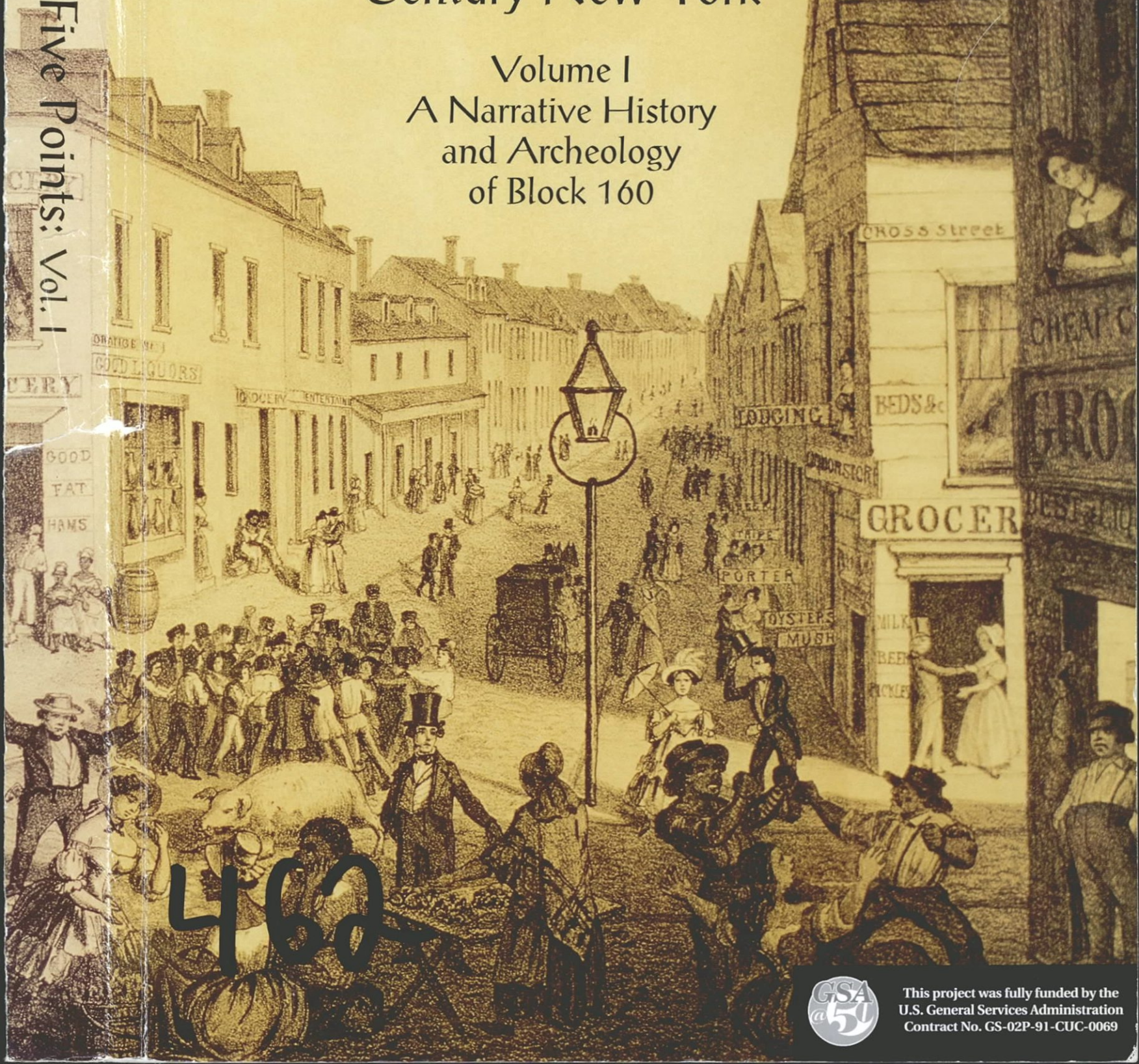


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Tales of Five Points:
Working-Class Life
in Nineteenth-
Century New York

Volume I
A Narrative History
and Archeology
of Block 160

Tales of Five Points: Vol. I



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**TALES OF FIVE POINTS: WORKING-CLASS LIFE IN
NINETEENTH-CENTURY NEW YORK**

**VOLUME I. A NARRATIVE HISTORY AND
ARCHEOLOGY OF BLOCK 160**

Prepared for

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Cover illustration:

Artist's conception of the Five Points intersection, teeming with activity and lined with nefarious haunts, appeared in Valentine's Manual of Old New York 1855.

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PREFACE

There is no place like New York. It is where there is always more—more people, more traffic, more noise, more music, more crime, more poverty, more wealth.

Nobody says it's pretty here; nobody says it's easy either. What it is is decisive, and if you pay attention to the street plans, all laid out, the city can't hurt you.

From *Jazz* by Toni Morrison (1992)

But what if you look beneath the streets? There's more there too: subway tunnels, gas lines, sewer pipes, electric conduits, telephone cables. In February 1997, the *National Geographic*, our chronicler of exotica, extolled the drama of that hidden world in an article entitled "Under New York." A three-story-deep manhole where "208,000 telephone lines thread into the looming World Trade Center"; a water tunnel under construction 670 feet below the city; the communal kitchen built by a homeless man who, now living above ground, misses the quiet below; and a violinist in the Herald Square subway station who regulars know by name were just some of the wonders the *National Geographic* found. Archeologists have found others.

Since the 1970s, archeologists have been finding remnants of the city's past beneath its streets. In compliance with laws that require the identification and evaluation of cultural resources that might be destroyed by publicly funded construction projects, archeological sites in the city have been investigated dating from the earliest Dutch occupation (Stadt Huys, Broad Street, 64 Pearl Street) through the nineteenth century (Hanover Square, Barclay's Bank, 175 Water Street, Telco, Assay, Sullivan Street). Could the General Services Administration (GSA) have known that the two blocks on which new federal buildings were planned—at the time, it was the "single largest federal civilian real estate construction project" ever¹—would both contain significant archeological resources? No, before research and archeological testing are conducted, it often seems inconceivable that remains of earlier periods could lie beneath the complexity of the present streetscape. But the city is built on top of itself, and betwixt, between, and beneath utility lines and old foundations are fragments of other eras.

In 1990, the GSA proposed a 32-story office building at 290 Broadway (on a block bounded by Broadway, Duane, Elk, and Reade Streets) and a 27-story federal courthouse just east of Foley Square between Worth and Pearl Streets. Together, the buildings were known as the Foley Square project. In accordance with its responsibilities under provisions of the National Historic Preservation Act and the National Environmental Policy Act, the GSA retained Edwards and Kelcey Engineers to prepare the Environmental Impact Statement² that included a Stage IA cultural resources survey to identify known and potential cultural resources that might be eligible to the National Register of Historic Places. The survey, conducted by Historic Conservation and Interpretation (HCI), included documentary studies and field testing. Significant resources were identified on both blocks and the GSA entered into a memorandum of agreement (MOA), subsequently amended (1991), with the Advisory Council for Historic Preservation and the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission that outlined procedures for the protection and management of the resources.

The site of the proposed office building was once part of the African Burial Ground that stretched from Chambers Street on the south to Duane Street on the north and from Centre Street on the east to Broadway on the west. Now a National Historic Landmark, the site is considered significant for "its unprecedented archeological potential to yield information about the lives of Africans in an eighteenth-century urban context."³ Just the portion that was excavated yielded the oldest and largest African-American skeletal population known in the Americas. A research design for the study of the burial ground and overlying

¹ Post 1994:34.

² Edwards and Kelcey Engineers 1990.

³ Howson and Harris 1992:14.

refuse from the eighteenth-century Crolius and Remmey stoneware potteries and residential occupation during the early nineteenth century was developed by Howard University and John Milner Associates (JMA) in 1993. The analysis of the skeletal remains and burial-related artifacts was contracted to Howard University under the direction of Dr. Michael Blakey; the non-burial archeological analyses were completed by JMA at the Foley Square Laboratory in New York City.

The site of the federal courthouse was once part of the infamous Five Points, one of old New York's most notorious neighborhoods. Known as a slum in the nineteenth century, Five Points has retained a kind of legendary status in New York history. Unlike the African Burial Ground, about which virtually nothing was written, Five Points was the subject of all sorts of moralizing treatises in the nineteenth century and continues to appear in recent fictional accounts of the Victorian era (such as *The Alienist* by Caleb Carr and *Waterworks* by E.L. Doctorow). A research design for the study of Five Points was developed by JMA and Howard University in 1993. The research was conducted in New York City under the direction of Dr. Rebecca Yamin of JMA. The artifact analysis was completed by a JMA team in the Foley Square Laboratory in New York, while JMA's corporate offices in West Chester, Pennsylvania, provided necessary support. The work was accomplished by JMA under a subcontract to Edwards and Kelcey Engineers.

Together, these two projects give voice to some of New York's forgotten people. The Africans and African Americans who used the burial ground represent a people "who came to America in bondage rather than by choice and who lived, died and were buried among a community heretofore largely unacknowledged in the history of the colonial world."⁴ Enslaved and free, their labor contributed to the building of the city. The working-class residents of Five Points, most of them newly arrived immigrants, endured miserable living conditions and exploitive wages in order to begin the struggle up the economic ladder. Their labor fueled New York's industrial revolution and their ethnic traditions enriched its culture. This volume tells the story of the part of that population that lived on Block 160—where the new courthouse now stands.

⁴ Howson and Harris 1992:15.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

During the several years we have been working on the Foley Square project, many people have contributed to the effort. Some are still with us and others have moved on. We wish to thank them all and only hope that time has not let us forget anyone. Early in the project, the late Bob Leuffen was our liaison with the General Services Administration (GSA), and it is he, under the auspices of William Diamond, GSA's Regional Administrator, who initially facilitated the establishment of the Foley Square Laboratory in the second basement of the U.S. Customs House at the World Trade Center. We appreciate Bob's responsiveness to our detailed requests for equipment—from telephones to a water filtration system—and are sad that he never got to see the final product.

With the able assistance of Lisa Wager, Dale Lanzone dealt with the many contractual issues that arose during the project. We appreciate Dale's ability to evaluate the effort necessary and see that appropriate resources were made available. We are also grateful to Dale for inviting us to develop an exhibit of the Five Points materials as part of the dedication of the new courthouse. Peter Sneed, GSA's technical liaison and contracting officer's representative for the Foley Square project, provided invaluable technical support throughout the project. His regular visits, attendance to our needs, and enthusiastic interest in our work provided much-needed moral support as well as an in-depth familiarity with the project. We literally could not have completed the project without Pete's support, and we all thank him wholeheartedly. Also to be recognized are the several GSA contracting officers whose responsibility it was to see that all administrative formalities of this exceedingly complex project were attended to. During the course of the project, Lydia Ortiz, Miriam Lopez-Rivera, and Patricia Wright all served at times in this capacity. Often unheralded, these contracting officers were critical to the uninterrupted progress of the project and were unfailingly helpful in ensuring its success.

Irwin Schmeltz, the director of the U.S. Customs House lab, provided laboratory space for us and occasional technical support for which we are very grateful. We also appreciate the help we received from various building personnel, including Frank Santella, Barry Baer, Matt Conlon, and Bob Auers. They endured our complaints and complied with our requests through floods, leaks, the bomb, hot spells, and cold spells with admirable civility.

We are also grateful to the many outside scholars who have taken an interest in the project, shared ideas and data with us, and responded to our interpretations. Among them are Tyler Anbinder of George Washington University, Mary Beaudry of Boston University, Carol Groneman of John Jay College, Diana Wall of City College, Nan Rothschild of Barnard College, Marion Casey of New York University, Steven Corey of Worcester State College, Tim Gilfoyle of Loyola University, Robert Grimes of Fordham University, Olive Jones of Parks Canada, Robert Brill of the Corning Glass Museum, George Miller of URS Greiner, Joan Geismar, and Linda Stone. The conservation community also took an interest in the project, and we have benefited from consultations with Judith Eisenberg, Sarah Lowengard, Denise Montague, Desiree Cosland, all independent consultants; and Milton Sante of the Cooper Hewitt Museum, particularly with regard to textiles. The Professional Archaeologists of New York City (PANYC) kept a watchful eye on the Five Points project, and we appreciate the organization's support as well as that of the individual members named above.

Last but not least, Daniel Pagano, Gina Santucci, and Amanda Sutphen of the New York City Landmarks Commission made regular visits to the lab, asked stimulating questions, and expressed an appreciation for our work. It was Daniel's idea to develop the web page for which we thank him.

We are fully aware that this was a once-in-a-lifetime project and only hope we have done it justice. We thank Dan Baer of Edwards and Kelcey Engineers and the GSA for giving us the opportunity in the first place.

CONTRIBUTORS

JMA's project team included regular staff members in the firm's West Chester, Philadelphia, and Alexandria offices as well as New York-based project-specific employees and subconsultants. At corporate headquarters in West Chester, Allan Steenhusen, the president of JMA, and Dan Roberts, the director of cultural resources, served as co-project managers. Carmelita Violanta kept track of invoices generated far from the home office and Rosa Garcia kept up with the multitude of expense accounts. Liz Sullivan managed the payroll and Kathryn Bowers took care of personnel issues. Sarah Ruch and Rob Schultz prepared the graphics for the report, and Margy Schoettle created a consistent format out of the different presentations of the many contributors. Rebecca Yamin of JMA's Philadelphia office served as assistant project manager and principal investigator. She directed the analysis in the New York laboratory, coordinated the efforts of many project participants, guided the development of the report, and edited the contributions of both in-house staff and outside consultants. Reginald Pitts, also of the Philadelphia office, served as senior historian, and Tom Crist provided physical anthropological expertise. Donna Seifert of JMA's Alexandria office copy-edited the report for consistency, accuracy, and completeness. Kathryn Bowers did a final copy-edit and, with Sarah Ruch, shepherded the document through production. All told, the New York staff numbered 18, including the following (in alphabetical order):

Damian Blanck	artifact processing and data management
Michael Bonasera	senior glass analyst
Stephen Brighton	senior ceramics analyst
Robert Fitts	historical research and artifact tables
Amy Goldberg	architectural-materials analyst
Heather Griggs	artifact processing and sewing-materials analyst
Janet Hawkins	assistant conservator
Tarik Holmes	artifact processing and table-top photography
Larry Jepson	data management
Tamara Kelly	artifact processing and small-finds analyst
Cheryl LaRoche	conservator
Gary McGowan	laboratory director and senior conservator
Claudia Milne	historical research and faunal analyst
Tom Naughton	ceramics analyst
Doville Nelson	small-finds analyst, data management, and photography
Jesse Ponz	glass analyst
Paul Reckner	clay-pipe analyst and photography
Liz Vogel	assistant conservator

The Office of Public Education and Interpretation (OPEI), under the direction of Sherrill Wilson, led tours through the Foley Square laboratory, putting up with the constantly changing nature of what was available to interpret. OPEI also kept the public informed about the progress of the Five Points analysis through a regularly published newsletter.

Subconsultants to the project:

Leonard Bianchi of Historic Conservation and Interpretation, Inc.	field methods
Pamela Crabtree of New York University	faunal analysis
Diane Dallal of the South Street Seaport Museum	clay-pipe analysis
James Davidson of FlatIron Solutions	database development
Leslie Raymer of New South Associates	floral analysis
Karl Reinhard of the University of Nebraska	parasite analysis



CHAPTER 1 – THE REDISCOVERY OF FIVE POINTS

by Rebecca Yamin

1.1 Introduction

The new federal courthouse at Foley Square stands on a site that was once part of the infamous Five Points. Named for the points created by the intersection of three streets—Orange (now Baxter), Cross (now Park), and Anthony (now Worth)—the Five Points district included the open space at the intersection (shown on the cover) and the surrounding blocks (Figure 1). A portion of the courthouse site abuts the intersection on the southeast (Figure 2).

Five Points' reputation as New York's most notorious nineteenth-century slum derives from books as recent as Luc Sante's *Low Life: Lures and Snares of Old New York* (1991) and as old as George Foster's 1850 *New York by Gaslight* (1990). But it is Herbert Asbury's *The Gangs of New York* (1927) that gave Five Points its legendary status in the annals of New York City history. His heroes of mythic proportions and exaggerated crime statistics appeal to generation after generation of New Yorkers who relish the city's colorful past, perhaps as an antidote to its difficult present. Five Points is New York's mythic slum, a place that is remembered as both horrible and wonderful in its horribleness.

The construction of the courthouse provided the opportunity to examine the history and archeology of one block within this famous place. The new courthouse (Figure 3) occupies the eastern two thirds of Block 160, and it is this area that was archeologically investigated between May of 1991 and January 1992 (Figure 4).⁵ The New York County Courthouse, completed in 1920, takes up the western third of the block. Although a parking lot covered the project area from 1961 to 1991, a complex of tightly packed tenement foundations, cellar floors, and courtyards (Figure 5) lay beneath its pavement. Comparing the site to a "veritable Pompeii," Columbia University Professor James Stenton thought this dramatic remnant of nineteenth-century tenement life should be preserved in place.⁶ Instead, 22 of the 50 archeological features identified between the foundation walls and under the floors were excavated, producing nearly a million artifacts (Figure 6). The anthropological analysis of those artifacts, in combination with a detailed study of primary documents relating to land ownership and tenancy on Block 160 and secondary works on nineteenth-century New York history, is the subject of this report.

This archeological history, written from an interpretive point of view, covers one of the most dynamic periods in New York City's past—the years between the last decades of the eighteenth century through the end of the nineteenth century. By the outbreak of the Civil War, New York had quadrupled in size, growing from a city of about 200,000 inhabitants in 1800 to well over a million.⁷ In 1900, the city's population of 3,437,202 exceeded that of any other in the country.⁸ During this period, the project area was transformed from an outlying rural district on the banks of the Collect Pond into a densely inhabited mixed residential-commercial neighborhood at the heart of Lower Manhattan.

In the eighteenth century, a palisade separated the settled city from the hinterland to the north. In that hinterland, tanyards and other noxious industries lined the eastern and southern shores of the Collect Pond while Africans and Jews, unwanted elsewhere, appropriated space nearby to bury their dead (Figure 7). As the city spread northward, the Africans and native-born workers who initially dominated the district were joined first by artisans looking for space to live and work and, later, by newly arrived immigrants in search of affordable housing. The palisade came down, the dirt tracks through the tanneries and breweries became cobbled streets lined with wooden houses and shops, and they, in turn, were replaced

⁵ Archeological investigations were conducted by Historic Conservation and Interpretation (HCI) under contract to Edwards and Kelcey Engineers. Ed Rutsch served as principal investigator; Leonard Bianchi directed the fieldwork (Rutsch and Staff 1992).

⁶ Aggarawala 1993:43.

⁷ Ernst 1994:20.

⁸ Still 1974:264.

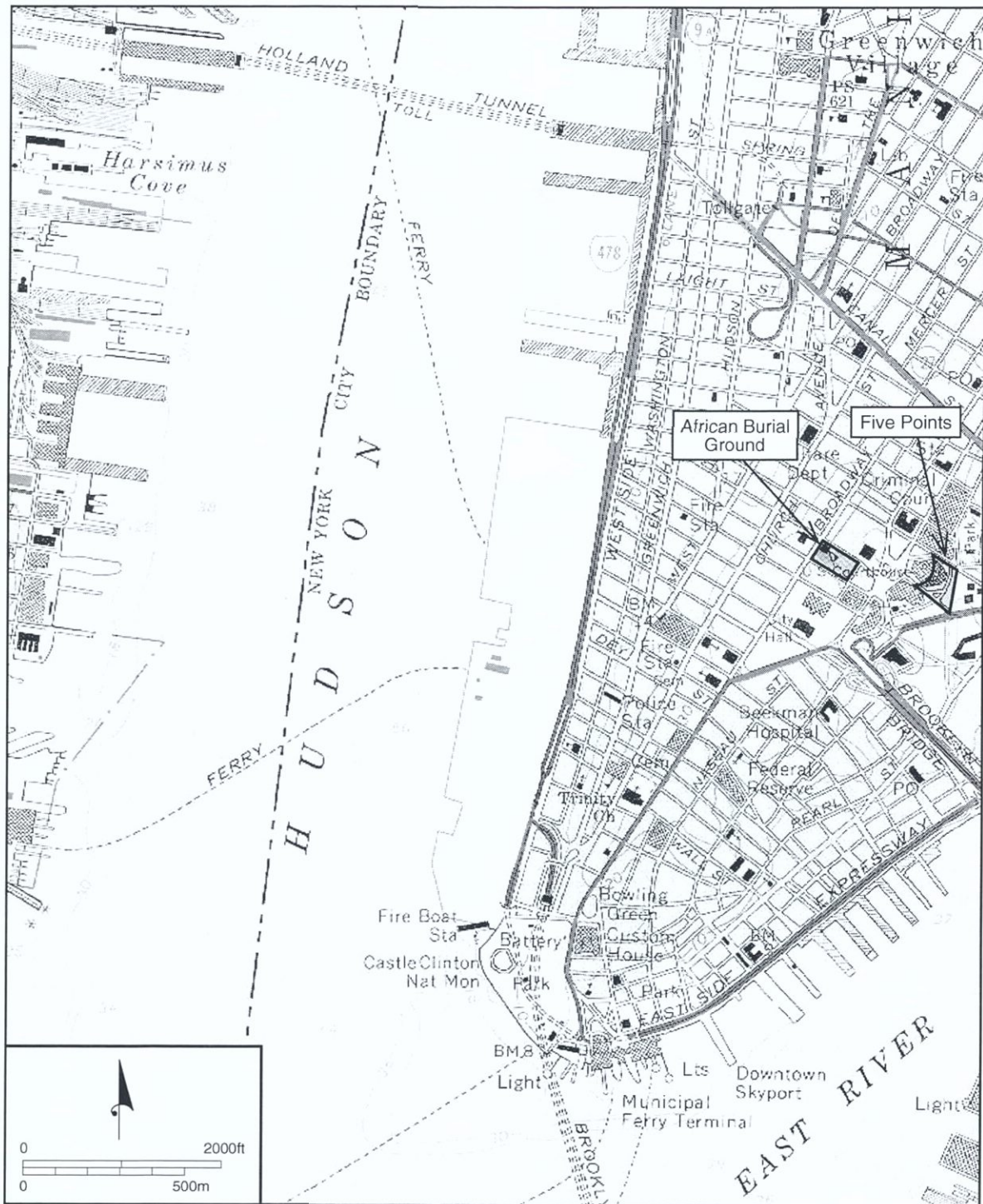


Figure 1. Project area location, USGS 7.5 minute series, Jersey City, NJ-NY, quadrangle, photorevised 1981.



Figure 2. The Five Points intersection and the courthouse site. Base map from Riis 1971:230.



Figure 3. The new federal courthouse at Foley Square. Photograph by Peter Sneed.

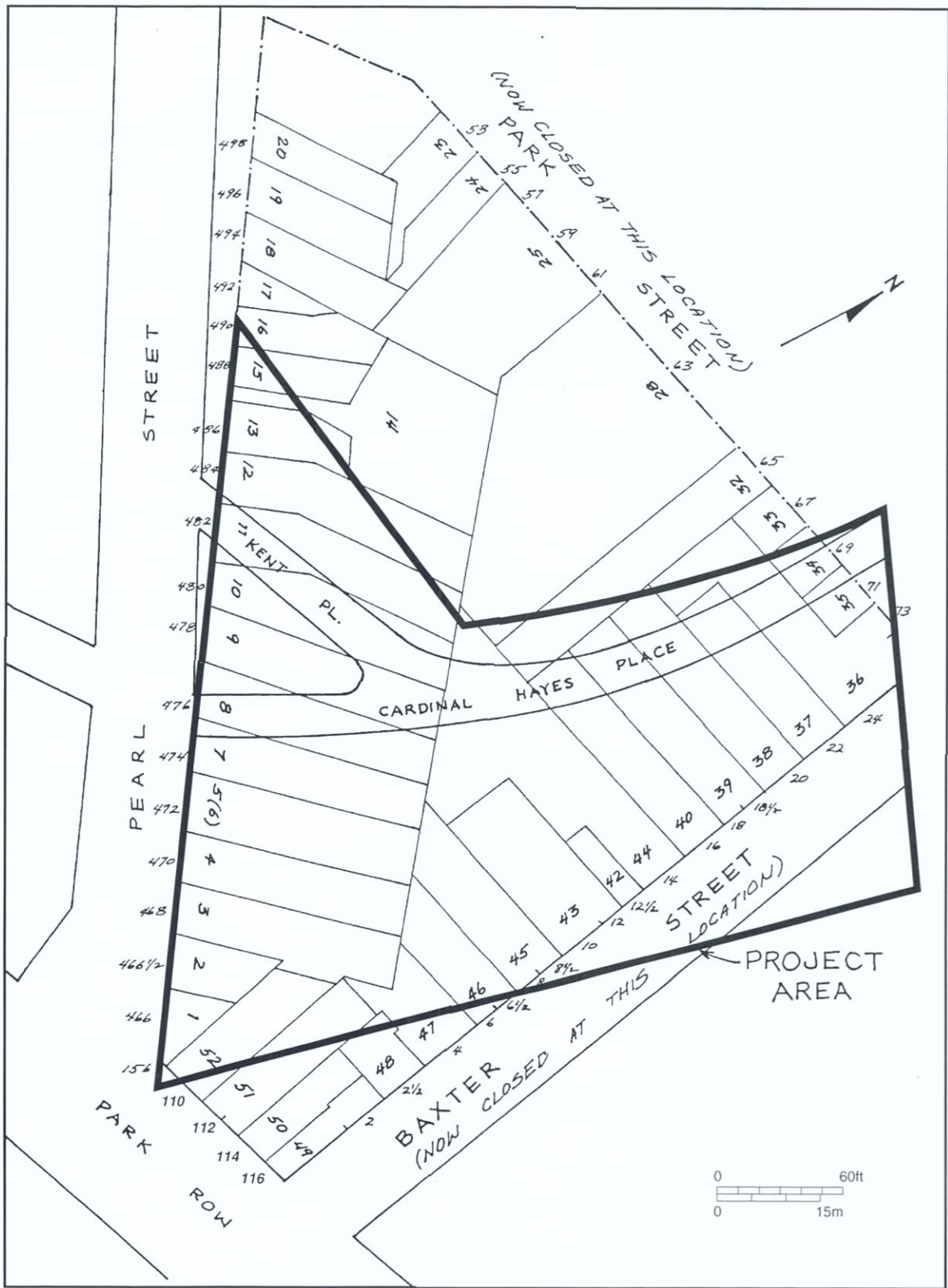


Figure 4. Project area within Block 160. From Ingle et al. 1990:Figure 5.



Figure 5. Archeological excavations on Block 160, 1991. Foundation walls outline Lot 5 (left) and Lot 6 (right). The circular feature at the top of the steps was a cistern (Feature Z) later converted into a cesspool.

by multi-storied brick tenements filled to capacity. Almost as soon as the once industrial district had become a predominantly working-class neighborhood, it achieved an identity summarized in a symbol—Five Points. Five Points stood for everything that was debauched and degraded in the growing city. “What does the name impart?” asked the reform-minded Ladies of the Mission in their 1854 publication.⁹ “It is the synonym for ignorance the most entire, for misery the most abject, for crime of the darkest dye, for degeneration so deep that human nature cannot sink below it.” What this project has allowed us to do is get behind that symbol and get inside the neighborhood that was so often judged from the outside.

The outsiders were white middle-class New Yorkers who were confused by what had happened to their city and were attempting to explain it to themselves and to each other in order to decode what seemed mysterious and dangerous.¹⁰ The transformation that confused New Yorkers—the shift to industrial capitalism with its newly organized relations of production and concomitant infrastructure—was happening all over the western world. Other industrialized cities had their *symbolic slums*: London’s East End; the Rocks in Sydney, Australia; Chinatown in San Francisco; and the “back slums” of Birmingham, England. These places, too, were described and vilified by outsiders, creating what historian Alan Mayne has called the “imagined slum.” Mayne argues that slums are created with words; they do not represent the social geography of inner cities. As described in newspapers of the day, “the term slum, encoded with the meanings of a dominant bourgeois culture...obscured and distorted the varied spatial forms and social conditions to which it was applied....All working-class districts in every city are characterized the same into one all-embracing concept of an outcast society.”¹¹

That Five Points is not unique in no way diminishes the significance of this study. In fact, it is in the comparability of outsiders’ descriptions of working-class districts in other cities that makes an insider’s view of Block 160 so important. Described by outsiders, Five Points is interchangeable with any number of other places no matter how different their ethnic make-up, occupational structure, or physical reality. From the inside, if we have done our job well, it should emerge as distinct; when other nineteenth-century working-class districts have been similarly studied, it will be possible to make cross-cultural comparisons of the urban working-class experience in the aftermath of the Industrial Revolution.

1.2 From the Outside In

Charles Dickens’s description of Five Points in *American Notes for General Circulation*, published in 1842, is, not surprisingly, the most memorable account of the area.

This is the place: these narrow ways diverging to the right and left, and reeking everywhere with dirt and filth. Such lives as are led here, bear the same fruit here as elsewhere. The coarse and bloated faces at the doors have counterparts at home and all the wide world over. Debauchery has made the very houses prematurely old. See how the rotten beams are tumbling down, and how the patched and broken windows seem to scowl dimly, like eyes that have been hurt in drunken frays. Many of these pigs live here. Do they ever wonder why their masters walk upright in lieu of going on all-fours? and why they talk instead of grunting?¹²

Dickens’s description has all the ingredients of what Mayne calls the “shared genre of slumland representation.”¹³ It is a hidden world, a labyrinth; it is grotesque and alien, a “sort of moral antipodes.”¹⁴

⁹ Ladies of the Mission 1854:34.

¹⁰ Blumin 1990:11, 50.

¹¹ Mayne 1993:1.

¹² Dickens 1985:88.

¹³ Mayne 1993:4.

¹⁴ Mayne 1993:160-163.

Above all, it smells and abounds with filth. Elizabeth Blackmar¹⁵ has suggested that New York's claims to the status of a European city were backhandedly achieved when Dickens likened Five Points to London's notorious East End. The American journalist George G. Foster used what has been called the nonfictional urban sketch or vignette to explain the city to his readers. Compiled in the volume *New York By Gas-Light*, first published in 1850, these sketches take the reader on vicarious visits to various city haunts—model artist exhibitions, bowling and billiard saloons, Butter-Cake Dick's, and, of course, Five Points. The visit to Five Points begins at midnight, but soon Foster is describing the inside of the Old Brewery where "every room in every story has its separate family or occupant, renting by the week or month and paying in advance. In this one room, the cooking, eating, and sleeping of the whole family and their visitors are performed. Yes, and their visitors, for it is no unusual thing for a mother and her two or three daughters—all of course prostitutes—to receive their 'men' at the same time in the same room."¹⁶ Foster's prejudices are clearly detectable in his lurid prose. About blacks, he wrote that they

form a large and rather controlling portion of the population of the Points, as they bear brutalization better than the whites (probably from having been so long used to it) and retain more consistency and force of character, amid all their filth and degradation. They manage, any of them, to become house-keepers and landlords—in one way and another scrape together a good deal of money. They associate upon at least equal terms with the men and women of the parish and many of them are regarded as desirable companions and lovers of the "girls." The most of them have either white wives or white mistresses, and sometimes both; and their influence in the community is commanding. But they are savage, sullen, reckless dogs, and are continually promoting some "muss" or other, which not unfrequently leads to absolute riot.¹⁷

The fear of miscegenation, then called amalgamation, so transparent in this passage, runs through much of the contemporary discussion of Five Points. As historian Elizabeth Blackmar has written, "precisely because they belied assertions of the 'distinction of color,' poor neighborhoods with an 'amalgamated' racial population became the city's most threatening emblem of poverty's 'contagion.'"¹⁸

Jews, it would appear, were less of a threat, but equally contemptible. Foster describes Jewish "fences" or "shops for the reception and purchase of stolen goods" as "beggarly little shanties....There is a drugstore, with a big bottle of scarlet water in the window, throwing a lurid glare out into the dark. The next is a clothing-store, another hardware, another gentlemen's furnishing, etc. etc. In the rear of these squalid shops is a wretched apartment or two, combining the various uses of sleeping, cooking and living, with the other performances necessary for carrying on the operations of the front shop. They are generally densely inhabited—the descendants of Israel being as celebrated for fecundity as cats or Irish women."¹⁹

Prejudice was not only directed at specific groups. From a bourgeois perspective, poverty itself equaled moral depravity. Protestant missionaries found an apartment on Anthony Street an inappropriate environment for raising children:

The front room had been used as a bar-room but the partition had been taken down, and with it large pieces of the wall and ceiling. On a broken table, braced up against the wall to keep it from falling, lay a dog, beside a piece of bread, a dirty plate of butter, a broken tea pot and an iron pot with a few potatoes; a few plates, knives, and forks. Other furniture there was none, save an old chair without a back, a few dirty rags serving for bed and bed clothes, and a broken bedstead thrown down in a drunken frolic a week before. And this was the home of children, with their sweet, innocent faces—this was the atmosphere of physical and moral pollution in which these children were being trained for eternity.²⁰

¹⁵ Blackmar 1989:80.

¹⁶ Foster 1990:122.

¹⁷ Foster 1990:125.

¹⁸ Blackmar 1989:175.

¹⁹ Foster 1990:126-127.

²⁰ *Ladies of the Mission* 1854:12.

These middle-class Protestant women sought to pluck the children out of their environment to save them (especially from Irish Catholicism), but were blind to the economic system that produced such an environment. It was a blame-the-victim ideology leaving little room for the possibility that the people who could not afford to live elsewhere also objected to the environment and struggled to carry on respectable lives in spite of it.

For the poor, Five Points was one of the only places in the city they might afford any kind of housing at all. No matter how minimal, it was better than nothing, and for many Irish immigrants, who came from famine-stricken Ireland, it was much better. How people actually lived in the overcrowded tenements at Five Points is not knowable from the value-ridden accounts of reformers or from the colorful, but also value-laden, accounts in the metropolitan press. The archeological and historical study of Block 160 provides a different perspective, one closer to an insider's view. As stated in the research design for the project, "In spite of the many written sources that portray Five Points as an urban 'slum,' how its residents actually organized their lives is not known. It is in this area that archeology, with its capacity to get at peoples' private lives and possessions, has the potential to contribute important new information. The principal value of the archeological data recovered on the Courthouse Block is that it constitutes a physical record of the unknown history of working-class men and women who left behind few written records of their experiences."²¹

1.3 From the Inside Out

An archeological history begins with the results of an archeological excavation of a specific place (or places). It is a place where someone, or more usually, some people, have been before and left behind a material record of their actions. It is the recognition of patterns in that record, be they post holes that outlined a prehistoric house or pot sherds that belonged to a Revolutionary soldier's tea set, that provide the data for analysis. The first problem is to identify the pattern—a long house, a tea cup made of Chinese porcelain—but the more important problem is to interpret what the patterns mean.²² Historical archeologists have the luxury of using the historical record to build contexts for their interpretations. As Cotter, Roberts, and Parrington point out in the introduction to *The Buried Past*, however, "interpreting archeological evidence within the historical context entails the double-edged risk of achieving nothing more than a documentation of the obvious or of assuming too much on the basis of the written record."²³ The ideal is to "maintain a balance between the documentary and material evidence always being mindful that, to be a productive exercise, the results should provide a more satisfactory explanation than would be forthcoming from either set of data alone."²⁴

Implicit in this exercise is the knowledge that the past is a construction. "Any image of the past as a knowable entity seen through archeology is distinct from the past itself which we will never know."²⁵ It is neither possible to dig up the whole past nor to know enough about any one period to recreate it. Our knowledge is always partial and always dependent on the questions posed. In David Lowenthal's words, the past is a foreign country; we reach for an understanding of its material remains within two sets of significant limitations: our inability to be native-born citizens of that foreign country and our inescapable belonging to (membership in) another culture, another time.²⁶ Any construction of the past is influenced by the present.²⁷ While it is never possible to completely escape that influence, it is useful to try to identify it.²⁸

²¹ John Milner Associates and Howard University 1993:88.

²² Hodder 1991.

²³ Cotter et al. 1992:xix.

²⁴ Cotter et al. 1992:xix.

²⁵ Yentsch 1994:316.

²⁶ Lowenthal 1985.

²⁷ Shanks and Tilley 1987; Leone et al. 1987; Blakey et al. 1994.

²⁸ Potter 1991.

The study of the assemblage recovered on the Courthouse Block began with the observed disjuncture between the contemporary accounts of the Five Points district discussed above and the tables full of imported Staffordshire ceramics and every other manner of material good in the laboratory. Working out from these two data sets, we began to build a context for interpreting the meaning of the artifacts. A strictly materialist explanation did not work for this assemblage. The overcrowded, unsanitary living conditions revealed by the excavation, as well as historically documented oppressive working conditions,²⁹ did not begin to explain the possessions left behind by the very people who endured such conditions. Instead, we sought to understand how members of the working class who lived at Five Points used the material goods available to them in the marketplace (and to us as trash) to express who they were and influence who they became. This approach emphasizes agency, the human capacity to create meaning and shape the world rather than simply react to it.³⁰ It gives voice to people who may not have explained themselves in written records but whose material possessions had communicative power within particular contexts.³¹

There are many relevant contexts for interpreting the Five Points data, not the least of which is depositional: where the artifacts were found vertically and horizontally and how the features and other physical remains relate to each other. But to derive meaning from the physical remains, broader contexts were defined, contexts that were built from both an etic and emic reading of the documentary record.³² Maps, for instance, are both descriptions of the physical environment (etic) and interpretations of the environment from a particular perspective (emic). The broad contexts that frame the interpretation of the data recovered on the Courthouse Block include the physical and environmental reality as it changed through time, the sociopolitical conditions that influenced that environment and framed outsiders' views of the neighborhood, the geographical proximity of the neighborhood to major civic institutions, the multi-ethnic make-up of the population with its implications for cultural differences, and the economic pressures on the working class.

The construction of these contexts required a multidisciplinary effort involving historians, faunal and floral analysts, a parasitologist, and a physical anthropologist, in addition to a large team of historical archeologists. Most important of all, however, were the many discussions held among all project participants and with other historians and archeologists working on the same time period. The hermeneutic process of arriving at the best hypothesis for making sense of most of the data³³ is gradual and cumulative. It benefits from many ideas, which may come from many different perspectives. This is particularly true in archeological analysis where different individuals often work with different categories of data (e.g., glass, ceramics, census records, food remains). To arrive at "thick" description,³⁴ which was the goal, we had to remain open to altering our explanations as more information came to light, or, as Geertz would say, as more structures of inference and implication "piled up."³⁵

While it is usual to present the results of postprocessual interpretive studies in well-referenced technical papers not very different than the papers written in any other theoretical framework, several recent scholars have attempted a more narrative form. Diana Wall's *The Archaeology of Gender* (1994) and Anne Yentsch's *A Chesapeake Family and Their Slaves* (1994) present research in ways that come closer to stories than technical treatises, weaving the cultural, archeological, and historical data into what Yentsch calls "a topological discourse." But they are not the first to use a narrative approach. Ivor Noël Hume's tale of discovery, *Martin's Hundred* (1988), and the vignettes at the beginning of Deetz's *In Small Things Forgotten* (1977) set an example that until now few others have attempted to follow. In a paper presented to the Society for Historical Archaeology, Dan Mouer (1995) stressed the importance of presenting archeological results as accessible

²⁹ Wilentz 1984; Stott 1990.

³⁰ Beaudry 1989:1; Howson 1990.

³¹ Beaudry et al. 1991:165.

³² Yentsch 1988; Beaudry et al. 1991:159-164.

³³ Hodder 1991:11.

³⁴ Geertz 1973.

³⁵ Geertz 1973:7.

stories about the past if the discipline is to survive, and the 1997 meeting of the society included an entire session entitled "Archaeology and Storytelling."

The telling of a story is more than a style of presentation: it becomes a way of knowing. By having to order facts into a plot "that is logical and compelling and that stays close to facts by always addressing the relations of events and facts to other events or facts,"³⁶ the historian comes to understand. Narrative, or writing, is the historian's method.³⁷ Without it, and the plots that are its product, there is no fabric of history: "The fact," wrote Paul Veyne, "is nothing without its plot."³⁸ The reluctance of archeologists to weave the excavated "facts" into narratives undoubtedly relates to the field's processual past. The danger of not doing so, however, is that archeology will never contribute anything memorable to historical knowledge. The folklorist Henry Glassie claims that writing is the way he discovers what he thinks.³⁹ For historical archeologists, it may be a way to incorporate insights derived from the archeological dimension into the bigger picture.

While this report is theoretically interpretive and contextual, this first volume is also narrative. In this sense, it is experimental, but *Five Points* was not a subject that deserved to be buried in technical jargon.

1.4 The Report

The "Final Research Design for Archeological and Historical Investigations of Five Points (Courthouse Block) New York, New York" set forth five research domains:

1. The socioeconomic and ideological processes that contributed to the social construction of the Five Points "slum";
2. The construction of class, race, and ethnicity in an urban context;
3. The nature of family, kinship, and household organization;
4. Work and industry in a developing capitalist economy; and
5. Health and hygiene in an urban context.⁴⁰

While these five domains provide the organizational framework for Volume II of this report, Volume I, *A Narrative History and Archeology of Block 160*, touches on the same issues. Embedded in the narrative are tales about black and white industrial workers making lives outside the boundaries of the original city, about respectable artisans working and living in the midst of an ever-worsening, polluted environment, about Irish and German immigrants crowding into unsanitary tenements to start new lives in a new world, and about the struggle of the emerging working class in an increasingly competitive economy. The history and sociology of Five Points have been presented as narratives before. George Foster's vignettes of mid-nineteenth-century New York life are short narratives meant to lead the reader into the city's nighttime haunts with all their sights and smells evocatively portrayed. Herbert Asbury's *The Gangs of New York* is also written as a narrative, and although he was not writing about his own time, he presented his sociological observations as if they were firsthand.

The narrative history and archeology of Block 160 presented here (Volume I, Chapters 2–5) stays considerably closer to documented fact than either Foster or Asbury. Citations to sources are included as footnotes and no fictional characters or composite characters have been invented. The people whose

³⁶ Gero 1991:127.

³⁷ Marcus 1986:262; Certeau 1988.

³⁸ Veyne 1984:33.

³⁹ Glassie 1982:11.

⁴⁰ John Milner Associates and Howard University 1993.

possessions are described in Chapter 5 are the documented residents of the lots when the artifactual deposits were made (based on *terminus post quem* dates of analytical strata, i.e., the most recent beginning dates of manufacture of artifacts included in the relevant strata, correlated with household events). Some liberty has been taken with imagining what these peoples' possessions meant to them and how they used them. The data on which the historical narratives (Chapters 2–4) are based are presented in Volume III (also available in D-BASE on disk). The archeological data that underlie Chapter 5 are presented in Appendix A of Volume I. A chronological discussion of the ceramics recovered from the site is presented in Appendix B, and Appendix C includes general demographic data. The final chapter of Volume I discusses, in a preliminary way, how social historians and historical archeologists might work together in the future to arrive at more tightly integrated narrative explorations of the past.

Volume II, *An Interpretive Approach to Understanding Working-Class Life*, addresses the five research domains in a series of papers. The papers, some of which were presented at the Society for Historical Archaeology meetings in Cincinnati in January 1996, use the artifact and historical analyses to investigate many, although not all, of the questions posed under each domain. A short essay by the principal investigator introduces each of the five chapters (2–6) and summarizes the issues covered in the papers which are authored by the many participants in the Courthouse Block research. Introductory (1) and concluding (7) chapters round out the volume.

Volume IV includes a comprehensive inventory of the artifacts recovered on the Courthouse Block (also available on CD-ROM). The database, developed by FlatIron Solutions for records management, uses Borland's Paradox, version 7, and Seagate's Crystal Reports, version 5, to manipulate the data and produce reports. Volumes V and VI are technical reports. Volume V, authored by project conservators Gary McGowan and Cheryl LaRoche, covers the extensive conservation that was conducted in conjunction with the artifact analysis. Volume VI, authored by Paul Reckner of the Foley Square staff and project consultant Diane Dallal, consists of a compendium of clay smoking pipes, including detailed drawings of distinctive marks.

The combination of the narrative and interpretive approaches, we believe, has brought us closer to an appreciation of what life was like for the working-class residents of Five Points in the nineteenth century. Conditions in the present not unlike those that prevailed at Five Points—poverty, sweatshops, homelessness, racism, anti-immigration fervor—are still major concerns in New York and other urban areas. It is hoped that this study will draw attention to the roots of those problems in the nineteenth century and contribute to the comparative analysis of the effects of the Industrial Revolution.

CHAPTER 2 – "SLAUGHTERHOUSES IN WHICH I LABORED": INDUSTRY, LABOR, AND THE LAND FROM COLONIAL TIMES TO 1830

by *Claudia Milne*

Around 1800, a laborer sketched a map of the east side of lower Manhattan.⁴¹ The laborer, employed as a butcher, keyed in the slaughterhouses where he worked and the places he resided. The map was drawn as a continuum, stretching back in time, including features of the Revolutionary period landscape. He drew both the Fresh Water pond and the streets that were gridded over the filled pond. The laborer drew things important to him, the industries—the potteries belonging to Crolius and Remmey, Schermerhorn's ropewalk, and many of the area's slaughterhouses. The "goal" and workhouse were included at the northern edge of the Common. Two other structures received the artist's consideration, the African Zion Church and the Bull's Head Tavern. The laborer, almost certainly of African descent, moved from the district, following opportunity and slaughterhouses as they moved north. He continued to sketch his map through 1826, documenting the rapid changes in his neighborhood.

The "Kollect Map" is an insider's view of the early nineteenth-century district on the eastern banks of the Fresh Water or Collect Pond, outside the limits of the city. Narrative in nature, the map includes the period in which this district, considered outside the city for almost two hundred years, became incorporated into the city. The map depicts the transition of an industrial district into an urban neighborhood, as the initial transformation from natural to industrial landscape had already taken place.⁴²

2.1 Introduction

At the turn of the nineteenth century, a five-acre pond, the Fresh Water or Collect Pond (Figure 8), and a related system of streams and marshes lay in a valley at the northern limits of the city of New York. It was about one-half mile from the Battery at the southern tip of the island north to the Fresh Water. The commonly traveled route, skirting the merchants' homes and congested docks to the east, followed Broadway uphill to the city's commonly held grazing land (Figure 9).⁴³ To the west, all along the route as far as the eye could see, was farmland held by Trinity Church. To the east was grazing land, a wide plateau called the Common. North and east from the Common, the ground sloped into low-lying wetlands. The route to the Fresh Water shifted east, around the Common, then north on Kip Street⁴⁴ past the bridewell (prison) and the almshouse. This route continued northward, around the Collect Pond onto the High Road to Boston. A bridge spanned the wetlands at the southern end of the Boston Road as early as 1695, marking passage out of the city (Figure 10). All along this route hills rose, some a full hundred feet above the surface of the Collect.⁴⁵

The water system associated with the pond stretched in a southward swath from the North River at Pump Street⁴⁶ to the Pearl Street outlet at the East River. A thin spur of land separated the eastern outlet of the Collect Pond from the larger area of marshy land to the south known as Beekman's Swamp. A portion of this spur was called Fresh Water Hill. A smaller hill, eventually called "Pot Baker's Hill," rose just to the north.⁴⁷ The Collect and its outlets were the conceptual and physical limits of the young

⁴¹ *Kollect Map* [1800-1825].

⁴² Cronon 1991:57.

⁴³ Present-day City Hall Park.

⁴⁴ Renamed Chatham Street in 1779. Stokes 1967, Vol. 6, p. 51.

⁴⁵ At the present-day location of Bowery and Chatham Square. See Valentine 1861, "Ancient View of the Present Junction of Pearl & Chatham Streets"; also Neville 1994:17. A second bridge was eventually placed over the water to permit a crossing at Broadway.

⁴⁶ The Hudson River and Canal Street.

⁴⁷ It was also called Windmill Hill, after a mill that once stood on the hill, or Catiemut's Hill, after an aboriginal "castle" that had supposedly been located at the top. Ingle et al. 1990; Neville 1994.



Figure 8. *The only known contemporary view of the Collect Pond.* Oil painting attributed to Alexander Robertson, 1798.
Reproduced in Stokes's *Iconography*, 1967, vol. 3:540.

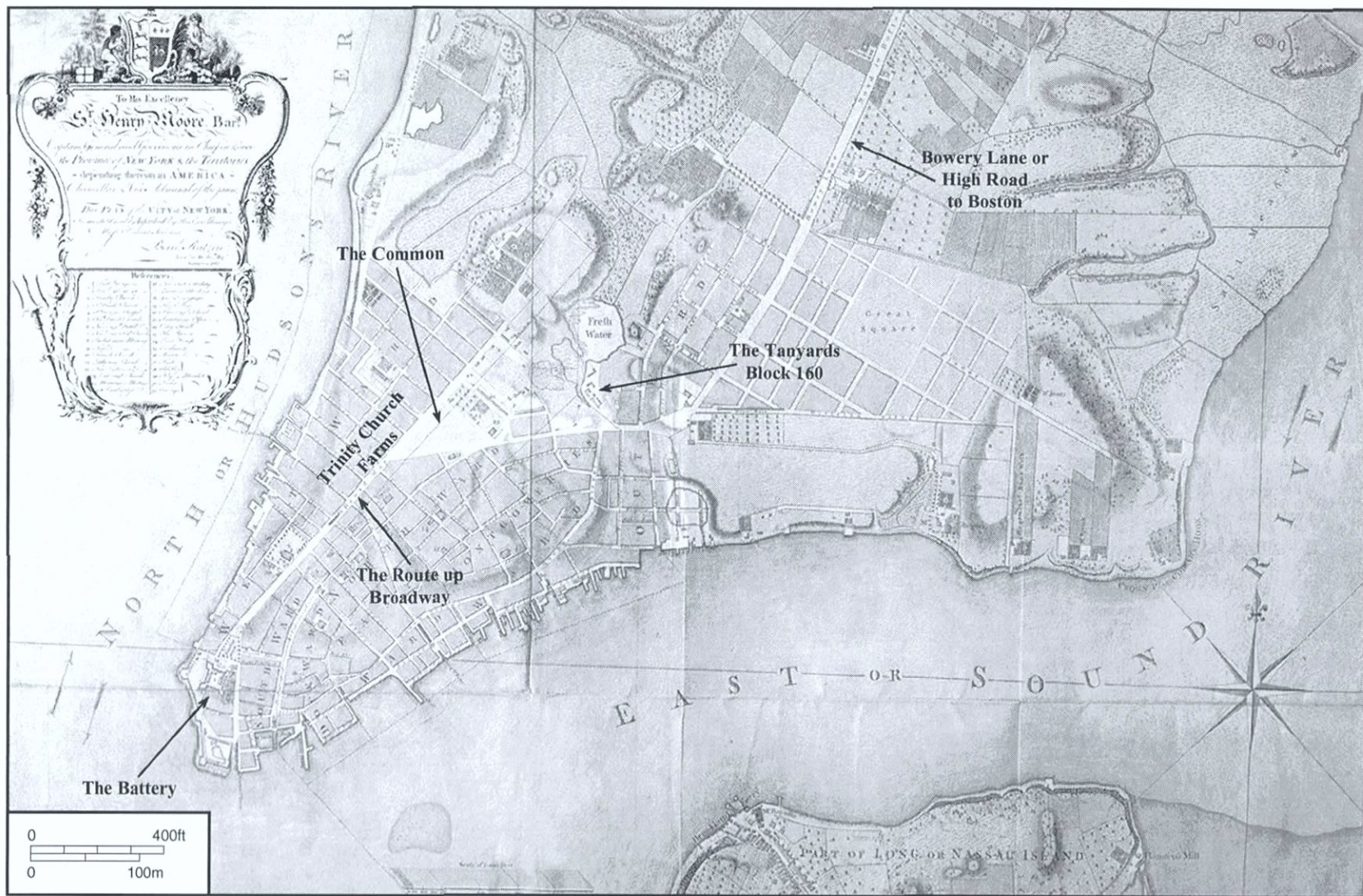


Figure 9. A plan of the city drawn in 1767, the Ritzer map depicts the ravine north of the Common, a number of prominent businesses, the jail, the Magazine Street tanyards, and the outline of a portion of the Collect Pond watershed. The palisade is not depicted on this plan. Courtesy of the New York Historical Society.

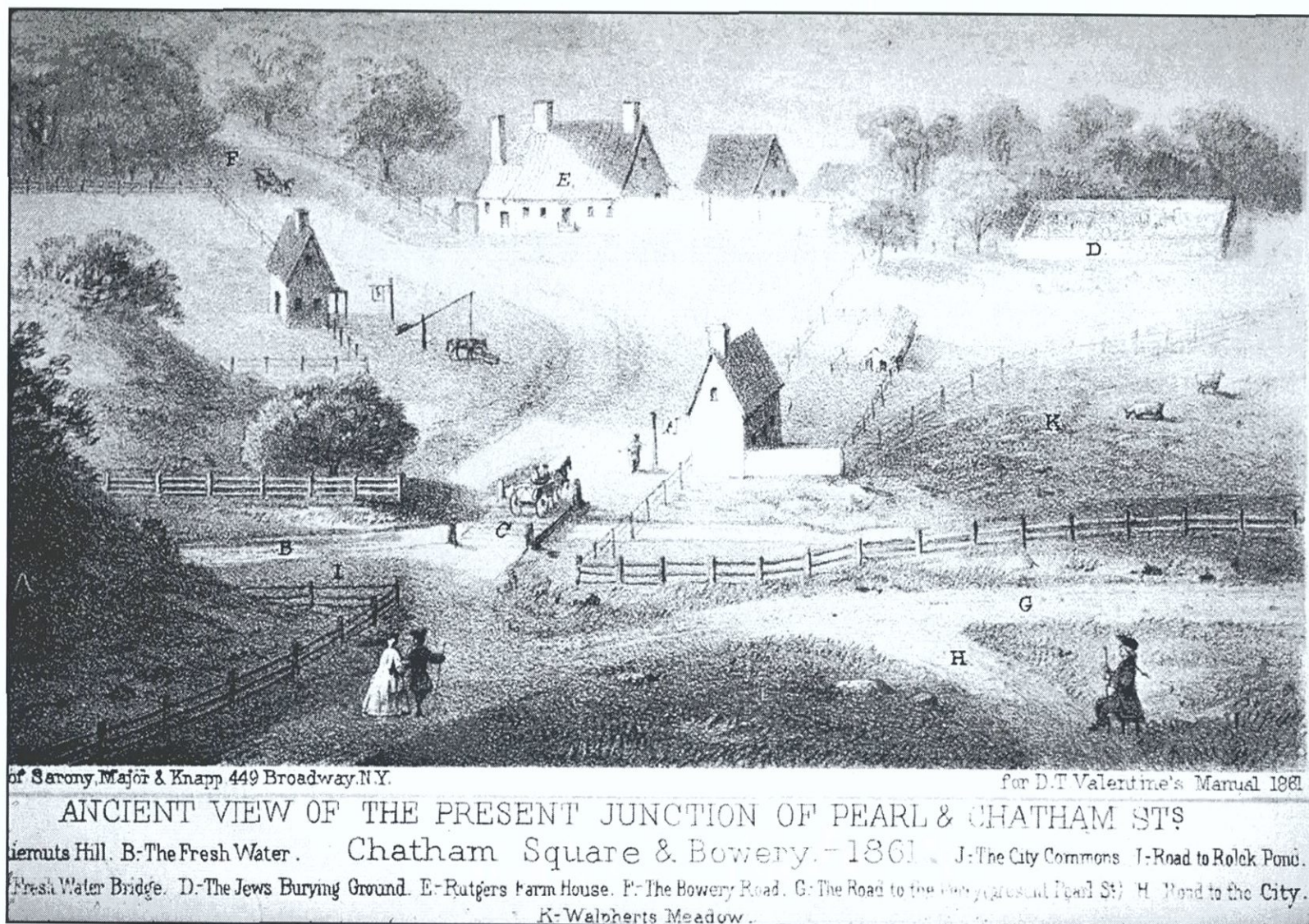


Figure 10. Purported to be a view of the intersection of Chatham and Pearl Streets before the filling of the Collect Pond in 1811, this print was actually published in Valentine's Manual, 1861. Print courtesy of Robert Fitts.

city of New York. Migrating waterfowl, deer, and a host of other species, including freshwater and saltwater fish, were at home in this environment. Here was both a natural and a man-made boundary between town and country, between settled landscape and wilderness. Early Manhattanites ventured beyond the palisade⁴⁸ to fish, boat, picnic, and, in winter, skate,⁴⁹ but otherwise this territory remained outside the wall, beyond the Fresh Water, on the outskirts of the city. In this liminal space between the wilderness and the settled city, a distinctive district developed.

2.2 Outside the Settled City

A series of damaging wars between the European settlers and the Native Americans resulted in orders from the Dutch administration in 1656, and again in 1660, for settlers outside the city limits to band together in larger villages. The first settlement of farmers established itself on the banks of the Collect Pond, on land owned by tavern keepers Wolphert Webber⁵⁰ and Thomas Hall. Slightly north on the Boston Post Road, a second settlement formed along the "Negro Coast."⁵¹ In return for limited freedom and the right to farm, about a dozen enslaved Africans paid rent to the Dutch administrators. The presence of the African farmers between the wilderness to the north and the Dutch city in the south provided an additional line of defense against further attacks from the Native Americans. Nevertheless, the mixed neighborhood of "negroes, mulattos, and whites" drew unwanted attention to the district.⁵²

Many of these African farmers worshipped at the Bowery Village Church and, along with much of the city's labor force, buried their dead in the ravine north of the city's Common and west of the Collect.⁵³ The African Burial Ground lay between the hills of Broadway and the Fresh Water, adjacent to the stoneware potteries of the Crolius and Remmey families.⁵⁴ East of the pond, beyond the potteries and slaughterhouses, early Jewish migrants to the colony used a small parcel of land to bury their dead. These sacred and secular activities took place simultaneously outside the limits of the city, and here also was the crossroads marking the main overland route out of New York (Figure 7).

Along the eastern bank of the Collect Pond, and all along the road leading from New York, taverns and inns, known as low houses, were established. Chatham Street⁵⁵ and Bowery Lane bustled with travelers, workers, and revelers. Some establishments served food and drink to travelers and "day-tripping" townspeople in outdoor gardens. Others catered to the district's male laborers carousing on their days off—that the laborers' day of leisure was also the Sabbath drew comment from some of the more pious townsfolk. These saloons offered numerous entertainments. Gentlemen, and others, battered each other in prize bouts, and betting was arranged on every conceivable contest—racing, cock fighting, and rat baiting included.⁵⁶

The Bull's Head Tavern, run by butcher Richard Varian, was located at the southern end of the Boston Road. It was, perhaps, the most famous of the taverns associated with laboring men.⁵⁷ It was at this location that the Bull's Head, or cattle auction, was held in the fall of each year. This is also the location Nicholas Bayard, one of the city's more prominent butchers, chose to build his abattoir, the city's first public slaughterhouse, in 1754. With industrial development, jobs were plentiful and more workers

⁴⁸ Constructed of a series of log beams and gatehouses, a palisade was built along Wall Street in the mid-seventeenth century. A second wall was built across the length of Manhattan island around 1746, roughly corresponding to the natural palisade at the present-day location of Chambers Street. Maerschack Plan of the City of New York circa 1755; Stokes 1967; LaRoche 1996.

⁴⁹ Common Council of the City of New York 1675–1834, Vol 4:209–210; Neville 1994:32, 40–42.

⁵⁰ Some of Webber's land was likely part of later Block 160. Ingle et al. 1990.

⁵¹ The Boston Road is present-day Bowery. Van Rensselaer 1909, Vol. 1:466; Harlow 1931:15; Neville 1994:24–25.

⁵² *Journal of Jasper Danckaerts*, New York, James & Jameson, 1913, as cited by Stokes 1967, Vol. 4:317.

⁵³ Neville 1994; Pastor Dominie Selyns 1660 as cited by Van Rensselaer 1909, Vol 1:466.

⁵⁴ This land appears as the Negroes Burial Ground on the 1755 Maerschack Plan and is notable for its absence from other eighteenth-century plans of the city (Cheryl LaRoche 1996, personal communication).

⁵⁵ Formerly Kip Street.

⁵⁶ Harlow 1931; Stokes 1967; Neville 1994.

⁵⁷ Operating between 1750 to 1826 on the north side of the Collect Pond, the Bull's Head offered any number of entertainments. It became the Old Bowery Theater in 1826 and remained so until 1910. Kollect Map [1800–1825]; Neville 1994:45.

settled nearby. They brought with them certain amenities, and the area surrounding the Collect soon became a renowned entertainment district. Exhibitions of all kinds were staged on the grounds around the pond. When the circus came to town, tents were pitched on the open land near the pond, and a crowd covered the hillsides to watch when John Fitch tested the first propeller-driven steam boat. Winter brought skaters onto the frozen pond and summer brought picnickers and boaters.⁵⁸

2.3 Industry and the Collect Pond

Connected to a larger watershed, the outlines of the Collect Pond shifted constantly. The ecology of the pond was greatly affected by the removal of the tanyards to the adjacent ground in the 1690s. Originally centered in the area around the docks, tanners were required to move their operations outside the limits of the city as the city expanded. The tanneries relocated to both Beekman's Swamp and the ground surrounding the Collect Pond. The tanning process required both still water for soaking the hides and running water for washing them, and the area around the Collect Pond proved to be an ideal location. Tanners channeled water onto their properties, sinking wood-lined vats and barrels in clay beds.⁵⁹ The proximity of the Boston Road facilitated the transport of livestock to the slaughterhouses and tanneries around the Collect Pond, avoiding the increasingly congested city to the south.

The Collect Pond's southern and eastern banks were soon lined with furnaces, potteries, breweries, tanneries, ropewalks, and other manufactories, "all drawing their supplies of water from the pond."⁶⁰ The growth of the district necessitated the establishment of new streets.⁶¹ During the winter of 1763, Orange and Cross Streets were laid out. Accommodating the shoreline of the Collect Pond, they were oriented at oblique angles south of Bayard Street. These two streets provided access to Bayard's slaughterhouse and a number of the tanneries. Two large ropewalks stretched between the other industries. A third street, Magazine, appeared west of the intersection of Queen Street and the Boston Road. Essentially a dirt path, Magazine Street led directly to the municipal powder house and several tanneries. Orange, Cross, and Magazine Streets eventually formed the boundaries of Block 160 including the archeological project area.

The Magazine Street tanners incorporated their business interests in 1773. The partners, John Robins, Jacobus Quick, George and John Shaw, and Captain Abel Hardenbrook,⁶² however, retained individual control over their properties. The loose conglomeration, known as the Nine Partners, lasted only until 1785 when they began to sell their properties (Figure 11).⁶³ As the partners loosened their control on the leather trades, the Lorillard brothers (Blaze, George, Peter, John, and Jacob) began to build a large complex of tanyards and houses at the corner of Cross and Magazine Streets, the area that became the southwest corner of Block 160. Two of the brothers, Peter and George, were investors only. When trade opened up at the end of the Revolutionary War, they established themselves as tobacco merchants, setting up shop on lower Chatham Street.⁶⁴

Other tanners rented or purchased the surrounding properties and tanneries that lined Magazine and Cross Streets. Rows of wood-lined vats and barrels sent forth a stench of tannin, mixed with the smell of rotting hides. Workers spent long days rinsing, scraping, and soaking the hides, returning home to nearby dwellings unable to escape the fetid smell. Most of the property owners were workingmen without the luxury of separate living spaces, so they, too, slept at night with the stench of curing hides.

⁵⁸ Fitch's boat sailed in 1796. This area would maintain a bawdy reputation associated with the saloons, taverns, theaters, and workingmen until the beginning of the twentieth century, when the last of the theaters left the Lower Bowery District. Harlow 1931:124; Hall 1939; Neville 1994:46; DeVoe 1970:158, 174, 366.

⁵⁹ Tanneries remained in the immediate area for the next 130 years. Yamin, Schuldenrein, and Schleidt-Peñalva 1994.

⁶⁰ Duer 1849 as cited in Neville 1994:36; Holland 1859; Ingle et al. 1990:19.

⁶¹ Common Council of the City of New York 1675-1834:321 (1763); Ingle et al. 1990:20.

⁶² Robins, Lots 18-21; Quick, Lots 14-17; Shaw, Lots 6-13; Hardenbrook, Lots 1-5.

⁶³ Bolmer's name is penciled onto the Magazine Street Tanyards ca. 1780 map at the corner of Chatham and Pearl, the southeast corner of Block 160.

⁶⁴ The company would remain on lower Chatham until the 1860s. The Lorillard Company continues to sell tobacco products around the world today. Duncan 1789.

"A plan of the Tan yards near the fresh water surveyed and divided
March 12 1792 by Frances & Andrew Maershalk"

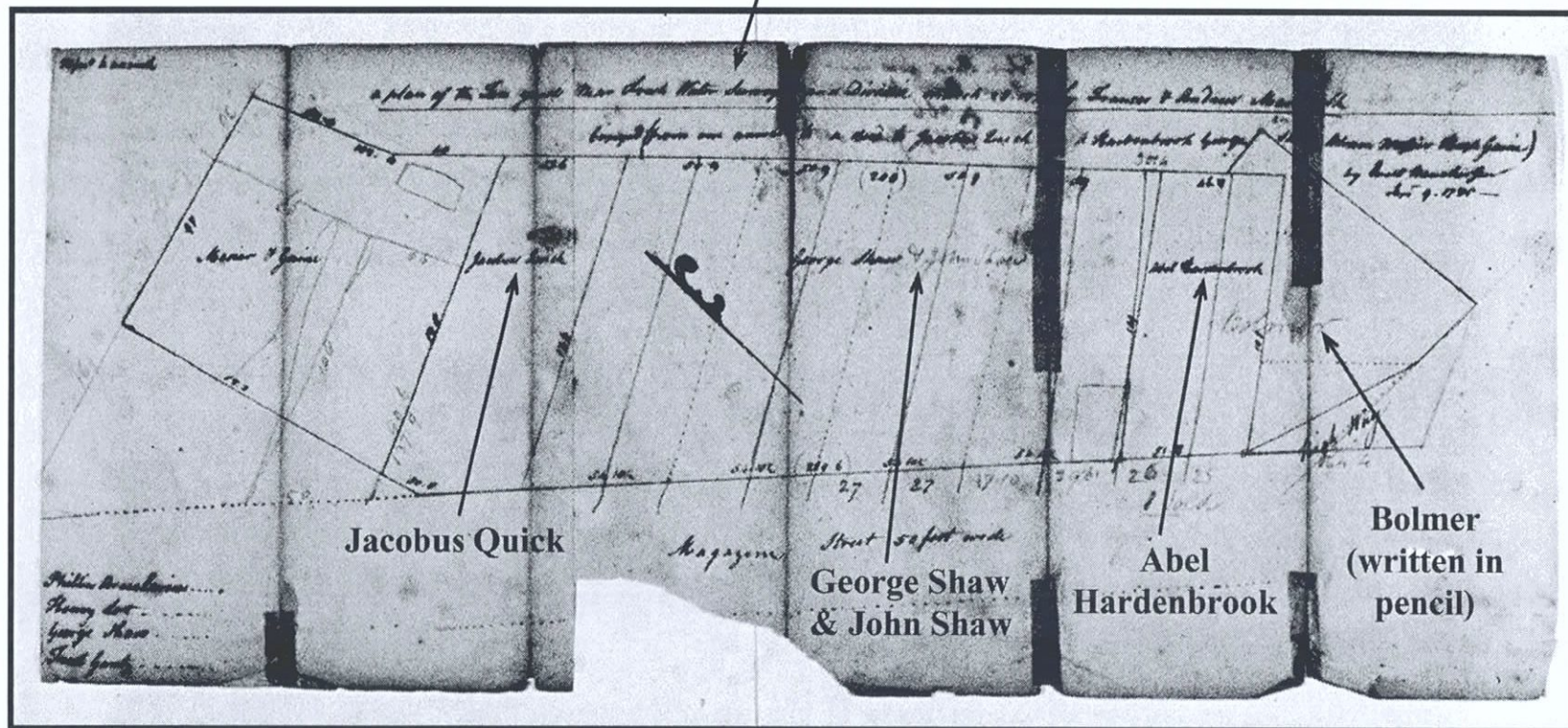


Figure 11. Probably a property survey, this map of the Pearl Street tanyard properties in 1785 or 1786 shows the lots owned by Lorillard, Quick, Shaw, and Hardenbrook. Matthew Bolmer's name was penciled in on the lots at the corner of Chatham and Pearl Streets. Courtesy of the New York Historical Society.

Blaze Lorillard supervised the day-to-day operation of the Lorillard tanneries at the corner of Magazine and Cross Streets, and he and his wife and five young children lived in a house behind the tanyard for more than 10 years. His brother, Jacob, promoted the tanyard's leather products in a store further east on Pearl Street.⁶⁵

The industrial component added to the properties' values for some. Land in the Collect Pond district was advertised as desirably "situated behind the Tea Water Pump, between that and the Fresh Water Pond...an excellent stand for a still-house, or sugar-house, as there is the best water all around it, and it is supposed that the Tea Water Pump feeds itself through said lots."⁶⁶ Isaac Coulthadt purchased a large Cross Street lot next to the Lorillards' with the intention of running a tanyard. Impressed by the quality of the water, however, he built a brewery soon after he moved in. Like Lorillard, Coulthadt brought his family to this industrial district on the eastern banks of the Collect Pond.⁶⁷

This nascent industrial neighborhood came to include a wide range of animal-processing industries: slaughterhouses, rendering plants, and bone-boiling operations, as well as the two large ropewalks that stretched between the slaughterhouses and tanneries. The hemp fiber and tar used in rope manufacturing were highly flammable, and the ropewalks, like the slaughterhouses, were restricted to the outskirts of the city. Two families of stoneware potters, the Croliuses and Remmeys, established their kilns and residences in the district around the Collect Pond, and several bakers built ovens nearby.⁶⁸

The abattoir on Bayard Street, just down the street from the Bull's Head Tavern (Figure 12),⁶⁹ served as the city's primary slaughterhouse until the 1780s and continued to be used well into the nineteenth century. Many of the city's butchers resided nearby and sold their wares from stalls in city-run markets. The animals purchased from the butchers were killed and dressed at Bayard's slaughterhouse.⁷⁰ Not everyone was happy with the city-regulated system, and butchers frequently petitioned for the right to sell meat outside of the city's markets. When refused, some circumvented the law. Jacob Appley of Bayard Street, for instance, sold meat legally from the number four stall at Oswego Market on Broadway, but he took the opportunity to make additional money by selling meat out of his home on the Sabbath. Butcher Joseph Blackwell hired a "huckster woman," set up stalls, and established an informal vegetable and meat marketplace, the Mosquito Market, on the "Collect ground" at Elm near Walker Street four years before the city permitted the establishment of Washington Market.⁷¹

The animal-processing industries, butchers, tanners, and fat-boiling establishments, produced vast quantities of nauseating waste, offal, and blood. Despite differing methods of disposal, most waste was eventually dumped into the rivers. Hoping swift currents would keep the port clean, legislators required carcasses and waste be towed at least 300 feet beyond the shore line. Butchers were fined if they did not immediately dispose of their waste products "into the river or other similar place."⁷² Unfortunately, swift currents did not keep the port clean and within a relatively short time the waste would threaten the health of the city.

⁶⁵ U.S. Bureau of the Census 1790, 1800.

⁶⁶ *New York Packet* 1784 as cited by Neville 1994:36.

⁶⁷ His widow and son would remain on this property until the 1820s. U.S. Bureau of the Census 1790, 1800, 1810, 1820; New York City Tax Assessments for the Sixth Ward (NYCTA) 1827.

⁶⁸ The Crolius potters remained in the district for another thirty years. Longworth 1798-1837.

⁶⁹ This is where Orange Street would later meet Bayard. *Collect Map* [1800-1825]. Twenty-one industrial structures were keyed in on the laborer's map (Figure 12). Dates in parentheses are the directory years. 1. Bayard's Slaughterhouse; 2 & 4 Geo. Phillips; 3. Thomas White, lumber (1805), butcher, 198 Bowery (Longworth 1825-1826); 5. Crolius' Pottery (Longworth 1796); 6. Mike Helev...; 7 & 18. John Graff, butcher, Mulberry c. Cross (Longworth 1805), stall 32 at Washington Market (Longworth 1825-1826); 8. John Hopkins, butcher, Bayard Lane C. Winne (Longworth 1798); 9. William Wright, butcher, Mulberry c. Bayard (Longworth 1798, 1805) Wright was also "The Master" of the Royal Arch Independent Masonic Lodge #2 (Longworth 1802), William Wright Jr., tallow chandler at 96 Bayard (Longworth 1825-1826); 10. James Sullivan, butcher, 87 Mulberry (Longworth 1796, 1805); 11. John Pesenger; 12 & 16. Geo. Hawes, stall 6 at Oswego Market (Longworth 1802); 13. Capt. John Lovell, butcher, 70 Bowery (Longworth 1805); 14 & 19. Joseph O. Bogart, butcher, 34 Bowery and stall 66 at Oswego Market (Longworth 1802, 1805); 15. Jesse Wood; 17. John King, butcher, stall 32 at Washington Market, home Eldridge near Stanton (Longworth 1825-1826); 20. Ernest Keyderhorn; 21. Schermerhorn's Ropewalk.

⁷⁰ DeVoe 1844, 1970.

⁷¹ DeVoe 1844.

⁷² Board of Health 1811:13-15.

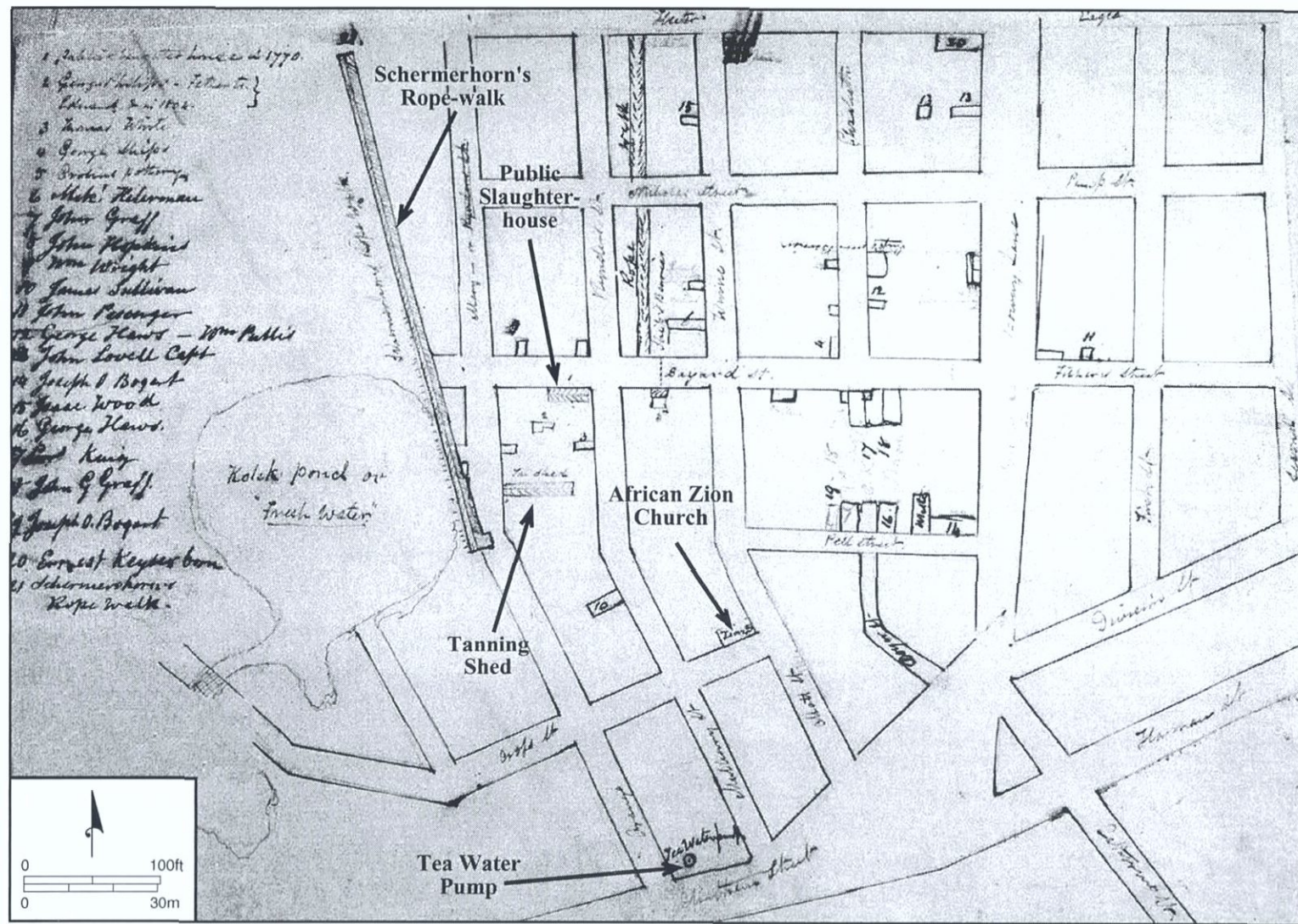


Figure 12. Kollect Map, ca. 1800-1825. Two versions of this map were drawn in the first two decades of the nineteenth century by an unknown laborer in the slaughterhouses. The presence of the African Zion Church and the absence of all other churches suggests that the artist was an African American. Map courtesy of New York Historical Society.

Businesses in the Collect Pond district also dumped industrial waste in the pond. Tanners sluiced out their pits of tannin, ammonia, and dye with water diverted from the pond, and butchers washed vast quantities of blood back into the pond. Rotting animal carcasses floating in stagnant water were reported to the city's health authorities, and soon the water from the nearby Tea Water Pump, once pronounced "New York's finest," was declared unfit for consumption. An irate citizen's letter to the *New York Journal and Weekly Register* read:

The Tea-Water Pump, with which this city is supplied, grows worse every day, so that the common pump water, used only to scrub houses, etc., with, is now preferred in cooking to our Tea Water. The reason is very obvious,—let anyone view the pond, which is the spring and source of that pump and you will find it to be a very sink and common sewer. It is like a fair everyday, with whites, and blacks, washing their clothes, blankets, and things too nauseous to mention; all their suds and filth are emptied into this pond, besides dead cats and dogs, etc., thrown in daily, and no doubt many buckets [of household sewerage] from that quarter of town. The pond being so near the pump has no distance to filter through the earth...[The pond is] a shocking hole, where all impure things center together, and from this pond, foul with excrement, frog-spawn and reptiles that [Tea Water] pump is supplied.⁷³

The animal carcasses from the many slaughterhouses, resins from tanning, and tar from ropemaking clearly did more damage to the condition of the pond than peoples' laundry. However, a number of the district's early industrialists and investors, able to parlay the money they had made into positions of power within local government, controlled land use in the district. They resisted pressure to clean up the district although the health authorities passed city-wide ordinances on an annual basis forbidding anyone south of Grand Street to make or use "any noisome or offensive substance, nor any vat, pit, or pool of standing water, whether from tanners, skinners, dyers, or any other use under the penalty of \$50 for each offense." A clause was added exempting the existing tanyards at both Beekman's Swamp and around the Collect Pond, despite the fact "filth and dirt" was disposed of daily in the pond, creating a "Nuisance very dangerous to the Health of the Inhabitants."⁷⁴

2.4 After the Revolution

At the end of the Revolutionary War, the new city government confiscated and sold a number of Loyalists' landholdings, the generation of landowners who had survived the war began to die, and the subsequent division and sale of some of the city's larger farmsteads encouraged speculative real estate investments and inflation. The city's elite maneuvered, manipulated, and conveyed land amongst themselves as the population of the city began to swell with migrants from overseas and the surrounding countryside.⁷⁵ Most of these new arrivals needed homes, and during this time many of the original landholders began to sell and rent their holdings, removing their own residences from the lower city.

Three of the Nine Partners, Quick, Hardenbrook, and Robins,⁷⁶ were among the first to divest themselves of their original properties. They conveyed a 219-foot-wide parcel of land fronting Magazine Street to George and Jacob Shaw. The parcel included Lots 6–14 on Block 160, part of which (Lots 6–8) was in the archeological project area. The Shaws were the heirs of one of the original Nine Partners. The remaining holdings, Lots 15, 16, and 17, were eventually sold to Peter Lorillard.⁷⁷ The Shaws did not occupy the property but, like many other landholders, they sold it as newly divided residential lots. Henderick Lott, a house carpenter, purchased three "dwelling houses or tenements" and four lots from the Shaws in 1785. He subdivided the parcel, keeping one lot for himself and his wife. The other three lots, each about 25

⁷³ *New York Journal and Weekly Register* 1785 as cited by Harlow 1931:122–123 and 127. The Tea Water Pump was condemned and sealed over in the first years of the nineteenth century. In 1832 the proprietor of a liquor store at 126 Chatham uncovered the remains of the pump in the back room of his store.

⁷⁴ Common Council of the City of New York 1675–1834 Vol. 1:205, 273 (1786–7); Board of Health 1811:13.

⁷⁵ The population of the city increased from 33,131 to 60,489 people between 1790 and 1800. Rosenwaike 1972:16; Blackmar 1989:44.

⁷⁶ Robins was represented by his estate.

⁷⁷ Borough of Manhattan Land Evidence 1813.

feet in width by 112 feet deep, he sold to yeoman George Orff and baker Tobias Hoffman.⁷⁸ The neighborhood was ideal for a bakery. In an area filled with furnaces, potteries, and a large brewery, what was one more oven? Before purchasing his lot, Hoffman leased the space. When Orff offered an additional lot for sale in 1793, Hoffman bought it.

The district surrounding the Collect Pond grew increasingly unhealthful, and pressures to fill the pond mounted. Some of the tanyards and houses built on the filled marshland began to sink, and the swamp surrounding the pond was often filled with standing water. During the yellow fever epidemic of 1798, the city issued emergency orders to fill in these lots.⁷⁹ The epidemics sent those New Yorkers with means away from congested portions of the city. Many evacuees did not return, preferring to stay in the suburbs.

Much public attention was focused on the poorer, more crowded portions of the city where the disease reigned. John Crolius and Tobias Hoffman, Collect district artisans, both lost children to the fever.⁸⁰ Cleanliness became a paramount issue to the residents of the city. Fifty thousand dollars of public money was spent to fight the fever and cleanse the city. Physicians did not understand the cause, only that it was concentrated in the more congested parts of the city, possibly the effect of heretofore unknown miasmas. Everything was ordered cleaned. Old meat and unwholesome dirt were removed, standing water drained, and the practice of tossing garbage and waste into the street was restricted. Laws forbidding interments within the city limits were passed, but burials continued in cemeteries throughout the city. In the Collect district, 41 individuals were buried in one of two nearby African cemeteries during the epidemic.⁸¹ Perhaps six times that number were buried in the potter's field at Washington Square.⁸² The city ground to a halt as the fever claimed the lives of around 2,000 in a city of less than 60,000 people. Many demanded safe homes beyond the built-up portions of the city.⁸³ Yet Crolius and Hoffman remained, and as the heavy industries declined, cartmen and other skilled artisans invested in the Collect district.⁸⁴

2.5 Urban Expansion and Block 160

When the laborer finished his sketch map (Figure 12), he had depicted more than 20 years of employment in butchery trades. He watched the transformation of the entire district; by 1825 the trades that had employed him were gone. They had been rezoned and relocated to the West Ward, over at the Hudson River, and to north of Houston Street on both the east and west sides of the city. But 30 years earlier, when in his view the map began, this district was ripe for development. The margin was about to be incorporated into the whole, and those who held title to the lands immediately north of the city understood this.

⁷⁸ Lots 8 and 9 were sold to Orff and Lot 7 to Hoffman, ca. 1789. It is likely that Hoffman also leased Lot 8 from Shaw and the Orffs for his bakery, investing in the oven. Hoffman purchased Lot 8 in 1793 and his widow and heirs maintained the two properties until 1842. Borough of Manhattan Land Evidence Liber/Page:427:355; NYCTA 1790-1842.

⁷⁹ Andrew Stockholm and Henry Brooks, a Lorillard tenant and manager, were ordered to fill in their Magazine Street lots. Common Council of the City of New York 1675-1834 Vol. 2:462.

⁸⁰ Hardie 1799.

⁸¹ The older of the two burial grounds was located along Broadway. This cemetery had served New York City's African and African-American community for much of the eighteenth century. This burial ground was officially closed in the 1790s when a second cemetery, the New Negroes Burying Ground, was opened on Chrystie Street, but burials may have continued in the older cemetery for some time. The 1799 account of the fever by Hardie refers simply to the Negroes Burying Ground and does not specify which one.

⁸² In the summer of 1798, due to unhealthful conditions created by large numbers of burials within the city, the New York Medical Society recommended all burials be forbidden within city limits. The Board of Health forbade burials within city limits in 1806 and again in 1809, yet the city council continually made exemptions for prominent white churches, while forbidding the African Zion Church (1807 petition) and the First Baptist Church (1817 petition) to expand their burial vaults. The city council instead granted the African Zion Church a section of the city's potter's field (two miles north at Washington Square in Greenwich Village). City and church officials continued to battle over the right to bury the dead within the city limits. It was not until the yellow fever epidemic of 1822, after years of struggling with health concerns, that an 1827 State Supreme Court decision forbade all burials south of Grand Street. Common Council of the City of New York 1675-1834, Vol. 14:306-307; Duffy 1968:107, 219-221, 387.

⁸³ Blackmar 1995:48 termed this newly created housing market a "market in health"—with accessibility based on family income.

⁸⁴ Cartmen were city-licensed laborers. Licensing required them to be freemen. The carters hauled both commodities and waste of the city, enjoying close relationships with the merchant and governing classes. A cartman's work was mean and rough, but it also provided financial independence. Hodges 1986:4; Wilentz 1984:26.

After the post-war inflations, development intensified in New York City. The epidemics of the previous decade prompted support for a plan, instigated by the city's street commissioner, to fill in the Collect Pond. The hills along Broadway would be razed and the African Burial Ground closed and filled along with the pond. In addition to filling the pond, the larger series of public works included the draining of the marsh at Lispenard Meadows,⁸⁵ the construction of a new city hall, and the establishment of a regulated street grid, all geared toward expanding the city. Planners extended Broadway past Warren Street, beginning construction of the city's most famous thoroughfare.⁸⁶

During this period, the city bought large amounts of land, establishing streets through the former Collect district. Land was purchased from the Livingstons, merchants and lawyers with vast land holdings; Aaron Stockholm, a tanner; and Joseph Bogart, butcher and merchant, among others.⁸⁷ The value of these properties at the edge of the city increased so much in anticipation of the filling of the marsh lands that other landholders in the district who hoped to purchase some of the land themselves protested the new property assessments. Among the landholders were Matthew Bolmer, the Lorillards, George Janeway, Phillip Arcularis, and Tobias Hoffman.⁸⁸ Landholders or their relatives, members of the Lorillard, Crolius, Bolmer, and Coulthardt families, sat on the Board of Aldermen, personally supervising their real estate interests. Coulthardt and merchant Robert Chesebrough, another Moore-Lorillard relation, publicly pursued the development of a new market at Collect and Anthony Streets, hoping to profit from the commercial and residential development of the district.⁸⁹

The Lorillards, and the other tanners closest to the Collect Pond, continued operations for a few years even after the pond had disappeared about 1811. Leather businesses dominated the commercial storefronts along Chatham Street, including the project area, as long as the Lorillards remained in business.⁹⁰ As the viability of their leather business at this location began to fade, they consolidated their holdings and relocated. The harness and saddle makers followed, leaving only the shoemakers, who became the forerunners of an industry that would soon sustain much of the neighborhood.

Other land owners subdivided and sold their holdings, profiting from the increased value of land rezoned for residential and commercial development. The division of properties led the way for the next generation of artisans and landowners to make investments in the Collect district. Many were small landholders of limited means. They purchased property as a secure investment, choosing land on which they could run commercial ventures as well as set up housekeeping. Others subdivided their properties, intending to rent them. This district, tolerant of industrial development, was attractive to landless artisans driven out of the developed parts of the city by high rents. Guaranteed long-term leases saved the cost of land purchases, so the artisans could invest money in their businesses and improvements to their rental lots. The artisan-renters then sublet these properties, supplementing their trade income with rents. Landowners profited from this arrangement without having responsibility for day-to-day upkeep of their properties.

Matthew Bolmer initially ran a granary on his property at the corner of Chatham and Pearl Streets (the southeast corner of Block 160). He was an early investor in the industrial district prior to the filling of the pond. He, too, made his home in the neighborhood, but pursued a different investment strategy than the Lorillards. The Bolmers formed partnerships with several New York merchant families: the Carpenters, the Underhills, and the Birdsalls. Dry goods and hardware stores run by these three families occupied

⁸⁵ South of Canal Street between Broadway and the Hudson River.

⁸⁶ Supervised by Alderman and Tammany Hall Grand Sachem Clarkson Crolius Sr.

⁸⁷ Opening of Anthony Street [1809]; Franks 1786; NYCTA 1789–1810; a quick study of Livingston's landholdings, including several known brothels, is included in Gilfoyle 1992.

⁸⁸ Although the Lorillards and Janeway were not small landholders, the inflated value of the newly created properties put them out of the range of many. Much of the land appears to have remained the property of John R. Livingston. Common Council of the City of New York 1675-1834, Vol. 5:486; NYCTA 1808.

⁸⁹ In another example of the relationship between these landholders and city governments, Daniel Tylee, a Sixth Ward alderman, was a tenant of Lorillard relative Baltus Moore for over 10 years. Two other Tylee relatives had city appointments as leather inspectors. Daniel Tylee also served as the vice president for the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen in 1796. Elliot 1812; Longworth 1798, 1815–1816; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1820.

⁹⁰ Until about 1830, 100 Chatham (Lot 51) successively housed the shoe stores of Peter Amerman, then Alfred Nash, Lewis Reed. At 98 & 100 Chatham, Henry Fritz and John Gassner, then William and Henry Miller, then Robert Ross, all made saddles and harnesses. Elliot 1812; Longworth 1815–1816, 1833–1834, 1841–1842.

“Slaughterhouses in Which I Labored”: Industry, Labor, and the Land from Colonial Times to 1830

commercial spaces leased from the Bolmers at the corner of Pearl and Chatham Streets through the 1860s.⁹¹ Early on, Matthew Bolmer decided there was money to be made in the rental properties. He hired agents—his own relatives, to ensure trustworthiness—to collect rents and supervise his properties.⁹² Initially, Bolmer was more interested in commercial leases, renting to merchants, shoemakers, and the last of the district’s leather dealers. Baltus Moore, a Broadway candle maker and merchant, and Lorillard relative, pursued a similar investment strategy at the corner of Chatham and Orange Streets.

Tobias Hoffman began his tenure on Pearl Street by leasing commercial space for his bakery from George Orff. The Hoffmans made their home at 474 Pearl Street, next door to Tobias’s brick bakery oven, eventually purchasing both lots. On the other side of the bakery, at 478 Pearl Street, lived another baker, George Casmere. Hoffman and Casmere were both landlords, renting space to other bakers and their families.⁹³ After Tobias’s death in 1813, his widow, Margaret, remained in their home, generating income by leasing out the bakery, workspace on the back lots, and even residential space within her own home.⁹⁴

Other brewers and bakers⁹⁵ relocated to this section of the city which, in spite of its growing residential component, still welcomed certain industries. John Pirnie moved his family to Orange Street before the filling of the Collect Pond was completed.⁹⁶ He established a brewery on two adjacent lots, 24 Orange (Lot 36 within the archeological project area), which also served as his residence, and 65 Cross Street (Lot 32), next to Coulthardt’s brewery. Pirnie leased the property until 1823 when he found it advantageous to purchase the two lots. The Pirmies, now property owners, maintained their Orange Street residence until 1834, purchasing additional lots on Cross and Orange Streets in the 1820s.⁹⁷ These lots faced Paradise Square and the Five Points intersection.

George Gardener, a former city employee,⁹⁸ and Gertrude Vultee invested in multiple properties on the lower east side of Manhattan, becoming small-time landlords. Like Hoffman, Casmere, and Pirnie, they chose to reside on their own properties in the district. They supported themselves with rental incomes, and like the bakers, established businesses in the neighborhood. The Widow Vultee dealt in ready-made linens from her Chatham Street home (Lot 50 on Block 160), an ideal commercial address, while Gardener ran a grocery at 14 Orange Street (Lot 44) in the same building in which he made his home.

Jean-Marie Labatut, a French Creole from Guadeloupe, sought a large, inexpensive space in a neighborhood not adverse to industrial developments. With the pond filled and a new street grid established, the former Collect district seemed promising. After renting from Moore at the corner of Chatham and Orange Streets, Labatut purchased several lots directly east of George Gardener’s on Orange Street (Lots 42 and 43). He quickly established his mahogany yard and residential properties, renting to a shoemaker, a glass cutter, and a mariner.⁹⁹ Like his neighbors Gardener and Vultee, Labatut settled his family in the district.

Retailers and shopkeepers dominated the post-tannery occupation of Pearl Street, while food purveyors, taverns, and groceries occupied most of the commercial spaces on Orange Street. These business men and

⁹¹ The Bolmers leased spaces to grocers and merchants through the 1860s. Matthew Bolmer’s son William maintained a house on Chatham Street until 1837, after which the properties became the responsibility of an agent or manager. U.S. Bureau of the Census 1790, 1800, 1810, 1820, 1830; Longworth 1833-1834.

⁹² William S. Deverna and George Schmelzel were two of the Bolmers’ agents or managers. George Schmelzel (or Smeltzel) was Matthew Bolmer’s son-in-law.

⁹³ It is not clear what the relationship between “landlord” and “tenant” was. These men were likely employees of Hoffman. They may have lived within his home and been fed from his kitchen, or had separate living quarters entirely.

⁹⁴ U.S. Bureau of the Census 1790; NYCTA 1793-1813; Longworth 1811-1812, 1822-1823, 1836-1837, 1841-1842.

⁹⁵ There was a bakery at either 20 or 22 Orange Street. Bakers appear in the tax assessments in the 1820s and were both commercial and residential tenants of the lot. Basil Dykes (1828), William Walker (1830), and Bernard Grasier (1830s-1850) were all employed as bakers and may have both lived and worked on this end of Orange Street. German immigrant Grasier lived with his immediate family and boarded three other German bakers, possibly his employees. Bakers continue to live and work on the property through the 1850s. NYCTA 1828; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1830, 1840; Longworth 1841-1842, 1842-1852, Rode 1853-1854.

⁹⁶ U.S. Bureau of the Census 1810, 1820, 1830.

⁹⁷ NYCTA 1820-1889; Longworth 1833-1834. The Pirmies maintained ownership of these properties, however, into the twentieth century; they moved their home to Greenwich Village in 1834 and shortly thereafter left Manhattan for the new suburbs in Westchester. They continued to run the brewery until 1842.

⁹⁸ Stephen Ludlam was hired to replace Gardener at an unspecified city job in 1809. Five years later Gardener lost a second city appointment as Fourth Ward watchman. Common Council of the City of New York 1675-1834, Vol. 5:746, 8:104.

⁹⁹ These tenants were Joseph Hawkins, John McDougall, and John Lee respectively. Elliot 1812.

women earned additional income through rentals. A steady stream of new arrivals from Europe and other parts of the United States and a growing free black community created a huge demand for housing of any kind in the working-class quarters of the city. For mariners and sailors, the neighborhood was within walking distance of the docks; for laborers and cartmen, these same addresses were within blocks of most of the major industries in the city. Property owners in the former Collect district erected rental housing as quickly as they could. Along Orange Street, this meant hastily built wooden structures; along Pearl Street, standing structures, originally single-family homes, were rapidly subdivided. Free blacks clustered in the subdivided houses at the intersection of Orange and Cross Streets, an area that included Block 160.¹⁰⁰ According to Shane White, by 1810 most free blacks were settled in a broad band stretching from the Hudson River in the Fifth Ward through the Sixth Ward to the East River. Within this band, the greatest concentration of black households was located to the southeast of the Collect Pond in the spot that became the Five Points.

2.6 The Tenants, the Workers, and the Five Points

In 1808, a finalized version of the newly gridded Anthony Street was drawn (Figure 13).¹⁰¹ The following year, Anthony was extended through a series of lots on what had been the eastern bank of the Collect Pond to the intersection of Orange and Cross Streets. The intersection of these three streets resulted in an irregularly shaped open space, named Five Points almost as soon as it was established.

During the first two decades of the new century, thousands of immigrants poured into the city, tripling the population between the first and third federal census counts. Benevolent societies, like the Shamrock Friendly Society, sprang up to help the immigrant adjust to urban life. In the middle of the Five Points district, the African Mutual Relief Society¹⁰² provided aid, benefits, and occasional housing to Africans and African Americans in need. Numerous churches, established nearby, cared for their congregates. A group from the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) congregation raised a church on the corner of Mott and Mulberry Streets in 1796 (called the African Zion Church on Figure 12). Another African congregation worshipped at the African Episcopal Church on Center between Anthony and Leonard Streets. The district's white Catholics and Protestants worshipped at St. Peter's on Church Street, at St. Paul's on Broadway, and at St. Patrick's at Mott and Prince Streets. There were also three Dutch Reform churches and two German Lutheran congregations as well as Anabaptist, Friends, and Moravian congregations. Until 1829, the city's sole synagogue was located downtown between Broad and William Streets.¹⁰³

With their spiritual needs met, residents went about their daily lives, working most daylight hours and, at night, adjourning to the numerous taverns and groceries that had appeared on every block. Most proprietors were also landlords. Labatut leased residential space associated with his lumberyard, and free black and white families made their homes along an alleyway between his and Gardener's properties. Seventeen households, including Gardener's, lived on these two properties and along the alleyway in 1810. Five were headed by white men, 11 by black men, and one by a black woman identified only as "Isabella." There is no information recorded on the composition of the free black households before 1820, as the first three federal census counts did not record any information on age or sex of African residents. They were simply counted according to their status, slave or free. Most of the free black households included just two members, but Isabella lived alone and Richard Scott, a laborer, lived with four others. In 1820, there were 12 households, including Labatut's and Gardener's, on the two properties and along the alley. Four were headed by white men, including Phillip Rooney who lived with nine other men, all aliens, three women and two children; four others were headed by black men, and two by black women. Although there were fewer households than 10 years earlier, the households were all larger. The free black tenants were Jacob Hudson and his small family; Marian Pascal and her child; Margaret Brown's household (five women

¹⁰⁰ Griscom 1845; Hardie 1825; Osofsky 1996; Rosenwaik 1972; Blackmar 1989; White 1991.

¹⁰¹ Opening of Anthony Street [1809]. Anthony is present-day Worth Street.

¹⁰² First at 8 Orange Street and then at 44 Orange Street. Longworth 1808–1809, 1814–1815.

¹⁰³ Mott Street Zion Church, Longworth 1798, 1811–1812, 1823–1824; Centre Street African Episcopal Church, Longworth 1811–1812, 1825–1826, 1833–1834; synagogue, Longworth 1811–1812; Grinstein 1945:39.

