DRAFT

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE EXAM OF THE CLOUGH HOUSE BACKLOT

CHRIST (OLD NORTH) CHURCH CAMPUS
NORTH END, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

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Submitted to
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September 2016

Management Summary

During the months of May and June in 2013, a team of volunteers from the City of Boston Archaeology Program, under the direction of City Archaeologist Joseph Bagley, conducted a Site Examination archaeological survey of the backlot of the c. 1715 Clough House located at 21 Unity St. in Boston's North End. This archaeological site is located on a property listed on the National Register of Historic Places and is a National Historic Landmark due to its location on the Christ Church (Old North) campus. Archaeological survey commenced as a result of the planned installation of a brick pathway through the existing garden landscape in the rear of 21 Unity Street. Due to the small size of the project area and the high likelihood of encountering preserved archaeological deposits, an Intensive Survey was bypassed in favor of a more thorough and inclusive Site Examination.

The Clough House is a rare example of a standing early eighteenth century brick row house in Boston's North End, a form that was once ubiquitous but is now rare due to later development of the neighborhood. Background research on construction in the lot over several centuries indicated that there had been little or no development of the rear lot behind the house. The near-continuous 300-year occupation of the house coupled with the high likelihood of site integrity emphasized the need for this archaeological survey prior to the installation of the pathway.

The historic narrative of the house indicates occupation of the house by upper-middle class Boston residents of English ancestry from the time of the house's construction in the early eighteenth century until the very early 1800s. In 1806, a third floor was added to the house and the function of the house changed from a single family owner-occupied structure to a predominantly rental tenement. Tax records indicate that the 180 different families occupied the house during the tenement period, which began as families of predominantly English descent, with fluctuating presence of Irish, Italian, German, and other immigrants in the house during later periods until it became abandoned in 1917.

In total, 10 1x1 meter excavation units were excavated in the rear of the house to a maximum depth of 125 centimeters below surface. 36,465 artifacts were recovered representing the entire occupation period of the house (c.1715-present). Artifacts are dominated by domestic ceramics and household waste including diverse faunal, glass, and metal components. Additionally, a single lithic of local lithic origin represents a possible earlier component of the site, though it was found in historic fill.

This site examination at the Clough House offers a unique opportunity to examine a 300-year occupation of a North End residence in a single deposit. A large and relatively intact drainage system that was replaced at least once provides information on the management of waste water and mitigation of runoff and poorly-draining yards during the eighteenth through twentieth century in the North End. The assemblage further emphasizes the usefulness of an archaeological collection that has undergone some moderate redeposition due to repairs and modifications to these drainage features, which can be mitigated through proper record taking and excavation techniques.

Abstract

In May and June of 2013, a Site Exam (Phase II) Archaeological Survey was undertaken at the Clough House backlot in Boston's North End. Conducted by Boston City Archaeologist Joe Bagley and volunteers form the City of Boston Archaeology Program, the project consisted of 10 1 x 1 meter units excavated prior to a planned brick pathway installation of through the existing garden landscape of the Clough House backlot. Listed on the National Register of Historic Places and as a National Historic Landmark due to its location on the Christ Church (Old North) campus, the Clough House was constructed in 1715 and is a rare example of a standing early eighteenth century brick row house in Boston's North End. The 10 excavation units were excavated to a maximum depth of 125 centimeters below surface. A total of 36,465 artifacts were recovered representing the entire occupation period of the house (c.1715-present). Artifacts are dominated by domestic ceramics and household waste including diverse faunal, glass, and metal components. Additionally, a single lithic of local lithic origin represents a possible earlier component of the site, though it was found in historic fill. A substantial assemblage relating to the property's use as tenement apartments was found, and has become the focus of at least one Master's Thesis. A large and relatively intact drainage system that was replaced at least once provides information on the management of waste water and mitigation of runoff and poorly-draining yards during the eighteenth through twentieth century in the North End. The assemblage further emphasizes the usefulness of an archaeological collection that has undergone some moderate re-deposition due to repairs and modifications to drainage features.

Acknowledgements

Our greatest appreciation to Reverend Steven Ayers and the amazing staff at Old North, the volunteers who excavated, washed, sorted, and cataloged the site, and Prince the Cat.

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1. Introduction

This archaeological report documents the results of the Site Examination (Phase II) archaeological survey of the Clough House backlot located at 21 Unity St. in Boston's North End neighborhood (Figure 1). This survey was conducted by the City of Boston Archaeology Program under State Archaeological Permit (SAP) #3387 on behalf of the Old North Church Foundation, which owns the property. The project area and the area of potential effect (APE) are located in the rear of the Clough House (Figure 2), immediately southeast of Old North Church.

Figure 1: USGS Boston South, MA topographic quadrangle map showing project area center.

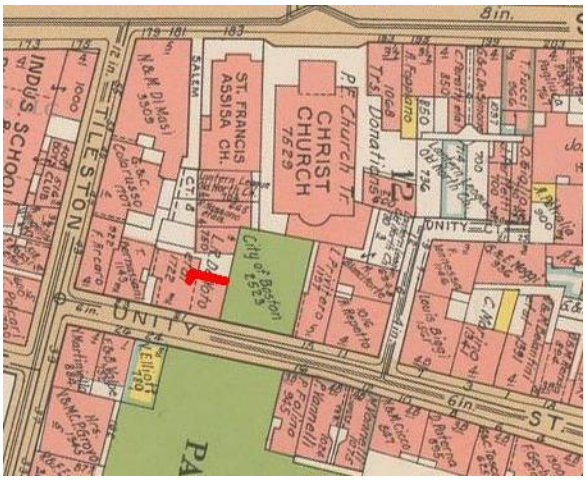

Figure 2: 1838 map with project area in red. Map indicates former rear extension of southern half of house. North is to the right in the image.

The Clough House backlot APE is located less than 15 meters (50 feet) from the rear of the Old North Church and is bounded to the northeast by a City-owned open space (the "Prado"), which includes a portion of the Freedom Trail, the terraced garden remainder of the Clough House backlot to the northwest, a brick wall along an alleyway to the southwest, and the Clough House to the southeast. As part of the Old North Church campus, the Clough House is a National Register listed property and a National Historic Landmark, and a Preservation Restriction

administered by the Massachusetts Historical Commission covers all above and below ground alterations to the property.

All archaeological investigation was conducted in accordance with the Massachusetts Historical Commission Guidelines and the Secretary of States Standards and Guidelines.

Project Description and Scope of Work

The Old North Church foundation has proposed a variety of long-term improvements to their campus, beginning with minor and temporary repairs and improvements to the rear path and entrance to the Clough House. These improvements include grading of the existing land surface and the installation of a new brick pathway between the "Prado" and the rear entrance of the Clough House, which will have below-ground impacts at the rear of the property immediately adjacent to the house proper (see Figure 2). This area of the property represented a potentially-unmodified original landscape under recent fill, a rarity in this neighborhood where development has disturbed many rear lots and open spaces.

Figure 3: Rear of Clough House in 2013 with the project area indicated in white outline. Note left side of house (north side) now extends further into lot than right (south) side. South side former addition may have once extended into lot further than partial wall visible on right half of image.

Given that the current proposed modifications (pathway) would have a below-ground impact, and that the APE has not received any prior archaeological investigation, the City Archaeologist recommended an archaeological survey within the area of potential impact to determine if there were preserved archaeological resources and, if encountered, to document their significance.

The rear of the Clough House is composed of a large garden with four terraces. The upper terrace is a seating area, the second terrace a recent interpretation of an eighteenth century garden, the third a brick pathway with leafy groundcover and compost pile, and the lower or fourth terrace a small brick patio area immediately in front of the current rear entrance of the Clough House. The APE consisted of two lower terraces (3 and 4) immediately adjacent to the rear of the Clough House (Figure 3). The upper terrace (third) within the APE measures approximately 3.5x 9 meters in size with the lower (fourth) terrace APE measuring 3x4 meters. Because the lower terrace was deemed to not possess archaeological integrity due to the presence of a recently-filled cellar hole of a former addition to the southern end of the Clough House, the overall area of investigation of approximately 45 square meters in size was reduced to an area of approximately 25 square meters limited exclusively to the upper (third) terrace within the APE. This area of archaeological investigation was bounded to the northeast by a leaning brick wall, the Clough House to the southeast, the retaining wall of the second terrace to the northwest, and the granite steps to the lower fourth terrace, which represent the location of the termination of the brick pathway through the third terrace.

In total, 10 1x1 meter units were excavated within the third terrace representing a 40% sample of the archaeologically-sensitive area. The vast majority of the archaeological excavations were conducted by volunteers of the City Archaeology Program, consisting exclusively of local archaeological graduate students and volunteers with laboratory experience through the City Archaeology Program. Excavations were supervised by the City Archaeologist, who also participated in the excavations as the Project Archaeologist. Public outreach and interpretation were constant and ongoing endeavors throughout the Clough House archaeological survey and were managed and executed, enthusiastically, by all participants of the dig. All laboratory processing and cataloging was conducted by volunteers of the City Archaeology Program under the supervision of the City Archaeologist. Report preparation was conducted by the City Archaeologist as Principal Investigator along with report writer Alexandra Crowder and graduate student of UMass Boston's Masters in Historical Archaeology program Andrew Webster, who utilized data from the Clough House for his thesis work.

Research Objectives

During planning stages, two primary research questions were proposed:

1. **Are there preserved archaeological deposits in the impact area?**

Overall, there has been minimal archaeological investigation of the North End neighborhood of Boston. Given the density of Native American archaeological deposits within the downtown area of Boston, there was potential for Native American deposits within the project, depending on preservation. The documented and continual use of the house since the very early eighteenth century provided significant opportunity for the preservation of historic archaeological deposits extending over a 300-year period. Therefore, the first research goal of this project was to determine if and where preserved archaeological deposits existed in the project area.

2. **What time periods are represented in the archaeological deposits that are encountered and are there datable features?**

If intact archaeological deposits were found, the next goal was to determine what time periods were represented by the deposits. If features were found, they would be examined to determine their age and cultural affiliation. If significant intact deposits were found within the area of impact, as much of the deposits as possible would be excavated within the time allowed for the project and the scope of the project proposal.

After the completion of archaeological investigation, a new research question rose to prominence:

3. **What is the function of the drainage system found in the Clough House backlot, how has it changed over time, and how has its modification affected the stratigraphy and depositional history of the Clough House?**

An extensive network of pipes and an associated cistern and drain were found during excavations. These represent active and ongoing attempts to rid the back of the Clough House of water. The maintenance and repair of these structures greatly affected the deposits found behind the house

2. Research Background

Environmental Setting

The Clough House is situated on the northern-most of several glacial hills that made up the former Shawmut Peninsula, the original name for the area of land upon which Boston was founded. This hill formed the majority of what would become the North End neighborhood of Boston. Boston Harbor did not flood with rising seas until 3000 BP, so prior to that but after the glacier retreated, the North End would have been situated upon a hill just south of a bend in the Charles River, but surrounding a broad riverine landscape dominated by elongated hills orientated in the same Northeast/Southwest direction and an overall-glacially modified landscape. Around 3,000 years ago, the Boston Harbor began to flood with rising sea levels radically changing the hilly landscape into a harbor filled with small islands.

The hill slopes more steeply along its northern edge where the Charles has eroded it somewhat, but its more gradual slope to the south allowed for easier development in the 17th century and later. At the arrival of Europeans, earliest accounts indicate that the Shawmut peninsula was nearly deforested in the 17th century indicating that the demand for wood by Native Americans for tools, structures, and fire as well as the need to clear forests for agriculture had visual impacts on the ecology of Shawmut the Shawmut peninsula.

With the land having been nearly cleared, early settlement of the North End focused primarily on the shoreline near the town dock, located to the south, with the northern end of the neighborhood, including the slope upon which the Clough House exists, served as pasture land for early European Colonists.

Historic Background

Pre-1630 History of Project Area

To date, no Native American sites have been located within the North End. However, the presence of Natives within the immediate surrounding indicates their presence within the neighborhood and there current unknown locations are due to a combination of development and lack of archaeological investigation in the neighborhood.

Regardless, earlier archaeological testing in the surrounding area has proven fruitful for overall Native narrative of the North End. Soon after the retreat of the most recent glacier, early peoples arrived to the area exploiting the natural resources of early Boston including lithic, animal, and plant resources. It is likely that many of these sites would have been lost due to the rising sea levels, which have inundated the vast majority of the land that once existed within the (current) Boston Harbor and significantly beyond prior to inundation.

The Archaic period, which begins around 10,000 BP and last until around 3,500 BP, started with relatively little activity in the area (though this could be again attributed to sea levels), but by the Middle Archaic (5,500-7,500 BP) numerous occupation sites were established in Boston. This is likely due to a diversification in the use of various ecological locations and resources including the movement away from the coastline and rivers into more upland areas that are well preserved archaeologically. The later archaic period has relatively few occupation sites; however, the

construction of massive fish weirs in nearby Back Bay area of Boston indicates that the area was heavily utilized by Native Americans for natural resources, especially along the Charles River.

The Woodland period saw a movement towards sedentism, especially along the coast, likely brought upon by a series of developments including the introduction of pottery and farming, the stability of climate and sea level bringing about more readily available food resources that could be returned to and relied upon year after year, and the increase of population causing some stress on natural resources and the need to protect and defend resources from outsiders.

Native American presence has never ceased in Boston or the surrounding area, but populations were dramatically impacted by the combined effects of spreading disease and active eradication resulting from the early explorations of European colonists. By the time Europeans arrived to Boston, Native populations were decimated and it appears that those who remained had retreated towards the Watertown area and other nearby areas with access to rivers, but also with enough surrounding land to be able to readily move about in response to European movements including the areas around Mystic Lake in Medford and the mouth of the Neponset River.

North End and Clough House Prior to 1800

In the 17th century, the area that now comprises the Old North campus was the roughly twelve-acre pasture of Christopher Stanley, a tailor, and Susanna Stanley, who lived somewhere near or within this pasture (Shurtleff 1871:126, 160; Goldfeld 2012). Stanley died around March 1646 (Shurtleff 1871:160).

Overall, the streetscape within the center of the North End remained relatively undeveloped until the early eighteenth century. The Old North campus takes up a significant portion of the block created by Salem Street to the west, Charter Street to the North, Unity Street to the east, and Tileston Street to the south. Both Charter and Salem Streets are 17th-century in origin (Goldfield 2012); however, Tileston and Unity streets both appear to be early eighteenth century in age. Until the early nineteenth century, Tileston Street was known as Lover's Lane or Loves Street. According to deed records, Ebenezer Clough, a master bricklayer, created Unity Street after purchasing undeveloped property known formerly as part of Bennett's Pasture off of Loves Street from Susanna Love and Solomon Townsend in 1711.

Ebenezer and his wife Thankful built a brick house upon the property between 1711 and 1715. Just prior to Clough's death in 1724, the house (which is the subject of this archaeological investigation) was divided into north and south halves between his daughter Susanna (south half) and his son John (north half). That same year, both children sold the property to Jonathan Brown, a blacksmith and son-in-law to Ebenezer who was already living in the house with his wife, Elizabeth, Ebenezer's daughter. John Brown apparently had already been a tenant in the northern half of the house, and the southern half was stated to be occupied by Elizabeth White, a widow, indicating that the Cloughs did not live in the house just before the death of Ebenezer Clough.

On September 25th, 1756, John Brown sold the property to Edward Langdon, a merchant, and his wife Susanna. They almost immediately sold the property to Joseph Pierce, a mariner, on December 9th 1756. Pierce died two years later passing the house onto his widow and children.

In 1761, Pierce's widow, Sarah Cruft Pierce, married Henry Roby, a glazier, and together became the last owner-occupants of the Clough House.

North End and Clough House After 1800

At the death of Roby in 1807, the house passed onto his wife, Sarah's two daughters Sarah and Mary, and their politically-active husbands, Samuel Gore and Moses Grant (participant in the Boston Tea Party). Grant and Gore managed the property, which transformed from an owner-occupied house to a tenement around 1808. In 1808, the two sons added a third story to the then-unoccupied structure and by 1809, the house begun receiving renters (Nylander et al. 1986: 87). The house consisted of six rental units on the second and third floors, with a storefront on the first floor that contained, at minimum, a butcher shop, though other businesses may have also been present. The property transferred to Samuel Gore's daughter, Frances Gore Bumstead and her husband John Bumpstead, a merchant, who later sold the property to William Dillaway in 1836.

Owner	Occupant
Ebenezer Clough and family 1711-1724	Ebenezer Clough and Family 1711-? (pre 1724)
Susanna and John Clough 1724-1724	Elizabeth White (widower) ? (pre 1724)-1756
John Brown and family 1724-1756	John Brown and family ? (pre 1724)-1756
Edward Langdon 1756	
Joseph Pierce and family 1756-1758	Joseph Pierce and Family 1756-1761
Heirs of Joseph Pierce 1758-1761	
Henry Roby and family (heirs of Joseph Pierce) 1761-1807	Henry Roby and Pierce family 1756-1807
Samuel Gore, Moses Grant and families 1807-?	Tenants 1809-1944
John Bumstead and family?-1837	
William Dillaway 1836-1886	
Heirs of William Dillaway 1886	
Joseph Devoto 1886-1898	
Heirs of Joseph Devoto 1898-1944	

Figure 4: Table of owners and occupants of the Clough House property from 1711-1944.

William Dillaway, a shipwright, purchased the property on May 24, 1836. Dillaway's death led to the transfer of the property to his heirs in 1886, which was quickly sold to Joseph Devoto, a tin worker, that same year. Devoto owned the house until 1898 upon which time the property transferred to his descendants. Their ownership lasted until 1944 when the property was sold to the City of Boston, and then the George Robert White fund, which ultimately sold the house to the Old North Church in 1958.

The Tenement Period

Background research on tax records, census data, deed research, and other records revealed a complicated and diverse occupational history of the house, the backgrounds of its residents, and numerous lines of research relating to the recovered site assemblage. Extensive research on the Clough House occupants during the tenement period has yielded detailed information on the social, political, and economic realities faced by immigrant families during this time.

