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Cover Page Footnote
Dr. Barry Brady, then Director of the Paterson Archaeology Project, supervised the excavations at the Van Houten Street Parking Lot and the Ryle-Thompson house sites in 1978 and 1979. I thank him for his professionalism in sharing his data with me, and his patience and time in reviewing material and suggesting appropriate documentary sources. Dr. Robert Schuyler, supervisor of my dissertation, influenced both the form and content of this study. I thank him for his assistance. The artifacts from the Paterson Archaeology Project's excavations are now part of the collections of the Passaic County Historical Society in Paterson. Catherine Keene, Director, and Mazine Friedman, Assistant Director, furnished me a workplace and sustained me through eight cold months counting potsherds in the Castle's basement. I am also indebted to Paterson researchers who preceded me, especially Edward Rutsch, Mary Jane Rutsch, Jo Ann Cotz, and Charles Wilson. Their volumes provided me with both a model and an invaluable resource. James Ward kindly allowed me to reproduce his scaled map of the Parking Lot block.

Households, Economics and Ethnicity in Paterson's Dublin, 1829-1915: The Van Houten Street Parking Lot Block

by LU ANN DE CUNZO

INTRODUCTION

This article is adapted from a documentary and archaeological study of the Van Houten Street Parking Lot block and the Ryle house in Dublin, a residential community adjoining Paterson, New Jersey's earliest mill district (see Figure 1). The aims of the study were to integrate archaeological and documentary data in an examination of an industrial community and to document change in that community in the context of an evolving nineteenth century industrial city (De Cunzo 1983).

Documentary evidence was gathered on nine houses on two blocks (see Figure 2), and the excavated contents of six privies serving seven of the houses were analyzed. In this article, the documentary information will be interpreted and two privy deposits compared, addressing four variables: household, socioeconomic class, ethnicity, and the changes wrought by technological development and industrialization.

Founded in 1791 by the Society for the Establishment of Useful Manufactures, Paterson became the first planned manufacturing community established with government support in the new United States. Situated in the northeastern corner of New Jersey, Paterson straddles the Passaic River at its fall line. Indeed, the Great Falls of the Passaic was a main attraction of the site to the Society, providing the necessary head of water to power the mills.

The S.U.M. backed numerous enterprises in the city. Cotton manufacturing, however, dominated the industrial scene in Paterson from 1815 to circa 1860. A significant period in the city's history, both an adequate transportation system and a cheap, skilled labor force were developed (Carpenter 1947:23).

The manufacture of steam locomotives in the city was an outgrowth of the successful manufacture of cotton and textile machinery after the War of 1812 (Garber 1968:50). Changes in sources of steel and technological developments in locomotive structure affected the industry late in the century, causing the obsolescence of machinery and facilities. With no room to expand the factories and the nationwide movement for consolidation of businesses, the locomotive companies in Paterson folded early in the twentieth century (Garber 1968: 91-4).

Paterson's silk industry, established by John Ryle in 1840, profited from the earlier predominance of cotton manufacturing. Dependent on skilled immigrants from England, the American silk industry boomed after the Civil War (Garber 1968: 157). Between 1876 and 1910 the American silk in-