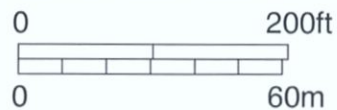
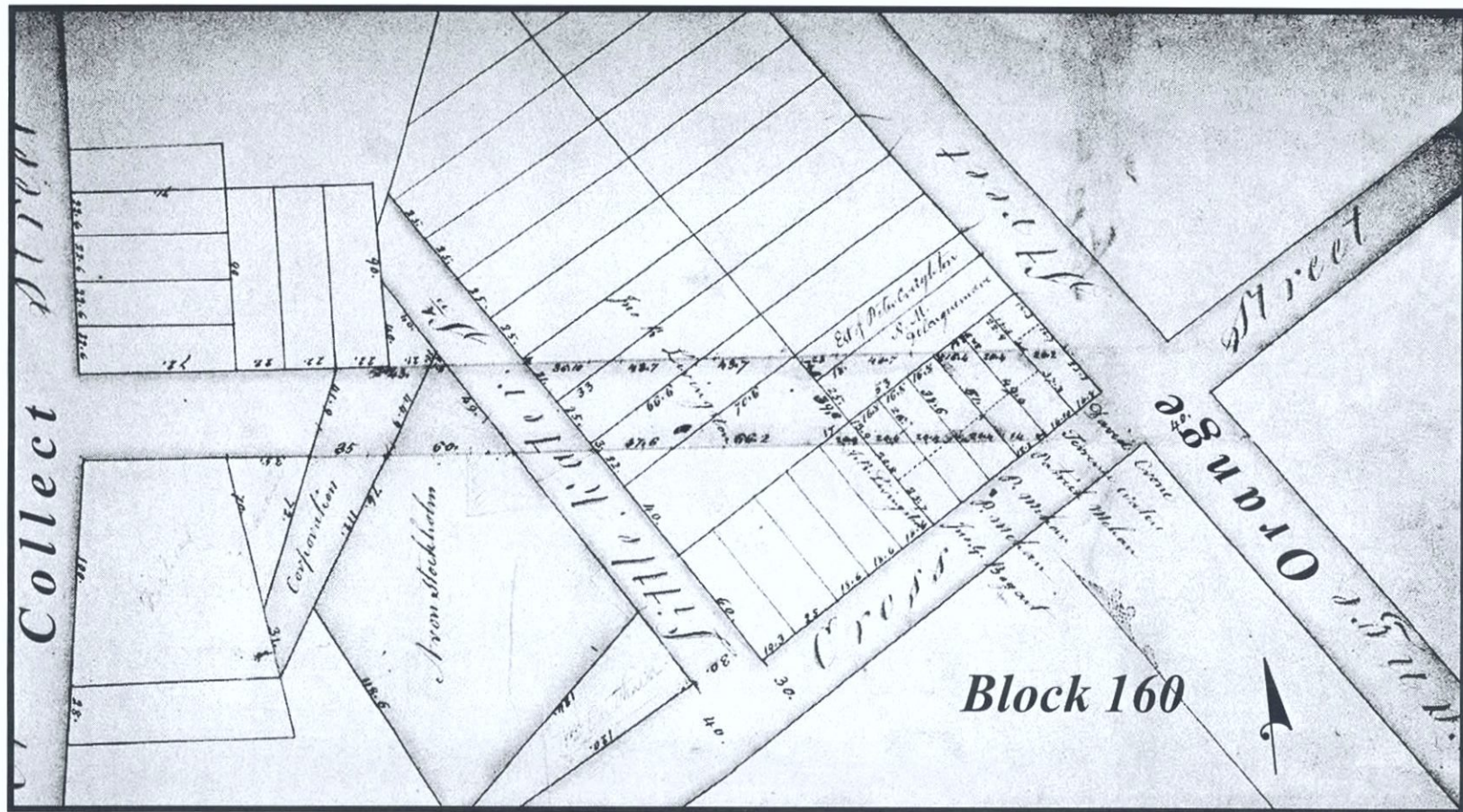


Figure 13. City survey map of lots purchased to open Anthony Street. Where Anthony met Orange and Cross Streets, the Five Points intersection took shape. Map courtesy of the New York Historical Society.

and two men); Sally O'Hare (two women and six children); Joseph Lewis, his wife and child; John Brain, his wife and children; and John Seabury's household (nine adults and four children).¹⁰⁴

By 1810, the newly created Sixth Ward, stretching from City Hall Park on the south to Canal Street on the north, was home to almost nine thousand individuals.¹⁰⁵ Individuals from every walk of life lived in the ward. There were widows, doctors, glaziers, carters, laundresses, barkeepers, masons, hairdressers, peddlers, merchants, tanners and curriers, policemen, aldermen, prostitutes, laborers, jewelers, sailors, lawyers, and thieves. They spoke Irish or German; some spoke with British accents and others in regional American dialects. Great numbers of free blacks in the city made their homes in the Five Points neighborhood. African labor and money were essential to the survival of this industrial district and Gardener was just one of the small landlords to regularly rent to African tenants. As the immigrant population in the Sixth Ward increased, African Americans frequently shared residential and commercial space with newly arrived Irish and German immigrants, and many residential arrangements in the working-class district proved shocking to outside observers. In 1810, between 7 and 10 percent of residents of the city were of African descent (436 free; 158 enslaved). On the block bounded by Cross, Orange, and Chatham Streets, almost 30 percent of the total number of inhabitants was African or African American.¹⁰⁶

When the Lorillard tanyards ceased functioning about 1819,¹⁰⁷ a number of leather-related businesses and shops closed their doors. With the removal of the leather businesses, large amounts of commercial space along nearby Chatham Street opened up. Commercial and retail ventures developed rapidly to meet the urgent needs of the Sixth Ward's growing population, and every conceivable product was available. Women peddled fruits and vegetables from rented stalls on the sidewalks. Tailors began businesses in the newly vacated storefronts, and jewelers moved in, forming a small "gold coast" along southern Chatham Street. Restaurants and oyster saloons also lined the thoroughfare, servicing both the city's workers and the politicians based at the newly constructed City Hall two blocks south.

Like Chatham, Pearl Street was beginning to take on a commercial air. The Bolmers' lots, near the corner of Chatham on Block 160, were let to several wholesale merchants. Joseph Durrell rented the commercial space at 484 Pearl for his book store. His family soon expanded their inventory to include crockery.¹⁰⁸ Two doors down, retired Army Captain John Mansfield negotiated a long-term lease, settled his family, and opened a grocery store. A butcher shop opened across the street and a tobacconist tried to start a business. Small groceries sold liquors and necessities. All of the properties had residential tenants as well.

A number of the city's doctors settled on Pearl Street, practicing every conceivable type of medicine. Some were respected physicians and druggists, like Benjamin Ogden, listed as both surgeon and barber, and Felix Pascalis, resident physician for the Board of Health. Others were hucksters peddling alcohol, opiates, and mineral water as miracle cures to the neighborhood's residents.¹⁰⁹ Coffin makers, perhaps in anticipation of physicians' referrals, also settled on Pearl Street. Isaac Cross, a cabinet and coffin maker, rented work space on Pearl Street from the Hoffmans, splitting the rental of the back lot with Lewis Storms's livery stable. Cross was soon able to purchase the house and lot next door, settling his wife and children and his recently emigrated apprentices at 472 Pearl Street.¹¹⁰ Cross did business with Labatut, competing with John Dillion at 494 Pearl Street. These cabinetmakers alienated some potential customers with the great numbers of coffins they displayed along Pearl Street seven days a week, including the Sabbath.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁴ U.S. Bureau of the Census 1800, 1810; NYCTA 1837-1842.

¹⁰⁵ This was 12 percent of the city's total population. U.S. Bureau of the Census 1810.

¹⁰⁶ U.S. Bureau of the Census 1800, 1810; White 1991; Rosenwaik 1972.

¹⁰⁷ The Lorillards' business ceased at this address around 1819. NYCTA 1819.

¹⁰⁸ The Durrells would remain until the 1840s, when they would sell their crockery business to John Gould.

¹⁰⁹ The medical professionals were John Hicks at 464 Pearl (Lot 1) in 1800; Ogden at 482 Pearl Street (Lot 11) from 1808-1810 and 477 Pearl Street in 1812; Peter Tappen, physician at 474 Pearl (Lot 7) in 1814; Feliz Pasquale at 486 Pearl, 1815-1820; George Cummings, physician at 500 Pearl (Lot 21) in 1815; Thomas and Isaac Kip, druggists, were counted at 478 Pearl Street (Lot 9) in the 1820s, 1830s and 1840s. Longworth 1811-1812; Elliot 1812; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1810, 1820, 1830, 1840; New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor 1853; Duffy 1968, Vol. 1:117.

¹¹⁰ Cross lived with his wife, four men, four children, and a single African-American woman. The four other men were probably Cross's employees, the black woman, a servant. Four aliens were counted in the households, but it was not indicated which ones. U.S. Bureau of the Census 1820.

Even as the neighborhood filled up with workers, respectable, single women were apparently comfortable keeping Pearl Street residences. After her husband's death in 1813, Margaret Hoffman remained in her tastefully appointed Pearl Street home. She supported herself with rental income, renting work space to Isaac Cross and Lewis Storms and several bakers. Both Storms and the bakers lived with their families in residential spaces on the Hoffmans' two properties. Also relatively well off was Ann Lamb, who lived with an enslaved woman on the lot between Hoffmans' bakery and Captain Mansfield's home. For a short time, Jane Shultz rented the same property with another woman and two children. Like Margaret Hoffman, other Pearl Street widows maintained control over their own property and earned money by renting out extra space.¹¹²

Women were able to rent less expensive rooms down the block on the site of Lorillard's former Pearl Street tanyards. These households were more crowded and complicated. Single women, white and black, rented small spaces for themselves and their children: Irish workers shared tenement apartments with African-American workers and their families. Similar living arrangements were present along Cross Street. In some tenements, there were multiple families with 9, 10, or 11 adults contributing to the rent. In many cases, the boarders were employed in the same trades as their landlords.¹¹³

In the middle of Cross Street, the Coulthardt widow, Elizabeth, continued to reside on the Brewery property (Lot 28 on Block 160) with her freed slaves. Her son William, alderman and brewer, lived next door, the two households occupying a large portion of the block. Between the Coulthardts on Cross Street and the Pirnie brewery around the corner, a number of households crowded into small frame buildings, facing the soon-to-be infamous Five Points intersection. Unlike Mrs. Coulthardt, many women—like Fanny Cooper and Mrs. Brown—made their own way, cooking and cleaning, sewing, hawking food and liquor, or selling sex. These women economized, sharing rent and small spaces with other working women and their children.¹¹⁴

The workingmen who moved into the neighborhood were shoemakers, tailors, carriers and dyers, sailors, and grocers. One was a mason and several were cartmen. For the cartmen, this neighborhood was close to the heavy industries, docks, and merchants requiring their services. Carting was a physically difficult job, but it was also independent and profitable. These men carted goods of all varieties, including firewood, hay, and the "dirt" (night soils) from the houses themselves. Requiring just a horse, cart, and city license, the independence of the job made it all the more desirable, and white Americans fought to keep licensing exclusive. Africans were forbidden to hold carting licenses, although they were not prohibited from working for the cartmen.¹¹⁵ As the numbers of Irish in the city grew, the cartmen campaigned to keep licenses from the immigrants. Limited resolution to the problem was found late in 1818 when the carters agreed to grant aliens the right to cart only the city's household waste, restricting access to more "palatable and lucrative forms of carting."¹¹⁶

New York City welcomed the workers as the city's leaders consolidated control over American trade and finance. The young workers were the raw material with which the merchants and entrepreneurs of New York would build an empire. Although many trades would soon enact restrictions aimed at limiting alien

¹¹¹ Common Council of the City of New York 1675-1834, Vol.14:104 (Oct. 1824).

¹¹² U.S. Bureau of the Census 1810, 1820; Stott 1990:190.

¹¹³ Either Ann or Nancy Lamb was counted in the census at 478 Pearl (Lot 9) between 1810-1830, Jane Shultz in 1820. Other female-headed households in 1810 included Mrs. Reeder's (Lot 6 or 7); property owner Mary Linn lived with her child at 470 Pearl (Lot 5, 1808-1812); Margaret Cracker lived with another woman and three children. (Lot 6 or 7). Mixed households included that of Henry Leak, a tanner who lived with his wife and children and four adult men, one of whom was black. There was also a black woman and several children. Robert Graham, a shoemaker, lived with his wife and children and five black adults (three men and two women). Michael Pierson lived with his wife and four children, three black females, one black male, and a child. U.S. Bureau of the Census 1810, 1820, 1830.

¹¹⁴ Elizabeth Coulthardt's households included six African Americans—three women, two men, and one child. She also lived with another white man and woman, possibly a married son or daughter, and her grandchild. U.S. Bureau of the Census 1820; Stansell 1987; Katzman 1978.

¹¹⁵ As early as 1677 Africans were forbidden licenses. Wilentz 1984:27, 135-7; Hodges 1986:23-25.

¹¹⁶ Hodges 1986:23-5, 135-7.

and black participation,¹¹⁷ in the early 1820s the streets surrounding Five Points teemed with workers of all types. Technological innovations were few and much of the labor was manual, but, with a small investment, a workingman could make a successful go of it. The butchery trade was restricted, requiring city licensing, but other trades were more open to immigrant labor. Irish and German men and women had little difficulty finding employment in the clothing, shoe, and furniture trades. Demand for ready-made clothing among the laborers of the south and western United States created a huge demand for workers in the garment industry in the eastern cities,¹¹⁸ and thousands of immigrants entering New York City in the early 1820s were eager to have these jobs.

2.7 Unhealthy New York

Visitors to Five Points in the 1820s remembered its unrivaled smell. Pig sties flourished in the small backyard spaces of economically conscious residents. Animal waste from everything horsedrawn filled the streets. Complaints registered with the city led inspectors to the Anthony Street properties of Peter and George Lorillard, the Little Water Street properties of Andrew and John Stockholm, and the Cross Street addresses owned by John Livingston. All were cited by the Common Council for unspecified sanitary "nuisances" or overflowing privies on their tenanted lots.¹¹⁹

But little was done. These men did not reside on their properties, and so long as the rents were delivered in a timely fashion, improvements were unnecessary. Even those landlords who lived on their own properties allowed them to decline. No governing body consistently regulated housing in the city, and those agencies that did act had little means of enforcement. The Common Council responded to tenant complaints, issuing orders to clean up the most serious offenses, but the council lacked strong follow-up action. The same landlords were repeatedly cited for the same infractions—Widow Thompson was ordered to clean up privies on three adjacent Cross Street properties on Block 160; a few years later, her agent or housekeeper, Margaret O'Neil, received the same citation at the same address.¹²⁰ George Gardener, owner of several tenanted lots in the neighborhood, was perhaps the worst offender, cited almost annually for illegal sanitary practices: dirty and overflowing privies. The widowed Gertrude Vultee was another habitual offender. Unlike the larger landowners, both Gardener and Vultee lived on their properties.¹²¹

Yellow fever returned to the city in 1805 and again in 1819. The immediate solution, for those who could afford it, was mass evacuation.¹²² Few of the Five Points residents had that luxury, however, as the district's rentals were some of the least expensive in the city. Unable to evacuate the most crowded parts of the city, officials set out to clean them. New rules were instituted: "Privies shall be regularly disinfected with lime! The Superintendent of Scavengers schedules privy cleanings! Street manure profitably turned into fertilizer!"¹²³ Waste was the city's greatest problem as there was just no place to put it. The shrinking size of an average lot limited the amount of space available to dig privies, and the ground could simply not absorb all the waste water. Gravity sewers were supposed to carry the waste out through the streets and into the rivers, but some lots on the former Collect ground had sunk below the level of the streets, rendering the gravity system useless. Yards would flood with sewerage, sending forth an odor through all the connected backyards that made it impossible to open the windows. To protect the health of the citizens, privy cleaning and the transport of waste to designated dumping grounds was limited to just a few overnight hours.¹²⁴

¹¹⁷ Wilentz 1984.

¹¹⁸ Licensing initially required a proven period of apprenticeship. DeVoe 1844; Wilentz 1984.

¹¹⁹ Common Council of the City of New York 1675-1834, Vol. 8:101 (1814), 18:632 (1830).

¹²⁰ Common Council of the City of New York 1675-1834, Vol. 14:156, 19:613.

¹²¹ Gardner was frequently cited for his Block 160 property, Lot 40, while Vultee was cited for other Orange and Nassau Street properties. Common Council of the City of New York 1675-1834, Vol. 14:156 (1824), 16:219, 603 (1827), 18:617 (1830), 19:447, 613 (1831).

¹²² Duffy 1968:333-364.

¹²³ Geismar 1993:60; Duffy 1968.

¹²⁴ Common Council of the City of New York 1675-1834, Vol. 3:352 (1803).

The streets also needed to be cleaned regularly. A number of private and public collection schemes were tried. The great clumps of animal manure that covered the streets could be sold as fertilizer at great profit, but much of the other waste was ignored. Pigs and dogs were New York's original trash collection agency, but with the city's growth, the animals could no longer keep up with the quantities of trash without presenting a danger to the citizenry. Roving pigs were rounded up and turned over to the residents of the almshouse. New laws were passed regulating street cleaning once a week in most sections of the city, but Five Points was so dirty it had to be swept clean at least twice weekly.¹²⁵

As the city markets spread out to accommodate the expanding city, additional regulations were passed to govern food waste. The safety of the city's food supply was a constant concern for the governing authorities. Butchers were forbidden to bring the head, feet, guts, or fat of any animal to market and were required to dispose of the waste immediately. Summer sales of certain foods—oysters, salted meats, and pickled fish packed in barrels—along with hides and blubber, were forbidden outright. In hopes of improving air quality during the summer, the vending of seafood in the streets was forbidden from May to November,¹²⁶ but street peddlers remained visible in the Five Points, risking fines and punishment.

2.8 Raucous New York

Numerous incidents contributed to the district's growing reputation for bawdiness. One was the variety of living arrangements available and acceptable in the neighborhood. White workers lived freely with black workers, and single women lived on their own. No longer responsible for large, extended families, adult tenants lived among strangers. On their days and evenings off, the workers had money to spend on their own leisure. They could drink, eat, gamble, or, if they had the time, take in a show at the Bowery Theater. The Bowery, located on the site of the old Bull's Head Tavern, along with other theaters around Chatham Square (the Park, the Chatham, the American, and the Franklin) presented Greek tragedies, Shakespeare, comedic sketches, and musical and burlesque revues that appealed to working men and women.¹²⁷ Clerks and laborers brought their dates to the theatre. Sometimes they paid cash for an escort, sometimes they "treated." Prostitution in the Five Points was fairly public and the "third tier" of many theaters was generally reserved for the ladies of the evening and their consorts.¹²⁸ This system did not always run smoothly—one Pearl Street clerk invited two women to escort him to the theatre. He treated both to a libation and then stood back as they brawled over which would accompany him home.¹²⁹

Sex was a readily accessible part of the underground economy, although it was not exactly underground. Prostitutes walked the streets, advertised themselves in public windows, and solicited in saloons. The prostitutes of Five Points attracted a varied clientele. Some served the working class, others targeted the businessmen and politicians of the city. Some brothels had permanent residents employed full time, while other establishments rented beds and rooms, as they were needed, to women working independently. Some women resorted to prostitution in times of hardship, slipping in and out of the business as their financial situation dictated,¹³⁰ and the houses of single women aroused the suspicions of the self-appointed keepers of morality in New York City. A number of Five Points residents, despite respectable veneers, were suspected of running brothels. The Lynars, tenants and partners with the Bolmers in a drygoods venture, were arrested on Christmas Day in 1820 along with two others on charges of running a "disorderly house."¹³¹

¹²⁵ Common Council of the City of New York 1675-1834, Vol. 1:379, 417 (1788), 1:547 (1790), 11:731, 751 (1821), 14:363 (1825); Corey 1994.

¹²⁶ Board of Health 1812.

¹²⁷ *New York Transcript*, Advertisements, July–August 1834.

¹²⁸ Gilfoyle 1992:56.

¹²⁹ *New York Transcript*, August 17, 1834.

¹³⁰ Gilfoyle 1992; Hill 1993.

¹³¹ Both Gilfoyle's *City of Eros*, 1992, and Hill's *Their Sisters' Keepers*, 1993, focus on prostitution in New York City in the nineteenth century. Some of the city's most "respectable" merchants and landholders profited from the higher rents illegal businesses were able to pay. District Attorney Indictments 1820; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1830; Magadalen Society 1831; *New York Transcript*, July 1, 7, 10, 1834.

The presence of working-class residents brought other amenities. Grocery stores were established to cater to the dietary needs of specific ethnic groups, and butchers began to sell meats outside of the city's markets. Crockery shops and glass importers targeted working-class wives with less expensive seconds and remainders in stylish patterns. Restaurants and eating houses served breakfast, lunch, and dinner to workingmen living away from their families. Book sellers established retail businesses, alongside female purveyors of fancy goods, hats, and linens. Barbers and surgeons operated from storefronts next to jewelers, dressmakers, and tailors. Since almost everyone labored for someone else, leisure time was precious and often spent right there in the neighborhood.¹³²

Married women socialized with each other in their homes, after church services, and over laundry and shopping chores. Many of the female workers were young and single with few responsibilities to home and family. With their own money to spend, single women's leisure activities took more public forms. They attended the theater with dates or in small groups, saved money for shared carriage rides, and frequented ice creameries and other public eating houses. They strolled the city's parks, the Battery, Bowery, and Broadway for free, mingling with women of all classes.¹³³

Boardinghouses and saloons were the center of male working-class life. Demand for housing resulted in many different arrangements, frequently informal. Many boardinghouses were run by the wives of small shopkeepers. For a fee, the women would board and lodge their husband's employees (and sometimes their families). Other houses were more formally established with tenants sharing rooms separate from those of the housekeeper, paying extra for food and baths. Frequently, a single ethnic group would dominate a boardinghouse, sharing food, drink, and living quarters with their compatriots. Over "short pipes" and beer, working men gained a sense of camaraderie and brotherhood in a crowded city that was often strange, harsh, and unforgiving.¹³⁴

Saloons dotted the streetscape, a haven from the small, overcrowded tenements and rooming houses many workers shared. They were located in cellars and apartments, competing with licensed liquor stores and restaurants for the workingman's dollars. A glass of beer could be purchased almost anywhere, and the number of shops selling liquor or beer in Five Points was legendary. They came in all sizes and shapes—grog shops, groceries, saloons, oyster cellars, beer gardens, liquor stores. Some saloons were frequented by particular ethnic groups, others were public gathering places for workers of all races and creeds. Some were groceries run by women serving liquor from a room upstairs, off the street. Still others served as fronts for prostitutes. The saloons of the Sixth Ward also served greater purposes. They were clearinghouses of information for the working-class community, offering advice and aid about employment and housing. They were also the central meeting places where job actions and political strategies were organized and where polling took place on election days.¹³⁵

It was the nightly carousing in Five Points, not the benevolent networks, that drew the concerned attention of New York's missionaries and moral reformers. Close to the seat of government, most of the city's newspapers, and the expanding commercial district, the poverty at Five Points seemed to some to be obscenely visible.¹³⁶ Reform-minded New Yorkers set their sights on these souls. They canvassed the neighborhood, distributing tracts, advocating temperance, and interviewing "fallen angels." As for the actual residents of the neighborhood, they were, in one view, just obstructions to "the flow of respectable social traffic through the streets."¹³⁷

¹³² Longworth 1823-1824; DeVoe 1844.

¹³³ Peiss 1987; Blackmar 1989:86-88.

¹³⁴ Wilentz 1984; Ensselen 1990:159; Stott 1990:218-220.

¹³⁵ Foster 1990:85-91; Hodges 1996:119; Stott 1990:217-219.

¹³⁶ Blackmar 1989; Yamin and Milne 1994; Hodges 1996.

¹³⁷ Magdalen Society 1831.

In 1828, Mayor William Paulding addressed these concerned citizens in a meeting of the Common Council. He blamed the downfall of the Five Points district, "rendezvous for thieves and prostitutes," on the large number of purveyors of alcohol centered there and recommended that the council be more discriminating when granting liquor licenses. The following spring, members of the Common Council's Street Committee inspected the triangular piece of land bounded by Anthony, Cross, and Little Water Streets and found "nearly all of the buildings...in ruinous Condition, of Little Value and occupied by the lowest description and most degraded and abandoned of the human species. Enormities of every kind (of which the public are but too well informed) are committed daily in that sink of iniquity."¹³⁸

The Street Committee recommended widening Cross and Little Water Streets to 40 feet each and clearing all the buildings from the triangle, replacing them with the bridewell (prison) and the jail—to better serve the needs of the surrounding, notoriously criminal, community. Shopkeepers, grocers, food purveyors, a milliner, and several carters protested, afraid of losing their ability to earn an independent living. Landlords also actively protested as they were not anxious to lose the high rent rolls generated in the heavily tenanted neighborhood. Large landowners also registered their displeasure with the council. Peter Lorillard and John Livingston, for instance, argued that it was their duty to provide decent housing to the workingman. To tear down their tenant housing "would cause the beggary and ruin of many widows and orphans." To appease the council, Lorillard promised to renovate his buildings just as soon as present leases expired. When the plan for slum clearance was put to a vote, only four of 21 members voted in favor of it.¹³⁹

2.9 Disease and Racial Unrest

Five Points was becoming truly notorious. Summers were particularly hard for the inhabitants. Days passed without a breeze in the small, airless tenements. Residents fled to the roofs and streets to escape the heat. The *New York Transcript* attributed more than 10 deaths in a single day to the heat: "A poor Irish laborer named MacNamara, residing at 37 Orange Street was at work sawing wood at the corner of Cross and Orange Streets; and became greatly heated about 2 o'clock; he went to the pump at the corner of Cross and Anthony Streets (the water at which place is dreadfully unwholesome) and drank a large quantity of it; he suddenly raised his hands to his forehead and dropped dead."¹⁴⁰

Summers brought other dangers to the city's health and well-being. After threatening forays, cholera hit New York hard in the summer of 1832. Although an international port, New York was a dirty city and the disease grew to epidemic proportions, especially in the poorer, dirtier, and crowded districts of the lower city. By the second week of July, everyone who could afford to had evacuated the city again. In an attempt to contain the disease, streets were cleaned and strewn with lime, but the death rate continued to rise. The inhabitants of Five Points, already distasteful to the city's respectable residents, were now downright frightening, a "race of beings of all colors, ages, sexes, and nations, though generally of but one condition, and that...almost of the vilest brute. With such a crew, inhabiting the most populous and central portion of the city, when may [the city] be considered secure from pestilence?"¹⁴¹

Tensions grew more rapidly in the thick summer air that hung over the city. Racial unrest had been brewing for years with minor eruptions throughout the 1820s. Blacks were firmly established in a number of industries in the city, providing services for both their own community and the larger working-class public. African-American women dominated the domestic trades—large numbers cooked, cleaned, and sewed in private residences, hotels, and restaurants. The men were employed as sailors, carpenters, smiths, and butchers. They also tended bar and ran saloons, restaurants, and dance halls. The increasing visibility

¹³⁸ Common Council of the City of New York 1675-1834, Vol. 20:19-20.

¹³⁹ Common Council of the City of New York 1675-1834, Vol. 20:11; Blackmar 1989:177-179.

¹⁴⁰ *New York Transcript*, July 29, 1834.

¹⁴¹ *New York Evening Post*, July 23, 1832, as cited by Rosenberg 1962:34.

of the free black community ignited the fears of middling to lower-class white New Yorkers, whether immigrant or native born. They were afraid for their jobs and feared for the safety of their families and the continuation of the white race. The advent of emancipation day, July 4, 1827, may have further enflamed the fears of white New Yorkers.

The increasing numbers of Irish and Germans seeking housing and jobs in the working-class districts created an atmosphere of hostile competition and outright racism. The city's white laborers began to organize trade unions, and many African Americans moved out of the Five Points district. Some moved into already established black neighborhoods north and west of the built-up city. Others followed jobs, moving into the west wards and north of Houston Street. According to census and directory records, the black population of Block 160 dropped from a high of 27 percent of all households in 1810 to 12 percent in 1820. The African Americans who remained in the neighborhood would experience growing unease and violence.

Reports of robberies and seductions in *The New York Transcript* added to the notoriety of Five Points. With the threats of disease and racial unrest, the last of the district's landowners were ready to flee, removing their families to the suburbs of Kings and Westchester Counties. A violent attack along Orange Street resulting in the death of Joe Barnes, son-in-law of the Coulthards, was perhaps the final straw. Small real estate depressions encouraged landowners to divide their possessions into smaller holdings. Savvy investors, such as Labatut, took this opportunity to buy up additional property. Unlike his previous purchase, Labatut was not buying property for a commercial venture or a home; he was buying property to rent! The workers needed to be housed, and these land owners were eager to provide that housing. They erected small tenements and converted industrial structures into apartments. Each was filled almost as soon as it was built.¹⁴²

The Bolmers, Labatut, and the Pirnies relinquished day-to-day control of their properties. They turned their affairs over to agents and managers and moved from the city. The Coulthards had financial difficulty and were forced to sell, while the death of Widow Hoffman resulted in the sale of her properties to Labatut. Even George Gardener would leave his Orange Street home. Soon, just a few of the older tenants and property owners remained on Block 160. Gertrude Vultee continued to support herself with rental income and eventually opened her Chatham Street home to her daughter and son-in-law. Along with Vultee, the Mansfield family remained. After her husband's death, Maria Mansfield raised her children on Pearl Street, and they remained with their mother well into adulthood, observing the changes that transformed the neighborhood into an ethnic enclave. As immigration increased in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, Five Points took on a new character.

¹⁴² U.S. Bureau of the Census 1820, 1830; Longworth 1833-1834; NYCTA 1820-1842.

CHAPTER 3 – "A TEEMING NATION OF NATIONS": HEYDAY OF FIVE POINTS, 1830 TO 1865

by Reginald H. Pitts

3.1 Introduction

The race riots of the 1820s and 1830s, lurid stories in the daily and weekly penny presses, and the well-known images of the Five Points intersection (cover illustration), viewed through the lens of fear, prejudice, and misunderstanding, do little to illuminate the everyday lives of the people who were living there in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. The people who lived in the Five Points neighborhood, including Block 160 (Figure 14), were, in the main, recent immigrants to the United States. Many were Irish and most were poor and unskilled, but all sought to make a livelihood in the land of opportunity. In the words of Walt Whitman, "these newcomers are not paupers and criminals, but the Republic's most needed asset, the wealth of stout, poor men who will work."¹⁴³ They made the Republic what Walt Whitman called "a teeming nation of nations."

Many of the immigrants lived at the *Five Points* because it was what they could afford, but they also lived there because it was a vibrant neighborhood teeming with immigrants like themselves. At mid-century, Block 160 included a cross section of that population. Although the block adjoined the infamous Five Points intersection, life in the tenements was about more than the non-stop occurrences of vice and violence that characterized popular perceptions.

3.2 An Ethnic Enclave: The Irish

Irish emigrants who arrived in the United States at the beginning of the nineteenth century found the shores of the New World hospitable—especially for those who claimed to be exiles from British tyranny, which struck a chord in the hearts and minds of democratic Americans. Many of these Irish—Protestants as well as Catholics, mainly from the north of Ireland—had fought the British in an attempt to create an independent Ireland and had been forced to flee their homes on pain of death, deportation, or imprisonment. Other Irish, professed Catholics, were subject to reprisals from their Protestant neighbors and were compelled to look for other homes.¹⁴⁴

A number of these immigrants were middle-class professionals—clergy, doctors like William Macneven, and lawyers like Thomas Addis Emmet, both of whom would become active in New York City politics. Others were artisans (skilled craftsmen) or tradesmen who would have little trouble finding work at a living wage once they arrived in the New World. These were people like John McGowan, an accountant who arrived in November of 1827,¹⁴⁵ and Robert Bonner, a 26-year-old "gentleman" from Belfast, who arrived in New York in 1826. Sponsored by one of the Pirnies, Bonner became a naturalized citizen in 1834¹⁴⁶ and subsequently became the publisher of the *New York Morning Ledger*.¹⁴⁷

James Malone, a native of the village of Drumbcashel in County Louth, arrived in New York City in 1818 at the age of 17.¹⁴⁸ He soon found work as a carpenter and subsequently specialized in coffin making, a necessary specialty during that time.¹⁴⁹ Not long after, Malone started representing himself as an undertaker—providing coffin, horse, hearse, and all. On November 6, 1833, Malone became a naturalized American citizen.¹⁵⁰ He soon married Catherine Butler from County Westmeath and started a family that

¹⁴³ Kaplan 1980.

¹⁴⁴ Miller 1985:178.

¹⁴⁵ Scott 1990:15:5.

¹⁴⁶ Scott 1990:15:4, 64.

¹⁴⁷ Harlow 1931:537.

¹⁴⁸ *New York Truth-Teller*, January 6, 1844; New York State Census 1855.

¹⁴⁹ *New York Truth-Teller*, November 12, 1831.

¹⁵⁰ Scott 1990:15:63.

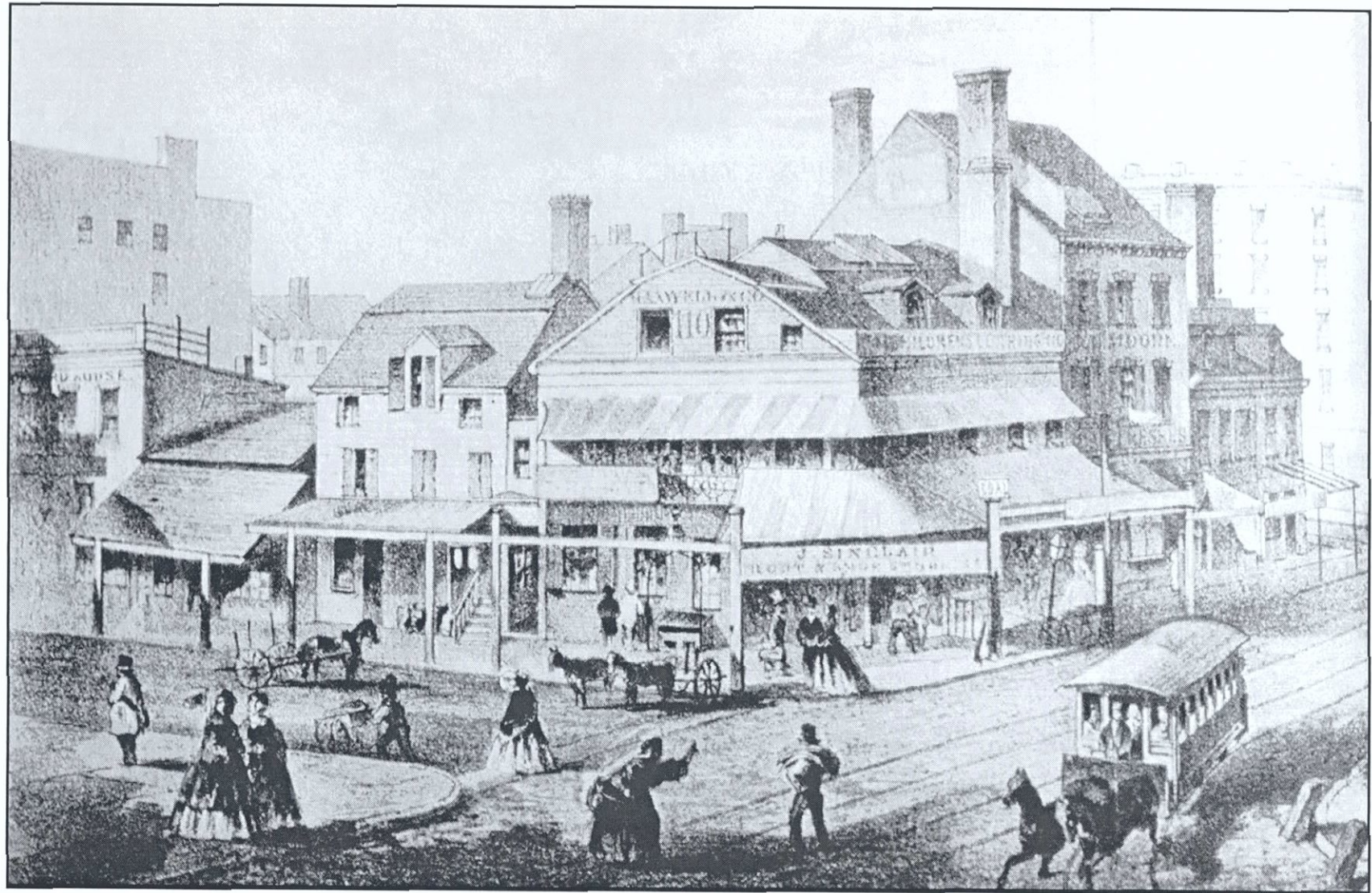


Figure 14. Lithograph showing the southeast corner of Block 160 at the intersection of Chatham and Pearl Streets, ca. 1861. From Kouwenhoven 1953.

eventually included eight children.¹⁵¹ After John L. Dillon's death in October 1837,¹⁵² Malone assumed Dillon's "Old Established Ready Made Coffin Warehouse"¹⁵³ at 496 Pearl Street (Lot 19) and prospered.¹⁵⁴

The next wave of Irish emigration to the New World was composed of natives of the southern and western regions of Ireland. These men and women differed in other ways from earlier emigrants. Most were Roman Catholic; they were poorer than the majority of the previous arrivals; and they were unskilled laborers, as compared to their earlier compatriots. Many of the new arrivals had been small farmers, farm laborers, seamstresses, and washerwomen: people "who often 'carried no capital but their manual labor' and were without any acquired skill of any kind." These people, although poor, were mostly "neither destitute [nor] desperate,"¹⁵⁵ but many found work in low-paying jobs that required a high degree of manual labor—ditchdiggers, cart drivers, porters, seamstresses, washerwomen, peddlers.

Among these arrivals was a 30-year-old grocer from Liverpool named James Lynch, who arrived in 1827; he filed his intention to seek American citizenship four years later and was naturalized in 1836.¹⁵⁶ Patrick Brennan from Queens County in Leinster was naturalized on April 11, 1832, along with at least 20 other people, including Patrick Kelly from Ballinasloe in County Galway and a medical doctor from Dublin named Hugh Sweeny, who had an office at 484 Pearl Street (Lot 12) and after 1833 moved to 63 Park Street (Lot 28).¹⁵⁷ Edward Blackall, a tinsmith, arrived between 1833 and 1836 and settled with his family at 12½ Orange Street (Lot 42).¹⁵⁸ The Burns family—father Martin, mother Eliza, and a number of children, including Denis, a stonemason—arrived in New York in 1845. After Martin's death, the remaining family settled at 472 Pearl (Lot 6) by 1848.¹⁵⁹

These arrivals also included farmer Bernard McFarland of County Armagh, who was naturalized in 1836; Richard Cahill, who arrived with his family in 1838, but was subsequently handicapped in making a living by being blinded; Morris Callahan and his family, who arrived in 1840; carpenter John Ward, who arrived in 1841; cobbler James McNamara and his wife, Julia (Donohue), who arrived in 1843; tinsmith Timothy Lynch of County Kerry, who arrived in 1844; and the Lyons brothers—Philip, William, and Michael—who arrived in 1841. By 1850, Philip had brought over his wife and three children.¹⁶⁰ These immigrants would one day either own or occupy property on Block 160.

Irish emigration to North America between 1815 and 1845 is estimated between 800,000 and 1,000,000 souls, but the subsequent 10-year period (1845–1855) saw about 1,800,000 Irish being driven from their homes to arrive "destitute and disoriented" on foreign shores, including New York City.¹⁶¹ Many of these more recent arrivals were people who would not have ever considered leaving the countryside where they had spent all of their lives had it not been for repeated failures of the potato harvests, culminating in the calamitous Potato Famine of the late 1840s.

Many of the recent immigrants lived in the crowded multi-family tenement buildings on Block 160 including the Old Brewery; the packed buildings at 472 and 474 Pearl Street (Lots 6 and 7); 494 Pearl Street (Lot 18); the rear of 496 Pearl Street (Lots 19 and 20); 49 Cross Street (Lot 21); and the hovels along "Donovan's Lane"—a narrow alley that ran between 474 Pearl and 14 Baxter Street, covering Lots 7, 8, and 42 through 43. These new immigrants included Timothy Murphy of County Kerry, Michael McCann,

¹⁵¹ U.S. Bureau of the Census 1850, 1860.

¹⁵² *New York Herald*, October 21, 1837.

¹⁵³ *New York Irish Shield*, August 1, 1829:313.

¹⁵⁴ Last Will and Testament of James Malone, State of New York Surrogate's Court for the County of New York, Liber of Wills 132:174, probated February 24, 1860.

¹⁵⁵ Miller 1985:200.

¹⁵⁶ Scott 1990:13:10.

¹⁵⁷ Scott 1990:13:32.

¹⁵⁸ U.S. Bureau of the Census 1850.

¹⁵⁹ U.S. Bureau of the Census 1850, 1860; New York State Census 1855.

¹⁶⁰ U.S. Bureau of the Census 1850, New York State Census 1855.

¹⁶¹ Miller 1985:193.

and John Patrick Grace, who arrived in 1847; Patrick Gerraghty, a 28-year-old farm laborer who arrived in New York from Liverpool on the emigrant ship *Senator* on April 3, 1848; and farm laborer Richard Barry, tailor Lawrence Barry and his wife Margaret (McColvin), and Catherine Hester and Bridget Gilmartin, all of whom emigrated in the late 1840s or early 1850s. They immediately set out to make a living—as day laborers digging ditches, driving carts, moving heavy loads, cleaning out privies or “any work that comes to hand.” Some would prosper on Block 160; others would do well to stay alive.¹⁶²

These later immigrants were looked upon with suspicion by their new neighbors. In *Paddy and the Republic: Ethnicity and Nationality in Antebellum America*, Dale T. Knobel notes that the Irish immigrant, be he the Ulster craftsman of the 1820s or the illiterate famine-chased bogtrotter of 1850, was seen by Anglo-Americans (Americans who traced their ancestry back to the British Isles or Protestant Ireland) as “Paddy,” the stereotypical Irishman (and his slatternly consort “Bridget”): inconsequential, simple, boorish, brawling, larcenous, ignorant, drunken, dirty, promiscuous, Catholic, and rash; yet somehow light-hearted, cheerful, and amiable (unless drunk). This image “simultaneously captured the needs, interests, and self-perceptions of Anglo-Americans as they came into contact with the Irish.”¹⁶³ This figure was contrasted in thought and in word (by the use of the mainstream press) with the Anglo-Americans—by the “Anglos” themselves!—as obviously inferior in mind, word, and deed. These Irish “teagues” were unfit to be considered as potential American citizens.

The stereotype was pervasive. As Knobel further points out, it permeated “the ordinary, everyday verbal exchange of antebellum Americans”¹⁶⁴ to the point that an antislavery activist commented that “I never hear an Irishman called Paddy, or a colored person called nigger, or the contemptuous epithet ‘old beggar man,’ without a pang at my heart, for I know that such epithets, inadvertently used, are doing more to form the moral sentiments of the nation, than all the teachings in the schools.”¹⁶⁵

In promoting the stereotypes, “antebellum Americans sought to validate their claim to be an inherently republican people by defining themselves as a white people. By connecting the qualities they thought requisite in a self-governing citizenry with race, they created a comforting auto-stereotype. Racial minorities, of course, were the foils of the stereotype.”¹⁶⁶ And these “racial minorities” were not confined to the Africans, Jews, or Native Americans [Indians], but included the Celt (Irish), as opposed to the Anglo-Saxon.

The role of class also entered into the equation. From the early days of the Republic, it was the wealthy, most often men from the merchant class, who held political positions.¹⁶⁷ However, by the 1820s and 1830s, with the growth of Jacksonian Democracy (the extension of suffrage to nearly all white male citizens) and the influx of naturalized Irish immigrants, the patrician class was soon faced with an anonymous electorate that did not value the old standards of legitimacy. With the heterogeneity of the population came different values and attitudes towards the rights and privileges of the traditional elite.¹⁶⁸

The new society was personified by Irishmen who, although wielding political influence and in possession of significant financial resources, were still considered “of no couth and of no class” by patrician New Yorkers like George Templeton Strong and Philip Hone. Indeed, if these pillars of the community were disparaged by the wealthy and influential, the Irish Catholic workingman—artisan as well as common laborer—truly had no identity. What made it more galling for many of the Irish was that one might be employed “by a Republican and Protestant boss who sought to reform him in the shop, at home, and in the neighborhood,” and these intrusions into all aspects of life made many of these people

¹⁶² U.S. Bureau of the Census 1850, 1860; New York State Census 1855; Glazier and Tepper 1985, Vol. 3:117 for Pat Gerraghty.

¹⁶³ Knobel 1986:11.

¹⁶⁴ Knobel 1986:13.

¹⁶⁵ Lydia Maria Child, quoted in Knobel 1986:15.

¹⁶⁶ Knobel 1986:28.

¹⁶⁷ Bernstein 1990:128.

¹⁶⁸ Bernstein 1990:151.

resentful.¹⁶⁹ "All the more obnoxious to the Irish were indications of a preference for the Negro" on the part of these people, and they could not understand why that should be so.¹⁷⁰

3.3 The Orange Street Ghetto: Polish and Russian Jews

Among the other foreign-born residents of Block 160 were the Jewish merchants of Orange Street. These souls were primarily from Czarist Russia and Russia-controlled Poland. Their numbers also included a number of natives of the German city-states or of the region of Posen, a section of Poland controlled by the Kingdom of Prussia. Many had arrived in the United States by way of Great Britain.¹⁷¹ Jewish emigration from these areas had commenced in the late 1830s and early 1840s.¹⁷² Many of these new arrivals soon found themselves in the clothing business as tailors, haberdashers (hat and cap makers), dressmakers, shoemakers, and cordwainers (bootmakers).¹⁷³ As a visitor once observed of the area, "it seems that every house is a ready-made clothing establishment."¹⁷⁴ Many also dealt in secondhand goods and ran pawnshops. Others were alleged to have been "fences" who operated "shops for the reception and purchase of stolen goods...which are situated in a row, on Orange street, near the Points."¹⁷⁵

Although Jews had long been residents of New York City, their presence on Chatham and Orange Streets was noted in derogatory terms in the 1830s and 1840s.¹⁷⁶ Despite such calumnies, these folks went about their business and soon became a valued part of the community. These were people like Polish clothier George T. Green of 110 Chatham Street (Lot 52), who advertised that his garments could be "made to order at the shortest notice and with strict punctuality,"¹⁷⁷ tailor and pawnbroker Aaron Joseph of 20 Orange/Baxter Street (Lot 38); and clothier Samuel Stone at 22 Orange/Baxter Street (Lot 37). Joseph and Stone had arrived from Poland and Germany by way of England, Joseph in 1838 with his family and Stone in 1842 with his.¹⁷⁸ Abraham Baum, a shoemaker at 4 Orange/Baxter (Lot 47), arrived in New York from Poland in 1847. He was able to save up enough to send for his 18-year-old wife, Goldie, who arrived in 1849. By 1855, they had three children.¹⁷⁹

Simon Werbstein [Welpstein or Velpston] arrived in the United States from Poland in about 1838. He changed his surname to "Webster" and had opened a secondhand clothing store at 4 Orange (later Baxter; Lot 47) Street by 1844.¹⁸⁰ Simon sent for his kinsman (brother?) David in 1845; David was able to save enough to send for his wife, Eva, and four-year-old son, Jacob, in 1849. By 1860, he possessed \$5,000 of personal property—possibly the stock of his clothing store.¹⁸¹

Simon Webster married Rachael Schlossman, who had arrived in New York from Germany in 1839, and they had three children. After Simon's death about 1852, Rachael married a Polish tailor named Mendel Jacobs, a widower with a small son. By 1860, they were living next door to David Webster at 6 Baxter and had added a daughter to their family. Jacobs claimed \$2,000 of personal property.¹⁸² Both he and David Webster were "licensed dealers in second-hand articles"—as were a large number of Baxter Street merchants.¹⁸³

¹⁶⁹ Bernstein 1990:78.

¹⁷⁰ Ernst 1994:67, 69.

¹⁷¹ U.S. Bureau of the Census 1850.

¹⁷² Groneman Pernicone 1973.

¹⁷³ Ernst 1994.

¹⁷⁴ Bobo 1852:116.

¹⁷⁵ Foster 1990:126.

¹⁷⁶ Foster 1990:127-128; Bobo 1852:115-117, 119.

¹⁷⁷ *New York True Sun*, July 30, 1844.

¹⁷⁸ U.S. Bureau of the Census 1850, 1860.

¹⁷⁹ U.S. Bureau of the Census 1850; New York State Census 1855.

¹⁸⁰ Doggett 1844-1845, 1850-1851.

¹⁸¹ U.S. Bureau of the Census 1850, 1860; New York State Census 1855.

¹⁸² U.S. Bureau of the Census 1850, 1860; New York State Census 1855.

¹⁸³ Valentine 1855:323.

In 1852, a group of Russian Jews had founded an Orthodox synagogue in an attic at 83 Bayard Street. The synagogue was named *Beth Hamidrash* (House of Study).¹⁸⁴ The next year, a splinter group led by a matzoh baker named Judah Middleman organized a synagogue named *Beth Ha-Midrash Li'nei Yisroel Yelide Polen* (House of Study for the Children of Israel Born in Poland),¹⁸⁵ and by 1860 they had established a synagogue at 8 Baxter Street, with David Webster serving as sexton.¹⁸⁶

3.4 Revolutionaries Overseas: The Italians

Although natives of Italy were not unknown in New York City before the 1840s, larger numbers of Italians arrived on Block 160 in the late 1840s, part of a surge of emigration from the Italian city-states to the United States. During this period, Emperor Franz Josef of the Austro-Hungarian empire was attempting to suppress the blossoming Italian independence movement in the northern Italian provinces of Lombardy and Venetia. This movement, plotted, planned, and put into action by Count Camillo Cavour of Sardinia, would eventually lead to the unification of the Italian peninsula.¹⁸⁷ Before the emergence of United Italy, the pressure of the imperial armies forced many of the revolutionaries to flee overseas. Many came to the United States; some of them, to New York City.

It has been estimated that by 1850 there were about 833 Italians in the state of New York; of that number, about 700 were in New York City. The most important was Giuseppe Garibaldi, the charismatic revolutionary leader who would eventually lead the victorious Italian armies. He fled to the home (still standing) of Antonio Meucci on Staten Island and waited for better times.¹⁸⁸ Other immigrants were able to establish themselves in small businesses: Trow's New York City Street Directory for 1850–51 shows 21 tailors and dressmakers, 20 merchants and brokers, 15 grocers, 11 barbers, 10 cigar dealers, and 5 "artistes" of Italian ancestry.¹⁸⁹ A few were well known in the city such as Meucci, who held a U.S. patent on a prototype of the telephone in the 1840s; politician Charles Del Vecchio; artist and painter Nicolino Calyo; librettist and Columbia University professor Lorenzo da Ponte; and newspaperman Felice Foresti. Those who were not as famous, or as fortunate, lived in tenements like the Old Brewery. Largely unable to speak English, these recent immigrants struggled to make a living—sometimes as fruit and vegetable vendors and as street musicians.¹⁹⁰

3.5 "Brethren, What Will Become of Us?": African Americans

By the 1830s, the number of African Americans on Block 160 had dwindled from a high of 48 individuals in 25 households in 1810 to fewer than 20 individuals in three households.¹⁹¹ Although still numerous in the neighborhood, their homes were located east and north of the project area—on the other side of Orange Street (Block 161). Most of the churches, schools, and other institutions organized and patronized by blacks, such as St. Philip's Protestant Episcopal Church on Centre Street between Anthony and Leonard,¹⁹² the African Mutual Relief Society at 44 Orange Street, and the African Free School on Elizabeth Street, had followed them off the block.¹⁹³

In this period, the highest concentration of African Americans on Block 160 may have been in the Old Brewery.¹⁹⁴ Although the Zion Baptist Church, founded by 16 African Americans in 1834,¹⁹⁵ purchased

¹⁸⁴ Grinstein 1945:474.

¹⁸⁵ Wolfe 1978:26.

¹⁸⁶ Trow 1860–1861.

¹⁸⁷ Smith 1973:142.

¹⁸⁸ Marraro 1945:289, 291.

¹⁸⁹ Marraro 1945:286–287.

¹⁹⁰ U.S. Bureau of the Census 1850.

¹⁹¹ U.S. Bureau of the Census 1830. The quote, "Brethren, What Will Become of Us," comes from the *New York Colored American*, January 27, 1838.

¹⁹² The land was donated by George Lorillard in 1818. Freeman 1994:289.

¹⁹³ Trow 1850–1851.

¹⁹⁴ Scheiner 1965:15–17; Otley and Weatherby 1967:75–80.

¹⁹⁵ Freeman 1994:293–294; Sobel 1979:439.

the old New Church Signified by the New Jerusalem on Lot 14 (rear of 486 Pearl) in January 1846 for \$5000,¹⁹⁶ by 1852, the church had sold the property to English baker John F. Parr¹⁹⁷ and moved to Anthony Street.¹⁹⁸

According to the documentary record, after 1850 only two or three households containing African-American families resided on Block 160: in the 1850 census, a 40-year-old ship's steward named George Buchanan, described as a 5-foot-10-inch, light-skinned native New Yorker with brown hair and eyes,¹⁹⁹ was living with his wife, three children, and mother-in-law at 6 Orange Street (Lot 46). By 1855, the Buchanans were in Philadelphia—which was probably the birthplace of his wife and her mother,²⁰⁰ but Matthew Fletcher, a native of Maryland who worked as a painter, was living with three other blacks at 55 Cross (Park) Street (Lot 24). This man is probably the whitewasher Nathan Fletcher, who is listed at that address in the 1857 and 1860 street directories. He was married (probably to one of the 1855 residents, native New Yorker Lucy Anderson), and both he and his wife were enumerated in the 1860 federal census at 55 Park.²⁰¹ By 1860, the black population of the Sixth Ward had dropped to 334 people, from a high of 2,843 in 1826.²⁰²

With African Americans and Irish living cheek-by-jowl in the Five Points district, racial unrest often appeared to center in this area. Ethnic tensions increased as the neighborhood filled with Irish immigrants, who resented competing with African Americans for laboring jobs. As a British visitor to the United States commented, "the Irish hate the [Negro] worse than they do the British."²⁰³ The white workers of the Sixth Ward found the labor of the free blacks threatening to their continued well-being and expressed their fears by barring African Americans from employment—even the most menial—and then beating them up or burning their homes if they resisted.²⁰⁴ For the African American, civil disturbances resulting in "riotous assaults...were the ultimate expression of racial prejudice....The mob raging through the black ghetto made no distinction save those of color and availability....Nothing else mattered."²⁰⁵

In July 1834, a group of African Americans celebrating the emancipation of the slaves on the British holdings in the West Indies were attacked at the Chatham Street Chapel by a group of white New Yorkers who claimed that they had contracted to use the chapel at the same time. A riot ensued.²⁰⁶ A contemporary newspaper reported the attack:

At half past 9 o'clock last evening, a mob of about a thousand assembled in Chatham Square and proceeded to the Five Points, where they attacked and broke in the doors and windows of several houses belonging to the negroes....They attacked sundry of their dwellings, they demolished their windows, they dragged forth all of their scanty furniture and burnt it in the streets....The fury of the mob was directed mainly against blacks, many of whom were seriously wounded, besides having their property destroyed; they fled in all directions; many took shelter in watch-houses and during the day, upwards of 500 left the city for Philadelphia, Harlem, etc.²⁰⁷

Sadly, this was not an isolated incident, as violent episodes concerning African Americans and Irish Americans had occurred before 1834, and would continue to occur for some years to come.²⁰⁸

¹⁹⁶ Borough of Manhattan Land Evidence Liber 469:622.

¹⁹⁷ Borough of Manhattan Land Evidence Liber 595:136.

¹⁹⁸ Trow 1850-1851.

¹⁹⁹ Crew Lists of Ships Leaving the Port of Philadelphia 1844-1852.

²⁰⁰ McElroy 1854.

²⁰¹ New York State Census 1855; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1860.

²⁰² Freeman 1994:331.

²⁰³ Mitchell 1862:158-159.

²⁰⁴ Gilje 1987:151-166.

²⁰⁵ Curry 1981:96.

²⁰⁶ Freeman 1994:234; Hodges 1986:158-159, 170.

²⁰⁷ *New York Transcript*, July 12, 1834; July 14, 1834.

²⁰⁸ Headley 1873:169.

William S. Hewlett, born of free parents at Hempstead, Long Island, was a porter in a Pearl Street store and a property owner on Leonard Street. In 1836, he tried to get a license as a carter, long denied to African Americans, and even though he supplied excellent references from many influential businessmen, the license was denied. After repeated attempts to apply again, Hewlett and other African Americans were dismayed when the city council passed an ordinance barring blacks from holding carter's licenses. The reason given was that this would protect black carters from being beaten and abused by their white counterparts. African Americans were well aware of the real reason—to protect Irish and other white carters—and they loudly voiced their opposition.²⁰⁹ Despite their objections, the blacks were prevented from becoming licensed carters. At that time, blacks had no political influence while the Irish were beginning to show their political muscle to such interested parties as Tammany Hall. Blacks would have to wait until the 1850s before this ban was lifted.²¹⁰

Outbreaks of violence and general hostility between African Americans and Irish Americans soon made it uncomfortable for the two groups to live alongside each other, and the blacks started to move away from Block 160. When a policeman found Irish-born Leonard Riley of Little Water Street sitting on Charles Treadwell's trunk at the corner of Cross and Orange Streets in 1843, the trunk was just a few doors up the street from where Treadwell had lived more than three decades before. However, Treadwell, an elderly black native of Connecticut, was living uptown at 26 Second Street in Greenwich Village.²¹¹

3.6 Other Ethnic Groups

As Irish, Russian and Polish Jewish, and Italian immigrants moved in, many members of ethnic groups once prevalent on Block 160 moved elsewhere. Second-generation Americans were scarce on the block after the 1830s, except for those who worked in the stores (and still lived behind or over them) on Chatham Street. Examples include Mrs. Gertrude Vultee's children at 114 Chatham (Lot 50); Mrs. Mehitable Turner's sons, William S. and James B., upholsterers, who were next door at 112 Chatham (Lot 51); and Warren S. Sillcocks, a young jeweler who would one day become a realtor, with his holdings including 112 Chatham.²¹² The Gardner family at 14 Orange Street (Lot 44) was still on the block in 1850, as were merchant John Gould and "marketman" George C. Grant, at 482 Pearl (Lot 11). Grant, a native of Connecticut married to an Irishwoman, boarded a number of Americans, including Charles Durrell, whose family had been at that address for 40 years; and fellow Connecticut native Lorenzo Carey—called "Kay"—a grocery clerk.²¹³

Germans, who were well represented on Block 160, congregated in specific areas. A number lived in boardinghouses—like the one operated at 490 Pearl (Lot 16) by William Bolhever, a tailor, in 1850, and by Peter Schlessler, a storekeeper, in 1855; and William Newman's boardinghouse next door at 488 Pearl (Lot 15) in 1855. Bolhever boarded 17 people, 12 of whom were German; Schlessler boarded five Germans; and Newman boarded 22 Germans, nearly all of whom had been in the country six years or less.²¹⁴ Others boarded at the homes of their employers, like the three bakers (two male, one female, all apparently single) who were included in baker Bernard [Beraheim] Graser's household at 22 Orange Street (Lot 37), the five bootmakers at Christian Neumiller's at 71½ Cross Street (Lot 35) in 1850, or the two shoemakers at William Haas's at 4 Baxter Street (formerly Orange) (Lot 47) in 1860.

²⁰⁹ *New York Colored American*, September 16, 1837; *New York Emancipator*, May 5, 1837.

²¹⁰ *Freeman* 1994:213-214.

²¹¹ District Attorney's Indictments 1843. Riley told the policeman that a "young man" had asked him to help him move the trunk, and had left him sitting on it while he (the young man) went to get money to pay Riley for his labor. The policeman did not believe Riley and had him arrested on the charge of grand larceny; the jury did not believe Riley, either, and sent him to state prison for two years.

²¹² Borough of Manhattan Land Evidence Liber 3115:15, recorded November 15, 1919, lease of premises as a clothing store, as an example.

²¹³ U.S. Bureau of the Census 1850.

²¹⁴ U.S. Bureau of the Census 1850; New York State Census 1855.

There were also immigrants from other countries on Block 160 during this period, but not in very large numbers. England, Scotland, and Wales were represented by mostly craftsmen and artisans, like John F. Parr, a baker at 496 Pearl (Lot 19). The French, who had been on the block since the early part of the century, were mostly gone by 1860, but there were at least two or three representatives from Spain, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Sweden, Denmark, and Cuba during this period.²¹⁵

3.7 "A Common, Ill-Governed and Disorderly House"

By the 1840s, the Five Points neighborhood—just "one minute's walk" from Broadway²¹⁶—had become a veritable tourist attraction, notorious as the "region, in which the rudest and most degraded portion of the population of New York were thronged together"²¹⁷ (Figure 15). Visitors from out of town would be escorted to the Five Points, "a name known throughout the Union, in England, and on the continent of Europe,"²¹⁸ by policemen or newspapermen like George G. "Gaslight" Foster of the *Tribune*—people who knew the area and could guide the tourist to some of the more notorious locations without the tourist having his pocket picked or being enticed away by a "nymph du pave" (prostitute). After being advised to have "a good supply of cigars...as we will need them,"²¹⁹ these tourists would walk from Broadway into "another world of vision, thought and feeling."²²⁰ There they found "dismal and repulsive alleys...whose ways were often ankle-deep in mud" and would personally experience the "narrow ways diverging to the right and left, and reeking every where with dirt and filth."²²¹ They would see "squalid, roisterous-looking drunken females...sottish males, and half-starved urchins perching about the windows, stoops and cellar doors, like buzzards on dead trees" and, if they were fortunate, witness "scenes and acts...which would make the blood of any man not accustomed to such sights almost to freeze."²²²

Once safely away, many of these tourists—like Londoners Charles Dickens and Frances Trollope, Davy Crockett on his way to the Alamo ("I thought I would rather risque myself in an Indian fight than venture among these creatures after night...they are too mean to swab hell's kitchen"²²³), Frederika Bremer of Germany, and South Carolinian William M. Bobo ("There is more poverty, prostitution, wretchedness, drunkenness, and all the attending vices, in this city, than the whole South. This is a comment upon Northern institutions"²²⁴)—would write up their accounts of what they saw at Five Points, and people who had never seen New York City would speak knowingly of the depraved and degenerate residents of Five Points.

Visitors to Five Points who were looking for action—and went unescorted—did so at their own peril. The story of the rural yokel, discharged sailor, or small-town swell who went to the big city, met congenial company, and after various misadventures wound up disheveled, destitute, dead drunk, or just dead was already an old one to many residents of the neighborhood.²²⁵ "A sailor just landed in New York, after being paid off the day before yesterday, went to the Five Points, got drunk and was robbed of \$140....Ann McMalloy was brought up drunk from the Five Points. She was proved to have robbed a young Southerner of \$200 the night before and was committed....Francis Anthony was charged with stealing a watch from Thomas Rugeley who said he was attacked on Saturday near the Five Points by Anthony and another man....Officers Connolly and Riley arrested on Saturday two black fellows called Sam Rice and George

²¹⁵ U.S. Bureau of the Census 1850, 1860, 1870; New York State Census 1855; Rode 1853–1855; Trow 1855–1861.

²¹⁶ *Ladies of the Mission* 1854:33.

²¹⁷ Frederika Bremer, quoted in *Ladies of the Mission* 1854:42–43.

²¹⁸ *Ladies of the Mission* 1854:34.

²¹⁹ Bobo 1852:93.

²²⁰ *Ladies of the Mission* 1854:32.

²²¹ Dickens 1985:125.

²²² Bobo 1852:94, 96.

²²³ Crockett 1923 (1835):158–159, as quoted in Sante 1992:27.

²²⁴ Bobo 1852:97.

²²⁵ See Smith 1868:202–203 and Foster 1990:178–188 for typical stories.



Figure 15. An encounter between a swell and a Bowery b'hoy, ca. 1825. From Valentine's Manual 1856.

Morgan on a charge of knocking down Abraham Hummer of Lebanon Township, Hunterdon County, New Jersey, while passing along Orange Street, Five Points on Friday night, dragging him into an alley-way and while there robbing him of eight dollars, and his coat and boots."²²⁶

This view of a desolate quarter of the city given up to vice and crime—"this fearful spot...this heathendom without the full excuse of ignorance so entire as creates a hope for foreign lands"²²⁷—was promoted by various religious and charitable organizations, primarily Protestant. To an outsider, the Five Pointers, as well as other urban poor, "occupied their own neighborhoods and lived beyond the reach of Christian influence and paternal benevolence" and appeared to be a "mass of unclean desperation that clearly needed more than firewood and positions in the [church] gallery."²²⁸ Many of these high-minded groups were organized by members of evangelical Protestant denominations who were influenced by the revivalism of Charles Grandison Finney. Finney, who had arrived in New York in 1829, was able to convince "reform minded urban Protestants to renew their efforts to reach the unregenerate."²²⁹ Therefore, as missionaries were sent to Hawaii, China, India, and West Africa, it was soon determined that the Five Points area was "emphatically *mission ground*...[where] the wail of infancy, the moan of neglected childhood, the groan of mature years sick of sin, yet almost despairing of rescue, have united, and the cry has reached the ear of Christian kindness....We expect to employ a missionary there, *who will avail himself of every providential opening for usefulness* [italics in original]."²³⁰

This view of the neighborhood was also promoted by the mainstream press of New York City. The newspaper offices were located in lower Manhattan, within walking distance of Five Points and the courts of justice, and enterprising reporters took down the stories of the people brought before the judge. These offenders were invariably Irish or African American, and their stories—sometimes straightforwardly rendered, but usually embellished with the ferocious humor of the time—would find their way into the newspapers to the exclusion of criminal happenings in other parts of town, thus giving a skewed picture of the residents of the Five Points area. For example, the *Transcript* for July 1, 1834, reported that Phoebe Wake, a tenant of J.M.J. Labatut at 10 Orange Street, had been brought before the bar of justice, having been accused of stealing a shawl from one Sylvanus Carlow. When asked how he "became possessed of a shawl:—he said a young lady to whom he was about to be married gave it to him, but that she had since run away to the south with a player and he had kept it for her sake. Phebe [sic] said that he had professed great admiration for her, and gave her the shawl to keep for his sake. He swore to the contrary and she was committed."²³¹

Despite the comments about the inhabitants from the outsiders who were looking in, not all of the residents of the neighborhood had given up. On July 28, 1843, tinsmith Edward Blackall of 12½ Orange Street (Lot 43) and storekeeper Robert J. Gordon, now located at 10 Orange Street (also Lot 43), went before Captain George W. Matsell of the New York Municipal Police Force and swore out a complaint against one John Donahue (or Donoho). Blackall and Gordon stated that Donahue opened in the basement of 12 Orange (Lot 43) a "disorderly house, viz.—a rest for prostitutes and others of ill name and fame, where great numbers of characters are in the nightly practice of reveling until late and improper hours of the night, dancing, drinking, and carousing to the great disgrace of the neighborhood."²³²

Donohue was indicted on the count of "keeping a certain common, ill-governed and disorderly house"²³³ by District Attorney James R. Whiting on September 14; Donohue was released on \$300 bail after pleading

²²⁶ *New York Transcript*, July 25, 1834, August 7, 1834, August 12, 1834; *New York Police Gazette*, unknown date [1847], as found in Van Every 1972:286.

²²⁷ *Ladies of the Mission* 1854:35.

²²⁸ Johnson and Wilentz 1994:19.

²²⁹ Walters 1978:176.

²³⁰ *Ladies of the Mission* 1854:36–37.

²³¹ *New York Transcript*, July 1, 1834.

²³² District Attorney's Indictments 1843.

²³³ District Attorney's Indictments 1843.

not guilty. Trial was held on October 30 and Donohue was convicted—and probably fined. However, for every John Donohue arrested and indicted, there were a number who were not caught and who continued to serve liquor and other spirituous liquids to those Five Points residents who wished to buy.

3.8 The Old Brewery

By the 1830s, Coulthard's Brewery just outside the project area on Cross Street was experiencing financial difficulties. After William Coulthard's death, the day-to-day operation of the business was turned over to his son-in-law, Joseph Barnes, and to his nephew, Henry Bunce. Barnes was murdered in 1830 and his share of the business was purchased by a relative, John H. Bates. Bates and Bunce were not successful in the brewing and distilling business, and the brewery was seized for the nonpayment of debts. To satisfy Bunce and Bates's creditors, the building was put up for sale.

Charles Frederick Grim, a local attorney and the legal representative of Edmund Elmendorf, Jr., "Gentleman" of the village of Tivoli in upstate Dutchess County, New York, had commenced purchasing properties in lower Manhattan in 1830, among them Lot 39 on Block 160.²³⁴ Grim, acting for himself and as proxy for Elmendorf, purchased the brewery property "at a public vendue" (auction) for \$15,530.²³⁵ They subsequently resold the property to John Voorhis, described as an upholsterer of New Brunswick, New Jersey.²³⁶

As the tales about the Old Brewery (described as that "large, yellow-colored dilapidated old house...properly the headquarters of vice and misery, and the old brewer of all the world's misery"²³⁷) date from the 1830s, it was evidently one of these gentlemen who converted the ramshackle, three-story frame structure into a five-floor multi-family dwelling where "one of the floors which had been high-ceiled to make room for the large brew vats had been made over into two floors, and the attic beneath its peaked roof had been divided into another floor"²³⁸ (Figure 16).

If near-contemporary accounts are to be believed, the Old Brewery was soon known as "that noisome cesspool of humanity";²³⁹ "the wickedest house on the wickedest street that ever existed in New York, yes, and in all the country, and possibly all of the world";²⁴⁰ "the home of the assassin, the thief, and the prostitute. Riot swaggered and drunkenness staggered thence, bent on brawls and brutalities."²⁴¹ The occupants of the Old Brewery were "a vile and degraded population"²⁴² of "Negroes who had escaped the bonds of slavery; also the scum of early immigration from Great Britain and with a preponderance of Irish, but with nearly all nationalities represented and intermingled."²⁴³

Inside the "old and rickety" building ("originally painted yellow but the rigors of time and weather left only a unhealthy discoloration"), various horrors awaited the unwary or foolhardy visitor. One could enter the lot along a dirt path called "Murderer's Alley" that circled the building and then "up those curious stairs and along winding passages" to "double rows of rooms," 75 or more in number. These rooms were accessible from either side of the building and were connected by "dark and winding passageways" that "must have afforded a convenient means of escape to thieves and criminals of all kinds. Every room in every story has its separate family or occupant, renting by the week or month and paying in advance."

²³⁴ John O'Neil, grocer, and Ann, his wife, to Elmendorf & Grim, Borough of Manhattan Land Evidence Liber 278:508.

²³⁵ Samuel Cowdery, Esq., Master of Chancery, referee in the action of Henry Bunce and John H. Bates, defendants, to Charles F. Grim, Borough of Manhattan Land Evidence Liber 287:77, recorded May 30, 1832; quitclaim for one-half interest in the property from Grim to Elmendorf, Borough of Manhattan Land Evidence Liber 287:80 for Lots 25 through 28.

²³⁶ Borough of Manhattan Land Evidence Liber 333:49, recorded May 5, 1835.

²³⁷ Frederika Bremer, quoted in *Ladies of the Mission* 1854:42-43.

²³⁸ Van Every 1972:283.

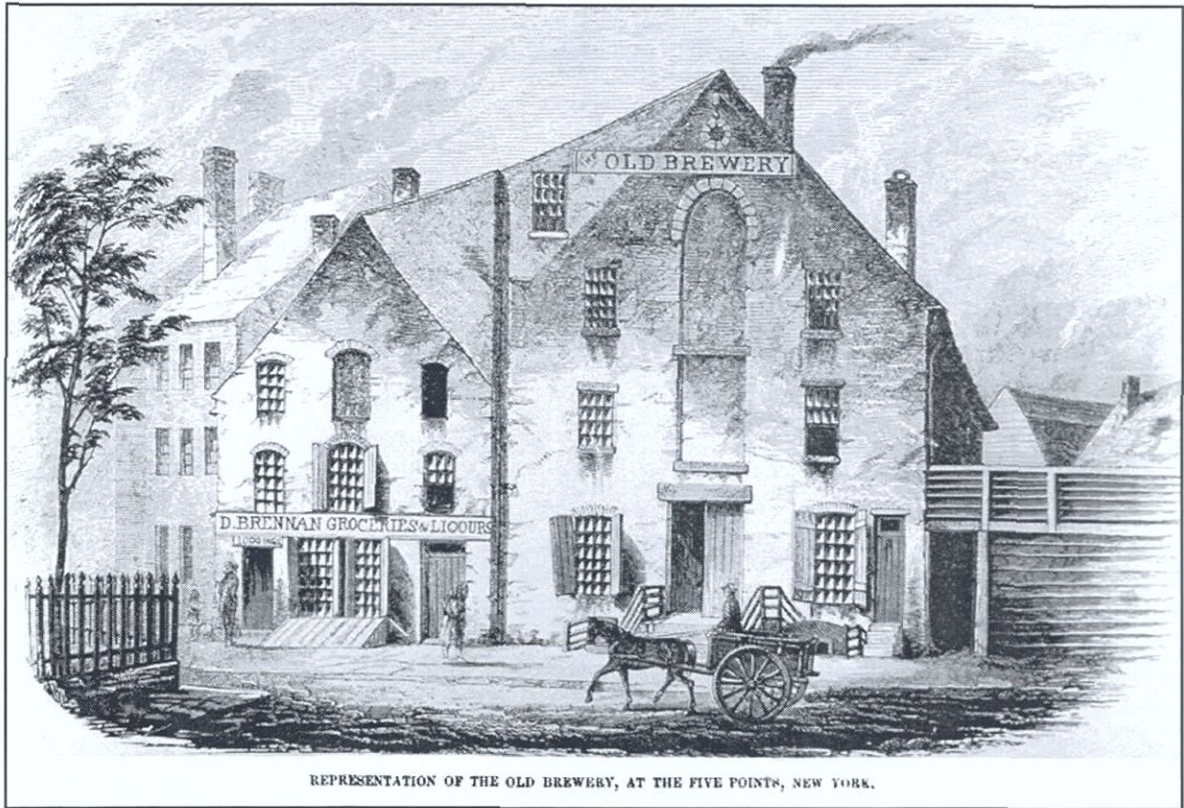
²³⁹ Harlow 1931:23.

²⁴⁰ *New York Police Gazette*, unknown date, quoted in Van Every 1972:282.

²⁴¹ Smith 1868:203.

²⁴² Smith 1868:204.

²⁴³ *New York Police Gazette*, unknown date, quoted in Van Every 1972:282.



REPRESENTATION OF THE OLD BREWERY, AT THE FIVE POINTS, NEW YORK.

Figure 16. *The Old Brewery*. Courtesy of the Museum of the City of New York.

Some rooms "were just passably decent" while "the majority are dirty, dark, and totally unfit for human habitation." One room in the Brewery was called the "Den of the Forty Thieves—which became a misnomer when it finally accommodated seventy-five persons of all ages and both sexes, with no furniture nor sanitary conveniences. Prostitution, incest, and promiscuity were carried on in that room."

The rooms in the cellar "were occupied mostly by Negroes, some of whom had white wives." In one particular room in the southwest corner of the building, "not more than fifteen feet square, twenty-six human beings reside. The above-ground part of the premises cannot be better imagined than by supposing it just as bad as it could be—once plastered, but now half the wall off, in some places mended by pasting newspapers over it, but often revealing unsightly holes." Of the inhabitants of the building—"persons of disreputable characters and vile habits...drunk and stupid...low and debased as any human beings could [be]"—many rarely left the building for any reason. "It is asserted that children born in these rooms sometimes passed months and years without tasting the outer air, for it was as dangerous for a tenant of the Old [Brewery] to leave his room as it was for an outsider to venture in it," for within its confines, "for...a period of more than fifteen years, [the Old Brewery] averaged more than a murder a night."²⁴⁴

It is obvious that the story of the Old Brewery has been embellished. However, the truth—where it can be found—is stark enough. Despite the claim of it being the "wickedest house...that ever existed in New York," it is apparent that the Old Brewery was merely one of the many tenement buildings in Lower Manhattan that were overfull with the newly arrived and lost and strayed native-born; or as George G. "Gaslight" Foster declared, "all the houses in this vicinity, and for some considerable distance around—yes, every one—are of the same character, and are filled in precisely the same manner."²⁴⁵

As for its "thousand inhabitants," the 1850 federal census lists 277 people living in 33 separate households within the confines of the building,²⁴⁶ a number corroborated by a contemporary account stating that the building "was inhabited [when the Old Brewery was offered for sale in 1851]...by at least three hundred wretched immortal beings."²⁴⁷ Although this number may represent a smaller number of tenants than the building may normally have contained, it is not likely, even at peak capacity, the Old Brewery ever held as many as 1,000 inhabitants at one time. There were only 1,570 people on Block 160 at the time of the 1850 federal census, and the number of residents on the block was probably not very different 10 years before.

The reputation of the Old Brewery as a "nest of crime" may be accurate; however, contemporary accounts do not mention the Old Brewery as often as other locations in the Five Points and elsewhere in Lower Manhattan as places to avoid. Among them were the Diving Bell at 66 Orange, "that hell on earth";²⁴⁸ the Arcade at 39 Orange, "worse than even the Aegean stable for filth and uncleanness";²⁴⁹ Sweeps' Hall at 15 Orange, which largely catered to African Americans; or the Atlantic Garden, located on the Bowery (Figures 17, 18, and 19). Many of those who were enticed within would rue the day they entered any of these haunts. After standing treat (buying a round of drinks, or several, for the house), the visitor may go off with his companion of choice to a private spot. Upon awakening, the man may find himself without his wallet, pocketwatch, or other valuables; sometimes, he may find himself without the clothes he had on the night before and at the mercy of his companion's accomplices or an unsympathetic policeman.²⁵⁰ "Much was made of the vice of murder, in that Victorian way of seeing murder as a sybaritic pleasure indulged by those sated with mere sex."²⁵¹ However, in connection with the residents

²⁴⁴ Quotes here and in the two previous paragraphs taken from several sources cited in the following order: Van Every 1972:282–286; Harlow 1931:180–183; Ladies of the Mission 1854:46–49; Smith 1868:202–203; Foster 1990:120–131; *New York Times*, June 19, 1853; and Dunshee 1952:159. *The New York Times* quote begins "persons of disreputable characters" and ends "could [be]."

²⁴⁵ Foster 1990:122.

²⁴⁶ U.S. Bureau of the Census 1850.

²⁴⁷ Ladies of the Mission 1854:43.

²⁴⁸ *New York Transcript*, June 4, 1834.

²⁴⁹ *New York Transcript*, July 16, 1834.

²⁵⁰ Foster 1990:122–123.

²⁵¹ Sante 1992:27.



Figure 17. A Five Points oyster cellar. From Foster 1990:49.



Figure 18. A Five Points saloon. From Smith 1868:202.



Figure 19. A Five Points den. From Foster 1990:120.

of, and visitors to, the Old Brewery, public records, coroners' reports, and newspaper accounts fail to support these claims. Indeed, in a time when New York City averaged less than 20 murders a year, very little mention is made in contemporary annals of the Old Brewery as a murder site.

What has been found is that the Old Brewery, largely due to the plethora of grogeries on Cross Street and "the drinking and dancing rooms" located in the building at street level, was a place where a number of drunkards breathed their last. For example, Frances Freeman, an African American, was found dead in the building on March 28, 1836; the coroner, William Schureman, and the local coroner's jury, headed by grocer John McGowan of 55 Cross Street and seconded by grocer Felix O'Neil of 26 Orange Street, found that she had come to her death as the result of "intemperence."²⁵² In another instance, 28-year-old James Granahan, a day laborer who lived in the Old Brewery, was drinking gin at Francis Reed's liquor store "which is in the front of the building in which I live." Granahan had an "old grievance" with James Nicholson, one of Reed's employees, concerning Granahan's brother, who had been "beat up at the time of the election" due to Nicholson's alleged negligence—or collusion. Over his wife's strenuous objections, Granahan started "jawing at Nicholson" about his brother. He then picked a fight with Nicholson, getting into "a boxing position, steping [sic] backwards and forwards." Nicholson picked up a sawed-off broomstick and struck Granahan to the floor with a blow to the left temple. Mary Murphy, another employee, and John McGrath, one of the patrons, helped Granahan to the door of the liquor store. Granahan—nearly unconscious, and bleeding "from the front part of his head"—asked McGrath, "Are you one of those people who tried to murder me?" and collapsed. Granahan died of his injuries 12 days later, on April 26, 1844.²⁵³

Much of the notoriety of the Old Brewery stems from its eventual rebirth as the Five Points Mission. The Ladies Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church of New York, which achieved that goal—as well as successive religious and social service societies working in the slums to ameliorate the plight of its residents—tended to exaggerate the extent of the odds that were against them as they went about their labors. Individual stories found in various publications graphically—and sometimes, movingly—describe the abject poverty, degradation, and hopelessness of people who sought help from these organizations. "Wild exaggerations having their origins in church propaganda"²⁵⁴ describe the spiritless, Godless lives of these denizens of the slums, but they read more like pleas for donations ("help us to conquer Satan and his minions") than sober history or an accurate rendition of slum life. From other, less partisan sources, it is sadly apparent that the day-to-day lives of many of the residents of Block 160 were dangerous and dreary enough as not to require much exaggeration.

3.9 Housing Patterns—Absentee Ownership and the Rent Collector

Other lots were soon crowded with jerry-built structures designed to house large numbers of people (Figure 20). By 1850, 476 Pearl Street (Lot 8) had contained, at various times, four, five, or seven structures—although most or all of these rear buildings may have been on the back alley, Donovan's Lane. Lot 19 (496 Pearl) contained two four-story brick buildings for residential use, along with a livery stable; the property denoted as either 71 Cross or 26 Orange (Lot 35) contained two, two-story wooden buildings.²⁵⁵ As they had been doing since the early days of Block 160, "house owners and leaseholders accelerated the process of subdividing and marketing separate parts of houses."²⁵⁶ Other buildings that had been used for commercial purposes—like the Old Brewery—were converted into residential structures.

To insure that these properties would be tenanted, landlords employed rental agents—usually small merchants who may already have been tenants on the properties, or who had their homes and businesses

²⁵² City of New York, Office of the Coroner 1836.

²⁵³ City of New York, Office of the Coroner 1844.

²⁵⁴ Sante 1992:374.

²⁵⁵ U.S. Bureau of the Census 1850.

²⁵⁶ Blackmar 1989:69.

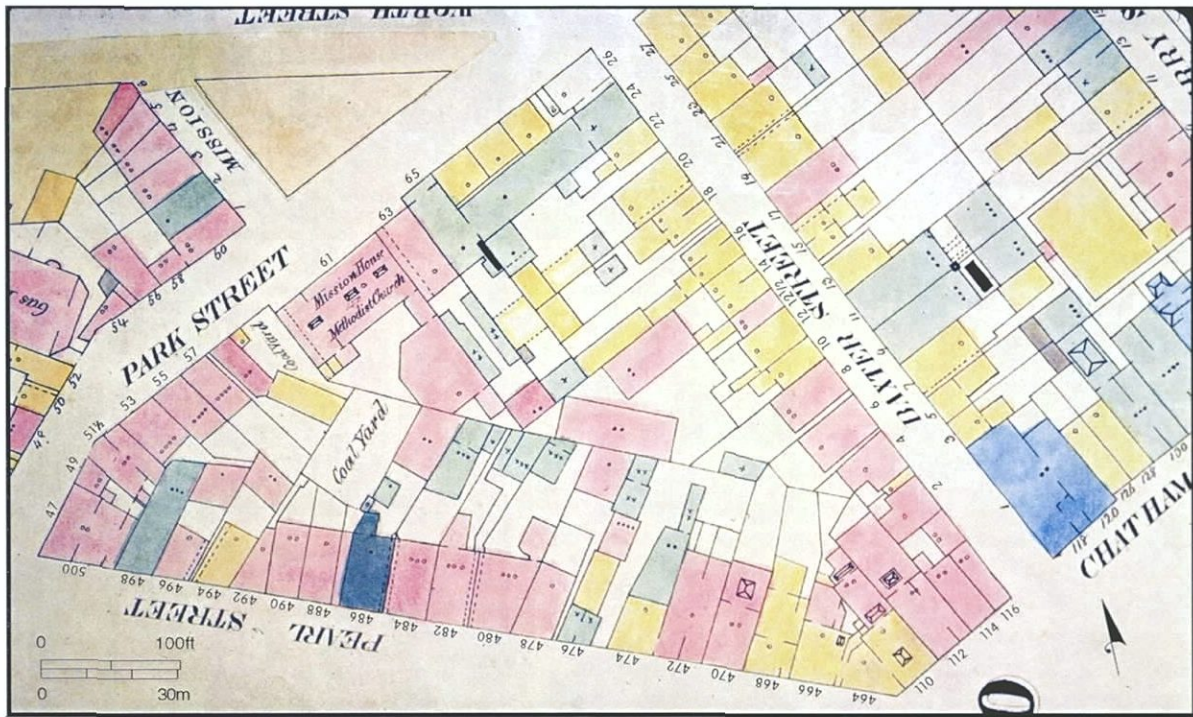























Figure 20. Map of Block 160, William Perris 1853.

Brick or Stone Stores		Hazardous Businesses	
	1st class		Brick Frame 1st class: Bakers, boat builders, brewers, brush manufacturers, comb makers, coppersmiths, dyers, cloth manufacturers, hat makers, oil manufacturers, oil-cloth manufacturers, malt houses, stables (private), tobacco manufacturers, type and stereo type founders, wheelwrights 2nd class: book binders, brass founders, coach makers, cotton presses, iron mills, paper mills, printers 3rd class: blind and sash makers, bleaching works, cabinet makers, candle makers, carpenters, distillers 4th class: brimstone works, camphene/spirit gas manufacturers, coffee and spice mills, chemical labs, drug and spice mills, fire works manufacturers, planing and grooving mills, match manufacturers, rope and cordage makers, saw mills, sugar refiners, tar boiling houses, turpentine distillers, varnish makers
	2nd class		
	3rd class		
	Brick or stone dwelling, 1st class, slate or molded metal roof		
	Brick or stone dwelling, 2nd class, slate or metal roof, unmolded		
	Brick or stone dwelling, 3rd class, slate and single roof		
	Brick or stone dwelling, with shingled roof		
	Brick or stone dwelling, 1st class, with store(s) underneath, slate or molded metal roof		
	Brick or stone dwelling, 2nd class, with store(s) underneath, slate or unmolded metal roof		
	Brick or stone dwelling, 3rd class, with store(s) underneath, slate and shingled roof		
	Brick or stone dwelling with shingled roof		
	Framed dwelling		
	Framed dwelling with store(s) underneath		
	Skylight (those less than 3 feet do not appear)		

nearby. These agents had "an insider's knowledge of movement and prospects within" the neighborhood,²⁵⁷ and it was their job to show the properties to potential tenants; rent them out; provide maintenance "only when necessary";²⁵⁸ collect the rents; and make sure the landlord received it—after deductions for necessary expenses and fees amounting to a commission of five per cent.²⁵⁹

It appears that a common experience was to have tenants pay the rent on a monthly or weekly basis, although a more general practice was to have the premises subject to an annual rent.²⁶⁰ It is likely that the agent may have paid the owner of the building the annual rent up front, and then collected the amount as rent from the tenants in monthly increments with a five percent profit. Many complained about the high rents. In 1853, the New York Association to Improve the Condition of the Poor, in a committee report on the "sanitary condition of the laboring classes," stated that "in the Sixth Ward, the manner in which many of the poor live...is too well known to require description. Many are in a condition incomparably worse than the hovel dwellers. These dens of squalid wretchedness, intemperence [sic], and filth, pay a rent which should afford the occupants comfortable homes."²⁶¹

Although reformers and other outsiders were horrified at the living conditions in the tenements, many of the inhabitants were not as troubled. Archbishop John Hughes noted that for many, "their abode in the cellars and garrets of New York is not more deplorable nor more squalid than the Irish hovels from which many of them had been 'exterminated,'"²⁶² and most were content with their lot. Many saw their stay in such places as a necessary evil; once their financial situation improved, they could move to a better place. Others became comfortable in their rooms and small apartments—"they cling to their own homes with a tenacity which is truly astonishing when we consider their wretchedness."²⁶³ For example, a number of tenants at 472 Pearl (Lot 6), who had arrived before 1850, were still at that address—and presumably in the same living spaces—20 years later.²⁶⁴

Many of the early agents on Block 160 were Irish immigrants themselves, or descendants of immigrants, who had "advanced one rung up the ladder of success."²⁶⁵ They sought members of their own ethnic groups to fill available vacancies, which not only accounted for the clustering of Irish on Block 160, but also for the clustering of Irish from the same villages and counties. For example, William S. Deverna (or Deverney or Devennie), a native of Dublin living at 8 Orange Street (Lot 45), was a grocer and also the editor of the Irish-American newspaper, the *Truth-Teller*. However, Deverna listed himself in the city directories as "agent"²⁶⁶ for the Bolmer family until his death in 1849.²⁶⁷ James Malone, the undertaker at 496 Pearl Street (Lot 19), supplemented his income by collecting rents (probably for Lorillard family members), as did Margaret O'Neil at 71 Park Street (Lot 35) for the Thompson family. Liquor dealers Philip and William Lyons probably performed the same duty for the Kip family at 478 Pearl Street (Lot 9) and John Boyle for the Pirnies at 69 Cross Street (Lot 34). In the 1840s, Patrick Brennan, or his agents, collected rents in the Old Brewery for John Voorhis or his successors,²⁶⁸ and storekeepers Francis Reed, Michael Daly, and Henry Schnelling, along with a dyer named M.D. Mower, may have served in the same capacity before that time.²⁶⁹

²⁵⁷ White 1991:108.

²⁵⁸ Blackmar 1989:233.

²⁵⁹ Blackmar 1989:233-234.

²⁶⁰ Blackmar 1989:233.

²⁶¹ New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor 1853:10.

²⁶² Kehoe 1865:2:92, as quoted in Dolan 1975:37.

²⁶³ Ladies of the Mission 1854:125.

²⁶⁴ U.S. Bureau of the Census 1850, 1860, 1870, 1880; New York State Census 1855.

²⁶⁵ Dolan 1975:37.

²⁶⁶ Trow 1848-1849.

²⁶⁷ *New York Herald*, June 27, 1849.

²⁶⁸ Ladies of the Mission 1854:55.

²⁶⁹ NYCTA 1835-1850; City of New York, Office of the Coroner, report on the death of Frances Freeman at 61 Cross Street, March 28, 1836. Mower appears in the 1833-1834 *Longworth's American Almanac*, *New York Register and City Directory* as a dyer living at 34 Ann Street.

Daniel H. Donovan, who appears in the 1840 and 1850 federal census as residing at 474 Pearl (Lot 7), may have been the agent for J.M.J. Labatut. Acting in that capacity, he lent his name to the alley running in back of the property. Donovan was born at Locher Castle, near the village of Drumonway in County Cork. He arrived in the United States in 1819 at the age of 29 and was a naturalized American citizen before April 11, 1832, when he sponsored at least two Irish nationals for naturalization. Although in various city directories he describes himself as a "painter," by September of 1852, he described himself as a fruit vendor living at 476 Pearl Street (Lot 8).²⁷⁰

Some of these agents did very well for themselves and were able to subsequently purchase property on Block 160. Through their primary jobs and the money made as agents, these men were able to have access to enough cash for a down payment and enough collateral to get a mortgage (usually from the previous owner of the property). They included Block 160's undertakers James Malone, William H. Kennedy, and John Ward, and liquor dealers Peter McLoughlin of 472 Pearl Street, William Lyons of 478 Pearl Street, Patrick Gerraghty of 500 Pearl Street, John Patrick Grace of 12 Baxter Street, and Patrick Brennan of the Old Brewery.

3.10 Occupations

The native Americans and the foreign-born who had been among the longer established residents of Block 160 during the 1830s and 1840s were skilled artisans—carpenters, bakers, smiths, upholsterers. There were also undertakers, innkeepers, and retailers (clothing stores, groceries that dealt in dry goods and sundries, and "groceries" that sold liquor). Others were involved in the nascent Industrial Revolution as lithographers, printers, and machinists. While Irish immigrants who arrived before the famine tended to either have been artisans or served an apprenticeship and mastered a trade, the post-famine immigrant "was almost twice as likely to be a laborer....The need for immediate employment, lack of contacts in the city, and the inability to acquire the necessary skills contributed to this difference."²⁷¹

Some recent immigrants were able to work for a countryman and practice their trade, like the German bakers living with Bernard Grasier or the bootmakers with Christian Neumiller. Neumiller and Grasier were probably master craftsmen who employed journeymen and apprentices and boarded them in their homes until they served out their time, had learned something of American ways, and could survive in the New World.

Other recent immigrants who did not bring a trade or were unable to follow it in the New World due to a language barrier or lack of opportunity tended to be day laborers or were employed in low-skilled and low-paying jobs that were either unskilled or required manual labor. These jobs included serving as coachmen, servants in private homes, boatmen, peddlers and hucksters, street musicians, and waiters. Other jobs included selling milk, fruit, oysters, newspapers, or fish from a pushcart or a stall; making umbrellas, canes, artificial flowers, or soda water; posting handbills, driving a cart, sewing, washing, and laundering.²⁷²

These jobs paid very poorly and were mostly seasonal, with work sometimes even fluctuating by the week.²⁷³ With the influx of immigrants came a surplus of workers; therefore "manufacturers could organize their production around peak periods of demand....Producers could count on an abundance of workers when necessary, thus continuing the cycle of low wages and long periods of unemployment."²⁷⁴ Constant

²⁷⁰ Background information from the Emigrant Industrial Savings Bank records. Donovan had been married to Ellen Mahoney, and they had a son James, born 1846 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1850), but Donovan was a widower by 1850. The 1850 U.S. census shows Daniel Donovan as a 60-year-old man with no occupation boarding with the family of William Burns at 474 Pearl; an H.D. Donovan, agent, is listed in the 1843 directory (Doggett 1843-1844) as residing on Mulberry Street; a 19-year-old shoemaker named Cornelius Donovan shares a household with three single women and the month-old son of one of them at a separate residence at 474 Pearl in the 1850 census. James and Honora Mahoney, aged 60 and 50, respectively, are enumerated in the household immediately preceding William Burns's; they are probably Donovan's in-laws. Cornelius Donovan may have been Daniel's son from a previous marriage.

²⁷¹ Groneman Pernicone 1973.

²⁷² U.S. Bureau of the Census 1850, 1860, 1870, 1880; New York State Census 1855.

²⁷³ Stansell 1987:110.

²⁷⁴ Groneman Pernicone 1973.

national economic depressions also played a significant role. When factories closed or businesses failed, the worker and his or her family could face actual starvation. In the 1850 federal census, out of 286 employed Irish adults on Block 160, 137—almost half—listed themselves as laborers; five years later, 56 percent of Irish males were laborers.

Younger members of immigrant families—those who migrated as children and others born after the family's arrival in the United States—were able to take advantage of the public school system and the apprenticeship system. By 1860, of 285 Irish employed adults on Block 160, there were only 65 laborers. At least 10 young people were enumerated as apprentices: a baker, a hatter, a sailmaker, a printer, a lithographer, and a plumber.²⁷⁵ Some of these immigrants, like fish vendor Morris Callahan and milkman Patrick McCabe, were able to do well enough at their jobs to stay on Block 160 for several decades. Others—like shoemakers James McNamara and John F. Sinnott—learned useful trades and set themselves up in business. Still others were able to raise themselves to prosperity through the ownership and operation of licensed groceries.

To operate a grocery in the city of New York after 1841, it was necessary to apply for a license from the municipal government. Such a license, which cost about \$15 a year, provided the successful applicant with the legal right to sell liquor and beer by the glass along with foodstuffs. Grocery stores were becoming more important than "the city's public markets as the main place to buy food and fuel...[therefore providing] less reason to leave the neighborhood."²⁷⁶ Therefore, any man or woman who operated one could be counted a leading business owner of the community. Some grocers realized that it was more lucrative to sell liquor than dry goods and soon devoted most of their efforts to selling liquor. Soon grocery became synonymous with liquor store; these "groggeries" became so numerous that those grocers who dealt primarily in dry goods had to say as much in their directory listings.

Groceries "where there were more barrels of Swan gin and Binghamton whisky than eatables"²⁷⁷ flourished in the Five Points, as well as on Block 160. Cross Street from Pearl to Orange in the 1840s and 1850s had a number of grogeries, from John McGowan's establishment at 55 Cross Street (Lot 24) and Patrick Brennan's store in the Old Brewery at 59 Cross Street (Lots 25–28) down to 71 Cross Street (Lot 35). Many of these groceries also doubled as houses of prostitution and gambling, doing a roaring business at all hours.

The alderman, the elected representative of the people of the ward, was responsible for submitting applications to the Common Council. Some financial prompting on the part of the applicant probably contributed to the success of the application. A number of Irish immigrants like Patrick Brennan in the Old Brewery, Peter McLoughlin of 472 Pearl Street, Richard Barry of 488 Pearl Street, Patrick Gerraghty of 500 Pearl Street, J. Patrick Grace of 12 Baxter Street, and Michael "Black Mike" McCann of 14 Baxter Street prospered as grocers. Some were able to become wholesale wine and liquor merchants. Barry, Brennan, and Gerraghty would soon become involved in municipal politics and would rise to become aldermen.²⁷⁸ The grogery—and later the licensed saloon or tavern—was described as "a place shunned by all decent citizens; but it was also a place to build a political following"²⁷⁹ (Figure 21).

Women also owned and ran licensed groceries. Ann McGowan (or Magowan) was the widow of John McGowan, who ran a grocery at 55 Cross Street until his death in 1838.²⁸⁰ After his death, Ann McGowan is listed in the street directories as owner at 55 and later 67 and 69 Cross Street until 1856; she was succeeded by her son Charles.²⁸¹ The municipal tax assessments for 1845 show the Widow McGowan as the tenant

²⁷⁵ U.S. Bureau of the Census 1860.

²⁷⁶ Stott 1990:210.

²⁷⁷ Harlow 1931:302.

²⁷⁸ Valentine 1869.

²⁷⁹ Callow 1973:42.

²⁸⁰ *New York Herald*, December 4, 1838.

²⁸¹ U.S. Bureau of the Census 1850, 1860; Doggett and Rode 1851–1852:121; New York State Census 1855.

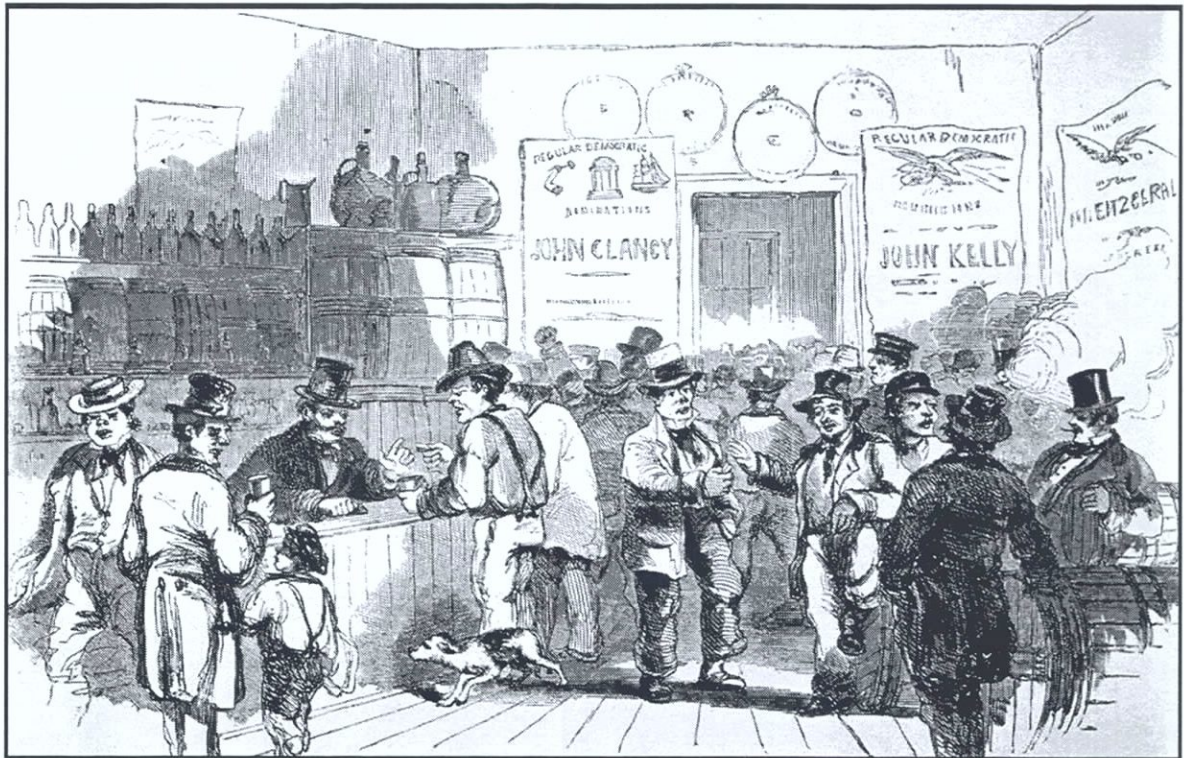


Figure 21. Richard Barry's grocery at 488 Pearl Street, 1858. From Harper's Weekly.

of 67 and 69 Cross Street.²⁸² In the 1860 federal census, Winnifred "Winnie" Johnston, the Irish-born wife of Peter Johnston, a painter of 48 Park (formerly Cross) Street, is listed as the operator of a grocery at what appears to be 65 Park Street;²⁸³ the street directory for 1851 shows that Mary Kearny was listed as "liquors" at 69 Cross Street.²⁸⁴

Peter McLoughlin appears in the city directories as early as 1827 as a grocer at the corner of Greenwich and Hubert Streets, and at 472 Pearl Street in 1834, where he operated a liquor store in partnership with Thomas Meighan. Peter McLoughlin purchased that property at sheriff's sale in December 1839 and subsequently owned a number of other properties in Manhattan. McLoughlin went on to become involved with the administration and operation of several banks and financial institutions and was also active in cultural and social affairs, including the New York Irish Emigrant Society and the Roman Catholic Half-Orphan Asylum. Well schooled in financial matters, he would serve as treasurer of the Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum Society before his death in 1854.²⁸⁵

3.11 Reformers, Missionaries, and Christian Charity Come to Block 160

During this time, many middle-class, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant residents of large metropolitan cities like New York City saw slums like the Five Points "not only as wellsprings of virulent contagious diseases, but also as the source of immoral contagion."²⁸⁶ Medical reformers, like Dr. John H. Griscom, who strove to get the poor out of the cramped rooms and buildings in which they lived so that they may start to live healthier lives, and religious reformers, like the evangelical lay missionaries of the Female Missionary Society and later the Ladies Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church of New York, sought to save the poor. "In New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and other urban areas the extremes of wealth and deprivation were obvious and offensive in a land as supposedly democratic and bountiful as the United States. Observers feared for the fate of the nation unless something were done to make the masses virtuous, contented, and American."²⁸⁷

The religious missionaries traveled through the slums of New York City attempting to remedy the appalling poverty. Where the attitude amongst well-to-do Christians had once been the poor will be always with us, the evangelical approach contended that "poverty and disorder resulted neither from original sin nor God's design, but from failed families and bad moral choices." These missionary groups, although headed by men, were staffed by "middle-class women who visited the poor and prayed with them in their houses" and by going about the slums "provided poor people, the men of their own class, and (just as important) each other with demonstrations of the dignity, competence, and spiritual courage of an emerging evangelical womanhood."²⁸⁸

In the 1840s, the Ladies Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Church (Ladies of the Mission) took note of the Five Points slum and started a mission at the corner of Little Water and Anthony Streets (Block 167) "to test the power of Christianity to give life even here."²⁸⁹ They soon opened a Sunday School and a day school, but soon realized that they would have to fight the liquor stores, groceries, and porterhouses that ringed the area.