The site's tenement period began in 1810, when the building received its first tenants, and spanned the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Whereas the eighteenth century was characterized by two upper-middle class landowning families living at the site for multiple generations, the nineteenth-century was characterized by instability. In total, 180 different middle and working-class families lived in the Clough House from 1810 until 1917, most for only one or two years at a time (Figure 5).

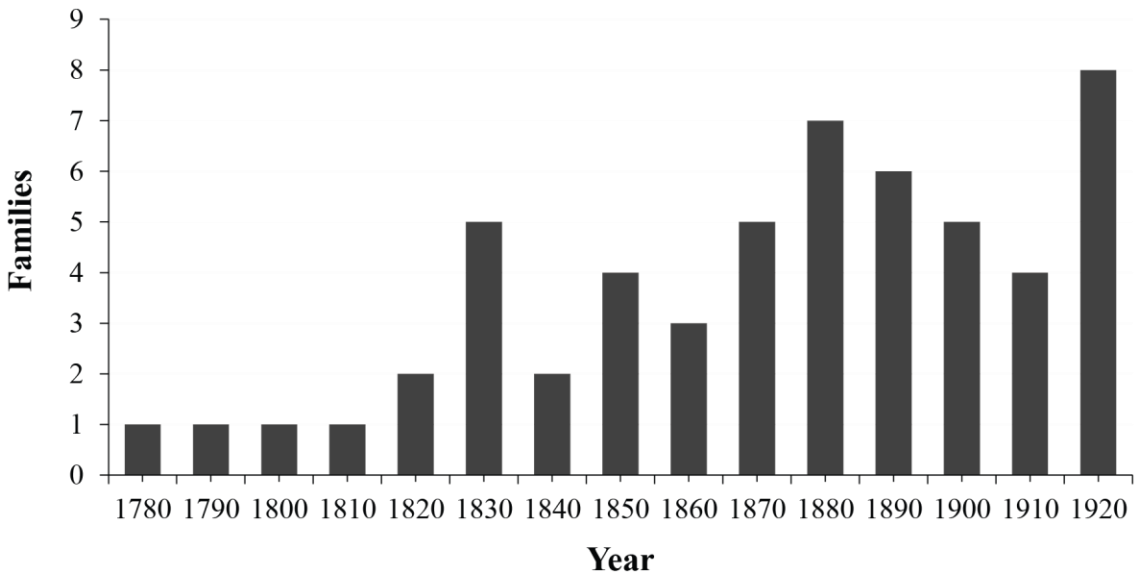

Figure 5: Number of families at 21 Unity Street from 1780 until 1920. (Source: BTB 1780; 1780; 1800; USBC 1790-1920; BPTR 1890)

Federal Census information presented in Figure 5 shows that there were many more people living in the house during the tenement period than previously—in the 1830 census there are 23 people from five families sharing four rooms and an outdoor bathroom. These conditions were typical in the North End during this time, as industrialization transformed the neighborhood from single-family homes to rows of tenement apartments.

Most families did not live in the Clough House for more than a few years at most, resulting in a high turnover rate at the site. Figure 6 uses poll tax records to visualize this instability by plotting how many adult males lived in the Clough House each year. Note the relative stability before the building's transformation to a tenement. Consequentially, after 1810 becomes difficult to assign artifacts to any family in particular, but there remains potential for meaningful discussion due to patterns in residents' occupations and ethnicities.

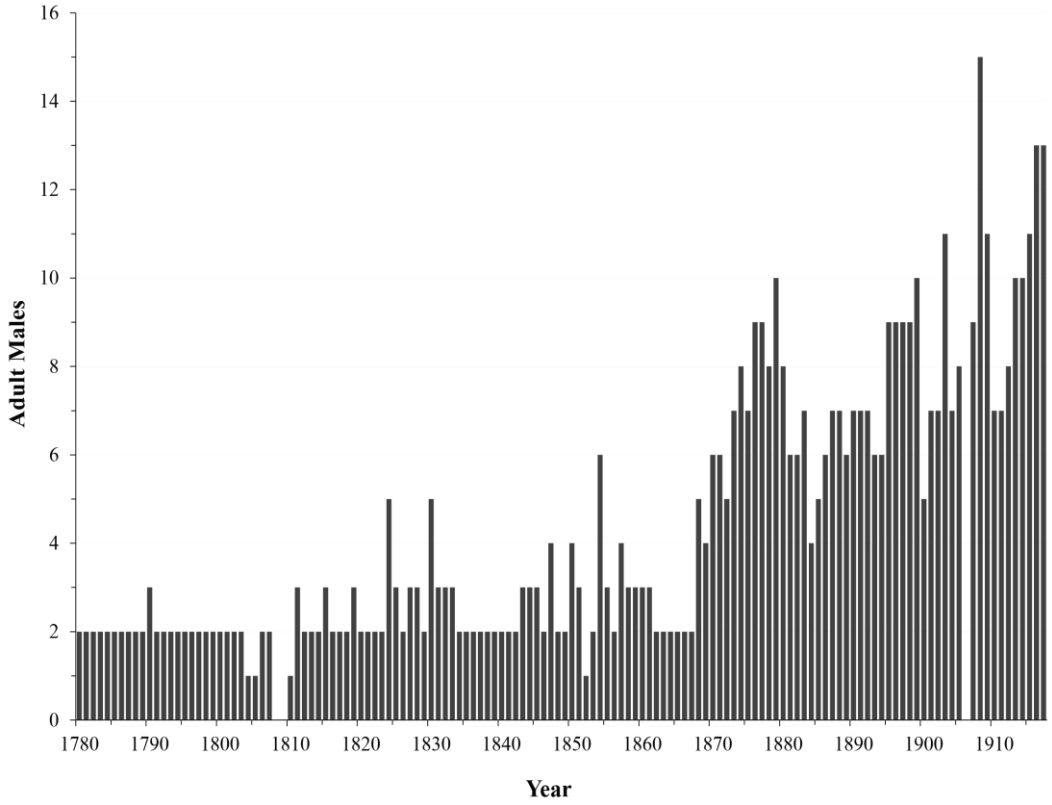

Figure 6: Number of adult males at 21 Unity Street from 1780 until 1917. (Source: BTB 1780-1817; USBC 1790-1910; BVB 1818-1821; BPTR 1822-1917)

In the 1810s, the new tenement grew from one family of four to two families of 14, with several other families moving in and out between 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 (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. The 1820 census does not include house numbers; however, the residents of Unity street were of English descent with the exception of two black families: Sally Frazier (2) and Jonathan Robertson (5) though these seven individuals can not conclusively be associated with the Clough House. By the early 1830s, the population in the house reached an all-time high, with 23 individuals from five different families sharing the house. Many men at this time worked as bakers or cabinet makers.

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.

Even though much of the surrounding neighborhood was home to newly arrived Irish immigrants, the Clough House remained home to primarily Anglo-Americans until the early 1870s, when the building became home to a mixture of Irish and Anglo-American working-class families. 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 in 1874 (Figure 7). Two more long-term and relatively better off tenant families, the Jenkins and the French's, lived in the front of the house, whereas the Irish immigrants often lived in the rear apartments, which could only be accessed via a long and narrow alleyway away from Unity street. Perhaps the unit rented by the Jenkins and French's was larger than the others, or was located in the front of the house, making it more desirable and valuable. Regardless, this unit appears to have had much less turnover than other units in the building.

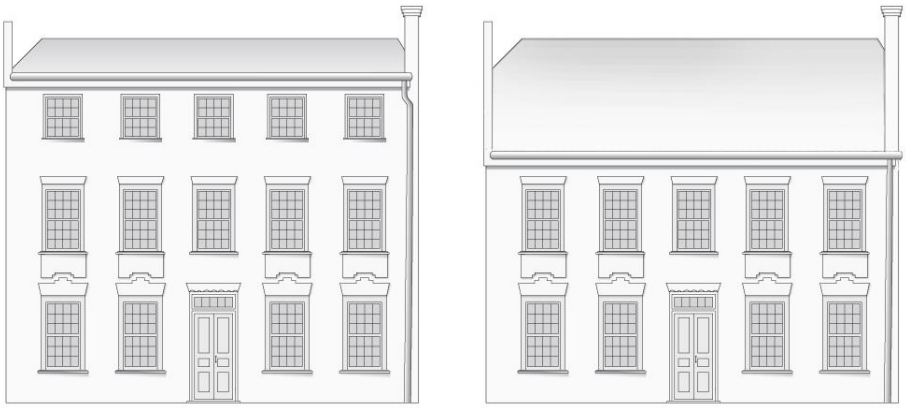

Figure 7: The Clough House in before (left) and after (right) the addition of a third story around 1810. Figure by Joseph Bagley, based on Cummings and Overby 1961.

Irish Immigrants in Boston

An Ghorta Mór, Irish for "The Great Hunger" and variously known as the Irish Potato Famine or the Great Famine, was a series of potato crop failures between 1845 and 1850. During this time, the potato blight caused by the fungus *Phytopthora 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 attempted to offer 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 primarily 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, nor inexpensive—many emigrants relied on assistance from family and friends, and some landlords assisted with emigration costs as a way of clearing their farms. 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 2010).

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 plats 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 necessaries; 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).

This report is presents a chilling representation of the Irish living conditions in Boston, albeit while clearly showcasing the prevalent anti-Irish bias of the time.

By the mid-1870s, 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. 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 income earned from rent (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 the landlords' primary goal was to collect the highest possible rent from their property with the least cost, urban tenements across the country became overcrowded, structurally unsound, and unsanitary (Orser 2011). The rear addition of the Clough House was accessed via a long and narrow alleyway away from Unity Street and connected to the original building on all three floors via a door to the stairway

(Historic American Buildings Survey 1976). 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 (Historic American Buildings Survey 1976). Although it must have been very dark and damp, the cellar was most likely used as another living space for immigrant tenants, as this was common during this time (Sutherland 1973; Green and Donahue 1979).

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. 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. 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. 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.

The McLaughlin story 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 lived at 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 McLaughlin's 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 in 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 four of her seven children passing away as well as her husband. By 1880, she was 54, suffered from rheumatism and no longer worked. Dennis, the eldest child still at home, worked as a cap maker to support his mother and two siblings. Their immense family loyalty can be seen in a later census: in 1900, Dennis and Margaret (Jr.) still lived with and support their mother and have not married, even though they were both in their forties.

In 1880, the McLaughlin and Coleman families were just two of seven families living in the Clough House. There were 22 people in total, with ages ranging from two to 69 years old. The Coleman's shared their 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 McLaughlin's 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 French's, 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 to its access to Unity Street, and it appears to have had much less turnover than other units in the building.

As can be seen, in 1880 and in much of the later nineteenth century, the North End was a melting pot of cultures, 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 Boston

In 1886, the house was sold by William Dillaway to Joseph Devoto, an Italian immigrant, and the Clough house 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, and the North End is no exception (Mullins 2004). However, during the 1880s and 1890s, the Clough house was usually home to over 20 people from many different ethnicities, many of which 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 who called the North End home at some point in the nineteenth century (Goldfeld 2009). In the later nineteenth century, the North End became a melting pot for 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 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. 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 amount 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 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 (Chandler 1902). Poor housing conditions meant that 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 racial 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 often took a cut of immigrants' meager paychecks (Amfitheatrof 1973). Many worked outdoor labor jobs such as 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).

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. This was less of a melting pot 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.

The 1910 federal census shows 22 inhabitants living in the Clough House. These individuals came from 5 families: the Florino, Riccio, Brondi, Dandero, and Chiusano families. The first family 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, stays 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 continued 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 as a laborer doing 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, works part-time as a druggist in a store in addition to attending school—not a small feat for an immigrant teenager. Interestingly, 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 was 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. Interestingly, from 1916 on Guglielmo's name appeared as the Anglicized William, and the family's last name becomes 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 is Italian. Whereas the Irish were never the sole occupants of the neighborhood, by the early twentieth century the Italian presence is dominating—even today, the North End is Boston's Little Italy. Most of these immigrants still speak Italian—it is mainly members of the younger generation who learn English. The 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. The population of the house is higher and the tenancy rates shorter than before, but some families manage 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. The 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.

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 shoes 29 individuals from 8 Italian or Italian-American families. Only 9 people speak English, and most work 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).

The archival record has confirmed that lives in the tenements were tough, health was poor, and rooms were very overcrowded. What remain hidden are the more personal side of the tenants' lives: what was important to them, how they spent their free time, and what items they chose to buy with their meager wages. Archaeological evidence in the form of material culture has the potential to shed some light on these questions of history.

Previous Archaeological Investigations in Area

No archaeological investigation has occurred within the Old North campus, however, the project area is in close proximity to two significant archaeological sites: the Paul Revere/ Lathrop Place (BOS.111) archaeological sites and the Copps Hill Burial Ground. The Paul Revere house, 19-SU-60, is located 270 meters south of Old North and the burial ground 170 meters northwest. Both sites represent colonial period use, occupation, and deposition as well as an ongoing presence and impact in the historic narrative of the City of Boston. The historic nature of the campus, which includes Old North church and several domestic and religious buildings, makes this property especially sensitive for preserved historic and Native American archaeological resources.

Summary of Archaeological Potential

The Clough House is covered by a 2005 preservation restriction for the Christ Church (Old North) campus requiring review of both the proposed pathway improvements and this archaeological investigation by the Massachusetts Historical Commission for below ground resources. According to MACRIS, the Clough House is a designated Massachusetts Archaeological/Historic Landmark, National Historic Landmark, and National Register (individual) listed property.

The proposed modifications to the landscape around the Clough House will cause ground disturbance. The 300-year use of the house indicates the strong potential for preserved archaeological deposits in the limited area of the back lot. The archaeological survey presented here will provide appropriate mitigation to any potential impacts to archaeological deposits by the renovations of the path behind the Clough House, as well as provide scientific data on the historic significance of the rear lot if there are areas preserved behind the property.

3. Methodology

Background Research

Cartographic, historic, architectural, and related resources were combined to fully understand the history of the house, its occupants, and the changes associated with its landscape. Historic maps provided footprint, construction and loss of nearby properties, and ownership of the property from the 1720s through the present. Historic documents including journals, letters, and provided information on the neighborhood (Primarily through the letters of Jane Maecom Franklin, as described in Jill Lapore's biography), and deed, census, and tax records, which provided a near-complete occupancy of the house for its entire history. Historic American Building Survey (HABS) documentation provided valuable information on the former shape and style of the house and its additions as well as the associated entrances, windows, and other features at the rear of the property that would have a direct impact on the volume, type, and distribution of artifacts in the rear lot of the house.

Field Methodology

Field methods began by determining the exact size and shape of the backlot. Once the lower terrace closest to the southern end of the house was eliminated due to the presence of a full cellar visible in HABS photos, the remaining land was digitally divided into a one-meter grid based on the location of the intersection of the leaning wall and the northwestern corner of the house. This grid revealed a project area approximately 8 meters long by 3.25 meters wide. Because of the structure formerly located just behind the Clough House near the current low-wall separating the lower and middle terraces of the St. Francis of Assisi Garden, it was believed that within the remaining yard space, a privy must have been located to service the occupants of the Clough House in the mid-late nineteenth century. Comparisons to other privies found in Boston and Portsmouth revealed that minimal dimensions of other privies were 1 meter in size.

The yard was divided into three rows (Figure 8). Row A abutted the Clough House wall, row B was located 1 meter away, and row C was just outside of the low wall separating the lower and middle garden terraces. Within these rows, units were numbered 1-8 with #1 located at the leaning wall along the Prado and numbers progressing south through the APE. This technique assured that all units with the same letter were associated with the same area parallel to the house, and each number was associated with the same area perpendicular to the house. The first five units in the backlot of the Clough House were placed in a checker-board fashion that would not allow for any space between a wall, the house, and a unit that was greater than one meter in size. This technique ensured that if a privy was present behind the Clough House and if it measured more than 1 meter in size, there would be a 100% chance of intersecting it with the first five units.

These five units were excavated simultaneously to a depth of 120 cm. This depth was due to the fact that prior repairs to drainage, discussed in detail in later sections of this report, had excavated soils down to at least 4 feet, or 120cm in depth. Because OSHA regulations do not allow for deeper excavations without shoring walls of units, the depth of the proposed pathway impacts was greatly exceeded, and the proposed pathway's construction (brick) would not prevent future excavations within the area, we did not excavate below 120cm within the project area.

Figure 8: Site map showing the location of the excavation units

Upon the completion of these five units, five additional units, as proposed, were excavated in the remaining area. The pipes (discussed later) that were found 120 cm deep were extrapolated across the site to eliminate areas that were disturbed by these pipes. The units that were left unexcavated (A1, A3, B3, C3, A4, B5, B6, B7, and C7) all could be shown to contain pipe disturbances 120cmbs meaning all possible intact units were excavated during this survey (see Figure 8).

Soils were all screened through ¼ inch mesh. Since no features containing soils were found, no 1/8" screens were used. Artifacts were bagged by their unit, strata, and level. Excavations preceded in 10cm arbitrary levels and were divided, within that level, if a new strata was encountered. All levels were continuous arbitrary 10 cm levels beginning with level 1 from 0-10cm below surface so all artifacts within level 6, for example, came from between 50-60cm. If three strata were visible within one level, each was excavated, screened, and bagged separately with separate strata numbers but the same level number.

Laboratory Methodology

Upon their return to the lab each artifact was washed according to standard laboratory procedures. Artifacts were dried for a minimum of two days before being bagged in 4-mil thick archival plastic bags with hand-written labels in Sharpie®. All cataloging was completed using the Massachusetts Artifact Tracking System (MATS), which produces an archival tag that was

inserted into each artifact lot bag. A complete excel-based catalog was exported from MATS for the catalog provided in Appendix A.