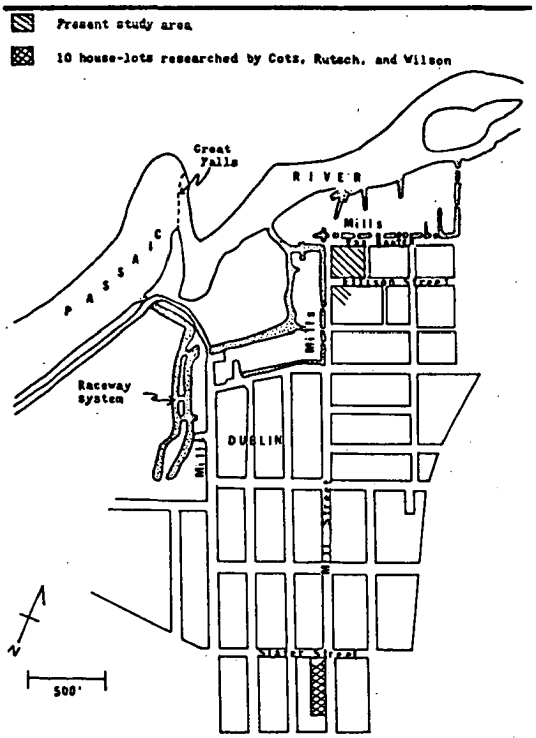

Figure 1. Northern Dublin, showing the mill district, residential blocks, the Great Falls of the Passaic River, and the raceway system. The present study blocks and the 10 house-lots researched by Cotz, Rutsch, and Wilson are identified. Redrawn by the author from *Northeast Historical Archaeology*, Vol. 4, 1975:91.

dustry evolved from a stage in which most machinery and techniques were European and most work manual to one of semi-automatic operation and semi-skilled operatives. This change resulted in the slow exodus of silk manufacturers from Paterson. By the 1910's, with the replacement of water power by steam, improved transportation, and new sources of cheap labor to tap, Paterson lost its three paramount attractions for the industry (Carpenter 1947: 75, 78).

Physical Development of the City and Its Population

Through the nineteenth century, as Paterson's industries grew, immigrants filled the expanding labor force. Of necessity, they sought residence within walking distance of their workplace—here, primarily the cotton mills, silk mills, machine shops and locomotive factories (Figures 1 & 3).

> At the same time began the movement of the second- and third-generation millowner and professional class from the industrial area to the more spacious rural atmosphere of the eastern part of the city... As Paterson expanded ever eastward toward the end of the nineteenth century, the commercial "downtown" area became the city center for the burgeoning middle class population. The immigrant populations remained in the old housing that became known as "Dublin"... (Cotz, Rutsch, and Wilson 1980: 184).

Beginning in the 1790s the S.U.M. sought European skilled workers, predominantly English, Scottish, Irish, and German, to man the cotton mills. Throughout the nineteenth century, Paterson's, and thus Dublin's changing population reflected generally the immigration profile of the nation.

The Study Population 1829-1915

The first step in tracing the development of these Dublin blocks involved reconstructing the habitation of the study houses from 1829 to 1915, utilizing deeds, census schedules, city directories, tax records, genealogies, and probate records. The quality of the data contained in these documents varies through time, thus limiting the accuracy of the summarization presented below.

The Fisher censuses, taken by a Paterson minister in 1824-1832, note the name of the head of the household, street of residence, number of male and female household members, and religion (Fisher 1832). By the end of the period covered by the census, four of the seven study properties were occupied. Each of the four households consisted of nuclear families with at least two children under age 16. In two, elder children, adult relatives or unrelated borders were also living with the family. Two of the household heads owned cotton mills in Paterson, the third was a blacksmith.

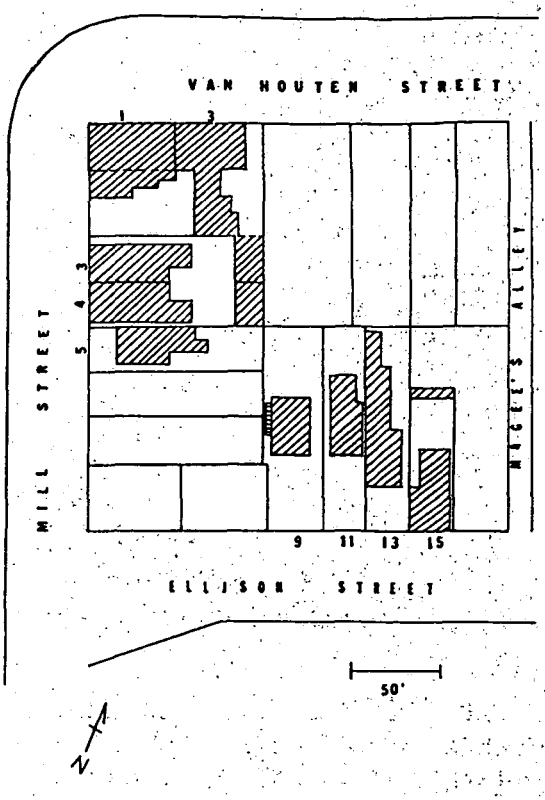

Figure 2. Van Houten Street Parking Lot block, showing structures on the study lots in 1915. Adapted from *Sanborn Insurance Map of Paterson, N.J. 1915* by James Ward. Redrawn by the author.

