill	163	Porcelain	teaware	Chinese underglaze blue	51613	Rim			same pattern as v. 149 int
Main Fill	164	Porcelain	teaware	Chinese underglaze blue	49684	Rim			thick blue band int border
Main Fill	165	Porcelain	tea bowl	Chinese underglaze blue	50654	Rim	12		brown ext
Main Fill	166	Porcelain	tea bowl	Chinese underglaze blue	52764	Rim	15		patterned border both sides, thick
Main Fill	167	Porcelain	teaware	Chinese underglaze blue	55650	Rim			pattern both sides w thin brown band on edge and red flower ext
Main Fill	168	Porcelain	teaware	Chinese underglaze blue	53189	Rim			distinct pattern both sides
Main Fill	169	Porcelain	teaware	Chinese underglaze blue	C1 Str4Lev 6	Rim			distinct int band pattern and strange rim shape
Main Fill	170	Porcelain	teaware	Chinese underglaze blue	51673	Rim			brown band on edge, int border only
Main Fill	171	Porcelain	teaware	Chinese underglaze blue	55507	Rim			int border only, no brown band, sloppier

Main Fill	172	Porcelain	teaware	Chinese underglaze blue	50441	Rim				banded int with design, outslanting
Main Fill	173	Porcelain	tea bowl	Chinese underglaze blue	50931	Rim	11			banded int with design, inslanting
Main Fill	174	Porcelain	teaware	Chinese underglaze blue	51710	Rim				no band, decorated int
Main Fill	175	Porcelain	teaware	Chinese underglaze blue	C1 Str4 Lev6	Rim				no band, decorated int (thicker paint, bluer background)
Main Fill	176	Porcelain	teaware	embossed	50517	Rim				embossed w lavender thistle
Main Fill	177	Porcelain	teaware	Chinese overglaze enamel	51751	Rim				glaze color missing, bird int, flowers ext, no band
Main Fill	178	Porcelain	creamer or jug (child's)	undecorated	51187	1 rim sherd/1 body sherd				
Main Fill	179	Porcelain	cup (doll)	undecorated	53350	whole vessel	1.9	1.3	2	doll teacup
Main Fill	180	Porcelain	jug or teapot (doll)	undecorated	C6 Str6 Lev6	Rim	1			possible doll part
Main Fill	181	Porcelain	jug (doll)	undecorated	C8 Str3 Lev6	complete profile		1.5	2.8 +	jug, so rim slants and this is not at its maximum height. Octagonal base
Main Fill	182	Porcelain	bowl (doll)	gold banded (luster)	51574	Rim	4.5			
Main Fill	183	Porcelain	bowl (doll)	undecorated	C6 Str6 Lev6	complete profile			2	
Main Fill	196	Tin Glaze	chamber pot	undecorated	51761	Rim				pink body thick
Main Fill	197	Tin Glaze	hollowware (possible poringer)	undecorated	49580	2 Rim sherds				pink body thinner, flared rim form
Main Fill	198	Tin Glaze	hollowware (possible poringer)	Purple glaze	53068	2 Rim sherds				purple glaze
Main Fill	199	Tin Glaze	hollowware	HP Polychrome, blue and red	53067	Rim				Blue and red banded ext, slightly lavender glaze
Main Fill	200	Tin Glaze	cup	HP Polychrome, blue, red, & green	52649	Rim	8			subdued (different) palette ext with blue band and red floral design

Main Fill	201	Tin Glaze	hollowware	HP Polychrome, blue and red	51729	Rim			blue band with red (light blue) int, thin, flared rim
Main Fill	202	Tin Glaze	hollowware	HP Polychrome, blue and red	49503	Rim			blue banded with red (darker blue) int, thicker, unflared rim indicates different vessel form
Main Fill	203	Tin Glaze	hollowware	HP Polychrome, blue and red	52755	Rim			sponge blue on both sides, very curved rim indicates different vessel form
Main Fill	204	Tin Glaze	hollowware	HP Blue	54164	Rim			single low blue band int with flared rim, blue design ext. Several other sherds were found that matched this one but did not mend
Main Fill	205	Tin Glaze	bowl	HP Blue	B1 Str4 Lev9	Rim	15		poor quality "orange rind" glaze with thick blue line border
Main Fill	206	Tin Glaze	hollowware	HP Blue	B1 Str4 Lev9	Rim			double banded blue border Most likely a bowl.
Main Fill	207	Tin Glaze	chamber pot	undecorated	54458	Rim			Chamber pot, buff body. Many other HPB rim sherds were not assigned vessels due to the inconsistent variation in tin glaze rim forms and designs. In general, vesselizing was performed more conservatively on all TG sherds. Other interesting base and body sherds were photographed
Main Fill	223	Stoneware	bowl	Nottingham	55214	Rim			only Nottingham rim. Small and thin. Extra body sherds suggest this may have been a bowl