Report Preparation

The final multi-discipline report was completed by Joseph Bagley, City Archaeologist, Alexandra Crowder, report writer, and Andrew Webster, MA candidate in Historical Archaeology at UMass Boston. Andrew Webster's extensive tax and census research composed the majority of the occupant history section and his extensive ceramic analysis contributed greatly to the ceramic analysis portion of this report as well as his own Master's Thesis on the ceramics at the Clough House site (Webster 2016).

Curation

All artifacts are housed by lot in 4-mil bags with printed archival artifact ID tags and bar codes and organized by material type and provenience within acid-free records boxes. All artifacts from the Clough House are held on behalf of the Commonwealth at the City Archaeology Laboratory at 201 Rivermoor St. in West Roxbury.

Public Education and Academic Collaboration

Throughout the project, members of the public were active participants in the dig. The site is located only feet from the Freedom Trail and Old North Church. Each day, hundreds to thousands of visitors to these sites were witness to the archaeological investigations. Volunteers from local universities and archaeology lab volunteers comprised the vast majority of the volunteer field crew, and each volunteer was responsible for active interaction with the public. Several school groups made visits to the site exclusively to see the archaeologists at work. Future plans are in progress to exhibit some highlights of the archaeological assemblage within the Clough House or somewhere within the Old North Church campus. A public lecture on the archaeology of the Clough House was presented to an audience of approximately 50 individual on March 13th, 2014. One academic Master's thesis (Webster 2016) was produced as a result of this archaeological excavation, as discussed previously, and artifacts from the site are featured in the City Archaeologist Joe Bagley's book, *A History of Boston in 50 Artifacts* (Bagley 2016).

4. Results

Results of Fieldwork

Fieldwork was conducted on the rear lot of the Clough House over 15 days between May 16th and June 15th 2013. In total, 10 1x1 meter excavation units were excavated, each to an OSHA-maximum of 4 feet. The rear of the lot was divided into a 1x1 meter grid with a datum located at the northwest corner of the house where it met the former leaning wall removed just prior to the commencement of archaeological excavations. Pits running north-south were numbered sequentially with 1 at the northern end of the site. Pits running east-west were lettered with "A" located against the Clough house and increasing in letter towards the west. This allowed for all units along a north-south axis to share the same letter designation, and all pits running east-west shared the same number designation.

A maximum of 10 excavation units were permitted within the State Archaeological Permit issued for the survey. Excavations began with the excavation of five units: A2, C2, C4, C6, and C8. This created a checker-board pattern across the site that did not allow for an area greater than 1-meter across to be unexcavated. This technique not only allowed for the entirety of the project area to be sampled with the first five pits, but it also would guarantee the encountering of a privy, if it existed, given that research has shown that in urban environments in New England, privies were typically of a size greater than 1x2 meters (Cook and Balicki 1996: 95, 135).

Stratigraphy

Twelve discrete stratigraphic horizons were encountered across the site. As excavations progressed, individual strata were kept separate as they were encountered and numbered sequentially and divided internally by their arbitrary 10-cm level. This resulted in strata present in multiple units receiving separate strata levels. Figure 9 illustrates the proper stratigraphic assignment for each level and strata encountered. Strata are presented below in order from latest earliest to based on artifact TPQ and stratigraphy.

	Unit									
Stratum	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	Light Well Builders Trench	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	Pipe Builder's trench	Mixed C-soils	Mixed C-soils		Mixed C-soils				Main fill	Main fill
8	Pipe Builder's trench								Main fill	

Figure 9: Assigned context by unit and stratum.

Pathway

The Pathway was created soon after the Garden was laid down around 1940. It consisted of a brick pathway through the project area that was removed during initial stages of garden soil removal at the beginning of the survey. After removing the bricks, an approximately 10-cm coarse sand foundation for the brick path was exposed in multiple units. Where encountered, this strata was screened separately and never extended below the first 10 cm. The pathway has a TPQ of 1915 due to the presence of several pyralin plastic fragments (Miller et al. 2000)

Garden

The Garden was created through the addition of organic soils to the site sometime around 1940 according to oral history from Christ Church staff. Artifacts from this level were dense and included eighteenth-twentieth century materials indicating some mixing of early deposits into this later deposit. The Garden has a TPQ of 2000 due to the presence of a 20?? US penny within the deposit. This strata was in active use prior to the beginning of fieldwork.

Twentieth Century Utilities (Light Well Builder's Trench/ Pipe Builder's Trench /Pipe Fill Trench)

These three layers, likely contemporary (though a gap in excavations between the two does not confirm this), stretch the length of the foundation and light well along rear wall of the Clough House. When first encountered, it was believed this was part of the original c.1715 builder's trench, but it soon became clear that more-recent stabilization and installation of external oil pipe elements of the Clough House foundation included the complete excavation of the former builders trench, expanding it westward cutting into other layers, and re-depositing clay-dominated soils back into the trench. It appears that the semi-circular poured concrete light well wall element surrounding the former window in the Clough House foundation is contemporary to the poured-concrete support element against the foundation of the house. Grinding wheels present in all three strata, likely used to cut through the concrete wall to pass the iron oil pipe through the foundation of the Clough House, were found in all three strata indicating their inter-relationship. The presence of an International Seamen's Union of America button dated 1892 provides the TPQ for this deposit, although the establishment of the name "International Seamen's Union of America" did not occur until 1895.

Drain Fill

The Drain Fill stratum was encountered in unit C8. Unlike the other drains encountered throughout the site, this particular drain was not ceramic but was instead constructed by lying down cut slate slabs, with parallel rows of bricks on top of the slate creating a channel, and a second layer of slate capping the channel. This likely represents an earlier, perhaps original, drain associated with the main cistern and was likely the type of drain once seen across the entire site but since replaced with ceramic drains throughout. This particular segment of drain was filled with sediment when its cover was removed. Within the drain was a collection of various artifacts, mostly faunal and metal objects as well as a near-complete rat skeleton. This strata is interpreted here as a rat nest and the contents collected by the rat. A TPQ of 1850 was established due to wire nails present within the deposit.

Upper Midden

When first encountered, this strata was interpreted as the most-recent midden deposit on the site. Later analysis revealed that it entirely overlies the destruction layer below it, which was most-likely created when the house was not occupied, and also during an era of regular trash pickup in the region. More careful analysis revealed its presence only in strata immediately adjacent the builder's trenches discussed above. This layer is likely a re-deposition of the midden once present adjacent to the Clough house, but then dug up and deposited on top of the demolition layer discussed below. The Upper Midden has a TPQ of 1933 due to a glass bottle fragment with part of an applied color label (Lindsey 2016a).

Demolition Layer

This layer lies directly on top of a layer of wood planks in most of the Northern units. This wood layer itself lies directly on top of the Midden layer and likely represents a walkway laid down to prevent slipping on the slippery midden deposit in the back yard soon after the residents stopped contributing to the midden. The 1930s HABS image shows these wooden planks indicating that the demolition dates to sometime after the photo was taken (Figure 10). This layer is dominated by architectural elements likely associated with the removal of the 1870s addition to the Clough House, or the several 4-story buildings that were once standing directly behind the Clough but were still standing in the HABS photo. The demolition layer is not associated with the razing of the Jane Franklin structure as it was already removed when the HABS photo was taken showing exposed board planks. The Demolition Layer has a TPQ of 1940 due to the presence of part of a "wave" style Pepsi-Cola glass bottle, manufactured from 1940-1958 (Lockhart 2010: 276).

Figure 10: HABS photo of Clough House showing former southern addition (right) around 1930 (HABS MASS-342).

Lower Pathway

The Lower Pathway was encountered in units C4 and C5 and consists of a series of bricks laid out into a path running parallel to the house and ending at the cap of the cistern. The artifacts from this layer are few, but appear to be associated stratigraphically with the main midden. Likely, this pathway was laid out to prevent slipping within the midden deposits in the back yard. A TPQ of 1933 was established for the Lower Pathway, due to the presence of a glass bottle fragment with part of an applied color label (Lindsey 2016a).

Main Midden

This midden was found in most of the excavated units and is distinguished by a thick, greasy, black, organic layer with numerous artifacts. This strata is interpreted here as an intact stratigraphically deposited midden relating directly to the occupants of the house. Like the Jane Franklin strata and unlike the Main Fill, this midden deposits posses stratigraphic MCD deposits that increase in age with depth further solidify the interpretation that this deposit was gradually and naturally created. A complete Pepsi-Cola "swirl" bottle, manufactured starting in 1958, was found in the Main Midden, however it could be part of an intrusion into the deposit (Lockhart 2010: 278). One amber bottle body fragment had "…W FORBID…", most likely part of the phrase, "Federal Law Forbids the Sale or Reuse of this Bottle." This phrase was embossed on alcohol bottles after Prohibition ended in 1935 until the mid-1960s, providing a TPQ of 1935 (Lindsey 2016a).

Main Fill

This is the largest deposit, both in volume and number of artifacts recovered. This strata represents the lower half of the deposits in most units excavated. Its consistent color and artifact assemblage indicates a quick deposit, likely over the period of a few hours, re-deposited a mixed soil into the yard to fill in a large hole. This layer is rich in organic and clay deposits including some gravel giving it the appearance of a mix of midden, C-soils, and other yard deposits creating a slightly greenish tint to the soil. While this strata was found in numerous arbitrary levels, no distinct strata were visible within with the exception of lenses of clay. Additionally, MCDs for each level within the Main Fill indicates lots of mixing of artifacts within this layer as the dates do not increase with depth but rather vary widely throughout the site. The TPQ for this context was established by the present of a World War I era military collar disk bearing the lettering "US 20" on it (Lanham 2011).

Mixed C-Soils

This strata is so-named as it consists of glacial till, likely originally part of the natural C-soils present at deeper levels in the Clough House backlot before excavations to build or repair drains redeposited the soil along with numerous historic artifacts. While called C-Soil, this strata is not an intact C strata, but rather a C strata that has been mixed and re-deposited. The ceramics from this strata had a MCD of 1735 and a TPQ-90 of 1720. The presence of cut nails in the context provides a TPQ of 1790 (Miller et al. 2000: 14).

Clay

This strata consists of dense clay deposits found as discrete layers within the overall main fill discussed below. With a MCD of 1776 and a TPQ-90 of 1775, it represents a slightly older deposit than the Main Fill when strictly examining ceramics; however, several cross-mends within this strata likely indicates that this deposit is contemporary with the Main Fill, possibly the C-soils too, that were mixed into the yard during a re-filling episode that coincidently contained greater clay than the other fills.

Jane Franklin

The Jane Franklin strata was encountered in units B1 and C1 running parallel to the exposed foundations of the ell built behind the Jane Franklin house on the lot north of the Clough House. This deposit contained a fairly dense concentration of artifacts with a ceramic TPQ of 1775 and a MCD of 1739 in organic-rich soils. The MCD increases in age with each level of the 4-level deep deposit indicating this is a primary deposit within the overall assemblage and the MCD and TPQ indicates it is the oldest intact deposit, possibly associated with an early builders trench created as part of an addition behind the Jane Franklin House. The presence of cut nails in the context provides an overall TPQ of 1790 for the deposit (Miller et al. 2000: 14).

Drainage Features

Drainage features dominate the narrative of the Clough House backlot. When compared to similar sites nearby including the African Meeting House and Paul Revere House, this appears to be a trend in Boston (Elia 1997, Heitert et al. 2014, Landon 2007). The Clough House in particular is located on the southern slope of Copps Hill and the soils of the area contain great amounts of silt and clay on till decreasing greatly the ability of the soil to absorb water. None of the drainage features were removed during the course of excavation, and have been left in situ.

When the Clough House was first built, it was located within a field that would have allowed much of the water from the slope to flow directly into the rear lot of the house, which itself would have served as a damn for runoff. As Ebenezer excavated the foundation for his house, he likely encountered standing water within the soils and realized the need for a drainage system as part of the initial building of his house.

During the excavation of unit C4 and C5, a cistern and iron drain were encountered starting at 40-50 cm below surface. This represents a former surface in the yard where the cap of the cistern and the drain that led into it would have been visible and accessible to the ground surface. The cistern itself is overall rectangular with an interior wall that creates a square chamber and narrow rectangular chamber immediately adjacent to the square chamber (Figure 11). The bricks in the inner wall intertwine with the bricks of the walls of the cistern indicating that this wall was built into the original structure of the cistern and was not built after the original outline was made to reduce or otherwise change the size of the interior chamber. This double-chamber is interpreted here as an attempt to filter some of the water within the cistern.

Figure 11: Units B2 and B3, looking south, showing cistern at top and drain at bottom. Both brick features found hollow and left intact.

Numerous ceramic pipes entering the cistern, somewhat crudely, indicate that not only was the structure functioning as a cistern and not a well (wells would not have runoff water drain into them for purity reasons), but also indicates that the original drains leading into the wells were larger, likely a brick-and-slate type discussed above and encountered in unit C8.

The granite capstone took two individuals to move and three to lift indicating that it was not placed there to allow ready access to the cistern contents but was there to block access and possible injury to those using the back yard.

Five pipes lead directly into the cistern. These include the drain, which would have drained the area of the yard immediately surrounding the cistern, a pipe heading north that was not

encountered in C2 and may have terminated in the unexcavated unit C3 or turned north or south into unexcavated areas. A pipe leading east enters an unexcavated unit and its termination is unknown though the house foundation is located only two meters away. The pipe leading south was encountered in units C8, C6, and C5. In unit C8, the ceramic pipe encounters an older style brick and slate drain as it turns southeast heading towards other structures outside of the property line. A pipe intersection was encountered in C6. Here, one pipe enters the horizontal pipe traversing units C5-8 nearly vertically. While unit B6 was not excavated, a downspout from the Clough House roof enters the ground one meter from the intersection and perfectly aligned with the pipe heading eastward into the unexcavated pit. It is likely that this pipe was installed to directly drain water from the roof of the house, through the yard, and into the cistern.

The cistern was encountered empty, and sediment within the feature began 115 cm below the uppermost brick preventing any access to the soils within the cistern. Because no date was available for the actual feature, anecdotal evidence is used here to date the cistern. The bricks within the cistern are hand-made and of a size identical to the original brick in the Clough House. This coupled with the fact that Ebenezer Clough was a bricklayer and the shape of the cistern is more similar to a house or chimney than the round cisterns typically encountered at other nearby sites including the Paul Revere House and the African Meeting House indicates that this cistern and the early drain encountered in unit C8 were likely constructed on the property by Ebenezer Clough around the time the house was built in the early eighteenth century.

It appears that in the mid to late nineteenth century, almost all of the rear lot behind the house was excavated to a depth of four feet (125cm) in order to dig out and replace the failing original brick and slate drain that once was located throughout the backlot. It is possible that some of the pipes leading into the cistern were added at this time, but the one extending between C8 and the cistern is likely one of the original pipes. With that in mind, this pipe extends into other neighboring lots indicating that Ebenezer's cistern likely served the entire local neighborhoods drainage needs.

Results of Artifact Analysis

Architectural Material

This category is comprised of all materials utilized in the construction and maintenance of the Clough House. Brick and mortar were only sampled and are represented in each stratum. All other artifact types, including architectural stone, roofing material, nails, window glass, and any other architectural material, were collected in the field.

Pathway

Approximately 99 artifacts identified as architectural material were recovered and kept from the Pathway stratum. Brick and mortar were only sampled. Twenty-four nails were recovered from the stratum, including five cut nails and eight wire nails. Several pieces of tar, one concrete fragment, and 24 window glass fragments were recovered as well. Of the recovered window glass, six were identified as being aqua-colored glass, and seventeen as being colorless.

Garden

A total of 5,665 architectural artifacts were recovered from the Garden stratum. As with the other strata, several material types were only sampled including brick, plaster, and mortar. Both concrete and cement were recovered during excavation, as well as window putty and asphalt. Twenty-seven fragments of a modern grinding stone wheel were found in the Garden stratum, along with some of its associated hardware. Several pieces of ferrous architectural hardware were also recovered, including a shutter dog, hinge fragments, and a concreted iron door key. Approximately 1,447 nail fragments were found, including five wrought nails, 209 cut nails, and 542 wire nails. Approximately 3,218 window glass fragments were recovered from the Garden stratum, 1,199 of which were identified as aqua, 1,148 as colorless, and the rest as an indeterminate color. Redware/terra cotta tiles and roofing slate were recovered from the Garden stratum as well.

Twentieth Century Utility Features

The Light Well Builder's Trench contained 503 architectural artifacts. Sampled materials included brick and mortar. One hundred and thirty-eight nail fragments were recovered, including six cut nail fragments and 15 wire nail fragments. No wrought nail fragments were identified. One piece of sheet metal, eight pieces of window putty, and one piece of asphalt were recovered from the Light Well Builder's Trench, as well as 299 window glass fragments. Aqua-colored glass dominated the recovered window glass, with 238 fragments compared to 61 colorless glass fragments recovered.

The Pipe Builder's Trench contained 122 architectural artifacts. Of that, 18 were brick and mortar samples, as well as an asphalt fragment, two redware/terra cotta tile fragments, one ferrous wire fragment, and a piece of architectural wood. Thirteen nail fragments were found, one of which was identified as cut. The manufacture process for the remaining 12 was indeterminate. Eighty-six window glass fragments were recovered from the stratum, comprised of 37 colorless fragments and 49 aqua-colored fragments.

A total of 665 architecture-related artifacts were recovered from the Pipe Trench Fill. As in other strata, brick, mortar, and plaster were sampled. Two pieces of asphalt, one roofing slate fragment, six pieces of a modern grinding stone wheel, five ferrous wire fragments, and several pieces of architectural wood were recovered from the Pipe Trench Fill stratum. One hundred and nineteen nail fragments were found in the stratum, including seventeen cut nail fragments and 23 wire nails. Ten redware/terra cotta tiles and one asbestos tile were also recovered. Four hundred and twenty-six window glass fragments were found, comprised of 217 aqua-colored glass shards and 209 colorless glass shards.