Beginning with the 1850 census, more complete information on the houses' residents is available. The population data presented below is from the federal and state censuses, supplemented by references from other sources.

Seven houses stood on the properties under study by 1850. No. 1 Van Houten Street was

Figure 3. View of Dublin and early mill district, from north of the Passaic River, looking south; post 1872. (Study area in center of photo). Collection of Passaic County Historical Society.

built just after 1870, Nos. 3 and 4 Mill Street between 1885 and 1889 (see Figure 2). These nine dwellings remained occupied through the rest of the period under consideration.

Characteristics of the Residence Unit

Household number, size and composition varied between the houses and over time. The census schedules indicate the nuclear family was the primary residence unit during periods of stability in northern Dublin. Often other relatives resided with the family, forming a variety of "extended" family types. Before 1915, less than one-third of the residents were children. In 1915, the first census year when Italians occupied all the study houses, their large families boosted the proportion of children to 42% (see Table 1). The Italians' residence patterns also more than doubled the number of households and residents in the study houses.

Boarding non-relatives either in the family household, or in separate households, was common in Paterson's working class neighborhoods in the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This practice often provided much needed extra income to the boarding families, as well as cheap accommodations for single workers, orphaned children, and retired elders. Between 1850 and 1900, boarders accounted for 11 to 31.4% of the study unit occupants.

Early in the present century, the neighborhood experienced a major population change. The nineteenth century working class families moved away, and the 1905 figure of almost 40% of the population boarding suggests a transitional period when a number of the houses served as boarding houses. By 1915, Italian immigrant families were taking over the "stagnating" neighborhood, and the number of non-cognates boarding in their households dropped to five, only 4.5% of the population.

Home ownership is another indicator of the disjunction in the neighborhood which culminated in a complete population turnover by 1915. Between 1855 and 1870, an average of three-fourths of the houses were owner-occupied; in 1900 and 1905, all but one of the houses were owned by absentee landlords. In 1915, five of the seven houses for which census data is available were owned by Italians who were living in their homes and renting rooms to other Italian families.

TABLE 1
HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE, STUDY AREA, 1850 to 1915

Category	1850	1855[1]	1860	1865[2]	1870	1880[3]	1885	1895[4]	1900	1905	1915[5]
# houses	7	7	7	7	7	8	8	9	9	9	9
# households	12	8	11	6	12	11	12	8	16	17	22
# Males	22	26	22	16	29	30	28	18	47	53	55
% Total	34.9	46.4	45.8	45.7	46.0	46.9	44.4	46.2	52.2	61.9	48.2
# Females	41	30	26	19	34	34	35	21	43	31	57
% Total	65.1	53.6	54.2	54.3	54.0	53.1	55.6	53.8	47.8	38.1	51.8
Total residents	63	56	48	35	63	64	63	39	90	84	112
Average # households/house	1.7	1.3	1.6	1.2	1.7	1.6	1.5	1.6	1.8	2.1	3.1
Average household size	5.1	7	4.4	5.8	5.3	5.8	5.3	4.9	5.6	4.9	5.1
# Boarders	7	NA	8	11	12	7	14	7	12	33	5
% Total	11.5	NA	16.7	31.4	19.0	10.9	22.2	17.9	13.3	39.3	4.5
% Adult males working	68.2	NA	50.0	NA	75.9	73.3	NA	NA	70.2	82.7	59.3
% Adult females working	0	NA	15.4	NA	35.3	32.4	NA	NA	14.0	28.1	19.0
Children under 16	20	10	10	7	11	17	17	12	27	16	47
% Total	32.8	17.9	20.8	20.0	17.5	26.6	27.0	30.8	30.0	19.0	42.0
% Children working	5.0	NA	0	NA	0	17.6	NA	NA	7.4	6.3	4.3
% Children at school	40.0	NA	30.0	NA	27.3	29.4	NA	NA	55.6	31.3	68.1

Boarders: non-relatives within a family household, or single or group of non-relatives comprising an independent household
NA: Data not available
Children working, at school: aged under 16 years
[1] 5 Mill Street missing
[2] 3 Van Houten and 5 Mill Streets missing
[3] 1 Van Houten Street missing
[4] 1, 3 Van Houten and 5, 12 Mill Streets missing
[5] 13, 15 Ellison Street missing

Economics and Ethnicity:

The Study Population

Native born Americans dominated the study population through 1900 (see Table 2); in 1905 and 1915 just over half of the inhabitants had been born in Europe. In every year except 1915, the majority of the houses' occupants were natives of New Jersey.