Main Fill	224	Stoneware	storage vessel	Albany Slip	54034	body			quite thick, probably a large storage vessel. There were no Albany slip rims
Main Fill	225	Stoneware	hollowware	White Salt Glazed	49669	Rim			Possible bowl. Brown banded 2 smaller rim sherds mend between this context and 53029
Main Fill	226	Stoneware	teaware	White Salt Glazed	51657	Rim			thin, with incision ext
Main Fill	227	Stoneware	teaware	White Salt Glazed	54363	Rim	~7		obvious flaring/everted rim
Main Fill	228	Stoneware	tea bowl	White Salt Glazed, Scratch Blue	50619	Rim			scratch blue int. Many other plain WSGSW rims were not counted as vessels
Main Fill	229	Stoneware	chamber pot	Westerwald	53619	Rim			clear chamber pot rim
Main Fill	230	Stoneware	mug	Westerwald	49666	2 Rim sherds	10		dark gray, large distance between rim and shoulder
Main Fill	231	Stoneware	mug	Westerwald	51678	Rim			bluer, smaller distance between rim and shoulder
Main Fill	232	Stoneware	mug	Westerwald	50509	Rim			higher blue border
Main Fill	233	Stoneware	mug	Westerwald, Höhr type	53059/49659	2 Rim sherds			Hohr pattern
Main Fill	234	Stoneware	bellarmine	Rhenish	53846	body			redder paste and glaze. Part of bartman face visible
Main Fill	235	Stoneware	bottle	German or English brown glaze	53026	base			grayer paste and glaze. Cannot determine if german or english
Main Fill	236	Rockingham	hollowware		52588	body			Possible handle. Only sherd identified as Rockingham in the whole site. Looks like Whieldon, but thicker and darker paste
Main Fill	237	Manganese Mottled	probable tankard		52132	body			Possible drinking vessel. There were only body sherds found of this type.

Main Fill	238	North Devon	large hollowware	gravel tempered	53163	rim				incised rim
Main Fill	239	North Devon		Sgraffito Slip	53177	body				no north devon sgraffito rims found
Main Fill	246	Staffordshire	chamber pot	slipped, dot decoration	53041	rim	15			dot decoration, base and handle also found
Main Fill	269	Redware	hollowware	black glaze both	52655	rim	~9			
Main Fill	270	Redware	hollowware	dark glaze ext w. incised border, brown int	52762	rim				
Main Fill	271	Redware	chamber pot	black glazed ext, brown int	55554	rim				thin chamber pot
Main Fill	272	Redware	teapot	black glaze both	52742	rim				Possible teapot lid. Other black glaze does not appear to be from a teapot, but this should be checked as this may not deserve a vessel number
Main Fill	273	Redware	chamber pot	black glaze both	50879	rim				thick chamber pot
Main Fill	274	Redware	large hollowware / pot	brown glaze int	54156	rim				incised flared ext, thick
Main Fill	275	Redware	hollowware	yellow glaze int, incised border ext	51953	rim				incised flared ext, thinner
Main Fill	276	Redware	large hollowware	brown glaze int w incised border	51789	rim				incised int, flared
Main Fill	277	Redware	large hollowware (bowl?)	trailed slip and incised int	53024	2 Rim sherds				incised interior, not flared, trailed slip
Main Fill	278	Redware	flatware	trailed slip int, no incision	52394	rim				also trailed slip but different pattern and thicker vessel. If this isn't flat it is quite large like 277
Main Fill	279	Redware	large hollowware	lead glaze int	49568	rim				large flatred rim, no incision. Brown slip
Main Fill	280	Redware	chamber pot	brown glaze both	54693	rim				chamber pot w brown glaze, thicker than 271 and different glaze than 273
Main Fill	281	Redware	hollowware	yellow glaze both	C1 Str4 Lev8	rim				flared shoulder