Drain Fill

The Drain Fill stratum contained 107 architecture-related artifacts, including sampled brick and mortar, two pieces of roofing slate, and a small, intact, undecorated porcelain tile. Sixty-four nail fragments were found, ten of which were cut and 19 of which were wire. One of the wire nail fragments was galvanized. Twenty-seven window glass fragments were recovered. Of the twenty-seven fragments, only one was colorless and the rest were aqua-colored.

Upper Midden

Three hundred and seventy-nine architecture-related artifacts were recovered from the Upper Midden, including 26 brick samples and 38 mortar samples. Twenty-five asphalt roofing shingles, several pieces of a modern grinding stone wheel, concrete fragments, 13 pieces of sheet metal, and six pieces of ferrous wire were also found in the stratum. One hundred twenty-three nail fragments were recovered, including one wrought nail, 23 cut nails, and 85 wire nails. One hundred thirty window glass fragments were also found, consisting of 35 aqua-colored glass fragments, 51 colorless glass fragments, and 44 fragments without any color identifications.

Demolition Layer

The Demolition Layer contained approximately 1,189 architecture-related artifacts. Brick and mortar were sampled and comprise 93 of the total artifacts. A piece of asphalt, a lead construction anchor, eleven modern stone grinding wheel fragments, various fragments of ferrous architectural hardware and sheet metal, and several pieces of ferrous wire were recovered from the stratum as well. Nails were the second most ubiquitous artifact type in the architecture related artifact category, with 423 total fragments recovered. Of this, 37 were identified as cut and 342 as wire. One wrought nail was identified. Window glass comprised the most abundant artifact type in the architectural assemblage, with 632 total identified fragments. The majority of the window glass fragments were aqua colored (n=563), with only 69 colorless window glass fragments recovered from the stratum.

Lower Pathway

The Lower Pathway contained only 139 artifacts that were architecture-related, 118 of which were window glass. Of the window glass fragments, 23 were identified as colorless and the remaining 95 had no color identification. One brick and one mortar sample were taken, and a ferrous bolt, piece of roofing slate, and piece of architectural wood were all recovered from the stratum. Only two nails were found: one cut nail and one wire nail.

Main Midden

Approximately 3,189 architectural materials were found in the Main Midden, including architectural wood, wire, sheet metal, roofing slate, tar paper, and modern grinding stone fragments. Sixty-two brick samples and 102 mortar samples were taken from the stratum. The assemblage also contained several pieces of metal hardware, including strap and door hinges and a window sash weight. A bolt, six screws, and 1,012 nails were found in the stratum. Ninety-four of the nails were cut and 280 nails were wire. Twelve wrought nails were recovered. Window glass was the most abundant architectural artifact, with 1,828 fragments. While 338 fragments did not have any color identification, 1,184 were identified as aqua-colored window glass and the remaining 306 as colorless window glass. Two pieces of thicker flat glass, identified as belonging to an automobile, were also found.

Main Fill

The Main Fill contained 3,606 architecture-related artifacts. Of those, 261 artifacts consisted of brick samples and 316 of mortar samples. One bolt, three copper alloy finials, one spike two hooks, 11 sheet metal fragments, two screws, one nut, and 115 other miscellaneous metal hardware were found in the stratum. Seventeen roofing slate fragments, 10 concrete fragments, six pieces of plaster, and one piece of window putty were also recovered. Over 1,00 nail

fragments were found, including four wrought nails, 112 cut nails, 91 wire nails, and 848 unidentifiable nails. A total of 1,759 window glass fragments were recovered, comprised of 1,232 aqua-colored fragments and 248 colorless fragments. The remaining 248 fragments did not have the glass color specified.

Mixed C-Soils

The Mixed C-Soils stratum contained the lowest amount of recovered architectural material when compared to the other strata, with a total of 58 artifacts. Fourteen brick samples and eight mortar samples were taken. Nineteen nail fragments were found, including four cut nails. The other 15 could not be further identified. Seventeen window glass fragments were also found in the, all of which were aqua-colored glass.

Clay Layer

A total of 346 architecture-related artifacts were recovered from the Clay Layer. Both brick and mortar was sampled. Two roofing slate fragments were found, as well as 67 nails and 158 window glass fragments. The manufacturing process for the nails could not be determined. Twenty-three window glass fragments were found to be aqua-colored, and the rest were colorless. Fifty-two pieces of architectural wood were found as well.

Jane Franklin

Eighty-nine architecture-related artifacts were found in the Jane Franklin stratum. This includes brick and mortar samples, three modern grinding stone fragments, eight pieces of slate, and three pieces of architectural metal. Thirteen nail fragments were found in the stratum, including two cut nails. One colorless window glass fragment and 15 aqua-colored window glass fragments contributed to a total of 26 fragments found in the stratum.

Interpretation

The architectural materials recovered from the site illustrate some of the structural changes that took place on the property since its original construction. Several artifacts that undergo a loose chronology over time are represented on both ends of the temporal spectrum, including window glass and nails. Colorless window glass was found in both the most recent and the oldest deposit, however frequency seriation shows that it occurs at a higher frequency in more recent deposits. Aqua-colored window glass occurs in an opposite trend. Wire nails, with a TPQ of 1860, occurred in all of the strata except the Demolition Layer, Mixed C-Soils, Clay Layer, and Jane Franklin stratum, and decreased in prevalence as the strata got older (Miller et al. 2000: 14). Grinding/abrading stone wheel parts were found in many of the strata, and were most likely related to the installation of the twentieth century utilities. Both roofing slate and tar roofing paper were also found in several strata. The variety and amount of architectural material match the transitions of the house, including the conversion of the property to apartments, construction of the addition, and restoration of the building to its original form.

Household Artifacts

The household category includes items that would have been utilized in the home for day-to-day purposes. Furniture and household appliances are part of this category, as are artifacts associated with lighting, heating, plumbing, electrical equipment, and gardening.

Pathway

Fifty-four artifacts relating to household items were found in the Pathway stratum. One cuprous furniture tack head was found in the Pathway stratum, as well as 49 other artifacts – primarily coal and charcoal. One sherd of stoneware drainpipe was found, as well as four coal slag fragments.

Garden

A total of 631 household-related artifacts were recovered from the Garden stratum. Seventeen furniture artifacts including handles, a cuprous furniture tack, a lamp wick adjuster and plastic were found. Six hundred and thirteen artifacts relating to the structure's utilities were removed, ranging from coal to light bulb fragments. Twelve coal ash fragments, 40 charcoal pieces, 93 coal slag fragments, and 373 pieces of coal would have contributed to heating the structure. Eight pieces of synthetic drain pipe, 65 stoneware pipe fragments, one porcelain toilet fragment, and one ferrous metal pipe piece were found, showing the changes in plumbing practices over time. Several pieces of wire, three light bulb bases, 4 lamp glass fragments, and various other electrical hardware pieces were also recovered from the stratum. One possible agateware doorknob was recovered as well, which would have dated to the late nineteenth century (Florida Museum of Natural History 2016). Five artifacts were recovered that related to the maintenance and use of the backyard: one shovel blade fragment and four terra cotta flower pot fragments.

Twentieth Century Utility Features

The Light Well Builder's Trench contained 52 household-related artifacts. Primarily related to household utilities, the artifacts included 17 coal ash and 5 coal slag fragments, and 26 ceramic sewer and drain pipe pieces. One pulley that may have been used for a clothesline, and three lighting-related artifacts, including a lamp wick and wick adjuster, were found as well. The Pipe Builder's Trench contained 28 household artifacts, all related to utilities. One coal ash fragment, five pieces of charcoal, eight pieces of coal, and five coal slag fragments were recovered, along with two pieces of ceramic drainpipe and 2 pieces of electrical components. The Pipe Trench Fill had the highest amount of household-related artifacts between the three strata, at 140 artifacts. Ten coal ash fragments, 65 pieces of coal, 21 charcoal fragments, and eight coal slag fragments comprised the heating component of the assemblage, while 30 pieces of stoneware drain pipe signified plumbing taking place on the site. One terra cotta flowerpot fragment, one synthetic electrical component, and three lamp glass/light bulb glass fragments were found as well.

Drain Fill

Seventy-two household artifacts were found in the Drain Fill, all of which were related to either plumbing or heating. Nineteen coal fragments and 15 pieces of slag were found, along with 38 ceramic sewer pipe fragments.

Upper Midden

Twenty-nine household artifacts were recovered from the Upper Midden, comprised of three charcoal fragments, 23 pieces of coal, and two pieces as coal slag as well as one ceramic sewer pipe fragment.

Demolition Layer

Similar to the other strata, The Demolition Layer contained household artifacts related primarily to heating, plumbing, and electrical utilities. In this particular stratum, a total of 33 household artifacts were found. A singular charcoal fragment, one piece of coal, and seven pieces of slag represent heating-related materials. One metal fragment was found that was most likely a drain cover. The rest of the artifacts related to the electrical system utilized within the Clough House and included several rubber insulators, insulated cuprous wire, and several light bulb bases.

Lower Pathway

No artifacts could be definitively assigned to the household use category from the Lower Pathway, however a concreted ferrous wedge found in the stratum may be related to some type of interior furnishing or appliance.

Main Midden

The Main Midden included several furniture artifacts, including a piece of mirror glass, a possible metal curtain ring, two cuprous furniture tacks, and a possible ferrule. Forty-two lamp/light bulb glass fragments and one lamp bead were also found in the Main Midden. One hundred and thirty-three fragments of coal, coal ash, and charcoal were also found in the stratum along with 54 ceramic and one metal pipe fragments. Fifteen terra cotta flowerpot fragments were found as well. A total of 248 household artifacts were found in the Main Midden.

Main Fill

Seven furniture-related artifacts, ten lighting artifacts, five outdoor-related artifacts, and 1,340 heating, plumbing, and electric artifacts were found in the Main Fill, adding up to a total of 1,362 household artifacts. The recovered furniture artifacts include four cuprous furniture tacks and various furniture hardware pieces. Part of a milk glass lampshade and ten light bulb glass fragments comprised the lighting artifacts. One axe head and four terra cotta flowerpot fragments were found as well. The remaining 1,340 artifacts were made up of coal, charcoal, coal ash, and coal slag, as well as 407 ceramic drain and sewer pipes.

Mixed C-Soils

Only four household-related artifacts were found in the C-Soil stratum. Three artifacts were charcoal fragments, and one piece was compressed coal ash. No lighting, plumbing, furniture, or electric artifacts were recovered from the stratum.

Clay Layer

Thirty-eight household artifacts were found in the Clay Layer. Consisting primarily of coal, coal ash, and charcoal, the stratum also included 13 coal slag fragments and 7 ceramic pipe fragments. One terra cotta flowerpot fragment and one rubber wheel were also found.

Jane Franklin

Only ten artifacts were recovered that are related to the household from the Jane Franklin stratum, all of which are coal. These fragments were most likely used as fuel for heating and cooking.

Interpretation

Within the category of household artifacts, objects relating to the sub-categories of furniture/household appliances, heating, lighting, plumbing, electricity, and gardening are all well represented. Artifacts relating to heating were by far the most prevalent, with coal, charcoal, and/or coal slag found in very stratum except the Lower Pathway. Plumbing artifacts were similarly present throughout the majority of the strata, with ceramic drain pipes found in the majority of the strata. The presence of plastic pipes in the Garden stratum, and the in-situ drainage features show the changing plumbing practices and technology over time. Furniture/household appliance-related objects were most prevalent in the Garden, Main Midden, and Main Fill strata, which are most likely directly related to when the house has been occupied. Flower pots were also found in several strata, indicating the building's inhabitants were invested in beautifying the backyard area and increasing their sense of well-being. They may have been used for growing herbs for medicinal remedies or as an additive to meals.

Food & Beverage Acquisition

This category describes any faunal material found on the site, including animal bone and shell. Macrobotanicals are discussed as well, where applicable.

Pathway

Seven bones and 16 shells were found in the Pathway stratum. Five of the bones were determined to be mammalian, and the remaining two were indeterminate. Three of the shells were identified as oyster, one as clam, and thirteen as mussels.

Garden

The Garden stratum contained 270 shells and 275 bones. Two of the shells were identified as belonging to a crustacean, 49 as mussel shell, four as snails, 35 as clamshells (including two razor clams and one quahog), and 141 oyster shells. Eight of the bones were determined to be bird, four were identified as fish, and 102 as mammalian. One animal tooth was identified as well.

Twentieth Century Utility Features

The Light Well Builder's Trench contained 35 shells, 84 animal bones, and one tooth. Of the shells, 12 were identified as mussel shell, 6 as clam, 15 as oyster, and two indeterminate shell types. Thirty of the bones were mammalian and the remaining 54 were indeterminate. Within the Pipe Builder's Trench, 13 shells and 25 bones were found. One of the shells was determined to be clam, and the remaining 12 shells were oyster. Eleven of the bones were identified as mammalian. The Pipe Trench Fill contained 47 bones, including one fish bone, two bird bones, and 35 mammal bones. Thirty-eight shells were also found, which included 3 mussel shells, one clamshell, and 33 oyster shells.

Drain Fill

The Drain Fill contained 62 animal bones and 18 shells. All of the animal bones were identified as mammalian, and 7 were noted as being calcinated. All of the shells were determined to be bivalves with the exception of 5 crab claw fragments.

Upper Midden

Only two animal bones and nine shells were found in the Upper Midden. All of the shells were from oysters and the source of the animal bone was indeterminate.

Demolition Layer

Eleven animal bones and six shells were found in the Demolition Layer. Of the eleven bones, six were determined to be mammalian. Four of the shells were from a crustacean, and two from a mollusk.

Lower Pathway

Only one bone fragment was found in the Lower Pathway stratum, which was identified as mammalian. No shells were found.

Main Midden

Fifty-two shells, two seeds, one tooth, and 283 bones were found in the Main Midden. One mussel shell, one crustacean shell, one snail shell, 10 clamshells, and 11 oyster shells were identified from the shell assemblage. Identified bones included 13 bird bones and 128 mammal bones. One of the seeds was identified as a peach pit.

Main Fill

The Main Fill contained the largest faunal assemblage, which was made up of 16 teeth, 568 shells, one seed, and 2,543 animal bones, and two tortoise shell fragments. Eighty-six clamshells, 348 oyster shells, 17 mussel shells, and six snail shells were identified in the shell assemblage. The bone assemblage included 14 bird bones, four fish bones, and 621 mammal bones. Many of the bones were calcinated.

Mixed C-Soils

A total of 114 bones, 58 shells, and one tooth made up the faunal assemblage in the C-Soil stratum. The bones included one bird bone, one fish bone, and 102 mammal bones. Twenty-five of the shells were identified as oyster.

Clay Layer

The Clay Layer contained 261 bones, 21 shells, and one tooth. Fifteen of the shells were identified as being oysters. One bird bone was identified, and 116 bones were determined to be mammalian.

Jane Franklin

Two hundred and twenty bones, 45 shells, and a tooth were found in the Jane Franklin stratum. Forty-one of the shells were identified as oyster shell, three as clamshell, and one as a mussel. The bone assemblage included two fish bones, 15 bird bones, and 19 mammal bones. Many of the bones were noted as being calcinated.

Interpretation

While a more in-depth faunal analysis has yet to be conducted, a basic categorization was completed during initial cataloging. Both bone and shell were found in the majority of the strata, with the largest assemblage found in the Main Fill. Bird, fish, and mammalian bones were noted when possible, however no specific taxa were identified. Mollusks including quahog, razor clam, clam, oyster, and mussel were identified, as were crustaceans and snails. Several seeds were also recovered. A more in-depth analysis will better inform the consumption practices of the property's residents, and how they changed over time.

Food & Beverage Consumption: Ceramics

This category discusses in depth the ceramics recovered during excavation. The Main Midden, Main Fill, Mixed C-Soils, Clay Layer, and Jane Franklin strata were examined by Andrew Webster as part of his Master's Thesis and have a much more thorough analysis, including mean ceramic dates and minimum vessel counts. The Pathway, Garden, Twentieth Century Utility Features, Drain Fill, Upper Midden, Demolition Layer, and Lower Pathway strata have a basic analysis and description of the ceramic assemblage found within each stratum, due to the more recent and disturbed nature of the deposits. A more complete discussion of the ceramics from the Clough House site can be found in Andrew Webster's Master's Thesis.

Pathway

Six ceramic sherds were recovered from the Pathway stratum. One porcelain rim sherd and one ironstone rim sherd were identified, as well as two pearlware fragments, a redware body sherd, and a Staffordshire-slipware rim fragment. One of the pearlware fragments had blue transfer print on the interior while the other pearlware sherd had a hand-painted blue design. The redware body sherd had a black lead glaze.

Garden

Three hundred and eighty-four ceramics were identified in the Garden stratum. The assemblage was comprised of 106 coarse earthenware sherds, 224 refined earthenware sherds, 25 stoneware sherds, 28 porcelain sherds, and one piece of glaze. Ninety-four coarse earthenware sherds were identified as redware, eight of which had black glaze, 23 that had lead glaze, and 62 that were unglazed. Three pieces of plain Staffordshire, six slipped Staffordshire fragments, and three unidentified coarse earthenware fragments complete the coarse earthenware assemblage. The refined earthenware assemblage was comprised of 48 creamware sherds (one with black transfer print and one with brown), 18 ironstone sherds, one Jackfield-type sherd, 57 pearlware sherds, one clouded brown Whieldon sherd, 37 tin-glazed sherds, and 57 whiteware sherds. Decorated pearlware included one factory-made slipware, two polychrome, two hand painted blue, two green shell-edged, and 17 transfer printed in blue and brown sherds. The majority of the decorated tin-glazed sherds were hand-painted blue. Decorated whiteware included black transfer print, flow blue, and blue shell-edged sherds. Four of the pearlware sherds had Chinese underglaze blue decoration, and several others had red or gold overglaze decoration or blue underglaze. Identified stonewares included one Rhenish brown, one British brown, five Westerwald, and six white salt glazed sherds. Buff-bodied and gray-bodied salt glazed stonewares were found as well.