The missionary for the Ladies of the Mission, the Reverend Lewis Morris Pease, enlisted the aid of Municipal Police Patrolman John J. McManus of the Sixth Ward Precinct. In July 1850, the police raided saloons, groceries, and other disorderly houses in the area. At least 70 people on Cross, Little Water,

²⁸² NYCTA 1845-1846.

²⁸³ U.S. Bureau of the Census 1860.

²⁸⁴ Doggett and Rode 1851-1852:122.

²⁸⁵ Borough of Manhattan Land Evidence Liber 405:96, dated December 30, 1839, recorded January 4, 1840; Valentine 1849:426; *New York Herald*, February 5, 1854.

²⁸⁶ Scherzer 1992:140.

²⁸⁷ Walters 1978:175.

²⁸⁸ Johnson and Wilentz 1994:21-23.

²⁸⁹ Ladies of the Mission 1854:21.

Anthony, Bayard, Leonard, Orange, Laurens, and Center Streets were cited as keeping "houses of common prostitution," including the following on Block 160—John McCabe, 61 Cross Street (Lot 28); James Welsh, 63 Cross Street (Lot 29); John Boyle, 67 Cross Street (Lot 33); Edward Gilroy, alias Kilroy, 69 Cross Street (Lot 34); and Edwin Waters, 71 Cross Street (Lot 35). The 1850 federal census shows that Welsh, Boyle, Gilroy, and Waters also maintained their residences at these addresses; all—except Waters—had a number of children living there who were under 10 years of age.

By this time, Irish Americans were beginning to wield political power. Naturalized American citizens like James Malone, Pat Brennan, James Lynch, Richard Barry, Patrick Gerraghty, Patrick Lysaigh, and others were aware of the importance of their vote and experienced in making sure their vote counted. By the 1840s, therefore, a number of elected officials sympathetic to the wants and needs of the registered voters of the Sixth Ward had been placed in power, including Alderman James Lynch (1838) and Assistant Aldermen Felix O'Neil of County Sligo, a grocer of 20 Orange Street (Lot 38) (1839–1842), and Patrick Brennan (1848–1849).²⁹⁰ The District Attorney, John McKeon, although a native of Albany, New York, was the son of immigrants;²⁹¹ Sixth Ward alderman Patrick Kelly, a native of County Galway, was a naturalized citizen.²⁹²

Kelly, a grocer at 74 Bayard Street, rushed to the rescue of people who were arrested. He was able to have a majority of the indictments dismissed through several notes to District Attorney McKeon, of which the following is an example:

I have been furnished with affidavits made by...James Welsh, 63 Cross St. (and others), which affidavits set forth that the nuisance complained of & for which the above named persons being indicted, is abated.²⁹³

Welsh, Waters, Gilroy, and the others did not stand trial. Other notes stated that the particular "person being indicted" had moved from the place where the "nuisance" had been found to another place where they were living "a lawful and uncorruptible life." One person who could not be found had "gone to Texas"; another had moved to "Jersey City, and is thus beyond the jurisdiction of the City of New York."

On September 11, 1850, McManus and his men arrested three men as owners of properties where prostitution was rampant—one of them was undertaker James Malone of 496 Pearl Street (Lot 19). Malone was alleged to be "in the habit of letting portions of the house [at 85 Bayard Street] for the last eighteen months, to persons who have, during the [illegible] of said term, kept some portions of the house as disorderly premises—premises where common prostitutes who have no lawful employment whereby to maintain themselves resort to the purposes of prostitution and illicit cohabitation with men for gain."²⁹⁴ Produced as evidence was a rent receipt, signed by Malone, acknowledging the payment of \$10 monthly rent ("Exorbitant," said McManus); also used as evidence against Malone was the fact that on the tax assessment books for the Sixth Ward, Malone appeared as the owner and/or tenant of the property. McManus, who lived next door at 83 Bayard Street and was therefore in a position to personally swear to the existence of such illegal goings-on, undoubtedly felt that he had an ironclad case against Malone.

James Malone was a prominent member of the Five Points community, well known as an undertaker. He was active in many cultural and Irish nationalist activities, and he had many contacts in the political world. So it was no surprise that Alderman Kelly again rose to the occasion, as shown by this note to District Attorney McKeon:

²⁹⁰ Valentine 1855.

²⁹¹ He also served two terms in Congress and two terms as the U.S. District Attorney for the Southern District of New York (*Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography* 1884:4:135). He was active in Irish nationalist activities including the New York Irish Emigrant Society (Hershkowitz 1978:105, 125).

²⁹² Marriage record of Patrick Kelly, widower to Margaret "Hannepy" (Hennessey?), widow, November 15, 1857. Church of the Transfiguration of our Lord 1853–1860.

²⁹³ Kelly to McKeon, November 15, 1850, in District Attorney's Indictments.

²⁹⁴ Deposition of Patrolman John J. McManus in *People v. Malone*, District Attorney's Indictments, 1850.

Dear Sir

I have been furnished with an affadavid made by James Malone...by the affadavid there appears to have been a mistake with Mr. Malone—The officers stationed in the locality complained of state, that there must be some mistake in this matter—the affadavid is satisfactory & you will please follow the course in this, as was done in the other cases.²⁹⁵

The case was dropped; the official notation was "Nuisance Abated."

McManus and Pease mustered the police forces on the side of the angels one more time. On February 23, 1851, indictments for one "John M. Brick" of 71 Cross Street (Lot 35), William Murphy, Mary Mooney, and David (alias Dennis) Rooney of 69 Cross Street (Lot 34), and Patrick McDermott of 67 Cross Street (Lot 33) were issued on the grounds of "keeping a disorderly house." "John Brick," also referred to as "Brink" or "Muhlenbrick," may have been a pseudonym for whomever happened to be running a business at a particular spot. Eight years later, a 22-year-old German named William Buckleman was arrested and indicted on the grounds of keeping a disorderly house at 26 Baxter Street (formerly Orange) under the name of "John Muhlenbrick."²⁹⁶

David Rooney stated that he was not the Dennis Rooney listed in the indictment and that he did not keep a house on Cross Street, as he resided at 220 West 16th Street. A bench warrant had to be served on Patrick McDermott. When he was brought in, he testified that he "does not nor never has kept any house of the kind at that number or street or any other street in the Sixth Ward, consequently, there must be some mistake." And there may have been, as the 1850 federal census does show *two* people named Patrick McDermott on Cross Street. One of them, however, is listed as being a nine-year-old boy living with Edward Gilroy at 69 Cross Street—probably his stepson.²⁹⁷ (Indeed, it appears from the indictment that the boy was brought into court as well: two sureties are listed as putting up two separate bail bonds of \$300—one being Gilroy.) The 1851 Doggett's *Street Directory* lists two grown men named Patrick McDermott on Cross Street—one a billposter at 59 Cross Street; the other a laborer at 67 Cross Street.²⁹⁸ At any rate, Rooney and both McDermotts went free, as did Mary Mooney, who was able to show that the "nuisance" had been "abated."²⁹⁹

Murphy went to trial and was able to call several witnesses on his behalf. Thomas O'Callaghan, a wholesale liquor dealer of 96 Walker Street, stated that he had known Murphy for "quite a length of time, has been in his house frequently, and stabled my horse on the same lot, and has been through the building this day, and found nothing there to contribute a nuisance; but on the contrary, [I found] everything decent and respectable as far as morality is concerned." Dennis Brennan, who resided at 20 Mulberry, but "keeps the store at 59 Cross Street next to Murphy," testified that in the two years he had worked there, he had found Murphy's grocery, "a more quiet and decent house there is not in the neighborhood." Dr. Hugh Sweeny of 97 Elm Street, who was Murphy's landlord, also testified, saying in effect that he did not understand what all the fuss was about. In the face of such testimonial evidence, Murphy was acquitted.

At that time, policemen were appointed for two-year terms, subject to renewal. McManus, who had been on the police force since 1845, saw his term expire on May 5, 1851.³⁰⁰ He was not reappointed to his position as a policeman in the Sixth Ward. He may have been kept on the force in another capacity, as he continued to refer to himself as policeman—later constable—in the city directories through 1861, but his name does not appear in the listings of police officers in *Valentine's Manual* after 1851.

²⁹⁵ Kelly to McKeon, November 23, 1850, in District Attorney's Indictments.

²⁹⁶ District Attorney's Indictments, February 25, 1859.

²⁹⁷ U.S. Bureau of the Census 1850.

²⁹⁸ Doggett 1850-1851:121.

²⁹⁹ District Attorney's Indictments, February 23, 1851.

³⁰⁰ Valentine 1851.

3.12 "Foul Haunt!: A Glorious Resurrection Springs from Thy Grave!"

The mission had been casting about for a larger building out of which to perform their ministries, and about this time it was brought to their attention that the Old Brewery (Lots 25–28) was for sale.³⁰¹ The ownership of the Old Brewery at this time is unclear. Just before the building was offered for sale to the Ladies of the Mission Advisory Council—husbands of four of the Ladies of the Mission—James Lynch purchased the property at sheriff's sale from John Voorhis.³⁰² According to available records, however, Voorhis appears to have sold the property eight years before to someone else.³⁰³

Legally, it would appear that Patrick Brennan was the owner of the building at the time of its sale to Lynch. Patrick Brennan paid the assessments on the property for several years and had taken on the responsibility for paying off a number of mortgages with which the Old Brewery was encumbered, as well as using the building as collateral in financing business ventures.³⁰⁴ However, James Lynch did not purchase the property from Brennan, but from Voorhis; therefore, when the Ladies of the Mission decided to arrange for the purchase of the property for \$16,000, the owner was "one Mr. Lynch."³⁰⁵ It is not clear what Patrick Brennan's true role was in the proceedings; nor what the role of Dennis Brennan (Pat's brother?), who is referred to as "the agent for the property," was.³⁰⁶

In 1846, when he first took over the management of the Old Brewery, Patrick Brennan was the part-owner of a wholesale liquor business at 96 Walker Street and owned or operated others at 34 Orange Street³⁰⁷ and 109 Anthony Street,³⁰⁸ as well as a "porterhouse" at 69 (later located at 94) Orange Street.³⁰⁹ He also operated a coal yard adjacent to the Old Brewery on Cross Street in partnership with Edmund Willse (on land owned after 1855 by James Lynch³¹⁰), and Brennan doubtless had other real estate investments. Dennis Brennan first appears in the city directories at 59 or 61 Cross Street in 1846, running a liquor store.³¹¹ Although he was actively selling liquor in the most notorious building in the city, the Ladies of the Mission depict Dennis Brennan as "a candid, prompt sort of man whose word is believed without question,"³¹² and as a kindly and thoughtful teetotaler who was gentle and helpful to the Ladies—despite being the mortal enemy of the Reverend Pease, who had castigated Brennan by name from the mission's pulpit.³¹³

Dennis Brennan also claimed that, after the sale of the building, he would close down his store, give up the sale of liquor—"I have long despised the business and have now made up my mind never to sell *another drop while I live*"—and turn his eyes to other pursuits.³¹⁴ He may have actually done this as subsequent directory listings show him as a clerk in Pat Brennan's coal yard—first at 59 Cross Street, later at 30 Bethune Street, and still later at 151st Street and 10th Avenue.³¹⁵ However, Patrick Brennan is listed as operating a liquor store at 101 Anthony Street (across from one of Peter McLoughlin's establishments at 100 Anthony Street)³¹⁶—the same person who owned the Brewery or perhaps a younger person. The 1850 federal

³⁰¹ Ladies of the Mission 1854:50.

³⁰² Borough of Manhattan Land Evidence Liber 589:165.

³⁰³ John Voorhis, gentleman, of Jersey City, New Jersey, and John A. Park, bookbinder, of Jersey City, and Julia Augusta Park, his wife, to Caleb Bartlett, bookbinder of Staten Island, N.Y., Borough of Manhattan Land Evidence Liber 452:106, dated June 4, 1844, for \$18,000.

³⁰⁴ Borough of Manhattan Land Evidence Liber 496:545, Liber 503:561.

³⁰⁵ Ladies of the Mission 1854:73.

³⁰⁶ Ladies of the Mission 1854:41.

³⁰⁷ Trow 1847–1848.

³⁰⁸ Trow 1850–1851.

³⁰⁹ Trow 1853–1854.

³¹⁰ Trow 1848–1849; NYCTA 1861.

³¹¹ Trow 1846–1847.

³¹² Ladies of the Mission 1854:59.

³¹³ The Ladies of the Mission had fired Pease for his insistence on providing work for the women as seamstresses and domestics—as opposed to maintaining an interest in saving their souls. Ladies of the Mission 1854:29.

³¹⁴ Ladies of the Mission 1854:27.

³¹⁵ Trow 1851–1852; 1853–1854; 1856–1857.

³¹⁶ Doggett 1850–1851:16.

census return for the Old Brewery shows a 19-year-old named Patrick Brennan residing there with John Mollarty—both were clerks. It is possible that the younger Brennan could have run the liquor store in the Brewery and continued in business after the Old Brewery was demolished.³¹⁷

The Ladies of the Mission purchased the building in August of 1852. After determining that the old building was unsafe and unsuitable for their purposes, they decided to tear it down. Upon the demolition of the Old Brewery that December, it was alleged that "the wreckers carried out human bones by the sacks-full."³¹⁸ The Ladies of the Mission erected in its place a large building encompassing church, dormitory, and school. They subsequently purchased additional land next door (Lot 29) from Dr. Hugh Sweeny and put up several large brick buildings, including affordable tenement housing "for sober industrious poor who are well behaved."³¹⁹

The mission, along with the Five Points House of Industry at 155 Worth Street, continued in its attempt to save souls for another 65 years, with significant success. "Children...are made clean, or clad comfortably, and learn to sing the sweet songs about the Savior and the better land."³²⁰ The work of both institutions in cleaning up the "natural slum of filth" that led to the high incidence of death among Sixth Ward residents was noted by the New York City Board of Health: "The general death rate in the ward has rapidly diminished since thorough cleaning has been enforced....The Five Points House of Industry and the 'Mission House' continues to repeat the lesson 'Cleanliness is next akin to godliness'...[and] neither cholera, nor any other disease has granted a foothold in these always crowded tenements."³²¹

However, the evangelical Protestantism of the Mission Ladies repelled many Irish Catholics, although a number of residents of Block 160 were able to call upon the mission when they were in need. After he lost his sight, Richard Cahill of 474 Pearl Street and his family were aided by the mission,³²² as were Catherine Hester and her two daughters, aged eight and four, who shared a room in the Old Brewery with four women.³²³ Despite these incidences, the mission probably represented a pernicious influence to many in the neighborhood—especially to those who may have been involved in the buying and selling (and consumption) of wines and liquors—and it may have been one of the reasons why Denis Burns, the stonemason at 472 Pearl Street, omitted the mission when he served as enumerator for the 1860 federal census, although he enumerated the staff and inmates of the Five Points House of Industry.³²⁴

3.13 Draft Riots

At the onset of the Civil War, Irish Americans flocked to enlist in the Union army. Political leaders such as James Lynch and Patrick Kelly organized regiments within the "Irish Brigades" in which many of their constituents served. (Colonel Kelly of the 88th New York Infantry would be killed in action in the trenches before Petersburg, Virginia, in the summer of 1864.³²⁵) Many regiments—most notably the 69th New York Infantry ("Fighting 69th") and 88th New York Infantry ("Irish Regiment")—were largely staffed by Irish Americans, although soldiers of Irish descent were found in many military units. Many of these soldiers, however, fought solely to save the Union, not to free the slave or fight alongside the free black soldier. As Corporal Felix Brannigan of the 74th New York Infantry observed, "We don't want to fight side by side by the nigger, for we think we are a too superior race for that."³²⁶

³¹⁷ Patrick Brennan, aged 26, of 79 Mulberry married Jane Freeman, aged 26, of 79 Mulberry at Church of the Transfiguration of our Lord 1853–1860 on April 18, 1858.

³¹⁸ *New York Police Gazette*, unknown date, cited in Van Every 1972:283.

³¹⁹ Smith 1868:206.

³²⁰ Smith 1868:209.

³²¹ Board of Health Report 1886:21.

³²² Ladies of the Mission 1854.

³²³ Ladies of the Mission 1854:57–58; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1850.

³²⁴ U.S. Bureau of the Census 1860.

³²⁵ Bilby 1995:84.

³²⁶ Quarles 1953:31.

"Celtic journals gave vent to the Irish hatred of abolitionism," stated Robert Ernst. "For the Irishman, the moral question as to the right or wrong of slavery was unimportant"; as with many other whites, they considered the African American an inferior being and wondered why "the abolitionist tried to free the Negro and opposed the Irish 'foreigner.'"³²⁷ One reason was political. The nativist movement—"America for Americans!"—of the antebellum period attracted many antislavery advocates. The movement was fueled, in part, by the belief that "nearly all Irish immigrants supported slavery" and that the Roman Catholic Church had failed to condemn slavery in the United States and supported slavery in Cuba and in Brazil.³²⁸

Most antislavery advocates leaned toward a number of other parties: the American Party, the American Republican Party, and the Know Nothing Party for nativists; the moribund Whig party; and the Free-Soil Party, largely made up of antislavery radicals and others who eventually would form the Republican Party of the 1850s.³²⁹ The majority of the voting Irish-American population were Democrats, in part because of charismatic grass-roots politicians like Mike Walsh and the less direct approaches employed by Archbishop John Hughes and others who organized the vote to a degree that Tammany Hall and other Democratic party enclaves throughout the urbanized Northeast took notice.³³⁰

During the Civil War, the Democratic party was split between those adherents prepared to save the Union ("War Democrats") and others who were for peace with the Confederacy—at any cost. These "Peace Democrats," or "Copperheads," as they were derisively called, "believed that the increased power and centralization of the Republican wartime government had brought hard times and political tyranny to the North; poor white men had paid for the war with their blood and toil, while blacks reaped the benefits of misguided Republican philanthropy."³³¹ In New York City, the Peace Democrats—led by former Mayor and Congressman-elect Fernando Wood—held a "Peace Convention" in June of 1863. One of the topics discussed was the Conscription Act, passed by Congress the previous March. "This law made all males between the ages of 20 and 35 and all unmarried men between the ages of 35 and 45 eligible for military duty." Names of potentially eligible men would be acquired "through a laborious house-to-house enrollment conducted by government agents," and then a lottery would be held to determine who would be drafted into the army. Those who were able to provide an "acceptable substitute" or pay \$300 would be exempt from military service. Those resisting the draft would be subject to arrest.³³²

Such a law fell most heavily on the workingmen of the Five Points, who along with other workingmen characterized the national conflict as a rich man's war, but a poor man's fight. For many others, the belief—aided by speeches of Copperhead orators—grew that freed slaves (used to working for little or no wages) would flock to the urban North and compete with white laborers for employment. City officials resented the intrusion of the federal government into local affairs.

In the beginning of the summer of 1863, the local provost marshal, Colonel Robert Nugent of the 88th New York Infantry, was authorized by the federal government to start the draft lottery. Nugent, a native of County Down, attempted to select "isolated districts" in Manhattan in the hope of attracting as little attention as possible. However, "this ploy placed the lotteries in the heart of the uptown tenement and shanty district, among poor immigrant workers most suspicious of Republican policies."³³³ So although the Sixth Ward was not directly affected, doubtless those residents of Lower Manhattan with friends and relatives uptown knew what was going on, and there were probably a number of Five Points residents in the crowd at 3rd Avenue and 46th Street when the Ninth District Draft Office first started drawing names on Saturday, July 11, 1863.

³²⁷ Ernst 1994:153.

³²⁸ Anbinder 1992:45.

³²⁹ Anbinder 1992:44-45, 100-101, 149, 185.

³³⁰ Allen 1993:78-95.

³³¹ Bernstein 1990:11.

³³² Bernstein 1990:9.

³³³ Bernstein 1990:13.

Rumors abounded the next day that "gangsters downtown were stockpiling rocks, bricks, clubs for use as weapons,"³³⁴ and by Monday, the 13th, the Ninth District Draft Office was besieged by a large crowd led by members of the "Black Joke" volunteer fire company (Engine 33) who were protesting the suspension of their immunity from military conscription as one of their members had been drafted. The firemen broke into the building, ransacked the office, and set it on fire. As other fire companies arrived on the scene to fight the blaze, the mob chased them away.

Other rioters tore up street railway tracks, chopped down telegraph poles, closed down factories and stores, looted and torched the houses and businesses of those who were known or suspected adherents of the draft or of abolitionism, including Colonel Nugent and other government officials, prominent merchants, newspapermen, abolitionists, or antislavery advocates. Some rioters were appeased by bartenders and others buying rounds for them so that they would not destroy certain buildings or assault people. African Americans, both uptown and downtown, were killed—at least 18 were hanged from lamp posts, beaten to death, or set on fire; five were forced off piers into the Hudson and East Rivers and drowned, and "seventy more vanished without trace." Countless others were brutally beaten and forced to flee their homes, which were set on fire and burned to the ground. It was estimated that 2,000 rioters were killed, as well as 50 soldiers and three city policemen, and well over 100 buildings were burned down before armed soldiers fresh from the battlefield of *Gettysburg* were brought in to restore order.³³⁵

The Sixth Ward emerged relatively unscathed—other than an incident where "700 rioters beat up blacks on Baxter Street then went to Samuel Gook's tavern on Chatham Street and beat up the black waiters" on Tuesday the 14th.³³⁶ After the rioting had ceased, the police came down to the Points and raided slum dwellings and found expensive furniture and china ornaments "in low hovels."³³⁷ One suspects, however, that many rioters returned home empty-handed and, after the effects of the liquor or bloodlust wore off, they looked about them and wondered—what exactly did they accomplish? They still went to war, they still lived in poverty, and they still believed they had come to a land of opportunity, which they had. The next generation would reap the benefits of their parents' courage to start anew in an alien land.

³³⁴ Sante 1992:348.

³³⁵ Headley 1873.

³³⁶ Headley 1873:169.

³³⁷ Headley 1873:320.

CHAPTER 4 – THE FIVE POINTS REFORMED, 1865–1900

by Robert K. Fitts

4.1 Introduction

After the Civil War, Block 160 continued to pulsate with activity. Peddlers pushed their carts up and down the streets hawking clothes and food, while street-side stands sold candy and fruit (Figure 22). Shops with awnings, stretching almost to the curb, lined the streets selling new and used clothes, shoes, household furnishings, junk, and, of course, liquor. Above the shops rose multi-storied tenement buildings housing nearly 1,500 people. As in most tenement neighborhoods, on warm nights the residents escaped their dark, cramped dwellings and stayed on the streets well into the night. A myriad of languages and dialects—as well as accented American English—could be heard as Irish, Italian, Polish, Russian, German, Chinese, British, and American adults socialized and shopped and their children played. On a typical Lower East Side block, mothers sat “on door-steps gossiping with one another and watching children who ought doubtless to have been abed. There was life, action, and social activity everywhere. Saloons and billiard-rooms seemed crowded—indeed everything seemed crowded—and to all appearances an immense amount of entertainment was in process of distribution among a great number of people.”³³⁸

The decades after the Draft Riots (1863) saw gradual changes on Block 160. Contemporaries agreed that Five Points had become less volatile. The neighborhood, once infamous for its crime, became safer, and sanitary conditions slowly improved as city agencies began to regulate tenement housing. Writers, including Jacob Riis, credited the Five Points Mission and the Five Points House of Industry with helping to stabilize the neighborhood. Through their charity work, schools, adult training, orphan relocation programs, and religious instruction, the missions claimed to have reduced the area’s poverty and increased its morality.³³⁹

From 1870 to 1890, the ethnic makeup of Block 160 and the Five Points neighborhood also changed. As time passed, the *Irish and Germans*, who dominated the area from the 1840s through the 1860s, were replaced with more recent immigrants from Italy, Eastern Europe, and China.³⁴⁰ By 1880, more Italians lived on Block 160 and in Five Points than any other ethnic group. This, in part, helped improve the neighborhood’s reputation, as native-born Americans often considered Italian immigrants to be superior to the Irish who were thought to be violent and unadaptable to American ways.³⁴¹ An unknown late-nineteenth-century writer for *Harper’s Weekly* concluded:

Teresa from the Ligurian mountains is certainly a more picturesque object than Bridget from Cork, and quite as worthy of incorporation in our new civilization. She is a better wife and mother, and under equal circumstances far outstrips the latter in that improvement of her condition evoked by the activity of the New World. Her children attend the public schools, and develop very early an amount of energy and initiative which, added to the quick intuition of Italian blood, makes them valuable factors in the population.³⁴²

With the transition from an Irish to an Italian neighborhood came an increase in the number of nuclear and extended families and a decrease in single-parent families and unmarried adults. From 1855 to 1880, approximately half of Irish households were nuclear or extended families. This contrasts sharply with Italian households, which consisted of 76 percent nuclear or extended families in 1870 and 87

³³⁸ *New York: A Collection from Harper’s Magazine* 1991:301.

³³⁹ Barnard 1893:74–75; Riis 1971:151.

³⁴⁰ Ethnicity was determined by parents’ birth place as recorded in the New York State Census 1855, U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870, second enumeration; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1880. As the 1890 federal census does not survive for New York City, the New York City Police Department census 1890 was used instead. Unfortunately, this census does not include residents’ birth places; therefore, ethnicity was assigned based on likely origins of family names. This method has obvious limitations, and ethnicity could not be determined for a large percentage of the block’s inhabitants. Nevertheless, the method provides rough estimates. City of New York, Police Department 1890.

³⁴¹ Knobel 1986.

³⁴² *New York: A Collection from Harper’s Magazine* 1991:240.



Figure 22. The hustle and bustle of Baxter Street in the late nineteenth century. Courtesy of the Museum of the City of New York.

percent in 1880. Although the relationship between single parents and unmarried adults and crime is a hotly debated topic, there is little doubt that a single-parent working-class family had trouble staying out of poverty in nineteenth-century New York. Furthermore, as nineteenth-century middle-class writers saw a causal effect between nuclear families and morality, the increase of stable Italian families in the neighborhood probably helped abate Five Points's reputation as a center of depravity.³⁴³

During the second half of the nineteenth century, each of the streets bounding Block 160 had different characteristics. Chatham Street [renamed Park Row in 1886] was primarily commercial, Pearl Street was dominated by large crowded tenements with small shops and saloons at street level, Park Street contained the Mission House and industries, and Baxter Street was lined with decaying houses packed with immigrants, sweatshops, and clothing stores. Ethnic groups also congregated at different parts of the block. Irish families favored Pearl and Park Streets over Baxter. Eastern-European Jews ran clothing shops along Baxter Street until the 1890s. Italians, who first settled in the upper section of Baxter Street in the 1850s, had gradually spread out to the rest of Baxter, Park, and even parts of Pearl Street by the end of the century. Chinese settled in the twisting backlots of Baxter Street, while the handful of Americans and British avoided Baxter Street and settled on Pearl Street and in the Methodist Mission on Park Street. Few factual, non-judgmental accounts of Block 160 survive from the period, but by relying on a variety of documentary and visual sources a picture of life in the neighborhood emerges.

4.2 Pearl Street

In the late nineteenth century, large decaying brick tenements housing hundreds of immigrants lined Block 160's portion of Pearl Street. Most of these 25-by-50-foot structures stood between three to five stories high. To further maximize rental income, many of the lots' owners added backlot tenements during the 1860s and 1870s. Often this left only a small courtyard of open space in which residents laundered their clothes, disposed of garbage, used their privies, and sometimes raised pigs and chickens (Figure 23). Sewage backups were common and frequently the courtyards were flooded with human waste and garbage. These sanitary conditions contributed to the high mortality rate in the neighborhood: 13 Pearl Street residents died during the typhus and fever epidemics of 1864, and in 1869 the Board of Health recorded three deaths in each of the tenements at 472, 476, and 488 Pearl Street.³⁴⁴

Overcrowding exacerbated the poor sanitary conditions. The most crowded tenements stood at 472 and 474 Pearl Street. At 472, approximately one hundred people were packed into a five-story brick building and a smaller four-story brick backlot tenement.³⁴⁵ At the corner of Pearl and Park Streets stood another large, five-story brick tenement, labeled by the Council of Hygiene and Public Health in 1866 as a "Sixth Ward fever nest." According to the council, this building—known at various times as 500 and 502 Pearl or 47 and 49 Park Street—was inhabited by 349 people, 115 of whom were sick. Featuring this building in the council's report may have helped improve conditions as the 1870 census lists only 117 inhabitants, and by 1890 the number had fallen to 79.³⁴⁶

Below the crowded tenement apartments, the buildings' ground floors and basements contained a variety of shops. Some of these shops provided upscale services such as John Daniels's decorating shop at 490 Pearl Street or Theodore W. Prince's photography and daguerreotype shop at 466 Pearl. Prince opened his shop in 1870 with a capital investment of \$900 and \$50 for supplies of paper, silver, glass, and chemicals. He hired an adult male at \$50 per month and during his first month of business produced \$250 worth of photographs for a profit of \$150. Unfortunately, Prince's business did poorly and he disappeared from the directories in 1871. In 1887, he reappeared as a cigarmaker at 415 Pearl Street.³⁴⁷

³⁴³ New York State Census 1855; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870, second enumeration; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1880; Ladies of the Mission 1854:34–35.

³⁴⁴ Board of Health 1868:26, 1869:339–340; Perris 1867, 1875; Robinson 1885; Bromley 1891.

³⁴⁵ Perris 1867, 1875; Robinson 1885; Bromley 1891; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870, second enumeration; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1880; New York City Police Department 1890.

³⁴⁶ Citizens' Association of New York 1866; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870, second enumeration; City of New York, Police Department 1890.

³⁴⁷ U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870, second enumeration; Trow 1872–1873, 1874–1887.

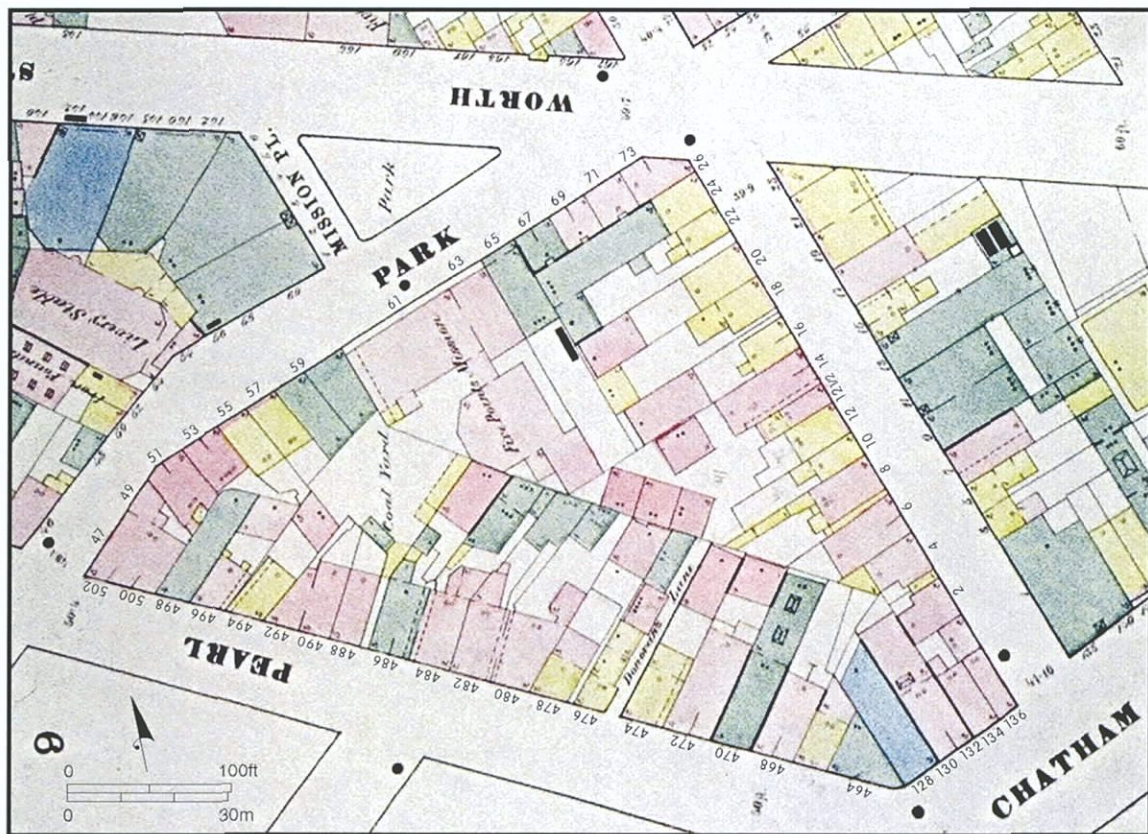


Figure 23. Map of Block 160, William Perris 1875.

Brick or Stone Stores

- 1st class
- 2nd class
- 3rd class
- Brick or stone dwelling, 1st class, slate or molded metal roof
- Brick or stone dwelling, 2nd class, slate or metal roof, unmolded
- Brick or stone dwelling, 3rd class, slate and single roof
- Brick or stone dwelling, with shingled roof
- Brick or stone dwelling, 1st class, with store(s) underneath, slate or molded metal roof
- Brick or stone dwelling, 2nd class, with store(s) underneath, slate or unmolded metal roof
- Brick or stone dwelling, 3rd class, with store(s) underneath, slate and shingled roof
- Brick or stone dwelling with shingled roof
- Framed dwelling
- Framed dwelling with store(s) underneath
- Skylight (those less than 3 feet do not appear)

Hazardous Businesses

Brick Frame

- 1st class: Bakers, boat builders, brewers, brush manufacturers, comb makers, coppersmiths, dyers, cloth manufacturers, hat makers, oil manufacturers, oil-cloth manufacturers, malt houses, stables (private), tobacco manufacturers, type and stereo type foundries, wheelwrights
- 2nd class: book binders, brass foundries, coach makers, cotton presses, iron mills, paper mills, printers
- 3rd class: blind and sash makers, bleaching works, cabinet makers, candle makers, carpenters, distillers
- 4th class: brimstone works, camphene/spirit gas manufacturers, coffee and spice mills, chemical labs, drug and spice mills, fire works manufacturers, planing and grooving mills, match manufacturers, rope and cordage makers, saw mills, sugar refiners, tar boiling houses, turpentine distillers, varnish makers

Other shops provided articles needed in daily life. Michael Long's china and glass shop stood at 476 Pearl Street from 1864 to 1873, Honora Connell's grocery—open between 1865 and 1876—was at 488 Pearl, and Dennis O'Connor's coal yard was at 486 Pearl Street (operating from 1860 to 1876).³⁴⁸ Many of these businesses were run by long-time block residents. For example, Dennis O'Connor moved into 57 Park Street with his wife, Bridget, and his mother before 1850. He worked as a cartman for a few years and became a policeman by 1855. Around 1860, O'Connor left the police force and began to operate the coal yard at 486 Pearl Street. He stayed at this job and resided at 57 Park Street until 1876.³⁴⁹

Other enterprises on the lots included the undertaking establishments owned by William Kennedy at 470 Pearl Street (1870–1887) and John Ward at 474 Pearl Street (1855–1876), as well as several light industries including a cigar maker, a hatter, and a baker named James Prior. Prior established a bakery at 486 Pearl Street before 1870 with only \$300 of capital. Each year he spent approximately \$5,600 on sugar and flour, hired two men at \$600 each, and produced about \$7,800 worth of bread and cakes. This gave him an annual profit of approximately \$1,000.³⁵⁰

Liquor was also readily available. Between 1870 and 1890, at least six different lots simultaneously contained liquor shops or groceries. Some of the owners were long-term residents of the neighborhood. For example, Lorenzo Carey worked himself up from grocery clerk in 1850 to owner of the grocery at 484 Pearl from 1852 until 1871; John Lysaigh, a relative of former Alderman Patrick Lysaigh, operated a liquor store at 474 Pearl between 1865 and 1883.³⁵¹

As in earlier periods, many people, especially Irish widows, took in boarders as a livelihood. Maria Moran was typical. In the 1870s, Maria lived with her husband James, a printer, at various addresses before settling at 484 Pearl Street in 1879. Within the year, James died and 50-year-old Maria was left to support two daughters (aged 18 and 20). To make ends meet, both daughters took jobs at the nearby factory making paper boxes while Maria kept house and tended to the needs of her four boarders. In the 1880s, Irish women continued to work in low-paying jobs, like semi-skilled manufacturing and rag picking, but some also worked in stores or were employed as servants, and two widows on Block 160, Margaret Harrington and Mary Hanley, owned stores.³⁵²

The large number of Irish widows in mid-nineteenth-century New York was due to a number of factors. First, Irish women tended to marry older men, thus increasing the likelihood that they would outlive their husbands. Second, the death rate for Irish men in America was much higher than for native-born Americans and German immigrants—probably a result of the large number of Irish men employed in dangerous manual labor jobs. Third, a high rate of desertion among Irish men led many abandoned wives to identify themselves as widows.³⁵³

In 1855 and 1870, just over half of the block's Irish men worked as unskilled laborers, while many others worked in trades such as shoemaking, tailoring, and semi-skilled manufacturing. By 1880, however, the percentage employed as unskilled laborers had fallen and the occupations of Irish male residents on the block were more diverse. Many became involved in commercial enterprises such as store ownership and peddling, and a few chose white-collar occupations such as detective, college student, and topographic artist.³⁵⁴

³⁴⁸ U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870, second enumeration; Trow 1862–1865.

³⁴⁹ U.S. Bureau of the Census 1850; New York State Census 1855; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1860; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870, first and second enumerations; Trow 1860–1865, 1874–1887.

³⁵⁰ New York Bureau of the Census 1870, second enumeration; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1880; Trow 1855–1856, 1872–1873, 1874–1887.

³⁵¹ U.S. Bureau of the Census 1850; New York State Census 1855; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1860; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870, second enumeration; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1880; Rode 1853–1854, 1854–1855; Trow 1850–1851, 1862–1865, 1872–1873, 1874–1887.

³⁵² U.S. Bureau of the Census 1880.

³⁵³ Spann 1981:27–28; Diner 1983:59–60.

³⁵⁴ New York State Census 1855; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870, second enumeration; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1880.

4.3 Park Street

The Five Points Mission (Figure 24) dominated the Park Street side of Block 160. By the 1870s, the mission consisted of a series of attached brick buildings that included a chapel, school, and lodging for its inmates. In the mid-1890s, the main building was expanded to cover nearly all of spacious Lot 28. During this period, about one hundred people lived at the mission. The staff included the American-born minister Charles Brown, his family, a doctor, and a druggist. The mission also housed unfortunate families who needed assistance and exhibited the “proper” moral attributes. Many of these families were headed by widows, but nuclear families were also present. Inmates tended to come from Protestant countries such as the United States, England, and Germany, but some Irish and Italians also lived at the mission.³⁵⁵

Flanking the mission house were two large brick industrial buildings. In the 1880s, 57 through 61 Park Street was owned by the Dunbar Corporation, while James Parsons owned 65 Park Street; however, the types of industries practiced in these buildings are unknown.³⁵⁶ The other structures on Park Street were primarily small brick or overcrowded wooden tenements with shops at street level. Throughout most of this period, each of these small structures held approximately 30 people.³⁵⁷ Occasionally, however, the overcrowding became almost intolerable. For example, in 1870 the two-storied, 20-by-40-foot wooden house at 55 Park Street contained 57 people. Adding to the overcrowding was the lack of open spaces behind the Park Street tenements. The proximity to neighboring buildings left residents with little sunlight and only a few square feet to build their privies.³⁵⁸

The inhabitants of these dark, unhealthful, overcrowded tenements were primarily Irish immigrants too poor to live on Pearl Street and newly arrived Italian immigrants. Many residents worked at low-paying jobs while others scratched out a living as rag pickers, boot blacks (shoeshiners), and beggars.³⁵⁹ Not all the tenement inhabitants, however, were poor. The Wade family, which lived in a small wooden tenement at 53 Park Street in 1880, more closely resembled a middle-class household. Thomas Wade, a 55-year-old, Irish-born, park policeman, and his Irish-born wife, Rosanna, cared for six children and a niece. Three of the grown children held white-collar jobs—the eldest son was a detective, the middle a clerk, the youngest in college—while the niece was a store clerk. The eldest daughter (22 years old) stayed at home to help her mother with the house, while the two teen-aged daughters attended school. The Wades remained at 53 Cross Street until they moved to 112 Mott Street in 1885. Four years later, they left the Five Points and relocated at 292 Pleasant Avenue.³⁶⁰

Besides the large unidentified industrial enterprises at 59 and 65 Park Street, most of the street’s businesses consisted of small shops located on the ground floors of the tenements. For example, in the 1880s Jacob Apropos made and sold shoes at 67 Park Street, while next door at 69 Park Street, Louis Balboni made watches and jewelry.³⁶¹ Charles Ficken’s confectionery at 67 Park was typical of the small Park Street businesses. Ficken and his wife Adeline were born in Hanover, Germany, about 1840 and immigrated to New York before their daughter was born in 1860. By 1870, Charles had used \$300 to set up his confectionery on the ground floor of his 67 Park Street tenement. Each year he purchased \$600 worth of sugar, \$375 worth of molasses, as well as \$25 worth of coconuts and \$25 worth of oils. He hired another man, paying him \$200 for 10 months’ work, and together, without the aid of machinery, they produced \$1,800 worth of candy each year. The business provided Ficken with an annual profit of \$600. Ficken was able to save some of his profits, and in 1870 he had a personal estate worth \$150.³⁶²

³⁵⁵ U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870, second enumeration; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1880; Bromley 1891.

³⁵⁶ NYCTA 1882–1889.

³⁵⁷ U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870, second enumeration; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1880; Perris 1867, 1875, 1884; Bromley 1891.

³⁵⁸ Perris 1884; Bromley 1891.

³⁵⁹ U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870, second enumeration; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1880.

³⁶⁰ U.S. Bureau of the Census 1880; Trow 1874–1887.

³⁶¹ U.S. Bureau of the Census 1880; Trow 1874–1887.

³⁶² U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870, first enumeration.

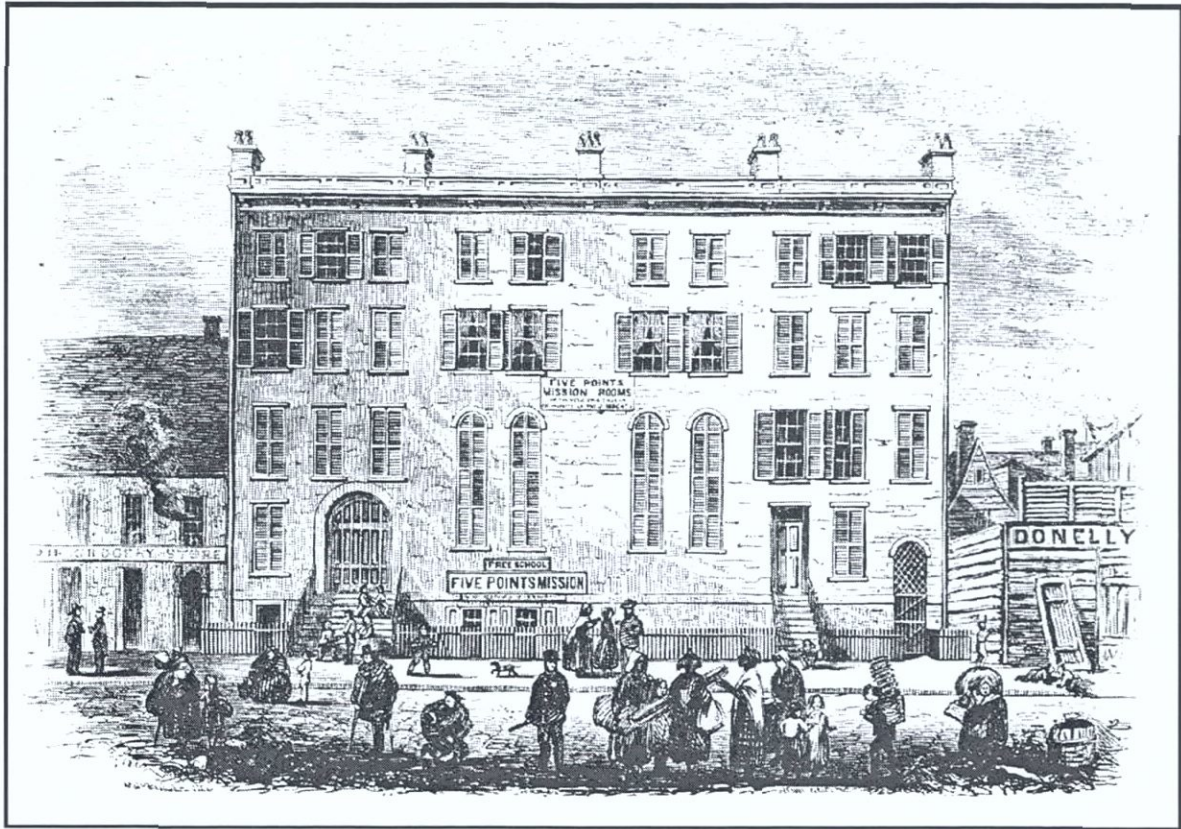


Figure 24. The Five Points Mission House at 61 Park Street provided health care, relief, housing, and Protestant religious instruction to the area's residents. From *Ladies of the Mission* 1854:ii.

Ficken's enterprise typified the occupations of the block's German males. Most were skilled workers, usually employed in trades such as shoemaking and tailoring. These higher-paying, more secure, skilled jobs allowed many to acquire enough capital to leave the older slums and establish German neighborhoods. The most famous was *Kleindeutschland* (First Avenue and Houston Street) in the Tenth Ward, which contained two-thirds of New York City's German Americans in 1857. By 1880, only a small percentage of the block's inhabitants were German and nearly half of these lived in the Five Points Mission. Although the Fickens moved from Block 160 in the mid-1870s, they did not move to *Kleindeutschland* but instead relocated the candy shop to 72 Mott Street.³⁶³

4.4 Baxter Street

Baxter was undoubtedly the most colorful street bordering the block. Here ramshackle old plank homes converted to tenements and newer brick structures housed over four hundred immigrants from around the world. Italian organ-grinders and their monkeys lived alongside Chinese, Eastern European Jews, Germans, Irish, and native-born Americans. Tailoring, shoemaking, and cheap clothing shops, their windows adorned with placards reading "look how cheap the goods," lined the street. On the sidewalks, men known as "pullers-in" would accost pedestrians and try to entice them into their employers' stores. Between the stores ran narrow alleys leading to the myriad of backlot tenements where sweatshops abounded and monkeys were trained to beg.³⁶⁴

Even in the early 1890s, the corner of Baxter and Park Streets, one of the original five points, retained the look of an earlier time (Figure 25). On the corner stood a three-story brick building with a sagging awning casting the sidewalk in deep shadow. In the late 1860s and 1870s, the building housed Lewenthal Cohen's tailoring shop and Dora Brown's variety shop. Later tenants used the ground floor as a clothing shop.³⁶⁵

These stores were part of the row of clothing shops, tailors, and shoemakers that lined Baxter Street between Park Street and Chatham Street from the 1850s through 1890s (Figure 26). In 1850, George Foster described these shops as "forty or fifty cow-sheds got together in line, furnished with dismal-looking little windows, half broken in and patched with old newspapers."³⁶⁶ In the 1870s, this row of shops included at least three tailors, four clothiers, and seven shoemakers. In the following decade, one tailor, seven clothiers, and six shoemakers were located in the records. Most of these businesses were owned by Eastern European Jews and many of the clothing shops specialized in old clothes.³⁶⁷

From the mid-nineteenth century, Jews from Germany, Poland, and Russia settled in Five Points along Baxter Street. In 1855, 43 Russians or Poles in 10 families lived on Block 160's portion of Baxter Street. The number of these immigrants gradually grew over the next three decades, and by 1880 the street contained 14 Russian/Polish families totaling 87 individuals as well as several families on Park and Pearl Streets.³⁶⁸

In many ways, Lewenthal Cohen was typical of these Jewish tailors and clothiers. Born in Posen, Germany, about 1832, he probably immigrated with his new bride, Lena, in the 1850s. By the early 1860s, the couple had settled in New York where Lena gave birth to their first child. As Jews tended to immigrate to the United States in families rather than as unmarried adults, the Cohens followed both the general pattern of Jewish immigration and the norm on Baxter Street where all the Jews lived in nuclear or extended families. This contrasts sharply with the household structure of other ethnic groups living on Block 160, where widows, widowers, and single adults were relatively common. Like the other Eastern-European

³⁶³ U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870, second enumeration; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1880; Trow 1874-1887; Still 1974:123.

³⁶⁴ Harlow 1931:449; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870, second enumeration; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1880; Perris 1884.

³⁶⁵ Mielatz [1880]; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870, second enumeration; Trow 1862-1865, 1872-1873, 1874-1887.

³⁶⁶ Foster 1990:126.

³⁶⁷ U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870, second enumeration; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1880; Citizens' Association of New York 1866:77.

³⁶⁸ New York State Census 1855; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1880.



Figure 25. Etching of the corner of Baxter Street and Park Street in the late nineteenth century by C.F.W. Mielatz. Courtesy of the Museum of the City of New York.



Figure 26. A typical Jewish-run old-clothes shop in late-nineteenth-century New York.
From Riis 1971.

Jewish families on Block 160, the Cohens had a large family, with four children born before 1870 and at least one afterwards. The Jewish immigrants had the largest families on the block, averaging nearly 3.5 children per family in the 1870s and 1880s, while the average for non-Jewish families was roughly 2.8 children.³⁶⁹

The occupational patterns of the Eastern-European Jews were also distinct from the other ethnic groups on the block. Instead of working as laborers or in manufacturing, nearly all were, like Cohen, working in the garment trade or as shoemakers. Some of these businesses realized strong profits. Morris Silverstein, who was a shoemaker at 18 Baxter in the 1870s, invested \$400 into his business, hired seven employees at \$3,600 per annum, and spent \$1,800 a year on raw materials, but he did \$6,500 worth of business per year, making a profit of \$1,100. The profits from their businesses were often invested in real estate, and the more successful shop-owners began to purchase the lots on Baxter Street about the time of the Civil War. By 1880, most of Block 160's lots along Baxter Street were owned by Eastern-European Jews.³⁷⁰

Many of these families and their businesses remained in the Five Points neighborhood for an extended period of time despite changing their shops' addresses. At least six Jewish-owned businesses on Baxter Street active in the 1870s were still operating 10 years later. Lewenthal Cohen's tailoring shop was one of these. He operated at 26 Baxter from 1868 to 1879 and then relocated to 12 Baxter and finally to 419 East Houston Street in 1884 as a clothier. Even after the business moved to Houston Street, the family continued to live at 22 Baxter until the 1890s.³⁷¹

Abraham Goldstein, the Cohen's neighbor at 22 or 24 Baxter Street, was also a long-term resident of the block. Goldstein ran his tailoring-clothing business and lived at either 22 or 24 Baxter from 1870 to at least 1890. The pair of decaying two-story wooden structures at 22 and 24 Baxter, described as "beggarly little shanties," were among the oldest buildings on the block. In the 1870s and 1880s, Goldstein shared the store fronts with other tailoring and clothing shops run by Eastern-European Jews, but in the 1890s, Italian renters took over the buildings and 24 Baxter Street may have been converted to a saloon or liquor store.³⁷²

Behind each of these old wooden buildings stood brick tenements. Jacob Riis photographed the rear of 22 Baxter in the 1880s or 1890s. A pair of photographs (Figures 27 and 28) shows an untidy courtyard between two brick buildings. Several groups of children and a handful of adults—probably Italian immigrants—pose among hanging laundry, wash tubs, a water pump, and a peddler's cart. To the right, an exterior wooden staircase connects the courtyard with the tenement's second floor. When Riis took the photographs, 22 Baxter was among the most crowded tenements on the block. To abate overcrowding, the structures on these lots were demolished and replaced with large six-story, dumbbell-shaped, brick tenements in the early 1900s.³⁷³

These were not the first large tenements on Baxter Street. During the 1880s, five-story brick tenements were built at 16 and 18 Baxter Street, and by 1890 each of these housed about 130 people. After 1870, the majority of the tenements' residents were Italian immigrants.³⁷⁴ Italians first settled on Block 160 in the 1850s at the corner of Baxter and Park Streets and in the Old Brewery. In this early period, most of the Italian immigrants were single men who left their families in Italy. Once in New York, they worked hard at menial jobs, many as organ-grinders, lived as cheaply as possible, and often returned to Italy with their savings. After 1870, however, whole Italian families came to New York to start new lives. By 1870, fifteen percent of the block's inhabitants were Italian. This percentage had doubled by 1880 and nearly doubled again in the next decade, making the majority of Block 160's residents Italian.

³⁶⁹ U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870, second enumeration; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1880; City of New York, Police Department 1890; Kessner 1977:31–32.

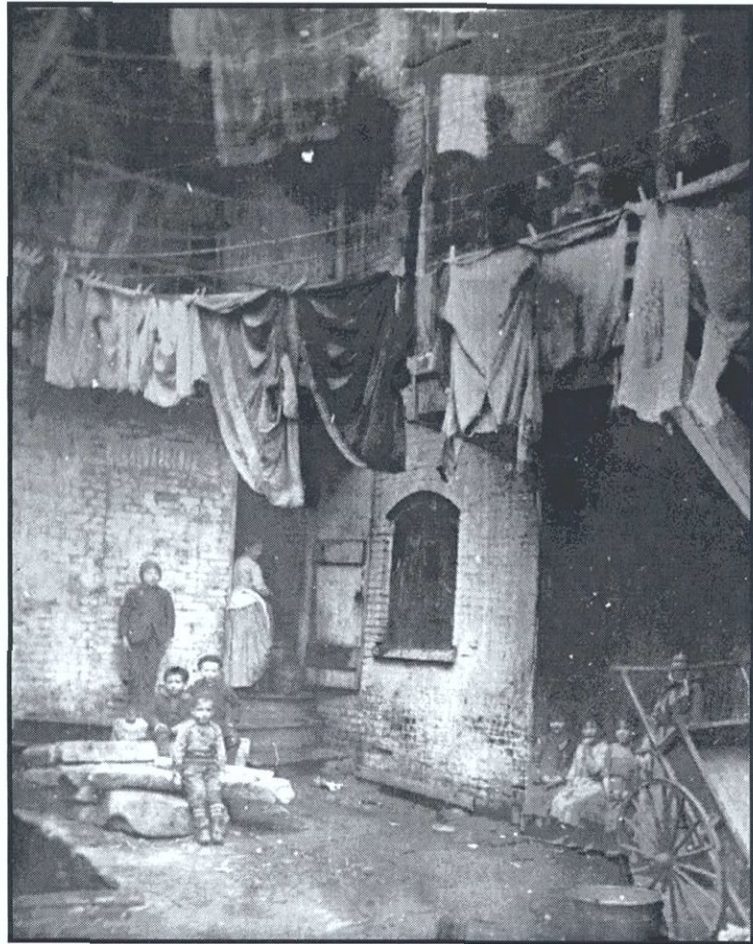
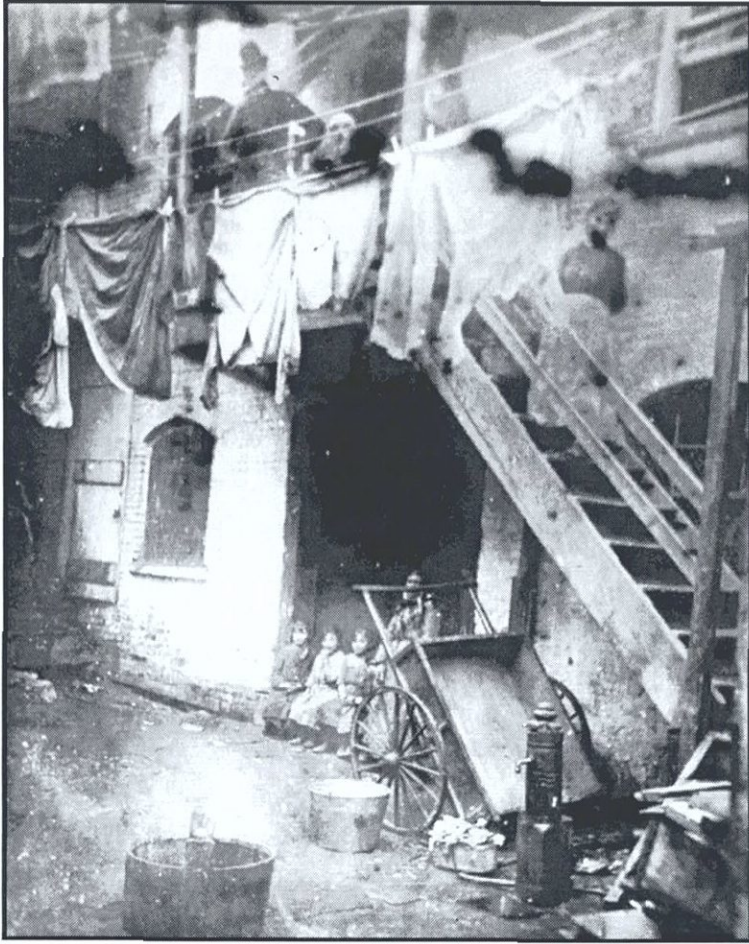
³⁷⁰ Borough of Manhattan Land Evidence Libers 876:144, Libers 1040:557, 1017:672, 714:108, Libers 976:514, 1313:222, 1364:119, 1552:263.

³⁷¹ U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870, second enumeration; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1880; City of New York, Police Department 1890.

³⁷² U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1880; Foster 1990:126; Trow 1872–1873, 1874–1887; Mielatz n.d.; City of New York, Police Department 1890.

³⁷³ City of New York, Police Department 1890; Riis 1971:v–viii; Bromley 1902.

³⁷⁴ NYCTA 1886–1889; Perris 1884; City of New York, Police Department 1890.



Figures 27 and 28. Pair of photographs depicting the back lot of 22 Baxter Street taken by Jacob Riis in the late nineteenth century. Courtesy of the New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

Most of the block's Italian residents' occupations centered around street sales and services, such as peddling, organ-grinding, running street stands, and shoeshining (boot blackers). By 1880, fruit dealing and candy making were their most common occupations (Figure 29). Thirty men and five women earned their livings selling fruit, while another 11 men and seven women either manufactured or sold candy.³⁷⁵ A late-nineteenth-century account of Italian life in *Harper's Magazine* described the trade:

The fruit trade is in the hands of Italians in all its branches, from the Broadway shop with its inclined plane of glowing color, to the stand at a street corner. Among the last the well-to-do fruit-merchant has a substantial wooden booth, which he locks up in dull times, removing his stock. In winter he also roasts chestnuts and peanuts, and in summer dispenses slices of water-melon....With the poorer members of the guild the little table which holds the stock in trade is the family hearth-stone, about which the children play all day, the women gossip over their lace pillows, and the men lounge in the lazy, happy ways of the peninsula. At night the flaring lamps make the dusky faces and the masses of fruit glow in a way that adds much to the picturesqueness of our streets. These fruit-merchants are from all parts of Italy, and always converse cheerfully with any one who can speak any language, with the exception of an occasional sulky youth.³⁷⁶

A ramble of wooden and brick tenements collectively known as the "Beehive" stood at numbers 12 through 14 Baxter Street in the 1870s.³⁷⁷ An anonymous writer for *Harper's Magazine* described the scene:

I saw in the cluster of eight houses that form the "Bee-hive" various humble homes, from the neat and graceful poverty adorned with bright colors, and sweet with the bunch of lilacs brought from the morning's marketing (the favorite flower of the neighborhood), to the dens of one room, in which three or four families live, and take boarders and lodgers into the bargain. They told me that the building contained a thousand souls, and that cases of malarial fever were frequent. It is true that the odors of Baxter Street are unhealthy and unpleasant, arguing defective drainage.³⁷⁸

[Inside,] some of their homes were low, dark rooms, neglected and squalid; others were clean and picturesque with bright patchwork counterpanes on the beds, rows of gay plates on shelves against the walls, mantels and shelves fringed with colored paper, red and blue prints of the saints against the white plaster, and a big nosegay of lilacs on the dresser among the earthen pots.³⁷⁹

Despite the visitor's assertion, the Beehive was only occupied by about 140 to 200 people.³⁸⁰

Similar to the rest of the street, clothing and shoe stores occupied the street fronts of 12, 12½, and 14 Baxter Street. Most of these stores were run by Eastern-European Jews whose families lived in the tenements above the shops. Both Abraham Silverstein and Jacob Cohen ran clothing stores from 1870 to 1880, and it was here that Lewenthal Cohen moved his clothing shop in the 1880s.³⁸¹ It was rumored that Jacob Cohen was a fence and stolen goods were exchanged for cash in his store; however, the evidence always remained circumstantial.³⁸²

³⁷⁵ U.S. Bureau of the Census 1880.

³⁷⁶ *New York: A Collection from Harper's Magazine* 1991:241

³⁷⁷ Although the street number of Baxter Street's Beehive is not identified in contemporary accounts (e.g., Campbell 1892:406–407; *New York: A Collection from Harper's Magazine* 1991:246–247), the eight tenements situated on Lots 41, 42, and 43 (12–14 Baxter Street) of Block 160 fit the descriptions. Contemporary writers noted that it was a cluster of eight houses including a large double house which held a training school for organ-grinders' monkeys. Significantly, the 1867 Perris map depicts a large double house on the backlot of 14 Baxter Street, while the U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870 lists 14 Italian organ-grinders among its inhabitants.

³⁷⁸ *New York: A Collection from Harper's Magazine* 1991:246.

³⁷⁹ *New York: A Collection from Harper's Magazine* 1991:245.

³⁸⁰ U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870, second enumeration; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1880.

³⁸¹ U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870, second enumeration; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1880; Trow 1872–1873, 1874–1887.

³⁸² George Appo in his unpublished autobiography accused Cohen of being a fence, and in 1850 George Foster (1990:126) claimed that all the Jewish clothing dealers were fences; however, neither Timothy Gilfoyle nor JMA's researchers found evidence to support these claims (Timothy J. Gilfoyle to Claudia Milne June 20, 1996, personal communication).



Figure 29. Immigrant children buying candy from a poor street-side vendor. From *New York: A Collection from Harper's Magazine* 1991:241.

The back-lot tenements contained Italian- and Chinese-run enterprises. For example, 14 Italian organ-grinders and their families lived at 14 Baxter in 1870.³⁸³ This back-lot tenement may have been the monkey-training school described in a late-nineteenth-century article in *Harper's Weekly* (Figure 30).

In answer to an inquiry concerning monkeys, we were directed to a large double house opposite, said to be inhabited entirely by Neapolitans, who were swarming about the windows in all their brown shapeliness. In the hallway, above the rickety outer stairs, lounged several men with red shirts and unkempt heads and faces. One of them was the proprietor of the monkey establishment, and his farouche manner disappeared with our first words of interest in his pets. He led us into the little room adjoining, where some six or eight half-grown monkeys were peering through the bars of their cages, evidently pleading to be let out. The most creditably schooled monkey was released first, handed his cap, made to doff and don it, and shake hands, orders being issued both in Italian and English. Some of the others—small brown things with bright eyes, and “not yet quite trained,” said the Neapolitan—were allowed a moment's respite from captivity, at which they screamed with joy, and made for the dish of soaked bread, dipping their paws into it with great greediness, while the padrone laughed indulgently.³⁸⁴

Most of the grinders living at 14 Baxter were married men with families. They tended to be between 30 and 50 years old and be the sole provider for their families. Following city-wide trends, most of these men probably did not own their own organs or monkeys. Instead, organs were rented at four dollars a month, while monkeys, which were worth between \$20 and \$30 each, probably went for more. By this time, Italian men and boys grinding organs and accompanied by monkeys begging for money had become the stereotype for New York's Italians, and, indeed, on Block 160, 39 of the 50 employed Italians in 1870 were organ-grinders.³⁸⁵

Living alongside the Italian organ-grinders at 14 Baxter Street was an enclave of 15 single Chinese men and four married Chinese men with their families. Eighteen of these men manufactured cigars for a living and 15 seem to have worked for John Acco, who was born in China about 1830. By 1870, he and his Irish-born wife, Susan, had a daughter named Jane.³⁸⁶ By the 1870s, Chinese-Irish intermarriage was common since few Chinese women lived in New York at the time. As a result, one-fourth of Manhattan's Chinese men married Irish women. These intermarriages were also advantageous for the Irish women. Since Irish women outnumbered Irish men in New York, marriage to a Chinese was socially and economically better than remaining single. These intermarriages and their ethnically mixed children concerned many white racists and further stigmatized Five Points as a spot where immorality pervaded.³⁸⁷

One of Acco's employees, George Ap, may have been the infamous Five Points thief and pickpocket George Washington “Georgie” Appo.³⁸⁸ Appo was the son of the infamous Chinese merchant turned murderer, Quimbo Appo, and his Irish wife, Catherine Fitzpatrick. In the 1860s, George lived in a tenement at 14½ Baxter Street on an alley known as Donovan's Lane.

There lived in this Donovan's lane poor people of all nationalities and there were four old tenement houses and a large horse and wagon stable and sheds in the lane and it was a common sight to see every morning under the wagon sheds at least six to 10 drunken men and women sleeping off the effects of the five cent rum bought at “Black Mike's” saloon at No. 14 Baxter Street. The rear of this place led into the Lane where all the drunks were dumped out after being relieved of all their cash. Next door to “Mike's” at No. 14½ Baxter St., was a second hand clothing store owned by a man named Cohen who was a “fence” and where all

³⁸³ U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870, second enumeration.

³⁸⁴ *New York: A Collection from Harper's Magazine* 1991:245–6.

³⁸⁵ Campbell 1892:400, 405; *New York: A Collection from Harper's Magazine* 1991:246; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870, second enumeration.

³⁸⁶ U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870 lists nearly all the inhabitants of this household as being 25, 30, or 40 years old. As both John and Jane Acco are listed as being 30, the accuracy of all the ages should be questioned.

³⁸⁷ Tchen 1996:128–138.

³⁸⁸ U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870, second enumeration.



Figure 30. An Italian organ-grinder from the monkey-training school at 14 Baxter Street shows his monkeys to writers from Harper's Weekly. From Grafton 1977:56.

the crooks used to get rid of their stolen goods, and up over Cohen's store was where all the Chinamen of the City lived and on the top floor was the Chinese gambling and meeting rooms.³⁸⁹

In 1874, Winslow Homer sketched one of these rooms for *Harper's Weekly* (Figure 31). The anonymous writer, who accompanied Homer, described the scene.

The principle quarters of the Chinese in New York are in Baxter Street where there is a clubhouse. . . . Around the room are hung many colored papers closely written over in Chinese characters. These contain the accounts, bulletins, and "orders" of the club. There are also almanacs printed in Shanghai, and scrolls containing news from the Celestial Empire. In the room adjoining a score of Chinese sea-faring men are seated at a long gaming-table covered with dominoes and their native coins of small value. Their only game is one of "odd and even." At one corner of this outside or gaming room is arranged one of the most interesting features of the whole place. A little altar, over which is suspended a scroll containing the names of deceased members of the club, is furnished with a lamp, kept constantly burning, and a vessel containing incense and joss-sticks burned morning and evening to the souls of the departed celestials.

Away in another quarter of Donovan's Lane, which lies to the rear of the club house is the opium merchant's house and the rooms of the smokers. A wretched place at best, it contains only a few low benches and a dilapidated bed, whereon the landlord and a chance customer are reclining. Our artist looked in vain for the wives of the Chinese, who sometimes visit the smoking rooms, and who are invariably English, Irish, or American girls with some pretensions to prettiness. There has not been a Chinese woman resident in New York for years.³⁹⁰

These inhabitants of 14 Baxter Street were part of a small enclave of Chinese that had developed around Five Points by the 1860s.³⁹¹ The attendants of the Five Points House of Industry noted that "in 1868, the numerous Chinese, who were to be met on almost every street corner selling cigars, attracted the attention of the Missionary of the House, who found, in conversation with these, that they were eager to learn English; so they were invited to the House, to form an evening class for instruction."³⁹² By 1870, 120 Chinese lived near Five Points, and three years later the community had grown to about 500. Most of these individuals were men "who worked as servants, cooks, stewards in hotels, clubhouses, or steamboats, or as vendors of Chinese candy."³⁹³

The sojourn of the Chinese on Block 160 was relatively brief: by 1880, most of the Chinese had moved off the block, some to nearby Mott and Doyers Streets. The 1880 census return shows only three unmarried Chinese men residing on Block 160—all living at 14 Baxter Street. Two of the three made cigars and the third was a sailor. Although the 1890 police census does not list the inhabitants' ethnicity, no obvious Chinese names were encountered in the enumeration for Block 160. By this time, most of New York's Chinese had congregated along Mott, Park, and Doyers Streets, which would become the center of modern Chinatown.³⁹⁴

The only known African-American resident of Block 160 in the 1870s and 1880s also lived in the Beehive tenements. According to census returns, Moses Roper, born about 1840, claimed to have been a native of Virginia. However, he may have been the Moses Roper of Yanceyville, Caswell County, North Carolina (10 miles from the North Carolina-Virginia state line), who escaped from slavery in Georgia by sea to Staten

³⁸⁹ Tchen 1996; Appo, unpublished autobiography 1911 (Timothy J. Gilfoyle to Claudia Milne June 20, 1996, personal communication).

³⁹⁰ *New York: A Collection from Harper's Magazine* 1991:222. No documentary evidence corroborates the presence of an opium den on Donovan's Lane.

³⁹¹ Wong 1982:5–6; Tchen 1996:129.

³⁹² Barnard 1893:41.

³⁹³ Wong 1982:7.

³⁹⁴ Wong 1982:6; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1880; City of New York, Police Department 1890.



Figure 31. Winslow Homer's sketch of the Chinese clubhouse at 14 Baxter Street in 1874, showing opium smokers in the foreground and domino players seated at the table. From Grafton 1977:68.

Island in 1837 and published his autobiography the following year.³⁹⁵ Roper, who thought he was 21 in 1838, could have been somewhat younger.³⁹⁶

Both the census enumerations and the city directories show Moses Roper and his illiterate Irish-born wife, Ellen, at 14 Baxter Street around 1870. Roper is listed in the census returns as a butcher and a “runner” in 1870, and a “shipping master” in 1880. These last two occupations were described by mulatto seaman James H. Williams as “the last vestige of American slavery.”³⁹⁷ During the period between the end of the Civil War and the beginning of World War I, able-bodied seamen needed to man merchant vessels were scarce. Long hours, meager pay, bad food, brutal treatment, and horrible living conditions were oftentimes the lot of any American “who wished to ship before the mast.”³⁹⁸ To make sure that sailors would be available, the keepers of boardinghouses catering to sailors would set themselves up in business as “shipping agents” and supply captains and owners of outbound vessels with sailors to man their vessels. When a ship arrived in port, “runners” would come on board and entice sailors to come to their particular boardinghouse. There, in many instances, the sailor would be kept drunk, drugged, or otherwise bemused until the ship with which the boardinghouse keeper had contracted was ready to leave port. The “shipping master” would then deliver the sailor to the vessel, collecting the sailor’s first month’s pay to cover costs the sailor incurred during his stay at the boardinghouse. Seaman who did not wish to go to the particular boardinghouse could be beaten up or otherwise “convinced” of the wisdom of following the runner and taking advantage of the hospitality of the shipping agent. Sometimes seamen would wind up dead, and many times they were delivered to the ship and deposited in the bunk with the admonition, “there’s a good man, Cap’n; leastways he will be when he wakes up.”³⁹⁹

When able-bodied seamen were in short supply, runners would go as far as to “shanghai” able-bodied men—and occasionally women—off the street. Runners and shipping masters—referred to as “crimps,” “jackals,” and other less polite terms by their victims—would be long remembered by the sailor once he groggily took his place in line as his ship weighed anchor and sailed from New York City.⁴⁰⁰ Maritime labor leaders like Andrew Furuseth and the Sailor’s Union of the Pacific on the West Coast, and James H. Williams and the Atlantic Coast Seamen’s Union on the East, fought the crimps both in court and on the docks and, by the end of World War I, had broken their power.⁴⁰¹

During his stay on Baxter Street, Moses Roper was actively involved in running a boardinghouse—possibly the collection of Chinese sailors or cigarmakers at 14 Baxter—and by 1870 he had amassed a small personal estate worth \$125.⁴⁰² However, the good times would soon end for Moses Roper. By 1884, Roper is listed in the city directory as a laborer on Broome Street; the next year, he is a “pedlar” on Mechanic Alley, near Lower Broadway; by 1888, he is listed as a laborer; and in 1893, he is a waiter living at 28 East Broadway.

From the Beehive to the corner of Baxter and Chatham Streets, the row of small clothing and shoe shops continued. Above the shops, Italians, Eastern-European Jews, and a sprinkling of Irish filled the small tenements. Close to the Chatham Street intersection, Baxter Street was a busy retail area and long-term tenants filled much of the available space. John F. Sinnott’s was one of the longest occupancies of Block 160 after the Civil War. Sinnott was born in Ireland about 1830. He immigrated to New York and had set

³⁹⁵ Roper 1969. Several clues suggest that, despite the age difference, the Roper of Five Points may have been that escaped slave and author. First, both were born in the same region. Second, Roper, the ex-slave, was the son of a white slaveholder and an African-American mother. He was said to take after his father and could easily pass as white (Jackson 1989:133). Perhaps not coincidentally, the Roper of Five Points is listed as white in the 1870 census and as black in the 1880 census (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870, 1880). Third, the ex-slave escaped to New York.

³⁹⁶ Roper 1969:110.

³⁹⁷ Williams 1833:131.

³⁹⁸ Williams 1833:128.

³⁹⁹ Hugill 1967:175.

⁴⁰⁰ Hugill 1967:165.

⁴⁰¹ Williams 1833:110–132.

⁴⁰² U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870, first and second enumerations; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1880.

up a shoe shop at 4 Baxter by 1860. In the early 1860s, he married an English woman named Ellen and subsequently had at least four children. By 1870, his business was flourishing. He had \$400 of capital invested in it and employed five adult males for a total of \$4,000 in annual wages. In the previous year, Sinnott paid \$1,800 for leather and produced \$6,800 worth of shoes and boots. This gave him an annual profit of roughly \$1,000. Sinnott's shop continued to do well, and in 1876 he purchased the property at 4 Baxter Street. The shop remained open until the mid-1880s, when Sinnott began renting out to Harris Cohen and Brothers, clothiers. Sinnott and his heirs continued to hold the property until they sold it to their neighbor, David Finelite, in 1901.⁴⁰³

The rags-to-riches story of David Finelite shows how immigrants of Five Points could become successful. Although neither David nor his wife, Lena, could read or write English, they soon built up successful businesses and moved their children into the middle class.⁴⁰⁴ Finelite, a Polish Jew, arrived in New York about 1854 at the age of 23. He settled in Five Points and worked as a shoemaker at 8 Baxter Street. Soon after his arrival in New York, Finelite and his Posen-born wife started a family, and over the next 15 years they had at least seven children. Finelite's shoemaker's shop became a success. By 1870, he had a personal estate worth \$300 and owned 20 Baxter Street. By 1873, Lena was running a shoe shop at 2 Baxter Street, and 10 years later was running a clothing shop at 18½ Baxter Street, along with her eldest son, Jacob. By 1887, Lena and Jacob had moved their clothing shop back to 2 Baxter Street. The Finelites continued to invest their profits in real estate and at the turn-of-the-century owned five properties on Block 160. In the early twentieth century, the family demolished the structures at the corner of Baxter Street and Park Row (previously Chatham Street) and constructed a seven-story brick building known as the Finelite Building. The family rented out the ground floor as commercial space and the upper floors as rental apartments.⁴⁰⁵

These investments allowed the children to enter the middle class. The four Finelite sons followed their father into the real estate business, but also had other careers. Alexander was, perhaps, the most successful. He practiced law, became prominent in local politics (serving as commissioner of deeds), and was eventually called to the bench to serve as a judge of the state supreme court and justice of the court of errors and appeals.⁴⁰⁶

4.5 Chatham Street

The four brick commercial buildings standing on the Chatham Street section of the block during the 1870s through the 1890s were characteristic of the shops lining the street from City Hall to Chatham Square. At the time, this thoroughfare was a major entertainment and shopping district containing theaters, restaurants, jewelers, and gentlemen's furnishings shops. In 1886, the street's name was changed to Park Row, perhaps, as one commentator noted, "in the hope of improving its tone, or at the least obliterating the bad odor of the old one." Throughout much of the late nineteenth century, the four buildings on Block 160 were owned by absentee landlords who rented space to a series of shopkeepers, saloon keepers, and beer manufacturers. From 1870 to the 1880s, few people lived above these shops, but by 1890, 156 and 160 Park Row housed approximately 60 people of mostly Irish or British descent.⁴⁰⁷

At the corner of Chatham and Pearl Streets stood a new three-story brick structure (built ca. 1873) which replaced the old two-story wooden building that had held both a clothing store since 1830 and a saloon since the 1840s. This new building continued its tradition as a drinking establishment and was subsequently rented by a series of saloon/oysterhouse keepers and brewers, including Pasquel Clark in the 1870s, Maurice

⁴⁰³ U.S. Bureau of the Census 1860; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870, second enumeration; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1880; Trow 1872–1873, 1874–1887; Borough of Manhattan Land Evidence Liber 1398:432, Liber 61:493 [Section 1].

⁴⁰⁴ U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870, second enumeration.

⁴⁰⁵ U.S. Bureau of the Census 1860; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870, first enumeration; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1880; Trow 1874–1887; Bromley 1902; Borough of Manhattan Land Evidence Liber 976:514, Liber 1364:119, Liber 61:493 [Section 1], Liber 1552:263, Liber 1364:119; Doggett 1867.

⁴⁰⁶ *New York Times* 1932.

⁴⁰⁷ Trow 1870–1890; Harlow 1931:402; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870, second enumeration; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1880; New York City Police Department 1890.

Hyland in the 1880s and early 1890s, and the Excelsior Brewing Company in the late 1890s.⁴⁰⁸ Oral tradition states that for a little while the tavern was known as Bismark Hall and was “the haunt of a strange character known as Ludwig the Bloodsucker—a stocky, swarthy German of the Neanderthal type, with a shock of stiff black hair covering his head and most of his face, thickets of it even growing from his ears and nostrils. It may have been his Pleistocene appearance which gave rise to the report that blood from the slaughterhouses was his favorite beverage—that is, when he couldn’t conveniently get the human life-fluid.”⁴⁰⁹

After Hyland’s death in 1896, Daniel J. O’Rourke made the place famous as Diamond Dan’s Saloon. Due to its proximity to the courthouses, newspapers, City Hall, and other municipal offices, Diamond Dan’s became a gathering place for lawyers, city officials, policemen, and newspapermen, who would be served by Dan’s two daughters drawing and mixing drinks as in English pubs. O’Rourke was well known in both political and sporting circles as a politician and boxing promoter who brought the future heavyweight boxing champion James J. Jeffries to New York from California. Despite the national Prohibition of 1921 to 1932, the O’Rourke family successfully operated the saloon for nearly 50 years.⁴¹⁰

Down the block at the corner of Baxter and Chatham Streets stood a pair of twin two-story brick buildings which housed the gentlemen’s clothing and furnishings store owned and run by Israel Benjamin during the 1860s and early 1870s. In 1876, David Finelite purchased the buildings and rented them to a variety of tenants, including the Henry Elias Brewing Company in the 1890s, before erecting the Finelite building between 1898 and 1902.⁴¹¹

4.6 A Working-Class Neighborhood

Numerous contemporary accounts and twentieth-century historians have depicted the Five Points as an area inhabited by criminals, drunks, and prostitutes. The myths surrounding Five Points are so ingrained in historical folklore that even today they are often uncritically accepted. Yet, through an analysis of primary documents such as censuses, tax records, deeds, and directories, a different picture emerges. Five Points and Block 160, in particular, is best characterized as an overcrowded immigrant neighborhood where newly arrived families settled, raised their children, and became involved in nineteenth-century New York’s thriving economy.

The 1870 and 1880 censuses show that Block 160 was not primarily inhabited by large numbers of single men and women or widows. In 1870, nearly 60 percent of the households were either nuclear, extended families, or married couples, while 10 years later the percentage had risen to 77.⁴¹² The block, however, did contain an abundance of widows and widowers. In 1880, for example, approximately 20 percent of the households were headed by widows or widowers with children. Despite the reputation of Five Points as a center of adult pleasures, the defining characteristic of Block 160 during the second half of the nineteenth century must have been the large number of children. During the 1870s and 1880s, roughly 65 percent of all of the block’s households contained children, and minors accounted for half of the block’s population.⁴¹³ Although contemporary accounts often stressed the large number of boarders during

⁴⁰⁸ Borough of Manhattan Land Evidence Libers 14:269, 50:116, 55:387, 2109:286; Longworth 1830–1843; Doggett 1844–1850; Rode 1853–1854, 1854–1855; Trow 1874–1887; Valentine 1861; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870, second enumeration.

⁴⁰⁹ Harlow 1931:401.

⁴¹⁰ *New York Times*, September 24, 1942, 27:2; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1850, 1860; Borough of Manhattan Land Evidence Libers 2109:187, 123:334 [Section 1], 131:114 [Section 1]; Harlow 1931:415, 541.

⁴¹¹ U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870, second enumeration; Trow 1862–1865, 1872–1873, 1874–1887; Borough of Manhattan Land Evidence Libers 23:51, 26:59; Bromley 1902.

⁴¹² The 17 percent difference between the two censuses may be partly due to the second enumerator’s failure to identify separate households (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870). As a result, households were identified by consecutive listings of individuals with the same last name. Unfortunately, this method over-enumerates the number of households because it counts household members with different last names, such as servants, boarders, and relatives, as separate households.

⁴¹³ The second enumeration presents several problems because the block’s enumerator, John J. Underhill, estimated the inhabitants’ ages to the fifth year, and did not identify separate households. Nevertheless, the available information provides some basic demographic data for Block 160 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870).

these decades, only a fifth of the block's families took in a boarder to help pay the rent, and a small number of households actually employed a servant. Thus, during the late nineteenth century, the typical household on Block 160 was a nuclear family with three children and no boarders or servants.

The occupations of Block 160's inhabitants show that the residents were working-class immigrants who struggled to earn livings rather than the collection of derelicts, drunks, prostitutes, and thieves many contemporaries claimed inhabited Five Points. In 1870, one-third of the working inhabitants were classified as unskilled laborers. During this period, unskilled laborers earned, when they could find work, between \$1.25 and \$1.50 per day. Thus, at least one-third of the working adults on Block 160 in 1870 would have been lucky to earn \$350 per year, approximately \$140 below the average annual earnings for non-agricultural jobs. A further 11 percent of the block's inhabitants held semi-skilled manufacturing jobs, the annual income for which hovered between \$400 and \$500 a year.⁴¹⁴

Some block residents did better economically. The skilled tradesmen, such as tailors, shoemakers, and bakers, many of whom ran their own small shops, earned between \$500 and \$1,100 per year, while bakers and confectioners could earn between \$600 and \$1,000 per annum.⁴¹⁵ Besides the tradesmen, nearly 17 percent of the block's working inhabitants were involved in commercial activities, as store owners, workers, clerks, or peddlers. The incomes for these jobs varied greatly, but many were probably among the block's highest.⁴¹⁶

True to the area's reputation, Block 160 did contain a number of organ-grinders and beggars. Nine percent of the employed adults in 1870 earned their livings in this manner. Nevertheless, the relatively high percentage of tradesmen and commercial workers shows that a large number of Block 160 residents were not the down-and-out, poverty-stricken individuals described in contemporary accounts.⁴¹⁷

Changes in listed occupations between the 1870 and 1880 censuses suggest that the standard of living for the block's residents probably increased during this decade. Only 24 percent of employed inhabitants were listed in the 1880 census as unskilled laborers while the percentage of organ-grinders dwindled to two percent. At the same time, the percentage of inhabitants involved in commercial enterprises rose by 12 percent. Although it is impossible to reconstruct these individuals' earnings, it is likely that they had a higher income than unskilled workers. The percentages of semi-skilled manufacturing, white-collar, and miscellaneous jobs also rose in 1880, while the percentage of tradesmen went down eight percent.⁴¹⁸ Furthermore, the number of different ethnic groups employed in higher-paying white-collar and commercial jobs increased between 1870 and 1880. In 1870, all three of the professionals on the block were Americans working at the Five Points Mission, and there were no white-collar employees living on the block. Ten years later, there were Irish, German, and American-born professionals, as well as a handful of Irish, Italian, British, and American white-collar workers.⁴¹⁹ This gradual rise in better-paying occupations reveals the true nature of Block 160. By the late nineteenth century, Five Points was no longer, if it ever was, a hot bed of crime and debauchery. Instead, it was a neighborhood where newly arrived immigrants could settle and participate in New York's bustling economy. The majority of residents struggled to get by, but with hard work and luck, some, like David Finelite and Thomas Wade, could live comfortably, own land, and move their children into the middle class.

In spite of the changes, the high incidence of disease, overcrowding, and unsanitary conditions of Five Points masked the presence of this stable and economically active immigrant community and kept alive the area's reputation as the worst neighborhood in New York. These factors led reformers, such as Jacob

⁴¹⁴ U.S. Department of Commerce 1975:164, 165, 168.

⁴¹⁵ The Schedule of Manufactures, Fifth Election District, Sixth Ward, Manhattan; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870, first enumeration.

⁴¹⁶ U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870, second enumeration.

⁴¹⁷ U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870, second enumeration.

⁴¹⁸ U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870, second enumeration; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1880.

⁴¹⁹ U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870, second enumeration; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1880.

Riis, to campaign to raze the entire Five Points neighborhood. Riis's efforts were rewarded in 1897 when the city condemned and razed the block known as Mulberry Bend (bounded by Park Street, Baxter Street, Mulberry Street, and Bayard Street). In the tenements' place, the city established a park which remains today. The name of the park, Columbus, recalls the Italian character of the old neighborhood, although today it is usually full of Chinese-American children at play.

Block 160 continued as a residential block until 1916, when the city condemned and razed all but the eastern corner of the block to make way for a new county courthouse.⁴²⁰ The courthouse, which still stands on the site, was dedicated in 1920.⁴²¹ On the eastern portion of the block, the Finelite Building and Diamond Dan's saloon survived, and the remaining buildings continued to contain stores on the ground floors with tenements above (Figure 32). In 1920, 415 people, almost all of Italian descent, lived in the tenements. The majority of employed residents held working-class jobs, such as factory laborers, fruit dealers, taxicab and truck drivers, machinists, printers, and longshoremen. Among the inhabitants of Park Row was 24-year-old Teresa—called Tess or Tessie—Gardella, who decided not to follow the other women on her block into marriage, dressmaking, or factory work, but chose the bright lights of Broadway and went on the stage as a vaudeville singer. Subsequently, she would portray the character of "Aunt Jemima" on stage and screen—in blackface makeup.⁴²²

This small section of Block 160 continued as a commercial district and Italian neighborhood until 1961, when the remaining buildings were condemned and razed as part of the Park Row Urban Renewal Project. The area was paved and used as a parking lot until construction began on the new federal courthouse in 1991.⁴²³

⁴²⁰ Lots 45 to 52 and Lots 1 through 6 were left standing.

⁴²¹ New York City Charter 1916; Bromley 1917.

⁴²² U.S. Bureau of the Census 1920; *New York Times*, January 4, 1950, 46:2.

⁴²³ Borough of Manhattan Land Evidence Liber 5206:173, condemnation deed recorded October 31, 1962.



Figure 32. Pearl Street (left to right, 470 through 464) in the early twentieth century. Courtesy of the New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

CHAPTER 5 – PEOPLE AND THEIR POSSESSIONS

by Rebecca Yamin

5.1 Introduction

The archeological investigation of Block 160 began in May of 1991. As the asphalt pavement of the parking lot was peeled back, the physical remains of the tenements that had once stood there provided dramatic testimony of the overcrowded living conditions. The artifacts recovered from the archeological features (privies and cisterns) interspersed among the foundations are further evidence of life in the tenements, but they do not speak for themselves. To use the artifacts to understand the lives of the people who lived on Block 160, it is necessary to connect them to their owners and to the historical context in which they were used. This chapter attempts to weave together the documentary data, the stratigraphic analysis, and the artifact interpretation into narrative vignettes which link the people with the possessions they deposited in the cisterns and privies that had become trash receptacles.

For the technical reader, feature descriptions, the stratigraphic analysis including profile drawings, and artifact tables relevant to the strata discussed in the narratives may be found in Appendix A to this volume. Appendix B presents a chronological overview of the ceramic assemblage, and Appendix C summarizes demographic data for the block in tabular form. The faunal data from the analytical strata discussed in the vignettes are presented in Section 3.5 of Volume II. The narratives also draw on the rich historical sources available for this period in New York's history. Relevant works are cited in footnotes. Complete primary historical data for Block 160 are included in Volume III of this report.

The narratives are uneven: some features produced many artifacts that could be connected to specific people and others produced very few. Even small features have been included, however, since the purpose was to draw out of the data as full a picture of Block 160's past as possible. The narratives are grouped by lot, beginning with the Pearl Street lots, where the most extensive excavation took place. The excavation strategy on each lot is described briefly in the caption accompanying a detail of the site map that shows the features encountered on the lot. The specific feature and/or excavation unit and the analytical stratum (AS) used for each narrative are identified in parentheses after the narrative's title. If more than one feature or AS was used, it is referred to within the body of the text.⁴²⁴

5.2 472 Pearl Street, Lot 6 (Figure 33)

5.2.1 *Tanners Came First (Excavation Units 1 and 2)*

Before bakers and cabinetmakers moved to Pearl Street, the lots belonged to George and Jacob Shaw, tanners. They sank their wood-lined vats and built their open sheds at the base of the hill that sloped down to the Collect Pond. Fragmentary remains of these tanning operations lay buried beneath the basement floor of the front tenement on Lot 6, approximately 11 feet beneath the present grade. The tanners favored the level ground that flanked an earlier alignment of Pearl Street, originally called Magazine. Probably no more than a dirt path, Magazine Street ran south of the present Pearl Street (Figure 34) along a sill of high ground through the wetlands along the pond's edge. The vats, lime pits, bark trenches, and drying sheds were laid out to take advantage of the running water of the eastern outlet of the Collect Pond and the standing water of the swamp.

⁴²⁴ The descriptions of the field operations are based on a summary report by Leonard Bianchi submitted to John Milner Associates in 1992.

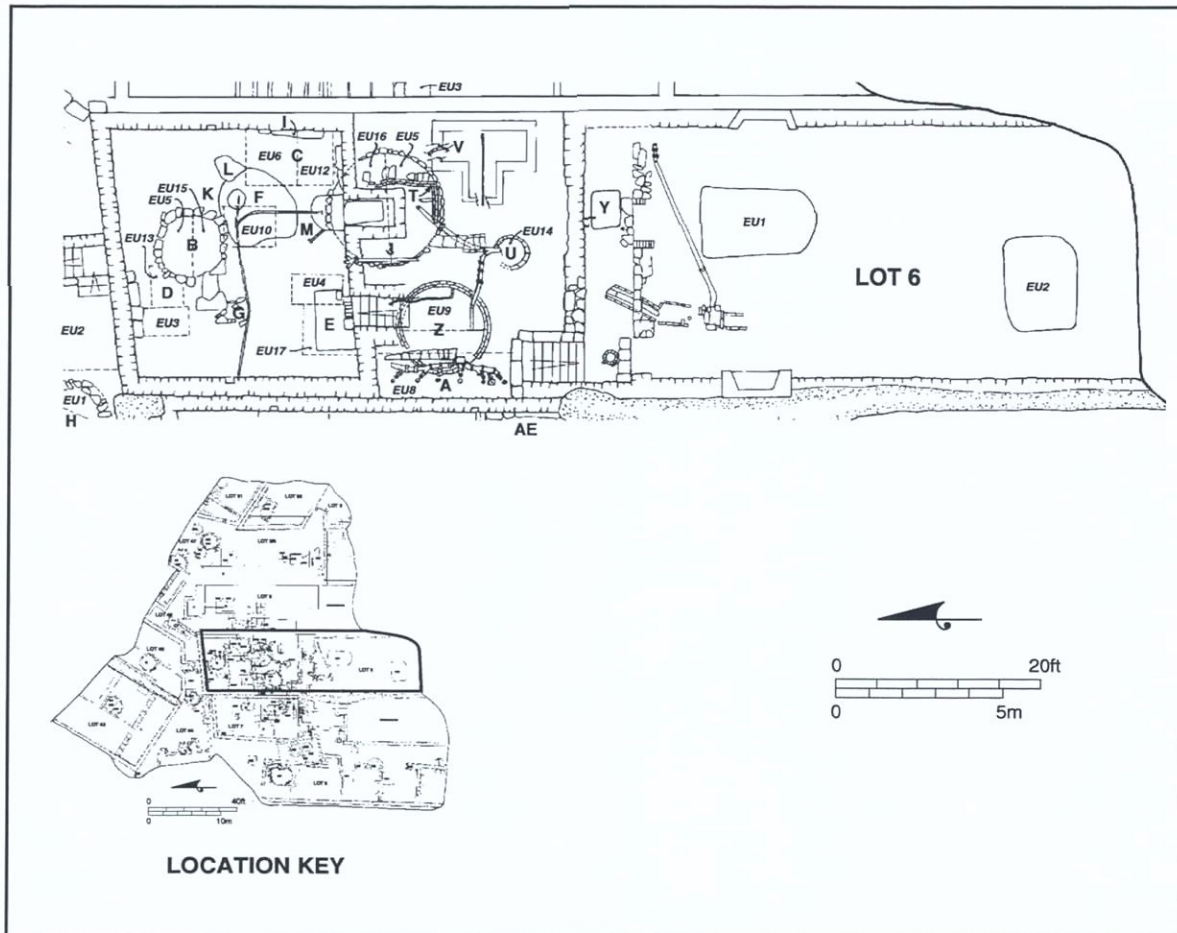


Figure 33. Detail of Lot 6.

After taking up the asphalt parking lot surface, a backhoe removed the demolition fill inside the foundation walls of the tenement that had faced Pearl Street, exposing a thin concrete floor. Fireplaces were present on either side of the cellar, a walled corridor ran along the back of the building, and a staircase led into the rear courtyard. About 5 feet of demolition debris overlay the surface of the courtyard, which was paved with concrete and bluestone slabs. Several features were exposed in this area (A, Z, U, J, T, V). Demolition debris was also removed from inside the walls of the rear tenement, exposing a concrete floor which had collapsed and subsided over several features (Features E, G, D, B, K, M, F, L, and C). A staircase also led into the courtyard from this building.

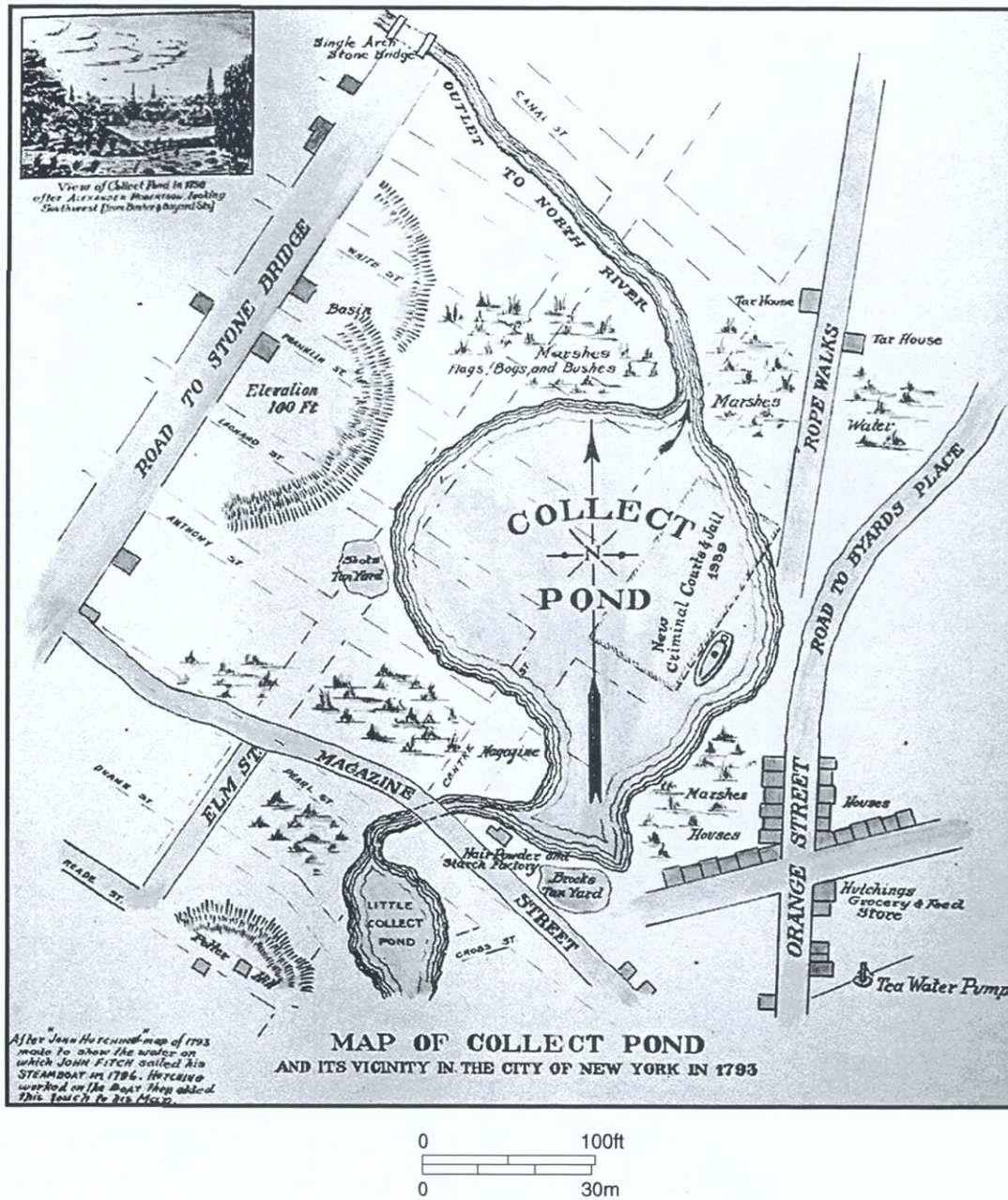


Figure 34. Redrawn version of the John Hutchings map of the Collect Pond in 1793. Courtesy of the Museum of the City of New York (Hall 1939).

The Shaws and other Pearl Street tanners were respected members of the business community, but when complaints about the polluted state of the pond coincided with the city's need for more residential space, they took advantage of the opportunity and divided their property into lots for sale. The tanning industry moved north to the Beekman Swamp where, known as "swampers," the industry's leaders founded the Eclectic Fraternity "for the purpose of mutually aiding each other in mental cultivation."⁴²⁵ Tanning continued in the swamp into the 1880s.

5.2.2 *The Arrival of the Artisan Class (Features C, D, and E)*

By 1809, Isaac Cross, a cabinetmaker, was paying the taxes on the property at 472 Pearl Street. He did not own the land outright until 1818, but his family had moved in by 1812. Earlier residents apparently left unwanted belongings behind in the old wood-lined privy (Feature D, AS V). They had lived well on Pearl Street, buying beef by the quarter animal and setting an elegant table. There was Chinese porcelain for serving tea and a set of green, shell-edge-decorated pearlware, including dinner plates, a soup tureen, soup plates, and various-sized serving platters. There was at least one baby at 472 Pearl Street; even a glass nursing shield got into the trash (Figure 35). Perhaps it was fear for the baby's life that led the young family to leave the neighborhood. Epidemics were coming more and more frequently to the lower wards of the rapidly growing city and not even the well-to-do were spared. Neighbor Tobias Hoffman died in 1812 and the Hoffmans had also lost a baby to yellow fever.