Main Fill	282	Redware	hollowware	yellow glaze int	55729	rim				larger vessel
Main Fill	283	Redware	hollowware	yellow glaze int	55671	rim				smaller essel
Main Fill	284	Redware	hollowware	yellow glaze both	53175	rim				speckled, smaller vessel than other similar
Main Fill	285	Redware	hollowware	unglazed	52640	rim	10			incised ext
Main Fill	286	Redware	flower pot	unglazed	55360	rim	10			flower pot
Main Fill	287	Redware	hollowware	unglazed	52301	2 Rim sherds	7			plain, thinner, smaller vessel
Main Fill	288	Redware	hollowware	unglazed	54840	rim	9.5			plain, thicker, larger vessel
Main Fill	289	Porcelain	bowl (doll)	undecorated	C6 Str6 Lev6	whole vessel		1.3		Found with synthetic artifacts after initial vessilization was complete
Clay Layer	1	Agateware		marbled slip, both sides	53749	1 body sherd				Only piece of agateware at the site
Clay Layer	3	Astbury		sprig molded (1)	49312	2 body sherds				These 2 body sherds are the only Astbury ware in this context. They may count with main fill if it is determined they ware similar
Clay Layer	29	Pearlware		shell-edged blue	49398	Rim				small scallops
Clay Layer	79	Pearlware	flatware	shell-edged blue	49326	2 Rim sherds				large scallops and molded curly design
Clay Layer	90	Pearlware	flatware	shell-edged green	54161	Rim				larger, thicker vessel
Clay Layer	91	Pearlware	flatware	shell-edged green	B2 Str5 Lev7	Rim				smaller, thinner vessel
Clay Layer	92	Pearlware	bowl	HP blue	49274	Rim	16			medium blue band / only HP blue this context
Clay Layer	93	Pearlware	hollowware	HP polychrome, gold banded	49374	Rim				Thin, defined band w cross
Clay Layer	94	Pearlware	hollowware	HP polychrome, gold banded with blue and orange	49386	Rim				medium blurry band with blue and orange
Clay Layer	95	Pearlware		TP Black	49323	1 body sherd				Only black TP this ext

Clay Layer	96	Pearlware	hollowware	TP Blue	53732	Rim				Blue and white banded
Clay Layer	97	Pearlware		TP Blue	49373	Rim				wavy banded pattern
Clay Layer	98	Pearlware		TP Blue	B2 Str5 Lev7	Rim				sloppy wavy banded pattern
Clay Layer	99	Pearlware	hollowware	FDSW Agate	53748	1 body sherd				Granite inlay similar to V.86 (MF). Only FDSW this ext
Clay Layer	112	Creamware		Whieldon	49319	1 body sherd				Probably hollowware. Body sherds included FDSW and undecorated
Clay Layer	143	Ironstone		Undecorated	49261	Rim				Only 2 small sherds of ironstone in the clay layer
Clay Layer	145	Porcelain	teacup	Chinese overglaze enamel	49417	Rim				underglaze blue with overglaze red petals ext. Possible band on edge Very thin
Clay Layer	146	Porcelain	teaware	Chinese overglaze enamel	49415	Rim				underglaze blue int with overglaze brown band on edge of rim.
Clay Layer	147	Porcelain	teaware	Chinese underglaze blue	53729	Rim				hatched border pattern int
Clay Layer	148	Porcelain	teaware	Chinese overglaze enamel	B2 Str5 Lev6	Rim				red pattern
Clay Layer	192	Tin Glaze		HP blue	53740	Rim				white glaze
Clay Layer	193	Tin Glaze	hollowware	HP blue	B2 Str5 Lev7	Rim				white glaze, thinner rim with different shape, darker blue paint
Clay Layer	194	Tin Glaze	bowl	Undecorated	49402	base				blue glaze both sides
Clay Layer	195	Tin Glaze	flatware?	Undecorated	53737	base				White glaze but (unusual) pink body. Other interesting body sherds include polychrome: yellow/orange/blue and blue/black
Clay Layer	219	Stoneware		Black Basalt	49321	body				only basalt ware in these contexts
Clay Layer	220	Stoneware		Nottingham	49318	body				no Nottingham rims