Twentieth Century Utility Features

Eighty-one ceramics were recovered from the Light Well Builder's Trench. The assemblage was comprised of twelve coarse earthenware sherds, 53 refined earthenware sherds, eight stoneware sherds, and seven porcelain sherds. All of the coarse earthenwares were redwares, including four black glazed sherds, four lead glazed sherds, and two slip glazed sherds. The refined earthenwares included 17 creamware sherds, one piece of ironstone, 17 pearlware sherds, three whiteware fragments, and 15 tin-glazed pieces. The ironstone fragment and all of the creamware sherds were undecorated. Two hand painted blue and two hand painted polychrome decorated pearlware fragments were identified, as well as one shell edged pearlware rim sherd and four blue transfer printed pieces. Several undecorated pearlware sherds were found as well. One tin-glazed fragment had hand painted orange, blue, and green decoration on it, while several others had hand painted blue decorations. Two of the whiteware fragments had transfer printed decoration, one of which was in black and the other in blue. Seven of the stoneware sherds were identified as being white salt glazed, including one incised rim sherd. One Westerwald sherd was also identified. The identified porcelain included one Chinese underglaze blue decorated sherd, and several hand painted blue fragments.

The Pipe Builder's Trench contained 23 ceramics, including two coarse redware fragments, 16 refined earthenware sherds, one piece of white salt-glazed stoneware, and four porcelain fragments. Identified refined earthenwares included three creamware sherds, one ironstone fragment, one Jackfield-type sherd, one whiteware sherd, four pearlware fragments, and six pieces that were tin-glazed. One piece of creamware was identified as having an unidentified maker's mark, one of the pearlware pieces had was transfer printed blue, and two of the tin-glazed pieces were hand-painted. Several of the porcelain sherds had blue underglaze decoration.

One hundred and three pieces of ceramic were found in the Pipe Trench Fill, the majority of which were earthenwares. The assemblage was comprised of 18 coarse earthenware fragments, 71 refined earthenwares sherds, five stoneware pieces, and six porcelain fragments. Sixteen of the coarse earthenware fragments were identified as redware, two of which were not glazed. Two

Staffordshire slipware fragments were identified as well, one of which was combed and the other dotted. Twenty pieces of creamware, six ironstone fragments, 19 pearlware sherds, one piece of clouded Whieldon-ware, 6 whiteware fragments, and 22 tin-glazed sherds were identified. Decorated refined earthenwares included one hand painted and one shell-edged creamware sherd, several pieces of flow blue, four hand-painted blue pearlware sherds, two shell-edged blue pearlware pieces, three transfer-printed blue pearlware sherds, two pieces of whiteware with hand-painted green overglaze, one piece of sponged whiteware, one transfer-printed whiteware sherd, and several hand-painted blue tin-glazed fragments. Five of the stoneware fragments were identified as white-salt glazed, and three porcelain sherds had Chinese underglaze blue decoration.

Drain Fill

Nine ceramics were recovered from the Drain Fill, all of which were identified as earthenwares. Only one coarse earthenware, a piece of unglazed redware, was found. One creamware fragment, one hand painted blue piece of pearlware, two flow blue sherds, and four pieces of undecorated whiteware were also found.

Upper Midden

Seven ceramic fragments were found in the Upper Midden, including three coarse earthenware sherds, three refined earthenware sherds, and one stoneware sherd. All of the coarse earthenware sherds were identified as redware, one of which was lead glazed. Two pieces of undecorated pearlware, one piece of undecorated whiteware, and one white salt-glazed stoneware sherd was also identified.

Demolition Layer

The Demolition Layer contained 16 ceramics, including eight pieces of unglazed redware, one creamware sherd, one piece of ironstone, two pieces of pearlware, two pieces of whiteware, and two tin-glazed sherds. All of the recovered sherds were undecorated.

Lower Pathway

Three ceramic sherds were found in the Lower Pathway stratum. One unglazed redware sherd, one black glazed redware sherd, and one floral decal-decorated whiteware sherd.

Main Midden

In the Main Midden, 269 total sherds of household ceramics were recovered, representing 43 minimum vessels. Refined earthenwares dominate the assemblage at 48% (n=129; MNV=17), and pearlware and creamware make up 60% of the refined earthenware sherds.

Pearlware is the most common ware type in the Main Midden assemblage, comprising 39% of the refined earthenwares recovered from this stratum (n= 50; MNV=8). 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 and one hollowware, and two hand painted 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 four vessels, including three undecorated wares (hollowware, flatware, and bowl), and one brown factory-decorated slipware hollowware. The 27 whiteware sherds represent two minimum vessels, a brown transfer-printed teapot and a hollowware with a molded rim. 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 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 two minimum vessels, one undecorated hollowware and one gold banded (luster) plate. Finally, one yellowware sherd represents one molded vessel. Overall, the refined earthenware assemblage included a great number of pearlware and creamware vessels that fell out of fashion decades before the 1870s.

The redware collection was another significant portion of the Main Midden assemblage, with 48 sherds encompassing 11 minimum vessels, around half of which were unglazed. One piecrust mold vessel was identified (Figure 12).

Figure 12: Pie crust mold found in the Main Midden.

The 36 porcelain sherds contribute to five minimum vessels, with both earlier and later forms present. These include one nineteenth- or twentieth-century molded mug with a gold gilt rose pattern, one green luster dish with a scalloped edge, and a gold luster, pink-banded teaware. Also included were one Chinese underglaze blue bowl, and one tiny plate from a doll's tea set. While most of the porcelain recovered from the Main Midden was later in style, some of it is highly decorated in gilt.

25 tin-glazed sherds comprise three minimum vessels, a strangely large amount considering the form 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).

The stoneware recovered from the Main Midden includes 18 sherds representing five minimum vessels. 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 living abroad.

Main Fill

Household ceramics were most abundant in the Main Fill, with 2957 sherds representing a minimum of 182 vessels. The Main Fill has an MCD of 1767 and a TPQ-90 of 1795, 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.

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. 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), and 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 patter 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. 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.

Creamware was also common in the Main Fill at 18%, with 517 sherds representing 13 minimum vessels. 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). Of the 13 vessels, nine 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 hand painted wares—one tea bowl with a red and gold hand painted 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 yellowware (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 yellowware assemblage primarily consists of thick hollowwares.

Redwares represented 14% of the ceramic assemblage (n=411; MNV=20). 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 and one teapot, many with incised decorations.

Tin-glazed wares, common during the eighteenth century single-family occupation of the house, make up 21% of the Main Fill assemblage (n=624, MNV=13). Most vessels were hand painted 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 ting-glazed vessels due to the inconsistent variation in tin glaze rim sizes and the fragmentary nature of the assemblage.

Porcelain constituted 6% of the Main Fill ceramic assemblage, with 174 sherds and 28 minimum vessels. 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 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.

Stoneware represented 11% of the assemblage (n=317; MNV=14), 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 in 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.

Mixed C-Soils

The Mixed C-Soils 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. Tin-glazed wares were the most common ware type in the mixed C layer, representing 41% of the assemblage (n=30, MNV=3). 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 stratum, 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.

Clay Layer

The Clay Layer contained 244 ceramic sherds, representing 34 minimum vessels. The calculated MCD of 1773 and TPQ-90 of 1795 appear very similar to the Main Fill. A crossmend of a creamware octagonal plate with was found, with sherds from both the Main Fill and Clay layer.

Refined earthenware is the most common ware type in the clay layer at 52% of the assemblage (n=128, MNV=14). 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 sherds 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 a 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.

The creamware assemblage 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.

Redware composed 9% of the clay layer ceramic assemblage, with 32 sherds representing 5 minimum vessels with various glaze types. The small size of sherds in this deposit made vessel forms difficult to establish, but most are hollowware. 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 sherds 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 strata. 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.

Jane Franklin

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. Overall, the Jane Franklin layer produced 128 sherds, representing 12 minimum vessels. Tin-glazed wares were the most common ware type at 47% (n=60; MNV=2). The two minimum vessels included one hand-painted blue hollowware, and one purple-glazed vessel. Other hand painted polychrome body sherds were also recovered, but were not included in the MNV count because they all contained blue as well. 28 sherds of redware accounted for 3 minimum vessels. No redware rim sherds were found in this stratum, 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. The stoneware assemblage 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.

Interpretation

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. Instead of whiteware and ironstone, the tenants at the Clough House used mainly pearlware and porcelain teawares. 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. 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.

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. Perhaps these choices were due to economic constraints, or perhaps the immigrants didn't feel the need to participate in the dominant Victorian culture. They may have had their own standards and practices for social gatherings.

With the exception of some German stoneware, almost all of the ceramics at the site would have been made in England's Staffordshire potteries, so it's not surprising that Victorian cultural practices originating in Britain could be seen in the ceramic assemblages of Americans during this time. 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 3 crockeries in the North End for purchasing new ceramics and 11 junk stores, which sold older, mismatched ceramics secondhand (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.

The consumption patterns of the immigrants at the Clough House appear similar to those from Brighton's (2001) Five Points study in New York City. Although both the Boston and New York immigrants were clearly members of the working class, their location in major urban centers made more ceramic types available to them. In both cities, it appears that tenants bought older,

mismatched sets from junk stores, while sometimes choosing to purchase fancier wares associated with Victorian gentility. For these families, money was tight, but they chose to incorporate some aspects of Victorian culture in their identities through their consumption choices. While availability surely played a part in the consumption patterns of the Clough House tenants, if cost and availability were the sole factors, fancier printed and gilded wares would not be present in the assemblage.

Food & Beverage Consumption: Glass & Metal

This category discusses vessel and bottle glass found during excavation. Medicinal/chemical glass containers are discussed in a separate section.

Pathway

Thirteen bottle glass fragments and 11 pieces of vessel glass were found in the Pathway stratum. One fragment of green wine bottle glass was identified, as well as two amber-colored fragments. The remaining fragments were either colorless or aqua colored. At least one of the glass fragments exhibited mold seams and another had an embossed "C". One metal crown bottle cap was also found, providing a TPQ of 1892 (Miller et al. 2000: 8).

Garden

The Garden stratum contained over 1,200 glass fragments, including 1,090 bottle fragments and 119 vessel glass fragments. The majority of the bottle glass was identified as being machine made and/or molded. Two bases were recovered with Owens-Illinois Glass Co. maker's marks that had date ranges of 1940-1964 and 1954-present (Lindsey 2016b). One base had a Hazel-Atlas Glass Co maker's mark dating from 1923-1982 (Lindsey 2016b). A small, complete, bright green bottle had an Owens-Illinois Glass Co. maker's mark dating from 1929-1960 and a screw-top finish. Several solarized pieces were found, manufactured after 1880 (Miller et al. 2000: 8). One complete, colorless milk bottle was found with "H.P. HOOD & SONS BOSTON" embossed on the body. The heel and shoulder have embossed maker's marks from the Thatcher Manufacturing Co., while the base has "HOOD 1924" embossing (Figure 13) (Lindsey 2016b). Identified bottle types included alcohol, milk, and soda bottles, with glass colors ranging from aqua and colorless to amber and bright green. Some blown glass was found as well, mostly made up of 30 green wine bottle glass fragments. One green wine bottle fragment with a champagne finish was found in the assemblage.

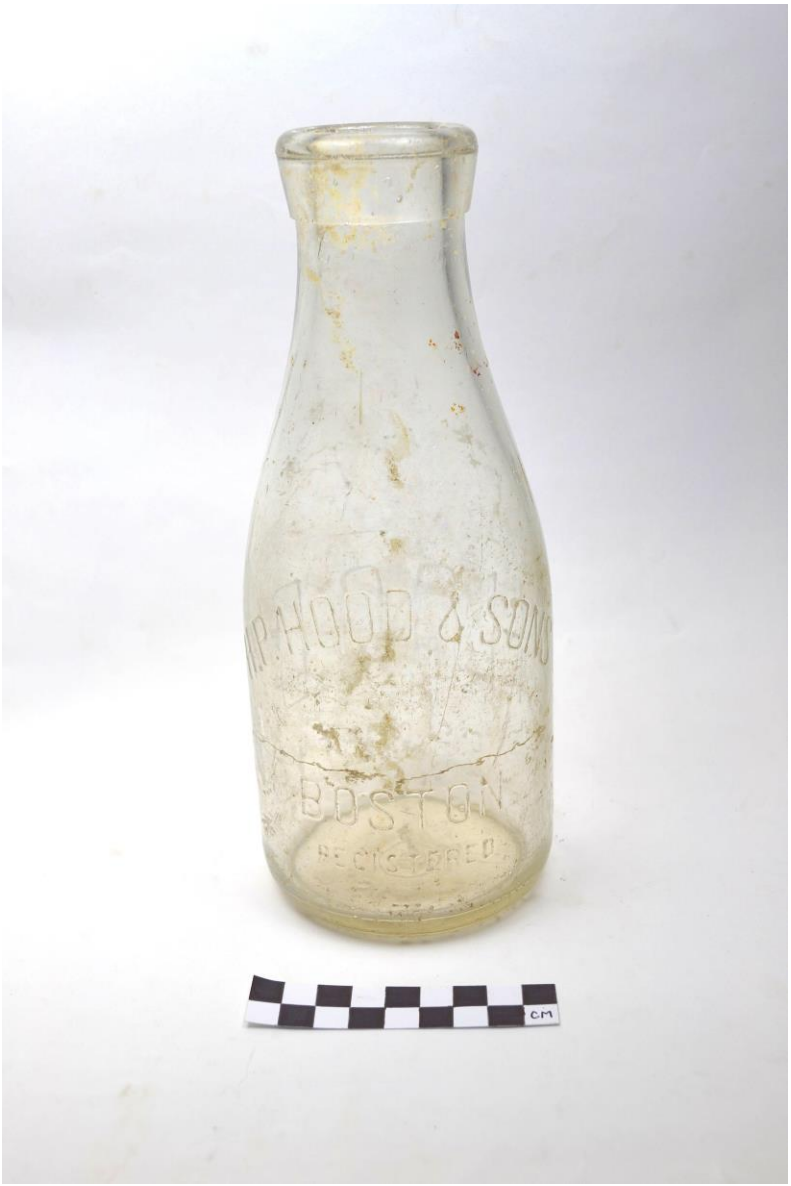

Figure 13: H. P. Hood & Sons milk bottle found in the Garden layer.

The vessel glass assemblage was primarily comprised of colorless glass and milk glass fragments related to storage and tableware forms. Nine colorless fragments were identified as being cup forms, including molded glass tumblers. Many of the colorless vessel glass fragments were etched with floral patterns.

Fifty-six metal artifacts relating to food & beverage consumption were found in the Garden stratum. The majority of these were pieces of tin cans, totaling 43 fragments. Ten bottle caps were found, one of which was a threaded screw top and the remaining nine were crown bottle caps. No diagnostic features or decorations were found on the bottle caps. Two ferrous knives were found, including one large butcher knife blade and tang. One cast iron kettle fragment was found as well.

Twentieth Century Utility Features

The Light Well Builder's Trench contained 52 bottle glass fragments and 23 vessel glass fragments. The majority of the bottle glass was machine-molded and colorless or aqua, with bright green glass and cobalt colored glass found as well. Several of the machine-molded glass had embossed writing or decoration, but no specific maker's marks, decorations, or lettering were identified. At least 10 green wine bottle glass fragments were found. All of the vessel glass was either colorless or aqua. One piece of vessel glass had etched rouletting around the rim. The Pipe Builder's Trench contained seven bottle glass fragments. One fragment was identified as green wine bottle glass, and the remaining six were either amber or colorless. Five vessel glass fragments were also identified, all of which were either aqua-colored or colorless. Seventy-eight bottle glass fragments were found in the Pipe Trench Fill. At least 18 of the bottle glass fragments were green wine bottle glass, and the remaining fragments were primarily colorless glass. Some amber-colored fragments were found as well. Several of the fragments were embossed, although no maker's marks, decorations or lettering were identified. One piece of clear vessel glass was found as well.

Only one metal food/beverage-related artifact was found in the three utility strata: a threaded screw-top bottle cap found in the Light Well Builder's Trench. One synthetic/plastic cup fragment was found in the Pipe Trench Fill stratum.

Drain Fill

Twenty-six bottle glass fragments were found in the Drain Fill, two of which were free blown. The remaining 24 fragments were all machine-molded and either amber-colored, aqua-colored, or colorless. One of the fragments had unidentifiable embossing on it. One colorless piece of vessel glass was found as well.

Upper Midden

The Upper Midden contained 28 glass bottle fragments and no vessel glass fragments. The glass was primarily clear, with several bright green, aqua, and amber-colored fragments. One of the bright green fragments had a crown finish and would have been manufactured after 1892 (Miller et al. 2000: 8). One of the aqua-colored fragments has part of an unidentified applied color label, which provides a TPQ of 1933 (Lindsey 2016a). One metal crown bottle cap was also found in the Upper Midden.

Demolition Layer

A total of 222 bottle glass fragments and 5 vessel glass fragments were found in the Demolition Layer. All of the bottle glass was machine molded and was primarily colorless. Several amber, bright green, and aqua-colored fragments were found as well. Fragments with a mineral finish, crown finish, flared ring finish, and externally threaded finish were identified, and many fragments had embossed lettering on them. One bottle base had an embossed Glass Container Corp. maker's mark, dating from 1934-1968 (Lindsey 2016b). One bottle glass fragment had an applied color label for Nehi Cola that was manufactured starting in either 1937 or 1939 (Lockhart 2010). A molded "wave" style Pepsi-Cola bottle shoulder was found that was manufactured between 1940-1958 was also found (Lockhart 2010: 276). At least one of the bottle glass fragments was solarized. Five colorless vessel glass fragments, including one identified as a cup fragment, were identified as well.

Eleven metal food & beverage-related artifacts were found in the Demolition Layer. Five tin can fragments were identified, as well as five crown-bottle caps. One ferrous metal lid and one knife blade were also identified.