For Isaac Cross and his family, 472 Pearl Street was a perfect location for their residence since Cross was already renting space from the Hoffmans next door (474 Pearl Street) for his cabinet and coffin business. Once Cross owned the property, he began making renovations. With the help of apprentices, some of whom appear to have been living in his household, the work was finished in next to no time. They replaced broken delft tiles (Figure 36) around the fireplace and repaired its smoothly worn floor. They removed the out-of-style federal pediment over the front door (made of Staten Island soapstone) and green-glazed brick architectural adornments and replaced old panes of bubbly crown glass with the clearer broad type. Isaac may even have added a room to the house, or, at the very least, a new privy house above the stone-lined shaft (Figure 33, Feature B) that he built to replace the wood-lined one. After sealing the privy deposits with lime (a layer of shells), he used all three old wood-lined privy holes (Features C, D, and E) in the backyard for discarded architectural debris as well as other domestic debris. In addition to a new privy, Cross built a substantial, plaster-lined cistern (Figure 33, Feature Z) conveniently close to the back door to save the women of the house—his wife and a free, young, black woman who may have been a servant—the walk to the Tea-Water Pump which, by that time, was said to be contaminated.

Cross cleaned out the stone-lined privy (Feature B) behind his house before he rented the property to Harris Goldberg's family in 1830, but a few things remained at the very bottom beneath a dense layer of shell (AS). Among them were a chisel or plane, parts of wooden carpenter's rulers, and many pieces of crown glass, including bull's-eyes. Perhaps Cross replaced broken or cracked windows in the old house and did a few other repairs around the property before the new tenants moved in. The ham and beefsteak bones discarded with the tools would have made a good lunch for a hard-working crew. While Cross's cabinetry business remained at 474 Pearl Street, he moved with his family to 8 Orange Street. J. Labatut, a mahogany dealer who also rented space on the Hoffman property, owned the Orange Street property, and Cross and Labatut may have been in partnership.

⁴²⁵ See *A History of the New York Swamp 1901* by Frank Norcross for details on this period; Yamin et al.'s 1994 report on archeological and geoarcheological investigations associated with the Metropolitan Corrections Center tunnel under Pearl Street describes the remnants of tanning facilities and water courses that were observed during that project.



Figure 35. Glass nursing shield from Feature D flanked by early (ca. 1800) medicine vials.

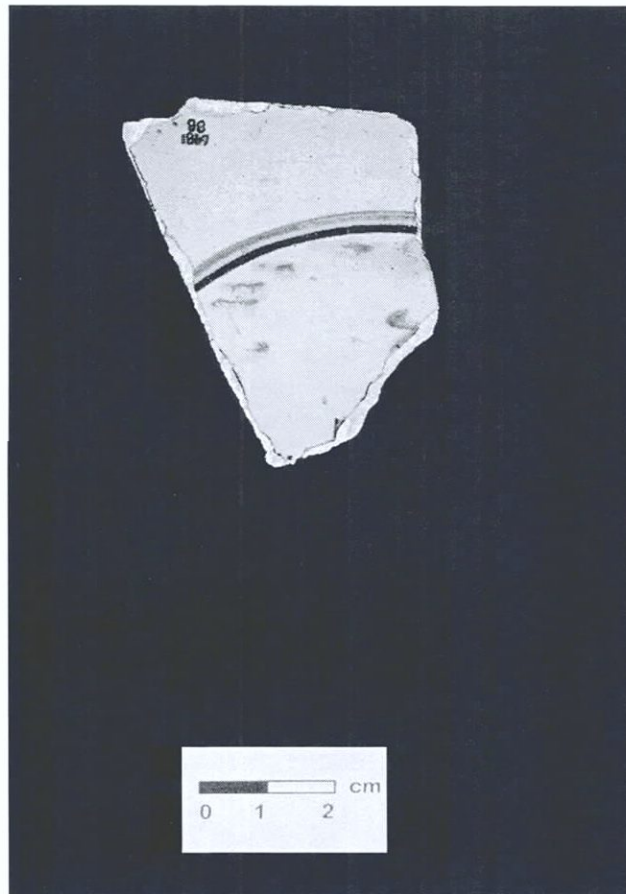


Figure 36. Delft tile fragment, Feature D.

5.2.3 Keeping Kosher on Pearl Street (Feature B, AS IV)

In 1840, Harris Goldberg lived with his wife, a servant, and a houseful of male boarders in a two-story wooden house at 472 Pearl Street. The boarders were apprentices or rabbinical students (maybe both), and they ate with the family, bringing the number of people at the table to seven on some nights. The Goldbergs kept a kosher home, not unusual among Jews in early New York.⁴²⁶ Harris was the sexton at the local synagogue and also worked as a tailor on Orange Street. He ate all his meals at home, keeping to a diet of beef (always from the foreshank, since hindquarters were not considered kosher unless all the veins had been removed), poultry, and fish. A roast of beef, and sometimes a brisket, were the standard fare—basted in olive oil, a necessity for the Jewish cook who couldn't mix dairy with meat. Mrs. Goldberg used imported oils in bottles marked "SURFINE OLIVE OIL/W.E. NARTIGUE/BORDEAUX/CLARIFIED" and "HUILE D'OLIVE/SURFINE/CLARIFIED/DEBORDEAUX" and also a good amount of London mustard, perhaps to spice things up. She made soup with the beef bones, a convenient dish for shabat when the stove could not be turned on or off. The pot often simmered slowly from Friday sundown to Saturday supper.

Chicken, not eaten as often, had to be kosher. Lead seals called "plumbes," bearing Hebrew letters (Figure 37) signifying the day of the week on one side and Arabic numbers indicating the date of purchase on the other, assured the Jewish housewife that the poultry was freshly slaughtered. The demand for kosher poultry was so great in the city that live-poultry slaughterhouses were located in nearly every Jewish neighborhood, and there was undoubtedly one not far from the Goldberg's Pearl Street address. Fish was important in a kosher diet, since neither kosher meat nor poultry could be purchased on Saturday or Sunday. The Goldbergs ate a lot of fish and also probably made their own gefilte fish, choosing from the many white-fleshed species available in New York including cod, shad, and porgy, all present in the Goldberg's trash.

On most nights, Mrs. Goldberg set the table with her edge-decorated dishes, the set she used for meat meals. There was a platter for the roast and matching vegetable dishes. For dairy meals, including fish, there were the Willow-pattern plates and the matching square and oval serving dishes. Elegantly decorated decanters held wine, adding sparkle to the table as the cut ovals and scalloped panels caught the light. There was plenty of wine at the Goldberg table, perhaps for the traditional blessings that were part of the Jewish Friday-night supper. Drunk from matching tumblers and firing glasses (Figure 38), it reminded the family of its Jewish roots and loosened the tongues of the otherwise shy boarders.

Shaarey Zedek, a Polish congregation, met on the second floor of the Goldberg house for two months in 1839. As sexton, Harris Goldberg was responsible for leading prayers, a task he seems to have fulfilled at home. *Shaarey Zedek* was an old-fashioned congregation, holding to religious standards including keeping kosher and the Sabbath that other Jewish immigrants had given up. At dawn and again in the evening, Mrs. Goldberg heard at least 10 men (the number necessary for a minyan) tramp up the stairs to chant the Hebrew prayers that her father had said when she was a girl and his father had said before him. When they finally found space for the synagogue on City Hall Place, she missed the drone of the ancient language and the camaraderie of her own kind. More and more Irish families were moving to Pearl Street, and she was beginning to feel out of place.

It may have been a religious household, but there was a snuff user, and Mrs. Goldberg and/or her servant had a taste for fancy perfume. A seahorse-shaped bottle with milk-glass striping and an elongated, aqua-colored cologne bottle probably both held imported scents. Someone had a problem with lice, and medicine vials indicated that a variety of other ills were being treated, but the Goldberg women somehow avoided the "Jewish grandmother disease," an infection with the tapeworm *Diphyllobothrium latum*⁴²⁷ caused by handling raw fish in the process of making gefilte fish.

⁴²⁶ See Grinstein 1945 for the history of the Jewish community in New York. Harris Goldberg's activities as a scribe, sexton, and rabbi are mentioned in this book.

⁴²⁷ See Volume II, Section 5.4 for Karl Reinhard's discussion of this disease.



Figure 37. Lead plumb stamped with the Hebrew letter gimel.



Figure 38. Firing glasses (far right), tumblers, stemmed wine, and Prussian-style decanter, Feature B.

In 1843, the Goldbergs moved a few doors down to another rental property at 476 Pearl Street, and by 1845 they were living on Orange Street where Harris's business was located. Like many other families, they used the move to weed out old possessions and discard broken ones (AS IV). They covered this illegal dumping with a layer of soil (AS III); or maybe it was the landlord, Cross, who threw in the soil to make things look clean for the new tenants. In that soil were two glass flasks, one a deep amber color decorated with a horse-drawn cart on rails and the embossment RAILROAD above the cart and LOWELL below it on one side and an eagle surrounded by 13 stars on the other (Figure 39). The other flask, made of olive-green glass, depicted George Washington on one side and Andrew Jackson on the other. Perhaps the flasks held something that kept the workmen warm who shoveled the dirt into the privy, or maybe they belonged to James West, also a tenant at 472 Pearl Street. West was in the glass-staining business with Robert Carse, who lived at 44 Clinton Street. By displaying strictly American allegiances, West would have effectively distinguished himself from the old world Goldbergs whose Jewish ways probably seemed a bit peculiar. West's glass-staining business was on the premises, and broken pieces from a stained door panel etched with stars, also found in the privy, may have been his handiwork.

5.2.4 *An Irish Tenement (Features J, T, Z, A, and U)*

Peter McLoughlin purchased 472 Pearl Street in 1839 for \$16,400, running a liquor store on the ground floor of the old house from 1838 until he replaced the building in the late 1840s. McLoughlin lived a few blocks away on Madison Street and apparently treated the Pearl Street property as an investment, the first of many he would make in the burgeoning city. By 1848, he had built a five-story brick tenement (Figure 40) on his Pearl Street property, just in time to receive impoverished Irish immigrants who had fled their country in "black 47," the most desperate year of the famine. McLoughlin was concerned with the mass immigration and had been working since 1842 on the executive committee of the Irish Emigrant society.⁴²⁸

By 1850, McLoughlin's tenement held about 20 households headed by either Irish women or men. Among them was McLoughlin's brother, Michael, who arrived in New York from Sligo in 1832. He eventually settled at 472 Pearl Street with his wife, Mary Fox, and like practically every other resident took in boarders to make ends meet. A mason, a grocer, and a laborer brought the number of souls in the McLoughlin household to five, but it was far from the largest. In addition to his wife and children, Thomas Peppard's household included four boarders, two probably working with the head of the household at shoemaking. Catherine Connell's household included five women in addition to herself, and Maurice Callaghan, a food vendor, and his family boarded Thomas Conner, a fruit dealer, and Francis Bernard, a tailor. Widow Johnston had at least four women living with her, and Widow Berry had a married couple, in addition to her two daughters, living with her.

For the greatly expanded number of people living on the lot (there were at least 100 in 1850), McLoughlin significantly upgraded the sanitary facilities. Following new and improved ideas about "convenience," he built an 11-foot-diameter cesspool about 15 feet behind the tenement (Figure 33, Feature J). The cesspool served adjacent privies, some of which may have been located within the walls of a T-shaped structure (Figure 33, Feature V) to the east of the cesspool. Some sort of water system flushed wastes from the privies into the cesspool. Water and sewer lines had been laid in Pearl Street in 1848, just about the time the tenement was built. A brick-lined drain ran from an iron grate in the wall of the cesspool (Figure 41) into a small sump (Figure 33, Feature U) located south of the cesspool. The sump presumably prevented overflow from going into the tenement's basement.

McLoughlin died a rich man in 1854, leaving six lots at Five Points and four vacant lots uptown at 109th Street and 2nd Avenue. He had been renting his liquor store on the ground floor of 472 Pearl Street since the late 1840s, turning his efforts to banking and good works. He worked as cashier (controller) of the Citizens Savings Bank and served as the treasurer of the Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum for a number of years. At his death, his properties passed to his executors, John McLoughlin and Thomas Muldoon,

⁴²⁸ Notes from the minutes of the Irish Emigrant Society Executive Committee, 1840-1850.

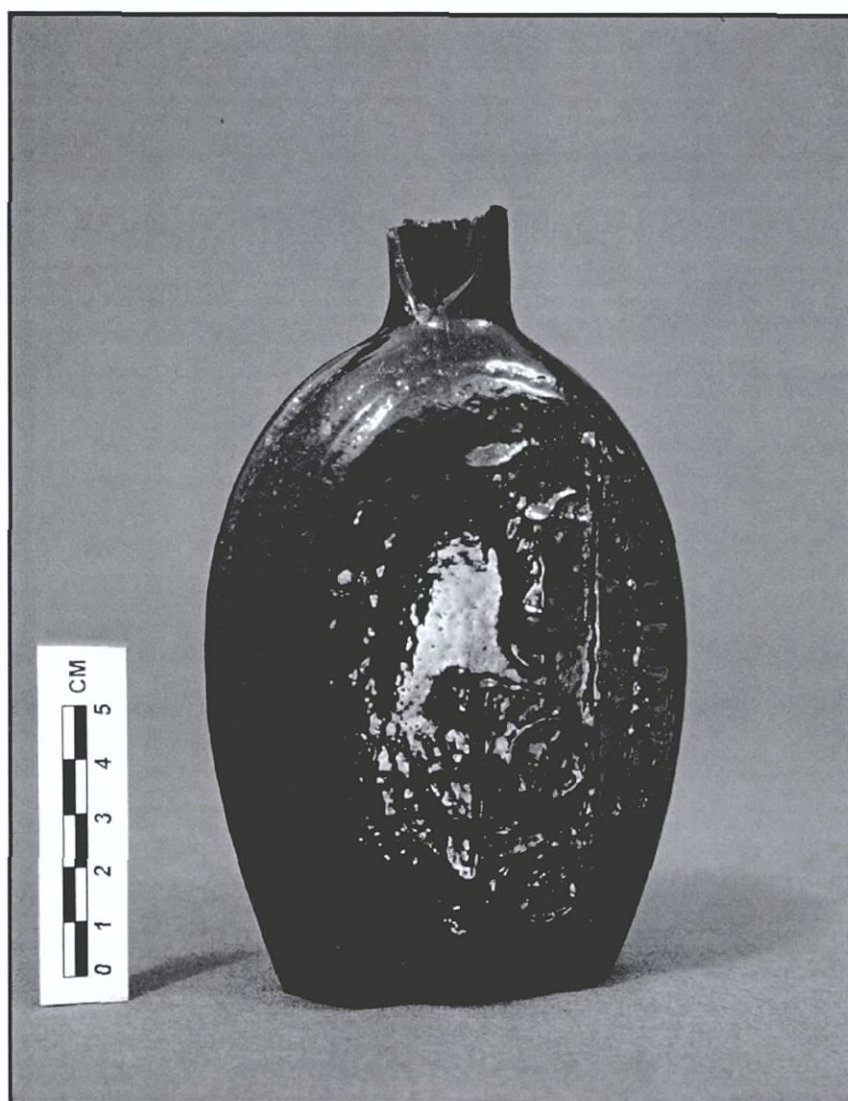


Figure 39. Embossed flask, Feature B.

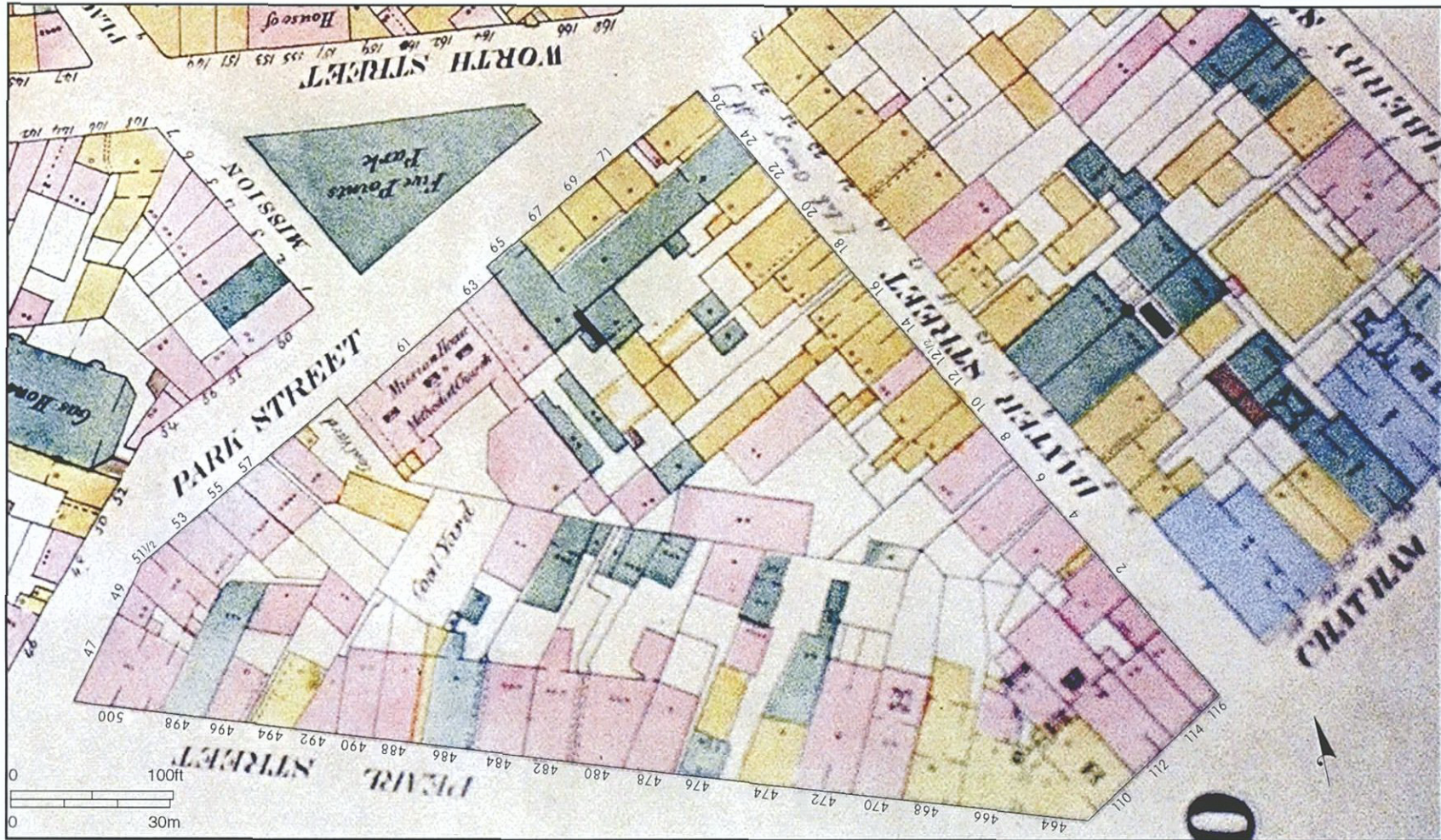


Figure 40. Map of Block 160, William Perris 1857 (see Figure 20 for key).



Figure 41. Grated overflow drain, Feature J.

but brother Michael may have inherited money: he opened a savings account at the Emigrant Savings Bank with the substantial sum of \$2,000 in 1855.

William Clinton bought 472 Pearl Street in 1864. Clinton, also an Irishman, increased the property's value by constructing a second tenement at the back of the lot (Figure 33). To do this, he transformed the already crowded backyard into a mere 20-by-25-foot courtyard, turning a deaf ear to health reformers' complaints about miserable sanitary conditions and the lack of air in New York's tenement districts. Although the number of residents did not increase appreciably, the ethnic mix changed over time. In 1880, a significant number of Italians lived alongside both first- and second-generation Irish.

With the construction of the back tenement, sanitation arrangements were again altered. Clinton, or someone else, covered the tenants' trash (AS V) with a layer of relatively sterile fill (AS IV). As part of his improvements, Clinton sealed the trash and overlying soil with a floor of bluestone slabs (Figure 41), probably in anticipation of building a new-fangled water closet on top of the old cesspool. Bluestone was also thrown on top of the trash at the bottom of the cistern (Feature Z). While construction was delayed (due to weather, financing, or labor), tenement residents continued to deposit household trash on top of the bluestone (AS III), creating a stratigraphic record of possessions belonging to tenement residents in the 1840s, 1850s, and the 1860s.

For the tenants at 472 Pearl Street, tea appears to have been as much a part of daily life in New York as it had been in Ireland. The newly arrived immigrants owned tea sets made in Staffordshire, England, decorated with such familiar patterns as Canova, Belvoir, and Florentine (Figure 42). There were matching cups and saucers, twifflers (small plates), slop bowls, creamers, sugar bowls, and teapots—all the accouterments necessary to carry on the traditional late afternoon meal and maybe even an after-dinner *ceili* as in the old country.⁴²⁹ Many dinner and soup plates were transfer printed, especially in the Willow pattern, but there were also plain white granite ones, molded in the fashionable Gothic shape. Handleless banded bowls may have served as breakfast cups or mixing bowls or both; the eggs, laid by hens kept in the backyard, were eaten from plain white porcelain egg cups. Diet also harked back to the old country. In spite of limited incomes, the Irish laborers continued to favor pork over less expensive alternatives (such as fish), but they may have kept the price down by raising their own pigs. They used pig's feet in quantity for the traditional *crubeen*, a dish prepared at harvest time in the old country.

While someone at 472 Pearl Street believed in temperance (Figure 43), many of the other tenants had a taste for drinks stronger than tea, including beer or ale in stoneware bottles, wine, whiskey, and sweet cordials (perhaps for the women). But they appear to have used more medicine than alcohol to cure their pain. There was Udolpho Wolfe's Aromatic Schnapps, a restorative for women, and Mexican Mustang Liniment for easing the aches of man or beast; there was Hyatt's Infallible Life Balsam, Radway's Ready Remedy, and J.R. Stafford's Olive Tar, a substance that could be inhaled or ingested for the treatment of respiratory ailments, or even syphilis and cancer. There were also glass syringes, probably related to the use of morphine, maybe as a painkiller, maybe as an addictive drug.

Lice combs and toothbrushes attest to a concern with hygiene; slate pencils and ink bottles, to literacy; and marbles and doll parts, to the presence of children. The multitudes of woolen rags may have been the refuse from rag picking or rug making or both. Many of the Irish women at 472 Pearl Street did outwork in the needle trades, giving them access to scraps of material which they used in one way or another to augment their meager incomes.

⁴²⁹ Henry Glassie (1982) describes the *ceili* as an evening fireside gathering of neighbors who share stories and food "of wordless and worldly gifts." Although his study was done in the 1970s, Glassie was working in a traditional farming community very near the towns from which famine immigrants came.



Figure 42. Staffordshire teawares, Feature J.



Figure 43. Teacup decorated with the image of Father Theobald Mathew administering the temperance oath, Feature J.

When Clinton finally built the water closet above the old cesspool, the tenants threw much of the same sort of trash into the hole, except their dishes were more up-to-date than 10 years earlier—less old-fashioned blue-printed teaware and more plain white dinnerware. Perhaps, with time, the Irish let go of old traditions and forged new habits as members of the working class.

Manuals of the day described new technologies of human waste disposal. One arrangement transformed a dry privy into a water closet by creating an enclosure with “one or more seats above a brick- or stone-walled vault from which water—the runoff from eaves or from an adjacent rainwater cistern—regularly flushed the wastes into a cesspool or other container.”⁴³⁰ An illustration of such an arrangement (Figure 44) may be the very design Clinton used for the privy attached to the back tenement. Feature T is all that was left of the brick-walled vault. A pipe cuts through the floor and empties into the cistern. This new convenience presumably served the back tenement dwellers while another arrangement was necessary for the inhabitants of the original tenement at the front of the lot. School sinks (Figure 45), another slight improvement on the old dry privies, made use of public water which had been available at 472 Pearl Street since 1848. The school sink along the western edge of the yard, probably built by Clinton for the front tenement, emptied into the old cistern and eventually had a cast-iron overflow pipe connecting it to the sump (Feature U) to the south.

While the indoor privy and school sink were surely not very comfortable or sanitary, they demonstrated the landlord’s attempt to supply state-of-the-art facilities to a tenement. Clinton’s sensitivity to his tenants’ needs may have had something to do with their shared cultural heritage or perhaps it was because he, too, lived at 472 Pearl Street.

5.3 474 and 476 Pearl Street, Lots 7 and 8 (Figure 46)

5.3.1 A Baker and His Wife (Feature AF, AS II)

The industrial district around the Collect Pond attracted young Tobias and Margaret Hoffman. They would be able to run their bakery and raise their children in an area that was not as developed (or as expensive) as the lower city. It was new territory, but it seemed clear that New York was going to grow and there was only one direction it could go—north. They were getting a foothold in a district that appeared to be changing from the heavy water-dependent industries—tanning and brewing—to cleaner trades, like baking, and residential development. The Hoffmans rented space on Pearl Street before they actually purchased property—a house lot (474 Pearl) in 1793 and a lot (476 Pearl) for the bakery in 1802. They were assessed for both in 1790 and had probably been there since the late 1780s. The bakeoven (Figure 47), built soon after the Hoffmans arrived on Pearl Street, stood up well through the years, protected from destruction by the use of the lot as a lumberyard well into the twentieth century.

Prospects on Pearl Street seemed good until the fever hit. The Hoffmans lost a baby to yellow fever in 1798 and feared for the rest of their family when the next epidemic arrived in 1803. It is possible that their tenant, Doctor Morton, advised them to build a new privy, even further removed from the back of the house, to minimize exposure to filth and stagnant water, then thought to be the causes of disease. Laws had recently been enacted requiring that privies be cleaned on a regular basis,⁴³¹ and the Hoffman privy had been scooped out a number of times. The new privy (Figure 46, Feature N) would also serve their growing number of tenants. Lewis Storms and his family, including his wife, five children, another man, and a free black woman, were living at the back of the lot in 1810. Before then, the Hoffmans had at least one tenant in their own house and a fluctuating number of family members (four children in 1800, another adult woman and one child in 1810).

⁴³⁰ Ogle 1993:44.

⁴³¹ According to Geismar (1993:60), laws requiring the cleaning of privies were in place as early as 1803.

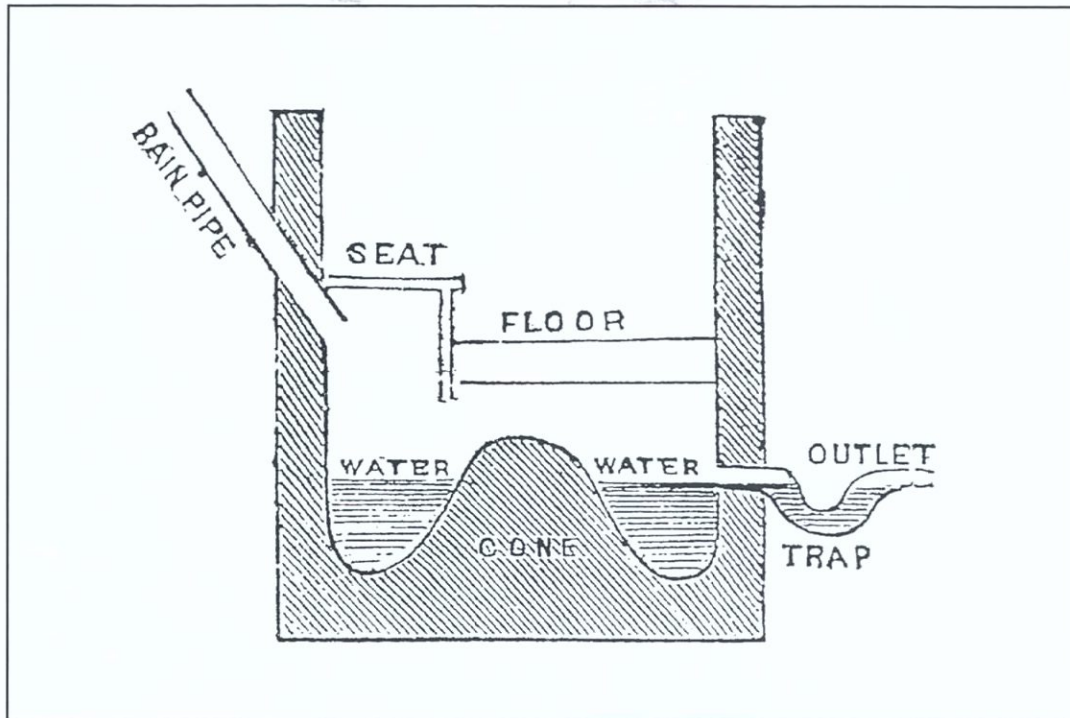


Figure 44. Elevation of a privy designed to approximate the advantages of a water closet but at less expense. From Calvert Vaux, *Villas and Cottages: A Series of Designs Prepared for Execution in the United States*, 1857:47. Water entered through the rain pipes and carried wastes away through the outlet pipe. According to Vaux, the cone, which he recommended be made of brick and be coated with asphalt, cement, or some other material that would withstand freezing, reduced the surface area but increased the flushing effect of the water, presumably facilitating the movement of wastes into the outlet pipe. From Ogle 1993:44.



Figure 45. School sink (Feature A), Lot 6.

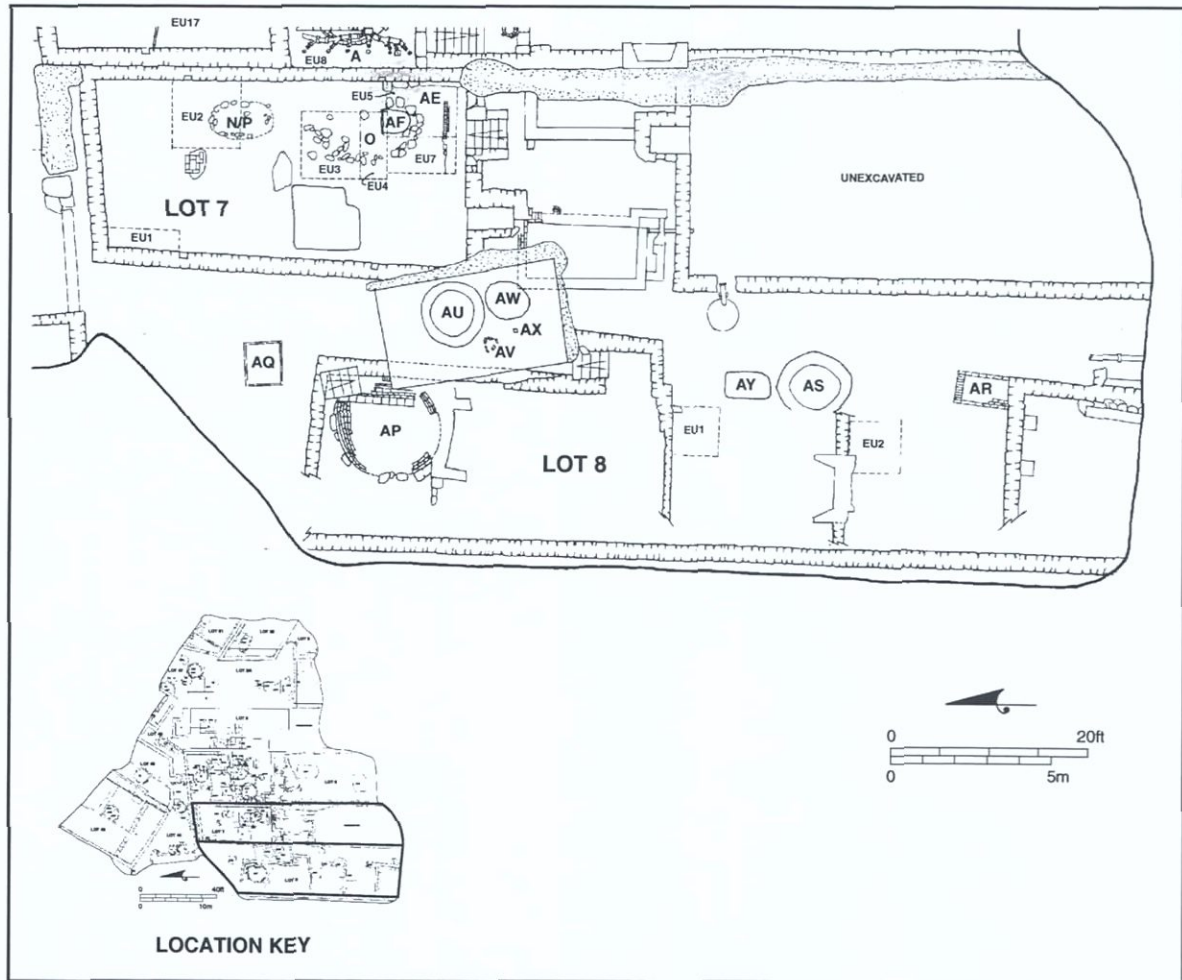


Figure 46. Detail of Lots 7 and 8.

A backhoe removed demolition debris within the rear of the foundation of the tenement that faced Pearl Street on Lot 7 to a depth of 10 feet without encountering a cellar floor. Fill was also removed from within the walls of the rear tenement to a depth of approximately six to eight feet below the surface, exposing a cobblestone floor in some areas. Several features (AE, AF, O, and N) were exposed beneath the floor. The courtyard between the front and rear buildings was not thoroughly investigated. Four late-eighteenth-century buildings, one containing the base of a brick-and-stone bake oven (Feature AP), were exposed beneath the demolition debris on Lot 8. Several probable eighteenth-century feature outlines were recorded, including three (Features AS, AU, and AW) that appeared to be clay- and wood-lined cisterns and a square, wood-lined privy (Feature AQ). None of the features on Lot 8 was excavated.

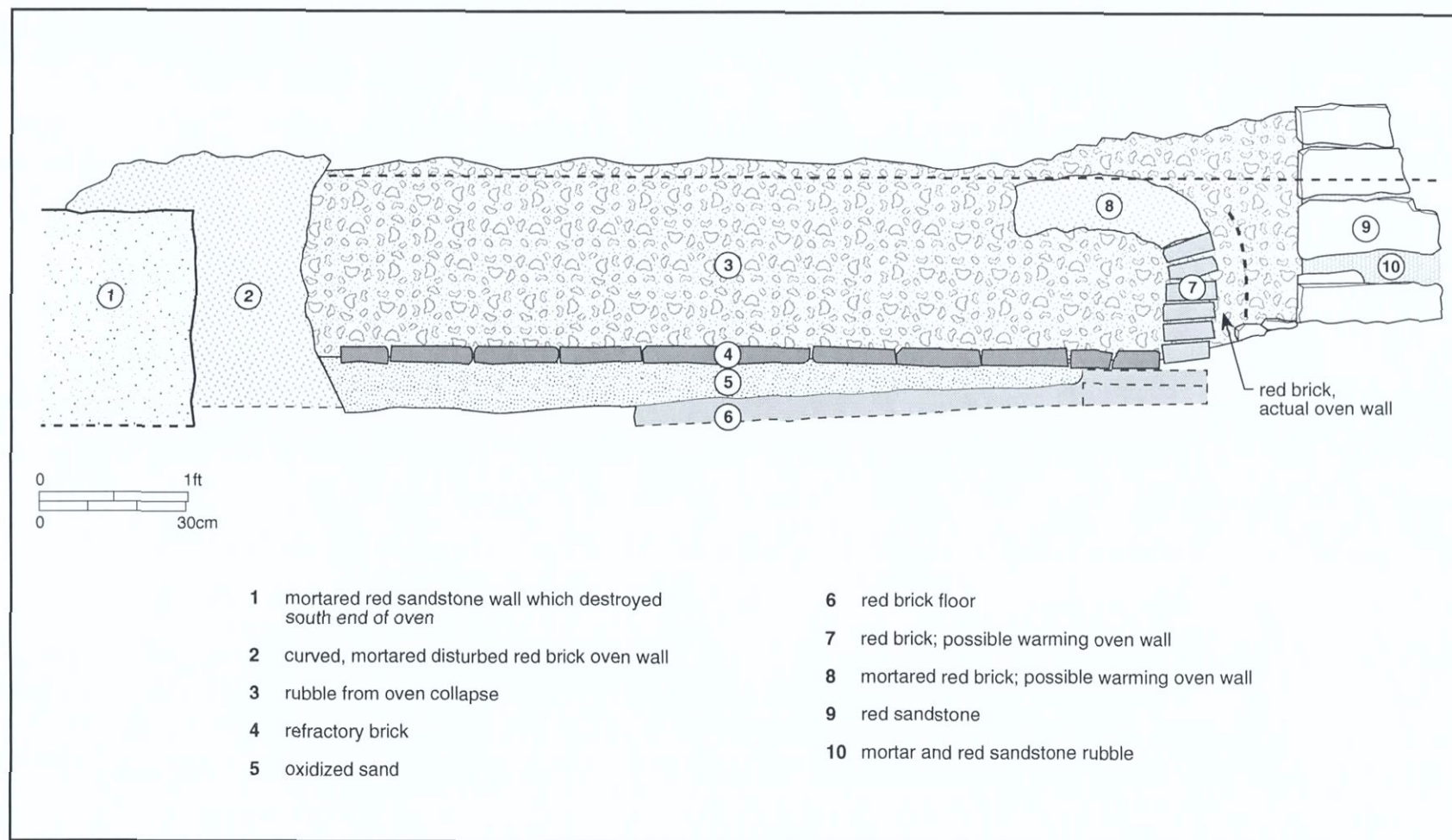


Figure 47. Profile of bakery oven on Lot 8.

When they closed the old privy (Feature AF), they filled it with unwanted possessions. The Hoffmans were ready to give up the accoutrements of an Old World lifestyle. Making a go of the baking business, catering to the tenants' needs, and taking care of a growing family didn't leave much time for fancy entertaining or even tea. As the enameled Chinese porcelain plates (Figure 48) went into the hole, Margaret Hoffman didn't even flinch. There simply wasn't room for that ornate stuff anymore and although the table set with the porcelain and German-style etched glass (Figure 49) had been a beautiful sight, it didn't make any sense on Pearl Street. None of their American neighbors had anything comparable. Perhaps the delicate cobalt-blue saltcellar or the saltcellar with the blue rim reminded her of special company, but, never mind; there was important work to do. One couldn't be sentimental about the past.

And then there were the things that did not befit the Hoffman's station as respectable artisans. The handpainted tea set and undecorated creamware—teaware and tableware—were dull compared to the newest styles coming from England. Mrs. Hoffman probably had her eye on blue Staffordshire patterns she had seen in the crockery shop down the block. Once her cupboards were emptied, she could begin anew. But there were some things she would miss. It was too bad that her favorite pitcher with the Willow pattern had broken, and she would miss the elegant Castleford teapot and the delicate wine glasses with the gauze spirals in their thin stems. And she was sure her husband would miss his porcelain pipe, the one he had brought from Germany (Figure 50). She remembered how lovingly he cradled the reminder of the homeland with its deep blue bowl decorated with gold leaves and flowers. The snuff he incessantly used now was an inelegant substitute for that beautiful piece of smoking paraphernalia.

Smoking was clearly important to Tobias Hoffman—many well-used (charred) pipebowls were thrown into the privy along with a good number of gin bottles (eight, to be exact). Drinking may have been one of the activities that brought Tobias together with his workers and also with the other artisans in the neighborhood. Tobias died in 1812, leaving the property—both the house and bakery—to his wife.

5.3.2 *The Widow Hoffman (Feature N, AS IV)*

It was fortunate that Margaret Hoffman had always been involved in the management of her husband's business and their property. Although his death was unexpected, she was perfectly capable of finding a new baker to take charge—she turned to George Casmere, who had worked next door and maybe even with the Hoffmans since the early 1800s, and eventually to her own sons, Lawrence and Henry. She also increased her income by renting out more space in her house and in the yard behind the house where Lewis Storms had his stable. Isaac Cross, who lived at 472 Pearl Street, rented space from the widow for his cabinetry shop from 1812 to 1820; Henry Howland also rented a portion of the rear lot. The yard must have buzzed with activity as kittens, pigs, and chickens ran betwixt and between the men working at their daily tasks. Curtis Clark and Peter Tappen were tenants in the house in 1814; two grocers were renting the downstairs shops by 1830.

In 1836, Widow Hoffman died, leaving her property, including the business, to her sons, who apparently were less competent at business than their mother. Both 474 and 476 Pearl Street were sold at sheriff's sale in 1842 to J.M.J. Labatut, a mahogany dealer. Labatut's lumberyard filled the rear yards of 474 and 476 Pearl Street as well as the lots (10–14) that backed them along Orange Street. An alley that ran between the two Hoffman properties connected Pearl Street to the rear lots and to Orange Street on the other side (Figure 51). Subdivided buildings along the alley were packed with tenants soon after Labatut took control.

But before Labatut moved his multitude of tenants into the old Hoffman house and outbuildings, the remainder of the widow's possessions, and even baking equipment, was thrown into the privy. The worn redware mixing bowls, with their deep scars from years of stirring, and the chargers that had held the steaming fruit pies which brought customers from all over the Sixth Ward lay next to blue-printed teacups and saucers and plates, with faded Venetian scenes and blue or green edging. An unbroken pepper pot (Figure 52), edged neatly around its middle in blue to match similarly decorated plates, could have

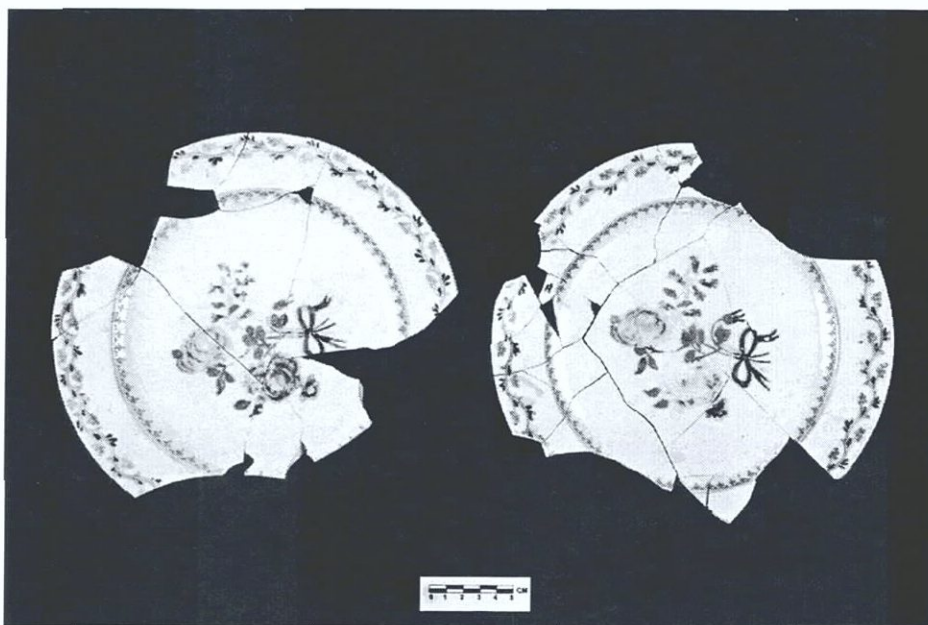


Figure 48. Enamel-decorated Chinese export porcelain plates, Feature AF.

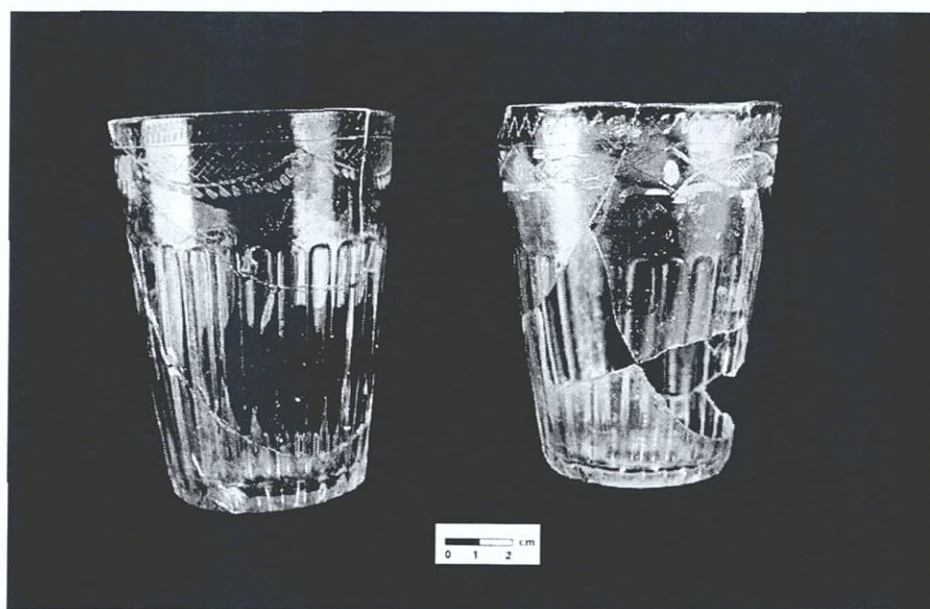


Figure 49. Flips with Stiegel-like etched decoration, Feature AF.



Figure 50. German porcelain pipe with gold-leaf decoration, Feature AF.

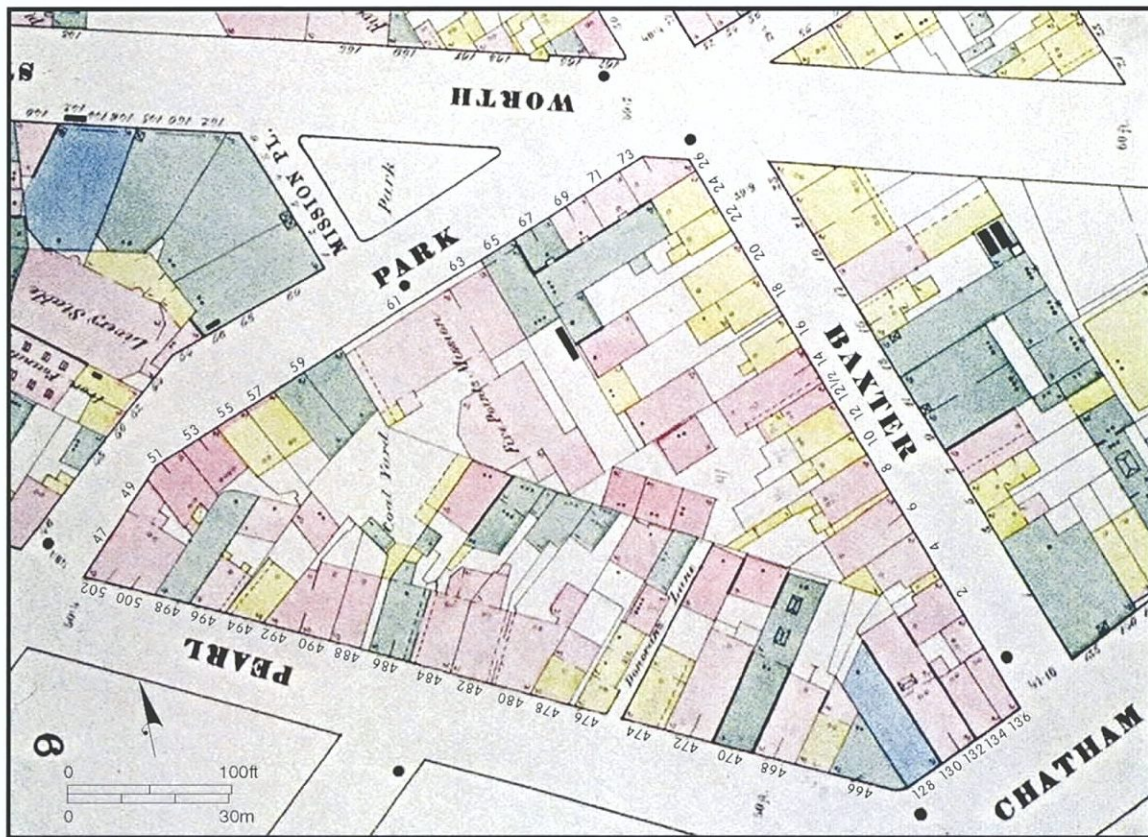


Figure 51. Map of Block 160, William Perris 1875.

Brick or Stone Stores

- 1st class
- 2nd class
- 3rd class
- Brick or stone dwelling, 1st class, slate or molded metal roof
- Brick or stone dwelling, 2nd class, slate or metal roof, unmolded
- Brick or stone dwelling, 3rd class, slate and single roof
- Brick or stone dwelling, with shingled roof
- Brick or stone dwelling, 1st class, with store(s) underneath, slate or molded metal roof
- Brick or stone dwelling, 2nd class, with store(s) underneath, slate or unmolded metal roof
- Brick or stone dwelling, 3rd class, with store(s) underneath, slate and shingled roof
- Brick or stone dwelling with shingled roof
- Framed dwelling
- Framed dwelling with store(s) underneath
- Skylight (those less than 3 feet do not appear)

Hazardous Businesses

- Brick Frame
- 1st class: Bakers, boat builders, brewers, brush manufacturers, comb makers, coppersmiths, dyers, cloth manufacturers, hat makers, oil manufacturers, oil-cloth manufacturers, malt houses, stables (private), tobacco manufacturers, type and stereo type founders, wheelwrights
 - 2nd class: book binders, brass founders, coach makers, cotton presses, iron mills, paper mills, printers
 - 3rd class: blind and sash makers, bleaching works, cabinet makers, candle makers, carpenters, distillers
 - 4th class: brimstone works, camphene/spirit gas manufacturers, coffee and spice mills, chemical labs, drug and spice mills, fire works manufacturers, planing and grooving mills, match manufacturers, rope and cordage makers, saw mills, sugar refiners, tar boiling houses, turpentine distillers, varnish makers

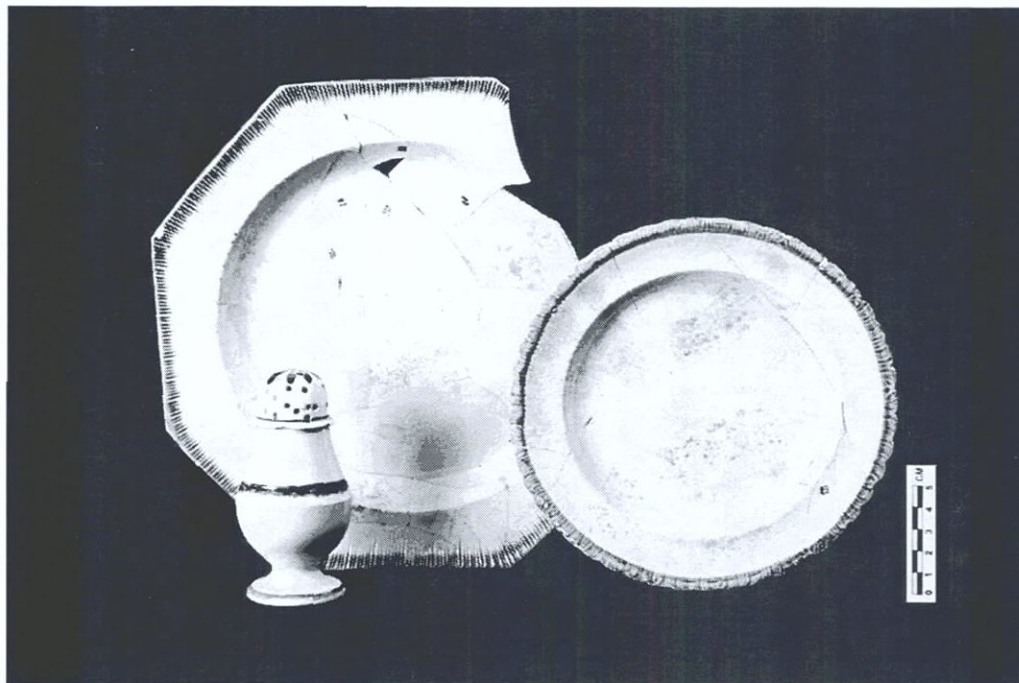


Figure 52. Edge-decorated plates and pepper pot, Feature N.

seen many more years of use; perhaps Mrs. Hoffman's sons, or their wives, were tired of the old-fashioned styles. Certainly they were ready to get rid of the stray pieces of the old creamware dinnerware that were left and the few etched glasses that reminded them of their childhood. Mrs. Hoffman had set the table with the delicately decorated tumblers since they first settled on Pearl Street. They even threw away the cut-glass decanters that had been their father's and the wine bottles that reminded them of the drinking that went on in the house. Even their mother drank, preferring the sweet cordials that were served after dinner. A layer of dirt, charcoal, and brick fragments was used to cover the remnants of the Hoffman household, but others continued to throw trash into the open hole until it had been filled to the brim, probably in the late 1850s.

5.3.3 *An Irish Saloon and the Tenants Upstairs (Feature O, AS III)*

John Lysaught wasn't the first Irishman to sell liquor at 474 Pearl Street. Before him, Daniel O'Conner, who was listed in city directories as employed in a porter house and an oyster saloon, lived and worked on Widow Hoffman's former property; after him, James Doyle kept the saloon. Doyle's household (a wife, two children, and three boarders) crowded into one of the tenements on the property, which by 1855 contained about 60 residents, 49 of them Irish. John Sullivan was running the business between 1857 and 1865, but he lived elsewhere. Lysaught brought his family to 474 Pearl Street in 1865 and kept the saloon there until 1873, when the frame structure at the front of the lot was foreshortened and a brick tenement was built at the back. The remains of his saloon—glasses, bottles, plates, the old yellow spittoon—went into the privy that was closed and covered by the new brick tenement.

Lysaught kept a decent establishment.⁴³² In addition to the mirror in back of the bar, and the usual portrait of a nude woman, he had placed a Staffordshire bowl depicting the Crystal Palace at the Great Exhibition of 1851 on a conspicuous shelf (Figure 53). Lysaught, who had political ambitions, wanted his clientele to know that his world stretched beyond the neighborhood that was considered New York's most notorious slum. The deep red color of the bowl set it off nicely from the piles of other saucers and plates (plain, molded white granite or transfer printed with blue scenic depictions of figures in a landscape of Gothic buildings) used for the free lunches that came with a 10-cent mint julep, whisky punch, or sling.⁴³³ Lunches at Lysaught's included soup and possibly cold meats, piles of sandwiches, and cakes, along with pitchers of ice water—not bad for the price of a drink. Soup was dipped from a large, blue-printed tureen and eaten from banded bowls; plain white platters held the other offerings.

The Irish tenants upstairs from the bar may also have thrown broken dishes into the privy. Unless Lysaught was serving tea—which he may have since a good Irish bar always has a pot brewing—the teapots made of black-glazed redware, probably manufactured by John Mann of Rahway, New Jersey, may have been an Irish woman's effort to buy American. Her teacups, though, were decorated with the soft blue designs that were as popular in Ireland as in New York, enough to make a lonely wife teary or a slightly tipsy Irishman homesick.

The main fare in the saloon, of course, was alcohol, and that came in any number of containers. There was beer or ale in stoneware bottles stamped "Raymond and Fish," "John Edwards, NY 1853," and "W.P. Knickerbocker"; there was porter and ale in glass bottles embossed with Xs to indicate strength: three for the strongest, two for double brew, and one for a middling ale.⁴³⁴ Behind the barman was every kind of whisky imaginable, some in decanters with distinctively rounded lips that were flat on the top, others still in their dark green bottles. Wooden barrels of beer were stacked under the bar. Customers drank whisky from glass tumblers; handled mugs may have been preferred for beer; and a mint julep came in a stemmed glass, fit for an elegant table which Lysaught's definitely wasn't.

⁴³² Stott (1990:217–222) discusses working-class saloons in detail.

⁴³³ Hooker 1981:140, 259.

⁴³⁴ Baron 1962:63.

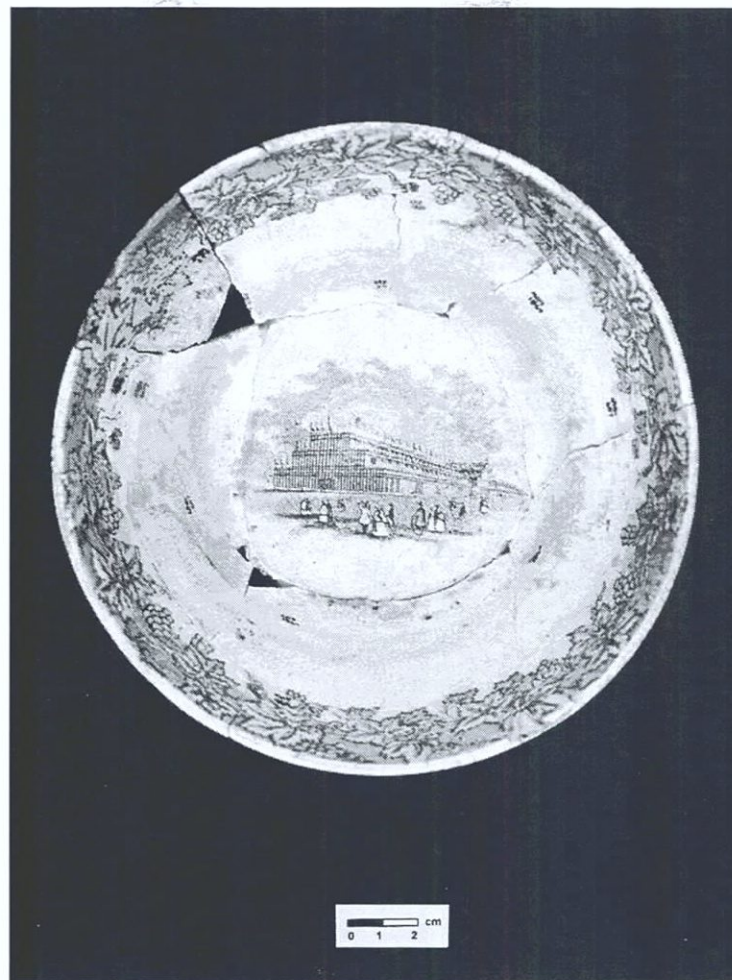


Figure 53. Staffordshire bowl decorated with the image of the Crystal Palace at the Great Exhibition of 1851, Feature O.

But the bar wasn't just for getting drunk, or even eating lunch. It was a place to socialize, to meet new people, to "treat" all around (buy a round of drinks) and be treated. And it was also a place to write letters home and pick up mail, to enter an ad in an Irish newspaper, take care of a business matter with the help of someone who knew the ropes, or get signed up for the next political campaign. Barkeepers often had the ear of the ward heeler, the district boss, and the precinct chief and could get erring sons out of jail or arrange for permits and variances to fly easily through the political machine. Lysaight, who eventually became an alderman, may have been such a man. Although his specific acts went unrecorded, he supplied plenty of ink for his customers—decanted into small umbrella ink bottles from large glass "master inks" with heavy-duty pouring spouts (Figure 54)—as well as slate pencils. Who knows what favors Lysaight traded for bringing out the vote and whose signatures he collected on behalf of Tammany?

A good smoke or chew of tobacco went along with the lively political discussions at Lysaight's. A yellowware spittoon kept the place more or less clean, and the sawdust on the floor took care of the rest. But well-seasoned (heavily charred) clay pipes were the choice of the day, simple gadrooned ones that could be bought for a penny or equally cheap plain cutties. Some pipes displayed patriotic symbols—13 stars, an American eagle; more often than not, they were undecorated. The Irish were not anxious to identify with the patriotic symbols that were flaunted by Know-Nothing Party nativists, the Tammany Democrat's main enemy in the 1860s.

Many a coat button was lost on the floor at Lysaight's and even some half dimes, probably never missed by a workingman who was happy to spend (or lose) his hard-earned money on his favorite pastime. But a single coin with a hole in it might have meant something special to someone. Had it dropped off a bracelet belonging to a female patron? Or could it have been an African American's symbolic token of resistance? Did the defacing of currency, practiced since the days of slavery, still express a person's objections to a society that did not grant him or her the equal rights and respect promised in the country's constitution? Racial tensions were rife in Civil War New York, especially among unskilled workers who competed for the same jobs while identifying with opposite sides of the emancipation issue.

When John Ward, the coffin-maker who had owned 474 Pearl Street since 1866, built the brick tenement in the back (sometime before 1875), he used demolition and construction debris to fill up the old privy hole. Saloon patrons shifted elsewhere—there were many to choose from—perhaps to 488 Pearl Street which *Harper's Weekly* had portrayed in 1858 as another political gathering place (see Figure 21). Ward's coffin business continued on the property through the 1870s.

5.4 466 Pearl Street, Lot 3/4 (Figure 55)

5.4.1 Feast or Furnace (Feature W)

Oyster cellars had been popular in New York since the early 1800s. The 158 pounds of oyster shell deposited in a pit might have been accumulating for years. There was a bar, originally an oyster cellar, at the corner of Chatham and Pearl Streets (see Section 5.6 below) from 1840 well into the twentieth century, and modifications to the property in 1873 probably included a good deal of refuse removal. But the shells lay on top of a pile of refractory kiln brick rubble, some of which had coal slag affixed to it.⁴³⁵ It is more likely that the oysters were the remnants of a lime furnace than the number of meals it would have taken to accumulate 158 pounds. The open area behind the tenements that lined Baxter, Chatham, and Pearl Streets was plenty big enough for the kind of beehive oven that was used to process lime. The smell couldn't have been much worse than the smells that emanated from the cesspools and school sinks that filled the yards. The Board of Health outlawed backyard lime or shell burning in 1868, but it was the kind of industry that could reappear 24 hours after an inspector left the premises. The oven at 466 Pearl was probably up

⁴³⁵ See Volume II, Section 4.4 for a discussion of this industry.



Figure 54. Master inks with pouring spouts and umbrella-type ink bottles, Feature O.

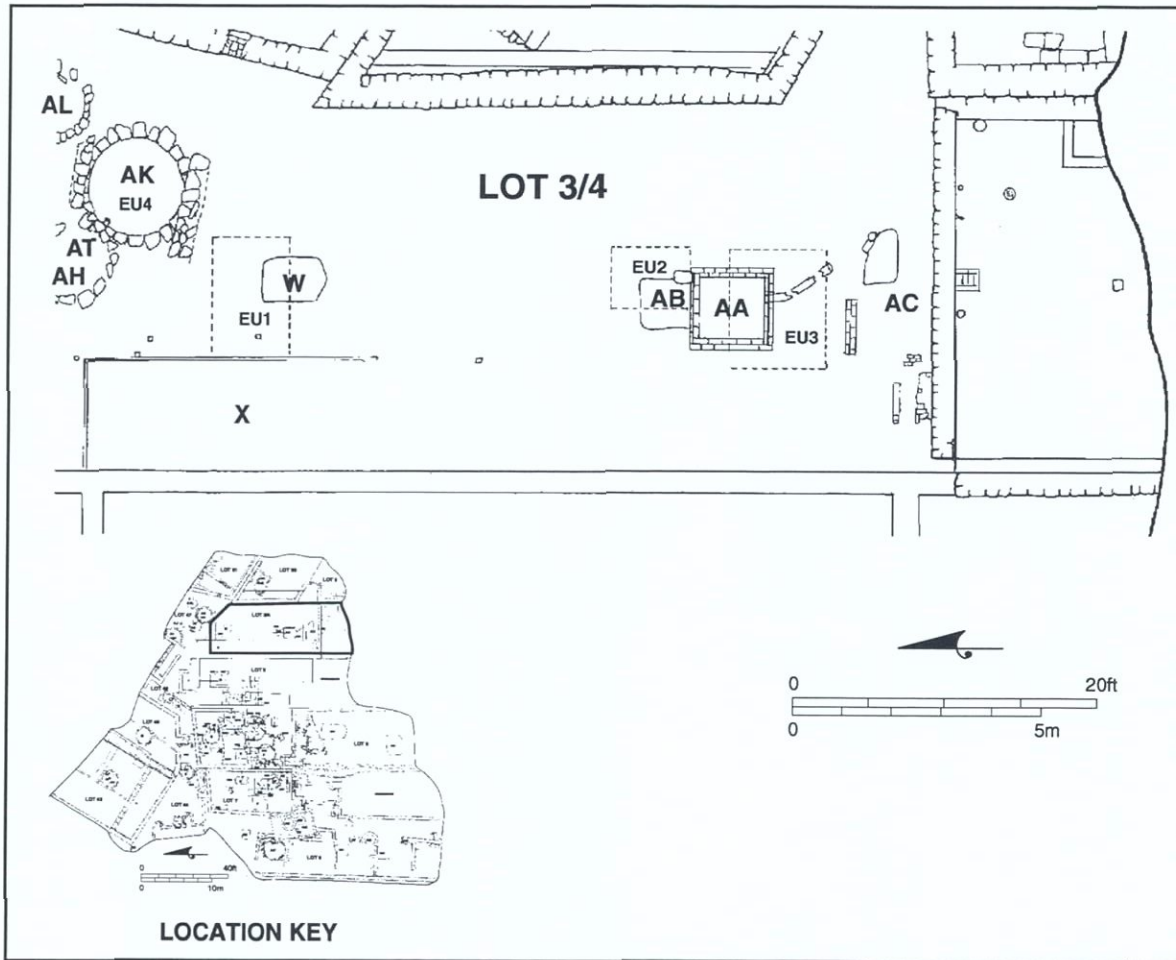


Figure 55. Detail of Lot 3/4.

Four feet of fill covered a shell feature (W) and the remains of a wooden backyard structure (X) at the back of Lot 3/4. Several other features (AA, a school sink; AB, a soil discoloration; and AC, brick wall segments) were exposed closer to the rear of the foundation walls of the tenement that faced Pearl Street. Only Feature W and adjacent lot fills were archeologically investigated.

and running well into the 1870s, when someone dropped a couple of carbon rods for carbon arc lamps into the shell pile. Three feet below the oyster shells and rubble was another layer of shell, a layer that may have been there since Dutchmen explored the ponds and swamps they called *Kalkhoek* (Lime Shell Point⁴³⁶) at the northern reaches of New Amsterdam. Perhaps they found the shell in mounds, which they leveled and spread evenly over the ground surface that sloped down towards the island's largest body of fresh water, the one eventually known as the Collect Pond. The slope was also leveled, but not until the third quarter of the eighteenth century, when men of vision and ambition saw the potential for residential development in the district.

5.5 110 Chatham Street and 464 Pearl Street, Lot 52 (Figure 56)

5.5.1 Dinner at Noon (Feature AM, AS II)

The rambling old wooden building that had stood at the corner of Pearl and Chatham Streets since about 1790 (Figure 57) saw new life in 1840, the year Patrick Conlon opened his oyster saloon. Surrounded by clothiers and shoestores, Conlon went about the business of preparing to serve meals to the workingmen and politicians in the neighborhood. City Hall was just a stone's throw away and Chatham was rapidly becoming a major uptown thoroughfare, a promising location for a business that depended on a regular clientele. By 1841, the saloon was being called a "refectory" or eating house, a place where you could get a good solid meal at midday and probably a good deal more than a shot or two of whiskey at night.

Conlon added an icehouse to the back of 110 Chatham Street even before he served his first meal.⁴³⁷ Starting out as an oyster cellar, he couldn't afford to take chances on the freshness of the food. The 4-by-8-foot icehouse was built of red sandstone blocks with a floor of widely spaced boards laid on a bed of sand to absorb the melt-water (Figure 58). It was an old-fashioned design, but enclosed in a shed attached to the building, it was a convenient and effective way to store food and may well have contributed to Conlon's success. The business remained at that address for a good 14 years.

Oysters and clams continued to be served at Conlon's, but the major fare was meat and potatoes, what a man needed to keep him going through the 10- to 12-hour workday.⁴³⁸ Pork and beef were the favorites, mutton came in third. There was no need to eat fish when you went out—there was enough of that at home—but shellfish went nicely with beer and would do for a snack. One can imagine the low, dark room filling up with workers at noon. They crowded onto the benches flanking long tables and filled their glass tumblers (70 were recovered archeologically) with water from the pitchers that cluttered the tabletops.

Pitchers came in every shape and size and in every ware that was available. Some were garishly decorated with bands of green and white and brown and orange (called "dipped" in the crockery store); others were plain and undecorated; still others were made of stoneware. An especially fine pitcher bore the classic masculine hunting scene—horses and dogs leaping fences in pursuit of the wily fox. Finally, out came steaming platters of beef steaks and ham steaks and an occasional lamb stew, served on well-worn, inexpensive plates—edged with blue, or transfer printed in the Willow pattern. Serving dishes, also made of the most common wares of the day, were piled high with cabbage and vegetables, and, for a little extra, a man could get some bread and butter. Coffee or tea were served in handleless cups of many sizes, decorated in the many variations of dipped wares—some encircled with worm-like creatures, others with tree forms spreading their branches.

⁴³⁶ Neville 1994:12.

⁴³⁷ The presence of white granite ceramics (six vessels and six remainders) in the builder's trench for this feature dates its construction to after 1840.

⁴³⁸ See Richard Stott's *Workers in the Metropolis*, 1990, Chapters 2 and 5.

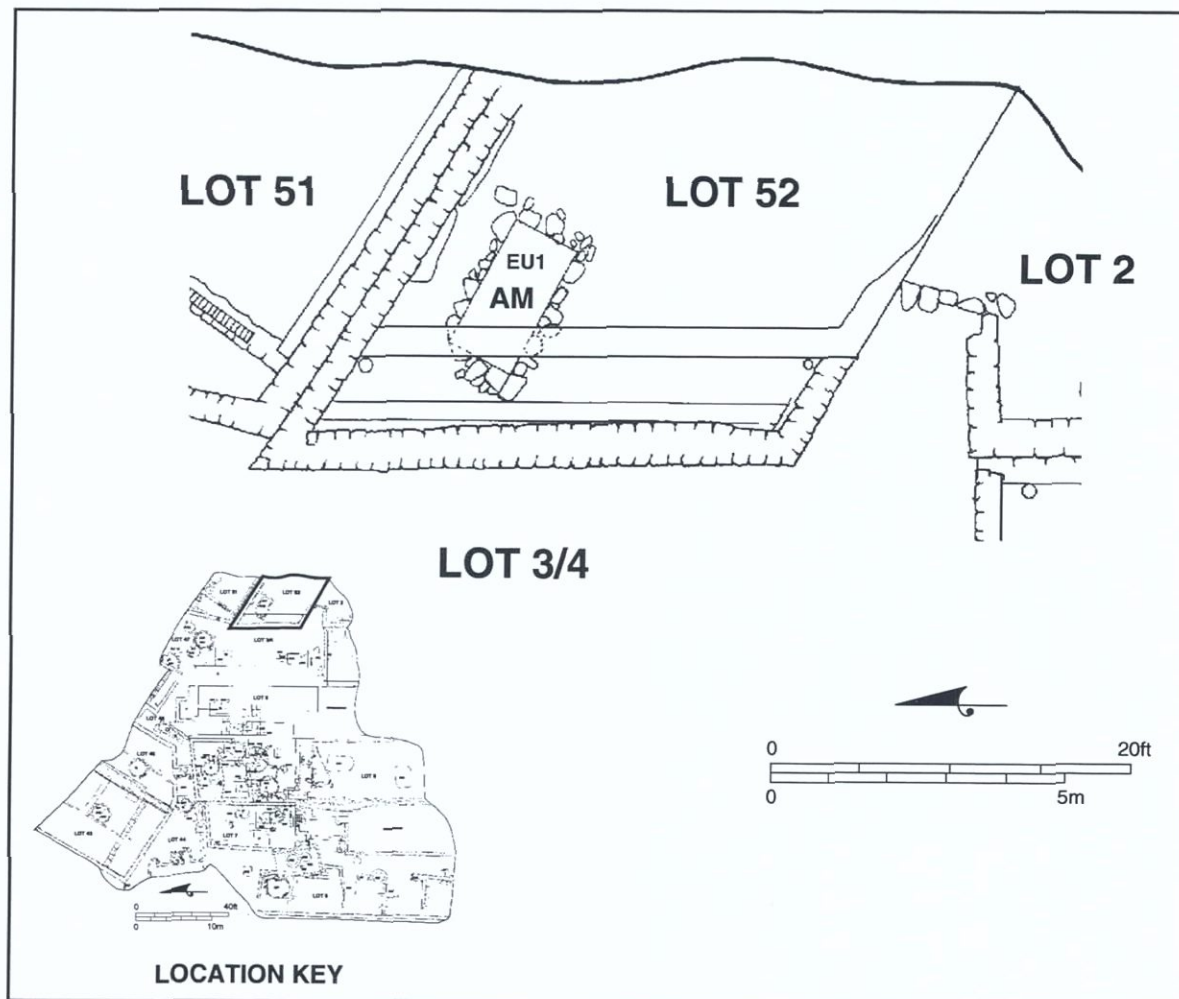


Figure 56. Detail of Lot 52.

Demolition debris was removed from a narrow courtyard along the western edge of Lot 52 within the foundation walls of the most recent building on the lot. A rectangular sandstone-lined feature with a board floor was uncovered at a depth of about 10 feet below grade. The feature lay below and on either side of a brick wall that post-dated it.

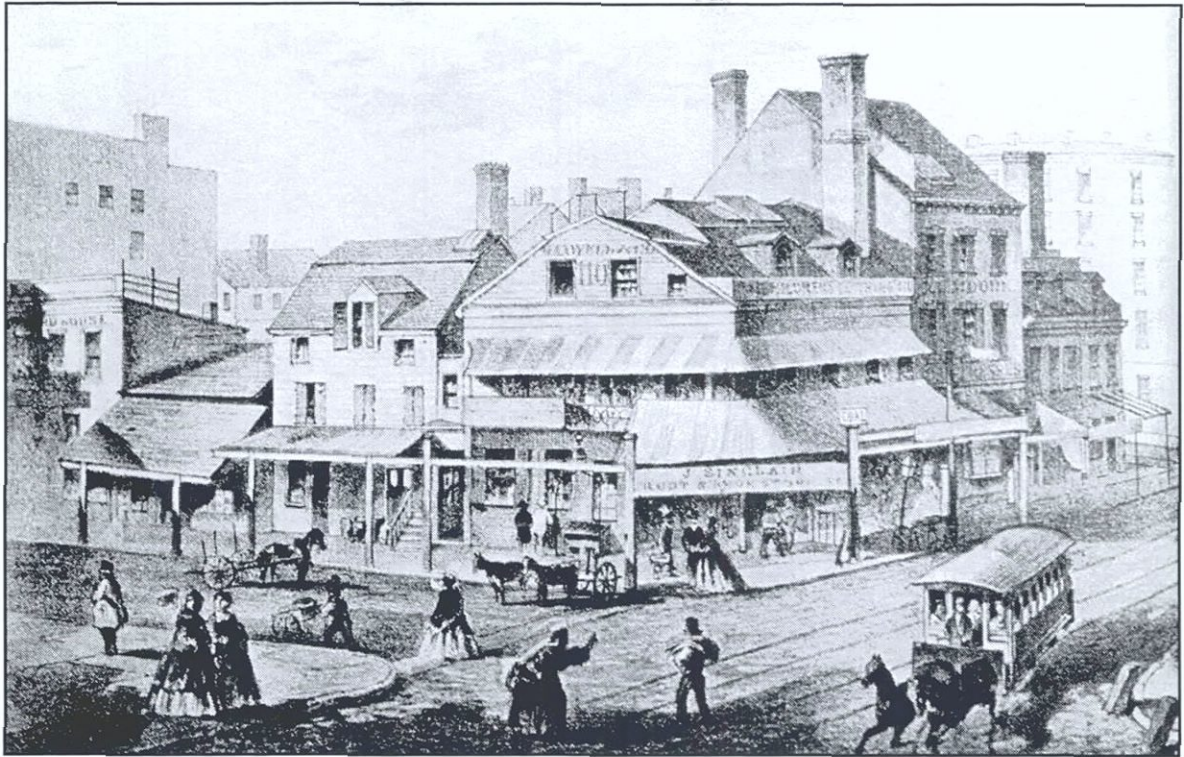


Figure 57. Lithograph showing the northwest corner of Chatham and Pearl Streets, ca. 1861. From Kouwenhoven 1953.



Figure 58. Feature AM, Lot 52. Sandstone foundation and floorboards for icehouse behind Conlon's oyster cellar.

Conlon's may have become something quite different at night. Dimly lit with oil lamps, whose chimneys all too often broke into a thousand pieces, there was probably more drinking than eating going on in the smoke-filled room. Liquor was poured by the glassful from dark-green bottles that had seen years of use, and beer came in the solid stoneware that had been manufactured in New York since the seventeenth century. In a period when the city's population was becoming increasingly heterogeneous, men displayed their politics on their pipes. A Presbyterian Scot set himself apart from the rowdy Irish with the wild rose and thistle emblazoned on the sides of his pipe bowl; the early Tammanyites preferred aboriginal imagery to go with their organization's symbols—at least two of Conlon's clientele smoked pipes decorated with an Indian holding a spear in one hand and a tobacco plant in the other (Figure 59). There were also smokers whose long-stemmed pipes may have served as a reassuring sign that they, at least, should not be confused with mere manual laborers, who generally clenched short-stemmed cutties between their teeth.

Between 1854 and 1857, Conlon left 110 Chatham Street. The dishes, pitchers, tumblers, and cups—scratched and faded from many years of use in the refectory—were thrown into the bottom of the icehouse, as good a place as any to get rid of unwanted goods. Other people also took advantage of the open hole. Upstairs tenants, or maybe it was the Tammanyites who sometimes held meetings upstairs, deposited out-of-style and broken tea sets (one decorated in the old-fashioned transfer-printed design that celebrated Lafayette's 1824 return to the United States, others in the Canova and Japan flowers patterns, one in luster-decorated bone china, and another in Nanking Chinese porcelain). There were chamber pots of all different sizes, and a whole bank in which someone had saved their pennies, perhaps the child whose cup, marked with the name "Elizabeth," had broken in half. Twenty toothbrushes, all made in the same unusual style, suggest that someone may have been manufacturing them on the premises (see Volume II, Section 4.4, for a discussion of cottage industries). Food remains that had been burned at the back of the lot were also thrown into the abandoned icehouse, and cats scavenged what they could from the rotting garbage. Finally, someone covered the garbage with clean soil, but not before they had lost a pocketful of change, probably in the 1860s.

There continued to be a saloon in the old building on the corner of Pearl and Chatham Streets until Ann Seaman took the building down in 1872. In its place she erected two structures, a three-story brick or stone building designated for commercial use on Lot 1 facing Pearl Street and an industrial building on Lot 52 facing Chatham. The new buildings also held saloons (Diamond Dan's operated at this prime location into the 1920s), but there were never again residential tenants.

5.6 4 Orange (Baxter) Street, Lot 47 (Figure 60)

5.6.1 *The End of an Era (Feature AH/AT, AS III)*

Before Orange Street had turned into New York's first garment district, when the African Relief Society was at No. 6 and Henry Miller, the saddler, was at the corner of Chatham Street, workers crowded into the subdivided houses between the shops. James Cowan, a tallowchandler, lived with his family at 4 Orange Street in 1810; Daniel Berry worked as a currier, and later as a tobacconist, at the same address. Perhaps it was their broken possessions—a flower pot, a redware pie plate, a lamp chimney—that found their way to the bottom of the small wood-lined privy behind the house (Figure 60, Feature AH-AT). They were among the last of the laborers in butchery-related trades to live on a block that would soon be lined with tailor shops, secondhand clothiers, and shoemakers.

As the Collect Pond was filled, a process begun in 1803, and water-dependent industries moved away, the population in the neighborhood changed. First, a few artisans tried their lot on Orange Street—Daniel Baldwin, a figure painter, was at No. 4 Orange Street in 1808 and 1809, and John Baitzel, a baker, was there in 1820. But Paul Durango, a merchant tailor, and his family also made their home at 4 Orange Street in the early 1820s. The influx of tailors had already begun.



Figure 59. Pipe bowl from Feature AM decorated with a Native American holding a spear and a tobacco plant.

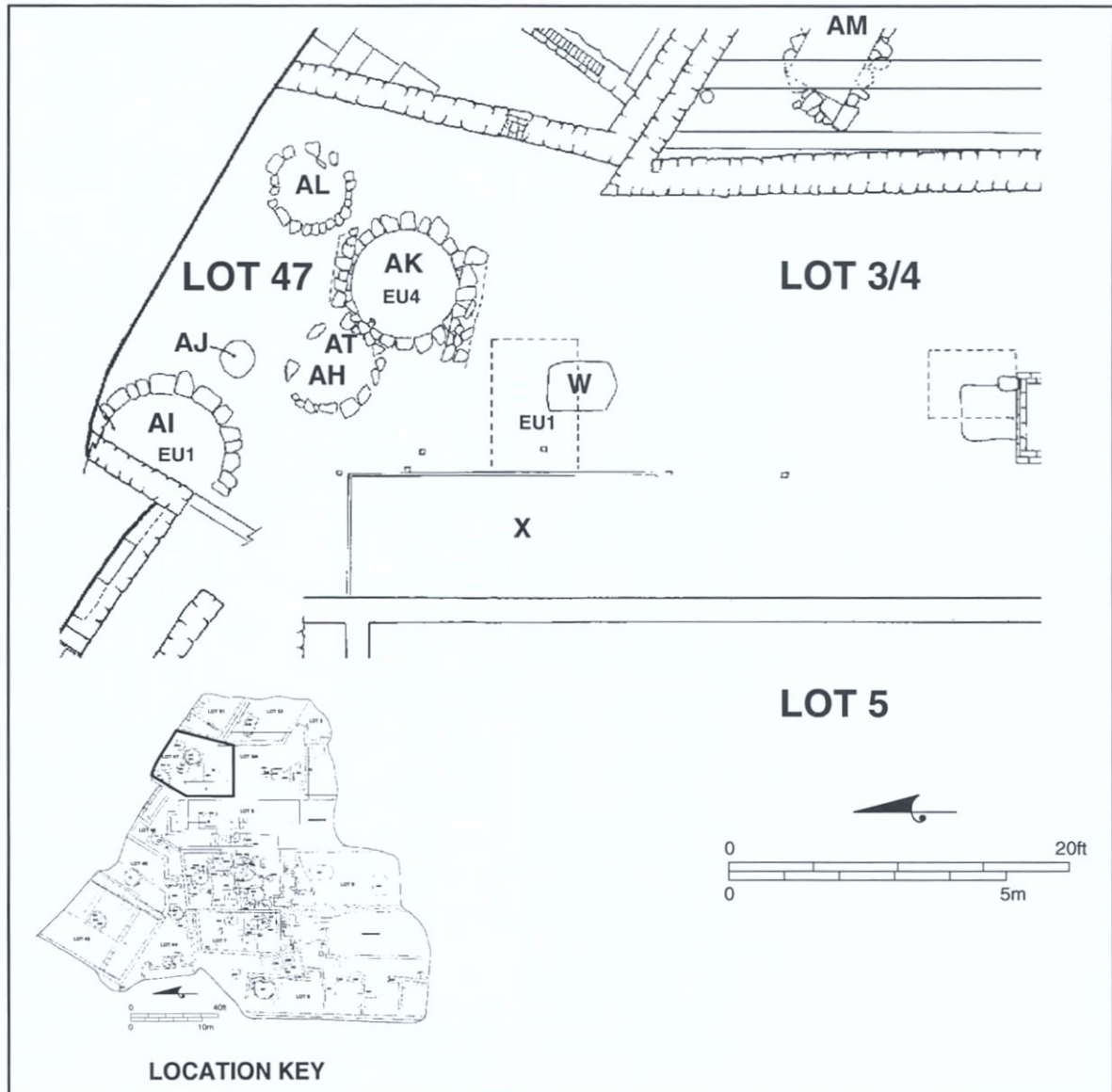


Figure 60. Detail of Lot 47.

In situ foundation remains and six features (AH, AT, AK, AL, AI, and AJ) were uncovered less than 5 feet below the present grade on Lot 47. Two of the features, AK and AI, still had their copping stones (the upper course of stones of the feature walls) in place, indicating that they had not been truncated. AJ was not excavated.

5.6.2 Industrious Newcomers (Feature AK, AS III and IV)

The large, red sandstone privy (Figure 60, Feature AK) that apparently replaced (or augmented) the earlier one (Feature AH) on the lot was already being used for trash by the second decade of the nineteenth century. Perhaps it was the Baitfels who discarded unwanted possessions when they moved before 1824. The small, hand-painted fragments of a German-style porcelain pipe suggest a German resident. Tobias Hoffman, another baker of German descent who lived and worked at 474-476 Pearl Street, also owned (and threw out) such a decorative pipe. But the smoker at 4 Orange Street did not limit himself to porcelain. There was a well-worn clay pipe decorated with masonic symbols and a stag's head (Figure 61) and several other heavily charred clays.

Other residents probably used the privy to dispose of an occasional broken item. Perhaps the Chinese export saucer with a gilded scalloped rim and *L* monogram belonged to Daniel M'Larson who lived at 4 Orange Street in 1810, and the coffee can (mug) (Figure 62), hand painted with the profile of George Washington or the Marquis de Lafayette, might have been the handiwork of Daniel Baldwin. At least one of the resident families had a set of blue shell-edge-decorated tableware and stemmed wine glasses. However, all was not perfect in the newly developed neighborhood. Someone suffered from whipworm and giant intestinal roundworm, uncomfortable enough to require treatment. The 11 medicine vials at the bottom of the privy could have held a comforting potion.

By mid-century, a household of Irish shoemakers (Edward M'Donald and four boarding bootmakers), a family of clothiers named Aaron, two households headed by Prussian tailors (Seaman Silverstone and Philip Schink), and a laborer named Shafer lived at 4 Orange. The two-story brick house (Figure 63) apparently held at least six apartments. Four of the six were headed by Polish tailors or retail clothiers in 1855, the fifth by a German shoemaker, and the last by an Irish laundress and her daughter. By the 60s, the Irish had moved elsewhere, leaving a houseful of German and Polish tailors and shoemakers.

5.6.3 Irish Ingenuity (Feature AL, AS I and II)

Although 4 Orange Street was full of Polish and German tenants, it may have been managed by an Irishman, James McNamara, a shoemaker, who lived at 14 Orange Street in 1850, at No. 6 in 1855, and No. 2 in 1860. His wife, Julia, nee Donahue, bought No. 4 as well as lots 2/3 on Pearl Street in 1873. The McNamara's omnipresence on Orange Street suggests a managerial or sublease-holder role. McNamara may have collected the rent from the tenants, almost all German and Polish, or paid the owner an annual fee and then recouped it from his tenants. McNamara (and also his wife) may also have been involved in running or renting a brothel or two. There was a brothel at No. 13 Baxter in 1850 when they lived at No. 14, and the man held responsible for the brothel that was closed down at No. 12 in 1843 was also named Donahue—a relative of Julia Donahue McNamara?

The things tossed into the bottom of the smallest of the stone-lined privies behind 4 Pearl Street (Figure 60, Feature AL) after 1864 suggest a rather affluent female household (probably a brothel), very different from what other German and Polish shoemakers on the block owned (see Feature AN). There were pencils, pennies, jewelry, combs, and six matching Victorian Gothic cologne bottles in addition to a scroll-shaped cologne bottle, and two perfume bottles marked "Lubin/Parfumeur/Paris." The cologne might have been decanted from a larger-than-quart, aqua-colored demijohn, the kind of vessel that was used to ship, store, and sell toilet water as well as other liquid imports. Numerous pressed-glass (15) and plain (6) tumblers may have been used for alcohol; refined white-ware mugs, for ale or root/ginger beer; and there was also a punch cup—a delicate, press-decorated, handled cup. Evidence for alcohol consumption included at least 20 wine/liquor bottles and eight for beer. Dishes were fashionable—matching molded tea- and tablewares and even chamber pots. Molded white-granite cups matched molded hard-paste porcelain and bone-china ones. The porcelain set, including 10 teacups, 10 saucers, and 2 seven-inch plates, and the white-granite one, with 14 various pieces, constituted plenty for entertaining. Dinnerware—in the common edge-decorated and Willow patterns—was less elegant but serviceable and included matching serving pieces.

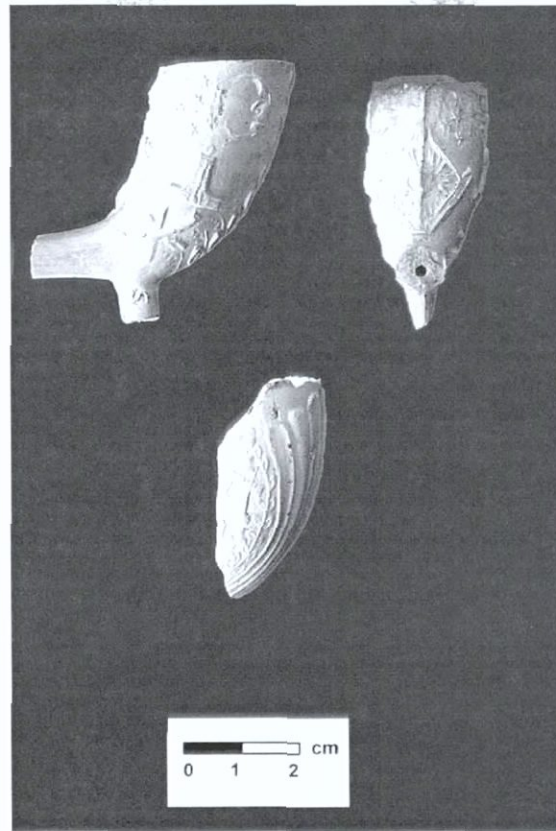


Figure 61. Masonic pipe bowls, Feature AK.

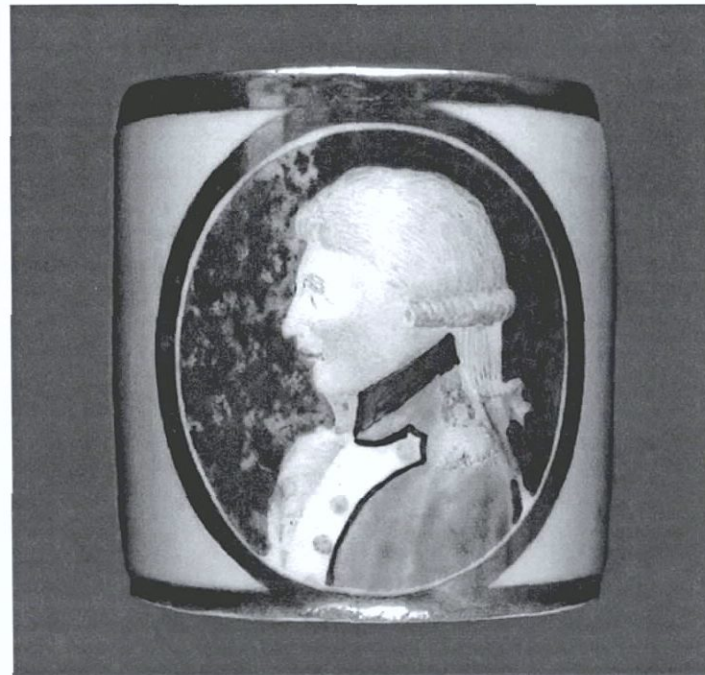


Figure 62. Small enameled cup, Feature AK.

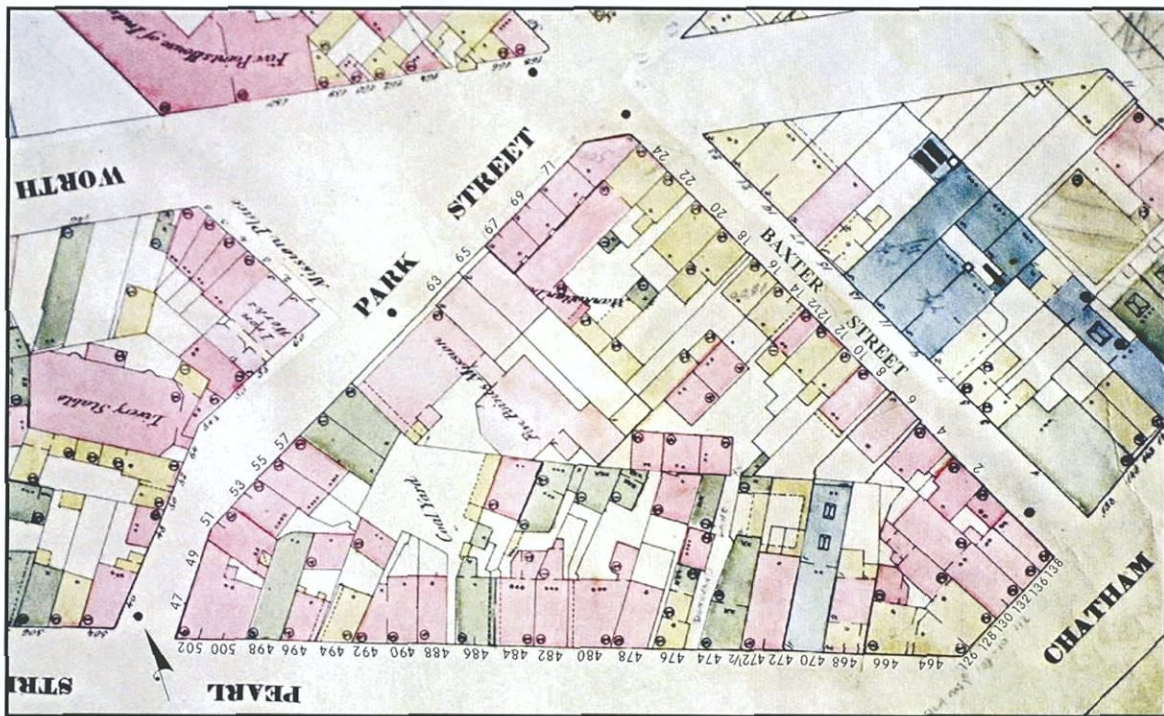
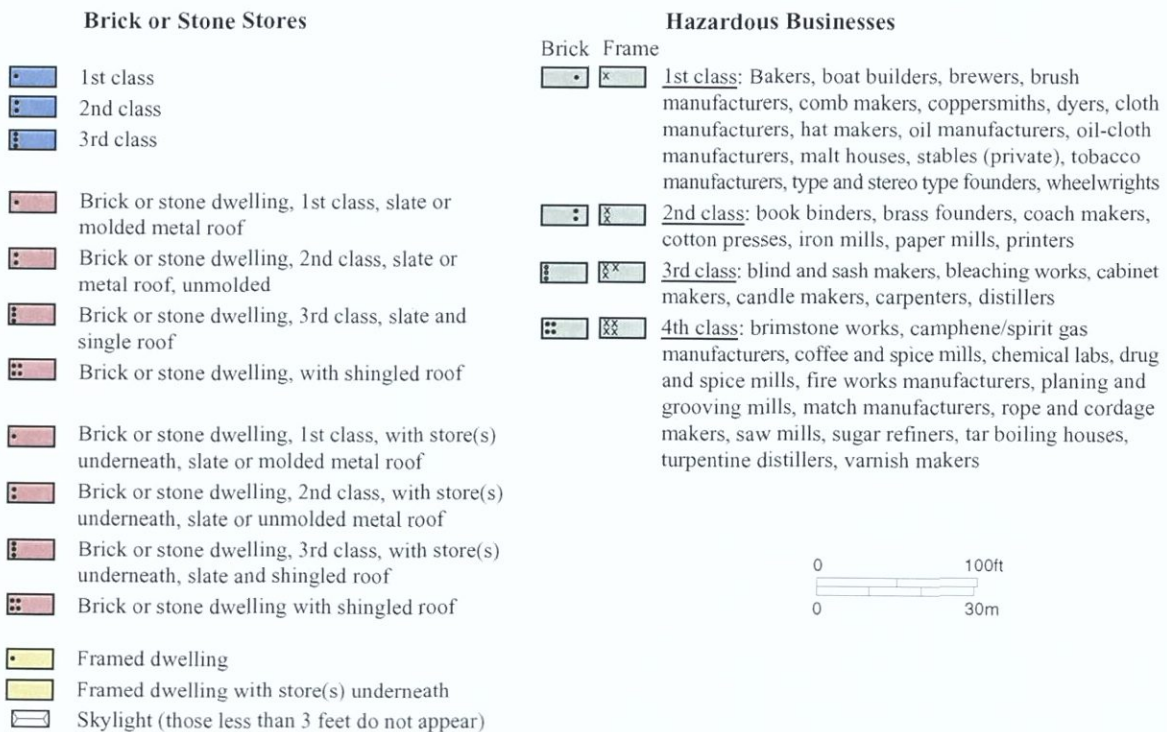


Figure 63. Map of Block 160, William Perris 1867.



Twelve chamber pots is *not too many* for a single household, but they also might have accommodated guests. The garishly decorated Staffordshire ewers would have provided a decorative touch to chambers that were used for entertaining, and porcelain doorknobs appealed to someone's taste. The plain yellowware bedpan, however, was for private moments, and perhaps not very comfortable ones, an occupational hazard. There were children in the household who played with marbles and dolls, and someone had a nearly complete child's tea set (Figure 64). There was also at least one songbird at 4 Baxter Street (in a cage with a pressed-glass feeder), a middle-class indulgence that prostitutes, but few others at Five Points, could afford.

5.6.4 *Secondhand Clothiers (Features AH, AS I and II; AK, AS I; and AI, AS II)*

Between 1875 and 1884, an addition was built on the back of the two-story structure at 4 Baxter Street that may have held new and improved plumbing facilities. All three open privy holes (Features AH, AK, AL) and a fourth (Feature AI), were filled with trash that included remnants of the sewing industry.⁴³⁹ Military buttons from New York State Militia National Guard uniforms that were probably converted for civilian use after the end of the Civil War were mixed with cloth-covered *ferric buttons* that may have been the very thing that replaced the military buttons. There was a Grand Army of the Republic button and a New York City Municipal Police one. The conversion of uniforms apparently made up a good part of the Baxter Street secondhand clothiers' business. Cut scraps of cloth (especially from Feature AK) and pieces of shoddy (also possibly from uniforms that were made of this cheapest-of-cheap material) were probably swept from a tailor's floor. Perhaps the shop belonged to Russian-born Jacob Grodinsky, who lived and worked at 4 Baxter Street in 1870, but it is just as likely that the remnants came from other shops and other times. There were tailors, clothiers, and shoemakers on Baxter Street until the turn of the century.

As was true earlier in the century, the tenants may have been German, Polish, and Russian, but the landowner was Irish. John Sennott bought Lot 47 in 1876, and his widow remained there until 1901. Perhaps Sinnott was the Fenian whose broken, bedecked pipes got into the fill of Features AK and AL. A large spurred bowl bore the slogan "Home Rule" accompanied by a floral-and-harp design and another smaller one also said "Home Rule," although it had been manufactured in Germany. Yet another read "Dublin No. 1."

5.7 8 Orange (Baxter) Street, Lot 45 (Figure 65)

5.7.1 *Poles, Germans, and Italians (Feature H, AS IV)*

Polish-born Mendel Myers, probably a Jew, epitomized the clothiers and secondhand dealers whose shops lined Orange (after 1856, Baxter) Street in the 1850s and 1860s. Like almost all of his neighbors, he lived and worked at the same address, taking in boarders in the same trade from the same part of the world. In addition to his wife and children, Myers's household included two German men, both tailors, as well as a 22-year-old Polish servant (female). Davis Finelight, a Polish immigrant and also Jewish, headed another household at 8 Orange Street, which included his German wife and young children. Finelight, who made his living at shoemaking, had two boarders, an Irish shoemaker and a 19-year-old shoemaker's apprentice, who probably worked with him. In 1855, Joseph Moses, a glazier, and his wife and child also lived at 8 Orange Street as did George Hirschback, another shoemaker, and his family. But by 1860, Italian immigrants had begun to appear on the block. In that year, the census taker counted Joseph Costa, a musician, living with his two sisters, two laborers named Monteverdi, and Joseph Segretti and his two sons at 8 Orange Street.

⁴³⁹ See Volume II, Section 4.3, for a detailed discussion of this material.



Figure 64. Child's porcelain tea set from Feature AL.