The foreign born came to this Paterson neighborhood from eleven European countries. Before 1900, English, Irish and Scottish immigrants dominated the foreign population. Prior to 1885, Englishmen accounted for an average 15.2% of the population. At their peak in 1870, almost 21% were Irish born (see Table 2). Scots never comprised more than six percent of the residents.

A small number of Swiss and Germans moved into this northern corner of Dublin about 1900, and the first Italians moved in also, at 15 Ellison Street. Fifteen years later, twenty one of the twenty two documented households were Italian families and boarders.

Parentage statistics (Table 3) provide another perspective on the ethnicity of the population. Comparison of Tables 2 and 3 reveals a high percentage of the native born were of foreign parentage. In 1880, for instance, 60.9% of the residents were native born, but 84.1% had foreign parents. All of the 1915 occupants were of foreign parentage. The major cause of the statistical differences

between birth and parentage was the presence of young immigrants who bore and raised their children in America.

The 1860, 1880, 1900, 1905, and 1915 censuses offer comparable information on occupation, a subject of interest as well as considerable consternation to students of the nineteenth century. At least, the data is comparable in the sense that the occupation of all employed individuals was recorded by the census enumerator. Job title inflation probably occurred with some frequency, as suggested by the numerous discrepancies in occupational designations between the directory and census listings of the same year. Also, job functions changed, although the title may not have, as mechanization and industrialization transformed most industries over the course of the nineteenth century. Similarly, functional equivalents may have been variously titled over time. Finally, repeated lack of specificity of job function (ie. silk mill, works in silk mill), plagues any attempt at occupational classification.

The percentage of adult working males never fell below 50% (in 1860) and rose as high as 82.7% in 1905, the year when the neighborhood was in flux and the number of single boarders was also greatest. Over 30% of the women living in the study houses were employed in 1870 and 1880; in other years, the number was considerably smaller. Children under sixteen years of age, both boys and girls, were rarely employed.

Eighty different occupations were represented across the seventy year span. Prior to 1900, workers in the silk and other cloth industries, and metal workers accounted for over three-fourths of the employed inhabitants. Industrial diversification in the city in the early twentieth century and the ethnicity of the new residents of the neighborhood ac-

TABLE 2: NATIVITY, STUDY AREA, 1850 TO 1915

Category		1850	1855[1]	1860	1865	1870	1880	1885[2]	1900	1905	1915
Native:	#	46	41	29	28	39	39	43	56	38	51
	%	73.0	73.2	60.4	80.0	60.9	60.9	68.3	62.2	45.2	45.5
Foreign:	#	17	9	19	7	24	25	20	34	46	61
	%	27.0	26.8	39.6	20.0	39.1	39.1	31.7	37.8	54.8	54.5

	1850		1860		1870		1880		1900		1905		1915	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
State														
New Jersey	36	57.1	20	41.7	28	44.4	35	55.6	49	54.5	35	41.7	48	42.9
New York	9	14.3	9	18.8	10	15.9	3	4.8	4	4.5	1	1.2	3	2.7
Pennsylvania	1	1.6							1	1.1				
Massachusetts									2	2.2	1	1.2		
Rhode Island											1	1.2		
Louisiana					1	1.6								
Country														
England	7	11.1	8	16.6	7	11.1	14	22.2	1	1.1	2	2.4		
Ireland	9	14.3	7	14.5	13	20.6	7	11.1	6	6.7	9	10.7		
Scotland	1	1.6	3	6.3	3	4.8	2	3.2	1	1.1	1	1.2		
Switzerland			1	2.1					3	3.3	2	2.4	1	.8
Germany									10	11.1	7	8.3	2	1.8
Sweden											1	1.2		
Finland											1	1.2		
Holland											1	1.2		
France							2	3.2			4	4.7		
Spain					1	1.6								
Italy									13	14.4	18	21.4	58	51.8