Lower Pathway

Twenty-six bottle glass fragments were recovered from the Lower Pathway stratum. The majority of the bottle glass was colorless, but several amber, aqua, and bright green fragments were also identified. One of the fragments had a red applied color label, providing a TPQ of 1933 (Lindsey 2016a). A bottle base was identified with a Federal Glass Co. maker's mark that was manufactured between 1932-1958 (Lindsey 2016b).

Main Midden

Over 1,000 glass artifacts were found in the Main Midden, including 920 bottle glass fragments and 125 vessel glass fragments. The majority of the bottle glass was identified as being machine molded and either colorless, amber, or aqua-colored. Two cobalt blue body fragments were also found. Over 20 fragments identified as being green wine bottle glass were recovered from the stratum, including part of a case bottle. Several externally threaded finishes and crown finishes were also recovered from the stratum. One colorless and one amber bottle base had embossed diamond and circles maker's marks belonging to the Owens-Illinois Glass Co. that was manufactured between 1929-1960. One amber bottle body fragment had "…W FORBID…", most likely part of the phrase, "Federal Law Forbids the Sale or Reuse of this Bottle." This phrase was embossed on alcohol bottles after Prohibition ended in 1935 until the mid-1960s (Lindsey 2016a). One complete colorless bottle with an applied white and red label stating "Pepsi-Cola" and a molded swirl pattern on the body (Figure 14) was manufactured from 1958-1977 and provides a TPQ of 1958 for the stratum, although it may represent an intrusion into the deposit (Lockhart 2010: 278).

Figure 14: Pepsi-Cola "wave" bottle recovered from the Main Midden.

The vessel glass assemblage was primarily comprised of colorless and milk glass in tableware forms. Three colorless glass fragments were identified as possible tumbler fragments. Twelve solarized colorless glass fragment was found, as well as seven bright green and gold carnival glass fragments. Pressed carnival glass was first manufactured around 1905 (Miller et al. 2000: 7).

The metal food & beverage artifact assemblage primarily consists of 17 bottle caps, four tin can fragments, and two spoons. One of the bottle caps has been identified as belonging to a screw top bottle and the remaining 16 as crown bottle caps. One of the spoons is complete, with a "Walton's Lunch" stamp on the obverse of the handle and "Avon Plate" stamp on the reverse of the handle. The Walton Lunch System was established in 1903 as a modern and sanitary restaurant that eventually grew into a chain with several locations in Boston and one in Montreal (Bacon 1916: 497).

Main Fill

Just over 1,100 glass artifacts relating to food and beverage consumption were found in the Main Fill, including 902 bottle fragments and 198 vessel glass fragments. The bottle glass assemblage included both machine made and blown bottle fragments. The machine made fragments included bright green, colorless, aqua, cobalt, and amber-colored glass, many of which were embossed. One fragment of colorless solarized glass, dating after 1880, was identified in the assemblage (Miller et al. 2000: 8). Examples of free blown and mold blown green wine bottle glass were found in the Main Fill, including a case bottle fragment. Several large green wine bottle glass fragments including a complete finish, neck, and shoulders, and a mostly complete base with a kick-up and pontil scar were identified. Several green wine bottle glass fragments had applied string rims.

The majority of the vessel glass was colorless glass and milk glass. Six clear glass cup fragments were identified, as well as one stemware base. Several colorless fragments with etched designs were also identified.

Two metal crown bottle caps were found in the Main Fill stratum, as well as two bone handle fragments and a possible whetstone. No other metal or faunal material related to food and beverage consumption was found in the stratum.

Mixed C-Soils

Twelve bottle glass fragments and four vessel glass fragments were found in the Mixed C-Soils stratum. Seven of the bottle glass fragments were identified as green wine bottle glass and the others were either aqua or colorless. No marks, decorations, or finishes were identified. Two of the vessel glass fragments were milk glass while the other two colorless and aqua-colored, respectively.

Clay

Thirty-six bottle glass fragments and 38 vessel glass fragments were found in the Clay stratum. Two of the bottle glass fragments were identified as green wine bottle glass, while the remaining 34 bottle fragments are molded colorless, aqua, or amber glass. The vessel glass fragments were identified as primarily being service/tableware forms and were colorless, aqua-colored, or light green. One of the vessel glass fragments was identified as a colorless stemware base, and one other colorless fragment had an etched decoration on it. No fragments with identifiable marks, decorations, or lettering were found. One whetstone was also identified in the assemblage.

Jane Franklin

Twenty-six curved glass fragments were found in the Jane Franklin stratum. Twenty-three of the fragments were identified as bottle glass, 15 of which are green wine bottle glass fragments. The other bottle glass fragments are either aqua or colorless and do not exhibit any embossing or identifiable finishes. Three clear vessel glass fragments were found, two of which had etched decorations on them.

Interpretation

The majority of the glass assemblage was blown or machine manufactured bottle glass. Green wine bottle glass was found in most strata, and several fragments with finishes and pontil scars were identified. A champagne finish, applied string lip, and several case bottle fragments were also found. Most of the bottle glass was machine manufactured, as evidenced by the color, mold seams, finishes, and decorations seen on the glass. Alcohol, soda, and milk bottles were well represented. Many of the fragments had embossing on them, and several known glass manufacturer maker's marks were identified. Several strata had solarized glass fragments as well. Bottles with applied color labels were found in several strata, including fragments belonging to a Nehi-Cola bottle and a complete Pepsi-Cola bottle. One complete Hood & Sons milk bottle was also found.

Most of the vessel glass was tablewares, including cups, stemware, and tumblers. The most common decoration was floral etching, although several pieces of carnival glass were also found. Some of the vessel glass may have been used for storage as well. Metal consumption artifacts included both storage forms (tin cans and bottle caps) and tools (utensils). Both crown and screw bottle caps were found. Knife fragments, and parts of spoons were found, as well as a whole Walton's Lunch spoon that belonged to a local restaurant.

The glass and metal consumption artifacts chart the changes in manufacturing and consumption patterns seen from the eighteenth to the twentieth century – sometimes even within the same stratum. The diversification of glass vessels and bottles from green wine bottle glass to marked and labeled bottles show not only changes in technology, but commercialization of individual brands and products. Even the shift from how those brands were marketed can be seen in the assemblage, from embossed bottles to ones with applied color labels. While many of the glass fragments were most likely deposited as household trash, it is also probable that many of the alcohol bottles were deposited as a result of outdoor consumption and breakage. Some of this may be related to leisure time, gendered activities, and illicit consumption in the backyard common area.

Industry, Trade, & Manufacture

The industry, trade, and manufacture category is comprised of work-related artifacts that could be associated to the Clough House inhabitants' employment or professions. At this particular site, 17 work-related artifacts were recovered. One was a ferrous mathematical compass found in the Garden stratum. The remaining sixteen artifacts were lead alloy print type found in three different strata: the Garden stratum, Main Fill, and Main Midden. Eleven print types were found in the Garden, including a "4", "e", "e" "I", "K", and "-" (Figure 15). All of the letters, numbers, and characters were the same size. Four print types were found that had no marks on them. Two print types were found in the Main Midden: "5", and ".....". The "5" was similar in size to the types found in the Garden stratum. The Main Fill contained three print types: "E", "r", and a blank die. The "E" was similar in size to the print types found in the other strata, while the "r" was much larger. No other work-related artifacts were found in the other strata.

Figure 15: Some of the print types found during excavation.

Interpretation

The presence of so many print types is most likely due to a tenant or multiple tenants that worked in a print type foundry rather than for a printer. All of the print types were found in strata relating to the property's occupation and the presence of print types in multiple strata suggests that several individuals were employed at a print type foundry. The first print type foundry in the Boston area was opened in 1817 in Charlestown by Elihu White. Originally consisting of a superintendent and two casters, the foundry grew and moved to several different locations before moving to Salem Street in 1823. The business continued to grow despite a large fire in 1825 that destroyed the building that the foundry was housed in. An 1826 advertisement for the Boston Type and Stereotype Foundry mentions print type orders can be received at "…the Foundry, in Salem Street, second door from the North Church…" (Parsons 1826: 400). Sometime between 1827-1829 the print type company became incorporated as and moved from Salem Street to Congress Street, where it remained for 12 years (Fessenden 1827: 175; Van Slyck 1879: 126-128).

Other print type foundries existed in Boston in the mid-to-late nineteenth century, however the Great Fire of 1872 destroyed all of the type foundries in Boston. In 1892, there were at least five major type foundries that existed during the consolidation of 23 independent foundries into the American Type Founders (ATF), namely the Dickinson Type Founders, Boston Type Foundry, New England Type Foundry, Curtis & Mitchell Type Foundry, and the H.C. Hansen Type Foundry. The Dickinson and Boston foundries were absorbed into the ATF, the H.C. Hansen Type Foundry remained as an independent company until 1922, and the other two ceased to exist shortly after 1892 (Walden 2012: 9). During this period, Linotype technology, where entire lines of type were cast rather than individual letters, became the predominant print type technology and changed how type foundries operated (Museum of Printing 2016). Due to the fact that the vast majority of the print types found at the Clough House consisted of individual letters rather than lines of text, it is most likely that they were cast before the turn of the twentieth century when hand-set type consisting of individual letters was the leading practice.

Personal Adornment

The artifacts from the personal adornment assemblage can be divided into four main categories: items related to toiletry/hygiene, clothing and fasteners, jewelry/adornment, and other. No personal artifacts were found in the Pathway, Lower Pathway, Mixed C-Soils, or Jane Franklin strata.

Garden

Approximately 86 personal artifacts were recovered from the Garden stratum, the majority of which related to clothing or jewelry. Nineteen buttons were recovered, four of which were made of bone, five of plastic, six of glass (one black glass and five milk glass), two of copper alloy, and two of shell. One metal chain attached to a zipper was also found, as was 48 polychrome painted leather fragments. One red plastic bead, one pressed glass heart pendant, two pins (one copper alloy, one plastic hair pin), two plastic comb fragments, and one finger ring was also found. Miscellaneous personal items recovered included an inkbottle fragment, part of a plastic toothbrush, a pen ink cartridge, a watch gear, and the lens of a magnifying glass. One of the most unique artifacts recovered from the garden stratum was an intact lipstick case with lipstick inside (Figure 16). Dating to the 1940s-1950s, the lipstick inside the bullet style tube was red and still smelled faintly of makeup (Bagley 2016: 173).

Figure 16: Photograph of the intact lipstick found in the Garden layer.

Twentieth Century Utility Features

The Light Well Builder's Trench contained an un-dateable lead alloy metal buckle, one undecorated ferrous metal button, and one "I. S. U. A." (International Seamen's Union of America) pin (Figure 17). The pin depicts Poseidon on a chariot, clasped hands, and the date

1892 that likely refers to the founding date of the union, as the union was not officially called the International Seamen's Union of America until 1895 (Albrecht 1923: 5; TreasureNet).

Figure 17: International Seamen's Union of America pin found in the Light Well Builder's Trench.

One bone button and one cuprous button were recovered from the Pipe Builder's Trench. The Pipe Trench Fill contained the most personal artifacts out of the three, with one cuprous thimble, two aqua glass beads, one mother-of-pearl button, one tortoiseshell fragment, and one copper alloy safety pin found.

Drain Fill

The Drain Fill contained two personal artifacts: one milk glass button and one cuprous Miraculous Medal pendant (Figure 18). The Catholic religious medal depicts the imagery standard on all Miraculous Medals: the Virgin Mary standing on a globe crushing a serpent on the front with the words "O MARY CONCEIVED WITHOUT SIN, PRAY FOR US WHO HAVE RECOURSE TO THEE" and the date 1830. The back of the medal shows twelve starts encircling a cross rising out of the letter M and two hearts, one of which is pierced by a sword. The date of 1830 refers to the date when Mary appeared to Sister Catherine Laboure in France. The medals were first manufactured in Paris, France in 1832 (Romb 2006). No other dateable information was found about the medal recovered from the Drain Fill.

Figure 18: Photographs of the front and back of the Miraculous Medal recovered from the Drain Fill.

Upper Midden

The Upper Midden contained one circular green glass bead and one ferrous bottle opener. No diagnostic information about the two artifacts was found.

Demolition Layer

Eight personal artifacts were found in the Demolition Layer. One aquamarine-colored circular glass bead, four plastic buttons, and one plastic comb were recovered. One metal safety pin was also identified.

Main Midden

Thirty-nine personal artifacts were found in the Main Midden, consisting primarily of jewelry, personal care items, and clothing fasteners. Nine jewelry-related items were identified, including eight circular glass beads of various colors (such as amber, yellow, white, red, green, and yellow), and one red glass pendant in an elongated teardrop shape. Five plastic combs, two of which were identified as lice combs, were also found. Both lice combs were black and had writing: “Samson Unbreakable No.674” and “I. R. Comb Co. Goodyear 1851”. Combs with the same writing and similar styles were found in the 1897 Sears Roebuck Catalog (Sears, Roebuck and Company 1967: 326). One plastic hairpin was found as well. Twenty-two clothing-related artifacts were found in the Main Midden, including 19 buttons, one metal dress buckle, one cuprous fastener, and one metal and shell fastener. Five of the buttons were identified as metal (including one cufflink), two as porcelain, one as bone, eight as milk glass, two as glass, one as plastic, and one as mother-of-pearl. One piece of green chalk and one lens from a magnifying glass were also recovered from the stratum.

Main Fill

The Main Fill contained approximately 76 personal artifacts, with uses ranging from jewelry and clothing fasteners to toiletry and hygiene items. Jewelry items included 10 beads, a black faceted glass pendant, one clear glass faceted ornament, a copper alloy finger ring, and one square glass intaglio with an etched profile image of a woman's head (Figure 19). Similar styles in engraved stone were seen in men and women's jewelry in the 1897 Sears Roebuck catalog, suggesting that the intaglio may have been mass produced and used in a variety of jewelry (Sear, Roebuck and Company 1967).

Figure 19: Photograph of the glass intaglio recovered in the Main Fill.

One military collar disk was also identified (Figure 20). Dating to circa WWI, the copper alloy disk has "US 20" on it, denoting that the wearer belonged to the US Military, in either the 20th Regiment or Battalion (Lanham 2011). Three comb fragments were found, including two plastic comb fragments and one tortoiseshell comb piece. Clothing-related artifacts included 51 buttons, synthetic textile fragments, and a cupper alloy buckle fragment. The button assemblage was comprised of one composite, one wood and metal, four bone, two shell, two ferrous metal, and 11 cuprous metal buttons. Most of the glass buttons were made of milk glass, with the exception of one dark green glass, one green glass, and one brown glass button. One of the cuprous metal buttons had a snowflake and "BEST DESIGN" written on the front, however research on the motif did not find any diagnostic information. One copper alloy pen nib and one magnifying glass lens were also recovered from the Main Fill.

Figure 20: WWI-era military collar disk found in the Main Fill.

Clay Layer

Eight personal artifacts were found in the Clay Layer, including six buttons, one plastic hair comb, and one black glass bead. The buttons include one bone button, one wood button, one gilded cuprous metal button, and three milk glass buttons.

Interpretation

Most of the jewelry/adornment artifacts on the site consisted of circular glass beads in varying color. Other jewelry-type items such as pendants and finger rings were much less common on the site. Several of the jewelry items, including the I. S. U. A. pin and WWI collar disk may be able to be tied to a specific inhabitant of the site. Other jewelry artifacts such as the glass intaglio and Miraculous Medal may have more temporal information that has yet to be discovered. Most of the recovered jewelry seems to belong to be designed to be used by females, although at least one finger ring could have been used by a male. The collar disk and I. S. U. A. pin most likely belonged to males as well.

Comb fragments, most of which were plastic, dominated the toiletry/hygiene subcategory. Several comb fragments appear to have belonged to a lice comb, indicating some of the health issues faced by the Clough House inhabitants. A plastic toothbrush fragment also contributes to an understanding of the tenants' hygiene habits.

Most of the clothing and fasteners subcategory was comprised of buttons. A thimble, pins, safety pins, and several textile fragments were also found in various strata. Ranging from milk glass and porcelain to plastic, bone, and shell, the large amount of buttons suggests that the outdoor area may have been used as a gathering place to sew, knit, and repair old clothes. While much of this activity could be attributed to the gathering of women to repair their families' torn clothing while socializing, the amount of buttons may have also been related to sources of income. Old

poll tax and census records show that several individuals worked as tailors/tailoresses or in the needletrades. An open area with better ventilation and light than some of the cramped interior rooms of the tenement would have served as a gathering space during mild weather.

Other artifacts found on the site in the personal artifact category include magnifying glass lenses, writing utensils, and a watch gear. The writing utensils, including pen ink, an ink bottle, and a pen nib, were kept separate from the education category because they were most likely used to write communications rather than teach children. Magnifying glass lenses were found in the Garden, Main Fill, and Main Midden strata, suggesting that there were multiple individuals using them.

Medical/Chemical

A total of 19 medically and chemically related artifacts were recovered from the Clough House site. All artifacts were glass bottles, vials/tubes, or thermometer fragments. The Garden stratum contained two glass thermometer fragments and one aqua pharmaceutical bottle base. A body and base fragment embossed with "SAWYER CRYSTAL BLUEING," a laundry additive located in Boston since 1864, was also found in the Garden stratum (Poulsen 2011: 116). One colorless patent finish was found in the Light Well Builders Trench and one colorless glass tube/vial fragment was recovered from the Pipe Trench Fill. In the Main Midden, four colorless patent/prescription finishes, one glass thermometer fragment, and four colorless glass tube/vial fragments were identified. The Main Fill stratum contained two colorless patent finishes, one aqua medicine bottle shoulder and neck, and one colorless packer finish.