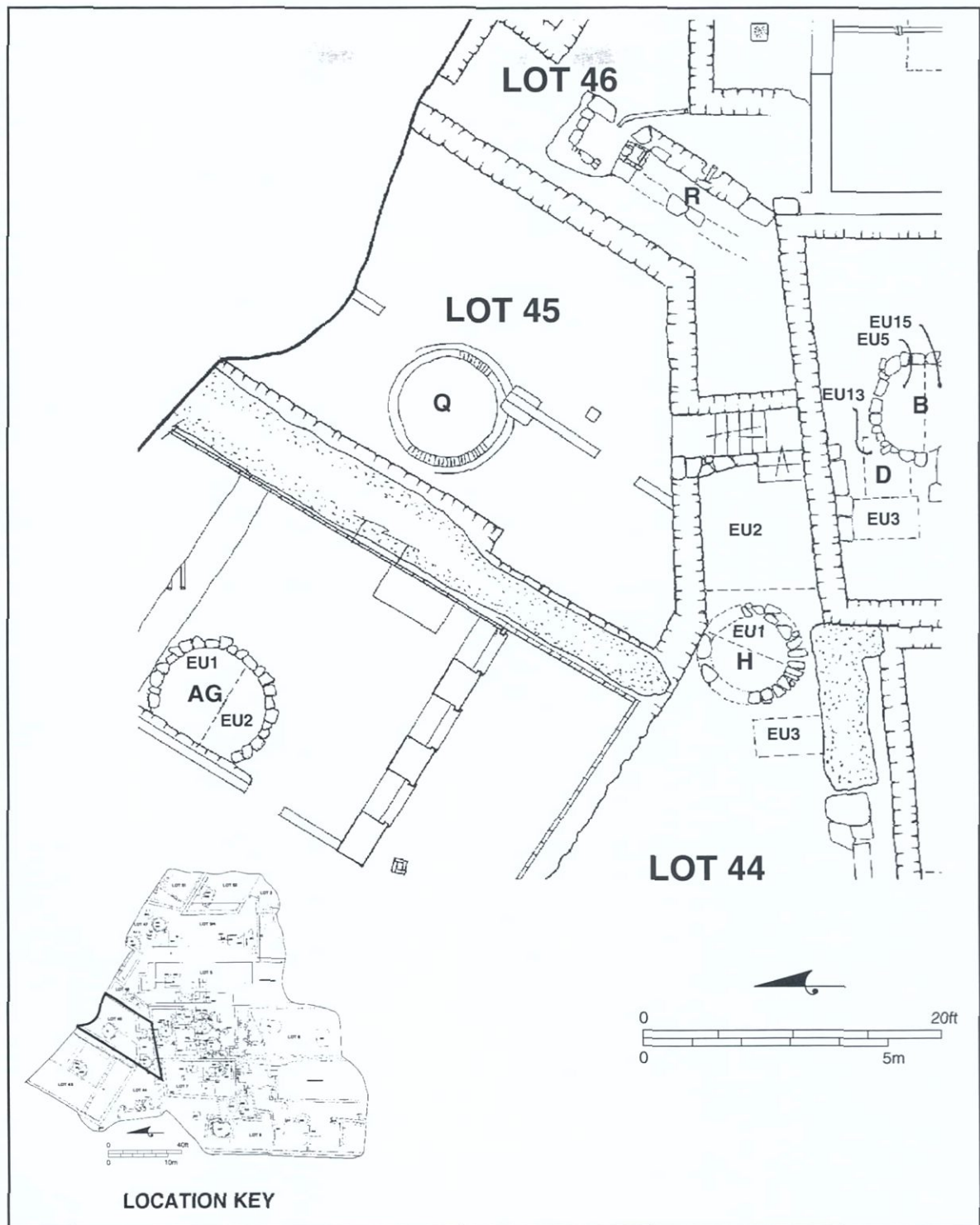


Figure 65. Detail of Lot 45.

Fill was removed from Lot 45 at the same time that it was removed from Lot 6 which abutted it to the south. A feature (H) was uncovered in what appeared to be an alley between the tenements facing Baxter and Pearl Streets. Another feature (Q) was encountered within the walls of the Baxter Street tenement, but it was not excavated.

Perhaps it was when the Finelights moved away in the mid-1860s, but probably much sooner, that all the residents began to use the stone-lined privy at the back of the property (Figure 65, Feature H) for trash, sealing it with a layer of shell. Tucked into the recesses of the deep, dark hole along with the remains of more than one dinner were the bones of a New World *Cebus* monkey, probably Joseph Costa's cup-wielding companion. Shoe parts—heels, soles, insteps—and fragments probably came from Finelight's shoe shop; buttons and thimbles, from Myers's clothing operation. But there were also the more delicate sewing implements of women—a tambour hook with an elaborately carved ivory handle, a thimble inscribed "Forget [me] Not" and another "From a Friend," perhaps a gift from an admirer (Figure 66). Is it possible that Eastern-European women passed the time in their husband's shops working at their own sewing tasks? Umbrella parts probably came from James McNeally's shop which was located at 8 Baxter Street in 1857; unfinished brass serving spoons may have originated with the coppersmith who worked nearby at 12 Orange Street in the 1840s.

Broken dishes and glassware were also tossed into the privy. These immigrant families appear to have preferred plain white teawares and tablewares, although several pieces from one tea set were spatter decorated. Following a strictly American tradition, at least one family made use of cup plates in the Gothic style. Tea was poured into saucers to cool while the cup was placed on a cup plate to protect the underlying surface. As was fashionable in the 1850s and 1860s, plain white dinner plates were molded in a variety of shapes, including the Prairie pattern with its shafts of wheat decorating the borders. There were a few dinner plates and soup plates with the canonical blue edging, but color was mostly reserved for serving pieces—a bone-china sauce tureen decorated with a pink/purple luster and an enamel-painted animal motif, a Chinese porcelain saltcellar in the blue Canton style. A Gothic-style pickle bottle would have matched the Gothic-style dishes on at least one table.

Someone dyed his hair with "Batchelor's Liquid Hair Dye, No. 2" at 8 Orange Street and used "Rowland's Macassar Oil, No. 20 Hattern Garden London, The Original Oil Genuine" hair tonic. Heavy decorative decanters held wine or cordials, perhaps for the Shabat dinners or holiday feasts that Jewish families continued in their new homes. Before it moved to the corner of Mott and Chatham Streets, the Beth Hamidrash Synagogue was briefly (1861 and 1862) located at 8 Orange Street. Many of the clothiers and shoemakers along the block were Jewish; Simon Webster, the sexton of the synagogue and also a clothier, lived at 6 Orange Street in the 1850s. It was in this period that Beth Hamridash had the reputation as the only synagogue in New York where it was possible to find a group of Jews engaged in study for its own sake, a revered tradition for which most Jews no longer had time.⁴⁴⁰

The privy remained open until the early 1890s when a six-story dumbbell-shaped tenement was built on the lot (Figure 67). At least one clothier deposited debris from his shop on top of the garbage that already filled the eastern half of the stone-lined shaft, much of it slipping into the trench that was dug for the back foundation of the tenement. A zipper tang, not manufactured until 1893, lay on top of earlier layers; next to it, mixed with brick rubble and bluestone, were more than 226 packages of straight pins, 1,000 single pins, 50 thimbles, 222 hooks and eyes, over 200 scraps and small rolls of twill tape, 19 fragments of seam binding, and 180 buttons—clearly the remains of an industrial operation (Figure 66). As if to mark the passing of the German dominance on Baxter Street, a German-style porcelain pipe lay with the zipper tang. Undecorated except with an impressed "7," the pipe was worn where its shiny surface had come into contact with a table or pipe stand. Some German families remained on Baxter Street into the twentieth century, but it was mainly Italians who filled the new tenement. The garment district had moved uptown.

⁴⁴⁰ Grinstein 1945:14.

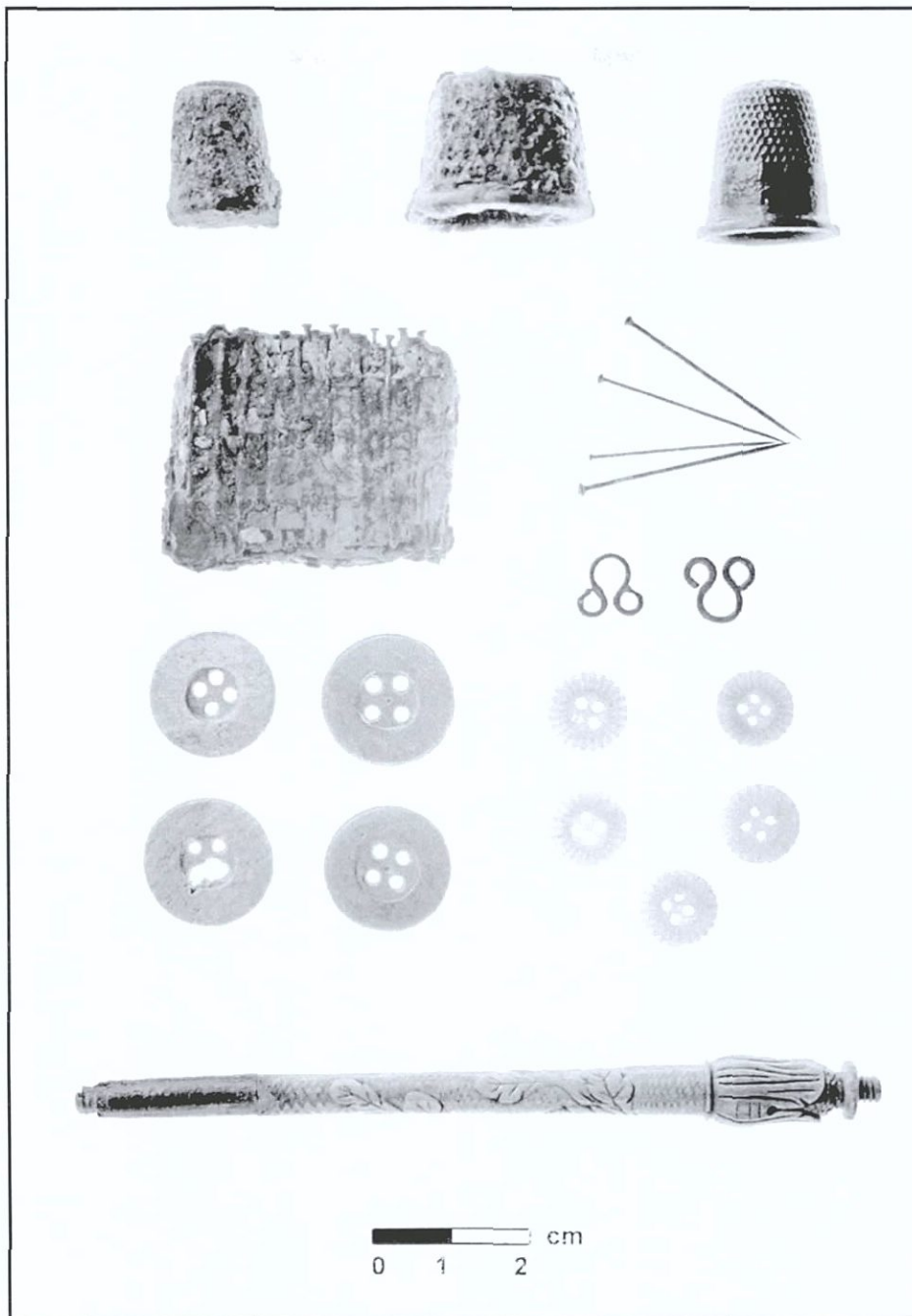


Figure 66. Sewing things from Feature H, including the carved ivory handle for a tambour hook (bottom).

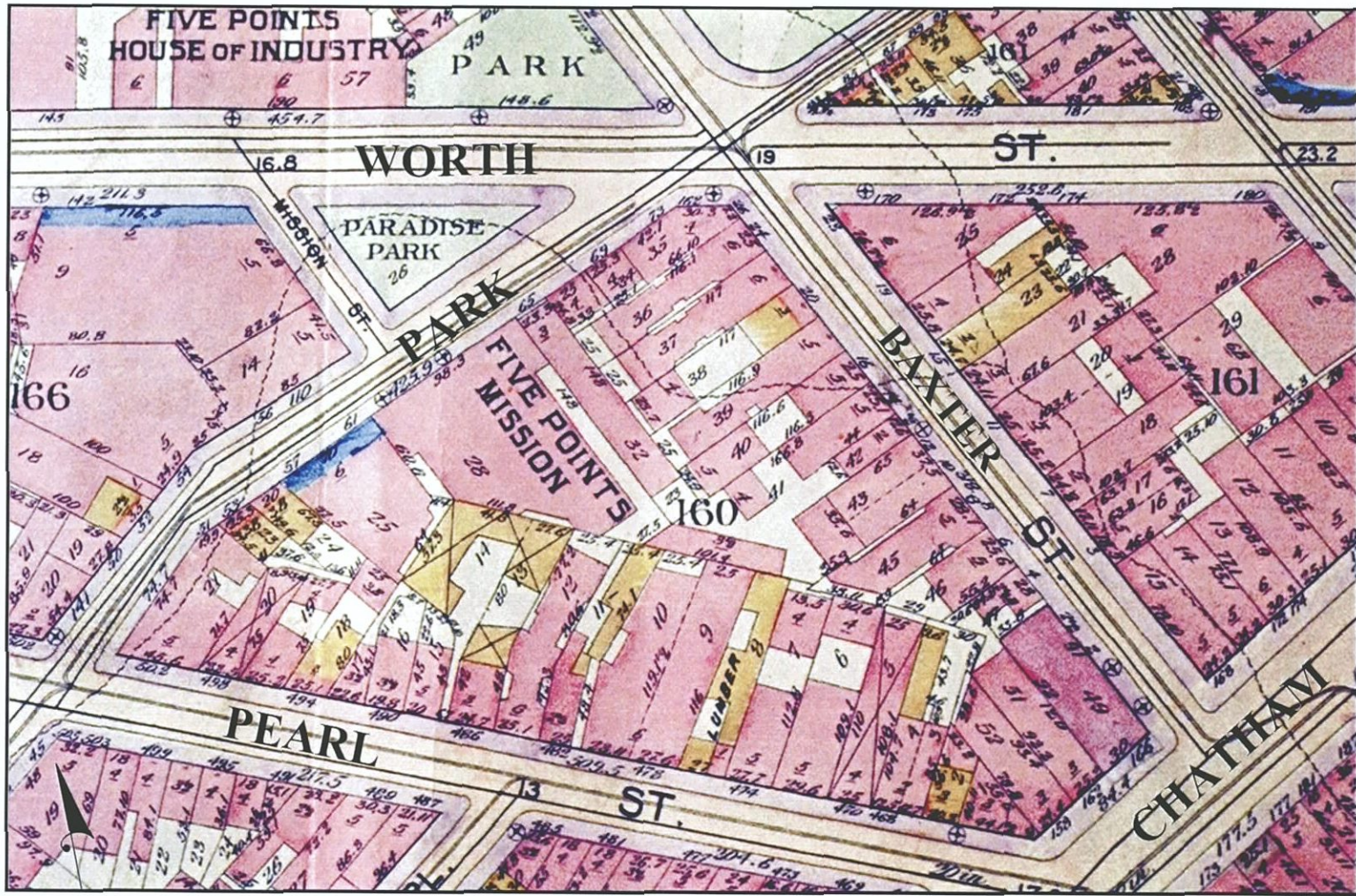


Figure 67. Map of Block 160, Bromley 1902.



5.8 10 and 12 Orange (Baxter) Street, Lot 43 (Figure 68)

5.8.1 *A Rest for Prostitutes (Feature AG, AS III)*

Maybe if Phoebe⁴⁴¹ hadn't put her babies into the privy the brothel wouldn't have been closed down. After all, someone had been running a brothel at 12 Orange Street since Mr. Labatut built himself an even bigger house at Number 14. A "disorderly house—a rest for prostitutes and others of ill fame and name, where great numbers of characters are in the nightly practice of reveling until late and improper hours of the night, dancing, drinking, and carousing" is what the indictment said. Donahue's basement saloon was no rowdier than the others at Five Points. It must have been something else that bothered those nosy neighbors, Edward Blackall and Robert Gordon. The hard-working German families—the Belmers, Lichtreckers, and Eckhardts—right in the same building hadn't complained. One supposed they were glad to have a place to set up shop, especially with so many of their countrymen nearby.

By 1840, Orange Street was a veritable garment district lined with clothiers and shoemakers, all jabbering away in their native tongues. But the Irishmen, the ones who launched the complaint with Captain Matsell of the New York Municipal Police Force, didn't like to see their own kind up to what they considered the immoral business of prostitution. It was probably the women's independence they really resented, their clothes and fancy furnishings. And, of course, there was the matter of Phoebe's twins. One day she was huge with child (children—there were two) and the next they were gone. Mr. Blackhall and Mr. Gordon must have noticed, or maybe it was their wives. Anyway, it was too bad to have to leave what had been comfortable and profitable circumstances. And it was sad to part from the circle of women who had become such good friends.

There had been the sunny daytime hours spent sitting in one of their prettily decorated rooms—playing cards, knitting, or working on a piece of embroidery. The quiet talk and twitter of the birds⁴⁴² in their elaborate cages made the time pass quickly (Figure 69). Then there were the elegant tea parties—sometimes with male company, sometimes not—served on old blue dishes decorated with cows and sheep or, when there was very special company, on the enameled Chinese export porcelain with its matching teacups and coffee cups, saucers and plates, slop bowl and tea caddie (Figure 70). Every meal was an extravagant affair at 12 Orange Street. For dinner, there were beef steaks and veal, pot roasts and ham, the expensive cuts that one didn't get at home with the family, and quantities of soft-shell clams, perhaps an aphrodisiac? The household included enough dishes to serve an army, some of them printed in exotic scenes, others plain white but molded in panels, and still others in the usual blue- or green-edge decoration. Serving dishes matched plates and pitchers matched serving dishes—it was an assemblage for entertaining. There was even a matching set of delicately decorated punch cups with handles (Figure 71).

There may have been a kitchen staff to take care of the domestic chores. Young animals—piglets and chicks—in the assemblage suggest that they were raised on the lot, surely not by the prostitutes who had more lucrative ways to spend their time.

⁴⁴¹ Phoebe is a fictitious name although a Phoebe Wake was arrested at this address in 1834 for stealing a shawl (District Attorney Indictments).

⁴⁴² The bones of finch-like birds were recovered from the feature.

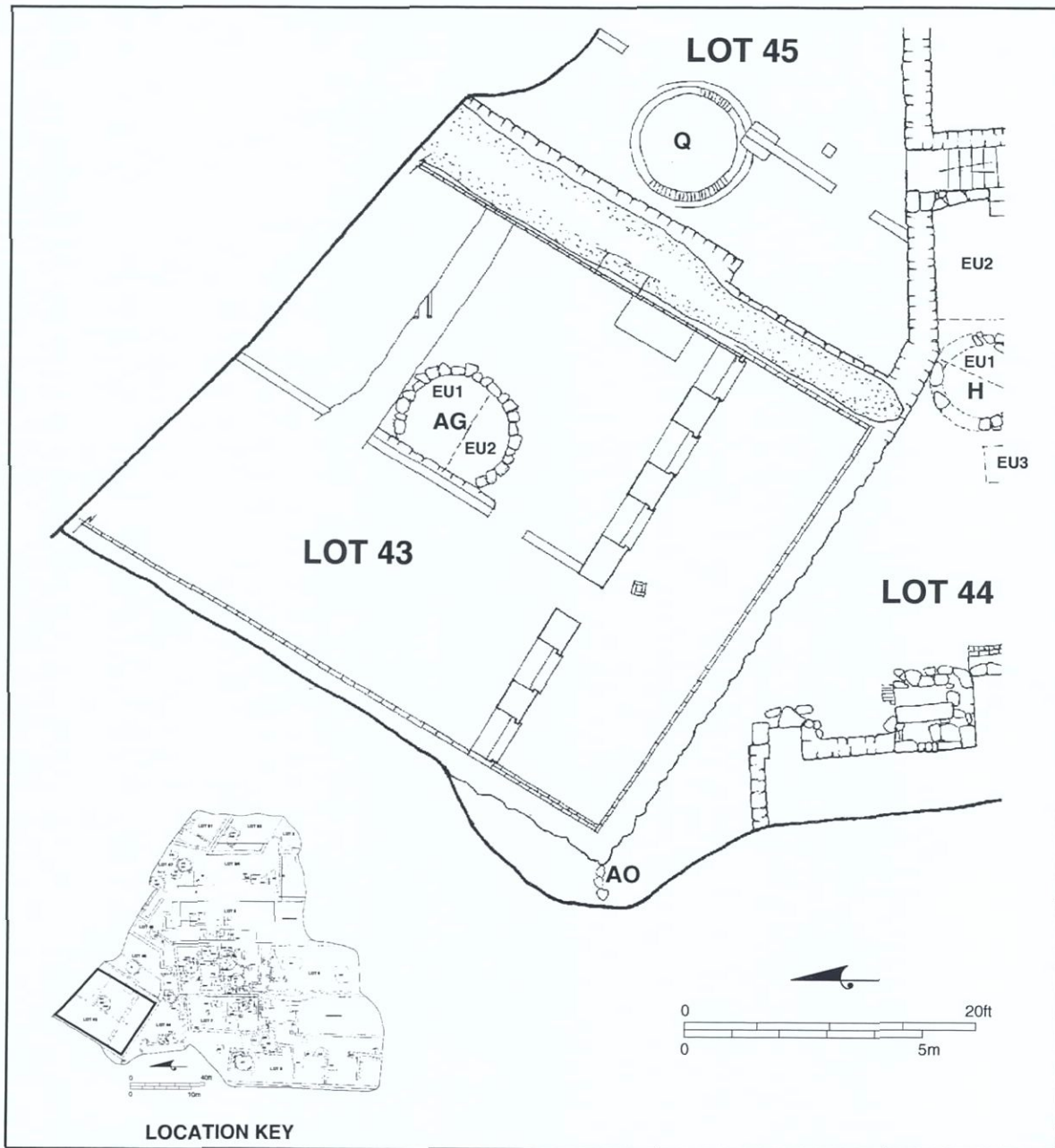


Figure 68. Detail of Lot 43.

Recent demolition debris and coal-ash fill overlay a sunken courtyard along the rear portion of the property and a cellar floor to the east. A single feature (AG) was found beneath the floor near its center.



Figure 69. Glass bird feeder, Feature AG.

There was also a private side to the brothel. A nursing mother protected her good clothes with a nursing shield and another fed her young child on a matching plate and cup (Figure 72) inscribed with sentimental verses:

Who turned aside her aged head
And even tears of gladness shed
Because I gave the beggar bread
My grandmother
Who came to see me far and near
With cakes and toys throughout the year
And call'd me her sweet little dear
My grandmother

Ailing prostitutes (venereal disease was a perennial problem) used glass urinals (Figure 73) when they were confined to bed and soothed themselves with one sort of douche or another—a ceramic pot labeled “AMAILLE, s d. Vinaigrier, Boulevard des Italiennes, A Paris” (Figure 74) might have contained a potion with special powers (for delivering or aborting babies?). The number of chamber pots that got dumped into the privy—there were 37 in a variety of shapes and colors—suggests the number that might be needed in one night. Business was good in Donahue’s establishment: on the average, one prostitute saw four clients a day in mid-century New York, although the number probably varied.⁴⁴³

Night-time activities apparently included a good deal of drinking, but it was genteel drinking—wine rather than hard liquor. French wine was preferred—BRANNE MOUTON, LEOVILLE MEDOC, MOUTON, and CHATEAU. It was drunk from tumblers (58 were thrown into the privy) rather than stemmed glasses, perhaps because it was not drunk at a table. Cup plates, conventionally used to protect furniture from the wet rings made by teacups, may also have been used under glasses, and there was a glass coaster for a bottle. Lighting was manipulated to create atmosphere—a chamber lamp may have been carried from one room to another, a float lamp (Figure 75), to be hung from a wire, held a wick stuck in a cork that floated on a layer of oil over water. Portable stoves kept partially clad clients warm. Commemorative plates with scenes that reflected war and patriotism—one showing Commodore McDonnough’s 1814 victory on Lake Champlain during the War of 1812, another showing Lafayette contemplating the tomb of Franklin—may have been chosen to please the male clientele. An American eagle overlaid with the motto “E Pluribus Unum” decorated a deep-blue pitcher; other transfer-printed decorative pieces displayed picturesque views of the Hudson River (“Rapids Above Hadley’s Falls” and “Baker’s Falls”) and of Columbus’s arrival in America.

What a shame to throw out all these beautiful things, but they were hardly the sort one could take back to the tenements. A brothel was a different world, even at Five Points. It was a fantasy world, created to distract a clientele in an environment suitable to its class and make a decent living for the women who otherwise would be sewing clothes or doing laundry for a considerably smaller wage. When Joel Elas, a German clothier, moved his family into the rooms that had been the brothel, he could not have imagined what had been there before.

⁴⁴³ Marilyn Wood Hill 1993.

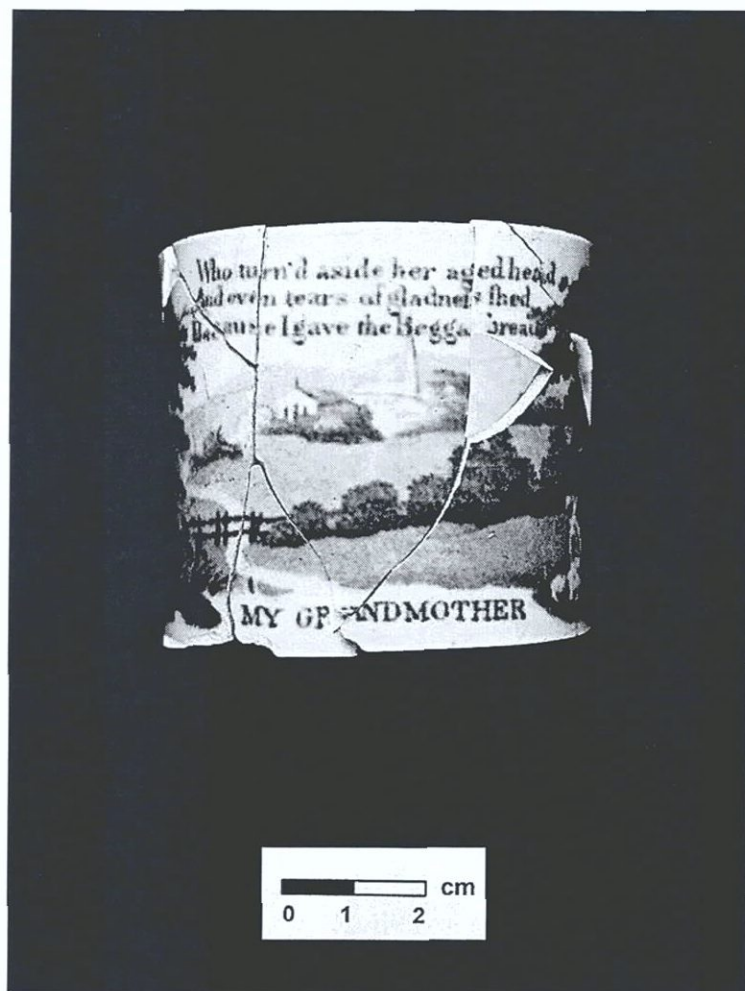


Figure 72. Child's cup with poem to "my grandmother."

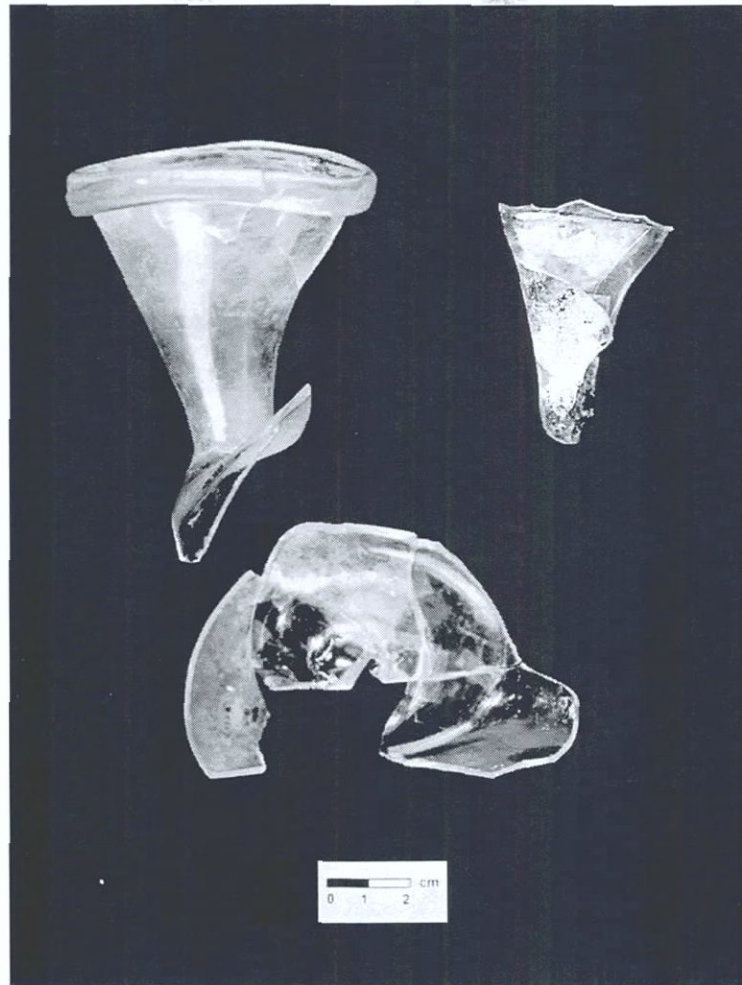


Figure 73. Glass urinals for women, Feature AG.

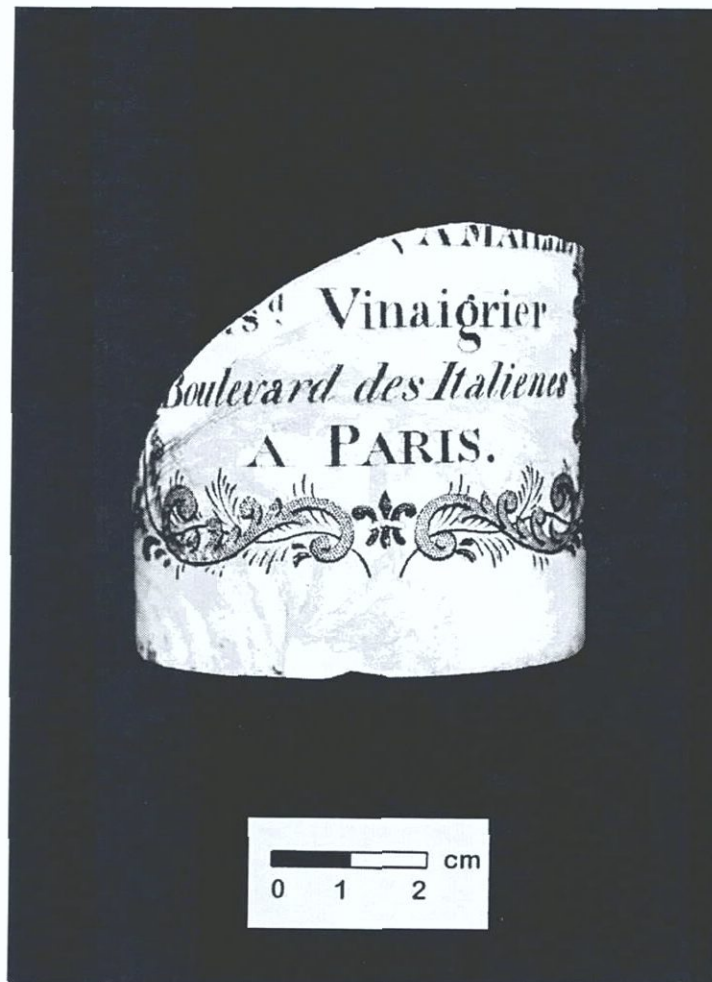


Figure 74. Vinegar-douche ceramic jar.

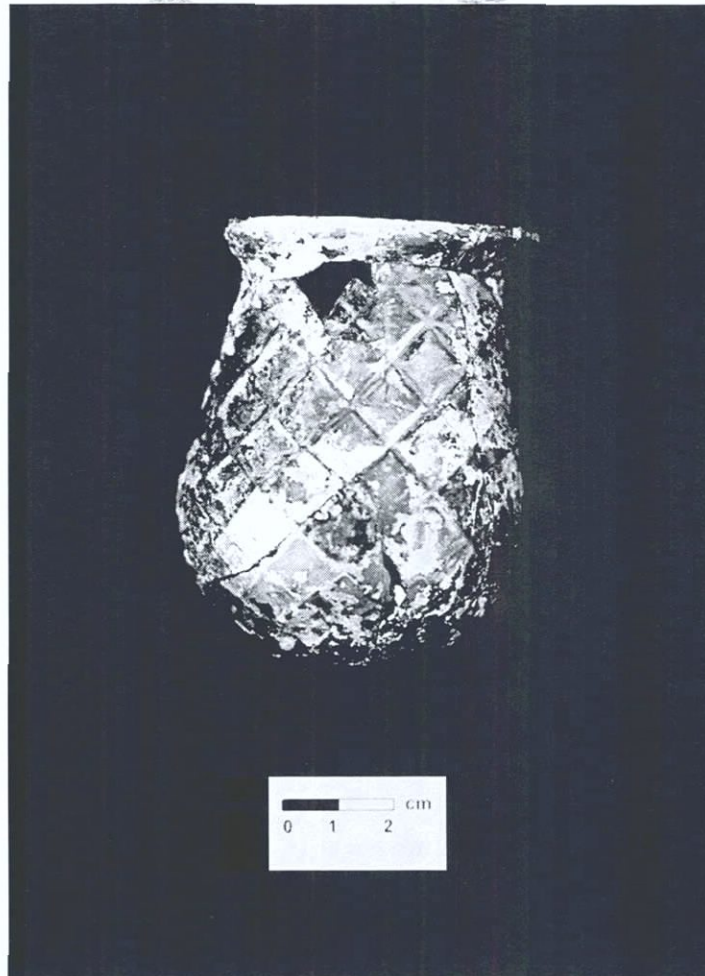


Figure 75. Float lamp.

5.9 22 Orange (Baxter) Street, Lot 37 (Figure 76)

5.9.1 *Just Like Home (Feature AN, AS III)*

When the brick-lined cistern at 22 Baxter was finally retired about 1860, thirteen people lived in the small frame house on the lot. Samuel Stone, a German-born, and probably Jewish, clothier, headed a household that included his wife, Rebecca; a 20-year-old son born in Germany; six additional New York-born children; and a German female servant. Stone had been a clothier in the city since at least 1840, arriving in the wave of German Jews who emigrated to New York in the mid-1830s. In 1860, the Stones had no tenants, or at least none listed in the census that year, although there had been several five years earlier. Samuel Lubra, another experienced German tailor, and his wife and 11-year-old son and Lambert Blower, a Dutch tailor, his wife, and three children rented from Stone in 1855. Lubra and Blower, and maybe even their wives, probably worked in Stone's secondhand clothing business, receiving food and housing as part of their wage. Throughout the Stones' stay on Baxter Street, there were many mouths to feed and, much to the consternation of Jewish leaders, work was virtually continuous, leaving little time for the practice of religion. Only on the high holy days (Rosha Shona and Yom Kippur) did the Jewish clothiers along Baxter Street lock their doors; the weekly Sabbath passed unobserved.

Bathed in the sour smells spewing from Pirnie's brewery behind (65 Park) and next door (24 Baxter) to Stone's shop, the tailors transformed tattered old clothes into "good as new" garments for sale. They exchanged torn coat linings for new ones, replaced military buttons with civilian ones, and camouflaged tattered hems with seam binding.

Working conditions were less than ideal, but the camaraderie of kinsmen, the familiar sound of the German language, and the pleasure of using skills honed in the old country to succeed in the new made life on Baxter Street bearable. Mrs. Stone fed her houseful of men and children well. There were lamb roasts (leg o' lamb) or lamb chops and stews made of the less expensive neck and feet. Occasionally, there was a pork roast or beef steak or ham steak and, even less often, some kind of poultry (chicken, turkey, goose, or duck), perhaps for a holiday meal. And there was fish. The German household appeared to prefer cod or porgies although these were the least expensive in mid-nineteenth-century New York and may have been chosen strictly based on cost. Meals were simple affairs, taken from well-used, blue-edge-decorated plates and, on special occasions, from a flow-blue set that Mrs. Stone had bought as seconds. There were flow-blue cups and saucers to match the plates (or at least look like they matched), but less expensive cups were used every day—some hand painted with flowers and berries, others dipped in bands of different colors. Rebecca Stone's dishes were neither fancy nor fashionable. She was a practical woman who worked as hard as her husband and spent most of her time tending the babies that came every year (four children were born between 1855 and 1860 if the census records are to be believed).

Perhaps the lustre-decorated cup and pitcher, broken into many small pieces, belonged to the maid. Such things were prizes at fairs and contests,⁴⁴⁴ a likely diversion for a maid's day off. The lavishly decorated items would have brightened her room in the garret and reminded her of past pleasures.

Many people had lived at 22 Baxter Street before the Stones. In fact, the small, two-story, frame dwelling had virtually bulged with tenants as soon as it was built at the turn of the nineteenth century. In 1800, James Abraham, identified as African, headed a household of three. Thomas Millier, a mulatto, had six people in his household; David Johnson lived with his wife and three children; Edward Johnson, with his wife and child. Louis Toby and John Paul, both African, had three people each in their households, bringing the total number of residents in that year to 23. Some of these residents probably lived in the cellar, and shanties in the backyard might have held others. An alley ran along the eastern edge of the property, providing access to the back from Baxter Street (Figure 51). There were even more residents in 1810: Moses Bishop, a cartman, with his household of four; and John Hughes, a cooper, who remained with his household, including two other adults and two children, until 1830. There were also four African

⁴⁴⁴ See *Victorian Pottery and Porcelain* by G. Bernard Hughes 1959:83.

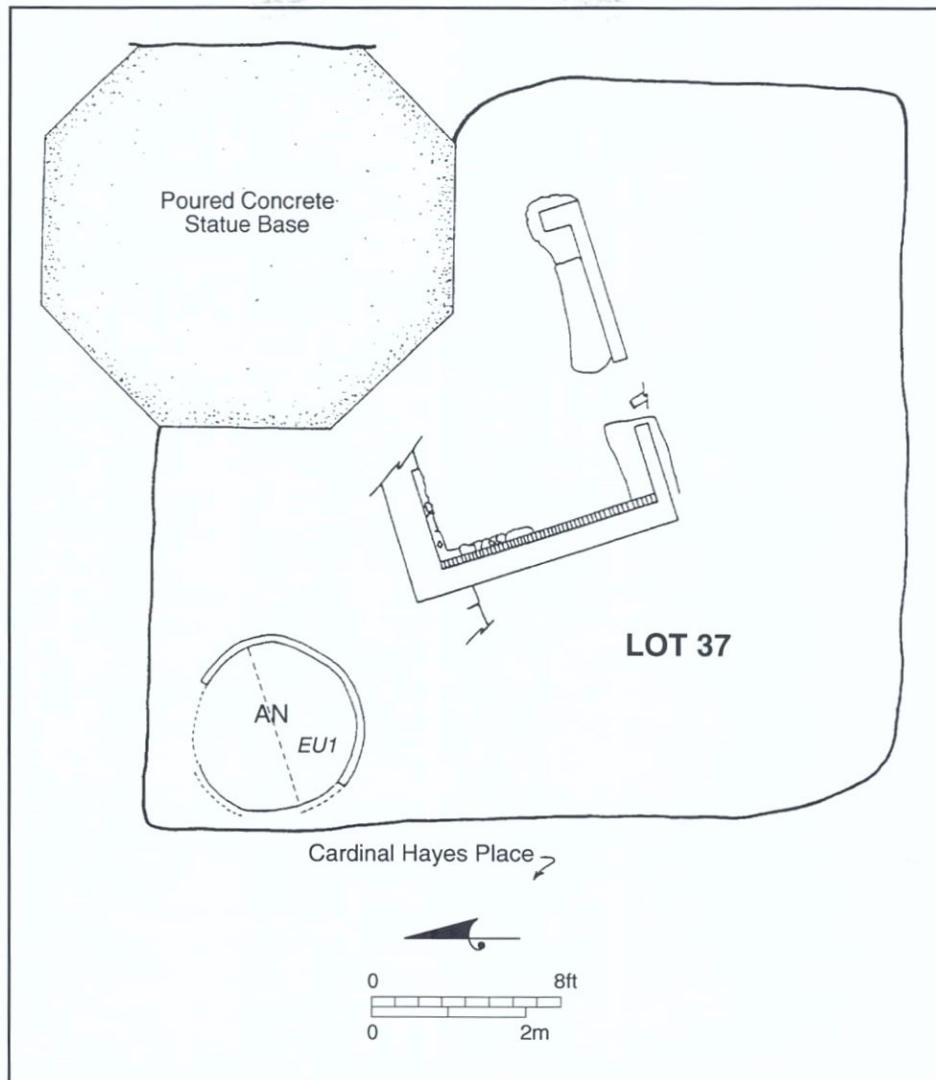


Figure 76. Plan view of features identified on Lot 37 including the base of a statue of Columbus which had been moved elsewhere. Feature AN and the base for the statue were uncovered beneath a layer of cobblestone and concrete at a depth of 4 to 5 feet below grade.

households—headed by James Robertson, Anthony Huff, Cloe Robertson, and Peter Lewis—totaling 15 people. Huff's household included three black men and one white woman.

By 1820, the Africans had disappeared, or at least they were no longer being counted in the census. A baker—Basil Dykes—first appeared on the property in that year and bakers continued to work at the address until Stone moved in. It is possible that the baker's use of the backyard for his business eliminated its use as living quarters. From Stone's tenure to the demise of the building between 1897 and 1902, Jewish tailors, and probably also shoemakers, worked at 22 Baxter Street.

5.10 Two Different Worlds

The narrative vignettes of life on Block 160 reveal at least some of the complexity of the Five Points neighborhood. In *New York City Neighborhoods, The 18th Century*, Nan Rothschild⁴⁴⁵ answers the questions, "How do urban residents participate in urban life, how do they feel part of the city, and why are some better integrated than others?" in the negative. Instead, Rothschild claims, "they participate in the life of a segment of the city" and "the better defined this segment is, both socially and spatially, the more well integrated are its residents." The segment is, of course, the neighborhood, which she defines as "a group of people who are located in space, who interact on a relatively frequent basis around common activities, who share services and facilities, and who are perceived and perceive themselves as an entity."⁴⁴⁶

Five Points has generally been considered a distinctive nineteenth-century neighborhood within the Sixth Ward. The close-grained analysis of primary documentary records and archeological deposits associated with residents of Block 160, however, suggests that, in Rothschild's sense, it was several neighborhoods. At mid-century, almost all the residents of the Pearl Street side of the block were newly arrived Irish immigrants. They lived in tenements built specifically to house them; attended one of two Catholic Churches (St. Andrews and Transfiguration) within easy walking distance; worked as wage earners at both skilled and unskilled jobs that were probably also located within walking distance; and participated in the consumer culture of the day, buying fashionable dishes and other goods that were readily available in local shops.

From the 1830s to about the 1890s, the Baxter side of the block was inhabited by a completely different group of people. German, Polish, and Russian Jews, also newly arrived, lived and worked in old wooden houses that had been subdivided into apartments. Although they were not the only residents along this side of the block (they appear to have shared the space with houses of prostitution run by people of Irish descent), the line of secondhand clothing shops, tailors, and shoemakers in this location was characterized as New York's garment district up to the turn of the twentieth century. For at least a short time, a synagogue (Beth Hamridash) was located on this section of Baxter Street, and several residents had jobs relating to the synagogue. The possessions of these Jewish residents suggest that they were less interested in consumer goods than the Irish on the other side of the block, that they chose, instead, to spend their resources on household help, to funnel money back into their businesses, and eventually buy property.

This pattern of ethnic segregation was, according to David Ward,⁴⁴⁷ a matter of preference. "Most immigrants preferred to spend their early years in the city in a district where their fellow countrymen or co-religionists—often their friends and family—lived."⁴⁴⁸ Living among kin had the beneficial effect of preventing the kind of social disorganization that observers assumed affected formerly rural people who were suddenly thrust into the impersonal and anonymous world of the city. Ward argues that contemporary observers didn't recognize the social networks that prevented the kinds of pathology assumed to exist in immigrant neighborhoods, because the immigrants' behavior and priorities were different from those of suburban or native Americans.

⁴⁴⁵ Rothschild 1990:171.

⁴⁴⁶ Rothschild 1990:18.

⁴⁴⁷ Ward 1989.

⁴⁴⁸ Ward 1989:118.

Richard Stott characterizes neighborhood on a larger scale; the Irish neighborhood, he says, centered around the "bloody ould" Sixth Ward.⁴⁴⁹ In Stott's terms, the Pearl Street side of Block 160 is representative of the ward. However, he, too, recognizes the lack of a perfect correlation between large areas and ethnic groups. While most workers lived in wards that were ethnically mixed, "blocks, tenements, and boardinghouses flourished which were dominated by a single ethnic group." Stott's discussion of neighborhood in Chapter 7 of his book focuses on the clustering of the working class on Manhattan's East Side, but he is well aware of the economic and ethnic distinctions within this large area. The distinctions between archeological remains from deposits associated with Baxter Street addresses and those associated with Pearl Street addresses within Block 160 suggest that ethnic identity continued to play a stronger role than working-class identity for the immigrants who constituted the majority of New York's working-class population. According to Herbert Gutman,⁴⁵⁰ "tough familial and kin ties made possible the transmission and adaptation of European working-class cultural patterns and beliefs to industrializing America."

The monolithic representation of Five Points as an impoverished, disorganized, debauched neighborhood masks the complexity of the communities within the neighborhood. While the institutions that are usually associated with *Five Points*, that is, saloons and brothels, were present on Block 160, they were embedded in a residential community of immigrant workers striving for respectability. The immigrants apparently used familial ties and ethnic customs to adapt to a world in which they were physically isolated from the economically privileged residents of the city. The security of kin and ethnic connections did not make up for the overcrowded and unsanitary conditions in which they were forced to live, but it provided a framework for beginning life in an alien land and adapting to the requirements of industrial capitalism.

⁴⁴⁹ Stott 1990:204.

⁴⁵⁰ Gutman 1977:43.

CHAPTER 6 – HISTORICAL ARCHEOLOGY AND SOCIAL HISTORY: TELLING THE STORY TOGETHER

by Rebecca Yamin

6.1 Introduction

The narrative vignettes presented in Chapter 5 were constructed from the documentary and archeological data specific to Block 160, but they could not have been conceived without the social history that came before them. Inspired and influenced by Herbert Gutman in the 1970s, social history blossomed as an approach to the past that replaced the traditional focus on presidents, politics, wars, and life among the elite⁴⁵¹ with an emphasis on the roles played by ordinary men and women in the building of modern America. A number of scholars working from this perspective wrote dissertations and published books about nineteenth-century New York in the heyday of the social history movement. Their work has provided an invaluable context for interpreting the archeological remains recovered on Block 160 and for beginning to identify what archeology brings to this approach to the past that is distinct from the kinds of statistical studies that characterize social history.

The books that were particularly important to the archeological analysis included, first and foremost, Carol Groneman Pernicone's dissertation, *The "Bloody Ould Sixth": A Social Analysis of a New York City Working-Class Community in the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (1973), and Elizabeth Blackmar's *Manhattan for Rent, 1785–1850* (1989). Groneman's examination of the Irish in the Sixth Ward, based largely on the 1855 New York state census, presented a picture of organized households and family life that could have included the Staffordshire tea sets that came out of the excavation, and Blackmar's analysis of the growth of the city and the rise of tenancy provided a framework for understanding the physical changes to Block 160 over time. But it was Richard Stott's textured study *Workers in the Metropolis* (1990) that presented a picture complex enough to include George Foster's disreputable haunts and Groneman's respectable families. Along with Stansell's study of women (1987) and Wilentz's of labor (1984), working-class life began to emerge as culturally distinct from the middle-class values through which it had been judged by contemporaries. Without these studies, the artifacts that are the subject of this report, with all their authenticity, probably would not have been taken as credible evidence that things were not quite as simple as those middle-class observers had portrayed them.

Ongoing discussions with historians, particularly those held in the presence of the artifacts at the Foley Square Laboratory, have also enriched the interpretation of the archeological data. Timothy Gilfoyle, Tyler Anbinder, Marion Casey, and Carol Groneman all visited the laboratory and have continued to serve as sources of information and sounding boards for interpretations. While the material evidence of life at Five Points generally confirmed what these historians thought should be true, they were surprised by the quality and variability of the artifacts. The authenticity of the material remains seemed to complicate the narratives they had already written. The brothel assemblage from Feature AG, for instance, was not like anything Gilfoyle had even imagined as part of his study of prostitution in nineteenth-century New York.⁴⁵² Anbinder, who is working on a book on Five Points, had never considered the value of looking at a single block in the kind of detail that is the approach used in historical archeology.

Artifacts do not just fill the gaps in historical knowledge, they extend it into other realms requiring other methods of analysis. The integration of archeological and historical data into one narrative would presumably present a richer picture of the past than either data set alone. The problem is how to do it. The remaining portion of this chapter discusses aspects of work by three social historians in relation to the historical and archeological results that were presented as narratives in Chapters 2 through 5 of this volume. The purpose is to consider the complexity of the record when archeological and historical perspectives are brought together.

⁴⁵¹ American Social History Project 1989:xi.

⁴⁵² Gilfoyle 1992.

6.2 Owners and Tenants

The specifics of ownership and tenancy on Block 160 support the patterns described by Blackmar in her book *Manhattan for Rent, 1785–1850*. The Hoffmans, Lotts, and Crosses were among the artisans who built the modest wooden houses that characterized the district “northeast of Chambers in the vicinity of the Collect”⁴⁵³ in the last decade of the eighteenth century and early years of the nineteenth century. But unlike the first generation described by Blackmar, not all these artisans sold their properties to absentee owners or became absentee owners themselves. After her husband’s death in 1812, Margaret Hoffman remained at 474 Pearl Street until her own death in 1838 and Isaac Cross remained until 1830, each continuing to run the business adjacent to her or his home. They augmented their incomes with boarders and, in the case of Widow Hoffman for whom there is archeological evidence, adopted a way of life that was comfortable but not lavish. While the Hoffmans arrived in the district at the end of the eighteenth century with elegant Chinese porcelain and engraved crystal, they had replaced them with fine quality, but considerably less ornate, tea- and tablewares by the end of the first decade of the new century. This change may say more about the realities of living in the midst of an industrial district than declining economic fortunes. The Hoffmans’ property value rose from \$1,800 in 1810 to \$10,000 in 1836, the year before the panic that brought on a severe depression. It is also possible that the class status of an artisan, and certainly of a widow, was in fluctuation during this period, and possessions may have been acquired that seemed more appropriate to an altered status in an increasingly complex hierarchy of ranks.

The pocket of respectability on Pearl Street co-existed with a very different situation on the other side of the block. The intersection of Cross and Orange Streets, the northernmost point of Block 160, was part of the infamous Five Points intersection and the focus of the city’s earliest slum-clearance efforts. Blackmar’s discussion of the 1829 effort to “clear the Five Points triangle of tenants, taverns, and ‘horrors too awful to mention’” emphasizes the conflict between the interests of the petitioners from outside the neighborhood who wanted to rid the city of “buildings in ruinous condition...occupied by the lowest description and most degraded and abandoned of the human species”⁴⁵⁴ and an unlikely alliance of small neighborhood shopkeepers and large absentee landowners. The small shopkeepers who could not afford to own property did not want to lose their businesses and the landowners didn’t want to lose the rents paid by commercial tenants, particularly the proprietors of liquor stores and houses of prostitution.⁴⁵⁵ Although the triangle was finally cleared in 1833, many of the subdivided wooden houses on the adjacent streets remained until the end of the century.

As reflected in the archeological deposits, life in these decrepit houses did not match outsiders’ descriptions; although there were brothels and many saloons in the neighborhood, the majority of tenants along Orange Street, at least on Block 160, worked in the tailoring and shoemaking trades. The free blacks who dominated the addresses closest to the Five Points intersection, including 22 Orange Street within the project area, through the 1820s were eventually replaced by German and Polish tailors and shoemakers. A sample of their possessions, recovered from Feature AN at No. 22 and also from Feature H at No. 8, reflect a way of life that emphasized hard work, family solidarity, and thriftiness. While the Germans and Poles were not the target of the original petitioners to clear Five Points, the houses where they lived and ran their shops, called “shanties” by George Foster,⁴⁵⁶ were also assumed to breed moral degeneracy.

In both *Manhattan for Rent* and a more recent publication,⁴⁵⁷ Blackmar explores the relationship between improvements to middle-class living conditions and the deterioration of working-class living conditions. In both absolute and relative terms, the working class suffered as running water, indoor plumbing, and gas lighting were installed in middle-class homes, increasing the worth, as well as the comfort, of their

⁴⁵³ Blackmar 1989:92.

⁴⁵⁴ Blackmar 1989:173.

⁴⁵⁵ Blackmar 1989:173.

⁴⁵⁶ Foster 1990:126.

⁴⁵⁷ Blackmar 1995.

neighborhoods while working-class neighborhoods lagged behind and suffered the consequences.⁴⁵⁸ By mid-century, health had become a major issue in the city, as it was believed that there was a relationship between sanitation, ventilation, and the avoidance of disease. That the working class had no control over the sanitation and ventilation on the properties they rented did not absolve them of blame for the spread of disease. The poor, and most often the immigrant poor, were held responsible for the epidemics that hit the city with some regularity—yellow fever in 1702, 1791, 1798, 1803, 1805, and 1822,⁴⁵⁹ and cholera in 1832, 1849, and 1866.⁴⁶⁰ The unhealthy conditions in poor neighborhoods enhanced the value of healthier conditions elsewhere.

Blackmar suggests that, lacking alternatives, poor New Yorkers used the streets to restore “the right not to be excluded from the city’s resources.”⁴⁶¹ They pedaled their wares in the large open space at the Five Points intersection, women gathered on stoops and porches, children played in the street, workers organized, prostitutes solicited. The activities negatively portrayed in the famous image of the Five Points (cover illustration) were, according to Blackmar, a form of resistance “to propertied New Yorkers’ authority to define and control the public agenda for the city’s improvement.”⁴⁶²

The fashionable consumer goods recovered on Block 160 may be another form of resistance. Not able to afford property, or even control conditions on the property they rented, the working-class residents on Block 160 may have used the consumer goods that were readily available in the New York marketplace to demonstrate their respectability. They also may have manipulated them. George Foster’s description of a working-class g’hal suggests she defied the rules of fashion to serve her own interests. Her dress was

high... its various ingredients...gotten together in utter defiance of those conventional laws of harmony and taste....The dress and the shawl are not called upon by any rule recognized in these “diggings” to have any particular degree of correspondence or relationship in color—indeed, a light pink contrasting with a deep blue, a bright yellow with a brighter red, and a green with a dashing purple or maroon....But the bonnet!—that is the crowning achievement of the outdoor adornment of the full-rigged g’hal....The outside is trimmed with a perfect exuberance of flowers and feathers, and gigantic bows and long streamers or tri-colored ribbons.⁴⁶³

The archeological perspective on tenancy does not differ substantially from Blackmar’s study, but it adds an insider’s perspective. It humanizes her record of deteriorating housing with the people whose lives were led between its dilapidated walls.

6.3 The Irish Working Class

The archeological deposits associated with mid-century Irish tenants on Pearl Street are consistent with the major premise of Carol Groneman Pernicone’s dissertation, *The “Bloody Ould Sixth”: A Social Analysis of a New York City Working-Class Community in the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (1973). Like the census records she studied, the artifacts suggest that “despite the physical deprivation which immigrants suffered, their life style was not the stereotypical one of moral depravity and social disintegration.”⁴⁶⁴

Based on a statistical analysis of the 1855 New York state census, Groneman argues that Irish household composition, in terms of age and marital status, did not differ from the rest of the city except for overcrowding;⁴⁶⁵ that the majority of Irish emigrated in family groups and continued to live with kin,

⁴⁵⁸ Blackmar 1995:53.

⁴⁵⁹ Jubilee 1996.

⁴⁶⁰ Kraut 1994:32-37.

⁴⁶¹ Blackmar 1989:180.

⁴⁶² Blackmar 1989:180.

⁴⁶³ Foster 1990:176.

⁴⁶⁴ Groneman Pernicone 1973:iv-v.

⁴⁶⁵ Groneman Pernicone 1973:Chapter 3.

often in addition to boarders;⁴⁶⁶ and that grown children remained in their parents' households rather than living in boardinghouses.⁴⁶⁷ A higher percentage of Irish were married than other adults in the city,⁴⁶⁸ but there were also more female-headed households. Her major conclusion is that "a quantitative analysis of a poor, working-class ward in New York City—one which should have been most affected by the 'alienating' urban atmosphere, poverty, and the possible disintegrating factors of a three-thousand-mile famine migration—has revealed the endurance of family ties and the stability of family composition in the 'wild Irish slums' of the mid-nineteenth century."⁴⁶⁹

The household goods left behind the tenement at 472 Pearl Street belonged to newly arrived immigrants (99 percent had been in New York for fewer than six years). It is unlikely that they brought their tea- and tablewares with them; the Staffordshire patterns are identical to those being used in England and Ireland at the same time. The sequential deposits in the large cesspool feature (J) even suggest that the tenants made an effort to replace out-of-fashion transfer-printed styles with the plain white molded wares that were popular among the middle class at mid-century. The presence of matching tea- and tablewares, as well as matching serving pieces, indicates that for at least some of the families at 472 Pearl Street meals were formal affairs. This is in spite of the fact that apartments, according to Groneman,⁴⁷⁰ generally consisted of two rooms, one measuring 8 by 10 feet and the other a small, dark, sleeping chamber.

There is also the possibility that ceramics were used decoratively. A cupboard full of Staffordshire, including Willow-decorated plates, is, according to one scholar,⁴⁷¹ a fixture of a twentieth-century Irish country kitchen. Whether the Irish who emigrated to New York brought this tradition with them is not known, but they clearly valued fancy teawares, and it is more likely that they emphasized tea as an Irish practice than a middle-class imitation. While few artifacts are marked with Irish symbols of any kind (only one pipe bears a shamrock and a single unmarked plate may be Irish-made Baleek), the Father Mathew cup is a notable exception. Decorated with the image of the man who led the temperance movement in Ireland and proselytized in the United States, this icon of Irish identity may also have served as a family reminder of good behavior. Perhaps it sat on a shelf with other ornaments—the canonical Staffordshire dog is represented in the Feature J assemblage along with other figurines. Food remains associated with the tenement dwellers suggest a traditional Irish diet including lots of pork, even though it was more expensive than the fish that other poor residents in the neighborhood depended upon. Pig's feet, recovered in quantity, were probably cooked with wine in a dish known as crubeen, traditionally served to celebrate the harvest.

The sanitation system installed to serve the tenement when it was first built, and modified when a second tenement was added to the back of the lot, suggests that the tenement owners, first Peter McLoughlin and later William Clinton, supplied state-of-the-art facilities to their countrymen. The cesspool (Feature J) that was apparently built at the same time as the tenement in the late 1840s would have received the waste from nearby privies. The transport of waste required running water and is therefore evidence that McLoughlin paid to hook up his property to the water, and possibly also sewer, pipes that had been laid in Pearl Street by 1848.⁴⁷² McLoughlin was active on the executive committee of the Irish Emigrant Society in the early 1840s and was eventually treasurer of the Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum. Unlike other absentee landowners on Block 160 (e.g., Labatut), he appears to have been involved in the maintenance of his property and at least somewhat concerned with the health, if not comfort, of its inhabitants. Likewise, William Clinton added an indoor water closet (perhaps there were several stacked on top of each other) to the tenement he built at the back of the lot in the late 1860s. He also probably added

⁴⁶⁶ Groneman Pernicone 1973:59.

⁴⁶⁷ Groneman Pernicone 1973:82.

⁴⁶⁸ Groneman Pernicone 1973:204.

⁴⁶⁹ Groneman Pernicone 1973:83.

⁴⁷⁰ Groneman Pernicone 1973:59.

⁴⁷¹ Glassie 1982:363.

⁴⁷² Croton Aqueduct Department 1851.

the school sink along the western edge of the property to serve the front tenement. While school sinks had been in use for institutions since the 1840s,⁴⁷³ the indoor water closet was a new idea.

In addition to the Irish landlords' concern with sanitation, there is archeological evidence that the tenants attempted to take preventative, as well as curative, measures with their own health. The toothbrushes and syringes of various kinds indicate a concern with cleanliness. The relatively low incidence of parasitic disease (*Ascaris*) is probably the result of using chenopodium to prevent it, and the absence of beef or pork tapeworm suggests an understanding of the relationship between cooking meat thoroughly and the prevention of disease.

The recently published volume *The New York Irish* includes several papers⁴⁷⁴ that touch on the Sixth Ward, including Five Points. The subtlety of any expression of Irish ethnicity in the archeological record provides a striking contrast to the concern with Irish identity discussed by many of these scholars. A synthesis of the recent historical and archeological research will surely contribute to a fuller understanding of the Irish emigrant experience.

6.4 Commercial Sex

According to Timothy Gilfoyle, the geography of commercial sex in New York City changed through time.⁴⁷⁵ Between 1790 and 1820, the highest concentration of brothels was in the East Dock area; from 1820–1850 the concentration had shifted to the Sixth Ward, including Five Points, although other wards had their share; but after 1850 a real sex district had developed in Soho.⁴⁷⁶ At mid-century, the area around Paradise Square at Five Points was an eminently convenient location for brothels since it was virtually equidistant from the working-class saloons and theaters on the Bowery and the middle- and upper-class clientele frequenting Broadway's hotels and restaurants.⁴⁷⁷ Not mentioned by Gilfoyle, but certainly also significant, was the proximity of Paradise Square to City Hall.

Illicit sex in this period appears to have reflected two major societal changes, both of which are discussed in some detail by Gilfoyle.⁴⁷⁸ The commodification of sex accompanied changes in middle-class/bourgeois values which "divorced reproduction from sexual pleasure."⁴⁷⁹ Unmarried and married men—called "sporting men"—sought sexual satisfaction, and probably also companionship,⁴⁸⁰ outside their homes in the competitive marketplace which was becoming a more and more important part of their lives. Women in this environment were "perceived as objects and images to purchase, judged by their sexual talents, and measured in terms of monetary exchange and value."⁴⁸¹

While the cult of domesticity, including the changing role of women, may have driven men out of the house, the prostitutes whom they patronized took full advantage of their business. Prostitutes did not see themselves as "fallen women."⁴⁸² It was a more lucrative business than most other occupations open to them, and even women who did not choose to be prostitutes full time turned to it in times of need. The prostitutes also don't seem to have disdained the material aspects of the cult of domesticity. The assemblage found at the bottom of a privy at 12 Orange Street, which was probably put there when the brothel at the address was closed in 1843, includes sets of elegant teaware, matching tablewares with all the appropriate serving paraphernalia, and any number of items which would have beautified a genteel living space. If the men thought they were escaping the bourgeois values of home, they were actually paying money to re-enter the same environment.

⁴⁷³ Geismar November 1996, personal communication.

⁴⁷⁴ Walsh; Gilje; Spann; Devlin; Hodges; Tchen in Bayor and Meagher 1996.

⁴⁷⁵ Gilfoyle 1987b:377.

⁴⁷⁶ Gilfoyle 1987b:382.

⁴⁷⁷ Gilfoyle 1987b:386.

⁴⁷⁸ Gilfoyle 1987a, 1987b, 1992.

⁴⁷⁹ Gilfoyle 1992:116.

⁴⁸⁰ Hill 1993.

⁴⁸¹ Gilfoyle 1992:41.

⁴⁸² Gilfoyle 1987a:55.

The strictly business aspect of prostitution benefited the prostitutes and especially the madams, who often became quite wealthy, but it also benefited the leaseholders or landowners who managed the properties where brothels were located. As discussed in Section 6.2 above, changes in property relations were transforming the city, and commercial sex became a contested element in that transformation. The brothels on Orange Street, and there were many besides the one at No. 12,⁴⁸³ provided leaseholders with irresistibly high incomes. According to Gilfoyle, "the brothel ultimately integrated prostitution into the city's tax and property structure....Brothels...gave landlords and lessees hefty profits and the municipal tax collector additional revenue. Over time, the brothel helped cement the links among Gotham's growing underground economy, the real estate industry, and the municipal government."⁴⁸⁴ While the brothel at No. 12, described in the indictment as a cellar brothel, may have been closed, another probably opened a few doors down very soon.

The brothel at 12 Orange Street, and the probable one at 4, also within the project area, were surrounded by German and Polish secondhand clothiers, tailors, and shoemakers. This unlikely combination of businesses ranked among the most lucrative in the city. Gilfoyle claims that in 1855 tailor shops with a cash value of \$7,592,696 were the only industry that surpassed the cash value of prostitution which was \$6,350,760.⁴⁸⁵ Whether the tailors were hiding among the prostitutes or the prostitutes were hiding among the tailors is unclear, but it is conceivable that they shared a serious attitude toward doing profitable business in a district of the city that was dismissed as disreputable.

The material assemblage from the brothel at 12 Orange Street suggests that this particular establishment, and probably also the brothel close to Chatham Street, catered to a middle- or upper-class clientele. In spite of the working-class character of the neighborhood, and its reputation for much worse, such an institution was obviously able to attract sporting men of means. It also indicates that the women who worked and/or lived in the brothel knew how to present themselves and their environment appropriately. Class, it would appear, was a variable that was cleverly manipulated in the sex business.

6.5 Telling the Story Together

Telling stories is a way of testing what we know, or, put another way, discovering what we think. Narratives constructed out of historical and archeological data do not recreate the past, but they come much closer to "imagining" the past than either statistical tables showing demographic change or artifact catalogs arranged into functional groups. Narrative necessarily goes beyond the facts. It structures them into a sequence that can never be what really happened, only "what it is still possible to know about it."⁴⁸⁶

Geertz has discussed a resistance to narrative among ethnographers because of a confusion of "the imagined with the imaginary, the fictional with the false, making things out with making them up."⁴⁸⁷ These issues also affect archeologists, but the more pertinent problem is the mute nature of the archeological record. It does not speak for itself, and we are all too aware of how much our own interests, politics, and perspectives become intertwined in the meaning we attribute to the artifacts. The narratives presented here grew out of an interest in why the rich artifactual assemblage recovered on the Courthouse Block seemed so inconsistent with the contemporary portraits of the people who lived there. We set out to understand what working-class life was like in a place portrayed as a down-and-out slum. It seemed like a worthwhile effort because we suspect that working-class neighborhoods continue to be misrepresented and misunderstood.

⁴⁸³ Gilfoyle 1992.

⁴⁸⁴ Gilfoyle 1992:166.

⁴⁸⁵ Gilfoyle 1992:125-126.

⁴⁸⁶ Veyne 1984:13.

⁴⁸⁷ Geertz 1973:140.

The approach to the past taken by historical archeologists differs in significant ways from that taken by social historians, but a mutual interest in working-class life brings us together. If historical archeology is to contribute to the larger historical narrative relating to the emergence of the working class in the nineteenth century and *its relationship to capitalism*, we need to work closely with social historians. Historical archeology has floundered in recent years, with its own practitioners finding their own products lacking. We have long realized that we needed to be more familiar with important historical questions, but we have had a hard time getting historians to pay attention to the archeological data that might contribute to answering some of those questions. If we were to make our data more accessible, that is, more narrative, we might be more successful. It is certainly worth a try, which is what we have done here.

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APPENDIX A
ARCHEOLOGICAL FEATURE DESCRIPTIONS, PROFILES, AND ARTIFACT TABLES
(CERAMICS, GLASS, AND SMALL FINDS)
FOR MAJOR ANALYTICAL STRATA DISCUSSED IN CHAPTER 5

BY REBECCA YAMIN
(FIELD METHODS BY LEONARD BIANCHI
AND TABLES BY ROBERT K. FITTS)

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1.0 Introduction

Historic Conservation and Interpretation (HCI) excavated 22 archeological features (privies, cisterns, and trash pits) within the 14 lots that comprised the project area (Figure 1). In addition, 32 features were identified and recorded on the site plan, but not excavated. Figure 1 is based on plan views that were drawn for each lot at a much larger scale. Due to the presence of extensive foundation walls, a single horizontal grid system was not imposed over the site. Instead, all features and test units were drawn in relation to extant walls, which were tied into a site datum. The datum was established near the southwest corner of Lot 6 (originally the southwest corner of the area under study) near the intersection of Pearl Street and Cardinal Hayes Place.

To control vertical measurements, temporary datum points were arbitrarily established near each excavation unit, usually at one corner of the unit or on an adjacent foundation wall. All measurements for plan views, profiles, and stratification were taken from hand-held, leveled lines attached to a temporary datum point. The coordinates and elevations of the 20 temporary datum points were later surveyed in relation to the previously established site datum. Figure 2 shows the temporary datum points and their elevations below or above grade.

2.0 Methods

2.1 Field¹

Clearing of the demolition debris from the most recent structures on each lot was undertaken by backhoe with a variety of bucket sizes. All excavation of features was accomplished by hand, following observable stratification and changes in the soil color, texture, compaction, and concentrations of cultural material. Most often these distinctions involved a simple change in the color or type of soil. All excavated soil was screened through ¼-inch steel mesh. Excavated soil from the lower component of one feature (J) was wet-screened. In general, features were bisected, one half was excavated stratigraphically, and a profile was drawn; then the second half was excavated. Catalog numbers were assigned arbitrarily to each provenience that was removed separately and all artifacts were bagged by provenience. With few exceptions, features were photographed and tied into one of the temporary vertical datum points that were located throughout the site area.

For strata that obviously represented disturbed or secondary deposits, samples of construction and waste materials (i.e., brick, slate, mortar, building stone, and coal) were retained. Heavy concentrations of brick and shell were sorted, identified, weighed, and discarded in the field. Other materials recovered in these deposits, and material from all primary deposits, were fully collected. All cultural material retained in the field was placed in labeled paper bags and transported to the project's storage space/laboratory. Bags were labeled with provenience information including catalog number, excavation unit number and/or feature designation, stratum and level designations, excavators' names, and date of excavation. Bulk soil samples (for soil, chemical, and flotation analyses) were marked with the same provenience information as the stratum or level from which they were taken.

Five basic types of records were kept in the field:

- (1) a narrative description of daily activities written by the field director (Bianchi);
- (2) a field catalog showing assigned catalog numbers and the associated lot number, date of opening, excavation unit number, stratum designation, and vertical datum point used;

¹ The description of field methods was prepared by Leonard Bianchi for John Milner Associates (JMA) in 1992. It was edited and expanded for this report.

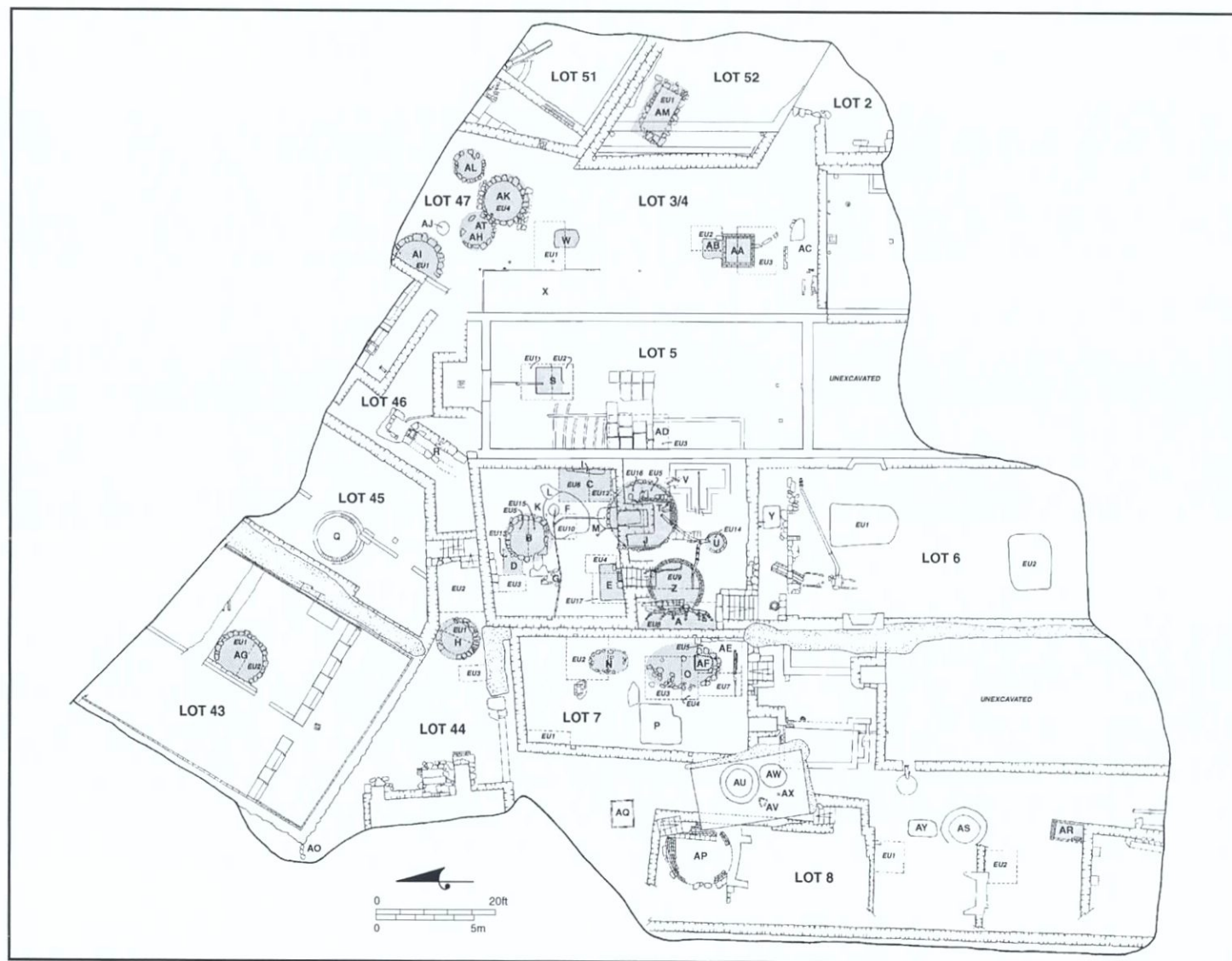


Figure 1. Site plan developed by Historic Conservation and Interpretation (HCI) showing foundations and archeological features identified on Block 160. Excavated features are highlighted.

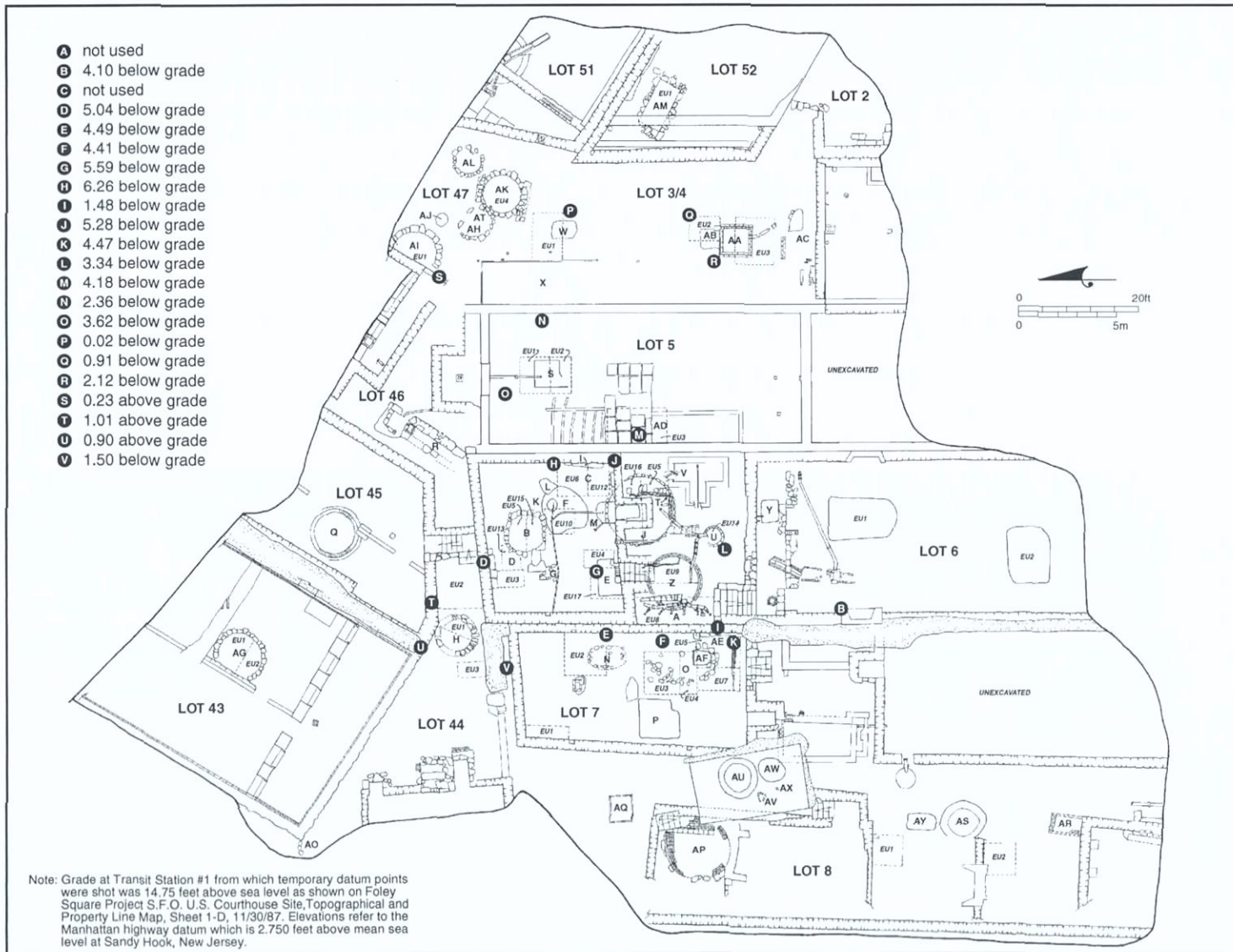


Figure 2. Site plan showing temporary datum points used by Historic Conservation and Interpretation (HCI) for vertical control.

- (3) standardized provenience sheets;
- (4) scaled drawings consisting of plan views and profiles;
- (5) photographs.

The narrative description of each day's activities was not maintained in as detailed a style as originally planned due to the shortage of trained excavators and day-to-day field demands. However, the notes do include comments on daily weather conditions, the activities of particular personnel, and visitors to the site as well as descriptions and preliminary interpretations of ongoing test units. The original field books are stored with the collection.

Catalog numbers starting with 0001 were assigned to each distinct provenience excavated and to drawings. Excavation unit numbers were designated in order of excavation, e.g., EU 1, EU 2, etc., within each lot. Each archeological feature was given an alphabetic designation, starting with letter A and proceeding through the alphabet and then starting again with AA, etc. Stratigraphic designations within excavation units or features consisted of a roman numeral given to each layer encountered during excavation. They were recorded consecutively within each excavation unit or feature, e.g., I, II, III. Arbitrary levels within a stratum were numbered consecutively, e.g., I-1, I-2, I-3. Soils were verbally described and given Munsell soil color chart designations.

A series of opening and closing depths was taken from the excavation unit's temporary datum point for each stratum or arbitrary level within a stratum. The temporary datum points are indicated on the provenience sheets. All measurements were made in feet and tenths and hundredths of feet and noted on the provenience sheets or on the associated drawing. A total of four minimum and maximum opening and closing depths was recorded in the field catalog.

All measurements for field drawings were taken in relation to the excavation unit's temporary datum point using an engineering scale of feet, tenths, and hundredths of feet. In general, plan views and stratigraphic drawings of excavation units were made at a scale of 1 inch equals 1 foot. Archeological north was arbitrarily assigned in the direction of Worth Street, the most northerly boundary of the study area. For those catalog numbers which refer to field drawings rather than archeological contexts, some or all of the provenience information was recorded in addition to the type of drawing, i.e., plan view, profile, or cross-section.

Photographic documentation of the fieldwork included both 35-mm black-and-white prints and color slides. All formal photographic records of archeological deposits and features included a scale and north arrow.

Soil samples for flotation of floral and faunal remains smaller than $\frac{1}{4}$ inch were generally taken only from those layers that were identified in the field as primary deposits. All samples were given the same catalog number as the stratum from which the sample came. No systematic soil samples were taken to provide a palynological profile of the study area.

2.2 Analysis

Initially, the provenience records for each feature were reviewed, and stratigraphic relationships were diagrammatically represented on hand-drawn Harris matrices (Figure 3). Each provenience was represented on the diagrams by the catalog number it had been assigned in the field. Color was used to identify proveniences that had been excavated separately but appeared to be related. These color groupings represented hypothesized relationships between fill layers and were used by the archeologists analyzing the various categories of artifacts (ceramics, glass, clay pipes, small finds, faunal remains, and architectural remains) to look for cross-mends and meaningful groupings. The cross-mend data subsequently provided a basis for refining the hypothesized stratigraphic groupings into analytical strata.

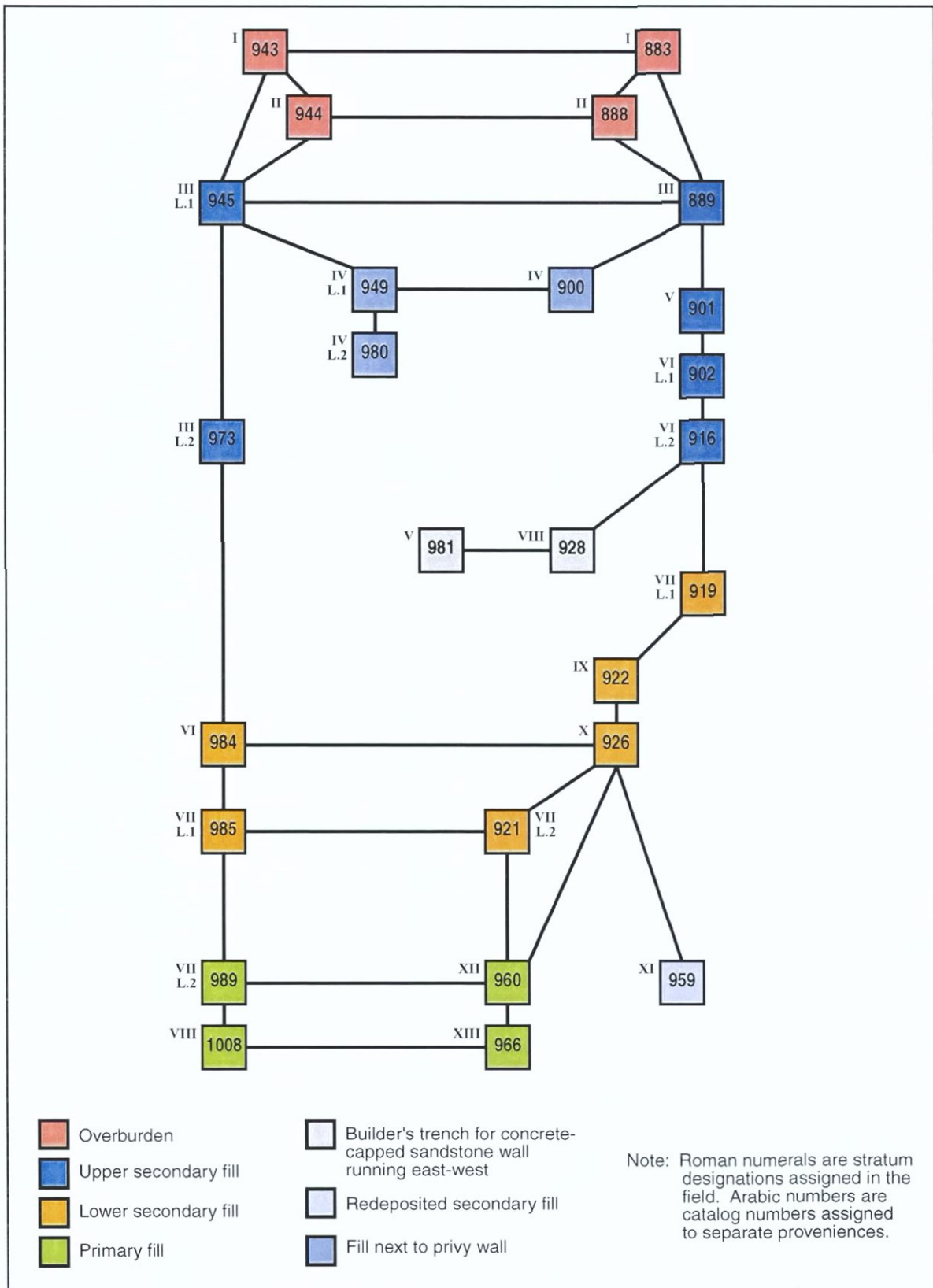


Figure 3. Harris Matrix of Feature AG.

For instance, the distinction hypothesized between the lower secondary fill colored light orange on Figure 3 and the primary fill colored olive green turned out to be meaningless. Cross-mends linked the two layers and other data made it clear that both related to the primary filling episode of the feature.

The ceramics, glass, clay-pipe, and small-finds analysts focused on identifying the number of vessels in the refined stratigraphic groupings, hereafter referred to as analytical strata (AS). Each analyst produced a summary report for each feature including *terminus post quem* (TPQ) dates (most recent beginning manufacturing dates) for the analytical strata. Using these generally consistent dates across artifact categories and the results of the detailed documentary research that was conducted simultaneously, it became possible to speculate on whose possessions had been thrown into the privy or cistern.

The narrative vignettes presented in Chapter 5 were written after the principal investigator had reviewed the analysts' artifact summaries, the results of the faunal analysis, and the historic research summaries for the major features on each lot. While almost all significant stratigraphic groupings—analytical strata—are shown on the accompanying profiles, only those analytical strata that contained identifiable vessels or other distinctive artifacts were incorporated into narratives. Analytical strata were assigned roman numerals; fill layers within the analytical strata are indicated by arabic numbers (the roman numerals used for strata in the field were eliminated in the analysis). Table 1 shows the analytical strata assigned within each feature, the associated catalog numbers, the TPQ for every analytical stratum, and the artifact on which the TPQ was based.

In most cases, the analytical strata chosen for discussion represented primary deposits of household trash, i.e., deposits made by people living on the lot while the feature was in use or at the time it was converted into a trash receptacle. The TPQ dates in many cases closely corresponded to changes in tenancy, suggesting the kinds of cleaning episodes that often accompany a change in residence. Quantitative tables showing ceramic vessels, glass vessels, and small finds from the analytical strata discussed in the narratives are included here; the faunal data from the analytical strata discussed may be found in Section 3.4 of Volume II. TPQ dates for the major analytical strata appear on the tables; TPQ dates for the remaining analytical strata are included in Table 1.

Table 1.
Analytical Strata, Associated Catalog Numbers, and TPQ Dates

Feature	AS	Catalog Numbers	TPQ	Object	Obj. No.	Cat. No.
C	I	155,522	1800	Pearlware teacup, transfer-printed blue, underglazed	3346	155
	II	174,179,194,560,561,599	1800	Pearlware pitcher, transfer-printed blue, underglazed	3347	560
	III	197,534,535,586	1800	Glass tumbler, cylindrical	1928	586
	IV	156,171,523,559		No vessels analyzed	-	-
D	I	73,568		No vessels analyzed	-	-
	II	85,569,570	1800	Pearlware saucer, transfer-printed blue, underglazed	1477	569
	III	88,105,117,588	1800	Pearlware saucer, transfer-printed blue, underglazed	1462	88
	IV	116,118, 613	1800	Pearlware saucer, transfer-printed blue, underglazed	1438	613
	V	122,130,131,634,635,636	1807	Creamware dish, molded	1420	636
B	I	121,140	1903	Glass perfume bottle	1049	121
	II	143,144,157,169,170,178,184,202, 664,669,671,672,697,699,702,703,712	1898	Wine glass, faceted stem	1038	672
	III	718,203	1840	Yellowware mug, dipped mocha	1548	203
	IV	209,212,213,238,239,243,719,720, 721,722,724,732	1843	Stoneware beer/ale bottle, stamped maker's mark	1526	723 ²
	V	277,278,279,276,723	1830	Glass beer-style quart bottle	1011	723
J	I	232,367	1840	White granite coffee/teacup, paneled	846	232
	II	324,368,392,421,468,471,472,473, 474,491,768,769,781,783,491	1875	Glass hollowware body and base	2057	768

² Vessel is later than everything else in AS V and is being attributed to AS IV above. Catalog number 723 was immediately overlain by catalog numbers associated with AS IV.

Feature	AS	Catalog Numbers	TPQ	Object	Obj. No.	Cat. No.
	III	280,295,393,470,490,551,552,553,627, 644,650,662,785,787,788	1870	White granite semi-porcelain twiffler	1125	490
	IV	489,784,791,794,829	1860	Plain yellowware rim and body	1237	791
J	V	708,738,739,752,758,762,767,780,795, 812,823,825,851,764,830,661,309	1850	Yellowware, brown glazed, hollowware base	1245	708
Z	I	341,342,353,441,546,593,594,595,683, 714,715,735,684,685,740,741	1840	Plain white granite dinner plate	1321	740
	II	747,781,792,793	1850	Glass 12-sided medicine bottle	880	792
	III	526,592,670,676,686	1820	Whiteware, dipped annular bowl	1313	592
	IV	704		No vessels analyzed	-	-
AF	II	539,541,819,821,877,892,932,936,940, 935,950,956,958,969,991	1800	Glass personal snuff bottle	1541	935
O	I	453,465,466,537,477,580,891,899,108, 109,110,119,120,219,220,228,245		No vessels analyzed	-	-
	III	247,259,275,302,483,540,606,607,610, 632,756,765,777,778,799,2122,111, 128,129,176,240241 267,287,289,755	1860	Glass rectangular ink bottle	1417	247
N	I	86,87,103	1903	Glass cylindrical-bodied medicine bottle	1216	87
	II	91,103,104,124,125,506,507,512,520, 528,529,532,544,141,145,146, 152,154,545,547,548,564,565	1903	Glass rectangular medicine bottle	1218	512
	III	154A,590	1850	Ball clay pipe bowl, non heel/spur	560	154
	IV	162,188,223,224,566,567,573,225, 226,268,269,270,271,272,590,598,617, 633,648,649	1840	Glass square ink bottle	1244	225
	V	no catalog numbers assigned			-	-
	VI	92,126,127,513,549,550		No vessels analyzed	-	-

Feature	AS	Catalog Numbers	TPQ	Object	Obj. No.	Cat. No.
AM	I	753,808,809,810	1850	Redware yellow/brown-glazed flatware	272	808
	II	754,760,766,782,789,811,826,832,803, 831,858,860	1851	Hard rubber lice comb	-	831
AH/AT	I	911,970,971,998,1003	1870	White clay tobacco pipe bowl	786	970
AH/AT	II	1005,1006	1875	Lead-glass garden bell	2415	1006
AT	III	1008,1009,1012,1017,1018	1800	Pearlware vegetable dish, transfer-printed blue, underglazed	3235	1009
AK	I	746,759,763,774,786,801,805,806,807	1890	Medicine bottle with unidentified body	2031	759
	II	773	1780	Pearlware teacup, hand-painted blue	2689	773
	III	813,824,827	1840	White granite saucer, molded	2670	824
	IV	833	1800	Glass cylindrical tumbler	2001	833
AL	I	815,816,828,909,1001	1870	White clay tobacco pipe bowl	739	815
	II	1000,1021,1023	1860	Glass conical tumbler	2075	1000
AI	I	655,656,677,654	1860	Glass hollowware body	2274	656
	II	679,695,709,711,725,736,742,772,910, 743,770,771,772,910	1850	Glass sauce bottle with cylindrical body	2317	742
	III	913,914,917,918	1840	Glass conical inkwell	2353	917
H	I	218,257,299	1850	Tumbler, unknown shape	353	257
	II	258,274,297,298	1880	Gilded bright gold saucer	693	274
	III	230,349,377	1827	Lead-glass hollow ware	405	377
	IV	322,345,346,348	1880	Glass octagonal bottle for pickled food	367	348
	V	320,322		No vessels analyzed	-	-

Feature	AS	Catalog Numbers	TPQ	Object	Obj. No.	Cat. No.
AG	I	888,889,901,902,916,945,973	1892	Silver dime, American	-	889
	II	921,900,949,980	1840	White granite teacup, molded	2270	949
	III	919,922,926,984,985,960,989,966,1008	1841	Yellowware pitcher, dipped mocha	2582	960
	IV	981,928	1834	Pearlware muffin, transfer-printed, blue, underglazed	2365	928
AN	I	838,839,840,879	1880	Glass hollowware neck	332	840
	II	882	1840	White granite bowl, plain	376	882
	III	920,927,946,951,952,986	1860	White granite plate, hotel china	547	920

3.0 472 Pearl Street, Lot 6

Two excavation units (EUs 1 and 2) and eight archeological features (C, D, E, B, J, T, Z, U) provided significant data on Lot 6. Features J, T, U, and Z were located in the courtyard between the front and back tenements on the lot. Additional features in this area were Feature A, a school sink, and a brick-lined T-shaped structure designated Feature V. Features C, D, E, and B were located beneath the cellar floor of the rear tenement.

EUs 1 and 2

Excavation Units 1 and 2 (Figures 4 and 5) revealed a sequence of strata that included peat-like material with lenses of bark, bits of leather, bone, and wood that related to the tanneries that were located in the area before it was developed for residential use. The strata (4-7 and 10-11 on Figure 4) were found at approximately the same depth below the present grade that intact features relating to the tanning industry were found beneath Pearl Street during construction of the Metropolitan Corrections Center prisoner transit tunnel (see Yamin et al. 1994). In both areas, there was a thin layer of shell at the base of the sequence of strata relating to tanning. The shell appears to have been spread over the original ground surface (stratum 15 in EU 1 and stratum 8 in EU 2). No artifacts were recovered from the shell midden or from the sealed ground surface below in this location, although several were found in comparable layers in EU 1 on Lot 3/4. Two non-diagnostic sherds of Chinese export porcelain with blue, hand-painted decoration came from the shell midden, and a single sherd of gray-bodied stoneware decorated with cobalt blue came from the ground surface in that location. The western profile of EU 2 shows the bed of sand (stratum 3) that was laid down beneath the cellar floor of the front tenement on Lot 6 (Figure 5).

Features C, D, and E

Features C, D, and E were wood-lined privies found beneath the floor of the back tenement on the lot. Feature C, at the eastern edge of the lot, measured 3.5 by 5.5 feet. The feature had been truncated by the construction of the footing for the eastern foundation of the back tenement (Figure 6). The footing rested on a 6-inch-thick bedding of sand (AS I). Below the sand, the feature fill consisted of dark gray brown sandy loam with charcoal and pebbles (AS II). The fill was found inside the decomposing wooden edge of the privy which had been cut into subsoil (AS IV). The fill at the bottom of the feature (AS III) consisted of yellow brown coarse sand with pebbles and cobbles. Both fill deposits included artifacts and wood scraps (construction debris). Neither appeared to be an in-use privy deposit.

Feature D, another wood-lined privy, measured 3.0 by 6.5 feet. It had been cut by a later circular privy, Feature B (Figure 1). The profile of Feature D (Figure 7) shows the relationship between the feature and the stone footing for the north wall of the back tenement on the lot. The upper layers of fill in the feature consisted of dark yellowish brown hard-packed fine sand (AS I), dark brown sandy loam with bone and scattered mortar and charcoal (AS II), and dark yellowish brown sandy loam containing packed brick rubble with bone and cobbles (AS III). Below the brick was a layer of sandy loam and wood fragments (AS IV) that resembled AS II in Feature C. The construction debris in these features may well have been deposited at the same time. However, an in situ privy deposit (AS V) was present in Feature D. It consisted of multi-colored sands including the light olive brown fine silty sand that is characteristic of privy deposits. The deposit, which was packed with artifacts, had been covered by an approximately 8-inch-thick layer of sterile sand (AS IV). The wooden edge of the the box feature was only extant on its southern edge. It had cut through subsoil (AS VI).

Feature E (profile not included), located under the steps on the southern side of the back tenement, was identical in size to Feature D (3 by 6.5 feet). It may have originally been filled at the same time as Features C and D, but the construction of the tenement stairwell had disturbed the deposits, and a few artifacts dating to the middle of the nineteenth century were also present. A thin primary deposit consisting of mottled green/tan/orange sand mixed with gravel was present at the bottom of the feature. Three wine bottles with beginning manufacturing dates of 1760 were recovered from this stratum.

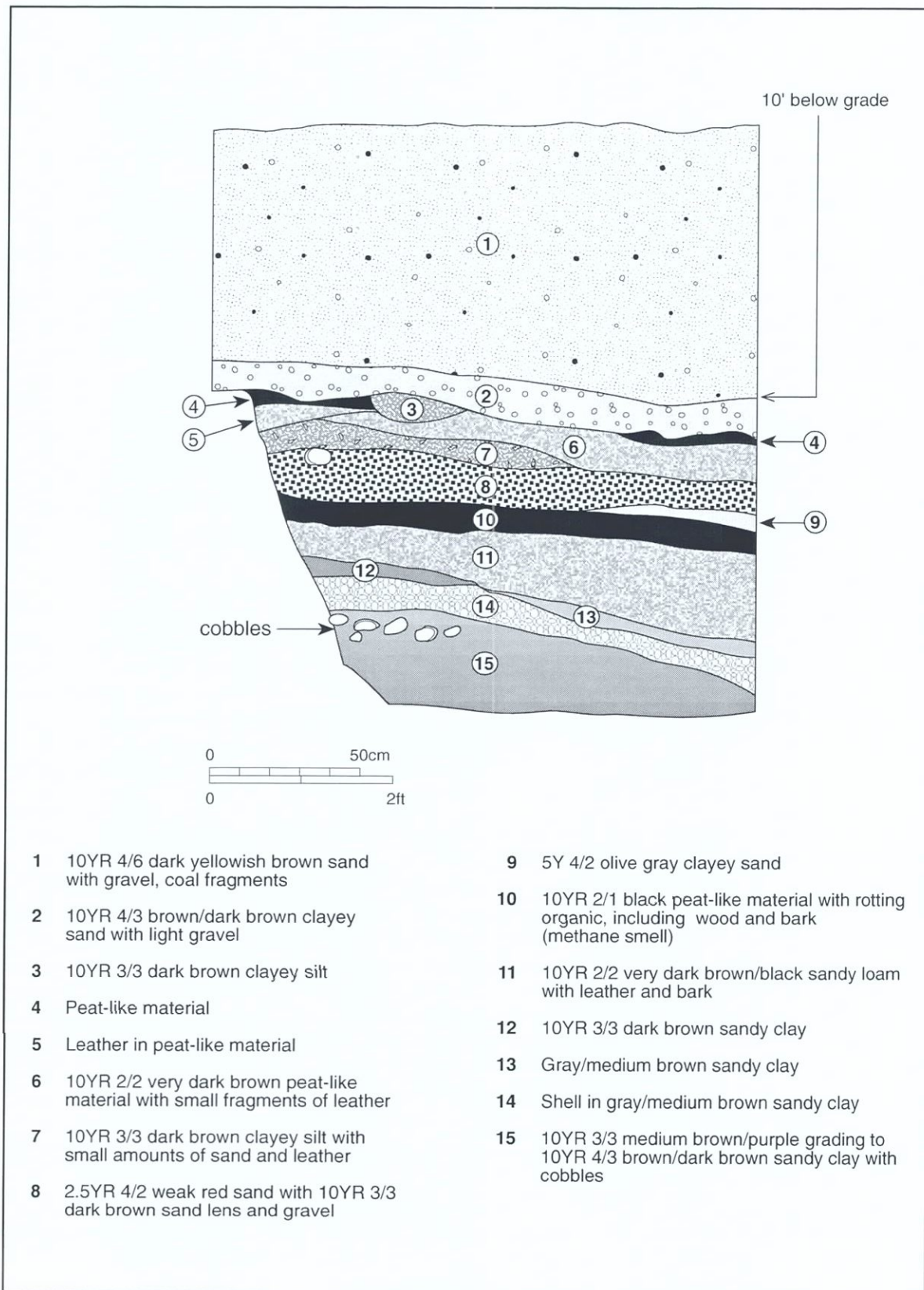


Figure 4. Lot 6, EU 1. Profile of fill layers in eastern half.