[1]Six children not identified by nativity
[2]Mickel Conaly, 12 Mill St., nativity-America
All percentages of the total population

TABLE 3: PARENTAGE, STUDY AREA, 1850 TO 1915

	1870[1]		1880[2]		1900		1905		1915	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
NATIVE	17	27.4	10	15.9	19	21.1	11	13.1		
FOREIGN	45	72.6	53	84.1	71	78.9	73	86.9	112	100.0

Note: If of mixed parentage, father's background recorded
[1]Parentage of one occupant missing
[2]Parentage of one occupant missing

count for the significant decrease in employment in those industries after 1900 (see Table 4). The proportion of metal workers decreased steadily from an 1850 peak, while the number of silk workers peaked in 1880 with the industry's prosperity.

Recent researchers have re-evaluated and modified the classic occupational classification scale of 1) white collar, 2) skilled, 3) semi-skilled, 4) unskilled. Hershberg and Dockhorn of the Philadelphia Social History Project proposed the following scheme after working with occupational data on 19th century Philadelphia: 1) high white collar and professional, 2) low white collar and proprietary, 3) skilled, 4) unskilled with a specified function, 5) unskilled-laborer. They also included categories to cover workers whose worksite only is given, the unemployed, and occupations where too little information was reported (Hershberg and Dockhorn 1976: 66-7). Problems exist with the present classificatory guide also as skill levels within occupations changed through time. Using the system as a socioeconomic status guide presents further difficulties. Hershberg and Dockhorn found, for instance, considerable income variation within the ranks of Philadelphia skilled workers in 1880, and even between workers of the same occupation at different firms (Hershberg and Dockhorn 1976: 61).

Hershberg and Dockhorn's classification served as a model for ranking occupations in the present study. This sample did not include any high white collar employees or professionals. Just over thirty percent of the workers in 1850 held low white collar positions or were proprietors, the percentage being dramatically less in succeeding years, and under five percent in 1900. In all years the majority of the workers were skilled craftsmen, a result of the concentration of workers in the nearby silk, cotton, clothing, and metal working factories. Unskilled, primarily mill workers and day laborers became numerous in 1900, reflecting the blurring of functional job lines with increasing mechanization and the arrival of Italian immigrants in the area (see Table 5).

Tables 6 through 8 present the data on the occupational classes by the workers' nativity. Consistently, in each year charted, the foreign born formed a larger proportion of the

TABLE 4
EMPLOYMENT IN THE CLOTH AND METAL INDUSTRIES, STUDY AREA, 1850 TO 1915

	1850 %	1860 %	1870 %	1880 %	1900 %	1905 %	1915 %
Workers, silk industry	18.8	12.5	14.3	44.7	33.3	30.9	27.1
Other cloth workers[1]	6.3	31.3	20.0	15.8	14.3	20.0	22.9
Metal workers[2]	50.0	43.8	42.9	26.3	9.5	5.6	4.2
	75.1	87.6	77.2	86.8	57.1	36.5	54.2

Note: Percentage is of total workers in study houses that year.
[1]Includes dyers and helpers, cotton workers, clothing makers
[2]Includes machinists, engineers, moulders, coppersmiths, blacksmiths, turners, patternmakers, steamfitters, and boilermakers