Interpretation

The medical/chemical-related artifacts were unsurprisingly found in strata relating most strongly to the property's use as tenement apartments. With the exception of the laundry additive bottle, the artifacts are not especially diagnostic besides interpreting their intended use. The bottles with patent and prescription finishes were most likely at one point used for the storage and distribution of prescription and proprietary medicines. The glass vial fragments thermometer fragments were probably related to maintaining the health of the Clough House inhabitants as well, and all three artifact types were probably used and reused multiple times before being discarded.

Arms

A total of 36 arms-related artifacts were recovered on the Clough House site, comprised of bullet casings and gunflints. The Garden stratum contained one copper alloy casing. Three copper alloy bullet casings were found in the Drain Fill, one in the Upper Midden, and two in the Main Fill. All of the bullet casings found in the Drain Fill, Upper Midden, and Main Fill were .22 calibers. No measurement was determined for the casing from the Garden stratum. The remaining 29 arms-related artifacts consisted of butterscotch-colored gunflints. One was found in the Pipe Trench Fill, two in the Main Midden, 20 in the Main Fill, one in Mixed C-Soils, three in the Clay Layer, and one from the Jane Franklin stratum.

The different types of arms-related artifacts show changing gun technology over time. The earliest presence of bullet casings was the Main Fill, while the latest presence of gunflints was the redeposited soils from the twentieth century utility features. Gunflint fragments were found in all of the older strata, from the Mixed Fill to the Jane Franklin stratum. The butterscotch-color of the gunflints suggests that they were French in origin, considered superior to their English flint counterparts (Hume 1969: 221). The cuprous bullet casings found in the upper strata would have been manufactured sometime after 1846 (Miller et al. 2000: 14).

Commerce

Twenty-five coins were found during excavations, representing four separate strata. Spanning mint dates from the 1860s to the 2000s, the coins were primarily recovered from the Garden, Main Midden, and Main Fill strata. One coin dated 1983 was found in the Garden Overburden but is otherwise unprovenienced. There were no coins recovered from the Pathway, Twentieth Century Utility Features, Drain Fill, Upper Midden, Demolition Layer, Lower Pathway, Mixed C-Soils, Clay, or Jane Franklin strata.

Garden

Ten U.S. coins were found in the Garden stratum, with dates ranging from an illegible "2XXX" 21st century, to a 1890 "Indian Head" penny. Three other coins had legible dates: a 1914 Wheat penny, a 1926 Buffalo nickel, and a 1969 coin. One other "Indian Head" penny, minted from 1859-1909, three Wheat pennies, minted from 1909-1958, and a Lincoln memorial penny, minted from 1959-2008, were found with illegible dates (United States Mint 2015). The 21st century coin with a partially obscured date gives the stratum a modern TPQ.

Main Midden

The Main Midden contained seven coins, ranging from an 1889 "Indian Head" penny to several early twentieth century coins. Besides the 1889 penny, four coins had legible mint dates: an 1888 dime, a 1905 nickel, and 1906 and 1907 '"Indian Head" pennies. One Wheat penny, minted from 1909-1958 was found with an illegible date (United States Mint 2015). The seventh coin, sized approximately 1.25 inches in diameter, had no legible dates or decorations. The wheat penny provides a coin TPQ of 1909.

Main Fill

Seven coins were found in the Main Fill, with mint dates ranging from an 1863 coin with no other legible features to a US Wheat penny minted from 1909-1958 (United States Mint 2015). Other coins with legible dates include an 1870 Canadian nickel, an unidentified 1881 coin, and 1890 and 1906 "Indian Head" pennies. One other coin was found with no legible date: an "Indian Head" penny, minted from 1859-1909. The Wheat penny provides a TPQ date of 1909 for the stratum.

Interpretation

The recovered coins provide concrete TPQs for the strata that they came from, as well as hint at use of the backyard as an outdoor space. Because coins were less likely to be thrown out as trash, it is more likely that they were deposited by accident. Using the area behind the house as a social space increases the likelihood for coins to accidentally fall out of pockets or be dropped. The prevalence of marbles and gaming pieces may indicate some gambling taking place as well.

Recreation, Education, & Leisure

Artifacts from the recreation/education/leisure category relate either to personal artifacts that were used for gaming, smoking, learning, or any other non-work or household related purposes. The Pathway and Lower Pathway strata did not contain any artifacts from this category.

Garden

Seventy-four recreation/education/leisure artifacts were found, including four doll parts, a ceramic horse figurine, 11 marbles, 49 tobacco pipe parts, one plastic magnifying glass, and six pencil fragments. Three doll limb fragments and a possible doll's cup handle comprised the doll assemblage, while five ceramic marbles and six glass marbles comprised the marble assemblage. Five of the glass marbles were machine manufactured sometime after 1901, while one had an unclear manufacturing process (Samford 2012). Four of the pencils were slate styluses, one was just pencil lead, and one was a plastic mechanical pencil. All of the pipe fragments were identified as ball clay except for one bone stem. Twenty-seven of the pipe fragments had measureable bore diameters, ranging from 4/64ths to 7/64ths. One bowl fragment had an illegible maker's mark.

Twentieth Century Utility Features

The Light Well Builder's Trench contained 28 recreation/education/leisure artifacts. Twelve of those were fragments of a pink rubber ball. Two ceramic marbles and one butterscotch-colored flint fragment that may have been used as a gaming piece were also found. Thirteen ball clay tobacco pipe fragments were recovered from the stratum, 11 of which had measurable bore diameters. The bore diameters ranged from 4/64ths to 6/64ths. The Pipe Builder's Trench contained three ball clay pipe stem fragments. Only one stem had a measurable bore diameter of 5/64ths. The Pipe Trench Fill contained 18 recreation/education/leisure artifacts, including three marbles, two pencil fragments, and 13 ball clay pipe fragments. One of the marbles was identified as a white and light blue swirled glass machine-made marble, manufactured after 1901 (Samford 2012). The other two marbles were earthenware. One of the pencils was identified as a wood pencil and the other as a slate writing stylus. Five of the tobacco pipes had measurable stem diameters, ranging from 4/64ths to 6/64ths.

Drain Fill

Two porcelain doll parts, five marbles, and one ball clay tobacco pipe bowl fragment were found in the Drain Fill. One of the doll fragments has been identified as part of a foot and calf, and the other as a pink-colored fragment of a doll head. One of the marbles was made of aqua-green colored glass with an unclear manufacturing technique. The remaining marbles include three

porcelain and one red earthenware marble. One of the porcelain marbles has white, green, and blue decoration; the other is brown in color.

Upper Midden

The Upper Midden contained one ball clay tobacco pipe stem fragment with a bore diameter of 4/64ths. No other recreation/education/leisure artifacts were found in the stratum.

Demolition Layer

One red earthenware marble was found in the Demolition Layer. No other recreation/education/leisure artifacts were found in the stratum.

Main Midden

Seventy-five artifacts relating to recreation/education/leisure were recovered from the Main Midden. Six doll parts, one porcelain figurine, one pink plastic airplane, 18 marbles, thirteen vinyl record fragments, and five pencil fragments were found, as well as 27 tobacco pipe fragments. The doll assemblage consisted of two doll body fragments, three head fragments, and one leg and foot. Eight of the marbles were earthenware, four were porcelain, one was stoneware, and the rest were glass. At least three of the glass marbles had no scars from the manufacturing process, suggesting that they were manufactured sometime after 1926 (Samford 2012). All of the record fragments exhibited a laminated construction with possible celluloid/shellac outer layers and an inner pasteboard layer, dating post-1898 (Vinyl Music Records). Four of the pencil fragments were identified as slate styluses and one as a graphite pencil. One of the tobacco pipes was made of red clay while the rest of the pipes were made of ball clay. Twelve of the pipe fragments, including the red clay pipe, had measurable bore diameters ranging from 4/64ths to 6/64ths. At least one of the pipe bowl fragments had a "TD" makers mark.

Main Fill

Over 500 recreation/education/leisure artifacts were found in the Main Fill, 442 of which were tobacco pipe fragments. Three doll-sized ceramic fragments, five doll parts, three stone gaming pieces, over 15 pencil fragments, 44 marbles, and a glass seal were also found. The doll assemblage consisted of one body fragment, one head fragment, and three doll limbs. One of the stone gaming pieces was identified as graphite. The pencil fragments included two graphite pencil lead pieces and 14 slate pencils. Thirty-seven of the marbles were either porcelain or earthenware, including one with a polychrome decoration and several glazed earthenware marbles. The seven glass marbles included at least one machine-made marble, manufactured after 1901 (Samford 2012). A divide core swirl marble that was possibly handmade in Germany was also found. The aqua-colored glass seal was of a small male profile (Figure 21).

Figure 21: Aqua-colored glass seal from the Main Fill.

All of the tobacco pipe fragments were identified as ball clay with the exception of one red clay bowl. A total of 271 of the tobacco pipe fragments had measurable bored diameters, ranging from 3/64ths to 7/64ths. Several pipe bowl fragments had molded maker's marks, including one with "C" and "B" and flowers on either side of the heel, a molded "TD" maker's mark within a shield, and one with a stamped "TD" maker's mark. One pipe bowl fragment had writing on it, in ink that has since faded to a light brown. Interpreted as having "…he." followed by what may have been the beginning of a long upright letter, the writing may have been the name of the individual that owned the pipe (Figure 22).

Figure 22: Tobacco pipe bowl fragment with handwriting found in the Main Fill.

The documentary record provides two possible owners: Alpheus Jenkins and Alpheus Barry. The name Alpheus was often shortened to Alphe, and the linear line may have been the beginning of a last name. No other names in the poll tax or census records match writing that could have had an "he." at the end of their name. Alpheus Jenkins was both a clerk and an upholsterer that is listed as residing at the Clough House from at least 1868-1873. His family was discussed earlier in the background research section. Alpheus Barry was listed as residing at the property in at least 1868 and his listed occupation was "saloon". While the pipe fragment cannot be tied to any specific individual with certainty, it's writing is nonetheless intriguing, if not uncommon.

Mixed C-Soils

Twenty-two ball clay tobacco pipe fragments were found in the Mixed C-Soils stratum. Sixteen of the fragments were stem fragments, all but one of which had measurable bore diameters. Bore diameters ranged from 4/64ths to 6/64ths. One fragment contained a heel/spur, and six had partial bowl pieces.

Clay Layer

The Clay Layer contained one undecorated porcelain marble and 31 ball clay tobacco pipe fragments. Thirteen of the tobacco pipe fragments were identified as stems, all of which had measurable bore diameters ranging from 4/64ths to 6/64ths. One pipe bowl fragment had the letters "T" and "D" molded on either side of the heel.

Jane Franklin

Twenty-two ball clay tobacco pipe fragments were recovered from the Jane Franklin stratum. Eleven of the pipe fragments were stems, ten of which had measurable bore diameters. Bore diameters ranged from 4/64ths to 7/64ths. No other artifacts related to leisure, education, or recreational activities were found.

Interpretation

The artifacts in this category can be split into two main categories: artifacts used for education, and artifacts used for recreation/leisure activities by adults and children. Artifacts have been interpreted based on who their primary user group would have been, however that does not preclude use by other age groups on the site. With that being said, some artifacts may have actively been used by multiple age groups. Marbles may have been used both by children for playing games as well as adults for gambling. Pencils, the primary education-based artifact type found on site, may have been used by both adults and children. Many of the families that inhabited the Clough House during the tenement period were first generation immigrants with varying levels of education. Pencils and slate styluses may have been used by both adults and children to learn to read and write in English. Varying types of pencils were found on the site that represent different time periods. Slate styluses, graphite, a wooden pencil, pencil lead, and a mechanical pencil were all found, highlighting the continued importance of education to the Clough House inhabitants.

There is strong evidence for the social education of immigrant children—many 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.

Other children's toys, including a rubber ball, toy airplane, gaming pieces, and marbles, were particularly ubiquitous. Ceramic and glass marbles were found in almost every stratum on the site. Several of the glass marbles had diagnostic features associated with them as well. 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.

Tobacco pipe fragments were unsurprisingly ubiquitous as well. Due to the inability to date any of the strata to before 1780, neither a Harrington nor a Binford regression analysis was completed. Post 1780, changing manufacturing techniques and the presence of pipe manufacturing in North America randomized bore size and a regression analysis would no longer be feasible (Binford 1962: 20; Bradley 2000; Harrington 1954, 1990). With that being said, several bowl fragments have molded decorations and maker's marks that would be worth a specialized analysis in the future.

Native American Materials

Several tentatively identified Native American lithics were found in three strata on the site. Three possible worked argillite lithics were found, two in the Main Fill and one in the Mixed C-Soils stratum. One lithic debitage fragment was found in the Jane Franklin stratum (Figure 23).

Figure 23: Felsite lithic found in the Jane Franklin layer.

Formed from blue-gray felsite, the flake is a secondary flake exhibiting a clear platform and bulb of percussion. It is likely that this flake may have originate in the vicinity of the site, however it was clearly found in disturbed contexts, likely disturbed when constructing the nearby building(s).

Figure 24: Steatite fragment found in the Main Fill.

A piece of steatite that may have been worked into a shallow bowl was found within the Main Fill (Figure 24). The steatite fragment appears to be smoothed on both sides with parallel interior and exterior walls that mimic the base and beginning of a wall of a shallow vessel, which may have dated to the Late Archaic period (Truncer 2004). No Native pottery was found during the course of excavations. No Native American material was found in any of the other strata.

5. Discussion

The first step to understanding the archaeological record excavated behind the Clough House is to interpret how the strata interfaced with each other, and utilize the documentary record to contextualize the events taking place with what was seen during excavations. By integrating multiple sources of information, the archaeological and historical record can reflexively inform each other.

Besides the ceramics, very few artifacts were found that can be strongly tied to the colonial period of the house. Blown green wine bottle glass evidences this, but is also found in later strata. The Jane Franklin, and Mixed C-Soils strata are the deposits that can be associated with the single-family occupancy period of the home with the most certainty. Despite a lower number of artifacts when compared to the tenement period, several patterns can be seen. Both contexts have a higher ratio of blown green wine bottle glass to manufactured glass, and more aqua window glass than colorless. Household artifacts in both contexts are restricted to coal and charcoal, whereas other contexts have artifacts more closely related to the utilities such as ceramic drain pipe fragments or wiring material. Tobacco pipe fragments were the only recreational type of artifact found in both strata. The TPQs for both the Jane Franklin and Mixed C-Soils strata are 1790 due to the presence of cut nails in both contexts, however the calculated mean ceramic dates of 1761 and 1735 respectively suggest a longer period of use (Miller et al. 2000: 14). These two strata represent the oldest undisturbed deposits on site and relate most closely to the time period when only one family occupied the Clough House. Tobacco pipe fragments show the backlot as a place being used for smoking and socializing. A lack of ceramic drain pipe fragments, an artifact seen in almost every other context, suggest that these deposits were most likely created before any major drainage updates were undertaken.

The Clay layer also has a predominance of earlier dated artifacts, however several later artifacts including a plastic comb fragment and ceramic pipe suggest that it may have been deposited at a later date than the Jane Franklin and Mixed C-Soils strata. The Clay layer also has a creamware sherd that mends with a sherd found in the Main Fill. The creamware sherd and the ceramic pipe fragments suggest that the Clay layer may be part of a deposit that was later partially disturbed by the construction of drainage updates. The Clay layer may have originally been much larger, and the presence of both a rubber wheel and part of a plastic comb suggest that the deposit may span the single-family period into the property's early tenement period.

The Main Fill, which accounts for the majority of the site's 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.

Along with the Main Midden and Garden contexts, the Main Fill was one of the most artifact-rich strata on the site. While the Main Fill was redeposited in the mid-to-late nineteenth century, well into the tenement period, artifacts suggest that it may include much earlier deposits. This is most strongly evidenced in the ceramic assemblage. With a TPQ-90 of 1795 and a mean ceramic

date of 1767, the ceramic assemblage contained some earlier ceramic types, including an Astbury teaware in use from 1725-1750, and several North Devon gravel tempered and sgraffito fragments. Coins found in the Main Fill with a date 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. Both a WWI-era military collar disk and a 1909 wheat penny provide the actual TPQ for the context, suggesting that the fill may have been left open for a period of time or the deposition of the Main Midden on top of the fill was not uniform throughout the yard.

While the Main Fill can best be described as being composed of long term deposits that have been mixed and redeposited in one event, the Main Midden is a longer term event comprised of several short term deposits. Figure 25 displays a typical stratigraphic wall profile at the site, showing that the midden is visually and physically distinct from the fill. The artifacts recovered from the Main Midden and general stratigraphy suggest that it was comprised of deposits created during the tenement period as well. Artifacts from the late 1930s and a 1958 Pepsi-Cola bottle suggest that trash may have been continuously dumped in the Main Midden for quite some time. In many of the units, the Main Midden was capped by the Demolition Layer, indicating that the midden was left open until the demolition of the rear apartment, which took place after 1960. In other places, the Main Midden was capped by the Lower Pathway and Garden strata, both of which have been attributed to twentieth century activities on the site. The Main Midden is one of the last strata that can be directly attributed to the residents of the Clough House during the tenement period. An artifact assemblage rich in bottle glass, personal items, and recreational, leisure, and educational-related artifacts provides a much more distinct snapshot of the residents inhabiting the property rather than the mixed stratum of the Main Fill.