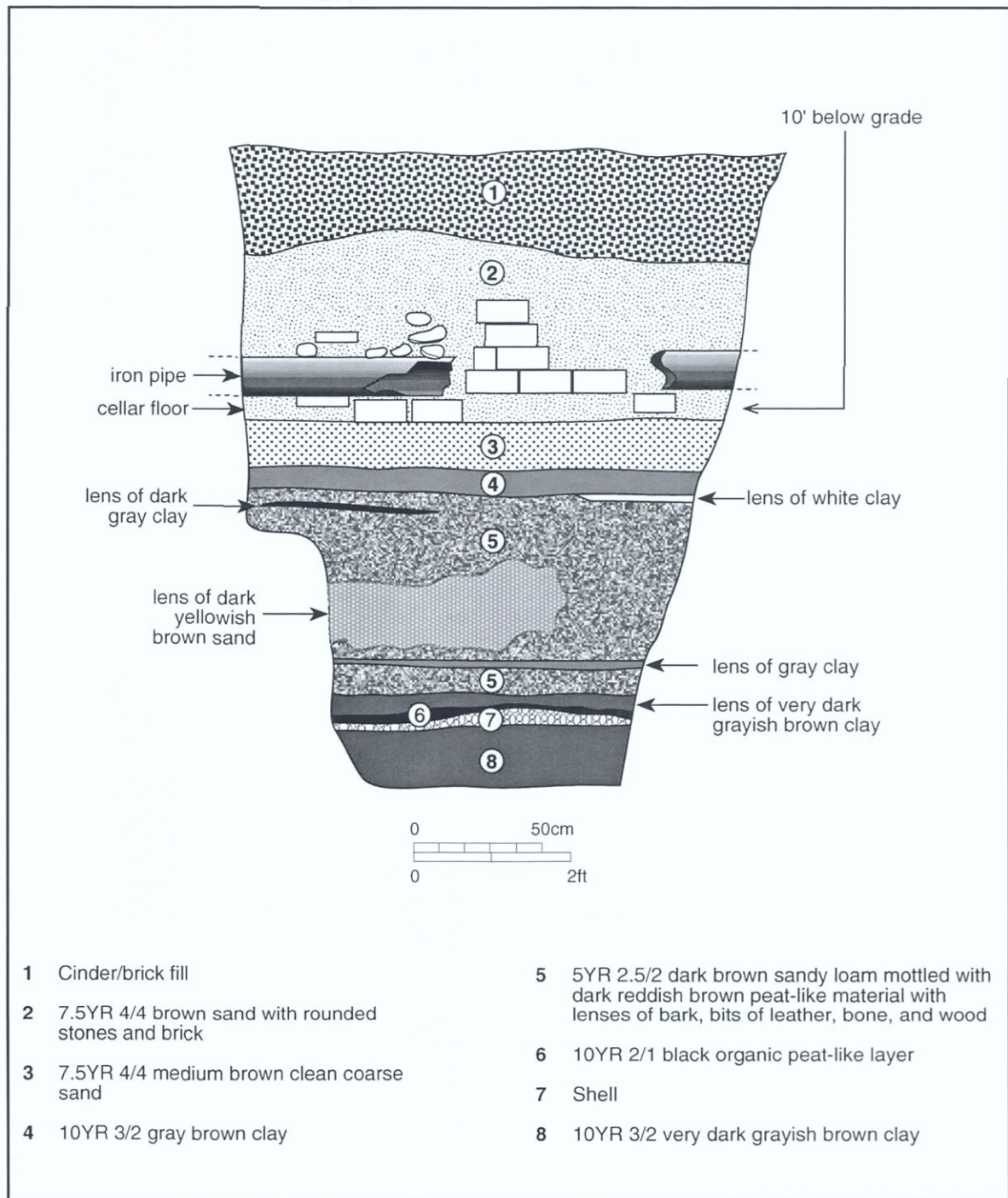


Figure 5. Lot 6, EU 2. Profile of fill layers in western half.

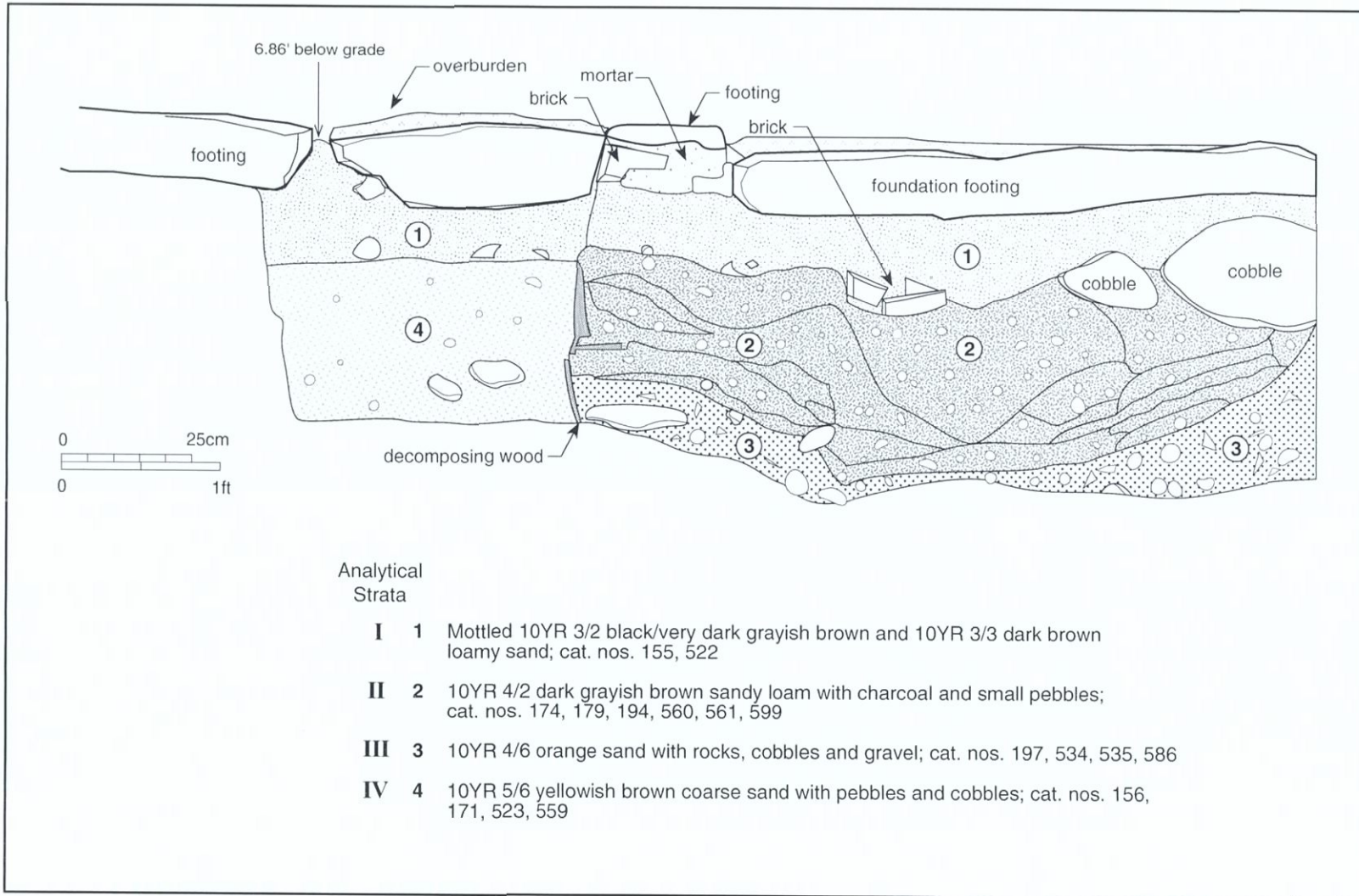


Figure 6. Lot 6, Feature C, wood-lined privy. Profile of fill layers in eastern half.

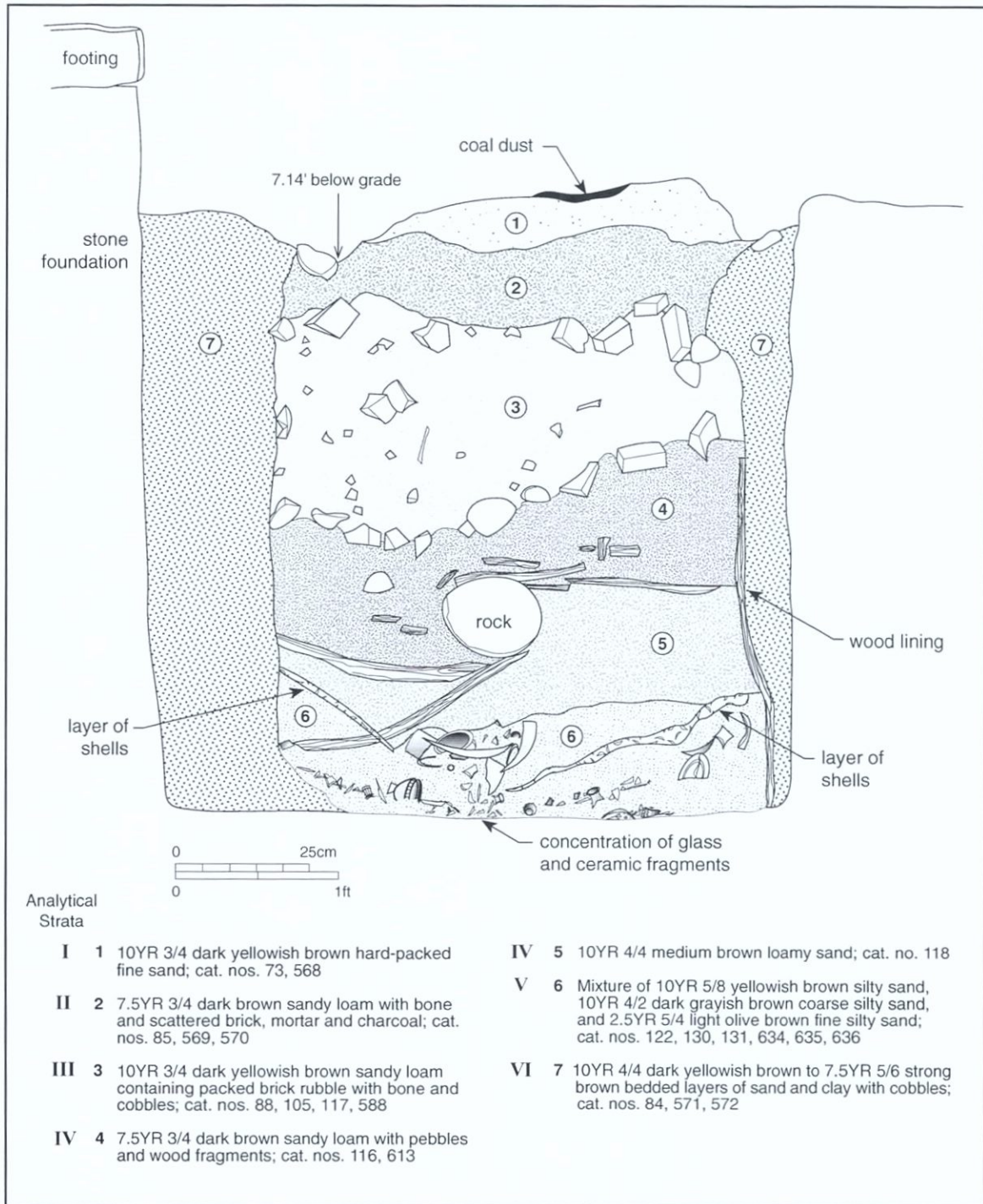


Figure 7. Lot 6, Feature D, wood-lined privy. Profile of fill layers in eastern half.

The only substantial primary deposit of household trash recovered from Features C, D, and E came from D (Figure 7, AS V). Tables 2–5 summarize the artifacts recovered from AS V. Table 1 includes the TPQ dates for all other analytical strata.

**Table 2.
Ceramic Wares by Functional Group**

Feature: D

Analytical Stratum: D-V

TPQ: 1807

Ware Type	Tea	Tbl	Serv	Prep	Stor	Multi	Unid	Misc	Hyg	House	Total	%
Redware					4		1		3		8	14.8
Creamware-Plain		4		1		2		4	3		14	25.9
Creamware-Painted							1				1	1.9
Creamware-Molded		4	1								5	9.3
Creamware-Shell-Edged		1									1	1.9
Creamware-Printed	1										1	1.9
Pearlware-Plain					1						1	1.9
Pearlware-Painted	4	1					1				6	11.1
Pearlware-Shell-Edged		7	1								8	14.8
Pearlware-Printed	1										1	1.9
Pearlware-Dipped			1								1	1.9
White Salt-Glazed			1								1	1.9
Gray Stoneware					1						1	1.9
Buff Earthenware							1				1	1.9
Chinese Export Porcelain	4										4	7.4
Total	10	17	4	1	6	2	4	4	6	0	54	100.4
Percent of Total	18.5	31.5	7.4	1.9	11.1	3.7	7.4	7.4	11.1			100.0

KEY:

Tea = Teawares

Stor = Storage

Hyg = Hygiene Related

Tbl = Tablewares

Multi = Multi-function

Serv = Serving Pieces

Unid = Unidentified

Prep = Food Preparation

Misc = Miscellaneous

Table 3.
Ceramic Patterns by Vessel Forms

Feature: D

Analytical Unit: D-V

TPQ: 1807

Decorative pattern	Teawares						Tablewares								Serving Pieces						Total	
	cup	scr	pot	slp bwl	sgr/ crm	misc/ unk	pl dn	pl tw	pl mf	pl unk	pl sp	bw	mg	cup pl	misc/ unk	plt	dsh	pch	bw	con dsh		misc/ unk
Plain Creamware								2				4										6
Royal Pattern							2									1						3
Molded Creamware																	1					1
Printed Creamware		1																				1
White Salt-glazed																					1	1
Green Shell-Edged							1		3	3					1		1					9
Non-matching Chinese Export Porcelain	1	2				1																4
Dipped																		1				1
Simple Band		1																				1
Non-matching Painted Floral	2	2													1							5
Total	3	6				1	3	2		3	3	4			2	1	2	1			1	32

KEY:

cup = teacup

pl dn = plate, dinner

bw = bowl

pch = pitcher

scr = saucer

pl tw = plate, twiffler

mg = mug

con dsh = condiment dish (including butter and candy)

pot = tea/coffee pot

pl mf = plate, muffin

cup pl = cup plate

slp bwl = slop bowl

pl unk = plate, unknown size

plt = platter

misc/unk=miscellaneous/unknown

sgr/crm = sugar and/or creamer

pl sp = plate, soup

dsh = dish

Table 4.
Glass by Functional Group

Feature: D

Analytical Unit: D-V

TPQ: 1807

Functional Group	Vessel Form	# of Vessels	% of Total
Tableware	Plates		
	Tumblers	4	18.2
	Shot Glasses		
	Goblets		
	Wine Glasses	2	9.1
	Dessert Glasses		
Teaware	Other	2	9.1
	Cups		
	Saucers		
	Sugar/Creamers		
	Other		
	Serving Pieces		
	Platters		
	Dishes		
	Decanters	1	4.5
	Bowls		
	Condiment Dishes		
	Salts		
	Pitchers		
	Other		
Food Preparation	Oil Bottles		
	Pickle Bottles		
	Sauce Bottles		
	Mustard Bottles	1	4.5
	Nappy		
	Milk Bottles		
Food Storage	Other		
	Jars		
	Demijohns		
Wine/Liquor	Other		
	Wine-Style Bottles	7	31.8
	Liquor-Style Bottles		
	Beer-Style Bottles		
	Case Bottles	1	4.5
Hygiene	Other		
	All Forms	1	4.5
Cosmetic	Jars		
	Perfume Bottles		
	Cologne Bottles		
	Hair Products		
Medicinal	Other		
	Medicine Bottles		
	Mineral Water/Soda Bottles		
	Vials	2	9.1
Activity	Other		
	Lamps		
	Globes		
	Inks		
Furniture	Other		
	All Forms		
Personal	All Forms		
Unidentifiable		1	4.5
Total		22	99.8

Table 5.
Small Finds by Artifact Group and Functional Group

Feature: D

Analytical Stratum: D-V

TPQ: 1807

Artifact Group	Functional Category	Number	Percentage
Kitchen	Utensil		
	Pot/Pan		
	Other		
Architecture	Hardware		
	Building Material		
	Electrical		
Commercial	Other		
	Coins	1	16.7
Furniture	Hardware		
	Other		
Clothing	Textiles		
	Fasteners	4	66.7
	Shoes/Boot Parts		
Personal	Cosmetic		
	Mirror	1	16.7
	Hygiene		
	Jewelry		
	Tools		
	Sewing Items		
	Writing		
	Toys		
Transportation	Other		
	Horse/Ox Shoes		
	Carriage/Cart Parts		
Other			
Unidentifiable			
Total		6	100.1

Feature B

Feature B was a circular stone-lined privy approximately 6 feet in diameter located beneath the cellar floor of the back tenement on the lot. It cut through an earlier rectangular privy (Feature D) that was also found beneath the cellar floor of the back tenement. Both features were originally located at the back of the yard for the structure on Lot 6 that predated the 1848 tenement. Feature B contained two major fill layers (Figure 8, AS II and AS IV-V) separated by a stratum of sterile sandy loam (AS III). AS II consisted of very dark brown coarse sandy loam with coal and a good deal of architectural debris (brick and mortar). Artifacts dating to the 1880s and 1890s were recovered from the fill, but it is likely the feature was retired much earlier since it was under the cellar floor of a tenement that had been constructed by 1875. The fill deposit (AS III) between AS II and AS IV/V consisted of dark brown sandy loam mixed with dark yellowish brown clay loam. This deposit included no artifacts with beginning manufacturing dates later than 1840. Below it, AS IV consisted of dark brown clay loam with lenses of organic material. This deposit, which included many artifacts, all with beginning manufacturing dates no later than 1843 (see Table 1), appeared to be an in-use primary deposit. At the base of AS IV, a layer of shell (not visible on the profile) lay on top of another artifact-filled layer of dark reddish brown fine sand (AS V). The shell may have been put down to neutralize the privy deposit, perhaps between the residence of one set of tenants and another. The shell and some overlying artifacts had been pressed into AS V confounding the separation between the two. Tables 6–9 summarize the artifacts recovered from AS IV. The TPQs for the other analytical strata are shown on Table 1.

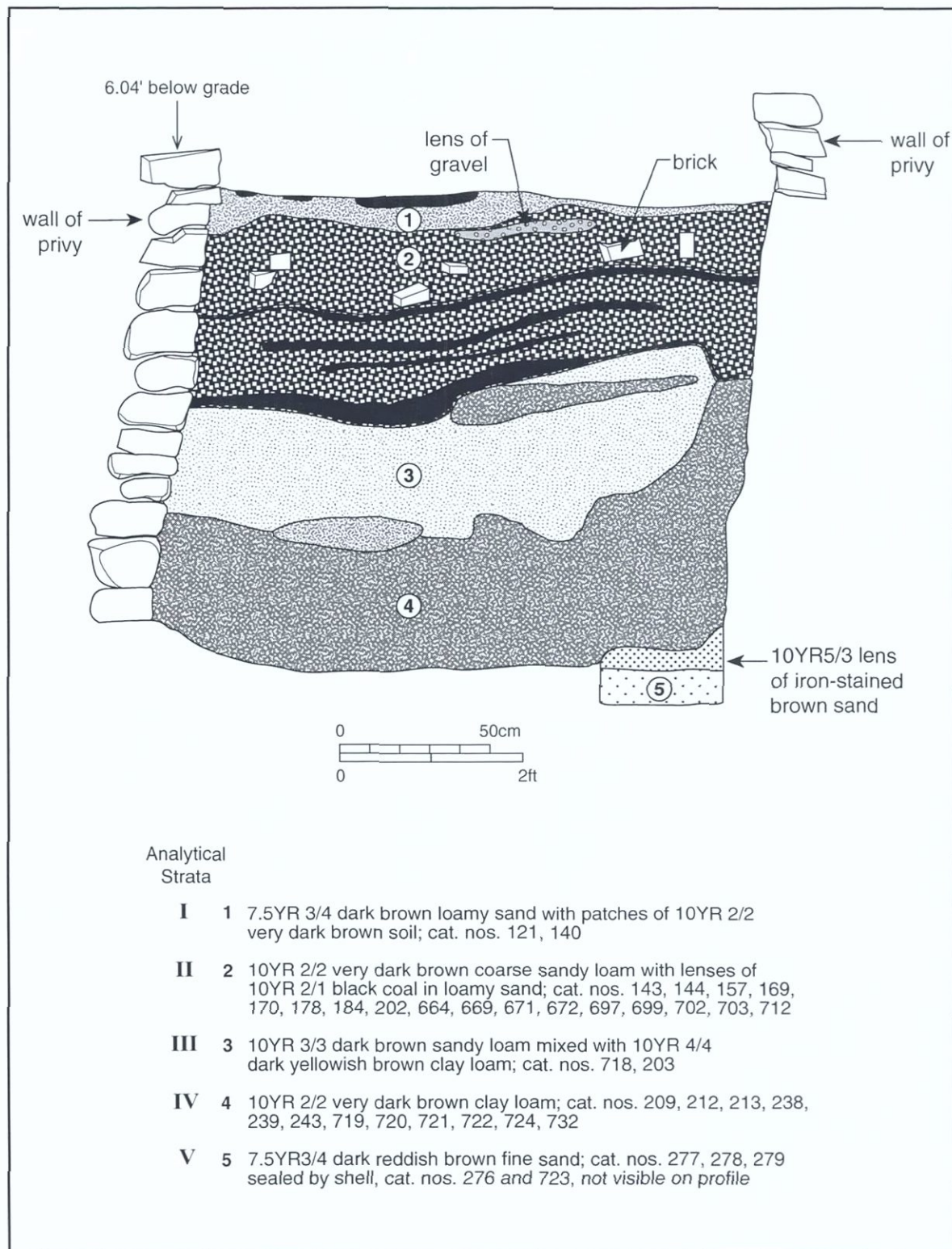


Figure 8. Lot 6, Feature B, stone-lined privy. Profile of fill layers in southern half.

Table 6.
Ceramic Wares by Functional Group

Feature: B

Analytical Stratum: B-IV

TPQ: 1843

Ware Type	Tea	Tbl	Serv	Prep	Stor	Multi	Unid	Misc	Hyg	House	Total	%
Redware				3	2						5	8.8
Redware-Flowerpot										3	3	5.3
Creamware (Light)-Plain		1	1								2	3.5
Pearlware-Plain	1		1						2		4	7.0
Pearlware-Painted	5		1			2					8	14.0
Pearlware-Shell-Edged		4	2								6	10.5
Pearlware-Printed	6	2	3								11	19.3
Pearlware-Molded			1								1	1.8
Whiteware-Painted	2		1								3	5.3
Whiteware-Printed	2	1						1			4	7.0
Hard-Paste Porcelain			1								1	1.8
Chinese Export Porcelain	3										3	5.3
Bone China	1										1	1.8
Gray Stoneware					3						3	5.3
Buff Stoneware					1						1	1.8
Tin Glazed								1			1	1.8
Total	20	8	11	3	6	2	0	2	2	3	57	100.3
Percent of Total	35.1	14.0	19.3	5.3	10.5	3.5		3.5	3.5	5.3	100	

KEY:

Tea = Teawares

Stor = Storage

Hyg = Hygiene Related

Tbl = Tablewares

Multi = Multi-function

Serv = Serving Pieces

Unid = Unidentified

Prep = Food Preparation

Misc = Miscellaneous

Table 7.
Ceramic Patterns by Vessel Forms

Feature: B

Analytical Stratum: B-IV

TPQ: 1843

Decorative pattern	Teawares						Tablewares									Serving Pieces					Total	
	cup	scr	pot	slp bwl	sgr/ crm	misc/ unk	pl dn	pl tw	pl mf	pl unk	pl sp	bw	mg	egg	misc/ unk	plt	dsh	pch	bw	con dsh		misc/ unk
Willow							2										2					4
Blue Shell-Edged								1			1					1						3
Green Shell-Edged										1							1					2
Uncolored Shell-Edged								1														1
Chinese Porcelain		2				1																3
Landscape																						
Painted Floral Centered		1			1																2	
Non-matching	1	2																				3
Printed Blue Floral																						
Other Non-matching Vessels	3	6	1	2	1				1					1			1	5				21
TOTAL	4	11	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	4	5	0	0	0	39

KEY:

cup = teacup
pl dn = plate, dinner
bw = bowl
pch = pitcher

scr = saucer
pl tw = plate, twiffler
mg = mug
con dsh = condiment dish (including butter and candy)

pot = tea/coffee pot
pl mf = plate, muffin
egg = egg cup

slp bwl = slop bowl
pl unk = plate, unknown size
plt = platter
misc/unk = miscellaneous and/or unknown vessel

sgr/crm = sugar and/or creamer
pl sp = plate, soup
dsh = dish

Table 8.
Glass by Functional Group

Feature: B

Analytical Unit: B-IV

TPQ: 1843

Functional Group	Vessel Form	# of Vessels	% of Total
Tableware	Plates		
	Tumblers	20	17.1
	Shot Glasses		
	Goblets		
	Wine Glasses	1	0.9
	Dessert Glasses		
Teaware	Other	12	10.3
	Cups		
	Saucers		
	Sugar/Creamers		
Serving Pieces	Other		
	Platters		
	Dishes		
	Decanters	3	2.6
	Bowls		
	Condiment Dishes		
	Salts		
Food Preparation	Pitchers		
	Other		
	Oil Bottles	4	3.4
	Pickle Bottles		
	Sauce Bottles		
	Mustard Bottles	3	2.6
	Nappy		
Food Storage	Milk Bottles		
	Other		
	Jars		
Wine/Liquor	Demijohns	1	0.9
	Other		
	Wine-Style Bottles	21	17.9
	Liquor-Style Bottles		
	Beer-Style Bottles	2	1.7
Hygiene	Case Bottles	1	0.9
	Other		
	All Forms		
	Cosmetic		
Cosmetic	Jars		
	Perfume Bottles	1	0.9
	Cologne Bottles	1	0.9
	Hair Products		
Medicinal	Other		
	Medicine Bottles	3	2.6
	Mineral Water/Soda Bottles		
	Vials	19	16.2
Activity	Other		
	Lamps	5	4.3
	Globes	6	5.1
	Inks		
Furniture	Other		
	All Forms		
	Personal		
Unidentifiable	All Forms	1	0.9
		13	11.1
Total		117	100.3

Table 9.
Small Finds by Artifact Group and Functional Group

Feature: B

Analytical Stratum: B-IV

TPQ: 1843

Artifact Group	Functional Category	Number	Percentage
Kitchen	Utensil	1	0.3
	Pot/Pan		
	Other		
Architecture	Hardware	25	6.7
	Building Material	1	0.3
	Electrical		
	Other	19	5.1
Commercial	Coins	6	1.6
	Other	3	0.8
Furniture	Hardware	2	0.5
	Other	3	0.8
Clothing	Textiles	58	15.5
	Fasteners	41	11.0
	Shoes/Boot Parts	4	1.1
	Cosmetic		
Personal	Mirror Parts	124	33.2
	Hygiene	2	0.5
	Jewelry	5	1.3
	Tools	14	3.7
	Sewing Items	2	0.5
	Writing	8	2.1
	Toys		
	Other		
	Transportation	Horse/Ox Shoes	
	Carriage/Cart Parts		
	Other		
Other			
Unidentifiable		56	15.0
Total		374	100.0

Features J, T, U, and Z

This cluster of features was located in the yard between the back and front tenements at 472 Pearl Street. Feature J, an 11-foot-diameter, stone-lined cesspool overlain by a brick vault (Feature T) was connected by a brick-lined drain to Feature U, a small brick-lined sump. Feature J had been filled before the back tenement was built over it (Figure 1). The uppermost fill (AS I) consisted of sandy loam and a few artifacts, mainly small finds like buttons, umbrella parts, and combs. This deposit had been cut by the construction of a brick vault which held a metal pipe (Figure 9). The vault, which was actually the floor of a water closet in the rear tenement (its pipe drained into the old cesspool), was filled with dark yellowish brown sandy loam with pockets of yellow clay (AS II). The water closet floor rested on an approximately 1-foot-thick layer of fill (AS III) composed of dark brown sandy loam with layers of ash. The TPQ for this stratum, which included substantial numbers of artifacts, was 1870. It was probably deposited in anticipation of the construction of the back tenement. Below the fill was a surface made of bluestone slabs, possibly meant to stabilize the feature which would bear the weight of the overlying tenement. The bluestone sealed a thick layer of silty sandy loam with ash (AS IV) that included relatively few artifacts, the most recent dating to 1860. Below it was a primary deposit consisting of black, dark gray, and brown silty sandy loam packed with artifacts (AS V). The deposit appeared to be the in-use privy

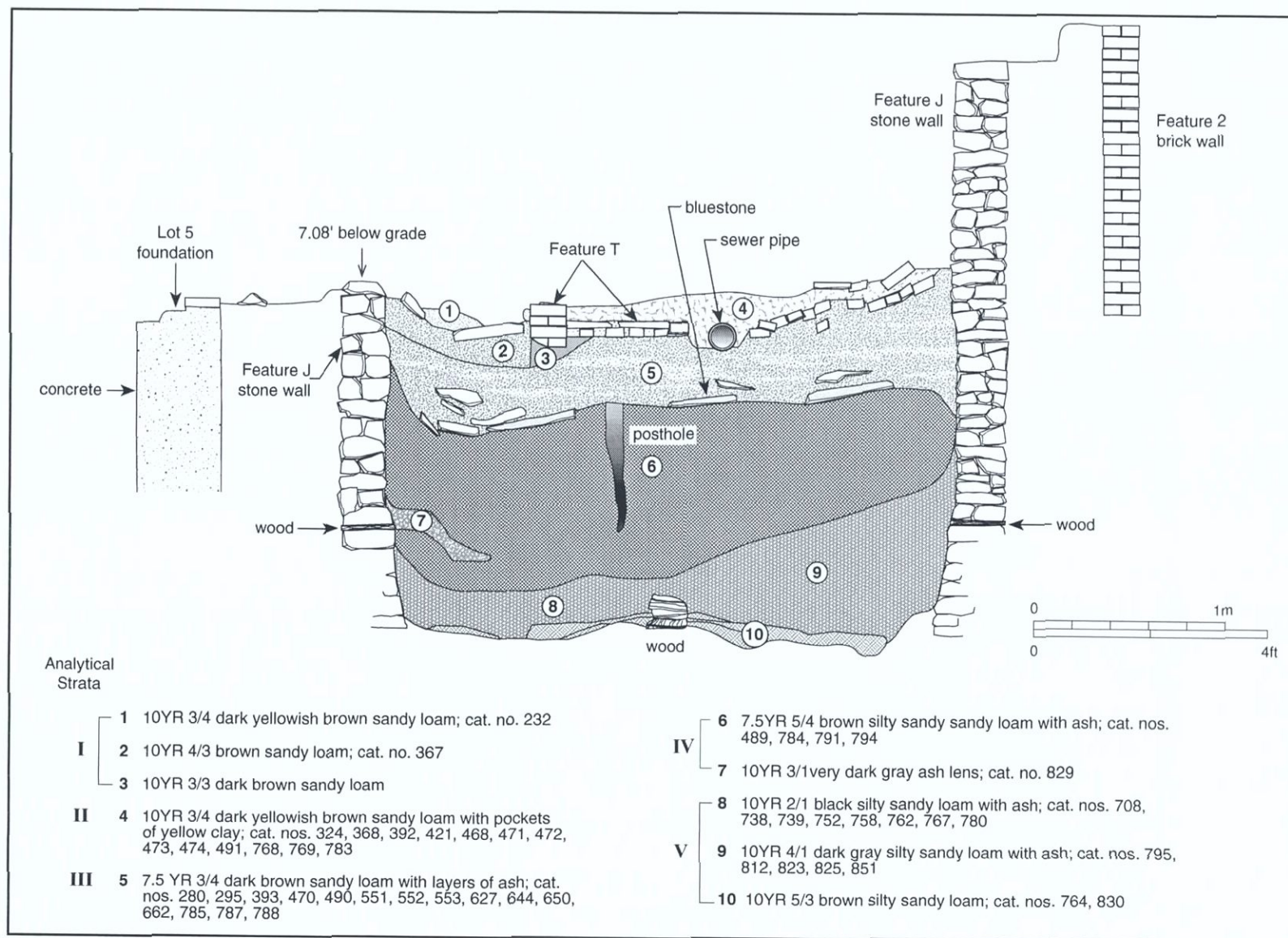


Figure 9. Lot 6, Feature J, stone-lined cesspool. Profile of fill layers in southern half.

deposit mixed with discarded household trash, including many artifacts manufactured in the 1820s–1840s (TPQ 1850, Table 1). Several artifacts—a flanged glass lampshade dating to 1873, two white granite semi-porcelain twifflers dating to 1870, and a transfer-printed whiteware ewer dating to 1862—appear to be intrusive. The ceramics were associated with catalog numbers (758, 738, and 752) that were assigned in the laboratory and may be misclassified. The flanged shade is harder to explain since it was associated with catalog number 812 at the bottom of the feature. However, the object represents a higher-style lighting fixture than was found anywhere else on the site and it is likely that it fell in from the surface.

Feature U (profile not included) was a small, brick-lined sump (Figure 1). It contained a small number of artifacts, some of them matching ceramic wares that were found in the early fill (AS V) of Feature J. The TPQ dates for the two features are identical, and it is likely that they were filled at the same time. The lower fill in Feature Z also contained similar vessels to those found in Feature J and even some cross-mends indicating that it, too, was filled at the same time. Features J, U, and Z apparently worked as a kind of septic system with J and Z serving as cesspools and U serving as the overflow sump for both of them.

Feature Z was an 8-foot-diameter, brick-lined cistern that had been converted into a cesspool. The uppermost fill in the feature consisted of black loam with charcoal and plaster overlying yellowish brown sand with many iron artifacts, iron staining, and plaster, and dark yellowish brown coarse sand underlain by strong brown sand with cut bluestone slabs (Figure 10, AS I). These fills were combined into one analytical stratum (AS I) based on the many cross-mends that linked them. The top of the deposit had been cut by a large pipe trench for a cast-iron pipe and another trench for the eastern wall of the stairwell that entered the back tenement on the lot (Figure 1). According to field notes, the cast-iron pipe and another smaller lead pipe appear to have been installed when the stairwell was constructed because they were covered with the rubble that underlay the staircase. Perhaps there was a second water closet or wash room in the tenement that drained into this feature. Feature A, a school sink running along the western edge of the lot, also appears to have drained into Feature Z. Feature A probably served the front tenement after the back tenement had been built. However, before all these drainage pipes were installed in the 1870s, the bottom portion of the cistern had been filled and sealed with bluestone slabs identical to the slabs that covered the fill at the bottom of Feature J. Cross-mends between the lowest fill deposits in Features J and Z (AS V in Feature J and AS II in Feature Z), as well as the bluestone, indicated that they had been deposited at the same time. The fill in the bottom of Z consisted of yellowish brown and brown loamy sand mixed with gravel, cobbles, brick, and stone rubble. A layer of black clayey loam covered the floor of the cistern which sloped up to a kind of rectangular platform in the middle. These lower fills in Features J and Z included denser deposits of artifacts than were found in any other features on the site. Tables 10–13 summarize the artifacts recovered from Feature J, AS III, and Tables 14–17 summarize the artifacts from AS V. Tables 18–21 summarize the artifacts from Feature Z, AS II.

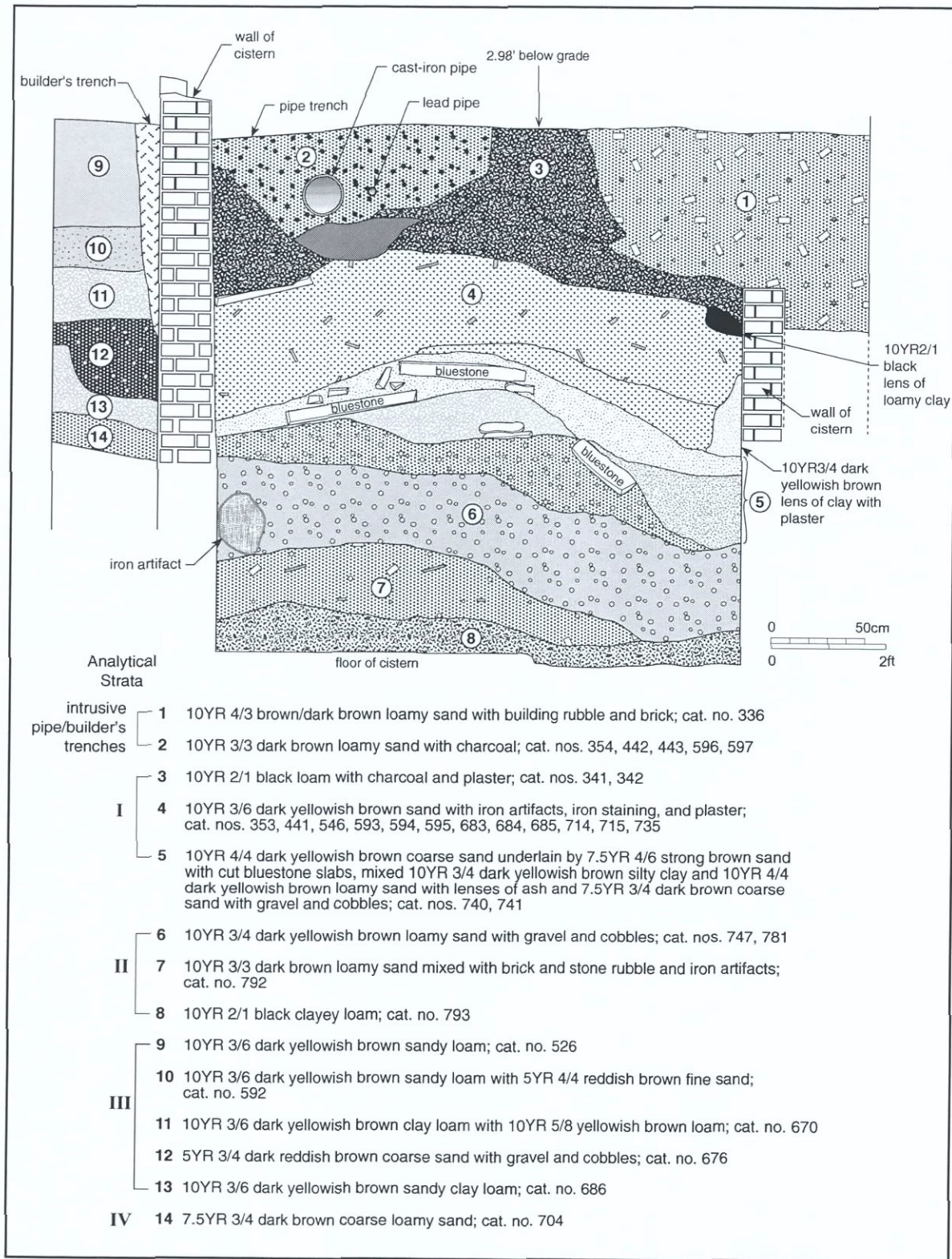


Figure 10. Lot 6, Feature Z, brick-lined cistern. Profile of fill layers in western half.

Table 10.
Ceramic Wares by Functional Group

Feature: J

Analytical Stratum: J-III

TPQ: 1870

Ware Type	Tea	Tbl	Serv	Prep	Stor	Multi	Unid	Misc	Hyg	House	Total	%
Redware					3			1	2	1	7	3.4
Redware-Flowerpot										3	3	1.4
Creamware-Plain								1	1		2	1.0
Pearlware-Plain									2		2	1.0
Pearlware-Painted		1									1	0.5
Whiteware-Plain	7	1	2						3		13	6.3
Whiteware-Painted	6										6	2.9
Whiteware-Printed	16	11	2					2			31	5.0
Whiteware-Molded	1		3							2	6	2.9
Whiteware-Dipped						3					3	1.4
Whiteware-Spatter	1										1	0.5
Whiteware-Annular		1	2			6					9	4.3
Whiteware-Flow	3	2									5	2.4
Whiteware-Shell-Edged		4									4	1.9
Whiteware-Other	1	1									2	1.0
Chinese Export Porcelain	1				1			1			3	1.4
Bone China	2										2	1.0
Gray Stoneware				1	14		1			1	17	8.2
Buff Stoneware					2			1			3	1.4
Lustered Stoneware			1								1	0.5
White Granite-Plain	5	5	1			2	1		1		15	7.2
White Granite-Molded	28	16	4					1			49	23.7
Yellowware	2		1						1		4	1.9
Hard-Paste Porcelain	4	2	4					2		4	16	7.7
Parian										1	1	0.5
Jasper								1			1	0.5
Total	77	44	20	1	20	11	2	10	10	12	207	99.9
Percent of Total	37.2	21.3	9.7	0.5	9.7	5.3	1.0	4.8	4.8	5.8	100.1	

KEY:

Tea = Teawares
 Stor = Storage
 Hyg = Hygiene Related

Tbl = Tablewares
 Multi = Multi-function

Serv = Serving Pieces
 Unid = Unidentified

Prep = Food Preparation
 Misc = Miscellaneous

Table 11.
Ceramic Patterns by Vessel Forms

Feature: J

Analytical Unit: J-III

TPQ: 1870

Decorative pattern	Teawares						Tablewares								Serving Pieces					Total		
	cup	scr	pot	slp bwl	sgr/ crm	misc/ unk	pl dn	pl tw	pl mf	pl unk	pl sp	bw	mg	egg	misc/ unk	plt	dsh	pch	bw		con dsh	misc/ unk
Blue Shell-Edged								1														1
Other Shell-Edged								1		1	1								1			4
Willow							1			1												2
Blue Printed-Aladdin	1	1					2	2														6
Blue Printed-Friburg	2	1																				3
Blue Printed-Florentine	1	2					1										1					5
Blue Printed-Siam		1																				1
Blue Printed-Alleghany								1														1
Non-matching Blue Printed		2				1	1			1								1				6
Undecorated White	5	6		1			3	3									1				2	21
White Gothic		2	1				3	1			1											8
White President		1	1				2										1					5
White Columbia											2											2
White Mississippi											1											1
White Sydenham		1					1	1			1											4
White Acanthus							2															2
White Wheat	1					1	1											1				4
White Primary	11	6																				17
White Trent		2																				2
White Scalloped Decogon		1																				1

Decorative pattern	cup	scr	pot	slp bwl	sgr/ crm	misc/ unk	pl dn	pl tw	pl mf	pl unk	pl sp	bw	mg	egg	misc/ unk	plt	dsh	pch	bw	con dsh	misc/ unk	Total
White Paneled	1																					1
Other Molded White																		4				4
Non-matching Hard-Paste Porcelain	1				1	2		2										1			3	10
Non-matching Painted Floral	2	1																				3
Non-matching Other Painted		2				1																3
Non-matching Flow Blue		2		1			1			1												5
Non-matching Red Printed	1				1																	2
Other Non-matching Vessels	4		3			2		1		2			1		1			3			1	18
Total	30	31	5	2	2	7	18	13	0	6	6	0	1	0	1	0	3	10	1	0	6	142

KEY:

cup = teacup
 pl dn = plate, dinner
 bw = bowl
 pch = pitcher

scr = saucer
 pl tw = plate, twiffler
 mg = mug
 con dsh = condiment dish (including butter and candy)

pot = tea/coffee pot
 pl mf = plate, muffin
 egg = egg cup

slp bwl = slap bowl
 pl unk = plate, unknown size
 plt = platter
 misc/unk = miscellaneous and/or unknown vessel

sgr/crm = sugar and/or creamer
 pl sp = plate, soup
 dsh = dish

Table 12.
Glass by Functional Group

Feature: J

Analytical Unit: J-III

TPQ: 1870

Functional Group	Vessel Form	# of Vessels	% of Total	
Tableware	Plates	1	0.5	
	Tumblers	20	10.6	
	Shot Glasses			
	Goblets	2	1.1	
	Wine Glasses	3	1.6	
	Dessert Glasses			
Teaware	Other	1	0.5	
	Cups			
	Saucers			
	Sugar/Creamers			
Serving Pieces	Other			
	Platters			
	Dishes			
	Decanters			
	Bowls			
	Condiment Dishes			
	Salts	2	1.1	
	Pitchers			
Food Preparation	Other	1	0.5	
	Oil Bottles			
	Pickle Bottles	1	0.5	
	Sauce Bottles	1	0.5	
	Mustard Bottles			
	Nappy			
	Milk Bottles			
Food Storage	Other	4	2.1	
	Jars			
	Demijohns	5	2.6	
Wine/Liquor	Other			
	Wine-Style Bottles	9	4.8	
	Liquor-Style Bottles	5	2.6	
	Beer-Style Bottles	1	0.5	
	Case Bottles			
Hygiene	Other			
	All Forms			
	Cosmetic	Jars		
		Perfume Bottles	2	1.1
Medicinal	Cologne Bottles			
	Hair Products	2	1.1	
	Other			
	Medicine Bottles	23	12.2	
Medicinal (con't.)	Mineral Water/Soda	27	14.3	
	Bottles			
	Vials	19	10.1	
Activity	Other	7	3.7	
	Lamps	9	4.8	
	Globes	1	0.5	
	Inks	2	1.1	
Furniture	Other	1	0.5	
	All Forms			
Personal	All Forms	1	0.5	
Unidentifiable		39	20.6	
Total		189	100.0	

Table 13.
Small Finds by Artifact Group and Functional Group

Feature: J

Analytical Stratum: J-III

TPQ: 1870

Artifact Group	Functional Category	Number	Percentage
Kitchen	Utensil	2	0.4
	Pot/Pan		
	Other		
Architecture	Hardware	3	0.7
	Building Material	1	0.2
	Electrical		
	Other	3	0.7
Commercial	Coins	6	1.3
	Other	3	0.7
Furniture	Hardware	4	0.9
	Other	6	1.3
Clothing	Textiles	147	32.9
	Fasteners	110	24.6
	Shoes/Boot Parts	15	3.4
Personal	Cosmetic		
	Hygiene	6	1.3
	Jewelry	10	2.2
	Tools	2	0.4
	Sewing Items		
	Writing	34	.6
	Toys	20	4.5
	Other	47	10.5
Transportation	Horse/Ox Shoes		
	Carriage/Cart Parts		
	Other		
Other		5	1.1
Unidentifiable		23	5.1
Total		447	99.8

Table 14.
Ceramic Wares by Functional Group

Feature: J

Analytical Stratum: J-V

TPQ: 1850

Ware Type	Tea	Tbl	Serv	Prep	Stor	Multi	Unid	Misc	Hyg	House	Total	%
Redware	3		1	1	1				2	2	10	2.9
Redware-Flowerpot										16	16	4.7
Creamware-Plain		1			2			2	5		10	2.9
Pearlware-Plain		2							10		12	3.5
Pearlware-Painted			1								1	0.3
Pearlware-Printed	2	1									3	0.9
Pearlware-Molded									2		2	0.6
Pearlware-Dipped		1				6					7	2.1
Pearlware-Shell-Edged		1									1	0.3
Whiteware-Plain	6	2							4		12	3.5
Whiteware-Painted	16	2	1					1			20	5.9
Whiteware-Printed	50	31	4						4		89	26.1
Whiteware-Molded			2								2	0.6
Whiteware-Dipped			1			3					4	1.2
Whiteware-Spatter	6										6	1.8
Whiteware-Annular			7			12			1		20	5.9
Whiteware-Shell-Edged		9	3								12	3.5

Ware Type	Tea	Tbl	Serv	Prep	Stor	Multi	Unid	Misc	Hyg	House	Total	%
Whiteware-Applied	2		1								3	.9
Whiteware-Flow	5	5									10	2.9
Whiteware-Sponged	1										1	0.3
Whiteware-Other	1										1	0.3
Chinese Export Porcelain	3	1								1	5	1.5
Bone China	7								1		8	2.3
Gray Stoneware		1			24					2	27	7.9
Buff Stoneware					6			1	1		8	2.3
Lustered Stoneware			1							1	2	0.6
Other Stoneware								1			1	0.3
White Granite-Plain	3	5									8	2.3
White Granite-Molded	8	6	2						2		18	5.3
Yellowware			1	2		2		2	6	1	14	4.1
Hard-Paste Porcelain	2	1	3					1		1	8	2.3
Total	115	69	28	3	33	23	0	8	38	24	341	100.0
Percent of Total	33.7	20.2	8.2	0.9	10.0	6.7	0	2.3	11.1	7.0	100.1	

KEY:

Tea = Teawares
 Stor = Storage
 Hyg = Hygiene Related

Tbl = Tablewares
 Multi = Multi-function

Serv = Serving Pieces
 Unid = Unidentified

Prep = Food Preparation
 Misc = Miscellaneous

Table 15.
Ceramic Patterns by Vessel Forms

Feature: J

Analytical Unit: J-V

TPQ: 1850

Decorative pattern	Teawares						Tablewares								Serving Piece					Total		
	cup	scr	pot	slp bwl	sgr/ crm	misc/ unk	pl dn	pl tw	pl mf	pl unk	pl sp	bw	mg	egg	misc/ unk	plt	dsh	pch	bw		con dsh	misc/ unk
Blue Shell-Edged							3	5		3							2					13
Willow							3	2		1	9					1	2					18
Blue Printed-Columbia							4															4
Blue Printed-Rustic	1	1																				2
Blue Printed-Canova		2	1	1																		4
Blue Printed-Damascus							2															2
Blue Printed-Garden Scenery									2								1					3
Blue Printed-Belvoir	2																					2
Blue Printed-Tyrolean	1	1																				2
Blue Printed-House & Tree	3			1																		4
Blue Printed-Florentine	1																					1
Blue Printed-Friburg					1																	1
Blue Printed-Lucerne		2																				2
Blue Printed-Siam	1																					1
Blue Printed-Alleghany																	1					1
Blue Printed-Isola Bella ii	1	1																				2
Non-matching Red Printed	1	1				1																3
Non-matching Sepia Printed	1	1																				2
Non-matching Blue Printed	6	7	2		1	1	1	2	1	2					1						1	25
Non-matching Flow Blue	2	2								4												8
Non-matching Flow Gray	1									1												2

Decorative pattern	cup	scr	pot	slp bwl	sgr/ crm	misc/ unk	pl dn	pl tw	pl mf	pl unk	pl sp	bw	mg	egg	misc/ unk	plt	dsh	pch	bw	con dsh	misc/ unk	Total
Plain White	5	2	1	1		1	1	4	1		2											18
White Gothic		2					2	1			1											6
White Paneled				1									1					1				3
White Sydenham																1						1
White Primary	2	1																				3
White President		1																				1
Other Molded White		1						1										1				3
Dipped Annular										1								7				8
Spatterware	3	1	2																			6
Non-matching non-blue Chinese Porcelain	2	4																				6
Plain Euro. Porcelain/ Bone China		1				1															3	5
Gilded Euro. Porcelain		2																				2
Other Bone China		3		1		1																5
Non-matching Painted Floral	6	2				1												1				10
Matching Painted		2																				2
Other Non-matching Painted	1	3				1																5
Other Non-matching Vessels	4	3		5			2	2		3			1		1		2	3				26
Total	44	46	4	12	2	7	18	17	2	17	12	0	2	0	1	3	8	13	0	0	4	212

KEY:

cup = teacup
 pl dn = plate, dinner
 bw = bowl
 pch = pitcher

scr = saucer
 pl tw = plate, twiffler
 mg = mug
 con dsh = condiment dish (including butter and candy)

pot = tea/coffee pot
 pl mf = plate, muffin
 egg = egg cup

slp bwl = slop bowl
 pl unk = plate, unknown size
 plt = platter
 misc/unk = miscellaneous and/or unknown vessel

sgr/crm = sugar and/or creamer
 pl sp = plate, soup
 dsh = dish

Table 16.
Glass by Functional Group

Feature: J

Analytical Unit: J-V

TPQ: 1850

Functional Group	Vessel Form	# of Vessels	% of Total	
Tableware	Plates			
	Tumblers	19	9.7	
	Shot Glasses			
	Goblets	1	0.5	
	Wine Glasses	3	1.5	
	Dessert Glasses			
Teaware	Other	3	1.5	
	Cups			
	Saucers			
	Sugar/Creamers			
Serving Pieces	Other			
	Platters			
	Dishes			
	Decanters	1	0.5	
	Bowls			
	Condiment Dishes			
	Salts			
	Pitchers			
Food Preparation	Other	2	1.0	
	Oil Bottles	2	1.0	
	Pickle Bottles			
	Sauce Bottles			
	Mustard Bottles			
	Nappy			
	Milk Bottles			
Food Storage	Other	3	1.5	
	Jars	1	0.5	
	Demijohns			
Wine/Liquor	Other			
	Wine-Style Bottles	27	13.8	
	Liquor-Style Bottles	4	2.1	
	Beer-Style Bottles	2	1.0	
	Case Bottles			
Hygiene	Other			
	All Forms			
	Cosmetic	Jars		
		Perfume Bottles	1	0.5
Cologne Bottles		2	1.0	
Medicinal	Hair Products	1	0.5	
	Other			
	Medicine Bottles	17	8.7	
	Mineral Water/Soda Bottles	5	2.6	
Activity	Vials	45	23.1	
	Other	2	1.0	
	Lamps	3	1.5	
	Globes	11	5.6	
	Inks	6	3.1	
Furniture	Other	1	0.5	
	All Forms			
Personal	All Forms	3	1.5	
Unidentifiable		30	15.4	
Total		195	99.6	

Table 17.
Small Finds by Artifact Group and Functional Group

Feature: J

Analytical Stratum: J-V

TPQ: 1850

Artifact Group	Functional Category	Number	Percentage
Kitchen	Utensil	1	0.05
	Pot/Pan		
Architecture	Other	10	0.5
	Hardware	5	0.2
	Building Material	1	0.05
	Electrical		
Commercial	Other		
	Coins	10	0.5
Furniture	Other	13	0.6
	Hardware	29	1.4
	Other	668	32.1
Clothing	Textiles	542	26.0
	Fasteners	252	12.1
	Shoes/Boot Parts	212	10.2
Personal	Cosmetic		
	Mirror Parts	69	3.3
	Hygiene	22	1.1
	Jewelry	17	0.7
	Tools	3	0.1
	Sewing Items	4	0.2
	Writing	31	1.5
	Toys	32	1.5
Transportation	Other	14	0.7
	Horse/Ox Shoes		
	Carriage/Cart Parts		
Other			
Other		19	0.9
Unidentifiable		129	6.2
Total		2083	99.9

Table 18.
Ceramic Wares by Functional Group

Feature: Z

Analytical Stratum: Z-II

TPQ: 1850

Ware Type	Tea	Tbl	Serv	Prep	Stor	Multi	Unid	Misc	Hyg	House	Total	%
Redware				2							2	3.4
Redware-Flowerpot										2	2	3.4
Whiteware-Shell-Edged		3	1								4	6.8
Whiteware-Painted	2										2	3.4
Whiteware-Printed	7	5	3					4			19	32.2
Whiteware-Dipped						6					6	10.2
Whiteware-Spatterware		1									1	1.7
Whiteware-Spongeware	2										2	3.4
Hard-Paste Porcelain	1										1	1.7
Gray Stoneware			2		11				1		14	23.7
White Granite	2	1	1								4	6.8
Yellowware	1							1			2	3.4
Total	15	10	7	2	11	6		5	1	2	59	100.1
Percent of Total	25.4	16.9	11.9	3.4	18.6	10.2		8.5	1.7	3.4	100	

KEY:

Tea = Teawares

Stor = Storage

Hyg = Hygiene Related

Tbl = Tablewares

Multi = Multi-function

Serv = Serving Pieces

Unid = Unidentified

Prep = Food Preparation

Misc = Miscellaneous

Table 19.
Ceramic Patterns by Vessel Forms

Feature: Z

Analytical Unit: Z-II

TPQ: 1850

Decorative pattern	Teawares						Tablewares									Serving Pieces					Total	
	cup	scr	pot	slp bwl	sgr/ crm	misc/ unk	pl dn	pl tw	pl mf	pl unk	pl sp	bw	mg	egg	misc/ unk	plt	dsh	pch	bw	con dsh		misc/ unk
Blue Shell-Edged Willow							1			2							1		1			4
Non-matching Blue Printed	3	1					1			3						1		1				10
Flow Blue (non-matching)	1	2					1								2							6
Painted Floral	1	1																				2
Spatterware										1												1
Spongeware		2																				2
Yellowware			1																			1
Plain White Granite								1														1
Paneled White Granite	1	1																				2
Molded White Granite																1						1
Paneled European Porcelain	1																					1
Total	7	7	1				4			6					2	2	1	1	1			32

KEY:

cup = teacup
pl dn = plate, dinner
bw = bowl
pch = pitcher

scr = saucer
pl tw = plate, twiffler
mg = mug
con dsh = condiment dish (including butter and candy)

pot = tea/coffee pot
pl mf = plate, muffin
egg = egg cup

slp bwl = slop bowl
pl unk = plate, unknown size
plt = platter
misc/unk = miscellaneous and/or unknown vessel

sgr/crm = sugar and/or creamer
pl sp = plate, soup
dsh = dish

Table 20.
Glass by Functional Group

Feature: Z

Analytical Unit: Z-II

TPQ: 1850

Functional Group	Vessel Form	# of Vessels	% of Total	
Tableware	Plates			
	Tumblers	2	8	
	Shot Glasses			
	Goblets			
	Wine Glasses	2	8	
	Dessert Glasses			
Teaware	Other			
	Cups			
	Saucers			
	Sugar/Creamers			
Serving Pieces	Other			
	Platters			
	Dishes			
	Decanters			
	Bowls			
	Condiment Dishes			
	Salts			
	Pitchers			
Food Preparation	Other			
	Oil Bottles			
	Pickle Bottles			
	Sauce Bottles			
	Mustard Bottles			
	Nappy			
	Milk Bottles			
Food Storage	Other	1	4	
	Jars			
	Demijohns			
Wine/Liquor	Other			
	Wine-Style Bottles	1	4	
	Liquor-Style Bottles			
	Beer-Style Bottles			
	Case Bottles			
Hygiene	Other			
	All Forms			
	Cosmetic	Jars		
		Perfume Bottles		
Cologne Bottles				
Medicinal	Hair Products			
	Other			
	Medicine Bottles	10	40	
	Mineral Water/Soda Bottles	1	4	
Activity	Vials			
	Other			
	Lamps			
	Globes			
	Inks			
Furniture	Other			
	All Forms			
Personal	All Forms			
Unidentifiable		8	32	
Total		25	100	

Archeological Feature Descriptions, Profiles, and Artifact Tables

Table 21.
Small Finds by Artifact Group and Functional Group

Feature: Z

Analytical Stratum: Z-II

TPQ: 1850

Artifact Group	Functional Category	Number	Percentage
Kitchen	Utensil		
	Pot/Pan		
	Other	3	0.5
Architecture	Hardware	2	0.4
	Building Material		
	Electrical		
	Other	12	2.1
Commercial	Coins		
	Other		
Furniture	Hardware		
	Other	10	1.8
Clothing	Textiles	185	32.6
	Fasteners	18	3.2
	Shoes/Boot Parts	264	46.6
Personal	Cosmetic		
	Mirror Parts	49	8.6
	Hygiene		
	Jewelry	2	0.4
	Tools	1	0.2
	Sewing Items		
	Writing	7	1.2
Transportation	Toys	4	0.7
	Other		
	Horse/Ox Shoes		
	Carriage/Cart Parts		
Other			
Other		1	0.2
Unidentifiable		9	1.6
Total		567	100.1

4.0 474 Pearl Street, Lot 7

Three features, AF, N, and O, two of them overlapping (AF and O), provided significant data on Lot 7.

Feature AF

Feature AF was a wood-lined privy that had been truncated by a later stone-lined privy (Feature O). The two features were located under the cellar floor of the back tenement on the lot (Figure 1). Beneath a shared overburden (Figure 11, AS I) the remaining fill in Feature AF reached a depth of about 1.5 feet. The overburden consisted of brown and dark brown clayey loam with pebbles, brick fragments, coal, and charcoal. Beneath it within the decomposing wooden walls of Feature AF was an in situ privy deposit (AS II) consisting mainly of mottled yellowish brown, orange, and olive clay and mottled olive clayey loam with cobbles. A layer of pinkish gray sand lined the bottom of the feature. These three soils were linked by cross-mends. In addition to Feature O, a yellow brick wall (Feature AE) had disturbed Feature AF on the south (Figure 11). Tables 22–25 summarize the artifacts recovered from AS II of Feature AF.

Table 22.
Ceramic Wares by Functional Group

Feature: AF

Analytical Stratum: AF-II

TPQ: 1800

Ware Type	Tea	Tbl	Serv	Prep	Stor	Multi	Unid	Misc	Hyg	House	Total	%
Redware	2	1		7	3					1	14	11.0
Redware-Flowerpot										1	1	0.8
Creamware-Plain	16	6				8		1			31	24.4
Creamware-Dipped		2						1			3	2.4
Creamware-Molded		7									7	5.5
Creamware-Feather-Edged		1									1	0.8
Pearlware-Painted	38										38	29.9
Pearlware-Printed	2		1								3	2.4
Pearlware-Shell-Edged		4									4	3.1
Pearlware-Dipped						1		1			2	1.6
Chinese Export Porcelain	7	8									15	11.8
Hard-Paste Porcelain	1									1	2	1.6
Gray Stoneware				2	3						5	3.9
White Salt-glazed Stoneware	1										1	0.8
Total	67	29	1	9	6	9	0	3	0	3	127	100.0
Percent of Total	52.8	22.8	0.8	7.1	4.7	7.1		2.4		2.4	100.1	

KEY:

Tea = Teawares

Stor = Storage

Hyg = Hygiene Related

Tbl = Tablewares

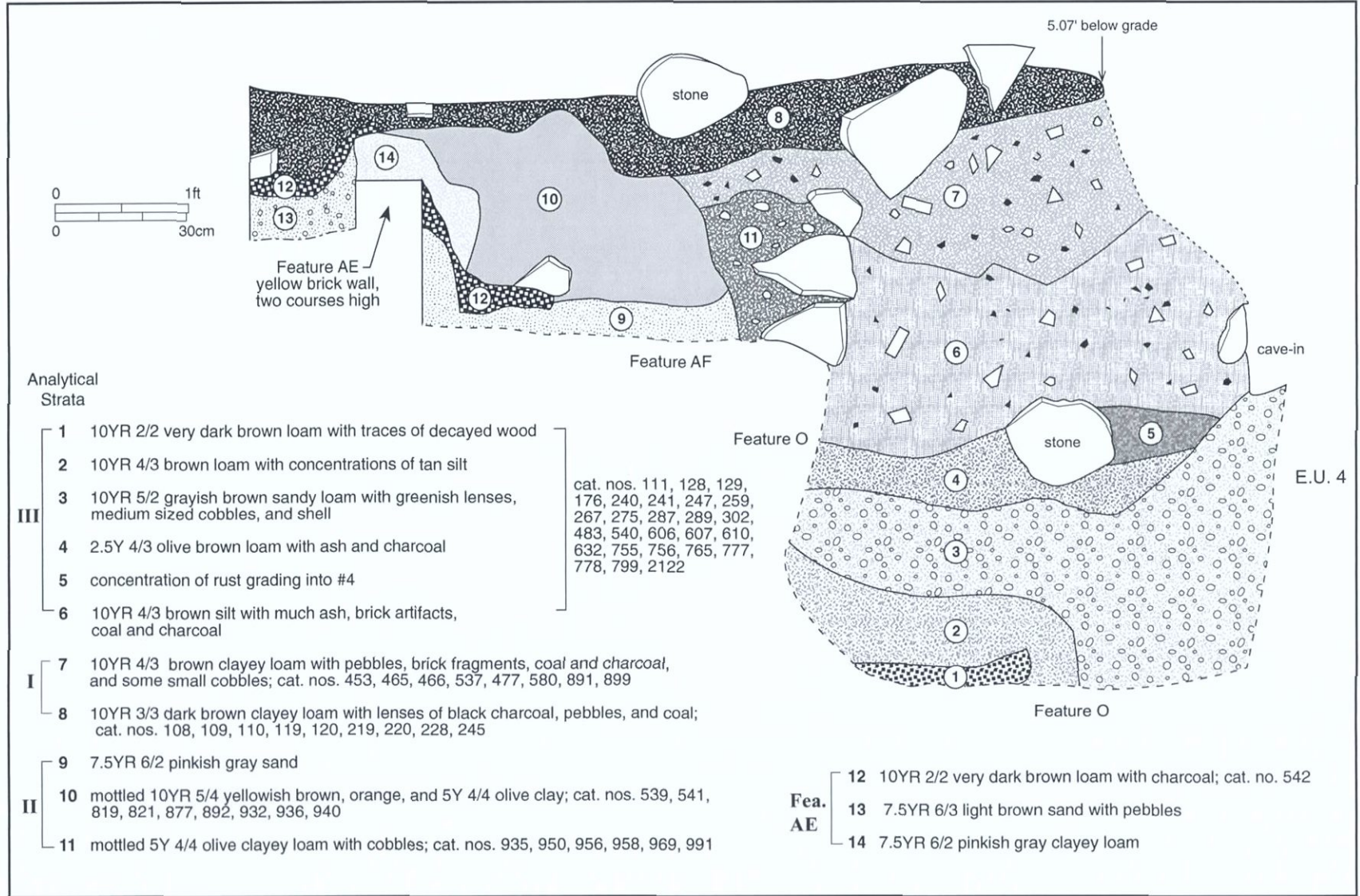
Multi = Multi-function

Serv = Serving Pieces

Unid = Unidentified

Prep = Food Preparation

Misc = Miscellaneous



A-49 Figure 11. Lot 7, Feature AF, wood-lined privy, and Feature O, stone-lined privy. Profile of fill layers in western half of each feature.

Table 23.
Ceramic Patterns by Vessel Forms

Feature: AF

Analytical Unit: AF-II

TPQ: 1800

Decorative pattern	Teawares						Tablewares								Serving Pieces					Total		
	cup	scr	pot	slp bwl	sgr/ crm	misc/ unk	pl dn	pl tw	pl mf	pl unk	pl sp	bw	mg	egg	misc/ unk	plt	dsh	pch	bw		con dsh	misc/ unk
Plain Creamware	8	8					4	1			1							1				23
Creamware-Royal Pattern							3		3		1											7
Creamware-Feather- Edged										1												1
Blue Shell-Edged							1	1														2
Green Shell-Edged							1	1														2
Chinese Export Porcelain-Elaborate Floral							4															4
Chinese Export Porcelain-Floral 2							2															2
Chinese Export Porcelain-Wavy Dots		2																				2
Non-matching Floral Chinese Export Porc.	3	2					2															7
Hard-Paste Porcelain		1																				1
Painted Floral Abstract	1	2																				3
Painted Floral Center 1	1	1																				2
Painted Floral Center 2	1	4																				5
Non-matching Painted Floral Center	4	2																				6
Other Non-matching Painted Floral	5	3		1	1																	10
Painted Chinoiserie		2																				2
Non-matching Painted Chinoiserie	1	3	1			1																6
Other Non-matching Painted	1	3																				4
Other Non-matching Vessels	1	1	2			1									3							8
Total	26	34	3	1	1	2	17	3	3	1	2				3			1				97

KEY:

cup = teacup

pl dn = plate, dinner

bw = bowl

pch = pitcher

scr = saucer

pl tw = plate, twifter

mg = mug

con dsh = condiment dish (including butter and candy)

pot = tea/coffee pot

pl mf = plate, muffin

egg = egg cup

slp bwl = slop bowl

pl unk = plate, unknown size

plt = platter

misc/unk = miscellaneous and/or unknown vessel

sgr/crm = sugar and/or creamer

pl sp = plate, soup

dsh = dish

Table 24.
Glass by Functional Group

Feature: AF

Analytical Unit: AF-II

TPQ: 1800

Functional Group	Vessel Form	# of Vessels	% of Total	
Tableware	Plates			
	Tumblers	37	29.1	
	Shot Glasses			
	Goblets			
	Wine Glasses	11	8.7	
	Dessert Glasses			
Teaware	Other	16	12.6	
	Cups			
	Saucers			
	Sugar/Creamers	1	0.8	
Serving Pieces	Other			
	Platters			
	Dishes			
	Decanters			
	Bowls			
	Condiment Dishes			
	Salts	2	1.6	
	Pitchers			
	Other	1	0.8	
	Food Preparation	Oil Bottles		
Pickle Bottles				
Sauce Bottles				
Mustard Bottles		7	5.5	
Nappy				
Milk Bottles				
Food Storage	Other	2	1.6	
	Jars			
	Demijohns			
Wine/Liquor	Other			
	Wine-Style Bottles	10	7.9	
	Liquor-Style Bottles			
	Beer-Style Bottles	2	1.6	
	Case Bottles	8	6.3	
Hygiene	Other			
	All Forms			
	Cosmetic	Jars		
		Perfume Bottles	1	0.8
Cologne Bottles				
Medicinal	Hair Products			
	Other			
	Medicine Bottles			
	Mineral Water/Soda Bottles			
Activity	Vials	12	9.4	
	Other			
	Lamps			
Furniture	Globes			
	Inks			
Personal	Other			
	All Forms	1	0.8	
Unidentifiable	Snuff Bottles	6	4.7	
		10	7.9	
Total		127	100.1	

Table 25.
Small Finds by Artifact Group and Functional Group

Feature: AF

Analytical Stratum: AF-II

TPQ: 1800

Artifact Group	Functional Category	Number	Percentage
Kitchen	Utensil		
	Pot/Pan		
	Other		
Architecture	Hardware		
	Building Material		
	Electrical		
	Other	3	1.6
Commercial	Coins	3	1.6
	Other	4	2.2
Furniture	Hardware		
	Other		
Clothing	Textiles	21	11.4
	Fasteners	20	10.9
	Shoes/Boot Parts	2	1.1
Personal	Cosmetic		
	Mirror	107	58.2
	Hygiene	4	2.2
	Jewelry	4	2.2
	Tools		
	Sewing Items	2	1.1
	Writing	3	1.6
	Toys		
Transportation	Other	2	1.1
	Horse/Ox Shoes		
	Carriage/Cart Parts		
	Other		
Other		1	0.5
Unidentifiable		8	4.3
Total		184	100.0

Feature N

Feature N was a rectangular wood-lined privy located under the cellar floor of the back tenement on the lot. The feature appeared to have been cleaned by scooping several times, although at least two of those cleanings had left some deposits behind (Figure 12, AS III and AS V). Various colored sands mixed with brick fragments, ash, coal, decomposed mortar, and stones (AS II) were used to fill the feature when it was finally closed not long after the turn of the twentieth century (Table 1). Only AS IV, the most substantial of the primary deposits, was included in the analysis. This deposit was composed of dark grayish brown silty loam and a pocket of brown, slightly silty coarse sand. The most recent artifact in the deposit dated to 1840. Tables 26–29 summarize the artifacts from AS IV.

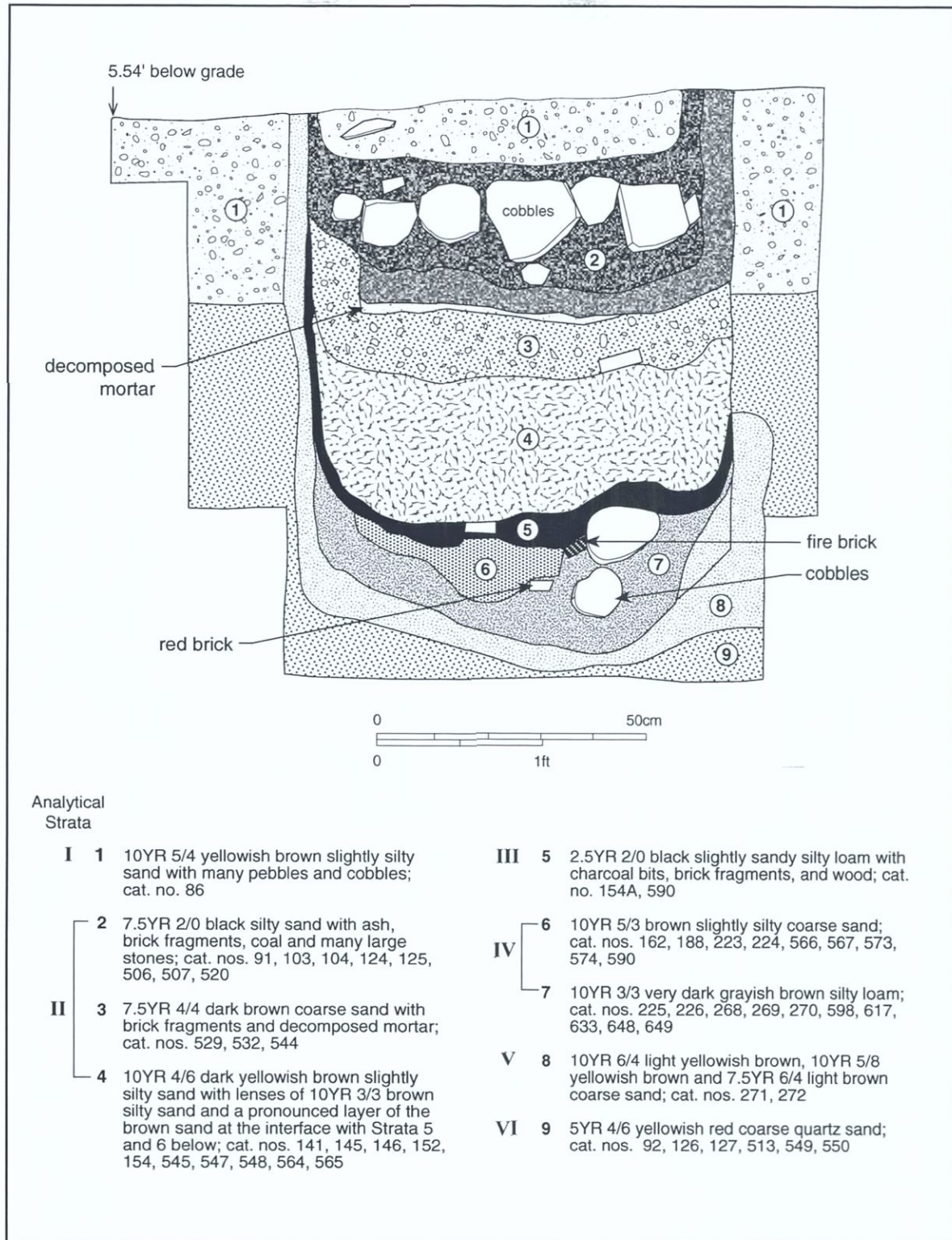


Figure 12. Lot 7, Feature N, wood-lined privy. Profile of fill layers in southern half.

Table 26.
Ceramic Wares by Functional Group

Feature: N

Analytical Stratum: N-IV

TPQ: 1840

Ware Type	Tea	Tbl	Serv	Prep	Stor	Multi	Unid	Misc	Hyg	House	Total	%
Redware	1	1	1	12	1	1	1		3		21	14.8
Redware-Flowerpot										1	1	0.7
Creamware-Plain		4					3		1		8	5.6
Creamware-Molded		1									1	0.7
Pearlware-Plain		1	1	1		2			5		10	7.0
Pearlware-Painted	11					2					13	9.2
Pearlware-Printed	14	2					1				17	12.0
Pearlware-Molded	1					1					2	1.4
Pearlware-Dipped						2	2				4	2.8
Pearlware-Shell		20	1								21	14.8
Pearlware-Engine-Turned						1					1	0.7
Whiteware-Plain						1			2		3	2.1
Whiteware-Painted	3	1									4	2.8
Whiteware-Printed	6	5				1					12	8.5
Whiteware-Molded						1					1	0.7
Whiteware-Dipped						1					1	0.7
Whiteware-Shell-Edged		3									3	2.1
Chinese Export Porcelain	4										4	2.8
Hard-Paste Porcelain	2										2	1.4
Gray Stoneware					8						8	5.6
Buff Stoneware		1			1					1	3	2.1
White Salt-glazed	1										1	0.7
Yellowware						1					1	0.7
Total	43	39	3	13	10	14	7	0	11	2	142	99.9
Percent of Total	30.3	27.5	2.1	9.2	7.0	9.9	4.9		7.7	1.4	100	

KEY:

Tea = Teawares

Tbl = Tablewares

Serv = Serving Pieces

Prep = Food Preparation

Stor = Storage

Multi = Multi-function

Unid = Unidentified

Misc = Miscellaneous

Hyg = Hygiene Related

Table 27.
Ceramic Patterns by Vessel Forms

Feature: N

Analytical Unit: N-IV

TPQ: 1840

Decorative pattern	Teawares						Tablewares								Serving Pieces					Total		
	cup	scr	pot	slp bwl	sgr/ crm	misc/ unk	pl dn	pl tw	pl mf	pl unk	pl sp	bw	mg	egg	misc/ unk	plt	dsh	pch	bw		con dsh	misc/ unk
Blue Shell-Edged							6	5		2	1										1	15
Green Shell-Edged								1		3	5											9
Plain Creamware							1	1			2											4
Plain Pearlware								1								1						2
Venetian Scenery (Blue Print)							4															4
Canova (Blue Print)	1			1																		2
Pastoral Landscape (Blue Print)		2																				2
Non-matching Blue Print	5	5		2		1		2		1												16
Painted Fruit Motif	1	3																				4
Painted Floral/Vine	2	1																				3
Non-matching Painted Floral	2				1			1														4
Other Painted	1	3																				4
Non-matching Chinese Export Porcelain	2	1				1																4
Other Non-matching Vessels	1	4	3								1				2			1				12
Total	15	19	3	3	1	2	11	11	0	6	9	0	0	0	2	1	0	1	0	0	1	85

KEY:

cup = teacup
pl dn = plate, dinner
bw = bowl
pch = pitcher

scr = saucer
pl tw = plate, twifter
mg = mug
con dsh = condiment dish (including butter and candy)

pot = tea/coffee pot
pl mf = plate, muffin
egg = egg cup

slp bwl = slop bowl
pl unk = plate, unknown size
plt = platter
misc/unk = miscellaneous and/or unknown vessel

sgr/crm = sugar and/or creamer
pl sp = plate, soup
dsh = dish

Table 28.
Glass by Functional Group

Feature: N

Analytical Unit: N-IV

TPQ: 1840

Functional Group	Vessel Form	# of Vessels	% of Total
Tableware	Plates		
	Tumblers	30	25.4
	Shot Glasses		
	Goblets		
	Wine Glasses	3	2.5
	Dessert Glasses		
Teaware	Other	8	6.8
	Cups		
	Saucers		
	Sugar/Creamers		
	Other		
Serving Pieces	Platters		
	Dishes		
	Decanters	4	3.4
	Bowls		
	Condiment Dishes		
	Salts		
	Pitchers		
Food Preparation	Other		
	Oil Bottles	2	1.7
	Pickle Bottles		
	Sauce Bottles		
	Mustard Bottles	5	4.2
	Nappy		
	Milk Bottles		
Food Storage	Other		
	Jars		
	Demijohns		
	Other		
Wine/Liquor	Wine-Style Bottles	13	11.0
	Liquor-Style Bottles		
	Beer-Style Bottles	4	3.4
	Case Bottles	3	2.5
	Other		
Hygiene	All Forms	1	.8
Cosmetic	Jars		
	Perfume Bottles	1	.8
	Cologne Bottles	1	.8
	Hair Products		
	Other		
Medicinal	Medicine Bottles		
	Mineral Water/Soda Bottles		
	Vials	11	9.3
Activity	Other		
	Lamps	1	.8
	Globes	7	5.9
	Inks	1	.8
	Other	1	.8
Furniture	All Forms	1	.8
Personal	All Forms	1	.8
Unidentifiable		20	16.9
Total		118	99.4

Table 29.
Small Finds by Artifact Group and Functional Group

Feature: N

Analytical Stratum: N-IV

TPQ: 1840

Artifact Group	Functional Category	Number	Percentage
Kitchen	Utensil		
	Pot/Pan		
	Other		
Architecture	Hardware		
	Building Material		
	Electrical		
	Other	4	7.4
Commercial	Coins	1	1.9
	Other		
Furniture	Hardware		
	Other	12	22.2
Clothing	Textiles		
	Fasteners	5	9.3
	Shoes/Boot Parts	2	3.7
	Other		
Personal	Cosmetic	1	1.9
	Mirror Parts	9	16.7
	Hygiene	1	1.9
	Jewelry	4	7.4
	Tools		
	Sewing Items	3	5.6
	Writing	7	12.9
Transportation	Toys	1	1.9
	Other	2	3.7
	Horse/Ox Shoes		
	Carriage/Cart Parts		
	Other		
Unidentifiable	Other	2	3.7
Total		54	100.2

Feature O

Feature O was a 3.5-foot-diameter, stone-lined privy that cut through an earlier wood-lined privy (Feature AF) located beneath the cellar floor of the back tenement on Lot 7 (Figure 1). Cross-mends linked the six deposits of fill within the feature walls (Figure 11, AS III), which were overlain by a brown clayey loam including quantities of charcoal, pebbles, and coal (AS I). The fill matrix (AS III) consisted of various shades of brown loam mixed with cobbles, shell, ash, charcoal, coal, and brick. Tables 30–33 summarize the artifacts from AS III which were deposited after 1860.

Archeological Feature Descriptions, Profiles, and Artifact Tables

Table 30.
Ceramic Wares by Functional Group

Feature: O

Analytical Stratum: O-III

TPQ: 1860

Ware Type	Tea	Tbl	Serv	Prep	Stor	Multi	Unid	Misc	Hyg	House	Total	%
Redware	5	1	2	1	3	1			1		14	7.2
Redware-Flowerpot										5	5	2.6
Buff Earthenware										1	1	0.5
Creamware-Plain		1									1	0.5
Pearlware-Painted	2										2	1.0
Pearlware-Shell-Edged		1									1	0.5
Pearlware-Molded			1								1	0.5
Pearlware-Printed		1									1	0.5
Whiteware-Plain	1	2	1								4	2.1
Whiteware-Painted	4										4	2.1
Whiteware-Printed	20	14	1			1			1		37	19.1
Whiteware-Molded	1	1									2	1.0
Whiteware-Dipped	1					19					20	10.3
Whiteware-Spatter	6									1	7	3.6
Whiteware-Shell-Edged		7									7	3.6
Whiteware-Flowing Colors	4	5									9	4.6
Whiteware-Sponge	2										2	1.0
Whiteware-Luster						1					1	0.5
Whiteware-Other	1	1				1					3	1.5
Chinese Export Porcelain	2	1	1		1						5	2.6
Bone China	1										1	0.5
Hard-Paste Porcelain	3	1	1				1			2	8	4.1
Gray Stoneware					14		1			2	17	8.8
Buff Stoneware					1					1	2	1.0
Brown Stoneware					1						1	0.5
Other Stoneware							1				1	0.5
White Granite-Plain	1	3	2				1		1		8	4.1
White Granite-Printed			1								1	0.5
White Granite-Molded	17	4									21	10.8
Yellowware	1	2				1	1			1	6	3.1
Jasper	1										1	0.5
Total	73	45	10	1	20	24	5	0	3	13	194	99.7
Percent of Total	37.6	23.2	5.2	0.5	10.3	12.4	2.6	0	1.5	6.7	100	

KEY:

Tea = Teawares

Tbl = Tablewares

Serv = Serving Pieces

Prep = Food Preparation

Stor = Storage

Multi = Multi-function

Unid = Unidentified

Misc = Miscellaneous

Hyg = Hygiene Related

Table 31.
Ceramic Patterns by Vessel Forms

Feature: O

Analytical Unit: O-III

TPQ: 1860

Decorative pattern	Teawares						Tablewares								Serving Pieces						Total	
	cup	scr	pot	slp bwl	sgr/ crm	misc/ unk	pl dn	pl tw	pl mf	pl unk	pl sp	bw	mg	egg	misc/ unk	plt	dsh	pch	bw	con dsh		misc/ unk
Blue Shell-Edged								2	1	5												8
Willow								1		2												3
Alleghany (Blue Print)		1			1	1																3
Non-matching Blue Printed	2	3	1	1		3	1		1	4							1				1	18
Amoy (Flow Blue)	1	1																				2
Non-matching Flow Blue	1	1							1	1	3											7
Plain Creamware														1								1
Plain White		3					1			3	1					1	2					11
White Gothic			1		2	1																4
White Curved Gothic									1	2												3
White Paneled	1																					1
White Primary	1	3																				4
White Bootes Union	4								1													5
White Sydenham	1																					1
Other Molded White		3								1								1				5
Paneled Hard-Paste Porcelain	1	1																				2
Non-matching Molded White Porcelain	1																				1	2
Non-matching Chinese Export Porcelain						2				1							1					4
Spatter	2	4																				6
Sponge		2																				2
Non-matching Painted Floral		2	1			2																5
Other Non-matching Vessels	2	6	6			4		2		5			3		1			2				31
Total	17	30	9	1	3	13	2	8	3	26	2	0	3	0	1	1	4	3	0	0	2	128

KEY:

cup = teacup
pl dn = plate, dinner
bw = bowl
pch = pitcher

scr = saucer
pl tw = plate, twiffler
mg = mug
con dsh = condiment dish (including butter and candy)

pot = tea/coffee pot
pl mf = plate, muffin
egg = egg cup

slp bwl = slop bowl
pl unk = plate, unknown size
plt = platter
misc/unk = miscellaneous and/or unknown vessel

sgr/crm = sugar and/or creamer
pl sp = plate, soup
dsh = dish

Table 32.
Glass by Functional Group

Feature: O

Analytical Unit: O-III

TPQ: 1860

Functional Group	Vessel Form	# of Vessels	% of Total
Tableware	Plates		
	Tumblers	8	7.5
	Shot Glasses		
	Goblets		
	Wine Glasses	3	2.8
	Dessert Glasses		
Teaware	Other	1	0.9
	Cups		
	Saucers		
	Sugar/Creamers		
Serving Pieces	Other		
	Platters		
	Dishes		
	Decanters	2	1.9
	Bowls		
	Condiment Dishes		
	Salts	1	0.9
Food Preparation	Pitchers		
	Other	1	0.9
	Oil Bottles		
	Pickle Bottles		
	Sauce Bottles		
	Mustard Bottles		
	Nappy		
	Milk Bottles		
Food Storage	Other	3	2.8
	Jars		
	Demijohns	1	0.9
Wine/Liquor	Other		
	Wine-Style Bottles	3	2.8
	Liquor-Style Bottles	4	3.8
	Beer-Style Bottles	3	2.8
	Case Bottles		
Hygiene	Other	5	4.7
	All Forms		
Cosmetic	Jars	1	0.9
	Perfume Bottles	2	1.9
	Cologne Bottles	1	0.9
	Hair Products		
Medicinal	Other		
	Medicine Bottles	27	25.5
	Mineral Water/Soda Bottles	7	6.6
	Vials	16	15.1
	Other		
Activity	Lamps	1	0.9
	Globes		
	Inks	8	7.5
	Other		
Furniture	All Forms		
Personal	All Forms		
Unidentifiable		8	7.5
Total		106	99.5

Table 33.
Small Finds by Artifact Group and Functional Group

Feature: O

Analytical Stratum: O-III

TPQ: 1860

Artifact Group	Functional Category	Number	Percentage
Kitchen	Utensil	6	2.5
	Pot/Pan		
	Other	1	0.4
Architecture	Hardware		
	Building Material		
	Electrical		
	Other		
Commercial	Coins	12	5.0
	Other	3	1.3
Furniture	Hardware	4	1.7
	Other	6	2.5
Clothing	Textiles		
	Fasteners	65	27.2
	Shoes/Boot Parts	29	12.1
Personal	Cosmetic	2	0.8
	Mirror	63	26.4
	Hygiene	4*	1.7
	Jewelry	4	1.7
	Tools		
	Sewing Items		
	Writing	18	7.5
Transportation	Toys	6	2.5
	Other	1	0.4
	Horse/Ox Shoes		
Other	Carriage/Cart Parts		
	Other		
Other		3	1.3
Unidentifiable		12	5.0
Total		239	100.0

* = 3 syringes

5.0 466 Pearl Street, Lot 3/4

Three small features (AA, AB, and W) were investigated on Lot 3/4, and a large excavation unit on the lot (EU 1, Figure 1) exposed the approximately two-foot-deep fill that predated the residential occupation of the lot and the original ground surface which underlay it. The fill (nos. 9, 10, and 11 on Figure 13) consisted of dark brown to dark yellowish brown silty or sandy loam mixed with rocks, cobbles, and gravel. The ground surface, which sloped down in a southerly direction (Figure 13), was covered with the same shell stratum that had been observed in EUs 1 and 2 on the front of Lot 6. However, there were no remains associated with tanning in this location. The buried topsoil was a dark brown sandy and clayey loam. It was underlain by subsoil. The top two feet of fill in EU 1 (nos. 1-8, Figure 13) consisted of silt and sand mixed with architectural debris. Insurance maps do not show any structures in this portion of the yard, but the absence of topsoil below the architectural debris suggests that the surface was covered after it was built up with fill, probably by a wooden shed.

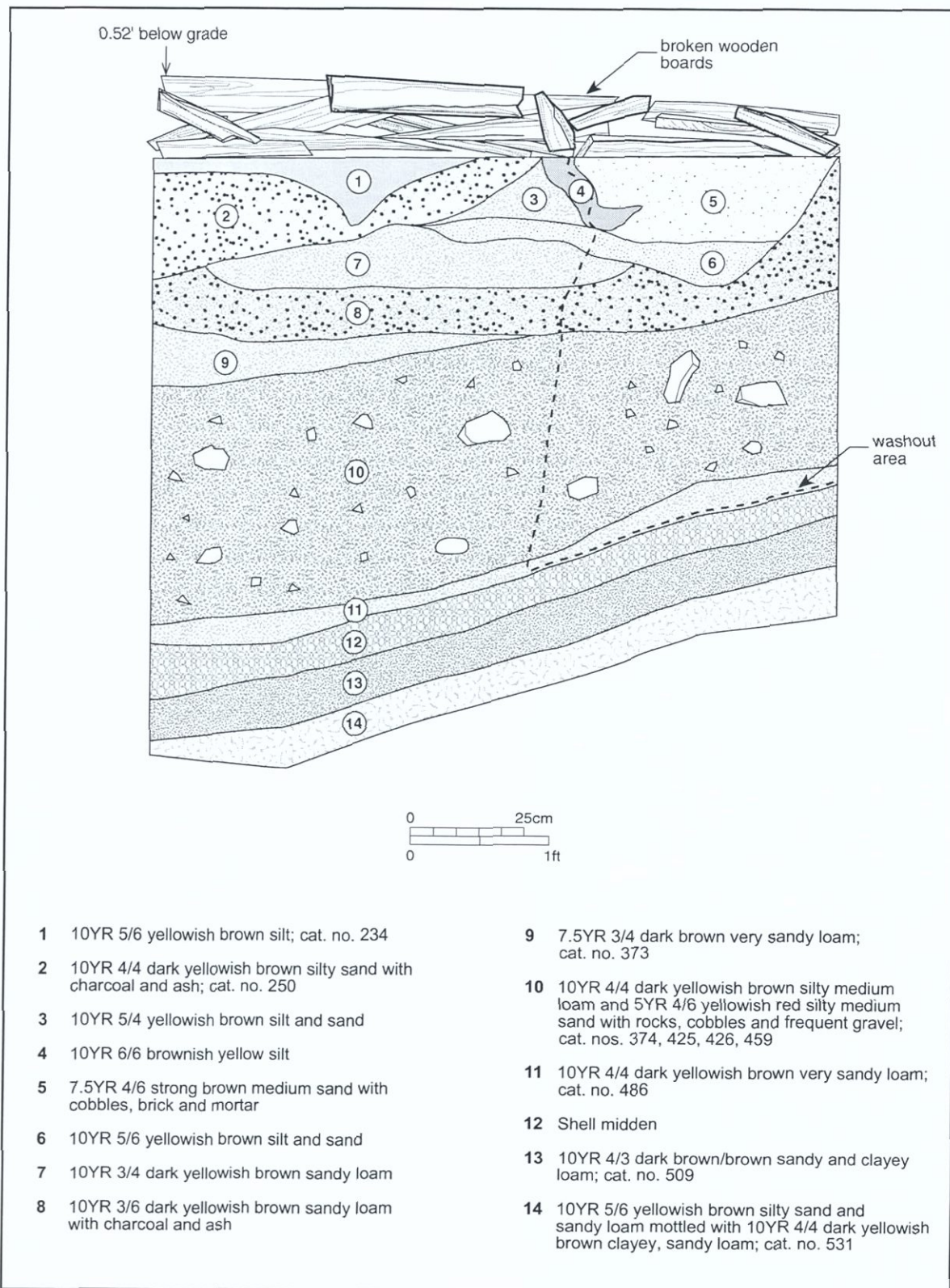


Figure 13. Lot 3/4, EU 1. Profile of fill layers in western half.

Feature W

Feature W was a shallow, rectangular trash pit full of oyster shell (Figure 14). The pit, which was surrounded by red coarse sand with rocks (no. 3 on Figure 14), rested on a bed of strong brown sand (no. 2). The jumble of bricks below the sand and directly below the pit included pieces with coal slag adhering to them suggesting that they had been heated to high temperatures. The combination of oyster shell, heat-altered brick, and charcoal and ash in the soils surrounding the feature suggests the remains of a kiln for producing lime. The kiln had been built on top of topsoil (no. 10 on Figure 14) that overlay the lot fill (no. 13) described in EU 1. The presence of topsoil in this location and a possible post hole cutting into it, represented as Layer 9 in Figure 14, suggests that the western edge of the kiln may have coincided with the structure that covered the area along the western edge of the test unit (marked as Feature X on Figure 1 but not described in the field notes). Few artifacts were recovered from Feature W; no artifact tables were prepared.

6.0 110 Chatham Street and 464 Pearl Street, Lot 52

One major feature, AM, was investigated on Lot 52.

Feature AM

Feature AM was a sandstone box measuring 4 by 8 feet that appears to have served for cold storage. Although the feature was found inside the back wall of the most recent tenement on the lot, it was probably originally inside one of the additions to the back of an earlier structure that faced Chatham Street. It was filled in two episodes (Figure 15). The upper fill consisted of brown sandy loam with very few artifacts. In contrast, the fill below, a dark brown loam with ash, was packed with artifacts. Tables 34–37 summarize the artifacts recovered from AS II. Four wooden planks set into greenish gray sandy loam with gravel created a kind of floor to the feature.

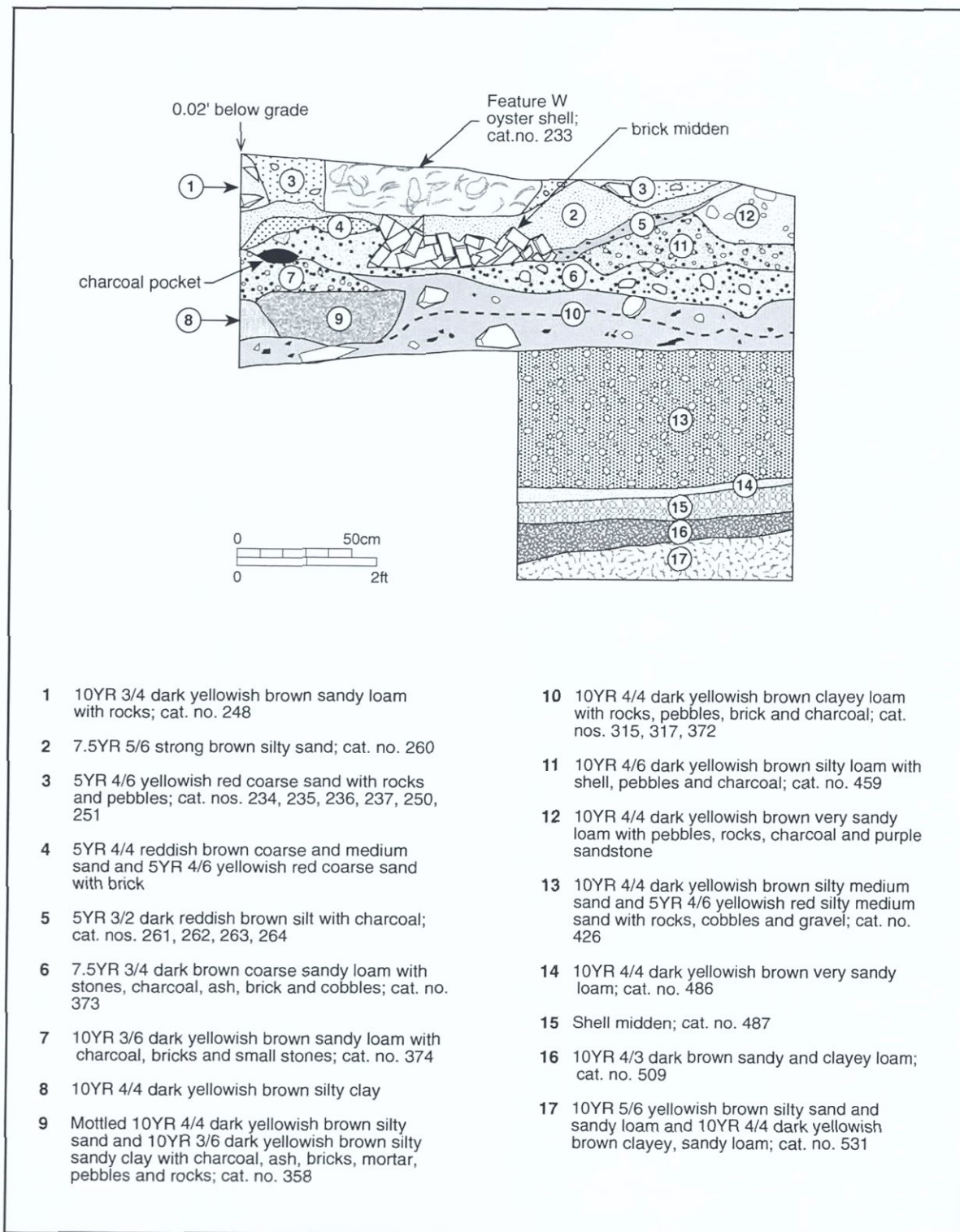


Figure 14. Lot 3/4, Feature W, oyster shell deposit and EU 1. Profile of southern half.

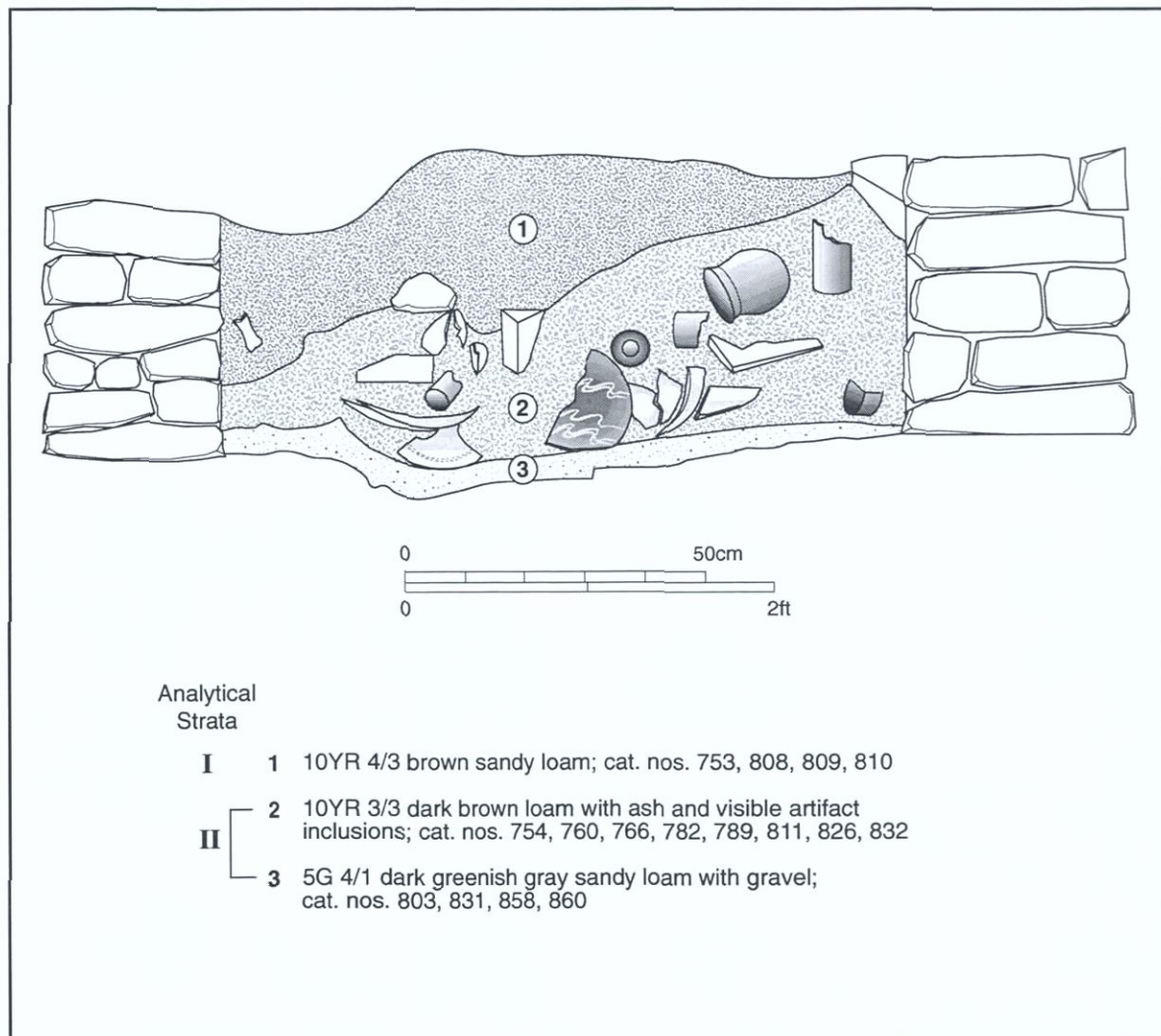


Figure 15. Lot 52, Feature AM, sandstone-lined icehouse. Profile of fill layers in western half.