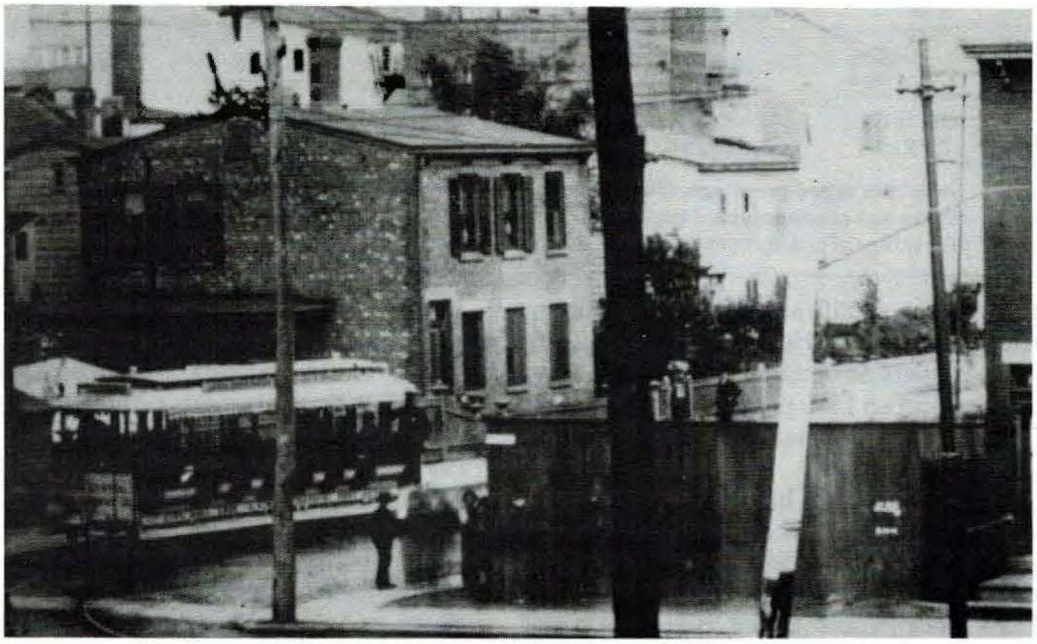

Figure 4. Intersection of Mill and Ellison Streets, looking east down Ellison Street; c. 1899-1915. Study houses are beyond the brick house in the foreground. Collection of G. Levitsanos.

employed than of the general population. At least a few members of each ethnic group held lower white collar positions or owned a business of some sort during the period.

The majority of the skilled craftsmen were born in America; however, by 1880, almost half of the skilled workers were English. Beginning in 1900, the changing composition of the skilled class reflects the removal of British immigrants from the neighborhood and their replacement by primarily Germans and later Italians.

With the turn of the century, a few native born, Irish, Italians, and an Englishman reported working at unskilled positions in the mills. Before 1900, only four Irishmen and an American had worked as day laborers. In 1915 twelve Italian immigrant residents were

TABLE 5
OCCUPATIONAL CLASSES, ALL NATIONAL GROUPS, 1850 to 1915, STUDY AREA

	1850		1860		1870		1880		1900		1905		1915		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Low white collar, proprietary	5	22.7 / 31.3	1	4.5 / 6.2	2	9.1 / 5.7	3	13.6 / 7.9	2	9.1 / 4.9	4	18.2 / 7.3	5	22.7 / 10.4	22	8.8
Skilled	9	6.7 / 56.3	14	10.4 / 87.6	21	15.7 / 60.0	18	13.4 / 47.4	27	20.1 / 65.9	24	17.9 / 43.6	21	15.7 / 43.7	134	53.8
Unskilled, specific occupation					1	3.1 / 2.9			8	25.0 / 19.5	16	50.0 / 29.1	7	21.9 / 14.6	32	12.9
Unskilled, laborer	1	3.2 / 6.2			4	12.9 / 11.4			4	12.9 / 9.7	9	29.0 / 16.4	13	41.9 / 27.1	31	12.4
Other, worksite only known	1	3.2 / 6.2	1	3.3 / 6.2	7	23.2 / 20.0	17	56.7 / 44.7			2	6.7 / 3.6	2	6.7 / 4.2	30	12.0
Total	16		16		35		38		41		55		48		249	

NOTE: Percentages are: $\frac{\%\text{ of class in each ethnic group}}{\%\text{ of ethnic group in the class}}$ for each year in Tables 5 through 8

Data from census schedules only in Tables 5 through 8.

TABLE 6
OCCUPATIONAL CLASSES BY NATIVITY, LOWER WHITE COLLAR, PROPRIETARY, 1850 to 1915

	1850		1860		1870		1880		1900		1905		1915	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
NATIVE					2	100.0 11.1	1	100.0 5.6	2	100.0 8.7	2	50.0 13.3	2	50.0 20.0
FOREIGN	5	100.0 55.5	1	100.0 14.3							2	50.0 5.1	2	50.0 6.3
England, Scotland	2	40.0 50.0	1	100.0 16.7										
Ireland	3	60.0 60.0												
Germany											2	50.0 40.0	1	25.0 100.0
Italy													1	25.0 13.2
TOTAL	5		1		2		1		2		4		4	

so employed.