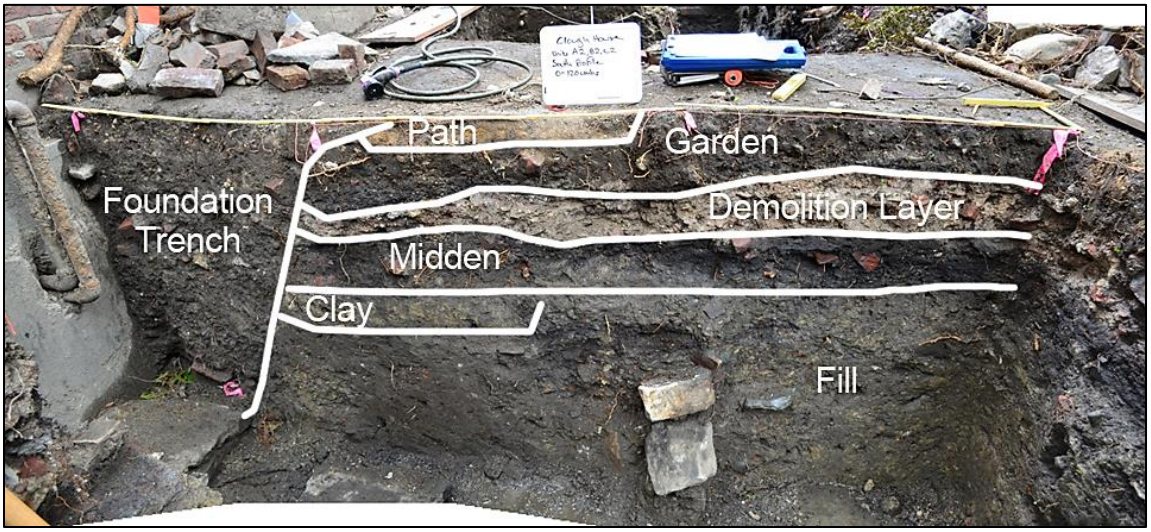

Figure 25: South profile photo of units A2, B2, and C2 showing typical site stratigraphy.

The Demolition Layer is an 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 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.

By analyzing the ground surface level in the 1959 photo of the excavation area it was possible to see that the garden layer and current pathway were constructed after the 1930s HABS photo. Under some portions of the pathway is an earlier lower pathway, made of brick. The Light Well Builder's Trench was similarly dismissed as later, since the window well is not present in the 1959 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 and identified as the Upper Midden. The Pipe Trench Fill 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 Pipe 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.

The Garden stratum is one of the most artifact-rich deposits on the site, and caps every context except for the Pathway layer. With a TPQ of the 21st century, oral histories note that the Garden stratum was a fill deposit laid down sometime after 1940, however the stratum has datable artifacts ranging from the late nineteenth century to the present and was in active use during the time of excavation. The majority of the artifacts were either architecturally related or had to do with food and beverage consumption (including bottle glass and ceramics). The Garden stratum is interesting because it contains artifacts associated with occupation of the Clough House, but also caps the demolition layer, which has been attributed with the post-1960 conversion of the structure into a house museum. If the majority of the context is comprised of organic fill brought onsite, continuities and similarities seen between the artifacts from this stratum and the fill and midden suggest that the fill was brought from somewhere very close-by. Some of the more unique artifacts, such as the print type, are an example of an artifact type that was present in all three contexts. Another explanation for the architectural artifacts recovered from the context may be that they associated with some of the long-term restoration of the house. Some of the artifacts such as ceramics and glass may have been related to the house restoration as well – trash left behind by former inhabitants being dumped out back during renovations. Some of the artifacts from the Garden stratum may also be related to the demolition of nearby properties as well. Artifacts dating into the late twentieth century suggest that even after the property was converted from tenement apartments to a house museum, individuals were still utilizing the backlot as a pass-through or gathering space.

An interpretation of the strata and how they interacted with each other brings the discussion back to the original research questions:

1. **Are there preserved archaeological deposits in the impact area?**

The strata indicate that there are indeed preserved deposits on the site. With that being said, the extensive continued use of the backlot over time has led to many deposits being disturbed. As seen by the Main Fill and installation of twentieth century drainage features, many of the stratified deposits were disturbed and mixed in the process of updating the property to meet the changing technology of the period. In an area that has been so continuously and densely occupied as the North End, this type of disturbance is more likely the rule for other sites, rather

than the exception. With that being said, even some of the disturbed contexts were later capped and stratified by other deposits, as seen by the Main Midden capping the Main Fill. The strata found in the backlot exemplify those seen on most urban and archaeological sites: complicated stratigraphy, intrusive deposits, and intensive use.

While the re-deposition of deposits that later formed the Main Fill may have may have mixed strata spanning upwards of 100 years, it appears that the majority of those strata date to the tenement period. The social and cultural makeup of the Clough House inhabitants were hardly uniform during this period, however several dateable artifacts can be tied to the documentary record and indicate the lifestyle of the Clough House residents during specific periods of time. Several trends appear to be relatively consistent, such as the use as the backlot as a social gathering space, and the beautification that came with it, in the form of flowerpots. Tobacco pipe fragments, marbles, coins, and other recreational artifacts found in the backlot all point to an actively used space, utilized by multiple age groups. Buttons and jewelry suggest that it was used by both genders as well, making it a space not just relegated to men, women, or children.

As discussed in Andrew Webster's Master's Thesis, one major trend visible archaeologically was the way that Clough House tenants purchased and utilized ceramics. 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. Perhaps these choices were due to economic constraints, or perhaps the immigrants didn't feel the need to participate in the dominant Victorian culture. They may have had their own standards and practices for social gatherings. Either way, some educated their children using dolls and toy tea sets, and there were many potted plants throughout the home, either for beautification or for growing herbs.

While the glass artifacts do not necessarily display purchasing patterns, the diversity in vessel forms illustrates the various uses they were utilized for. Alcohol, soda, and milk bottles all show how the residents purchased liquids to consume both for utilitarian and health reasons, as well as enjoyment. Soda and alcohol could be considered a luxury item, and show very specific choices in how money was spent. The medicinal artifacts were all made of glass, and the presence of vials, thermometers, and patent bottles indicate ways that the residents were medicating themselves and paying attention to their health.

One period of occupation was distinctly absent from the archaeological record: any evidence of Native American deposits. While one definite lithic and several possible lithics were identified during the artifact analysis, all were from historic fill. The depth of the drainage features seen on the site and level of disturbance suggest that any Native deposits that could have once been located on the site were most likely disturbed and no longer exist in situ. While this does not bode well for the archaeological potential of Native American deposits in other heavily modified areas of the North End, it does not preclude their presence. If the Clough House backlot had not been extensively modified during the construction of several iterations of a drainage system, those deposits may have been left intact.

2. **What time periods are represented in the archaeological deposits that are encountered and are there datable features?**

Both intact and disturbed strata represent three main periods of occupation of the Clough House: the single-family occupied period, the tenement period, and the house museum period. No deposits pre-dating the construction of the Clough House were identified. As previously stated, the main strata that can be closely associated with specific occupation periods are as follows: the Jane Franklin and Mixed C-Soils belong to the single family occupation. Parts of the Clay context and strata that were later redeposited as the Main Fill likely date to this period as well. Most of the Main Fill and the Main Midden can be related to the tenement period, starting around 1809 and lasting until the mid twentieth century. Strata including the Garden, Pathway, twentieth Century Utilities, Upper Midden, and Demolition Layer all likely date to the mid-twentieth century, during the transition from the tenement period to the house museum period. Two of those strata, the Garden and Pathway layers, have been exposed from the mid-twentieth century to the present. Dateable features are primarily from the mid-twentieth century, and include some of the landscape elements not seen in the 1930s or 1959 photos. If the demolition layer can be directly attributed to the destruction of the rear apartment, then it most likely dates to the late 1960s.

3. **What is the function of the drainage system found in the Clough House backlot, how has it changed over time, and how has its modification affected the stratigraphy and depositional history of the Clough House?**

As previously discussed, the drainage system seen at the Clough House most likely relates to a cistern to keep the backyard from flooding. Clearly the collecting of water on the property was a big enough problem that several large-scale efforts were made to help fix the problem. The changes in the drainage system are visible both stratigraphically and in the recovered artifacts. 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. Due to the shape and size of the cistern's bricks, the cistern itself may be from the eighteenth century, perhaps dating back to the construction of the house around 1715.

The removal of strata that were later re-deposited as the Main Fill and the addition of ceramic pipes mark the another large change to the drainage system – one that largely changed the depositional history of the site. Ceramic pipe fragments were seen in contexts as early as the Clay layer, and are present in a majority of the other strata. The Drain Fill, with a TPQ of 1850, contained a rat's nest and almost complete rat skeleton. The use of the drain as a nesting area may indicate that at least for a time the pipe was not draining any water and was ineffective. The wooden plank found in-between the Main Midden and Demolition Layer may further indicate that the drainage system was not totally effective, as it may have been utilized to provide traction in an otherwise boggy backyard area.

Later terracing and drainage improvements may have alleviated the issue of water collecting on the site, but at least for a large part of the property's occupation it was a serious issue that may have structured architectural changes and improvements to the house as well as how the backlot was utilized by the Clough House residents

The relative lack of artifacts from these deposits versus the abundance seen in the single-family occupation period contexts relating to different periods of the house can be the result of several factors. The first, and biggest reason is the installation of the drainage features crisscrossing the backlot that resulted in the Main Fill stratum. Colonial artifacts were found in the Main Fill, however a lack of internal stratigraphy suggests that any discrete deposits belonging to the pre-tenement period were completely obliterated during the construction of drainage updates. With that being said, even within the Main Fill artifacts belonging to the tenement period dominate the assemblage. This most likely relates to both the sheer number of individuals inhabiting the site, as well as the rise in mass production and consumption of goods that would have created more trash. More people living at the house would have resulted in more trash. Additionally, the cramped lifestyle of tenement housing meant that more people were likely utilizing the backlot as a gathering space, resulting in a higher rate of deposition. Thus both the number of occupants and the manufacturing-consumption patterns seen at the time largely defined the amount and type of artifacts found in the backlot.

6. Conclusion

When examined holistically, the documentary record, site stratigraphy, and recovered artifacts paint a fairly detailed picture of the evolution of the site through three main periods: a single family-occupied home, tenement apartments, and as a house museum. This can not only be seen in the wealth or dearth of information found in tax and census records but in artifact density as well. The written record provides concrete names and occupations of many of the home's inhabitants. The stratigraphy shows changes mentioned in documents, such as architectural changes, as well as undocumented changes such as the drainage system. The artifacts tie both sources of information together and provide tangible evidence of the property's inhabitants lived. Having all three sources of information utilized together creates a more cohesive narrative of the site that allows for some of the social, economic, and political realities experienced by the Clough House's inhabitants to come forward.

The story of the Clough House backlot is dominated by the various drainage improvements that took place, but it is the individuals inhabiting the property that really shaped the deposits seen archaeologically. Despite having a large span of time become mixed due to the re-deposition of the main fill, in-depth research into tax and census records allows for individual stories to be told. A large amount of children's toys and female-related artifacts provides an opportunity for future research to analyze social groups that may not be typically visible in the archaeological record. During the tenement period, the documentary and archaeological record show a different 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. Stories of loss but also stories of family loyalty, faith, and hope. These are the stories of Boston that you don't hear, and these stories are worth telling.

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Appendix A: Artifact Inventory

Appendix B: Site Occupants

Poll Tax Records

Poll Tax (Valuation Books) Accessed starting 9/4/13 in the Boston City Archives, West Roxbury, MA 1821-1899 (Kristen Swett)

Taking Books 1780-1817 and Valuation Books 1818-1821 accessed 1/22/14 at the Boston Public Library Rare Books/Manuscripts / Special Collections Dept (Assessor's Records compiled before 1780 were destroyed in a fire) (Sean Casey)

- Poll tax: paid by all males above 20 living at the address. Some records also listed women.
- Pictures are 1854, 1855, 1853,1856-1899| mixed
- 21 Unity street is in Ward 2 through 1802, Ward 1 1803-1865, Ward 2 1866-1875 and Ward 6 1876-. District 1226 in 1900 census. Ward 5 (Dist 102) in 1922. Ward 3 (Dist 78) in 1930. Ward 3 (Precinct 12) in 1941.
- Records from 1880 and 1900 are missing
- From 1876 on, there is a field for reported residence the previous year, and later, estimated age.
- The numbers, when given are the values for real estate and personal estate, in that order.
- A name with an * next to it means it has been identified with more details below
- **American, English, Irish, Italian, German, Canadian**
- Before 1853, with no street address, I looked for what Wm. Dillaway (or other owner) owned on Unity St. If it was more than one, I traced tenents or looked for continuous neighbors/neighboring owners (often between goddard and emery)
- The two numbers are, I believe, real estate and personal estate. (Real/Per)
- There is a Love Lane that pops up around 1816, but so far it appears distinct from Unity
- From 1803-1810, no addresses! Going off of continuation of owners, tenants, and neighbors
- "Family includes:" includes head of family listed
- City of Boston Lists of Residents (online, BPL) has 1909, 1910, and 1922-1960, everyone over 20.

21 Unity Street, Boston

What other books/records could help us? What is the difference between the taking/tax/transfer books? =check with State archives

Owner: Henry Roby from 1761 until 1808

<u>1780 (no negroes, horses, or cows)</u>

Henry Roby, 60, 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, Lame

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

Joseph Roby Junior, 50, keeps shop, singleman.

1791 (The Roby's 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 (I found "Paul Revere's Foundry" and "Ebenezer Clough"

Henry Robey, Tinnman, 1000, 2000,

1805 (side note, Wm Dillaway has his own house as a Boatman, and I found a "Col. Paul Revere")

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 (side note, Wm Dillaway is on pg 33, living on lynn st as a boatman)

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** [also owned other properties, city archives has list]

Deeds say he owned it in 1836 but tax record lists him in 1835

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 (**see census**)

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

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 (6 Unity?)

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 [parts of Unity street not numbered in the records] ? 21 Unity street is not numbered. (11 unity?)

21 Unity St is not designated as such in the tax records from 1853 earlier. Either no street numbers are given, or if they are, there is no 21 present. We can see which Unity street residences were owned by William Dillaway*, although he owned several properties in the North End. For years up to and including 1853, I *think we need to check with the archives for a list of all of Dillaway's properties, and see if he owned any other on Unity street*. If he only owned one property on Unity St, then we can record the inhabitants. If there are two, we could try and connect the inhabitants from 1854 earlier. See note at top of document.

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 **(see census)**

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

[It appears that the Jenkins family moved in during this year, since they appear in the census, while Frank C. Scott does not.]

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 (**See census)**

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)

Federal Census: 619 **See Census! (index)**

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 Raffaelo, 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 Raffaelo, 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 (MA census lost to fire)

Frederick W. French, 70, shoemaker, here

Timothy J. Crowley, 25, Clerk, here

Frank Raffaelo, 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 Raffaelo, 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 Raffaelo, 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 Raffaelo, 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 Raffaelo, 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, ?

Giobatista 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

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

Antionio 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. brick1900 (missing)

1790 Census

First US census, in bad shape.

1790 tax records show us:

Henry Roby Senior, 175, Glazier, Lame

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

Joseph Roby Junior, 50, keeps shop, singleman.

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

1800 Census

[Boston records not online)

Tax records still show Henry and Joseph Roby living here.

1810 Census

David M. Eaton, the only inhabitant listed in Unity St in the tax records, is listed on Charter Street.

With the recent transfer of ownership and the previous tax records, I shall assume

House Empty.

1820 Census

all 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.

Not listed by house, but if we reconstruct from the tax records, we get:

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

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2 halves.

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

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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

2 halves, one is the Jenkins family, one is mixed young people. Everyone is white. Small discrepancies with poll tax

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

[More info on the Jenkins family in the 1860 and 1880 censuses]

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

CENSUS DATA

The front apt. stays English longer, it seems, but the rear appts see many new immigrants come in and get much more crowded. Everyone in the house is 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

Abigal 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 (MGH in 1863 draft record, oysters?) (D 4/28/1899 due to Bronchitis while living in Everett, parents are John an Mary Kane?)

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

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. (Another Rebecca shows up 1846-1855 (heart disease) in Boston/Ireland in the 1855 MA census).

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

1855 MA census 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 census show a Barney Mclaughlin living with an Ellen Mclaughlin in Boston Ward 3 (works with Cross street) (b. 1831), John (b.1849) Barney (b. 1854), Henry (1856) and Maryann (1858)

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

1870 Census 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] Mass Town and Vital Records

John is born to Bernard and Alice in 1849 in Ireland. He dies a clerk in 1880 at the age of 31 at 25 Henchman St, Boston (N. End). Cause of death = *Phthisis Pulmonalis*, or tuberculosis of the lungs[2]

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) (b. Ireland 23, possibly related to his mother Alice Kane) on 5/21/1890, listed as a laborer[3]

Henry J. is born to Bernard and Alice on 4/7/1856, at home 14 Batterymarch, Boston[4] and marries Sarah McGlone on 9/30/1879 at age 23. in Boston, working as a printer[5]. He dies at age 38 on 12/9/1894 from "Ventral and Aortic Insufficiency".[6]

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

Dennis is born 5/6/1866 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.

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

McGinnis, Patrick, (age 24), b. 7/1857[8] in Ireland to Irish parents, laborer.

Immigrated 1866, age 9

McGinnis, Mary A., wife (age 22) b. 8/1859[9] in MA to Irish parents, keeps house.

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

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)

Immigrated in 1861?

[2] Mass Death Records 1880 (anc 788/1221)
[3] Mass Marriage Records 1890 (anc 1134/1579)
[4] Mass Birth Records 1856, (anc 717/1103)
[5] Mass Marriage Records 1879 (anc 870/1105)
[6] MA Death records 1894 (ac 1785/2114)
[7] Boston Births, marriages and deaths 1858 (anc 54314/60705)
[8] 1900 Census
[9] 1900 Census

SECOND REAR APARTMENT

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

Immigrated 1845.

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.

1870 Census has the above 3 kids plus Jeremiah Coleman (b. 1850) and a non-relative child. Still widowed. In Ward 1 (East), Boston.

1850 Census also has Jeremiah (infant) and Brian Coleman (b. 1823 Ireland d. 1866-1870 MA), Margaret's husband.

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

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.

1900 Census

Entire household is 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. Never had children. Is on a civil War pension. Cannot read or white 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

1920 Census

29 individuals from 8 families. All Italian or Italian-American 2 butchers See pdfs.

1930 Census

12 (Italian) individuals from 4 families. Incl. a taxi driver and fruit buyer.

1940 Census

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

1922-1960: See lists of residents on BPL website. Some have been downloaded.