Table 34.
Ceramic Wares by Functional Group

Feature: AM

Analytical Stratum: AM-II

TPQ: 1851

Ware Type	Tea	Tbl	Serv	Prep	Stor	Multi	Unid	Misc	Hyg	House	Total	%
Redware	1	4	8	8	1			18	3	2	45	14.2
Redware-Flowerpot										5	5	1.6
Creamware-Plain	6	2	1	2					6		17	5.4
Creamware-Engine-Turned			4								4	1.3
Creamware-Applied		3									3	0.9
Creamware-Molded		1									1	0.3
China Glaze-Printed	1										1	0.3
Pearlware-Plain			3						6		9	2.8
Pearlware-Painted	6							1			7	2.2
Pearlware-Printed	9	4	4					4	1		22	7.0
Pearlware-Applied		2									2	0.6
Pearlware-Molded								1			1	0.3
Pearlware-Dipped	10		2								12	3.8
Pearlware-Pratt			1								1	0.3
Pearlware-Shell-Edged		10	1								11	3.5
Pearlware-Engine-Turned			1								1	0.3
Pearlware-Mocha	1										1	0.3
Pearlware-Luster	1										1	0.3
Whiteware-Plain	1		1					3	6		11	3.5
Whiteware-Painted	1										1	0.3
Whiteware-Printed	28	35	9					10			82	25.9
Whiteware-Molded								1			1	0.3
Whiteware-Dipped	1		2					1			4	1.3
Whiteware-Spatter		1									1	0.3
Whiteware-Mocha	1										1	0.3
Whiteware-Annular	1										1	0.3
Whiteware-Luster	1										1	0.3
Chinese Export Porcelain	17										17	5.4
Bone China	4							1		1	6	1.9
Soft-Paste Porcelain	3		1								4	1.3
Gray Stoneware					8			5	1		14	4.4
Buff Stoneware			2	2	4			3			11	3.5
Lustered Stoneware								2			2	0.6
White Granite-Plain		5						1	3		9	2.8
Yellowware				5							5	1.6
Jasper			1								1	0.3
Total	93	67	41	17			13	51	26	8	316	99.7
Percent of Total	29.3	21.1	12.9	5.4	4.1			16.7	8.2	2.5	100.2	

KEY:

Tea = Teawares

Tbl = Tablewares

Serv = Serving Pieces

Prep = Food Preparation

Stor = Storage

Multi = Multi-function

Unid = Unidentified

Misc = Miscellaneous

Hyg = Hygiene Related

Table 35.
Ceramic Patterns by Vessel Forms

Feature: AM

Analytical Unit: AM-II

TPQ: 1851

Decorative pattern	Teawares						Tablewares									Serving Pieces					Total	
	cup	scr	pot	slp bwl	sgr/ crm	misc/ unk	pl dn	pl tw	pl mf	pl unk	pl sp	bw	mg	egg	misc/ unk	plt	dsh	pch	bw	con dsh		misc/ unk
Willow		3					4	11		3							4					25
Canova (Blue Printed)									1		1						2					4
Blue Reed	2																					2
Japan Flowers		2						3														5
Non-matching Chinoiserie Landscape	4	2																				6
Non-matching Blue Print	9	5	1				1	5	2	1	1						2	3				30
Non-matching Old Blue Print	1	1			1		1										1	2				7
Blue Shell Edge							5		1	2						1					1	10
Plain Creamware	4	1		1						2									1			9
Plain White				1			2			1								3	1			8
Paneled White	1	1						2														4
Dipped	5			5		1												3				14
Non-matching Painted Floral	1	4																				5
Lustered Bone China		2			1	1																4
Chinese Export Porcelain: House & Tree	4	7	2																			13
Non-matching Red Printed Chinoiserie	2	2																				4
Other Non-matching Vessels	4	5	1	6			3	4		6			1		4			12	3		2	51
Total	37	35	4	13	2	2	16	25	4	15	2		1		4	1	9	23	5		3	201

KEY:

cup = teacup
pl dn = plate, dinner
bw = bowl
pch = pitcher

scr = saucer
pl tw = plate, twifter
mg = mug
con dsh = condiment dish (including butter and candy)

pot = tea/coffee pot
pl mf = plate, muffin
egg = egg cup

slp bwl = slop bowl
pl unk = plate, unknown size
plt = platter
misc/unk = miscellaneous and/or unknown vessel

sgr/crm = sugar and/or creamer
pl sp = plate, soup
dsh = dish

Table 36.
Glass by Functional Group

Feature: AM

Analytical Unit: AM-II

TPQ: 1851

Functional Group	Vessel Form	# of Vessels	% of Total
Tableware	Plates		
	Tumblers	73	30.8
	Shot Glasses		
	Goblets	2	0.8
	Wine Glasses	5	2.1
	Dessert Glasses		
Teaware	Other		
	Cups		
	Saucers		
	Sugar/Creamers		
Serving Pieces	Other	1	0.4
	Platters		
	Dishes		
	Decanters	3	1.3
	Bowls	1	0.4
	Condiment Dishes		
	Salts	3	1.3
	Pitchers		
Food Preparation	Other	5	2.1
	Oil Bottles		
	Pickle Bottles	1	0.4
	Sauce Bottles	1	0.4
	Mustard Bottles		
	Nappy		
Food Storage	Milk Bottles		
	Other	1	0.4
	Jars		
Wine/Liquor	Demijohns	3	1.3
	Other		
	Wine-Style Bottles	28	11.8
	Liquor-Style Bottles		
	Beer-Style Bottles	6	2.5
Hygiene	Case Bottles	1	0.4
	Other		
	All Forms		
	Cosmetic		
	Jar		
	Perfume Bottles		
	Cologne Bottles		
Medicinal	Hair Products		
	Other	2	0.8
	Medicine Bottles	5	2.1
	Mineral Water/Soda Bottles	1	0.4
Activity	Vials	17	7.2
	Other	2	0.8
	Lamps	21	8.9
	Globes	21	8.9
Furniture	Inks	1	0.4
	Other		
Personal	All Forms		
Unidentifiable		33	13.9
Total		237	99.8

Table 37.
Small Finds by Artifact Group and Functional Group

Feature: AM

Analytical Stratum: AM-II

TPQ: 1851

Artifact Group	Functional Category	Number	Percentage
Kitchen	Utensil	16	3.7
	Pot/Pan		
	Other	1	0.2
Architecture	Hardware	7	1.6
	Building Material		
	Electrical		
Commercial	Other		
	Coins	10	2.3
	Other	1	0.2
Furniture	Hardware	15	3.5
	Other	3	0.7
Clothing	Textiles	2	0.5
	Fasteners	77	17.9
	Shoes/Boot Parts	7	1.6
Personal	Cosmetic		
	Mirror	74	17.2
	Hygiene	31	7.2
	Jewelry	54	12.5
	Tools	3	0.7
	Sewing Items	71	16.5
	Writing	14	3.2
	Toys	3	0.7
	Other	11	2.6
	Transportation	Horse/Ox Shoes	
Carriage/Cart Parts			
Other			
Military			
	All	5	1.2
Other		2	0.5
Unidentifiable		24	5.6
Total		431	100.1

7.0 Orange (Baxter) Street, Lot 47

Six major features (AH, AT, AK, AL, AI, AJ), two of them overlapping (AH/AT), were uncovered on Lot 47. Feature AJ was not excavated.

Feature AH/AT

Feature AH, a stone-lined oval privy measuring about 5 feet across, overlay an earlier wood-lined box privy, Feature AT. The primary fill of Feature AT (Figure 16, AS III) was sealed by a layer of sand (AS II) which may have been the base for the later privy. The TPQ for the sand layer was 1820. The primary black organic deposit in Feature AT lay on top of a very pale brown lime deposit that rested on the wooden bottom of the box. Table 38 summarizes the ceramics from Feature AT, AS III. One creamware dinner plate was identified in the deposit; there were two unidentifiable glass vessels and no small finds. The fill of the later privy (AS I), including both artifacts and architectural debris, lay on top of, and was distinct from, the sand that separated the two privy shafts. The fill consisted of silty sand with bricks and sandy silt with mortar. The strong brown sand in the middle of the feature may have been what was left of an in situ privy deposit. No artifact tables were made for AS I; its TPQ was 1870 (Table 1). Feature AH, AS II produced only one painted whiteware tea vessel and one miscellaneous redware vessel. An unidentifiable piece of glass and one piece of textile were the only other artifacts identified from Feature AH, AS II.

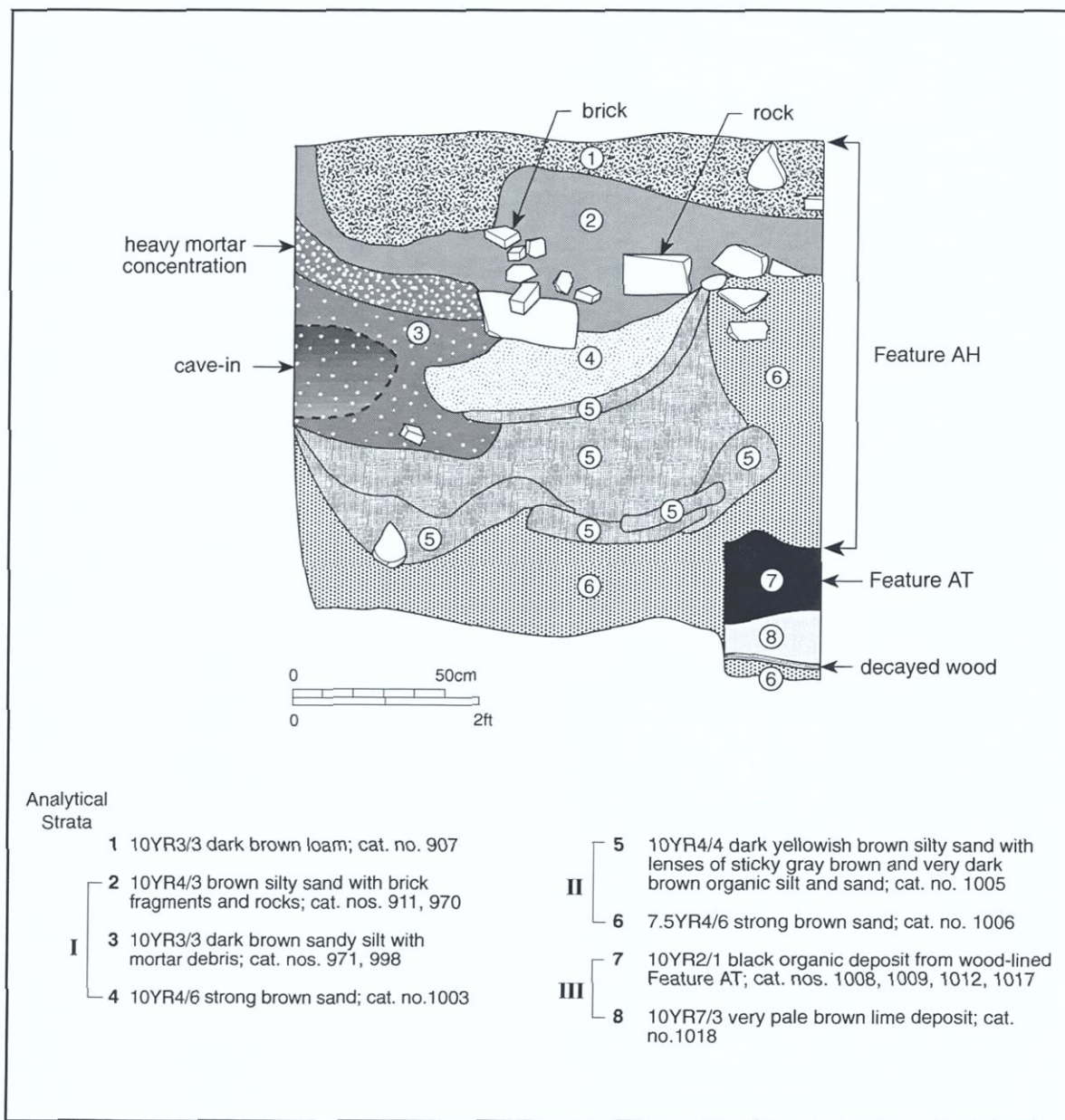


Figure 16. Lot 47, Features AH and AT. Profile of fill layers in western half of each feature.

Archeological Feature Descriptions, Profiles, and Artifact Tables

Table 38.
Ceramic Wares by Functional Group

Feature: AT

Analytical Stratum: AT-III

TPQ: 1800

Ware Type	Tea	Tbl	Serv	Prep	Stor	Multi	Unid	Misc	Hyg	House	Total	%
Redware				1							1	14.3
Redware-Flowerpot										1	1	14.3
Creamware-Plain		1						1			2	28.6
Gray Stoneware								1			1	14.3
Buff Stoneware					1						1	14.3
Tin Glaze								1			1	14.3
Total		1		1	1			3		1	7	100.1
Percent of Total		14.3		14.3	14.3			42.9		14.3		100.1

KEY:

Tea = Teawares

Tbl = Tablewares

Serv = Serving Pieces

Prep = Food Preparation

Stor = Storage

Multi = Multi-function

Unid = Unidentified

Misc = Miscellaneous

Hyg = Hygiene Related

Feature AK

Feature AK was a red sandstone-lined privy measuring about 6 feet in diameter. Primary fill layers at the bottom of AK, AS III and IV (not visible on Figure 17) had been covered with a deep stratum of coal, ash, and cinder (AS I) and a stratum of clay loam (AS II). The ceramic vessels from AS III are summarized in Table 39. Only one unidentifiable glass vessel was recovered from AS III and one clothes pin. The artifact assemblage from AS IV is summarized in Tables 40–44. Tables 45–47 summarize the finds from AS I. AS II included few artifacts; no TPQ was calculated.

Table 39.
Ceramic Wares by Functional Group

Feature: AK

Analytical Stratum: AK-III

TPQ:1840

Ware Type	Tea	Tbl	Serv	Prep	Stor	Multi	Unid	Misc	Hyg	House	Total	%
Pearlware-Painted	1										1	10.0
Pearlware-Dipped								1			1	10.0
Whiteware-Printed	1							1	1		3	30.0
Chinese Export Porcelain	1										1	10.0
Hard-Paste Porcelain								1			1	10.0
Gray Stoneware								2			2	20.0
Buff Stoneware								1			1	10.0
White Granite-Molded												
Total	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	1	0	10	100.0
Percent of Total	30.0							60.0	10.0		100.0	

KEY:

Tea = Teawares

Tbl = Tablewares

Serv = Serving Pieces

Prep = Food Preparation

Stor = Storage

Multi = Multi-function

Unid = Unidentified

Misc = Miscellaneous

Hyg = Hygiene Related

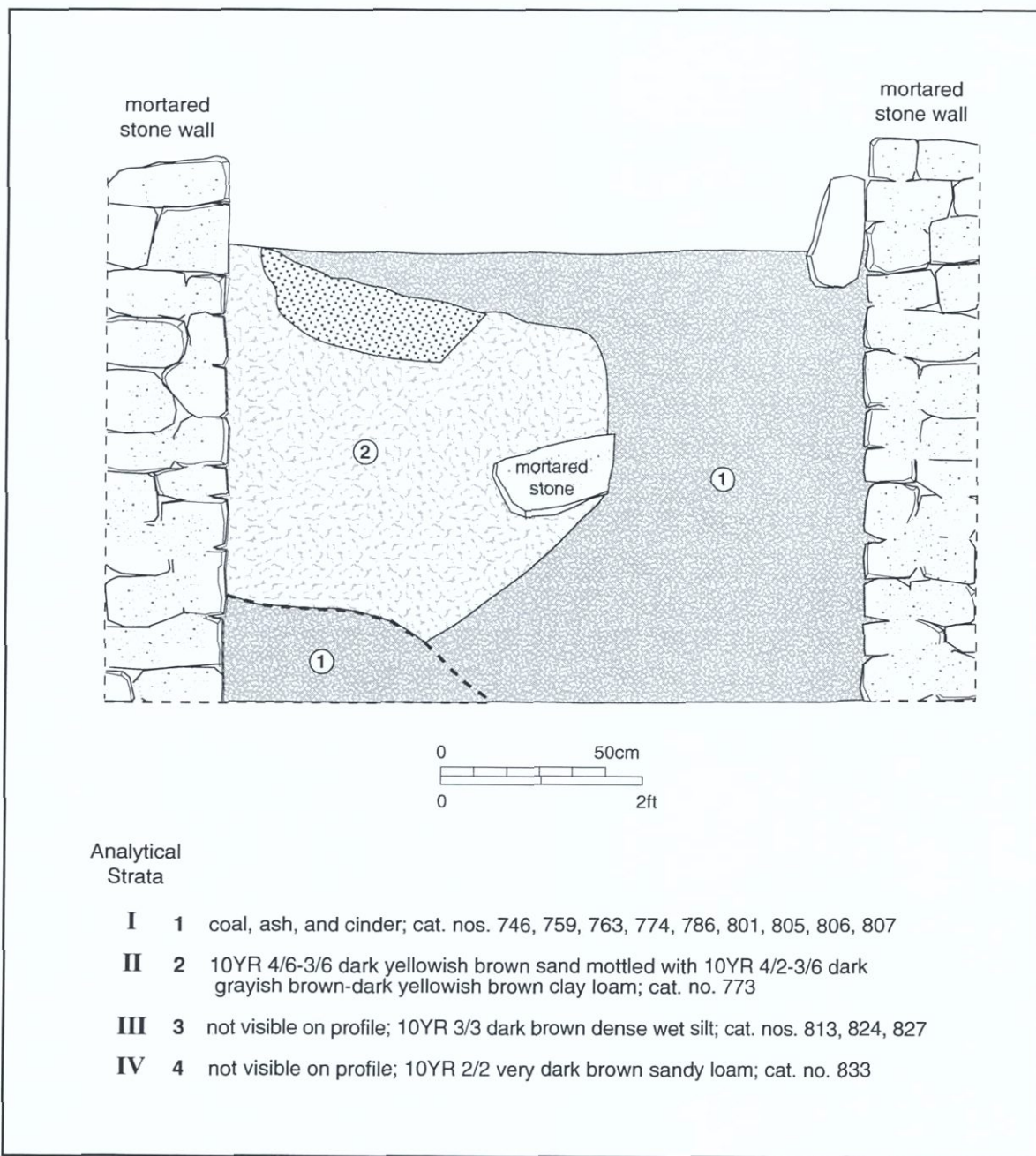


Figure 17. Lot 47, Feature AK, stone-lined privy. Profile of fill layers in northern half.

Table 40.
Ceramic Wares by Functional Group

Feature: AK

Analytical Stratum: AK-IV

TPQ: 1800

Ware Type	Tea	Tbl	Serv	Prep	Stor	Multi	Unid	Misc	Hyg	House	Total	%
Redware				2				1			3	14.3
Redware-Flowerpot										1	1	4.8
Pearlware-Printed	2	1									3	14.3
Pearlware-Shell-Edged		9									9	42.9
Pearlware-Dipped						1					1	4.8
Chinese Export Porcelain	2										2	9.5
Hard-Paste Porcelain	1										1	4.8
Gray Stoneware					1						1	4.8
Total	5	10	0	2	1	1	0	1	0	1	21	100.2
Percent of Total	23.8	47.6		9.5	4.8	4.8		4.8		4.8	100.1	

KEY:

Tea = Teawares

Stor = Storage

Hyg = Hygiene Related

Tbl = Tablewares

Multi = Multi-function

Serv = Serving Pieces

Unid = Unidentified

Prep = Food Preparation

Misc = Miscellaneous

Table 41.
Ceramic Patterns by Vessel Forms

Feature: AK

Analytical Unit: AK-IV

TPQ: 1800

Decorative pattern	Teawares						Tablewares								Serving Pieces						Total	
	cup	scr	pot	slp bwl	sgr/ crm	misc/ unk	pl dn	pl tw	pl mf	pl unk	pl sp	bw	mg	cup pl	misc/ unk	plt	dsh	pch	bw	con dsh		misc/ unk
Blue Shell-edge							2	3	3													8
Willow		2												1								3
Printed							1															1
Chinese Export Porcelain		3																				3
Total		5					3	3	3					1								15

KEY:

cup = teacup
pl dn = plate, dinner
bw = bowl
pch = pitcher

scr = saucer
pl tw = plate, twiffler
mg = mug
con dsh = condiment dish (including butter and candy)

pot = tea/coffee pot
pl mf = plate, muffin
cup pl = cup plate

slp bwl = slop bowl
pl unk = plate, unknown size
plt = platter
misc/unk = miscellaneous and/or unknown vessel

sgr/crm = sugar and/or creamer
pl sp = plate, soup
dsh = dish

Archeological Feature Descriptions, Profiles, and Artifact Tables

Table 42.
Glass by Functional Group

Feature: AK

Analytical Unit: AK-IV

TPQ: 1800

Functional Group	Vessel Form	# of Vessels	% of Total
Tableware	Plates		
	Tumblers	14	37.8
	Shot Glasses		
	Goblets		
	Wine Glasses	4	10.8
	Dessert Glasses		
Teaware	Other		
	Cups		
	Saucers		
	Sugar/Creamers		
Serving Pieces	Other		
	Platters		
	Dishes		
	Decanters		
	Bowls		
	Condiment Dishes		
	Salts	1	2.7
	Pitchers		
Food Preparation	Other		
	Oil Bottles		
	Pickle Bottles		
	Sauce Bottles		
	Mustard Bottles		
	Nappy		
	Milk Bottles		
Food Storage	Other	2	5.4
	Jars		
	Demijohns		
	Other		
Wine/Liquor	Wine-Style Bottles	4	10.8
	Liquor-Style Bottles		
	Beer-Style Bottles		
	Case Bottles		
	Other		
Hygiene	All Forms		
Cosmetic	Jars		
	Perfume Bottles		
	Cologne Bottles		
	Hair Products		
Medicinal	Other		
	Medicine Bottles		
	Mineral Water/Soda Bottles		
	Vials	10	27.0
Activity	Other		
	Lamps		
	Globes		
	Inks		
Furniture	Other		
	All Forms		
Personal	All Forms		
Unidentifiable		2	5.4
Total		37	99.9

Table 43.
Small Finds by Artifact Group and Functional Group

Feature: AK

Analytical Stratum: AK-IV

TPQ: 1800

Artifact Group	Functional Category	Number	Percentage
Kitchen	Utensil		
	Pot/Pan		
	Other		
Architecture	Hardware		
	Building Material		
	Electrical		
	Other		
Commercial	Coins		
	Other		
Furniture	Hardware		
	Other		
Clothing	Textiles	1	2.8
	Fasteners	12	33.3
	Shoes/Boot Parts	2	5.6
Personal	Cosmetic		
	Mirror Parts		
	Hygiene		
	Jewelry		
	Tools		
	Sewing Items	1	2.8
	Writing	2	5.6
	Toys	1	2.8
	Other	4	11.1
Household	Clothes Pin		
Transportation	Horse/Ox Shoes		
	Carriage/Cart Parts		
	Other		
Other		6	16.7
Unidentifiable		7	19.4
Total		36	100.1

**Table 44.
Ceramic Wares by Functional Group**

Feature: AK

Analytical Stratum: AK-I

TPQ: 1890

Ware Type	Tea	Tbl	Serv	Prep	Stor	Multi	Unid	Misc	Hyg	House	Total	%
Redware		1						3			4	9.3
Redware-Flowerpot										4	4	9.3
Pearlware-Painted	1										1	2.3
Pearlware-Printed	2										2	4.7
Pearlware-Shell-Edged		1									1	2.3
Whiteware-Printed	1				1						2	4.7
Whiteware-Other								1			1	2.3
Chinese Export Porcelain		1						1			2	4.7
Bone China	1		1								2	4.7
Gray Stoneware					4						4	9.3
Buff Stoneware					4			2	1		7	16.3
Other Stoneware								1			1	2.3
White Granite-Plain	3	2				1					6	14.0
Yellowware								2			2	4.7
Hard-Paste Porcelain	1								2	1	4	9.3
Total	9	5	1	0	9	1	0	10	3	5	43	100.2
Percent of Total	20.9	11.6	2.3		20.9	2.3		23.3	7.0	11.6	99.9	

KEY:

Tea = Teawares

Tbl = Tablewares

Serv = Serving Pieces

Prep = Food Preparation

Stor = Storage

Multi = Multi-function

Unid = Unidentified

Misc = Miscellaneous

Hyg = Hygiene Related

Table 45.
Ceramic Patterns by Vessel Forms

Feature: AK

Analytical Unit: AK-1

TPQ: 1890

Decorative pattern	Teawares						Tablewares							Serving Pieces						Total			
	cup	scr	pot	slp bwl	sgr/ crm	misc/ unk	pl dn	pl tw	pl mf	pl unk	pl sp	bw	mg	cup pl	misc/ unk	plt	dsh	pch	bw		con dsh	misc/ unk	
Plain White	2	2						2	1													1	8
Green Shell-edge									1														1
Willow	1																						1
Non-matching Printed						3																	3
Painted Band	1																						1
Chinese Export Porcelain									1														1
Total	4	2				3		2	1	2												1	15

KEY:

cup = teacup

pl dn = plate, dinner

bw = bowl

pch = pitcher

scr = saucer

pl tw = plate, twiffler

mg = mug

con dsh = condiment dish (including butter and candy)

pot = tea/coffee pot

pl mf = plate, muffin

cup pl = cup plate

slp bwl = slop bowl

pl unk = plate, unknown size

plt = platter

misc/unk = miscellaneous and/or unknown vessel

sgr/crm = sugar and/or creamer

pl sp = plate, soup

dsh = dish

Archeological Feature Descriptions, Profiles, and Artifact Tables

Table 46.
Glass by Functional Group

Feature: AK

Analytical Unit: AK-I

TPQ: 1880

Functional Group	Vessel Form	# of Vessels	% of Total
Tableware	Plates		
	Tumblers		
	Shot Glasses		
	Goblets	2	4.8
	Wine Glasses	2	4.8
	Dessert Glasses		
Teaware	Other		
	Cups		
	Saucers		
	Sugar/Creamers		
Serving Pieces	Other		
	Platters		
	Dishes		
	Decanters		
	Bowls		
	Condiment Dishes		
	Salts		
	Pitchers		
Food Preparation	Other		
	Oil Bottles		
	Pickle Bottles		
	Sauce Bottles		
	Mustard Bottles		
	Nappy		
Food Storage	Milk Bottles		
	Other		
	Jars		
	Demijohns		
Wine/Liquor	Other		
	Wine-Style Bottles	1	2.4
	Liquor-Style Bottles		
	Beer-Style Bottles		
	Case Bottles		
Hygiene	Other		
	All Forms		
	Cosmetic		
	Jars		
	Perfume Bottles		
	Cologne Bottles		
Medicinal	Hair Products		
	Other		
	Medicine Bottles	11	26.2
	Mineral Water/Soda Bottles	4	9.5
Activity	Vials		
	Other		
	Lamps	3	7.1
	Globes		
Furniture	Inks	2	4.8
	Other		
	All Forms		
Personal	All Forms	1	2.4
Unidentifiable		16	38.1
Total		42	100.1

Table 47.
Small Finds by Artifact Group and Functional Group

Feature: AK

Analytical Stratum: AK-I

TPQ: 1890

Artifact Group	Functional Category	Number	Percentage	
Kitchen	Utensil			
	Pot/Pan			
	Other	3	1.0	
Architecture	Hardware	1	0.3	
	Building Material			
	Electrical			
Commercial	Other			
	Coins	1	0.3	
	Other			
Furniture	Hardware			
	Other	8	2.7	
Clothing	Textiles	99	33.4	
	Fasteners	83	28.0	
	Shoes/Boot Parts	50	16.9	
	Other			
Personal	Cosmetic	1	0.3	
	Hygiene			
	Jewelry	3	1.0	
	Tools	12	4.1	
	Sewing Items	2	0.7	
	Writing	9	3.0	
	Toys	2	0.7	
	Other	1	0.3	
	Transportation	Horse/Ox Shoes		
		Carriage/Cart Parts		
Other				
Military	All	1	0.3	
Other		20	6.8	
Unidentifiable				
Total		296	99.8	

Feature AL

Feature AL, also located in the yard of Lot 47 (Figure 1), was a stone-lined privy measuring almost 4 feet in diameter that had a primary fill deposit at the bottom (Figure 18, AS II) which was apparently what was left after it had been cleaned (scooped out). This in situ deposit consisted of dark grayish brown loamy clay. Tables 48–51 summarize the artifacts that were recovered from it. The primary deposit was covered with a deep stratum of silty/clayey loam mixed with ash and coal (AS I). The artifacts from this stratum are summarized in Tables 52–55.

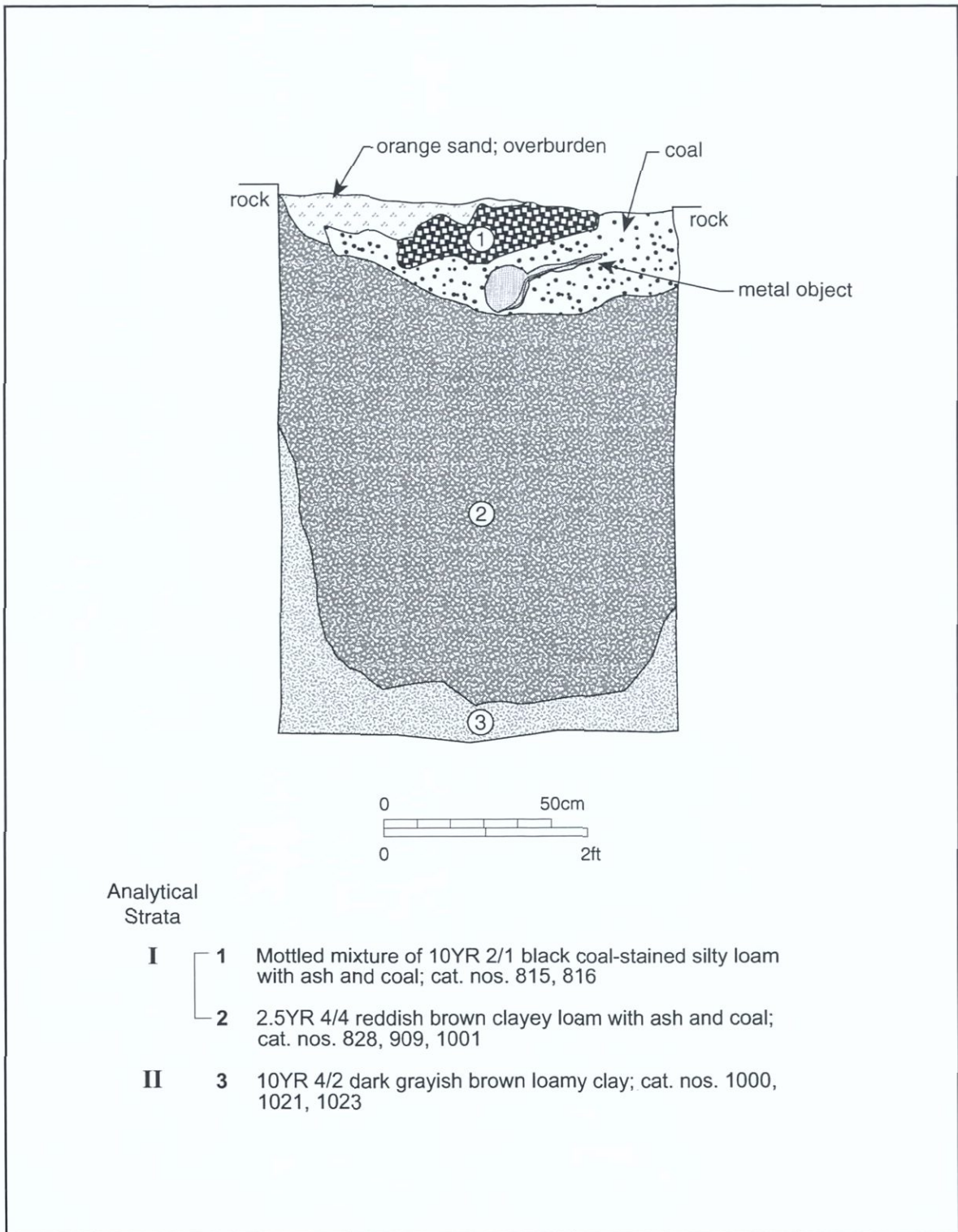


Figure 18. Lot 47, Feature AL, stone-lined privy. Profile of fill layers in northern half.

Table 48.
Ceramic Wares by Functional Group

Feature: AL

Analytical Stratum: AL-II

TPQ: 1860

Ware Type	Tea	Tbl	Serv	Prep	Stor	Multi	Unid	Misc	Hyg	House	Total	%
Redware		2		5	1					2	10	7.8
Redware-Flowerpot										9	9	7.0
Pearlware-Plain									5		5	3.9
Pearlware-Printed						1			2		3	2.3
Whiteware-Plain	1	2	1			4			4		12	9.3
Whiteware-Painted	2		1							2	5	3.9
Whiteware-Printed	3	1								1	5	3.9
Whiteware-Flow	2	3	2						1		8	6.2
Whiteware-Shell-Edged		4	1								5	3.9
White Granite-Plain	10										10	7.8
White Granite-Molded	8	3	1								12	9.3
Bone China	10	2									12	9.3
Rockingham	1										1	0.8
Gray Stoneware					7						7	5.4
Yellowware				1		1			1		3	2.3
Hard-Paste Porcelain-Plain		6									6	4.7
Hard-Paste Porcelain-Molded	7	1	1							3	12	9.3
Hard-Paste Porcelain-Painted	1	2								1	4	3.1
Total	45	26	7	6	8	6	0	0	13	18	129	100.2
Percent of Total	34.9	20.2	5.4	4.7	6.2	4.7			10.1	14.0	100.2	

KEY:

Tea = Teawares

Stor = Storage

Hyg = Hygiene Related

Tbl = Tablewares

Multi = Multi-function

Serv = Serving Pieces

Unid = Unidentified

Prep = Food Preparation

Misc = Miscellaneous

Table 49.
Ceramic Patterns by Vessel Forms

Feature: AL

Analytical Unit: AL-II

TPQ: 1860

Decorative pattern	Teawares						Tablewares								Serving Pieces						Total	
	cup	scr	pot	slp bwl	sgr/ crm	misc/ unk	pl dn	pl tw	pl mf	pl unk	pl sp	bw	mg	cup pl	misc/ unk	plt	dsh	pch	bw	con dsh		misc/ unk
Plain White	6	5											2					1				14
Molded White		2	1	2			2			1				2				1				11
Molded White Porcelain	3	3						1					1								1	9
Molded Bone China	5	3						2														10
Plain Porcelain								2	1		1											4
Blue Shell-edge							2				1				1				1			5
Non-matching Printed	1			2		1	1															5
Flow	2	4											2				3					11
Decorated Hard-Paste Porcelain							1	1						1	1							4
Gilded Bone China	1	1																				2
Non-matching Painted	1	1																				2
Rockingham			1																			1
Total	19	19	2	4		1	6	6	1	1	2		5	3	2		3	2	1		1	78

KEY:

cup = teacup
pl dn = plate, dinner
bw = bowl
pch = pitcher

scr = saucer
pl tw = plate, twiffler
mg = mug
con dsh = condiment dish (including butter and candy)

pot = tea/coffee pot
pl mf = plate, muffin
cup pl = cup plate

slp bwl = slop bowl
pl unk = plate, unknown size
plt = platter
misc/unk = miscellaneous and/or unknown vessel

sgr/crm = sugar and/or creamer
pl sp = plate, soup
dsh = dish

Table 50.
Glass by Functional Group

Feature: AL

Analytical Unit: AL-II

TPQ: 1860

Functional Group	Vessel Form	# of Vessels	% of Total
Tableware	Plates	2	1.7
	Tumblers	22	18.6
	Shot Glasses		
	Goblets	1	0.8
	Misc. Stemware	2	1.7
	Wine Glasses		
	Dessert Glasses		
Teaware	Other		
	Cups		
	Saucers		
	Sugar/Creamers		
Serving Pieces	Other		
	Platters		
	Dishes		
	Decanters		
	Bowls		
	Condiment Dishes		
	Salts	3	2.5
	Pitchers		
	Other	1	0.8
	Food Preparation	Oil Bottles	3
Pickle Bottles			
Sauce Bottles			
Mustard Bottles			
Nappy			
Milk Bottles			
Other		1	0.8
Food Storage		Jars	
	Demijohns	1	0.8
	Other		
Wine/Liquor	Wine-Style Bottles	27	22.9
	Liquor-Style Bottles		
	Beer-Style Bottles	3	2.5
	Case Bottles		
	Other	2	1.7
Hygiene	All Forms		
Cosmetic	Jars		
	Perfume Bottles	12	10.2
	Cologne Bottles		
	Hair Products		
Medicinal	Other		
	Medicine Bottles	4	3.4
	Mineral Water/Soda Bottles	2	1.7
	Vials		
Activity	Other		
	Lamps	6	5.1
	Globes	2	1.7
	Inks	1	0.8
Furniture	Other		
	All Forms	1	0.8
Personal	All Forms	1	0.8
Unidentifiable		21	17.8
Total		118	99.6

Table 51.
Small Finds by Artifact Group and Functional Group

Feature: AL

Analytical Stratum: AL-II

TPQ: 1860

Artifact Group	Functional Category	Number	Percentage
Kitchen	Utensil		
	Pot/Pan		
	Other	2	1.6
Architecture	Hardware	2	1.6
Building Material	Electrical		
	Other		
Commercial	Coins	7	5.6
	Other		
Furniture	Hardware	4	3.2
	Other	1	0.8
Clothing	Textiles	1	0.8
	Fasteners	39	31.0
	Shoes/Boot Parts	14	11.1
Personal	Cosmetic	7	5.6
	Mirror Parts	15	11.9
	Hygiene *	1	0.8
	Jewelry	4	3.2
	Tools		
	Sewing Items		
	Writing	15	11.9
	Toys	5	4.0
	Other	1	0.8
Transportation	Horse/Ox Shoes		
	Carriage/Cart Parts		
	Other		
Other		2	1.6
Unidentifiable		6	4.8
Total		126	100.3

Table 52.
Ceramic Wares by Functional Group

Feature: AL

Analytical Stratum: AL-I

TPQ: 1870

Ware Type	Tea	Tbl	Serv	Prep	Stor	Multi	Unid	Misc	Hyg	House	Total	%
Redware					1						1	8.3
Gray Stoneware										1	1	8.3
Whiteware-Flow		1									1	8.3
Hard-Paste Porcelain	1										1	8.3
White Granite-Plain	2	3									5	41.7
White Granite-Molded	2										2	16.7
Parian										1	1	8.3
Total	5	4	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	12	99.9
Percent of Total	41.7	33.3			8.3					16.7	100	

KEY:

Tea = Teawares

Stor = Storage

Hyg = Hygiene Related

Tbl = Tablewares

Multi = Multi-function

Serv = Serving Pieces

Unid = Unidentified

Prep = Food Preparation

Misc = Miscellaneous

**Table 53.
Ceramic Patterns by Vessel Forms**

Feature: AL

Analytical Unit: AL-1

TPQ: 1870

Decorative pattern	Teawares						Tablewares								Serving Pieces						Total		
	cup	scr	pot	slp bwl	sgr/ crm	misc/ unk	pl dn	pl tw	pl mf	pl unk	pl sp	bw	mg	cup pl	misc/ unk	plt	dsh	pch	bw	con dsh		misc/ unk	
Plain White	1	1					2	1															5
Flow Blue							1																1
Molded White	2																						2
Plain Porcelain						1																	1
Total	3	1				1	3	1															9

KEY:

cup = teacup
pl dn = plate, dinner
bw = bowl
pch = pitcher

scr = saucer
pl tw = plate, twiffler
mg = mug
con dsh = condiment dish (including butter and candy)

pot = tea/coffee pot
pl mf = plate, muffin
cup pl = cup plate

slp bwl = slop bowl
pl unk = plate, unknown size
plt = platter
misc/unk = miscellaneous and/or unknown vessel

sgr/crm = sugar and/or creamer
pl sp = plate, soup
dsh = dish

**Table 54.
Glass by Functional Group**

Feature: AL

Analytical Unit: AL-I

TPQ: 1870

Functional Group	Vessel Form	# of Vessels	% of Total
Tableware	Plates		
	Tumblers		
	Shot Glasses		
	Goblets	1	2.6
	Misc. Stemware		
	Wine Glasses	2	5.3
	Dessert Glasses		
Teaware	Other		
	Cups		
	Saucers		
	Sugar/Creamers		
Serving Pieces	Other		
	Platters		
	Dishes		
	Decanters	1	2.6
	Bowls		
	Condiment Dishes		
	Salts		
	Pitchers		
Food Preparation	Other		
	Oil Bottles		
	Pickle Bottles	1	2.6
	Sauce Bottles	1	2.6
	Mustard Bottles		
	Nappy		
	Milk Bottles		
Food Storage	Other		
	Jars		
	Demijohns		
	Other		
Wine/Liquor	Wine-Style Bottles	4	10.5
	Liquor-Style Bottles		
	Beer-Style Bottles		
	Case Bottles		
	Other		
Hygiene	All Forms		
Cosmetic	Jars		
	Perfume Bottles		
	Cologne Bottles		
	Hair Products		
Medicinal	Other		
	Medicine Bottles		
	Mineral Water/Soda Bottles		
	Vials	1	2.6
Activity	Other		
	Lamps	2	5.3
	Globes		
	Inks	1	2.6
Furniture	Other		
	All Forms		
Personal	All Forms		
Unidentifiable		24	63.2
Total		38	99.9

Table 55.
Small Finds by Artifact Group and Functional Group

Feature: AL

Analytical Stratum: AL-I

TPQ: 1870

Artifact Group	Functional Category	Number	Percentage
Kitchen	Utensil		
	Pot/Pan		
	Other		
Architecture	Hardware	4	2.0
Building Material	Electrical		
	Other		
Commercial	Coins	1	0.5
	Other		
Furniture	Hardware	3	1.5
	Other	13	6.4
Clothing	Textiles	12	5.9
	Fasteners	114	55.9
	Shoes/Boot Parts	5	2.5
	Other		
Personal	Cosmetic	5	2.5
	Mirror Parts	16	7.8
	Hygiene	1*	0.5
	Jewelry	3	1.5
	Tools		
	Sewing Items		
	Writing	2	1.0
	Other	1	0.5
Transportation	Horse/Ox Shoes		
	Carriage/Cart Parts		
	Other		
Other			
Unidentifiable		21	10.3
		3	1.5
Total		204	100.3

*Syringe

Feature AI

Feature AI, a red-sandstone-lined privy measuring almost 5 feet in diameter, had been cut by a tenement wall (Figure 1), but more than 12 feet of the shaft was still intact. A primary fill deposit at the bottom of the feature (Figure 19, AS III) was covered with a deep secondary deposit of sand, coal, and coal ash (AS II). The primary deposit consisted of strong brown fine sand with lenses of very dark gray to black silty sand with pockets of coal. Few artifacts were found in the primary deposit; no artifact tables are included. The matrix of the overlying fill (AS II) was composed of various colors of sand including some coal and coal ash. Tables 56–59 summarize the many artifacts recovered from this deposit.

Appendix A
 Archeological Feature Descriptions, Profiles, and Artifact Tables

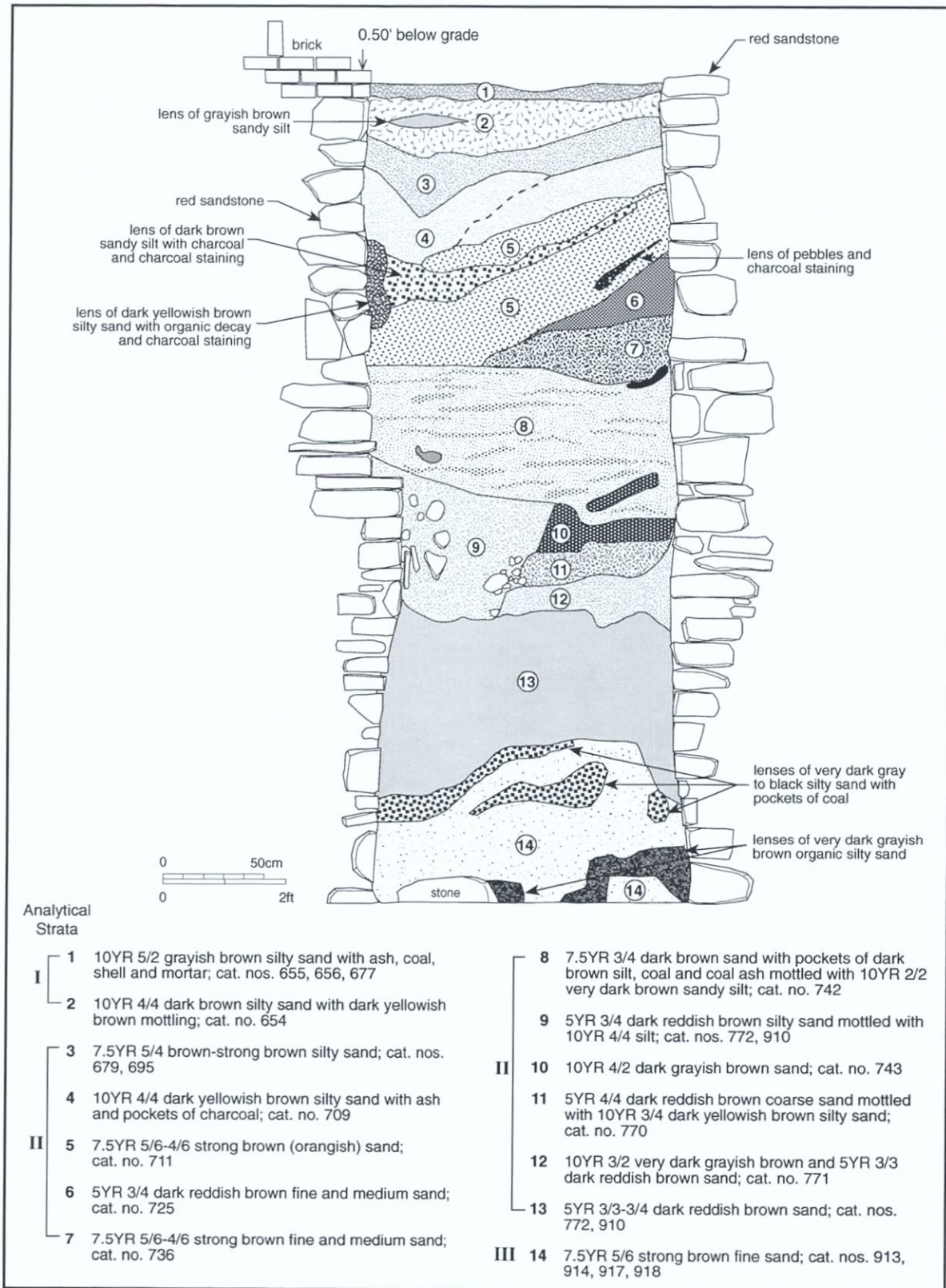


Figure 19. Lot 47, Feature A1, stone-lined privy. Profile of fill layers in northeastern half.

Archeological Feature Descriptions, Profiles, and Artifact Tables

Table 56.
Ceramic Wares by Functional Group

Feature: AI

Analytical Stratum: AI-II

TPQ: 1850

Ware Type	Tea	Tbl	Serv	Prep	Stor	Multi	Unid	Misc	Hyg	House	Total	%
Redware				8	4			6		2	20	12.7
Redware-Flowerpot										7	7	4.5
Creamware-Plain		3	1			3		2	1		10	6.4
Creamware-Molded		3									3	1.9
Creamware-Feather-Edged								2			2	1.3
Creamware-Printed								1			1	0.6
Pearlware-Plain						1					1	0.6
Pearlware-Painted	7										7	4.5
Pearlware-Printed	5	4						4			13	8.3
Pearlware-Dipped		1				1		1			3	1.9
Pearlware-Shell		11						3			14	8.9
Pearlware-Engine-Turned			1								1	0.6
Whiteware-Plain		1						1			2	1.3
Whiteware-Painted	3						1				4	2.5
Whiteware-Printed	4							4			8	5.1
Whiteware-Dipped		1				1		1			3	1.9
Whiteware-Shell-Edged		3						1			4	2.5
Whiteware-Annular						1					1	0.6
Chinese Export Porcelain	15	2						2			19	12.1
Soft-Paste Porcelain								1			1	0.6
Gray Stoneware					7			2			9	5.7
Buff Stoneware					2				1		3	1.9
White Granite-Plain		1									1	0.6
White Granite-Molded	3	3						2			8	5.1
Yellowware								1			1	0.6
Black Basalt	1										1	0.6
Tin-Glazed								3			3	1.9
Hard-Paste Porcelain	1							1			2	1.3
White Salt-Glazed								2			2	1.3
Whieldon		1						1			2	1.3
Other	1										1	0.6
Total	40	34	2	8	13	7	1	41	2	9	157	99.7
Percent of Total	25.5	21.7	1.3	5.1	8.3	4.5	0.6	26.1	1.3	5.7	100.1	

KEY:

Tea = Teawares

Tbl = Tablewares

Serv = Serving Pieces

Prep = Food Preparation

Stor = Storage

Multi = Multi-function

Unid = Unidentified

Misc = Miscellaneous

Hyg = Hygiene Related

Table 57.
Ceramic Patterns by Vessel Forms

Feature: AI

Analytical Unit: AI-II

TPQ: 1850

Decorative pattern	Teawares						Tablewares								Serving Pieces						Total	
	cup	scr	pot	slp bwl	sgr/ crm	misc/ unk	pl dn	pl tw	pl mf	pl unk	pl sp	bw	mg	cup pl	misc/ unk	plt	dsh	pch	bw	con dsh		misc/ unk
Plain Creamware								1		1	1						1					4
Blue Shell-Edged							1	1		3	1											6
Green Shell-Edged							1	1		2					2							6
Other Shell-Edged										2												2
Plain White										2												2
Paneled White	2	1			1			1		1	1											7
Molded Creamware									1	2												3
Non-matching Blue Printed	1	4				2	1	2							2							12
Non-matching Polychrome Chinese Porcelain	1					1			1													3
Non-matching Blue Chinese Porcelain		2				6																8
Non-matching Red Chinese Porcelain	2	2				1																5
Non-matching Painted Floral	2	1				7																10
Other Non-matching		1	1			2			1						1			1	1			8
Total	8	11	1	0	1	19	3	6	3	13	3	0	0	0	5	0	1	1	1	0	0	76

KEY:

cup = teacup

scr = saucer

pot = tea/coffee pot

slp bwl = slop bowl

sgr/crm = sugar and/or creamer

pl dn = plate, dinner

pl tw = plate, twiffler

pl mf = plate, muffin

pl unk = plate, unknown size

pl sp = plate, soup

bw = bowl

mg = mug

cup pl = cup plate

plt = platter

dsh = dish

pch = pitcher

con dsh = condiment dish (including butter and candy)

misc/unk = miscellaneous and/or unknown vessel

Table 58.
Glass by Functional Group

Feature: AI

Analytical Unit: AI-II

TPQ: 1850

Functional Group	Vessel Form	# of Vessels	% of Total
Tableware	Plates		
	Tumblers	3	6.4
	Shot Glasses		
	Goblets		
	Misc. Stemware	5	10.6
	Wine Glasses		
	Dessert Glasses		
Teaware	Other		
	Cups		
	Saucers		
	Sugar/Creamers		
Serving Pieces	Other		
	Platters		
	Dishes		
	Decanters		
	Bowls		
	Condiment Dishes		
	Salts		
	Pitchers		
Food Preparation	Other		
	Oil Bottles		
	Pickle Bottles		
	Sauce Bottles	1	2.1
	Mustard Bottles		
	Nappy		
Food Storage	Milk Bottles		
	Other		
	Jars		
Wine/Liquor	Demijohns	2	4.3
	Other		
	Wine-Style Bottles	7	14.9
	Liquor-Style Bottles		
	Beer-Style Bottles		
Hygiene	Case Bottles	3	6.4
	Other		
	All Forms		
Cosmetic	Jars		
	Perfume Bottles		
	Cologne Bottles		
	Hair Products		
Medicinal	Other		
	Medicine Bottles		
	Mineral Water/Soda Bottles		
Activity	Vials	1	2.1
	Other		
	Lamps	3	6.4
	Globes		
Furniture	Inks		
	Other	1	2.1
	All Forms		
Personal	All Forms		
Unidentifiable		21	44.7
Total		47	100.0

Table 59.
Small Finds by Artifact Group and Functional Group

Feature: AI

Analytical Stratum: AI-II

TPQ: 1850

Artifact Group	Functional Category	Number	Percentage
Kitchen	Utensil	1	1.3
	Pot/Pan		
	Other	3	3.8
Architecture	Hardware	1	1.3
	Building Material		
	Electrical		
	Other		
Commercial	Coins	1	1.3
	Other	1	1.3
Furniture	Hardware	1	1.3
	Other	4	5.0
Clothing	Textiles		
	Fasteners	27	33.8
	Shoes/Boot Parts	15	18.8
Personal	Cosmetic		
	Mirror Parts	5	6.3
	Hygiene	1*	1.3
	Jewelry	2	2.5
	Tools		
	Sewing Items		
	Writing	8	10.0
	Toys	1	1.3
	Other	1	1.3
Transportation	Horse/Ox Shoes		
	Carriage/Cart Parts	1	1.3
	Other		
Other			
Unidentifiable		7	8.8
Total		80	100.7

*Syringe

Feature H

Feature H was a stone-lined privy measuring about 4.5 feet in diameter that had been filled (Figure 20, AS IV), but subsequently disturbed by a builder's trench (AS II) for the back foundation of a tenement that was built on the lot in the 1890s. The overburden (AS I) consisted of brown sand with gravel, brick fragments, charcoal, and mortar. Below it was a fill deposit (AS III) that appeared to have been used to level off the lower fill that had slumped (see Figure 20). AS III consisted of dark brown-black silty sand with mortar and charcoal. The matrix of AS IV was medium sand mixed with mortar fragments and charcoal. The main distinction between AS II and IV was the amount of construction debris in the matrix. The brick, bluestone, and cobbles in AS II were probably related to the construction of the tenement wall which cut through the fill already in the feature. The artifacts from AS II and IV belong to the same assemblage. Tables 60–63 summarize the artifacts from AS II and Tables 64–67 summarize the artifacts from AS IV. Pockets of fill within AS IV (e.g., cat. no. 346) appeared to be distinct and may have represented in-use deposits that mixed with the later large dumping of industrial materials from the tailoring activities on the lot.

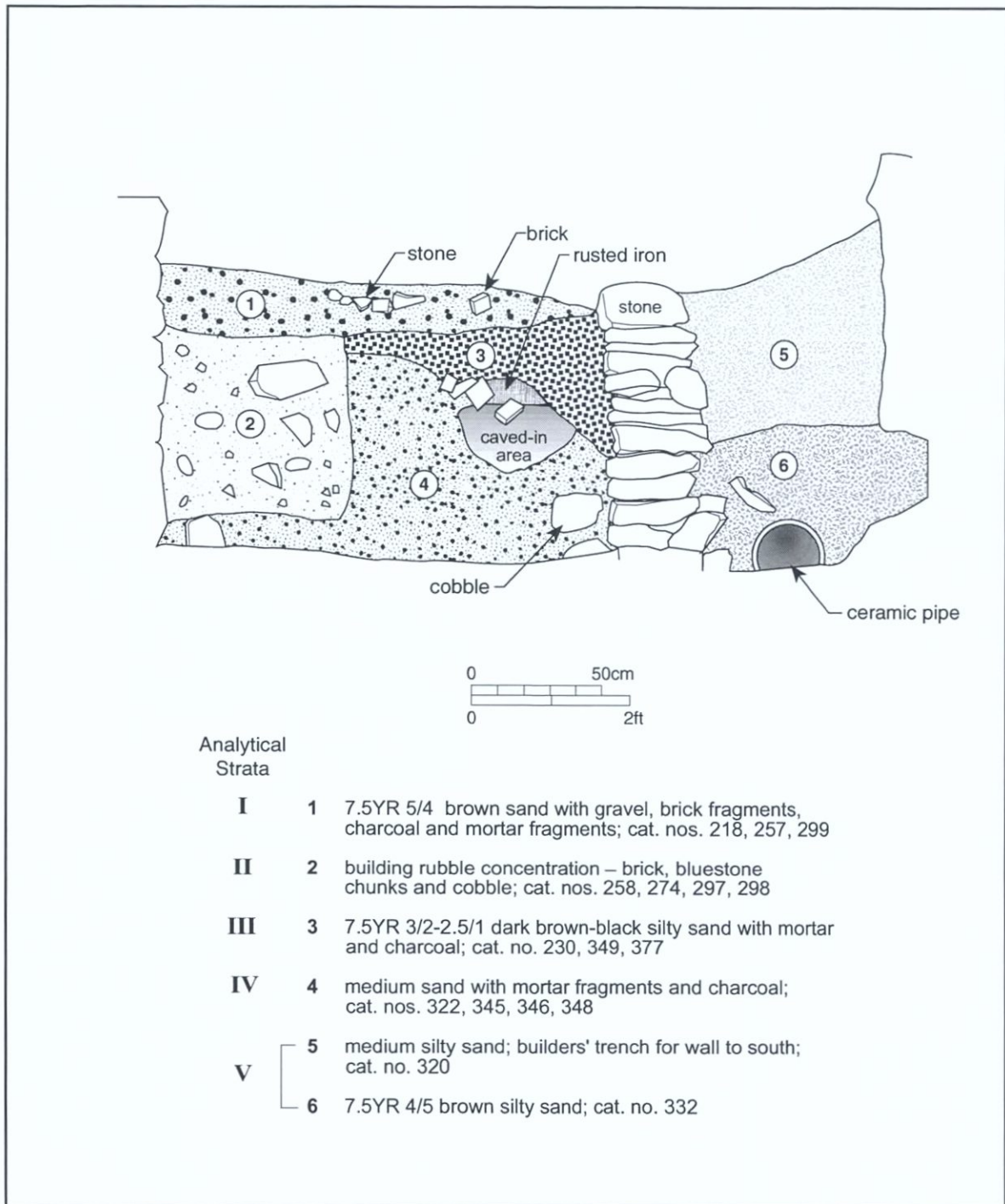


Figure 20. Lot 45, Feature H, stone-lined privy. Profile of fill layers in eastern half.

Table 60.
Ceramic Wares by Functional Group

Feature: H

Analytical Stratum: H-II

TPQ: 1880

Ware Type	Tea	Tbl	Serv	Prep	Stor	Multi	Unid	Misc	Hyg	House	Total	%
Whiteware-Annular	1										1	6.3
Whiteware-Plain									1		1	6.3
Whiteware-Shell Edged		2									2	12.5
Whiteware-Molded	1										1	6.3
Whiteware-Spatter	1										1	6.3
Whiteware-Gilded	1										1	6.3
Bone China	1										1	6.3
Hard-Paste Porcelain	1										1	6.3
Gray Stoneware					2						2	12.5
Buff Stoneware					1						1	6.3
White Granite-Plain		1							1		2	12.5
White Granite-Molded		1	1								2	12.5
Total	6	4	1	0	3	0	0	0	2	0	16	100.4
Percent of Total	37.5	25.0	6.3		18.8				12.5		100.1	

KEY:

Tea = Teawares

Tbl = Tablewares

Serv = Serving Pieces

Prep = Food Preparation

Stor = Storage

Multi = Multi-function

Unid = Unidentified

Misc = Miscellaneous

Hyg = Hygiene Related

Table 61.
Ceramic Patterns by Vessel Forms

Feature: H

Analytical Unit: H-II

TPQ: 1880

Decorative pattern	Teawares						Tablewares									Serving Pieces					Total	
	cup	scr	pot	slp bwl	sgr/ crm	misc/ unk	pl dn	pl tw	pl mf	pl unk	pl sp	bw	mg	egg	misc/ unk	plt	dsh	pch	bw	con dsh		misc/ unk
Molded White Granite/	1	1						1										1				4
Blue Shell-Edged							1		1													2
Spatter		1																				1
Gilt Hard-Paste Porcelain	1																					1
Gilt Whiteware		1																				1
Plain White Granite							1															1
Annular				1																		1
Total	2	3		1			2	1	1									1				11

KEY:

cup = teacup
pl dn = plate, dinner
bw = bowl
pch = pitcher

scr = saucer
pl tw = plate, twiffler
mg = mug
con dsh = condiment dish (including butter and candy)

pot = tea/coffee pot
pl mf = plate, muffin
egg = egg cup

slp bwl = slop bowl
pl unk = plate, unknown size
plt = platter
misc/unk = miscellaneous and/or unknown vessel

sgr/crm = sugar and/or creamer
pl sp = plate, soup
dsh = dish

Table 62.
Glass by Functional Group

Feature: H

Analytical Unit: H-II

TPQ: 1800

Functional Group	Vessel Form	# of Vessels	% of Total
Tableware	Plates		
	Tumblers		
	Shot Glasses		
	Goblets		
	Wine Glasses		
	Dessert Glasses		
Teaware	Other		
	Cups		
	Saucers		
	Sugar/Creamers		
Serving Pieces	Other		
	Platters		
	Dishes		
	Decanters		
	Bowls		
	Condiment Dishes		
	Salts		
	Pitchers		
Food Preparation	Other		
	Oil Bottles		
	Pickle Bottles		
	Sauce Bottles		
	Mustard Bottles		
	Nappy		
	Milk Bottles		
Food Storage	Other		
	Jars		
	Demijohns	1	7.1
Wine/Liquor	Other		
	Wine-Style Bottles		
	Liquor-Style Bottles		
	Beer-Style Bottles		
	Case Bottles		
Hygiene	Other	1	7.1
	All Forms		
Cosmetic	Jars		
	Perfume Bottles		
	Cologne Bottles		
	Hair Products		
	Other		
Medicinal	Medicine Bottles	1	7.1
	Mineral Water/Soda Bottles		
	Vials		
	Other		
Activity	Lamps		
	Globes		
	Inks		
	Other		
Furniture	All Forms		
Personal	All Forms		
Unidentifiable		11	78.6
Total		14	99.9

Table 63.
Small Finds by Artifact Group and Functional Group

Feature: H

Analytical Stratum: H-II

TPQ: 1880

Artifact Group	Functional Category	Number	Percentage
Kitchen	Utensil		
	Pot/Pan		
	Other		
Architecture	Hardware		
	Building Material		
	Electrical		
	Other		
Commercial	Coins		
	Other		
Furniture	Hardware	8	0.4
	Other	43	2.1
Clothing	Textiles	248	12.0
	Fasteners	237	11.5
	Shoes/Boot Parts	19	0.9
Personal	Cosmetic		
	Mirror Parts	2	0.1
	Hygiene		
	Jewelry	1	0.05
	Tools		
	Sewing Items	1439	69.6
	Writing	17	0.8
Transportation	Toys		
	Other	1	0.05
	Horse/Ox Shoes		
Other	Carriage/Cart Parts		
	Other		
Unidentifiable		53	2.6
Total		2068	100.1

Table 64.
Ceramic Wares by Functional Group

Feature: H

Analytical Stratum: H-IV

TPQ: 1880

Ware Type	Tea	Tbl	Serv	Prep	Stor	Multi	Unid	Misc	Hyg	House	Total	%
Redware					3						3	3.7
Redware-Flowerpot												
Creamware-Plain												
Pearlware-Plain									3		3	3.7
Pearlware-Printed		2					2				4	4.9
Pearlware-Molded			1								1	1.2
Pearlware-Annular			1								1	1.2
Whiteware-Plain	3		1				1		1		6	7.3
Whiteware-Painted	3										3	3.7
Whiteware-Printed	1	1									2	2.4
Whiteware-Shell-Edged		11	1								12	14.6
Whiteware-Other			1								1	1.2
Whiteware-Spatter	3										3	3.7
Whiteware-Annular												
Chinese Export Porcelain												
Bone China	1		1								2	2.4
Hard-Paste Porcelain												
Gray Stoneware					2		2				4	4.9
Buff Stoneware			1		2		1				4	4.9
Lustered Stoneware												
Other Stoneware			2								2	2.4
White Granite-Plain	1	11									12	14.6
White Granite-Molded	14		2								16	19.5
Yellowware	1	1							1		3	3.7
Total	27	26	11		7		6		5		82	100
Percent of Total	32.9	31.7	13.4		8.5		7.3		6.1		99.9	

KEY:

Tea = Teawares

Tbl = Tablewares

Serv = Serving Pieces

Prep = Food Preparation

Stor = Storage

Multi = Multi-function

Unid = Unidentified

Misc = Miscellaneous

Hyg = Hygiene Related

Table 65.
Ceramic Patterns by Vessel Forms

Feature: H

Analytical Stratum: H-IV

TPQ: 1880

Decorative pattern	Teawares						Tablewares									Serving Pieces					Total		
	cup	scr	pot	slp bwl	sgr/ crm	misc/ unk	pl dn	pl tw	pl mf	pl unk	pl sp	bw	mg	egg	misc/ unk	plt	dsh	pch	bw	con dsh		misc/ unk	
Blue Shell-edge							5	1		1	3												10
Willow																							
Printed Floral Center																							
Non-matching Blue Printed		1					1	2							2								6
Plain Creamware																							
Plain White		3																					3
Paneled White																							
White Granite-Primary Pattern		2					5	1	1	1		1											11
White Gothic																							
Other Molded White	5	11			1			1										2					20
Painted Small-Scale Floral		4	1																				5
Annular	5		1												2			1					9
Spatter	2	2																					4
Chinese Porcelain- Nanking																							
Redware																		1				2	3
Lustered															1			1					2
Egyptian Black			1																				1
Stoneware																		6					6
Yellowware			1						1														2
Total	12	23	4		1		11	5	2	2	3	1	0	0	5			11			2		82

KEY:

cup = teacup
pl dn = plate, dinner
bw = bowl
pch = pitcher
unknown vessel

scr = saucer
pl tw = plate, twiffler
mg = mug
con dsh = condiment dish (including butter and candy)

pot = tea/coffee pot
pl mf = plate, muffin
egg = egg cup

slp bwl = slop bowl
pl unk = plate, unknown size
plt = platter

sgr/crm = sugar and/or creamer
pl sp = plate, soup
dsh = dish
misc/unk = miscellaneous and/or

Table 66.
Glass by Functional Group

Feature: H

Analytical Stratum: H-IV

TPQ: 1880

Functional Group	Vessel Form	# of Vessels	% of Total
Tableware	Plates		
	Tumblers	5	6.8
	Shot Glasses		
	Goblets	1	1.4
	Wine Glasses	4	5.5
	Dessert Glasses		
Teaware	Other		
	Cups		
	Saucers		
	Sugar/Creamers		
Serving Pieces	Other		
	Platters		
	Dishes		
	Decanters	2	2.7
	Bowls		
	Condiment Dishes		
	Salts		
Food Preparation	Pitchers		
	Other		
	Oil Bottles		
	Pickle Bottles	1	1.4
	Sauce Bottles		
	Mustard Bottles		
	Nappy		
Food Storage	Milk Bottles		
	Other		
	Jars		
	Demijohns		
Wine/Liquor	Other		
	Wine-Style Bottles	1	1.4
	Liquor-Style Bottles		
	Beer-Style Bottles	1	1.4
	Case Bottles		
Hygiene	Other		
	All Forms		
Cosmetic	Jars		
	Perfume Bottles		
	Cologne Bottles		
	Hair Products	1	1.4
Medicinal	Other		
	Medicine Bottles		
	Mineral Water/Soda Bottles	4	5.5
	Vials		
Activity	Other		
	Lamps		
	Globes	3	4.1
	Inks		
Furniture	Other		
	All Forms	1	1.4
Personal	All Forms	7	9.6
Unidentifiable		42	57.5
Total		73	100.1

Table 67.
Small Finds by Artifact Group and Functional Group

Feature: H

Analytical Stratum: H-IV

TPQ: 1880

Artifact Group	Functional Category	Number	Percentage
Kitchen	Utensil	4	2.9
	Pot/Pan		
	Other	1	0.7
Architecture	Hardware		
	Building Material		
	Electrical		
	Other	2	1.4
Commercial	Coins	3	2.1
	Other		
Furniture	Hardware		
	Other	4	2.9
Clothing	Textiles	2	1.4
	Fasteners	66	47.1
	Shoes/Boot Parts	2	1.4
Personal	Mirror	4	2.9
	Hygiene	4	2.9
	Jewelry	3	2.1
	Tools	7	5.0
	Sewing Items	8	5.7
	Writing	2	1.4
	Toys	5	3.6
	Other	3	2.1
Transportation	Horse/Ox Shoes		
	Carriage/Cart Parts		
	Other		
Other		1	0.7
Unidentifiable		19	13.6
Total		140	99.9

Feature AG

Feature AG was a stone-lined privy measuring about 6 feet in diameter. The primary deposit at the bottom of the feature consisted of dark brown loam, some of it mixed with eggshell (Figure 21, AS III). This deposit appears to have been disturbed when a foundation trench for a tenement that was probably built in the 1890s was dug through it. When the trench was dug, the dirt from the original primary deposit (layers 5, 6, 7, and 8) was deposited on top of the portion of the deposit (layers 10 and 11) on the side of the feature that was not being disturbed. Layers 5–8 are considered part of AS III because they were originally part of the primary deposit. Cross-mends linked all of the primary layers. AS II, the strong brown gravelly sandy loam along the southern edge of the privy, was all that remained of a privy deposit that had been scooped out. Secondary fill, including coal, cinder, slag, and brick (AS I), was used to fill the rest of the feature. Tables 68–71 summarize the artifacts from AS III.

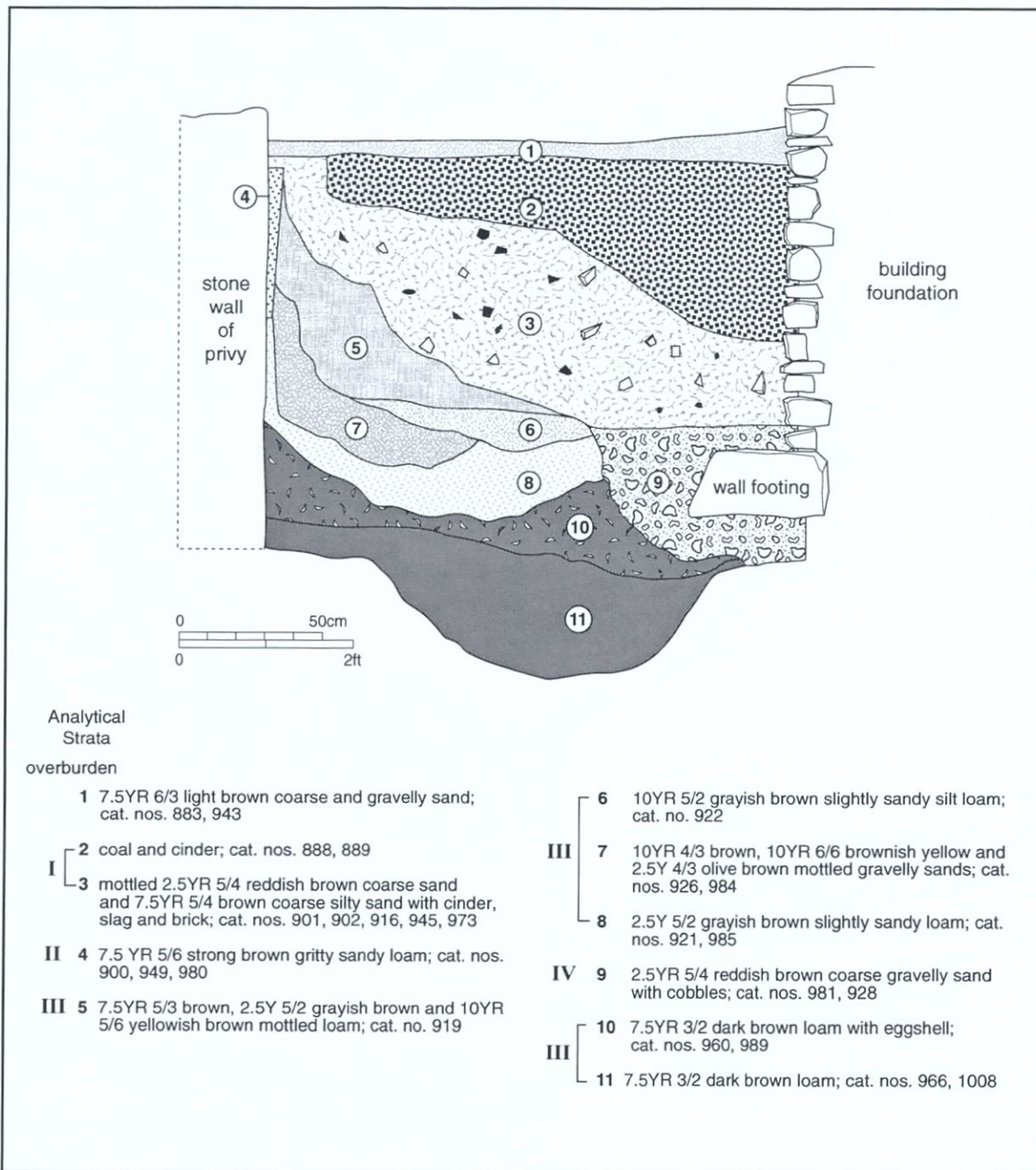


Figure 21. Lot 43, Feature AG, stone-lined privy. Profile of fill layers in western half.

Archeological Feature Descriptions, Profiles, and Artifact Tables

Table 68.
Ceramic Wares by Functional Group

Feature: AG

Analytical Stratum: AG-III

TPQ: 1841

Ware Type	Tea	Tbl	Serv	Prep	Stor	Multi	Unid	Misc	Hyg	House	Total	%
Redware	1		1	6	7	3			6	2	26	6.2
Redware-Flowerpot										10	10	2.4
Tin Glazed									1		1	0.2
Creamware-Plain	1	1				1	2		8		13	3.1
Creamware-Molded			1			1					2	0.5
China Glaze-Printed		2									2	0.5
Pearlware-Plain	5	3	1	1			2		20		32	7.6
Pearlware-Painted	1	1	3			2					7	1.7
Pearlware-Printed	45	43	9				1				98	23.3
Pearlware-Applied										2	2	0.5
Pearlware-Molded	2					1					3	0.7
Pearlware-Dipped						10					10	2.4
Pearlware-Shell-Edged		29	17								46	11.0
Pearlware-Mocha						1			1		2	0.5
Pearlware-Luster	4										4	1.0
Pearlware-Annular						2					2	0.5
Whiteware-Plain	1					2			6		9	2.1
Whiteware-Painted	17	1							2		20	4.8
Whiteware-Printed	30	16	1						3	2	52	12.4
Whiteware-Molded						1					1	0.2
Whiteware-Dipped		1				3			1		5	1.2
Whiteware-Spatter	1										1	0.2
Whiteware-Annular						1					1	0.2
Chinese Export Porcelain	30	8	4								42	10.0
Bone China	4	1								2	7	1.7
Gray Stoneware					4				1	1	6	1.4
Stone China		4									4	1.0
White Granite-Plain		1									1	0.2
White Granite-Molded	1	1	1								3	0.7
Yellowware			1	4		1					6	1.4
Other	1									1	2	0.5
Total	144	112	39	11	11	29	5	0	49	20	420	100.1
Percent of Total	34.3	26.7	9.3	2.6	2.6	6.9	1.2	0	11.7	4.8	100.1	

KEY:

Tea = Teawares

Tbl = Tablewares

Serv = Serving Pieces

Prep = Food Preparation

Stor = Storage

Multi = Multi-function

Unid = Unidentified

Misc = Miscellaneous

Hyg = Hygiene Related

Table 69.
Ceramic Patterns by Vessel Forms

Feature: AG

Analytical Unit: AG-III

TPQ: 1841

Decorative pattern	Teawares						Tablewares								Serving Pieces						Total	
	cup	scr	pat	slp bwl	sgr/ crm	misc/ unk	pl dn	pl tw	pl mf	pl unk	pl sp	bw	mg	cup pl	misc/ unk	plt	dsh	pch	bw	con dsh		misc/ unk
Blue Shell-Edged							11	3	6	1	6					2	7				2	38
Green Shell-Edged									1							3	2				1	7
Plain White	8						1	3		1	1						1					15
Painted Landscape																	1					1
Non-matching Painted Floral	10	3		1		1		1			1							2				19
Other Non-matching Painted		2																				2
Willow							3	4	6					3								16
Floral/Urn (Blue Printed)																		2				2
Romantic Landscape (Blue Printed)									1													1
Canova (Blue Printed)	2	2							2													6
Cherubs (Blue Printed)							4															4
Pastorial Landscape 1 (Blue Printed)									8													8
Pastorial Landscape 2 (Blue Printed)									2													2
Franklin's Tomb (Blue Printed)	2	2																				4
Floral Center (Blue Printed)	4	1																				5
Landscape w/Figures		5																				5
Non-matching Landscape w/Figures	2																					2
Bird (Blue Printed)	3	3												7								13
Commemorative (Blue Printed)	1	3																				4
Japonica (Blue Printed)	2	2																				4
Floral w/Figure (Blue Printed)	5																					5
Non-matching Blue Printed Landscapes	4			2	1			1	1								1	4				14

Table 70.
Glass by Functional Group

Feature: AG

Analytical Unit: AG-III

TPQ: 1841

Functional Group	Vessel Form	# of Vessels	% of Total
Tableware	Plates	4	1.3
	Tumblers	65	20.3
	Shot Glasses		
	Goblets		
	Wine Glasses	11	3.4
	Dessert Glasses	1	0.3
	Other	10	3.1
Teaware	Cups		
	Saucers		
	Sugar/Creamers	1	0.3
	Other		
Serving Pieces	Platters		
	Dishes		
	Decanters	3	0.9
	Bowls		
	Condiment Dishes	1	0.3
	Salts		
	Pitchers		
Food Preparation	Oil Bottles		
	Pickle Bottles	9	2.8
	Sauce Bottles		
	Mustard Bottles	8	2.5
	Nappy		
	Milk Bottles		
	Other		
Food Storage	Jars		
	Demijohns	2	0.6
	Other		
Wine/Liquor	Wine-Style Bottles	100	31.3
	Liquor-Style Bottles	1	0.3
	Beer-Style Bottles	6	1.9
	Case Bottles		
	Other		
Hygiene	All Forms	3	0.9
Cosmetic	Jars		
	Perfume Bottles	4	1.3
	Cologne Bottles		
	Hair Products		
Medicinal	Other		
	Medicine Bottles	7	2.2
	Mineral Water/Soda Bottles		
	Vials	34	10.6
Activity	Other		
	Lamps	5	1.6
	Globes	2	0.6
	Inks		
Furniture	Other	4	1.3
	All Forms		
Personal	All Forms	5	1.6
Unidentifiable		29	9.1
Total		320	100.1

Table 71.
Small Finds by Artifact Group and Functional Group

Feature: AG

Analytical Stratum: AG-III

TPQ: 1841

Artifact Group	Functional Category	Number	Percentage
Kitchen	Utensil	3	0.3
	Pot/Pan		
	Other		
Architecture	Hardware	28	2.5
	Building Material		
	Electrical		
	Other		
Commercial	Coins	7	0.6
	Other	2	0.2
Furniture	Hardware	23	2.1
	Other	44	4.0
Clothing	Textiles	2	0.2
	Fasteners	255	22.9
	Shoes/Boot Parts	26	2.3
	Other		
Personal	Cosmetic		
	Mirror	394	35.4
	Hygiene	7	0.6
	Jewelry	24	2.2
	Tools	7	0.6
	Sewing Items	145	13.0
	Writing	25	2.2
	Toys	25	2.2
	Other	10	0.9
	Transportation	Horse/Ox Shoes	
Carriage/Cart Parts			
Other			
Military	All	1	0.1
Other		9	0.8
Unidentifiable		76	6.8
Total		1113	99.9

Feature AN

Feature AN was a brick cistern measuring about 7 feet in diameter. A thick fill deposit at the bottom of the feature consisted of dark yellowish to dark grayish brown sandy loam (Figure 22, AS III). It was sealed beneath a layer of architectural debris including few other artifacts (AS II) and overlying sandy loam (AS I). Tables 72–75 summarize the artifacts from AS III.

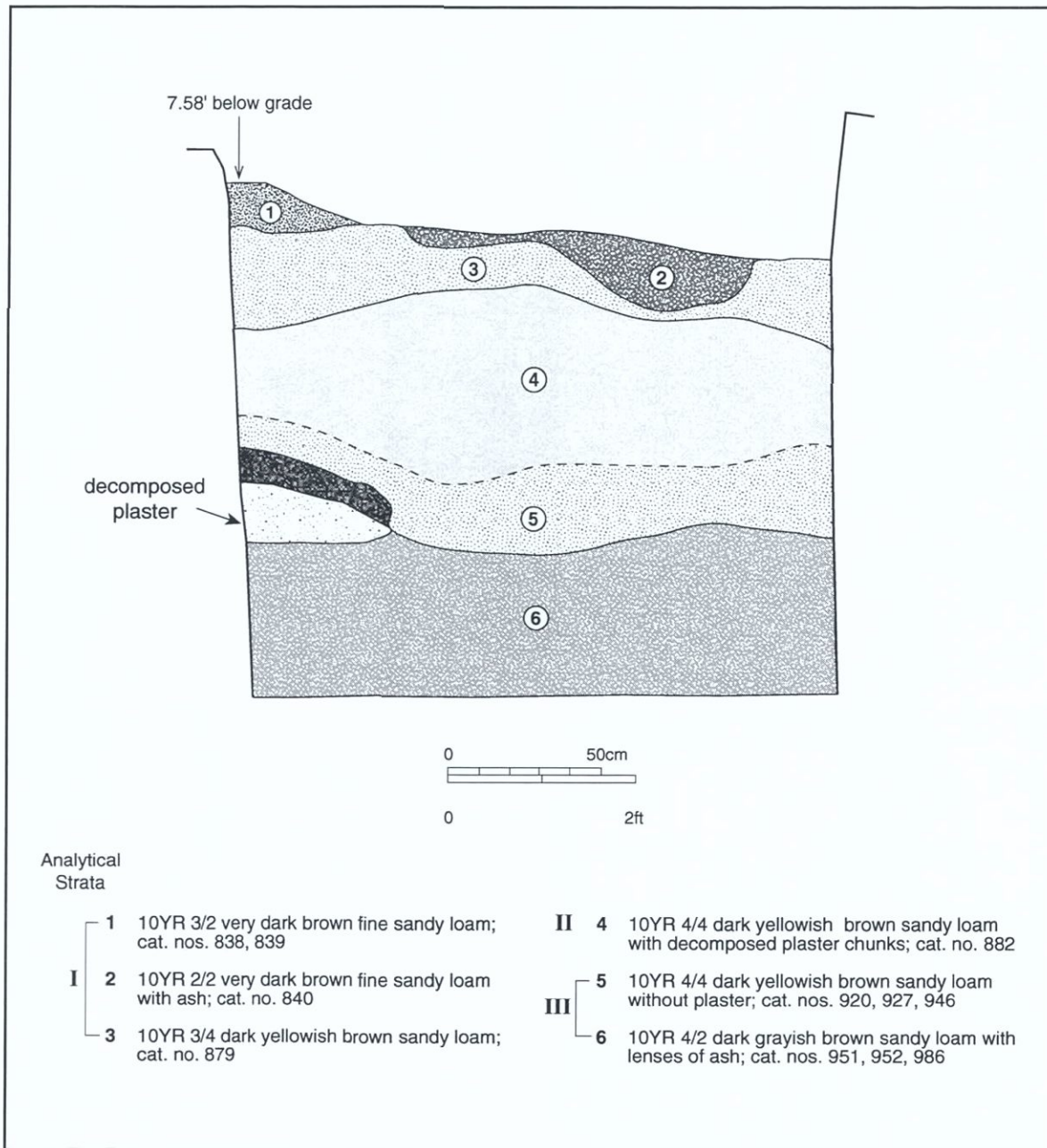


Figure 22. Lot 34, Feature AN, brick-lined cistern. Profile of fill layers in northern half.

Archeological Feature Descriptions, Profiles, and Artifact Tables

Table 72.
Ceramic Wares by Functional Group

Feature: AN

Analytical Stratum: AN-III

TPQ: 1860

Ware Type	Tea	Tbl	Serv	Prep	Stor	Multi	Unid	Misc	Hyg	House	Total	%
Redware	2		2	1				9			14	9.4
Redware-Flowerpot										2	2	1.3
Pearlware-Plain									4		4	2.7
Pearlware-Dipped			1								1	0.7
Pearlware-Shell-Edged		2									2	1.3
Pearlware-Applied			1								1	0.7
Pearlware-Luster	2										2	1.3
Whiteware-Plain	7	1	1						1		10	6.7
Whiteware-Painted	12										12	8.1
Whiteware-Printed	11	9	6								26	17.4
Whiteware-Molded			1								1	0.7
Whiteware-Shell-Edged		7	1								8	5.4
Whiteware-Dipped	16		2								18	12.1
Whiteware-Spatter	2										2	1.3
Whiteware Flow	6	4	2								12	8.1
Whiteware-Other	1										1	0.7
Soft-Paste Porcelain	1		1							1	3	2.0
Gray Stoneware					5					1	6	4.0
Chinese Export Porcelain	1										1	0.7
White Granite-Plain	4	2									6	4.0
White Granite-Flow		2									2	1.3
White Granite-Molded		1									1	0.7
White Granite-Hotel Ware	1	1									2	1.3
Yellowware				2				8		1	11	7.4
Buff-Bodied Stoneware								1			1	0.7
Total	66	29	18	3	5	0	0	18	5	5	149	100.0
Percent of Total	44.3	19.5	12.1	2.0	3.4			12.1	3.4	3.4	100.2	

KEY:

Tea = Teawares

Tbl = Tablewares

Serv = Serving Pieces

Prep = Food Preparation

Stor = Storage

Multi = Multi-function

Unid = Unidentified

Misc = Miscellaneous

Hyg = Hygiene Related

Table 73.
Ceramic Patterns by Vessel Forms

Feature: AN

Analytical Unit: AN-III

TPQ: 1860

Decorative pattern	Teawares						Tablewares								Serving Pieces						Total	
	cup	scr	pot	slp bwl	sgr/ crm	misc/ unk	pl dn	pl tw	pl mf	pl unk	pl sp	bw	mg	egg	misc/ unk	plt	dsh	pch	bw	con dsh		misc/ unk
Blue Shell-Edged							5	2	1	0							1					9
Green Shell-Edged										1												1
Willow																	1					1
Statue (Blue Printed)	1	2																				3
Sirius (Blue Printed)	1			1																		2
Non-matching Blue Printed	1	3			1		3	1		4								2			1	16
Non-matching Flow Blue	2	1					2	2		1									2			10
Flow Gray		3																				3
Other Flow							1															1
Non-matching Sepia Printed																	1				1	2
Non-matching Chinese Porcelain	1																	1	1			3
Plain White	3	3			1	4	1			2	2		1									17
Molded White	1				1		1							1				1				5
Non-matching Painted Floral Motifs		2																				2
Dipped Annular	4			1																		5
Non-matching Painted Polychrome	1	6																				7
Copper Luster	1	1																				3
Dipped	1			3	1	6																11
Other Non-matching Vessels	4	1				1	1						1				1	3				12
Total	21	22	0	5	4	11	14	5	1	8	2	0	2	1	0	0	4	8	3	0	2	113

KEY:

up = teacup
pl dn = plate, dinner
bw = bowl
pch = pitcher

scr = saucer
pl tw = plate, twifter
mg = mug
con dsh = condiment dish (including butter and candy)

pot = tea/coffee pot
pl mf = plate, muffin
egg = egg cup

slp bwl = slop bowl
pl unk = plate, unknown size
plt = platter
misc/unk = miscellaneous and/or unknown vessel

sgr/crm = sugar and/or creamer
pl sp = plate, soup
dsh = dish

Archeological Feature Descriptions, Profiles, and Artifact Tables

Table 74.
Glass by Functional Group

Feature: AN

Analytical Unit: AN-III

TPQ: 1860

Functional Group	Vessel Form	# of Vessels	% of Total	
Tableware	Plates			
	Tumblers	10	14.9	
	Shot Glasses			
	Goblets	1	1.5	
	Wine Glasses			
	Dessert Glasses			
Teaware	Other			
	Cups			
	Saucers			
	Sugar/Creamers			
Serving Pieces	Other			
	Platters			
	Dishes			
	Decanters			
	Bowls			
	Condiment Dishes			
	Salts	1	1.5	
	Pitchers			
Food Preparation	Other			
	Oil Bottles	1	1.5	
	Pickle Bottles			
	Sauce Bottles			
	Mustard Bottles			
	Nappy			
	Milk Bottles			
Food Storage	Other			
	Jars			
	Demijohns	1	1.5	
Wine/Liquor	Other			
	Wine-Style Bottles	12	17.9	
	Liquor-Style Bottles			
	Beer-Style Bottles	5	7.5	
	Case Bottles			
Hygiene	Other			
	All Forms			
	Cosmetic	Jars		
		Perfume Bottles		
Cologne Bottles				
Medicinal	Hair Products			
	Other			
	Medicine Bottles	3	4.5	
	Mineral Water/Soda Bottles	3	4.5	
Activity	Vials	3	4.5	
	Other			
	Lamps	1	1.5	
	Globes			
Furniture	Inks	1	1.5	
	Other			
	All Forms			
Personal	All Forms	1	1.5	
Unidentifiable		24	35.8	
Total		67	100.1	

Table 75.
Small Finds by Artifact Group and Functional Group

Feature: AN

Analytical Stratum: AN-III

TPQ: 1860

Artifact Group	Functional Category	Number	Percentage
Kitchen	Utensil	1	0.2
	Pot/Pan		
	Other		
Architecture	Hardware		
	Building Material		
	Electrical		
	Other		
Commercial	Coins	6	1.1
	Other		
Furniture	Hardware	7	1.3
	Other	3	0.5
Clothing	Textiles	44	7.9
	Fasteners	76	13.6
	Shoes/Boot Parts	234	41.8
Personal	Cosmetic		
	Mirror	23	4.1
	Hygiene	2	0.4
	Jewelry	6	1.1
	Tools	2	0.4
	Sewing Items	17	3.0
	Writing	3	0.5
	Toys	8	1.4
	Other	2	0.4
Transportation	Horse/Ox Shoes		
	Carriage/Cart Parts		
	Other		
Other		13	2.3
Unidentifiable		113	20.2
Total		560	100.2

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THE EVOLUTION OF CERAMIC PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION
AS VIEWED FROM FIVE POINTS

BY STEPHEN A. BRIGHTON

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1.0 Introduction

By the 1790s, English potteries dominated the world ceramic trade (Miller 1980:1). The 3,300 mended ceramic vessels from the 22 shaft features excavated on the Courthouse Block reflect this revolution and illustrate the global transformation in ceramic production and distribution from the last decades of the eighteenth century through the end of the nineteenth century. The collection's large number of complete or nearly complete ceramic vessels demonstrates the rapid rate at which households chose to replace their ceramic possessions. Being near one of the largest market centers, households could procure fashionable ceramics at reasonable prices almost as soon as they became available.

The forces behind what was considered fashionable constantly changed. During the mid- to late eighteenth century, the wealthier classes set the standards. For example, Josiah Wedgwood, upon presenting a creamware breakfast set aptly named Queen's pattern to Queen Charlotte in 1762, created a huge demand for this pattern among artisan and other skilled professional households (Miller 1994:14). By the mid-nineteenth century, the lower working and immigrant classes were influenced by Victorianism and middle-class values. Irish priests and "educated" Irish encouraged newly arrived Irish immigrants to assimilate and adhere to American middle-class behaviors (Kraut 1996:163). The established Irish believed the negative and stereotypical perception of their newly arrived brethren, fostered by American politicians and the press, might be changed by assimilation. This is not to say that the households, whether artisan or working class, were trying to emulate the upper classes, but they selected elements of the dominant culture, combining them with their own ideals of what was considered desirable and respectable.

Only a fraction of the immense ceramic assemblage recovered is discussed here, with emphasis given to unusual pieces or patterns. The material is organized by time periods based on TPQ (*terminus post quem*) dates of significant deposits within shaft features and on occupation dates of the inhabitants living on the excavated lots. A comprehensive inventory of all artifacts recovered is included in Volume IV of this report. Detailed discussions of the ceramics were prepared for each feature and are on file with the collection.

The assemblage has been divided, where possible, into sets of matching or affiliated vessels. By grouping vessels in this manner, one can speculate on the buying strategies of each household, the available decorative wares in New York crockery shops, the types of food being consumed, and how foods were served. Deetz (1972) notes that lower-income households generally have fewer specialty forms that serve a specific function (i.e., serving platters, soup plates, slop bowls, creamers, etc.) and fewer matching pieces. However, the presence of matching and similarly decorated vessels in a variety of tea- and tableware forms remains constant throughout the collection. This indicates the desire to acquire, regardless of class, the proper setting which was dictated by the dominant culture. There are two criteria for creating sets: matching decorative patterns and multiple specialty forms (i.e., teacups, saucers, various-sized plates, serving platters/dishes).

Because decorative patterns changed so rapidly throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, matching replacements were hard to obtain. Sets may therefore include affiliated, but not exactly matching, patterns. The buying strategy for households was to purchase ceramics by the piece that were similar in color and basic design elements. The three criteria for affiliated sets are vessels with the same decoration type/color (e.g., painted polychrome) and common motif (e.g., small-scale floral), similarly decorated vessels with matching maker's marks, and similarly decorated vessels with matching base forms (i.e., foot rings, pedestals) and/or rim forms.

2.0 1790-1815

The last decades of the eighteenth century brought about dramatic changes on Block 160 as well as in the ceramics industry. The area that came to be known as Five Points slowly changed from an industrial to a commercial-residential, artisan-class community. Among these artisans were the families of Tobias Hoffman, a baker; William Wilson, a merchant; and Henry Lott, a house carpenter. The ceramic assemblage recovered from archeological deposits associated with each household reflects ceramic types available

to artisans in New York. Consisting mostly of tea- and tableware vessels, the ware types and decorations represented are creamware and pearlware in shell-edged, painted, printed, and molded patterns, as well as Chinese export porcelain. The vessels included matching teacups and saucers, muffins, twifflers, and dinner plates. The matching wares also included the necessary specialty vessels for serving multiple courses, including various-sized platters and dishes. Food was not shared in communal vessels, nor was it served from the table plates used for eating. The presence of such serving pieces indicates that food was presented on separate vessels not intended for individual use that were placed on a sideboard or around the table.

By 1790, creamware or "CC" (cream-colored) ware was limited to either plain/undecorated or molded-rim patterns, such as shell-edged and the Royal pattern. The creamware tea- and tableware present in the artisan assemblages is either in the Royal pattern or plain/undecorated. The Royal pattern was a variant of Josiah Wedgwood's Queen's pattern. At least two tableware sets were recovered in the Royal pattern with forms ranging from muffin (4 in. diameter) to dinner plates (9–10 in. diameter) (Figure 1). The sets also included specialty vessels, such as soup plates and serving platters. The presence of serving vessels and soup plates reflects the ideal of formality in setting a table in which multiple courses were served. Undecorated creamware was represented by a teaset that belonged to the Hoffman household (Feature AF). The heavy stir marks on the interior of the vessels suggest that this set was used every day rather than for social occasions. As with the Royal pattern, these tea-related vessels were inexpensive, having been replaced by China glaze and pearlware.

China glaze, produced by many early Staffordshire potters, copied Chinese porcelain in decoration, glaze tinting, and form (Figure 2). The ware was short lived and had gone out of style by circa 1815. Pearlware became the dominant ware type by 1800. The early tea-related pearlware vessels, which were usually decorated with Chinese motifs or polychrome floral patterns, were cheaper than Chinese porcelain. The consumer demand for Chinese ceramics is also demonstrated by the forms of English-made tea cups. The popular or standard form mimicked the handleless Chinese rice bowl that is still prevalent in Chinese culture today. The assemblage reflects this trend in decorative pearlware with two painted teaset: an underglaze polychrome floral/folear style and a blue chinoiserie (Chinese-like) house or pagoda pattern.

The Hoffmans owned both a set of polychrome and blue painted teaware, possibly using them in different situations depending on the importance of the occasion and the company being served. The floral patterns do not match, but have a common motif with simple bands that run along the body and rim (Figure 3). Although the pieces are unmarked, the patterns in the assemblage were imitations of Josiah Wedgwood's original floral patterns. The original motifs were popular among the wealthy, and these imitations would have offered a cheaper alternative to the artisan community in late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century New York.

Underglaze blue painting on pearlware was widespread by 1780. The wares were mostly painted in a Chinese style imitating the more expensive Chinese porcelain. The most common motif was the Chinese house pattern, which English painters copied directly from the Chinese. Blue painted pearlware (Figure 4) was popular until after the first decade of the nineteenth century when the demand was stemmed by the greater availability of transfer-printed wares.

Shell-edged-decorated ware was a standard product of Staffordshire potteries from the mid-1770s to the last decades of the nineteenth century (Miller 1991:1). The blue- and green-edged vessels represent the first edged pattern produced (1775–1800). The many different early edged patterns and manufacturers represented in the tableware illustrate the rapid replacement rate and the variety of the merchants' constantly changing inventory (Figure 5). The presence of both green- and blue-edged ware in all households could mean that pieces used together were coordinated with the various courses being served. Most households dating to this period owned a variety of specialty vessels: a pepper pot, a soup-tureen ladle, soup plates, various-sized serving platters, and a butter boat. The presence of vessels with

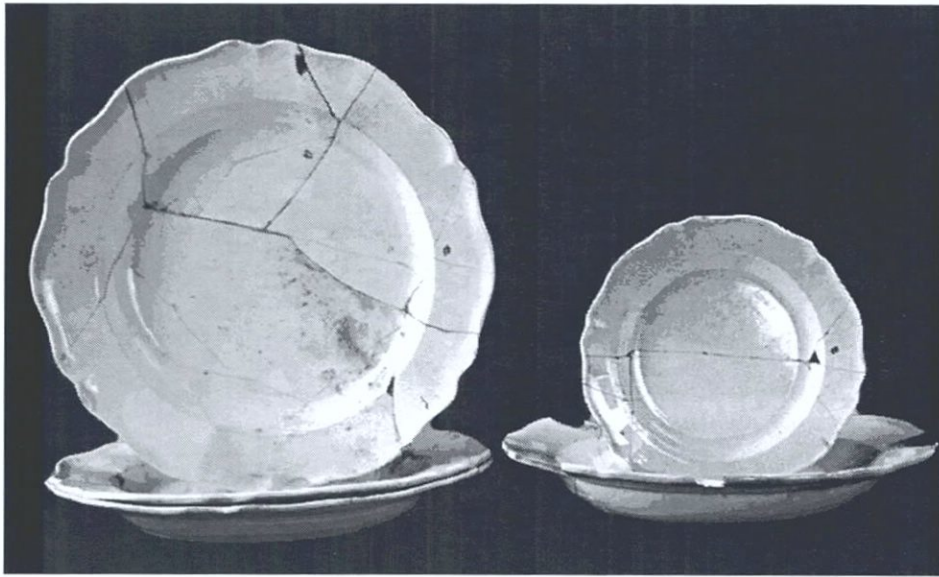


Figure 1. Royal pattern on creamware tableware (ca. 1765-1810) recovered from the Hoffman and Wilson-Lott households.



Figure 2. China glaze (ca. 1775-1815) flatware in the blue transfer-printed Willow pattern. Recovered from the Hoffman privy.

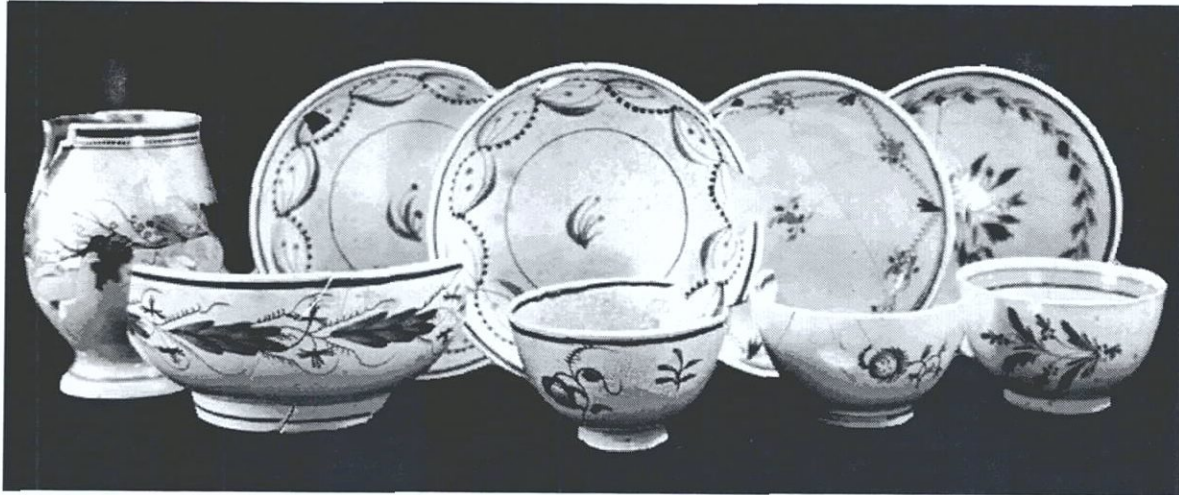


Figure 3. Teaware decorated in an underglaze polychrome painted floral/foliar style (1795-1825). The patterns on a pearlware body are reminiscent of Josiah Wedgwood's original floral designs. Recovered from the Hoffman privy.