Clay Layer	221	Stoneware	bowl (tea?)	White Salt Glazed	53750	base			No WSG rims. Possible tea bowl
Clay Layer	222	Stoneware	hollowware	Westerwald	49272	base		12	No Westerwald rims. This is not cylindrical mug
Clay Layer	243	Staffordshire	Hollowware		49316	rim			pronounced rim
Clay Layer	247	Redware	bowl or pot	unglazed: deep red	53751	rim			Possible flower pot. Redware vesselized by glaze patterning. For the most part, only sherds with both sides completely visible were considered
Clay Layer	248	Redware	hollowware	brown/brown	49259	rim			
Clay Layer	249	Redware		black glaze	49408	body			Even though we only have one side of this sherd, black glaze has not been seen on other pieces in this context
Clay Layer	250	Redware	hollowware	brown/yellow	49248	body			
Clay Layer	251	Redware		clear/clear	53752	body			
Mixed C	7	Pearlware		Hand Painted Blue	54658	Rim			Only HPB sherd in this context. Hard to determine which HPB type this fits into.
Mixed C	8	Pearlware		Transfer Printed Blue	55401	2 body sherds			Only 2 TP sherds in this context. Too small to see if same design
Mixed C	106	Creamware	flatware	undecorated	55412	Rim			Only Creamware sherd in this context. Most likely a plate
Mixed C	149	Porcelain	tea cup/bowl	Chinese underglaze blue	53283	Rim			One blue underglaze rim, but also contains one red overglaze (imari style) body sherd and a base with a tall footing.
Mixed C	189	Tin Glaze	plate	undecorated	52064	Rim			Large sherd. White glaze, undecorated

Mixed C	190	Tin Glaze	flatware	HP Polychrome, blue and red	55860	Rim			Probably flatware
Mixed C	191	Tin Glaze	hollowware	HP Blue	53277	Rim			flared rim indicated different vessel form
Mixed C	215	Stoneware		Nottingham	55850	body			only Nottingham this context
Mixed C	216	Stoneware		White Salt Glaze	54654	body			no WSGSW rims
Mixed C	217	Stoneware	mug	Westerwald	55405	rim	12		There are other westerwald pieces in blue, purple, both, and hohr, but since they are small body sherds they do not count. Some of these were photographed. One of these may have part of a heart design seen in (the extra photographs of) the main fill
Mixed C	218	Stoneware	hollowware	unidentified	55409	handle			This couldn't possibly be on any of the other vessels represented here. The handle is very small.
Mixed C	240	North Devon		gravel-free	54656	2 body sherds			thick, red-gray-red paste. Could be the base if there isn't a footing
Mixed C	241	North Devon		sgraffito	53282	2 body sherds			darker glaze, thinner, gray paste
Mixed C	242	Staffordshire		slipped	52051	body			there are only staf body sherds here
Mixed C	252	Redware	pot	lead glazed int/unglazed ext	55858	rim			
Mixed C	253	Redware	hollowware	trail slip: brown glaze	55411	rim			thicker
Mixed C	254	Redware	hollowware	black glaze/lead glaze	55414	body			thinner. similar body sherd (55413)
Jane Franklin	5	Jackfield	teaware		54627	handle			Only jackfield in this context
Jane Franklin	9	Pearlware	serving dish lid	undecorated	54626	rim			

Jane Franklin	107	Creamware	hollowware	undecorated	54615	rim				Only creamware rim in this context. Other creamwares are undecorated body sherds that could have been from this vessel
Jane Franklin	150	Porcelain	teaware	Chinese Overglaze enamel	54613	rim				One very thin rim One body sherd had red hatched pattern similar to V. 148
Jane Franklin	187	Tin Glaze	hollowware	HP Blue	49212	rim	13			HP polychrome body sherds were not included because they all featured blue and could theoretically have been part of this vessel
Jane Franklin	188	Tin Glaze		Purple glaze	48472	body				Purple glaze again. This one is lighter
Jane Franklin	213	Stoneware	bowl?	White Salt Glazed	49456	body				no WSG rim sherds. Incised.
Jane Franklin	214	Stoneware	bottle, possibly mug	Westerwald	54621	body				no Westerwald rim sherds. There is a handle so this vessel could be a mug or a bottle
Jane Franklin	244	Staffordshire	hollowware		49210	rim				Only rim, but there is also a large base and a handle, which have been photographed
Jane Franklin	255	Redware	hollowware, probable pot	lead/unglazed	54618	body				no redware rim sherds in this context (one was sorted as such, but it is too small to be called a rim with certainty)
Jane Franklin	256	Redware		black/lead	49438	body				
Jane Franklin	257	Redware		trailed slip (clear glaze)	49461	body				Other body sherds with clear/redbrown glaze not counted because they could be slipped like this

Cross Mends	113	Creamware	undecorated	Octagonal Plate	49400 (Clay) / 55482 (Main Fill)	2 rim sherds					These contexts were previously thought to be possibly related
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