Figure 4. Underglaze blue painted pearlware (1780-1820) in the popular Chinese house/pagoda pattern. The three saucers have similar but unmatched house motifs, while the sugar-bowl lid matches the cross-hatch border pattern of all three saucers. Recovered from the Hoffman privy.

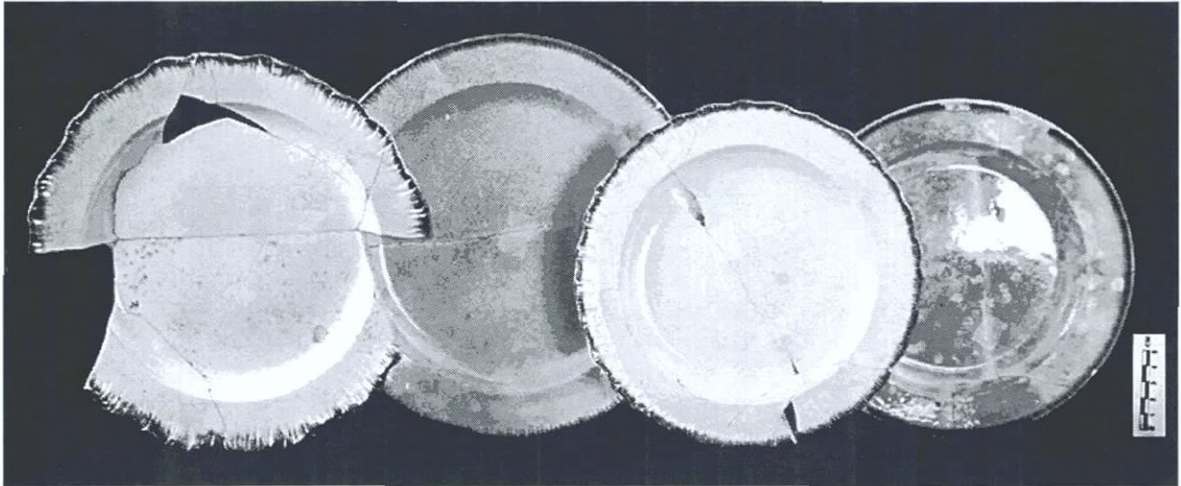


Figure 5. Blue- and green-edge-decorated pearlware. The plates range from 7 to 9 inches in diameter. The plate in the front left is one of the earliest designs—assymetrical, undulating scallop with impressed curved lines (ca. 1775-1800). Recovered from both Hoffman and Wilson-Lott privies.

specific functions and the lack of noticeable wear patterns (i.e., knife scarring) indicate that the Wilson household did not use these specialty items for everyday meals, but for more formal occasions with multiple courses being served.

The heavy wear patterns (cut marks) on the Hoffman's edge-decorated flatware, the low number of specialty items, and the presence of matching dinner plates in Chinese porcelain suggest that their edged ware was used everyday. The porcelain is decorated in an enameled floral pattern with gilt highlights—a decorative style common on Meissen porcelain vessels and popular in households in Europe and North America (Figure 6). The Chinese copied these Meissen patterns during the last decades of the eighteenth century to compete with the burgeoning European porcelain trade (Howard 1984:69). The vessels in the collection would have been at least three to four times the cost of the equivalent Meissen setting.

In addition to the English teaware mentioned, there are two sets of Chinese porcelain teaware (Figure 7). Sets featuring an enameled floral spray are considered to be high-quality export (Howard 1984:111; Mudge 1986:199). The Chinese porcelain teaware in the collection is comparable to that owned by other New York artisan residents, such as Samuel and Judith Verplank who resided downtown at 3 Wall Street from 1763 to 1803 (Howard 1984:69), indicating equal availability of such fancy ceramics for families on the northernmost extremes of the growing city.

Perhaps one of the most interesting vessels was a fragmented Castleford teapot from the Hoffman assemblage, the only one of its kind recovered from Five Points (Figure 8). Castleford, England, was known for white stoneware with relief molded designs (1790–1825). Margaret Hoffman had probably used this to serve tea with the Chinese porcelain teaware. Most Castleford pieces are unmarked, and even though after 1800 other potteries were producing a similar type, the company of David Dunderdale is usually associated with the manufacture of this style of white stoneware teapot. The assemblage includes other wares by David Dunderdale, and it is therefore likely that the teapot came from his shop. Moreover, it reflects the wide range of wares from a single potter available from the local crockery shops.

Throughout the eighteenth century, trained potters from Europe emigrated to North America and established successful potteries on the knowledge learned from past generations of skilled craftsmen. The area called Pott Baker's Hill, to the south of Five Points, was home to immigrant stoneware potters. As early as 1728, the Crolius and Remmey families, two of the earliest German traditional stoneware potters, lived and worked in and around Pott Baker's Hill (Janowitz 1992b). Little is known of their pre-1800 wares due to the lack of consistent maker's marks on their stoneware, but the early decorative style is distinctive with incised floral motifs or blue painted swags with dots (Figure 9). The assemblage includes a marked jar from John Remmey III, one of the last in his family to produce stoneware vessels in the area of Pott Baker's Hill (Figure 10). The complete mark would read "J. REMMEY-MANHATTAN WELLS," and the piece is a rare marked example of the late-eighteenth-century Remmey stoneware pottery works.

Locally produced redware and stoneware (from New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania) were used for food preparation and storage as well as for the storage of non-food items. Because of the demand for durable vessels, stoneware and redware vessels such as pie plates/chargers, jars, beer/ale bottles, and chamber pots were available in large quantities (Figure 11). Redware jars/crocks contained a variety of food stuffs such as flour, sugar, apple butter, pickled cucumbers, and sauerkraut that were produced in the hinterland regions of New York State, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. The Hoffman assemblage (Lot 7, Feature AF) includes a large number of locally made, slip-decorated redware pie plates and storage jars (Figure 12). The pie plates were commonly manufactured in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. The presence and large number of baking vessels and jars that probably contained sugar or flour reflect Tobias Hoffman's occupation: Hoffman is listed in the census records through the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as a baker; his bakery was next door to his home.

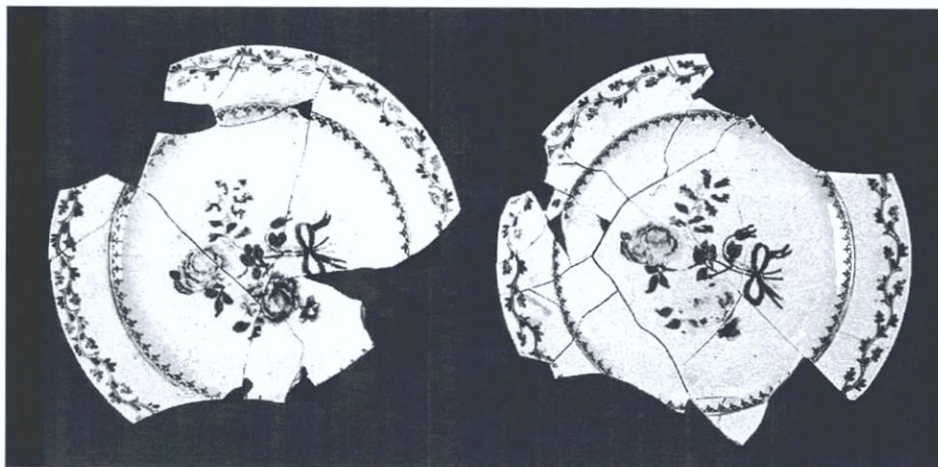


Figure 6. Enameled Chinese export porcelain 9-inch plates (late eighteenth to early nineteenth century). Recovered from the Hoffman privy.



Figure 7. Enameled Chinese porcelain teaware (far right). Comparable to teawares owned by artisan residents in Manhattan (late eighteenth century). Recovered from the Lott-Wilson privy.



Figure 8. Castleford stoneware teapot (1790-1825). A similar vessel is pictured in Godden's *An Illustrated Encyclopedia of British Pottery and Porcelain* (1992:157, illustration 257). Recovered from the Hoffman privy.



Figure 9. Stoneware crock with the typical swag-and-dot decoration attributed to local potters, such as the Remmey family (late eighteenth century). Recovered from a multiple-household deposit on Lot 3-4.



Figure 10. Gray salt-glazed stoneware fragments with the rare manufacturer mark of John Remmey III. The cobalt-blue incised-bird motif was typical of late-eighteenth-century stoneware vessels. Recovered from the Hoffman privy.



Figure 11. Manganese- and clear-lead-glazed redware and creamware chamber pots in various sizes and shapes (late eighteenth century). Recovered from the Hoffman and Lott-Wilson privies.

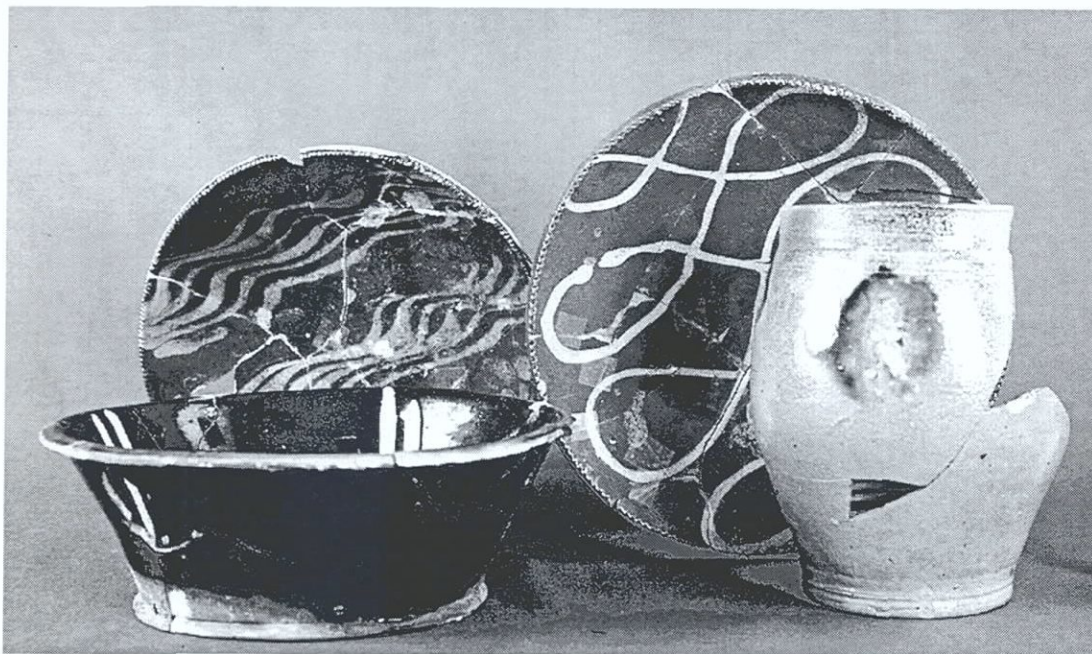


Figure 12. Various utilitarian vessels, probably used in the Hoffman bakery. Slip-decorated redware pie plates (rear), manganese-glazed milk pan (left), and stoneware small-mouth jar (late eighteenth century). The redware plates have evidence of charring along the exterior base. Recovered from the Hoffman privy.

3.0 1815–1840

By 1817, the Collect Pond, which lay adjacent to the early artisan community, had been filled and new commercial and residential buildings were constructed. Members of a new working class were moving into the area and living with or next to the few remaining artisan households. The people, like the many ceramic patterns and forms being mass produced in the nineteenth century, are too numerous to name, but their occupations included sextant, dyer, segar [cigar] maker, glass stainer, and fish monger. The assemblage from this period includes ceramic vessels not only from these new working-class families, but also from a known brothel in the basement at No. 12 Baxter Street.

The nineteenth century also brought about technological advances in the English ceramic industry. Transfer printing, well established by the last decades of the eighteenth century, became the predominant decoration technique, and transfer-printed ceramics were produced in such quantity that they were available to everyone. Moreover, the introduction of dark blue printing brought about a huge demand from the American market. By 1818, Staffordshire potters such as Ralph and James Clews and Enoch Wood were producing a series of dark-blue prints to accommodate the American demand for such colored wares.

After the War of 1812, there was strong American resentment towards England. English goods in some areas of the United States were all but boycotted, and the overstocked English ceramic market was thrown into a depression (Halsey 1974:x). In response to this development, English potters produced patterns on their tea- and tablewares that catered to American patriotism. At least 200 such commemorative patterns were produced in the 1820s in dark blue. On Block 160, only the commercial establishments possessed the dark-blue and other printed commemorative patterns. None was found associated with domestic deposits. The patterns were found on teaware associated with a brothel (Lot 43, Feature AG) and with an oyster house (Lot 52, Feature AM). The dark-blue patterns include the French Series and Commodore McDonnough's Victory, both produced by Enoch Wood. The latter maritime motif depicts a fierce 1814 naval battle on Lake Champlain between Thomas McDonnough, the American naval commander, and British commander Sir George Provost (Figure 13). The resulting American victory was a turning point in the war.

The French Series included patterns depicting the Marquis de Lafayette on his 1824 return visit to America. This visit sparked great interest in the American public and many blue-printed wares were made for exclusive export to America (Coysch and Henrywood 1982:148, 209). The scene found on the teaware, in both the brothel and oyster house, is of Lafayette contemplating the tomb of his long-time friend Benjamin Franklin (Figure 14). This pattern has been recovered from numerous archeological sites dating to the early decades of the nineteenth century.

The popularity of Lafayette in America is also seen on a small mug, possibly a child's cup. The hard-paste porcelain cup is polychrome enameled with the profile of Lafayette (Figure 15). The rim and frame around the profile are gilded. In the nineteenth century, many people believed that children's education began in the home and the cup with the picture of Lafayette may have been a lesson in American history. The gilding on the cup suggests that it was a commemorative piece used for display.

The vessel that epitomizes American pride is a dark-blue printed serving pitcher (Figure 16). The central theme is the American eagle spreading its wings above a shield bearing the stars and stripes and a ribbon with the American motto "*E Pluribus Unum*." The American eagle had been adopted as the seal of the United States in 1786 and was used in many English patterns bound for America (Coysch and Henrywood 1982:121).

There are also American commemorative patterns present in the assemblage that are not dark-blue printed. Blue- and sepia-printed twifflers are decorated with two picturesque views of the Hudson—"Rapids above Hadley's Falls" and "Baker's Falls"—and another with the "Battle Monument, Baltimore." The latter was made by Job and John Jackson and the former patterns were from Ralph and James Clews. The Hudson views were inspired by the sketches of W.G. Andrews which date to 1818.

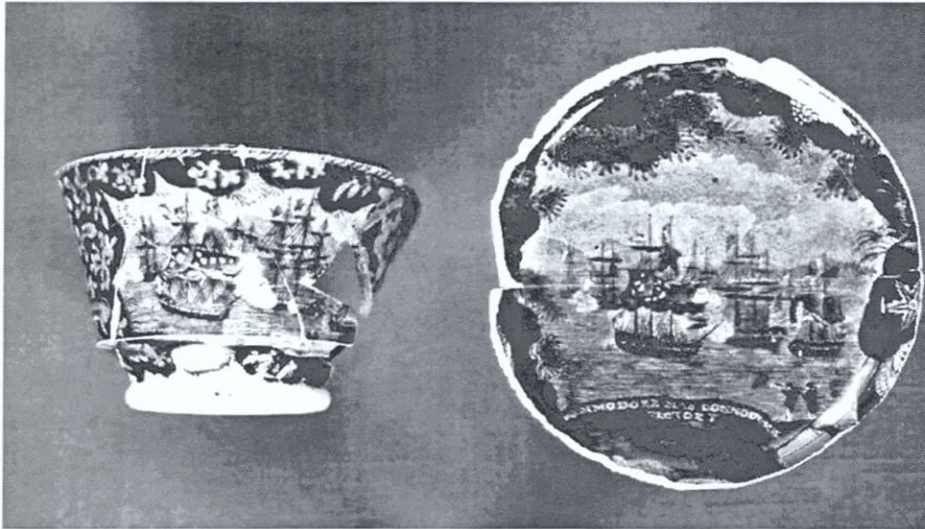


Figure 13. American Commemorative pattern: "Commodore McDonnough's Victory," printed in the dark-blue style, produced by Enoch Wood and Sons (ca. 1824-1835). Recovered from the brothel privy.



Figure 14. "Lafayette at Franklin's Tomb" printed in the dark-blue style, produced by Enoch Wood and Sons (ca. 1824-1835). Recovered from the brothel privy and a feature relating to an icehouse associated with an oyster house and multiple-family dwelling.



Figure 15. Small enameled cup (3 inches in diameter, 3 inches in height), possibly a child's cup. Recovered from a feature associated with a multiple-household deposit on Lot 3-4.

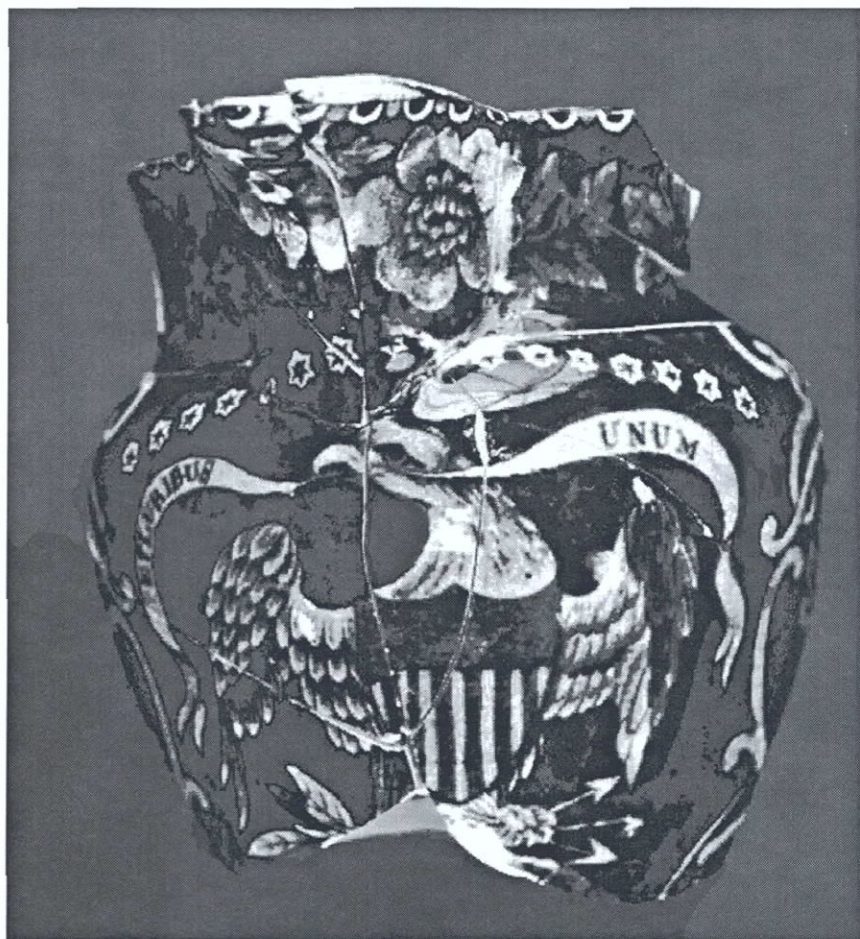


Figure 16. Dark-blue-printed serving pitcher decorated with the seal of the United States, produced by William Adams (ca.1815-1835). Recovered from the brothel privy.

The Evolution of Ceramic Production and Distribution as Viewed from Five Points

The American commemorative vessels, depicting grand events and scenic beauty, were apparently used as display pieces as no apparent wear patterns (stirring marks or cut marks) are present. They were either mounted on the wall or placed on a shelf or mantel. In a brothel context, war and patriotic themes could represent an attempt to appeal to the masculine tastes of the clientele. In contrast to the American commemorative pieces in the brothel assemblage, there are four blue-printed pearlware tea vessels that commemorate Ireland. One pattern includes an anthropomorphic depiction of Ireland or the traditional Latin name *Hibernia* (Figure 17). The central motif is a seated woman holding a pen quill while next to her is a shield and harp. The harp is a traditional symbol for Ireland, as is the shamrock which is centered on the shield. Perhaps a newly arrived Irish working girl in the brothel owned and displayed the vessels to maintain her Irish identity amidst the Americana or nativist sentiment being expressed. The presence of both the nativist and Irish symbolism might also reflect diversity or, more likely, conflict between the nativist and Irish factions concerning the rights to political contributions and the profits of successful brothels (Gilfoyle 1992:76–91).

By the 1820s, the dominant printed patterns were either of English rural or pastoral scenes or exotic animals. Exotic animal patterns, the “Elephant with Eastern Border,” for example, were found on teaware vessels in the Widow Hoffman’s assemblage. Elephants were rarely seen in the Western hemisphere except in private menageries. Regents Park had the first Indian elephant in 1828 and by 1831 a popular elephant, “Old Jack,” prompted an increase of elephant printed patterns (Coysch and Henrywood 1989:226).

The brothel, Goldberg, and later Hoffman (Widow Hoffman) teaware assemblages include similar pastoral patterns with cows and sheep in the foreground and a barn or outbuildings in a wooded background (Figure 18). The rural patterns, especially a sugar bowl in the Milkmaid pattern, may have been inspired by the novel *Dairyman’s Daughter*, which was reported to have sold over two million copies (Coysch and Henrywood 1982:247).

The transfer-printed vessels from the 1830s reflect a change in the tastes of the consumer and the evolution in English ceramic production. Transfer-printed patterns change from pastoral landscapes to romantic images of exotic places and people. For example, the central theme of the Staffordshire pattern Caledonia (Figure 19) is a mythical depiction of Scottish highlanders in traditional kilts poised on a dramatic mountain top. Caledonia is the Roman name for the northern regions of Scotland, later extended to the entire country. Other pattern names in the assemblage, including Belzoni, Tyrolean, India Temples, and Pennsylvania, are on a variety of table flatware, serving pitchers, and platters. No more than three vessels matched, either in tea- or tableware, suggesting that the vessels were purchased piecemeal and not as complete matching settings. Transfer-printed patterns, as with the edged decoration previously discussed, varied from season to season, making it almost impossible to find the same pattern as a replacement. It appears that the buying strategy of the working-class households was to select ceramics primarily on the basis of color and secondarily by a common central or marley pattern.

Perhaps the most interesting vessel form in this period is the cup plate. Cup plates were used, like modern-day coasters, to protect polished wood and table linen from the stains made by the wet foot ring of a teacup. According to Coysch and Henrywood (1982:99), “it was a common early-nineteenth-century practice in America to decant tea from a teacup into a saucer to cool and the empty cup was then placed upon the small plate.” The cup plate patterns do not match the teaware patterns in the collection, but include similar motifs, such as exotic birds, pastoral scenes, and romantic patterns (Figure 20).

The brothel assemblage had the largest number of cup plates in the collection. The presence of cup plates reflects the brothel’s interior furnishings. Although it was located in a basement in the Five Points district, the brothel was probably furnished with polished wooden tables that could have been covered with fine Irish linen. Gilfoyle’s research on New York City police records noted that most brothels contained elaborate furnishings (1992:69–71) and this Five Points establishment may have been no exception. The use of cup plates was considered a distinctively American practice. In combination with the American commemoratives in the assemblage, it appears that the brothel catered to nativist taste.



Figure 17. Teaware decorated with the anthropomorphic depiction of Ireland, Hibernia (early nineteenth century). The harp and clover, as well as other symbols associated with Irish traditions and culture, are illustrated. Recovered from the brothel privy.



Figure 18. Unmarked rural pattern commonly found throughout the early nineteenth century. The production of this blue-printed pattern, as well as countless others, may have been inspired by the novel *Dairyman's Daughter* (ca. 1820). This set of muffin plates was recovered from the brothel privy.

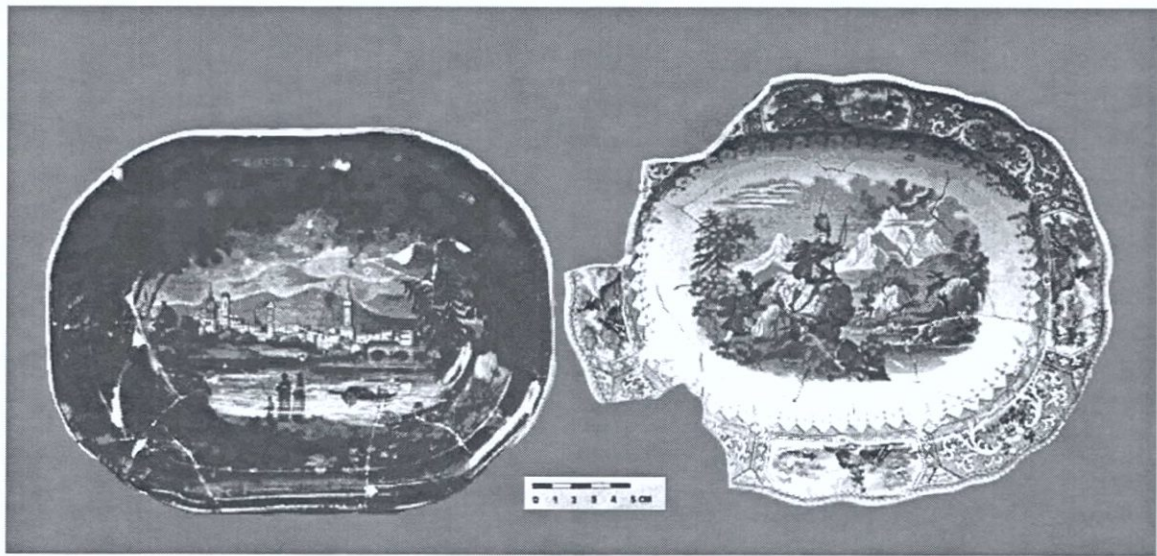


Figure 19. Staffordshire serving dishes with printed scenes of romantic and exotic people and places. The dish pattern to the left, *Italian Scenery: Castle of St. Angelo, Rome*, is in the dark-blue style and was produced by Enoch Wood and Sons (1818-1835). The dish to the right is *Caledonia*, produced by William Adams and Sons (ca. 1800-1864).



Figure 20. Various unmarked Staffordshire blue-printed cup plates (3-4 inches in diameter) (ca. 1825-1840). Recovered from the brothel privy.

European porcelain vessels were few and almost all related to teaware. Bone china is the dominant type and was found in each feature dating to this time period. Bone china was developed circa 1790 by Josiah Spode and was available in many decorative styles (Miller 1994:11). Most of the vessels were decorated with pink-purple luster (Figure 21). Luster-decorated porcelain, as well as refined earthenware, was a cheaper alternative for households that could not or chose not to purchase the more expensive gilt-decorated or silver vessels. The luster was either part of the central motif or part of the border pattern surrounding the motif. The vessels of European porcelain were fragmentary and lacked the specialty items of a complete setting. The paucity of European porcelain is not surprising since Chinese porcelain was the tea- and tableware of choice in artisan households.

A complete set of Chinese porcelain was recovered from an assemblage associated with the basement brothel on Lot 43. The set is decorated with an enameled floral spray with gilt highlights and includes matching teacups, smaller coffee cups, saucers, twifflers, a slop bowl, a portion of a tea pot, and a tea caddy (Figure 22). A tea caddy is a vessel used to store dry tea leaves. The porcelain dates roughly between the first and second decades of the century and has been seen on sites associated with upper-middle-class New York households such as the Van Voorhis.

A great deal of blue-painted Chinese porcelain was shipped to America during the first half of the nineteenth century (MacIntosch 1994:192). In his book *Chinese Blue and White Porcelain* Duncan MacIntosch quotes importer Robert Walsh's 1820 reflection on the popularity of blue-painted porcelain in all levels of American society:

The porcelain of China displaced the English ware hitherto in use and became exclusively employed by the higher and middle ranks, even the poorest families could boast at least a limited proportion of China ware, and although it should require the united exertions of the family to effect the object, few young girls at the present time enter into marriage state without contributing their respective China ware tea sets to the general concern (MacIntosch 1994:192).

The blue-painted decoration includes elaborate lotus floral designs and land/waterscape patterns (e.g., Nanking and Canton). These very popular land/waterscape patterns, with exotic boats and houses, were copied by the English potters in competition for the American ceramic market. Although these blue wares were considered common exports, they cost three times that of the equivalent in European porcelain. Eventually the demand for blue Chinese porcelain decreased as the production of the cheaper alternative Willow pattern increased.

By the second decade of the nineteenth century, Willow and shell-edged vessels, the cheapest decorated vessels available, became omnipresent components of the Five Points household assemblage. As stated above, the Willow pattern was an imitation of the imported painted Chinese patterns and was found exclusively on tableware, while the lesser known Brosely pattern appeared on teaware. The Brosely pattern was a Chinese-like motif similar to the Willow pattern, but in mirror image.

It is interesting to see the way different people viewed the value of Willow pattern. The Goldbergs seemingly used the Willow vessels in a setting in which multiple courses were being served. Although the Willow motif was considered the cheapest printed pattern available, it was probably the household's strategy to acquire the cheaper pattern and obtain a more complete setting with the necessary serving pieces. Their tableware reflects this and includes various-sized plates and specialty items, such as soup plates, a square vegetable dish, and oval serving platters (Figure 23). The Goldbergs could also easily replace or add to the existing table setting since the pattern had not changed since 1790. The wear patterns on the dinner plates were slight, suggesting that their use was not everyday but for specific occasions.

In contrast, Willow-pattern dinner plates from the public oyster house on 110 Chatam Street were used daily to serve many people (Figure 24). The lack of serving dishes suggests that food was brought to the customer on the dinner plate, rather than on a communal platter. Because Willow was the cheapest printed pattern available, it was possible to acquire matching flatware. This would have been much more

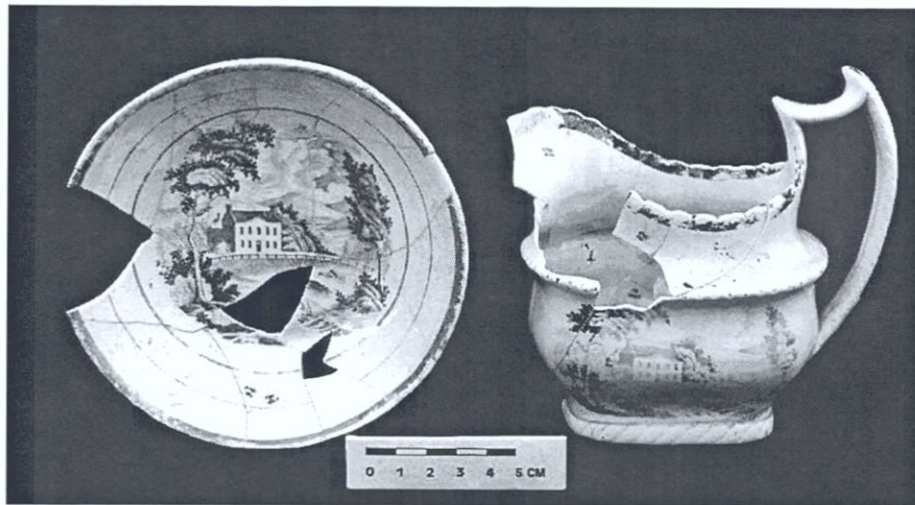


Figure 21. Unmarked English enameled pink-luster-decorated bone china creamer and saucer (late eighteenth to early nineteenth century). Recovered from an icehouse associated with an oyster house and multiple-family dwelling.



Figure 22. A complete enameled coffee and tea set in Chinese export porcelain (early nineteenth century). The set includes 9-inch plates (rear left), slop bowl (rear center), tea caddy (rear right), handled coffee cups (front left), and handleless tea cups/bowls (front right). Recovered from the brothel privy.



Figure 23. An example of a table setting in the Willow pattern (ca.1820s). The various specialty serving dishes reflect a formalized setting with multiple courses. Recovered from the Goldberg privy.



Figure 24. Willow pattern. Various marked 10-inch plates associated with a public oyster house (ca.1820-1840).

visually appealing than the undecorated wares that are usually associated with public houses and restaurants. The central motif, as stated above, has remained constant since 1790, making replacements easily attainable regardless of the manufacturer. The oyster house assemblage includes at least three different Staffordshire potter's marks dating between 1818 and 1835.

In the 1820s, shell-edged ceramic manufacturers made a short-lived attempt to revitalize the failing edged industry. New edged ware with embossed designs was introduced, and potters such as Ralph and James Clews were at the forefront. Both the Hoffman and Goldberg households owned the latest embossed patterns made by the Clews company. The type of embossments include a fish-scale pattern and a foliar/vine pattern (Figure 25). The fish-scale pattern is reminiscent of the creamware molded pattern from the eighteenth century. Most of the vessels have unscaloped rims and squared or chamfered corners. They were probably acquired as replacements or additions to sets of early edged ware. The original sets were influenced by the neoclassical conventions that were in vogue around 1800 (Miller 1994:437). The edged vessels, colored in both blue and green, have molded rims that are even and symmetrical with either curved or straight impressed lines around the marley. Although none of the molded edged patterns matches, the green- and blue-edged vessels from both lots have been considered complete table settings.

By the second decade of the nineteenth century, children's motto plates and mugs were being mass produced by Staffordshire and other potteries throughout England. The source of subject matter for mugs and plates was generally from children's literature and picture-sheet illustrations (Riley 1991:16). Themes commonly emphasized moral values, with stern admonishments against evil or sinful deeds, reinforced Christian duty, and praised meritorious behavior. Motto plates and mugs were usually given as presents to children, either for holidays or special occasions. For example, a child's mug in the assemblage was given to a child for being obedient at home, school, or church (Figure 26). The "My" series of motto tableware (Figure 27) was taken from the publications of John Harris and William Darton, who aimed their volumes and sheets at the middle and working classes (Riley 1991:30). Throughout the nineteenth century, their writings were used on mass-produced mugs and plates and included all aspects of family life.

With the completion of the Erie Canal and the high cost of land in Manhattan, there was less need for potters to produce their wares near the city's center. While some Manhattan potters moved farther north of the ever-expanding city limits, most simply practiced their craft in areas such as Long Island and upstate New York (Figure 28). The Crolius family, however, remained in Manhattan up to the 1820s. Upon the filling of the Collect Pond, Clarkson Crolius and, later, his son Clarkson, Jr. (Figure 29), moved and produced stoneware at 67 Bayard Street, approximately two to three blocks north of the project area.

The art of a local potter can be seen in vessel types other than utilitarian coarse wares, such as black manganese-glazed redware teapots (Figure 30). Almost all American teapots were overall black or manganese glazed, reflecting the influence of English Jackfield pottery (Ketchum 1991:8). The black glaze made inexpensive redware a more acceptable form to display when serving tea. The teapots themselves resembled their contemporary Jackfield forms, but for families with limited incomes they were a cheaper alternative. Although there were many local redware manufacturers, only a few are best known for their black-glazed teapots. During the nineteenth century the most important New Jersey redware manufacturers specializing in this decorative type were Ephraim G. Mackay of New Brunswick (c.1811–1826) and John Mann from Rahway (c.1830–1850) (Ketchum 1991:88). Other potters produced this style of teapot. For example, in 1823, a Troy, New York, firm began manufacturing black teapots, as did the Smith Pottery of Norwalk, Connecticut. Finally, possibly more importantly, Thomas Craft of Whatley, Massachusetts (c.1821–1860), produced black teapots, not for local Massachusetts consumers, but specifically for New York City and Philadelphia consumers (Ketchum 1991:88).

The third decade of the nineteenth century brought technological changes in the ware types available from American ceramic manufacturers. New Jersey, first and foremost in the production of American yellowware, is considered "the cradle of the pottery industry in the United States" (Liebowitz 1985:27).

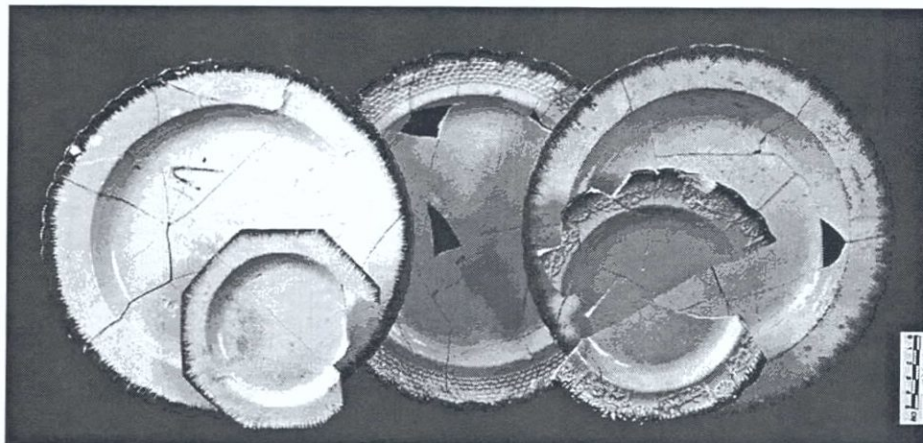


Figure 25. Shell-edged tableware (first half of the nineteenth century). In an attempt to revitalize the edged market, various embossed patterns (1820-1835) were produced, including fish scales (rear center) and vines and swags (front right). Recovered from all features.



Figure 26. Blue-printed (left) and painted (right) children's drinking cups (first half of the nineteenth century). Recovered from the brothel privy.

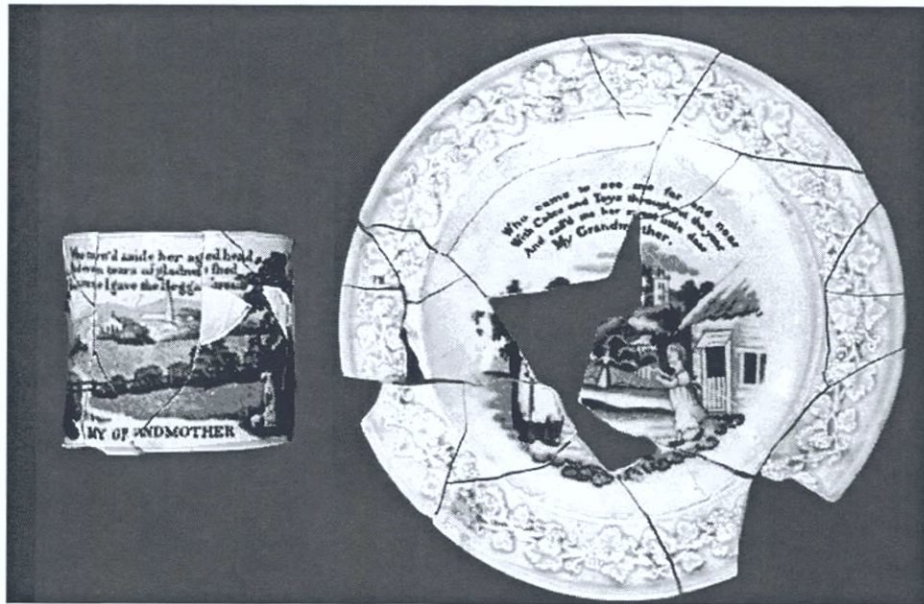


Figure 27. A child's table plate and drinking cup. The blue-printed pattern is one of the many popular My patterns. The vessels pictured are of the My Grandmother series (first half of the nineteenth century). Recovered from the brothel privy.



Figure 28. Utilitarian stoneware crocks. The vessel on the left is unmarked, but reflects the popular Pennsylvania-German tulip style. The vessel on the right is stamped "C.W. Thompson & Co., Pokesie." Charles Thompson manufactured stoneware from 1833 to 1835. The stamped number 2 reflects the capacity of the vessel. Recovered from the icehouse associated with an oyster house and multiple-family dwelling.

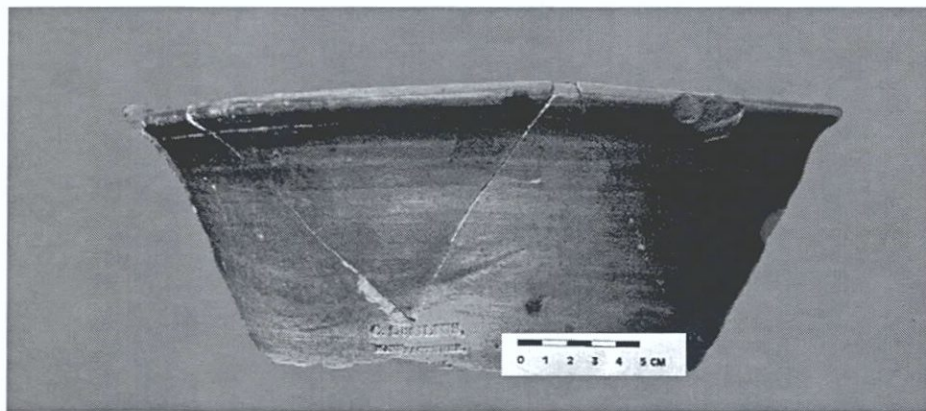


Figure 29. Stoneware milk pan stamped with the mark of Clarkson Crolius, Jr. (1835-1849). Milk pans were used for the separation of milk, as well as other culinary tasks. Because of the pans' sloped sides, they are also thought to have been used as wash basins. Recovered from the icehouse associated with an oyster house and multiple-family dwelling.



Figure 30. Manganese-glazed redware teapot (first half of the nineteenth century), an inexpensive imitation of the English Jackfield. Recovered from the Stone privy.

Establishing its works in 1833, The American Pottery Company, Jersey City, New Jersey (Figure 31), was the first in New Jersey to produce various utilitarian and decorative vessels such as pitchers, pie plates, bakers, and nappies in yellowware (Figure 32).

4.0 1840–1870

The sordid reputation of the Five Points section was firmly established by the 1840s. The one-time artisan neighborhood was now transformed into a dilapidated district inhabited mainly by members of the immigrant working class. Occupations such as day laborer, stone paver, and huckster replaced baker and merchant. Overcrowded four- and five-story tenement buildings replaced the existing one- and two-story buildings. Contemporary writers described the neighborhood as a plague spot and the inhabitants as thieves and drunkards. The ceramic assemblage, however, provides a different perspective. Much like the artisan class it replaced, the working class spent a portion of its income on new and innovative ceramic styles which stressed the genteel rituals of the dominant cultural traditions of the mid-nineteenth century.

The 1840s brought about new technological advances in English ceramic production, as well as change in the ideals of gentility and what was considered a suitable home environment in American culture. An aspect of that change is reflected in the Gothic style (c.1840–c.1860), which brought the sanctity and communal aspects of Gothic churches into the home by employing many design elements on ceramic tea- and tableware (Wall 1991:25–26).

These new ideals were quickly utilized and marketed by English potters. The Gothic shape (Figure 33) was one of the first molded shapes produced on a new vitrified ceramic body called white granite. White granite, stemming from the earlier heavily decorated stone china, was first shipped to America in about 1840 and became a dominant ware type from the mid- to late-nineteenth century. The shape was also produced on the more expensive hard-paste porcelain and bone china. The household on Lot 47 (Feature AL) owned both a complete porcelain and white-granite Gothic-shaped teaset and several pieces of a table setting. The lack of any substantial wear patterns on the porcelain vessels and heavy wear on the white-granite vessels suggests that the porcelain vessels were used for more formal or special occasions. This contrasts with the evidence from the tenements (Lot 6, Feature J, and Lot 7, Feature O), where the white granite with slight wear seemingly was used as the more formal setting and printed and edged wares were the everyday vessels. Diana Wall has noted that lower classes tended to avoid the fancier porcelains knowing that formal tea parties “did not pertain to their lifestyle” (1994:162). It appears that the skilled-labor households at the upper end of the working-class spectrum expressed a need to interact through more formal events, thereby symbolically separating themselves from the lower working-class immigrants around the block.

The success of the Gothic shape, esthetically and symbolically, was so great that English potters mass produced their own variant of the original Gothic form throughout the 1840s. In her book *A Look At White Ironstone*, Jean Wetherbee groups the Gothic shape and its numerous similar hexagonal predecessors as the “Gothic family” (1981:37). Both mass production and local availability are seen in the multiple sets of tea- and tableware present in both the Pearl Street tenements and the Baxter Street artisans’ households. Moreover, the rapid replacement rate and the annual modifications to the shape are also apparent in the 18 different mid-nineteenth-century English manufacturers’ marks present in the Gothic sets. As has been noted here and elsewhere (e.g., Boott Mills, [Dutton 1989]), ceramics decorated with edged and printed patterns changed constantly from one season to the next, making the replacement of vessels with matching patterns difficult. The same can be said of the Gothic-family shapes that flooded North America and the New York crockery shops.

Mid- to late-nineteenth-century households commonly surrounded themselves with foliar and floral motifs on furniture and other domestic materials to create an environment evoking nature. In her book *The Wheat Pattern*, Lynne Sussman (1985:7) states that between 1848 and 1883 at least 20 grain patterns inspired by the concept of naturalism were registered with the English Patents Office. In 1859 a patent was given to Elmsmore and Forster for their Wheat or Ceres shape which, like the Gothic shape, became the standard



Figure 31. Maker's mark: "American Pottery Co., Jersey City" (ca. 1833-1855). The vessel is a yellowware nappie recovered from the Stone privy.

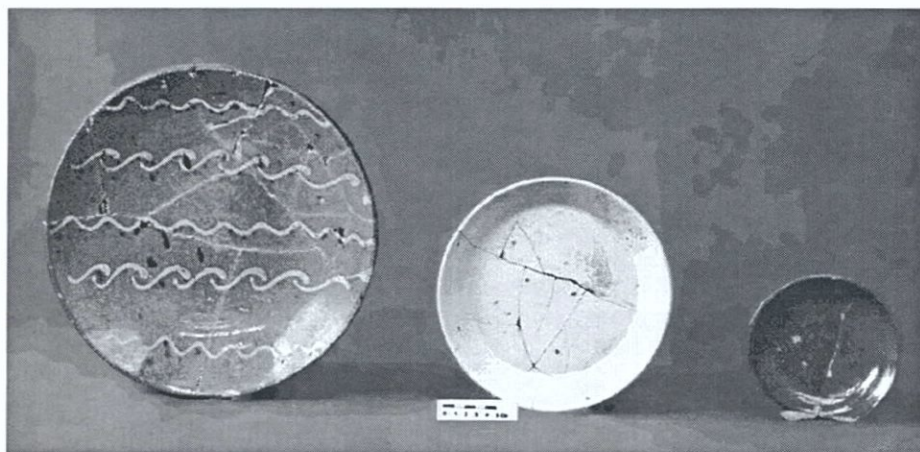


Figure 32. Utilitarian vessels used in the preparation of food (first half of the nineteenth century). Slip-decorated pie plate (left), yellowware pie plate (center), and a redware small plate or taster (right). Recovered from the Stone privy.



Figure 33. Plain and various Gothic shapes on white granite tea- and tableware (1840-1860). Recovered from all mid-nineteenth-century features.

shape for other potters to emulate, thus giving a rise to the Prairie shape (registered 1861) (Figure 34). These shapes were present in the tenement and skilled-laborer assemblages where the Gothic sets had been discarded. The presence of a few fragmented Wheat-shape vessels (Figure 35) and the large number of Gothic sets that were discarded reflect the effort that even Five Points residents put into acquiring what was considered fashionable.

Transfer printing declined in quality after the introduction of white granite and patent laws that restricted engravers from copying or using other engravers' patterns (Miller 1994:31). Engravers were now forced to create their own patterns, resulting in mundane and repetitive motifs that always included a couple or group of people in the foreground, a hanging or drooping tree, a body of water, and Gothic or exotic buildings in the background. This change made it easier for struggling households to construct a complete setting of printed vessels with common central patterns because the local crockery shops carried a variety of different printed patterns in multiple forms (Figure 36). The two tenement assemblages contained over one hundred matching and similarly printed Staffordshire tea- and tableware vessels that could have been combined to form full services. Moreover, the decline in demand and lower price for printed wares made the procurement of specialty forms possible for those households with limited incomes. For example, households living in the tenement at 472 Pearl Street obtained items such as oyster plates and ornate Staffordshire teapots to complement the existing tea- and tableware. Wear patterns, ranging from slight to heavy, also reflect a change in attitude towards the role of printed tea- and tableware by the mid-nineteenth century. In contrast to the earlier more costly patterns which would have been used for social occasions, the new printed wares were apparently used in everyday meals.

One of the most significant ornaments was a sepia transfer-printed Father Mathew teacup from the Irish tenement at 472 Pearl Street (Figure 37). Father Mathew founded the Total Abstinence Movement and greatly influenced the Irish poor. Mathew made many attempts to foster temperance in the working-class Catholic community by imploring its members to think of their health, the health of their families, and to "free themselves from the bondage of a degrading and deadly habit" (Maguire 1864:111). Throughout the 1830s and 1840s, there was a strong belief that diseases such as cholera were caused by intemperance and excesses in nature (Kraut 1996:156). Father Varela, founder of the Transfiguration Church across from Block 160, invited Father Mathew to speak to his parishioners on temperance and "refresh their personal worth and dignity" when the health of his flock diminished due to the "ravages of alcohol" (Transfiguration Church 1977:8). It is uncertain whether Father Theobald Mathew included Five Points in his tour during the mid-nineteenth century; however, the cup does reinforce his positive message of temperance and might reflect the household's ideals relating to health issues that were affecting the surrounding community. During the nineteenth century there were several serious cholera epidemics that struck Five Points as well as other areas of Manhattan.

In addition to honoring Father Mathew, the cup reflects values of hard work and diligence (Figure 38). In America, the Catholic church stressed "industry, thrift, sobriety, self-control and domestic purity" to the newly arrived Irish immigrants (Kraut 1996:163). Such behavior helped the immigrants to assimilate into American culture and mold them into productive citizens and parishioners of the Catholic church. The cup would have been a daily reminder to those of the household and an overt message to those entering the house of the family's beliefs concerning religious and sanitary values.

Flowing printed patterns, usually in blue or mulberry, were first made available to the American market by the end of the 1830s. The popularity and demand for these wares is evident as all archeological features have flow-blue vessels. The skilled laborers on Baxter Street seem to have favored flow-blue tea- and tableware, and tailors from Lot 47 (Feature AL) owned square vegetable dishes suggesting formal meals with multiple courses (Figure 39). Interestingly, the Lot 47 (Feature AL) assemblage contains all white granite and bone china Gothic teaware and heavily decorated flow-blue tableware, suggesting that the household considered tea drinking and meals to be separate social functions.

After a failed and short-lived attempt to revitalize the shell-edged ceramic market, potters began to cut costs in production of the already inexpensive flatware. The scallop rim was eliminated and eventually



Figure 34. The Prairie shape (registered 1861) on a 10-inch plate. Recovered from the multiple-family dwelling on Lot 45.

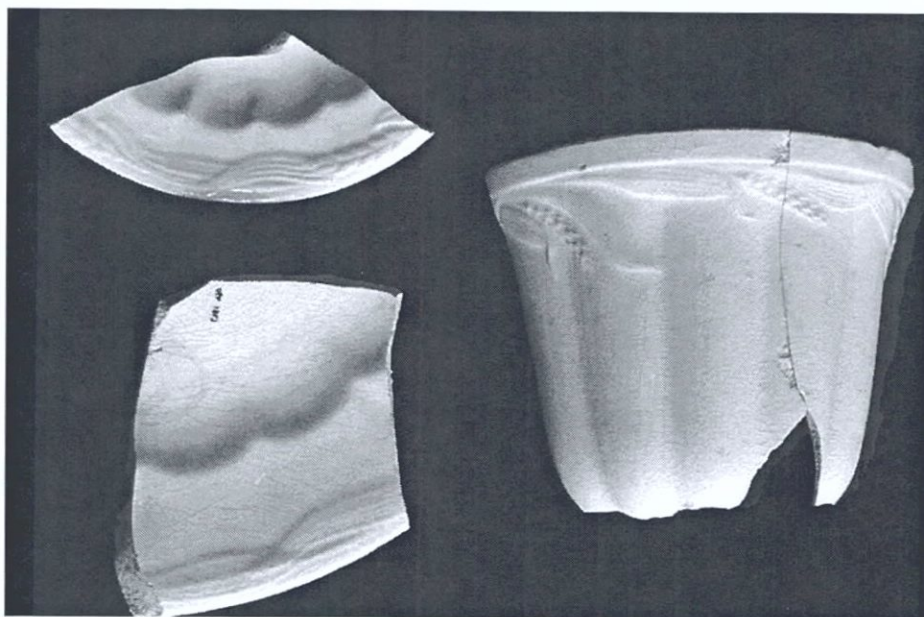


Figure 35. The Wheat pattern (ca. 1848-1883) on a cup plate (upper left), a plate (bottom left), and a teacup (right). Recovered from the tenement on Lot 6.

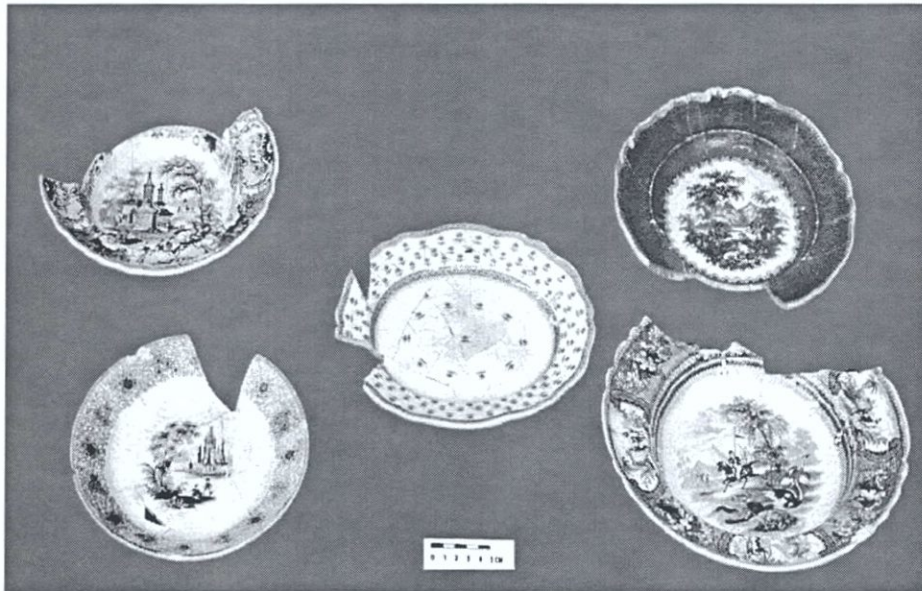


Figure 36. Blue, red, and black Staffordshire printed tableware. Patterns are (from left to right) Pennsylvania (1826-1846), Scroll (undated), Coterie (1830-1841), Parisian (1838-1848), and Belzoni (1818-1846). Recovered from the tenement buildings on Lots 6 and 7, and the icehouse associated with an oyster house and multiple-family dwelling.



Figure 37. Staffordshire brown-printed teacup manufactured by William Adams and Sons (1800-1864). Father Mathew is pictured preaching to his flock and administering his abstinence pledge. Recovered from the tenement's cesspool on Lot 6.

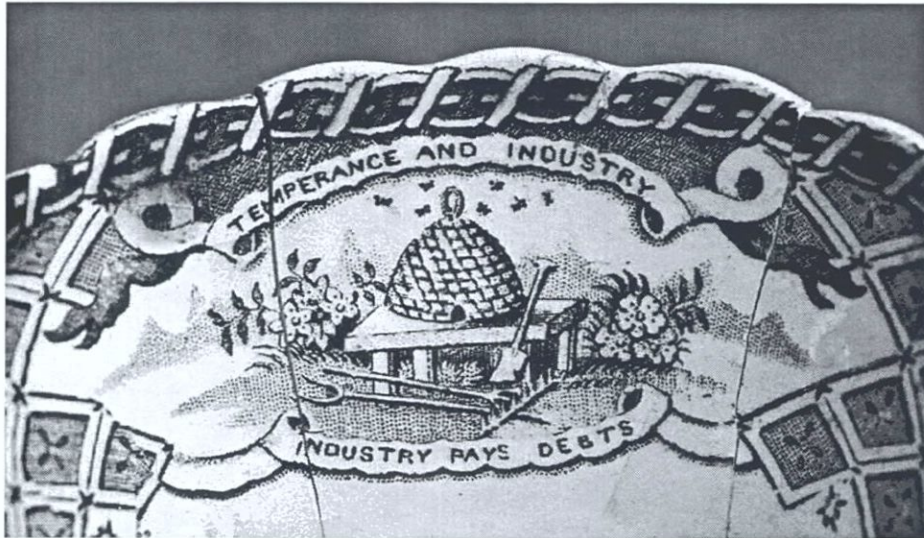


Figure 38. The interior border pattern of the Father Mathew teacup. The beehive and gardening tools were a constant reminder to be industrious and ever working to better oneself. Recovered from the tenement's cesspool on Lot 6.

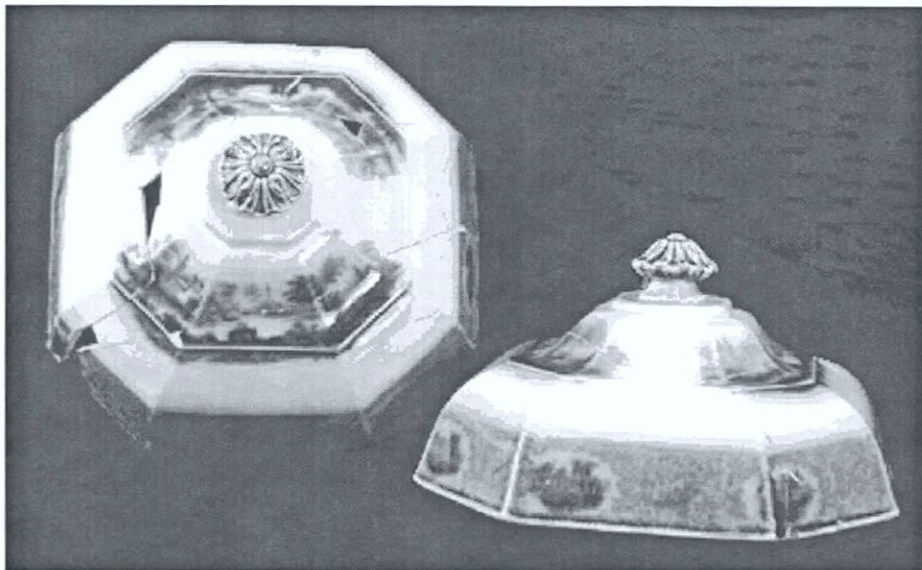


Figure 39. Vegetable dish covers decorated in an unidentifiable flow-blue pattern. Recovered from a privy on Lot 47.

the impressed edged lines were discarded in favor of a simple applied underglaze blue that was in production until 1890. The large number of edged vessels in various forms and the heavy wear patterns on those from the tenements suggests that even the poorest of households living on the project block acquired and used these vessels for everyday meals.

American ceramic production at this time began competing with England for the whiteware and porcelain markets. American potters always had the raw materials necessary to manufacture refined earthenware and porcelain, but could not compete with the low prices of English ceramics. By importing numerous Staffordshire potters to New Jersey, the American Pottery Company in 1840 changed from producing yellowware to being one of the first to manufacture refined whitewares (Figure 40) (Lehner 1988:228). Other ceramic manufacturers in Brooklyn, Trenton, and East Liverpool, Ohio, became well established in the production of porcelain and whitewares well after the 1840s. Brooklyn was the first to produce porcelain on a large scale (Janowitz 1992a:161). The vessels produced included various cups, saucers, pitchers, dishes, and plates that were comparable to the more expensive porcelains from Limouge, France. Unfortunately, most American firms did not regularly mark their vessels until the last decades of the nineteenth century, making the attribution of various unmarked porcelain pieces to a specific manufacturer impossible.

Aside from a few American potters slowly changing to refined earthenware, most were producing food-preparation and storage items in stoneware, yellowware, and, in smaller amounts, redware. Yellowware had eclipsed redware for use in the kitchen as well as on the table. Perhaps the most interesting yellowware vessels are a Rockingham/Bennington brown-glazed spittoon (Figure 41) and an undecorated spittoon recovered from shops associated with liquor and drinking in the tenement fronts at 472 and 474 Pearl Street. The tenement assemblages also contained a large number of local stoneware ale bottles (Figure 42). During the nineteenth century, chewing tobacco in America was widespread in streets, barrooms, and stores. American males took tobacco and liquor seriously and in close association, as chewing was a part of every man's ritual regardless of class or wealth (Larkin 1988:168).

The redware being produced at this time was mostly reduced to utilitarian items such as flower pots and saucers. Their presence possibly signifies the tenants' attempt to beautify their surroundings in accordance with the dominant culture's concept of naturalism. Nineteenth-century literature cited households lacking shrubs and plants as failing to show good taste. The flower pots indicate that some households used flowers and plants that could be grown on the window sill or on the backs of the exterior stairs to beautify their drab surroundings.

A more practical use of the flower pots by the Five Points inhabitants may have been to grow edible plants and/or plants used in homeopathic remedies. The tenement dwellers may have had neither the resources nor the desire to seek medical attention offered by nativist institutions, as immigrants faced extreme prejudice from the American public and, more importantly, from the medical profession (Kraut 1996:154). Many diseases were thought to have originated abroad and been carried by newly arrived and hated immigrants. Likewise, many nativists considered many illnesses to be caused by excesses in drink, food, and other abuses of nature that were portrayed as the way of life of Catholic Irish immigrants (Kraut 1996:154). In an attempt to avoid stigmas and social prejudices, traditional herbal remedies may have been used to cure everyday ailments within the privacy of the home.

By mid-century, there was almost no stoneware production in Manhattan. Washington Smith, 32–34 West 18th Street, was one of the few remaining potters in Manhattan producing utilitarian vessels such as beer/ale bottles, sewer pipe, and portable furnaces (Figure 43). Portable furnaces were used in the backyards for boiling water to wash clothes, for interior heating in homes, and as smudge pots in back lots to keep away mosquitoes (Greer 1981:128). The latter is most likely how they were used on Block 160 as they were recovered from the back lots of two tenements with large privies used by a large number of people. A common nineteenth-century belief was that disease originated in the gaseous vapors from decaying organic matter. The stagnant water from the septic systems in the warmer months would have created an unpleasant odor, attracted mosquitoes, and fostered disease.

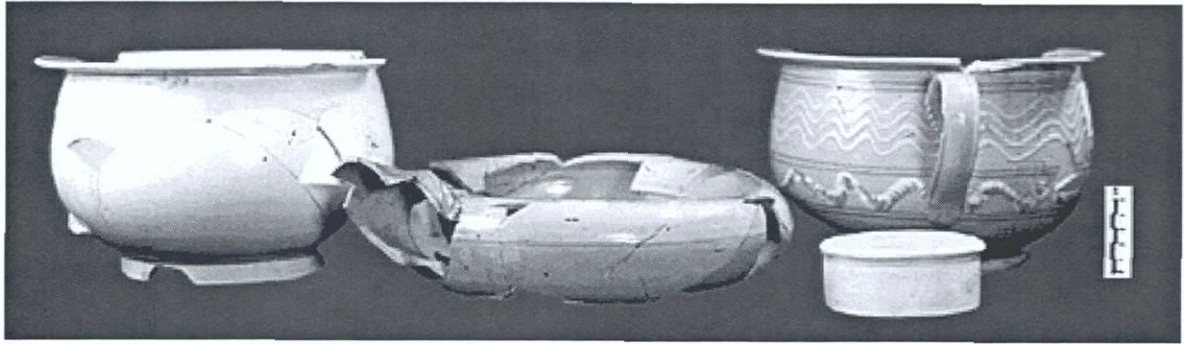


Figure 40. Various sanitary items, recovered from all of the mid-century features. Vessels are (from left to right) whiteware chamber pot (after 1820), a yellowware bedpan (after 1827), a dipped yellowware chamber pot (after 1827), and a small whiteware medicinal container from the American Pottery Company (1840-1855).



Figure 41. Brown-glazed, Rockingham-type decorated redware spittoon. Recovered from the tenement's cesspool on Lot 6.



Figure 42. Various English stoneware ink (bottom left), local beer (center left and right), and German mineral water bottles (rear center). Many of the local beer bottles were stamped with local grocers' names, such as William Hough, Jersey City (right center). Recovered from the tenements on Lots 6 and 7.

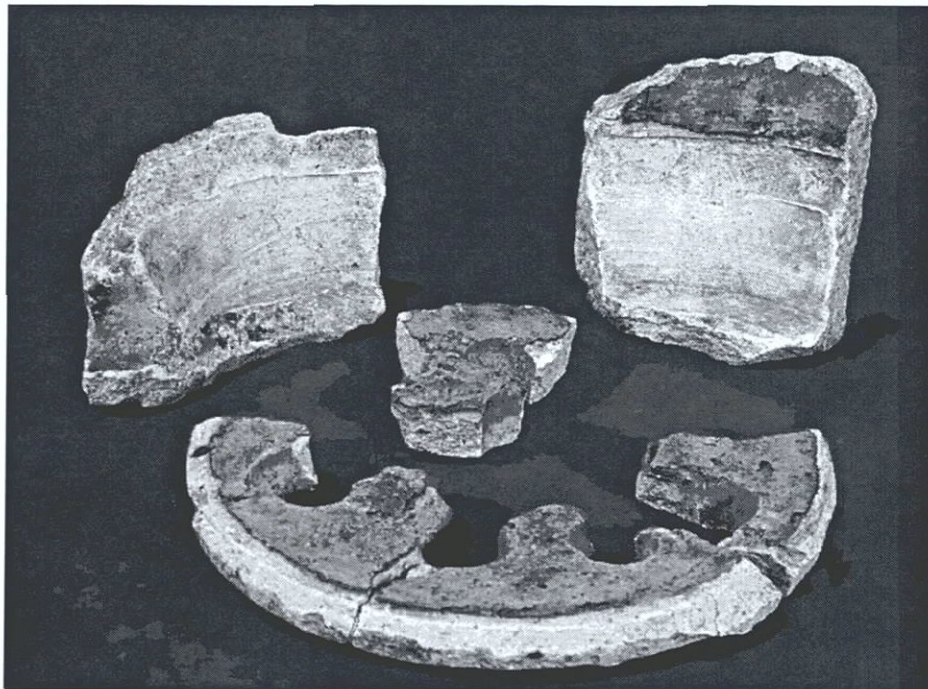


Figure 43. Pieces of a locally made stoneware portable furnace. Potters such as Washington Smith, as well as numerous other potters throughout the tri-state area, produced this type of vessel. Recovered from the tenement's school sink on Lot 6.

5.0 1870–1900

Only a few artifacts dating to the last decades of the nineteenth century were recovered from the upper strata of mid-nineteenth-century tenement features. The households consisted of Irish immigrants and native-born, second-generation Irish members of the working class. Occupations included cartman, driver, segarmaker, porter, and laborer, the last being the most prevalent form of employment listed in the 1870 census.

The 1870s and 1880s are considered a time of transition in decorative styles on material culture. Victorian naturalism and the Arts and Crafts Movement influenced the development of the Art Nouveau style, which counterbalanced organic or natural Victorian motifs against the new intricate geometrical designs. A sepia transfer-printed dinner plate in the archeological assemblage reflects not only this stylistic change, but also the reemergence of transfer-printed wares. By the first few years of the 1860s, transfer-printed wares had virtually disappeared only to be revitalized by the low-cost and time-saving technique of sheet patterns. The copper transfers were designed to fit on various-sized plates or hollow wares, thereby reducing the number of copper plates being used in the production of sets of tea- and tableware.

By 1870, there were only a few remaining stoneware manufacturers in Manhattan. Those that remained were considered utilitarian potters and produced various storage vessels, ceramic sewer pipe, fire brick, and tile. To meet the demand of various local grocers and brewers for vessels such as crocks, jars, and jugs, stoneware potters had to devise new techniques to maximize space within the kiln. Stacker or shoulder jugs (Figure 44), which were commonly used by the last decades of the nineteenth century, eliminated the need for kiln furniture by applying an exterior ledge around the shoulder. The purpose of the ledge was for stacking other vessels with the same diameter mouth to mouth. The stacker jug in the collection probably contained whiskey; it was produced as early as 1888 by a local stoneware potter for Michael Bacci, a grocer from 88 Park Row.

6.0 Summary and Conclusions

The ceramic vessels from 22 shaft features reflect not only the transformation of the ceramic industry, but also the evolution of a block in an expanding city. The area that became known as Five Points began as an industrial wasteland and developed into a commercial-residential community. The ceramic vessels provide an excellent cross-section of the quality and variety of wares available to all New Yorkers from the late eighteenth through the nineteenth century. Although the block and its inhabitants changed from artisans to immigrant members of the working class, the relative value and quality of the ceramic assemblage did not change significantly. This is primarily due to the fact that the neighborhood was always close to the market place. New York City, being one of the country's largest market centers, provided all households from Five Points, regardless of class or wealth, equal access to consumer goods. More importantly, the ceramic assemblage illustrates a picture in which both artisan class, skilled laborers, and working-class immigrants spent a portion of their incomes on material elements of the changing dominant culture that beautified their surroundings, assisted in teaching appropriate values to their children, and allowed them to display their ideals of what was considered respectable.



Figure 44. Portion of a locally made stacker jug. The stacking ledge can be seen above the name "Bacci." Recovered from the multiple-family dwelling on Lot 3-4.

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APPENDIX C
BLOCK 160 DEMOGRAPHICS
BY ROBERT K. FITTS

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- Table 2.** Population of Block 160 by street.
- Table 3.** Ethnic composition of Block 160, 1850–1890.
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- Table 8.** Household type by ethnicity for Block 160 in 1855.
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1.0 Introduction

The following demographic statistics were tabulated during the course of writing the historical chapters contained in this volume. They are included in this appendix to provide comparative data for future studies of nineteenth-century New York. All of the tables included here are based solely on census data for Block 160. As the censuses after 1850 are more detailed than those before, the majority of tables focus on the 1855 New York state census, and the 1870 and 1880 federal censuses. Methods for unusual calculations are explained below the tables. For more detail on the inhabitants of Block 160, see Volume III.

2.0 Population

Table 1.

Population of Block 160 Through Time

Year	Source	Inhabitants
1790	Federal Census	>61
1800	Federal Census	231
1810	Federal Census	334
1820	Federal Census	404
1830	Federal Census	391
1840	Federal Census	925
1850	Federal Census	1357
1855	NY State Census	1334
1860	Halliday Census	976
1870	Federal Census	1628
1880	Federal Census	1177
1890	Federal Census	1391

Table 2.

Population of Block 160 by Street

Year	Total	Pearl	Park	Baxter	Chatham
1850	1357	508	563	264	22
1855	1334	660	359	289	26
1870	1628	695	486	447	unknown
1880	1177	564	296	317	unknown
1890	1391	436	250	643	62

3.0 Ethnicity

Table 3.
 Ethnic Composition of Block 160, 1850–1890

Group	1850	1855	1870	1880	1890*
Irish	73%	71%	60%	42%	12%
German	9%	12%	15%	5%	<1%
Italian	4%	1%	15%	32%	58%
Eastern-European	2%	3%	3%	7%	4%
Jews					
British	4%	6%	1%	4%	Unk
White	5%	4%	3%	5%	Unk
Native-born American					
Black	<1%	<1%	<1%	<1%	Unk
Native-born American					
Other	2%	3%	3%	5%	Unk
Unknown	1%	0	0	0	26%

Sources: 1855 New York state census; 1850 1870, 1880 federal censuses; 1890 police census

Table 4.
 Percent of Ethnic Households by Street in 1855

Street	% Irish	% Italian	% Ger	% Am	% Br	% Pl-Rus	% Othr	# in Sample
Park St.	83	0	5	2	0	0	10	88
#484–502 Pearl	62	0	13	2	21	0	2	39
#464–482 Pearl	90	0	4	4	1	0	1	100
Chatham St	60	0	20	20	0	0	0	5
#2–14 Baxter	45	0	28	0	0	24	3	29
#16–26 Baxter	46	16	16	0	8	8	5	37
Block Totals	74	2	9	3	4	3	5	298

Source: 1855 New York state census

* The 1890 census taker did not record inhabitants' ethnicity; therefore, ethnicity was assigned based on probable origin of last names. Although the unknown category undoubtedly contains some Italians and Poles/Russians, the majority of these individuals had English names. Therefore, the percentages of Irish, British, and Americans living on Block 160 are under-represented in this table.

Table 5.
Percent of Ethnic Population by Street in 1870

Street	% Irish	% Italian	% Ger	% Am	% Br	% Pl-Rus	% Chin	% Othr	Total
Park St	74	4	12	4	1	0	1	5	486
#484-502 Pearl	74	0	10	9	4	3	0	0	287
#464-482 Pearl	72	18	8	2	0	0	1	1	408
#2-14 Baxter	20	38	22	1	0	8	10	1	219
#16-24 Baxter	28	25	36	0	0	10	1	0	228
Block Totals	60	15	15	3	1	3	2	1	1628

Source: 1870 federal census

Table 6.
Percent of Ethnic Population by Street in 1880

Street	% Irish	% Italian	% Ger	% Am	% Br	% Pl-Rus	% Othr	Total
Park St.	54	37	1	3	0	4	1	211
Mission	18	0	24	24	9	0	26	85
#484-504 Pearl	60	16	3	4	4	2	10	209
#466-482 Pearl	64	16	7	6	5	0	3	355
#2-14 Baxter	5	57	1	0	3	32	3	190
#16-22 Baxter	9	79	1	1	1	10	0	127
Block Totals	42	32	5	5	4	7	5	1177

Source: 1880 federal census

Key for Tables 4-6:

Ger = German
Chin = Chinese

Am = Native-born American
Othr = Other

Br = British
Total = Total of all Ethnic Groups

Pl-Rus = Polish & Russian

Table 7.

Ethnicity by Age and Gender for Block 160 in 1855
 (% = percent of age group within overall population)

Ethnicity	Sex	0-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70+	Total
Irish	M	121 9%	99 8%	80 6%	71 5%	48 4%	4 <1%	11 1%	3 <1%	437 33%
	F	95 7%	100 8%	110 8%	74 6%	66 5%	21 2%	13 1%	4 <1%	483 37%
	T	216 16%	199 15%	190 14%	145 11%	114 9%	25 2%	24 2%	7 1%	920 70%
German	M	21 2%	19 1%	35 3%	17 1%	10 1%	4 <1%	1 <1%	0	107 8%
	F	13 1%	10 1%	14 1%	14 1%	5 <1	1 <1%	2 <1%	0	59 4%
	T	34 3%	29 2%	49 4%	31 2%	15 1%	5 <1%	3 <1%	0	166 13%
English	M	5 <1%	10 1%	7 1%	2 <1%	2 <1%	1 <1%	4 <1%	0	31 2%
	F	8 1%	6 <1%	6 <1%	5 <1%	2 <1%	3 <1%	3 <1%	0	33 3%
	T	13 1%	16 1%	13 1%	7 1%	4 <1%	4 <1%	7 1%	0	64 5%
American	M	9 1%	3 <1%	9 1%	4 <1%	2 <1%	1 <1%	0	0	28 2%
	F	4 <1%	8 1%	3 <1%	5 <1%	2 <1%	1 <1%	2 <1%	0	25 2%
	T	13 1%	11 1%	12 1%	9 1%	4 <1%	2 <1%	2 <1%	0	53 4%
Polish- Russian Jews	M	7 1%	3 <1%	3 <1%	4 <1%	4 <1%	1 <1%	1 <1%	0	23 2%
	F	9 1%	4 <1%	4 <1%	0	2 <1%	1 <1%	0	0	20 2%
	T	16 1%	7 1%	7 1%	4 <1%	6 <1%	2 <1%	1 <1%	0	43 3%
Scottish	M	1 <1%	3 <1%	3 <1%	2 <1%	1 <1%	0	0	0	10 1%
	F	1 <1%	4 <1%	1 <1%	1 <1%	2 <1%	0	0	0	9 1%
	T	2 <1%	7 1%	4 <1%	3 <1%	3 <1%	0	0	0	19 1%
Italian	M	0 0	1 <1%	3 <1%	3 <1%	3 <1%	1 <1%	1 <1%	0	12 1%
	F	1 <1%	0	2 <1%	1 <1%	1 <1%	0	0	0	5 <1%
	T	1 <1%	1 <1%	5 <1%	4 <1%	4 <1%	1 <1%	1 <1%	0	17 1%
French	M	0	1	2	1	1	1	0	0	6
	F	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
	T	0	2	2	1	2	1	0	0	8
		0	<1%	<1%	<1%	<1%	<1%	0	0	1%

Ethnicity	Sex	0-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70+	Total
Canadian	M	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	4
	F	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	4
	T	3	2	0	3	0	0	0	0	8
		<1%	<1%	0	<1%	0	0	0	0	0
Dutch	M	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
	F	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3
	T	3	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	5
		<1%	0	0	<1%	<1%	0	0	0	0
African American	M	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2
	F	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	2
	T	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	4
		0	0	<1%	<1%	<1%	0	0	0	0
Belgian	M	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
	F	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	T	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
		0	0	0	0	<1%	0	0	0	0
Other	M	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
	F	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
	T	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
		<1%	<1%	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	M	168	141	143	107	73	33	18	3	666
		13%	11%	11%	8%	5%	2%	1%	<1%	
	F	137	135	140	102	83	27	20	4	648
		10%	10%	10%	8%	6%	2%	1%	<1%	
	T	305	276	282	210	156	60	38	7	1314
		23%	21%	21%	16%	12%	4%	3%	1%	

Abstract

Ethnicity	Total	0-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70+	Sample
Irish	70%	16%	15%	14%	11%	9%	2%	2%	<1%	920
German	13%	3%	2%	4%	2%	1%	<1%	<1%	0	166
English	5%	1%	1%	1%	1%	<1%	<1%	1%	0	64
American	4%	1%	1%	1%	1%	<1%	<1%	<1%	0	53
Western-European	4%	<1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	<1%	<1%	0	50
Pol-Russian	3%	1%	1%	1%	<1%	<1%	<1%	<1%	0	43
Other	1%	1%	<1%	<1%	<1%	<1%	0	0	0	18
Total	100%	23%	21%	22%	16%	12%	3%	3%	<1%	1314

Table 8.
 Household Type by Ethnicity for Block 160 in 1855

Ethnic Group	# of Hlds	Nuclear	Extend.	Couples	Single Female	Widow w/ Child.	Single Male	Father w/ Child.
Irish	219	48%	4%	16%	4%	24%	1%	3%
Italian	6	17%	17%	0	0	0	66%	0
German	28	61%	7%	21%	0	0	11%	0
Pol/Russ	10	80%	0	10%	0	0	10%	0
White Am.	8	37%	0	0	0	63%	0	0
Afri. Am.	1	0	0	0	0	0	100%	0
British	15	33%	7%	33%	0	20%	0	7%
Chinese	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	3	100%	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unknown	7	14%	0	86%	0	0	0	0
Total	297	48%	4%	18%	3%	21%	4%	2%

Table 9.
 Household Composition by Ethnic Group for Block 160 Residents in 1855

Ethnic Group	# Hlds.	# Fam. with Child.	# Hld. with Ser.	# Hld. with Board.	Ave. Hld. Size	Ave. # Child.	Ave. # Serv.	Ave. # Board.
Irish	219	169	8	69	4.2	2.5	0.05	0.6
German	28	19	9	17	6.0	2.5	0.4	1.9
English	12	7	2	1	3.5	1.7	0.2	0.4
Pol-Russ Jews	10	8	4	6	5.4	2.8	0.4	0.6
American	8	8	3	1	3.9	1.9	0.4	0.1
Italian	6	1	0	2	2.8	2.0	0	1.0
Scottish	3	2	0	1	3.7	4.0	0	0
African American	1	0	0	1	4.0	0	0	3.0
Canadian	1	1	0	0	6.0	4.0	0	0
Dutch	1	1	0	0	5.0	3.0	0	0
French	1	1	0	0	4.0	2.0	0	0
Unknown	7	1	0	1	2.9	5.0	0	0.1
Total	297	218	26	99	4.3	2.5	0.1	0.7

Key

- # Hlds. = Number of households for the ethnic group
- # Fam. w/ Child. = Number of families with children living with them
- # Hld. w/ Ser. = Number of households which contain one or more servants
- # Hld. w/ Board. = Number of households which contain one or more boarders
- Ave. Hld. Size = Average household size
- Ave. # Child. = Average number of children in families which have children (includes only biological and adopted children)
- Ave. # Serv. = Average number of servants for all households within the ethnic group
- Ave. # Board. = Average number of boarders for all households within the ethnic group

Table 10.
Female Marriage Patterns by Ethnicity for Block 160 Residents in 1855

Ethnicity	Status	17-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70+	Total
Irish	Married	2	56	51	34	7	3	0	153
	Widowed	1	11	14	28	13	10	4	81
	Unmarried	23	43	9	4	1	0	0	80
	Total	26	110	74	66	21	13	4	314
German	Married	0	8	14	5	1	0	0	28
	Widowed	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
	Unmarried	7	6	0	0	0	0	0	13
	Total	7	14	14	5	1	2	0	43
English	Married	1	4	3	2	2	1	0	13
	Widowed	0	0	2	0	1	2	0	5
	Unmarried	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	4
	Total	3	6	5	2	3	3	0	22
Scottish	Married	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	2
	Widowed	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
	Unmarried	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Total	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	4
Pol-Rus Jews	Married	1	3	0	1	1	0	0	6
	Widowed	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Unmarried	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
	Total	2	4	0	1	1	0	0	8
American	Married	0	1	2	1	0	0	0	4
	Widowed	0	1	2	1	1	2	0	7
	Unmarried	2	2	2	1	0	0	0	7
	Total	2	4	6	3	1	2	0	18
Italian	Married	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	2
	Widowed	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Unmarried	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
	Total	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	4
French	Married	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
	Widowed	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Unmarried	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Total	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
Canadian	Married	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
	Widowed	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Unmarried	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Total	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
Dutch	Married	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
	Widowed	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Unmarried	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Total	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
African American	Married	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Widowed	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Unmarried	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	2
	Total	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	2
Total	Married	4	72	74	47	11	4	0	212
	Widowed	1	12	18	30	15	16	4	96
	Unmarried	36	57	12	6	1	0	0	112
	Total	41	141	104	83	27	20	4	420

Table 11.
 Household Type by Ethnicity for Block 160 in 1870

Ethnic Group	# of Hlds	Nuclear	Extend.	Couples	Single Female	Widow w/ Child.	Single Male	Father w/ Child.
Irish	278	41%	7%	5%	16%	14%	13%	4%
Italian	53	70%	6%	13%	0	0	6%	6%
German	57	65%	4%	7%	2%	5%	14%	4%
Pol/Russ	9	89%	11%	0	0	0	0	0
American	21	29%	14%	0	14%	14%	24%	5%
British	6	17%	33%	0	17%	33%	0	0
Chinese	22	0	0	0	0	0	100%	0
Other	9	100%	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unknown	1	0	0	0	0	100%	0	0
Total	456	46%	7%	6%	10%	11%	17%	2%

Table 12.
 Number of Children by Ethnicity for Block 160 Residents in 1870

Ethnicity	# Fam. w/ Ch	# Ch	Ave # Ch
Irish	175	512	2.93
German	44	144	3.27
Italian	42	130	3.10
American	11	29	2.64
Polish-Russian	9	28	3.11
Chinese & Other	4	6	1.50
English	4	9	2.25
French	1	2	2.00
Scottish	1	5	5.00
Chinese	0	0	0.00
Unknown	1	1	1.00
Mixed	4	12	3.00
Total	296	878	2.97

Table 13.
Family Type by Ethnicity for Block 160 in 1880

Ethnic Group	# of Hlds	Nuclear	Extend.	Couples	Single Female	Widow w/ Child.	Single Male	Father w/ Child
Irish	106	34%	26%	8%	5%	27%	1%	0
Italian	70	64%	23%	4%	0	4%	0	4%
German	10	20%	20%	30%	30%	0	0	0
Pol/Russ	14	64%	29%	7%	0	0	0	0
American	7	43%	14%	14%	0	29%	0	0
British	5	60%	0	0	20%	0	0	20%
Chinese	1	0	0	0	0	0	100%	0
Other	21	52%	10%	19%	0	19%	0	0
Unknown	2	50%	0	0	0	50%	0	0
Total	236	47%	22%	8%	3%	18%	1%	2%

4.0 Occupations

Table 14.
Occupations of Block 160 Male Residents by Ethnicity in 1855

Group		Laborers	Trades	Service	Stores	Clerks	Peddler	Prof.	Other
Irish	150	72	8	3	22	3	0	11	269
German	2	53	1	6	11	0	0	3	76
English	4	14	0	0	1	0	0	2	21
Pol-Russ Jews	2	12	0	0	2	0	0	0	16
American	0	8	1	1	0	0	1	0	11
Italian	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	8	10
Scottish	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
French	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	5
African	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Canadian	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Belgian	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Dutch	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total	162	171	10	10	36	3	1	26	419
	(39%)	(41%)	(2%)	(2%)	(9%)	(1%)	(<1%)	(6%)	

Notes

Laborers also include porters, cartmen, sailors, gasfitters, and boatmen

Service includes government workers, conductors, waiters, boardinghouse keepers, and servants

Block 160 Demographics

Table 15.

Occupations of Block 160 Female Residents by Ethnicity in 1855

Group	Garm.	Servant	Laundry	Store	Teacher	Cook	Othr.	Total	% Employed
Irish	33	24	18	2	2	0	5	84	27%
German	1	9	0	0	0	0	1	11	26%
English	5	0	0	1	0	0	1	7	32%
American	1	0	1	0	2	0	0	4	22%
Pol-Russ Jews	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	13%
African	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	50%
French	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	50%
Scottish	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	25%
Total	41 (37%)	34 (31%)	19 (17%)	3 (3%)	4 (4%)	1 (1%)	8 (7%)	110	24%

* % Employed = percent of all women over 17 with a listed occupation

Table 16.

Percent of Workers Employed in Specific Occupations for Block 160 Residents in 1870

Group	Pro	WC	St	Cl	Tr	Man	Lab	Srv	Pdl	Gr	Otr	#
Irish	0	0	5.7	5.7	17.7	8.7	52.8	3.8	4.9	0	0.8	265
Italian	0	0	2.0	0	6.0	0	2.0	0	10.0	78.0	2.0	50
German	0	0	3.4	10.2	69.5	5.1	3.4	5.1	1.7	0	1.7	59
Pol-Russ	0	0	25.0	16.7	58.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	12
American	23.1	0	7.7	30.8	23.1	0	0	15.4	0	0	0	13
British	0	0	0	0	80.0	0	0	20.0	0	0	0	5
Chinese	0	0	0	0	0	95.6	0	0	0	4.4	0	23
French	0	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Swedish	0	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Other	0	0	33.3	33.3	0	0	33.3	0	0	0	0	3
Total	0.7	0	5.3	6.9	24.3	11.1	33.3	3.7	4.4	9.3	0.9	432

Key

Pro = Professionals
Tr = Trades
Pdl = Peddler

WC = White Collar
Man = Manufacturing
Gr = Grinder & Beggars

St = Stores
Lab = Laborer
Otr = Other

Cl = Clerks
Srv = Service Industry
= Number of Working Adults

Table 17.
Percent of Male Workers Employed in Specific Occupations for Block 160 Residents in 1880

Group	Pro	WC	StO	StW	Cl	Tr	Man.	Lab.	Srv	Pdl	Gr	Otr	#
Irish	0.6	1.2	3.5	6.4	3.5	15.7	9.9	35.5	0.6	11.6	0	11.6	172
Italian	0	0.9	0	5.5	0	8.3	11.0	19.3	12.8	31.2	6.4	4.6	109
German	5.9	0	11.8	5.9	0	17.7	23.5	5.9	5.9	11.8	0	11.8	17
Pol-Russ	0	0	24.0	8.0	8.0	48.0	4.0	0	0	4.0	0	4.0	25
American	5.0	10.0	0	0	10.0	10.0	20.0	15.0	15.0	10.0	0	5.0	20
British	0	5.3	0	5.3	0	36.8	15.8	0	5.3	21.1	0	10.6	19
Chinese	0	0	0	0	0	0	66.7	33.3	0	0	0	0	3
Cuban	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	3
Hungarian	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	2
Other	0	0	22.2	0	0	11.1	22.2	22.2	11.1	0	0	11.1	9
Total	0.8	1.6	4.2	5.5	2.6	16.1	13.2	23.5	5.5	16.6	1.8	8.4	379

Key

Pro = Professionals
 Cl = Clerks
 Srv = Service Industry
 # = Number of Working Men

WC = White Collar
 Tr = Trades
 Pdl = Peddler

StO = Store Owner
 Man = Manufacturing
 Gr = Grinder & Beggars

StW = Store Worker
 Lab = Laborer
 Otr = Other

Table 18.
Percent of Female Workers Employed in Specific Occupations for Block 160 Residents in 1880

Group	Gar	Srv	Ldy	StW	StO	Tch	Rag	Man	Pdl	Beg	Oth	#
Irish	2.4	12.0	3.6	19.3	2.4	0	20.5	27.7	3.6	1.2	7.2	83
Italian	4.6	0	0	9.1	0	0	4.6	54.6	22.7	0	4.6	22
German	37.5	37.5	12.5	0	12.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
Russ-Pol	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
American	25.0	0	0	25.0	0	25.0	0	0	0	0	25.0	4
British	33.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	33.3	0	0	33.3	3
Mexican	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Other	25.0	25.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	25.0	0	25.0	4
Total	10.1	11.6	3.1	14.7	2.3	0.8	14.0	27.9	7.0	0.8	7.8	129

Key

Gar = Garment Industry
 StO = Store Owner
 Pdl = Peddler
 # = Total Number of Working Women

Srv = Servant
 Tch = Teacher
 Beg = Beggar/Organ Grinder

Ldy = Laundry
 Rag = Rags
 Oth = Other

StW = Store worker
 Man = Manufacturing

Table 19.
 Percent of Households below Poverty Levels by Street in 1855

	# of Households	% Below \$12.50	
Park St.	94	42%	21%
#484-502 Pearl	38	47%	18%
#464-482 Pearl	100	41%	15%
Chatham St.	3	0	0
#2-14 Baxter	29	31%	3%
#16-26 Baxter	31	32%	10%

Methods

To examine the wealth of the inhabitants of Block 160, the percentage of households with an income below the estimated budget of the average working adult male was calculated. This budget, which was produced by the *New York Times* in 1853 to help workers budget their finances, estimated that it took a yearly income of \$600 for a family of four to live "moderately" (Groneman 1973:90-91). The mayor of New York City commented that living on this amount would require "very tight squeezing" (Groneman 1973:90-91). To live on \$600 per year, a family needed \$12.50 per month for each family member.

To calculate the percentage of households within Block 160 below this income level, the approximate monthly income of each family was computed and divided by the number of family members (boarders were not counted as family members). Wages are based on the average monthly wage from local industries as recorded in the 1855 state census and average monthly or daily wages for various occupations during the 1850s as published in secondary sources (e.g., Groneman 1973; U.S. Department of Commerce 1975; Stansell 1987; Stott 1990; Scherzer 1992). When necessary, daily wages were converted into monthly wages by multiplying by 26 (the usual number of working days per month). Note that this calculation assumes constant employment. For unskilled laborers and some artisans, constant employment was not the norm; thus, this calculation probably inflates many workers' incomes. It is unknown if individuals inhabiting Block 160 were paid lower or higher than these averages; therefore, the assigned salary is an estimate of actual wages earned. Weekly income from boarders was estimated at \$3, which was the estimated cost of a working-class boardinghouse in the mid-nineteenth century (Scherzer 1992:101; Ernst 1994:37). For other workers, such as shopkeepers, professionals, and clerks, average monthly wages were not available. Although some of the problems with assigning this number will be discussed below, the lack of data on boarders' rents from Five Points makes a more accurate estimate difficult.

As these estimated monthly incomes are based on averages, there are several inaccuracies which cannot be controlled. Three inaccuracies could lead to underestimating the monthly income. First, the 1855 census probably under reported work by those who were not heads of households. Few wives, grandparents, or children are listed as having jobs, but contemporary accounts stress the importance of each member's contributions to the household's economy. Women cleaned houses, took in sewing, and acted as midwives, while children sold newspapers, ran errands, and collected scrap. Because of the difficulty in calculating money earned from these tasks, it cannot be included in the estimated monthly income. Nevertheless, given the poor earning potential of female and child workers, in most cases this income would not have equaled the lowest paid male wage. Second, it is not possible to include illegal income. Contemporary observers noted that Five Points was a center for underground drinking establishments, gambling dens, prostitutes, and thieves. As there is no means to identify entrepreneurs in illegal activity or to estimate their income, this income cannot be included in earnings. Third, the 1855 census only lists family members living in the visited household. Therefore, family members who were employed as domestic servants and lived in other households may not have been recorded. Many of these individuals contributed some of their wages toward their families' living expenses, but these families and the amount contributed cannot be determined.

These three inaccuracies, which could underestimate a family's monthly income, are balanced by two more common factors which tend to overestimate the monthly income. First, the average monthly wage assumes steady employment, but this was rare for laborers and garment-trade workers in the 1850s. Employment varied from year to year and season to season, even for those with steady employers. Second, as noted above, the monthly income from a boarder was estimated at \$12. This figure is the estimated price for a working-class boardinghouse in mid-nineteenth-century New York (Scherzer 1992:101; Ernst 1994:37). Yet, as the Five Points area had a reputation as an undesirable place to live, rents on Block 160 were possibly much lower. Furthermore, many boarders may have been relatives, friends, or apprentices and may not have paid cash for their room and board. Also, counting all of the \$12 as income ignores the costs needed to feed and house the boarder. Although each of these points suggests that the estimated income per boarder may be inflated, there is no way of knowing which of these factors applied to which household. Therefore, the figure of \$12 a month is the most accurate available estimated income.

Although the methods for obtaining a family's estimated monthly income used in this study contain shortcomings, they nevertheless provide a rough measure of whether or not a family is above or below the *New York Times's* estimated working-class family income. Using the methods outlined above, estimated monthly incomes could be determined for 201 of the 295 surveyed households in Block 160. As many of the households for which incomes could not be determined contained store owners and higher-paid workers, they cannot be discounted from the sample. Therefore, in all calculations of percentage of households under the estimated income for a working-class family, households with unknown incomes will be counted as being above the minimum income. Thus, the percentage of households below the estimated income for a working-class family is the minimum number below this income.

5.0 Overcrowding

Table 20.
 Cubic Feet per Inhabitant for Buildings on Block 160 in 1855, 1870, and 1880

Address	# of People 1855	FP per Person 1855	# of People 1870	FP per Person 1870	# of People 1880	FP per Person 1880	# of People 1890	FP Person 1890
2 Baxter	22	427	17	540	9	1020	x	x
4 Baxter	18	521	14	708	18	551	x	x
6 Baxter	23	503	3	3749	51	468	39	612
8 Baxter	26	534	8	1698	13	1546	20	1005
10 Baxter	9	794	12	593	x	x	17	419
12 Baxter	x	x	26	503	21	623	x	x
12 1/2 Baxter	x	x	8	990	x	x	11	720
14 Baxter	x	x	131	362	78	1366	67	1591
16 Baxter	55	637	45	746	83	708	128	459
18 Baxter	22	603	50	251	8	7731	138	698
20 Baxter	x	x	72	199	21	1921	48	840
22 Baxter	14	679	26	247	15	428	33	195
53 Park	25	1918	x	x	28	795	x	x
55 Park	18	493	57	153	34	711	23	1051
57 Park	16	650	27	367	12	2170	x	x
61 Park	x	x	x	x	85	173	x	x
67 Park	29	243	31	575	30	575	34	508
69 Park	19	370	38	454	26	664	33	523
498 Pearl	x	x	56	432	x	x	x	x
496 Pearl	54	834	49	725	68	523	35	1015
494 Pearl	52	412	44	479	27	781	15	1406
492 Pearl	7	2091	9	1590	13	1101	20	716
490 Pearl	12	2112	22	839	28	659	23	802
488 Pearl	30	857	45	694	36	868	13	2404
486 Pearl	50	952	51	869	41	1081	10	4433
484 Pearl	x	x	11	3505	11	3505	120	321
482 Pearl	x	x	15	1200	5	3599	10	1799
480 Pearl	17	1056	2	9371	17	1103	x	x
478 Pearl	48	650	69	432	60	330	x	x
476 Pearl	137	216	154	185	x	x	x	x
474 Pearl	24	1572	22	1631	157	285	58	771
472 Pearl	211	321	100	643	99	650	75	858
470 Pearl	10	3945	22	1128	24	1466	22	1600
468 Pearl	x	x	2	11219	40	561	19	1181
466 Pearl	7	6410	8	2126	21	810	x	x
Baxter Street	189	578	412	452	317	1104	501	733
Park Street	107	760	153	351	215	566	90	652
Pearl Street	659	680	681	715	647	686	420	924
Entire Block	955	669	1246	584	1179	777	1011	805

Methods

The figures for cubic feet per person for Block 160 were calculated by dividing the buildings' interior space (height by width minus two feet to account for exterior walls by length minus two feet) and dividing by the number of occupants. Annual tax assessment records provided the buildings' exterior dimensions and the number of stories. As the actual heights of the stories for each house are unknown, they were all estimated at 10 feet, the height of many nineteenth-century tenement houses, including New York's Gotham Court. This calculation does not take into account the space lost because of interior walls, floors, stairwells, and, more significantly, first-floor shops and storage; however, a comparison between the results of using this formula and the actual cubic feet per person for 502 Pearl Street, as determined by the Council of Hygiene and Public Health in 1866, shows that this method overestimates the amount of useable space by 15 percent. Therefore, the results of the above-described formula were multiplied by 85 percent to get a more realistic estimate of cubic feet per person.

6.0 Immigration

Table 21.

Median Age at Time of Immigration to New York City and Median Years Spent in New York City by Ethnic Group for Block 160 Residents in 1855

Group	Sex	Sample Size	Median Age	Age Range	Median years in NYC
Irish	M	325	21	<1-70	6
	F	360	20	<1-69	6
German	M	85	23	1-60	3
	F	49	21	<1-60	5
English	M	29	17	<1-57	5
	F	28	19.5	3-62	5.5
Pol-Rus Jews	M	21	29	2-48	5
	F	11	21	<1-44	3
Italian	M	12	33	5-53	4
	F	5	25	5-39	2
Scottish	M	8	20	1-44	1.5
	F	4	21.5	17-43	12.5
Canadian	M	4	8	5-35	2
	F	4	14	3-29	3.5
French	M	5	27	22-49	1
	F	1	19	19	22
Dutch	M	2	20	8-32	1
	F	3	4	2-39	1
Belgian	M	1	47	47	1

Data are from the 1855 New York State census

7.0 Literacy

Table 22.

Literacy by Ethnic Group and Gender for Block 160 Residents in 1855

Group	Sex	Sample Size	Literate	Reading Only	Illiterate
Irish	M	230	163 (71%)	11 (5%)	56 (24%)
	F	272	113 (42%)	29 (11%)	130 (48%)
German	M	59	53 (90%)	1 (2%)	5 (8%)
	F	35	20 (57%)	0	15 (43%)
English	M	14	12 (86%)	0	2 (14%)
	F	18	12 (67%)	1 (6%)	5 (28%)
American	M	15	15 (100%)	0	0
	F	15	15 (100%)	0	0
Italian	M	11	2 (18%)	0	9 (82%)
	F	4	0	0	4 (100%)
Pol-Rus Jews	M	14	5 (36%)	1 (7%)	8 (57%)
	F	6	0	0	6 (100%)
Scottish	M	6	6 (100%)	0	0
	F	4	3 (75%)	1 (25%)	0
French	M	5	5 (100%)	0	0
	F	1	1 (100%)	0	0
African	M	2	2 (100%)	0	0
	F	2	2 (100%)	0	0
Canadian	M	1	1 (100%)	0	0
	F	2	2 (100%)	0	0
Dutch	M	1	1 (100%)	0	0
	F	1	1 (100%)	0	0
Belgian	M	1	1 (100%)	0	0
Total	M	359	266 (74%)	13 (4%)	80 (22%)
	F	360	169 (47%)	31 (9%)	160 (44%)

In the 1855 census, literacy was recorded for everyone over the age of 21. It is possible that the census taker underestimated the literacy rate among the non-English speaking foreigners. The instructions to census takers from 1865 (the instructions from 1855 could not be located) state: "If the person can read and write a foreign language, he is to be considered able to read and write" (Secretary of the State of New York 1865:21). Yet, because of the high percentage of illiterate foreigners, one must wonder if this instruction was followed in 1855. It is especially suspect because so many of the Russian and Polish Jewish males, who supposedly could read Hebrew, were listed as illiterate.

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