Interpretation: *Economics*

Economics and ethnicity together determined the fate of foreign born groups in America. The occupational skills and socio-economic status of the arriving immigrant and economic climate in America influenced individual and group experience as well as national background and the nature of traditional family and community life.

Another influential factor which will be discussed later in this article is technology. The change from hand to machine-powered manufacturing caused technological displacement in employment, depressed wages in some industries, and at the same time opened up job possibilities for the army of unskilled workers migrating to this country. These same technological developments led to mass production and this increased the number of products within the range of the worker's pocketbook (Glassberg 1979: 20).

Among the study area employees, the skilled metal workers earned the highest wages of the industrial tradesmen, and also benefitted from superior work conditions and lifestyle. Semi-skilled and unskilled laborers in the new metal trades also fared better than their counterparts in older industries, such as silk and cotton (Laurie, Hershberg and Alter 1981: 101, 103-4).

The average yearly earnings and expenses reported by select New Jersey workers in 1880 suggest that the means of survival for a one income family often involved an extreme moderation of consumption. For example, day laborers spent just over one-half the amount machinists spent on clothing, less than one-half the amount on groceries, and about 70% less on sundries (read luxuries) (New Jersey Bureau of Statistics 1880: 38-58).

The statistics for 1883 emphasized the need for additional workers in the household to supplement the income of the primary earner (Table 9). In most cases, the secondary incomes covered reported living costs and allowed families to save at least a small amount.

Although complementary cost of living information is absent, the 1890 and 1900 federal manufacturing census volumes summarize wages in various occupations. The dif-

ferential in wages paid white collar officers and clerical employees and male, female and child laborers in 1890 in the industries reported is considerable. Male operatives in the silk industry, the highest paid, earned only slightly more than one-third the amount of the industry's white collar employees. At the turn of the century, it is evident the wages paid women and children were still intended only to supplement those of a family's primary male wage earner. In the national market that year, silk workers ranked fairly low on the pay scale. Clothing factory workers, dyers, machine shop laborers and blacksmiths employed in Paterson mills would have been in a better financial position if the city wage scale approximated the national average.

The residence pattern witnessed in this working class community, is, therefore, a result of economic necessity. Elder children, other resident kin, and unrelated boarders had to work outside the home if the household head was employed as other than a mill manager or white collar professional, for the income they provided was essential to survival.

Interpretation: *Ethnicity*

The changes documented above in the ethnic composition and socio-economic character of Dublin are not atypical of the evolution many nineteenth and twentieth century urban communities underwent (especially in the industrializing northeast). In addition to common cultural and linguistic traditions and national origins, ethnicity implies also sharing a sense of a common identity. Ethnic communities survive chiefly through their own cohesion and resistance to assimilation (Ware 1946: 474-5). The Paterson immigrant, in contact with industrial civilization, sought guidance among 'his own' on how to adapt to the new environment; ethnic, family oriented communities resulted (Ware 1946: 477). Indeed, Gutman claims, "[t]ough familial and kin ties made possible the transmission and adaptation of European working

TABLE 7:
OCCUPATIONAL CLASSES, BY NATIVITY, SKILLED CRAFTSMEN, 1850 to 1915, STUDY AREA

	1850		1860		1870		1880		1900		1905		1915	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
NATIVE	6	66.7 / 85.7	8	57.1 / 100.0	11	52.4 / 61.1	4	30.8 / 22.2	15	57.7 / 65.2	8	33.3 / 53.3	6	31.6 / 60.0
FOREIGN	3	33.3 / 33.3	6	42.9 / 85.7	10	47.6 / 58.8	9	69.3 / 52.9	11	42.3 / 57.9	16	66.7 / 41.0	13	68.4 / 40.6
England, Scotland	2	22.2 / 50.0	4	28.6 / 83.3	8	38.1 / 100.0	6	46.2 / 54.5	2	7.7 / 100.0	2	8.3 / 66.7		
Ireland	1	11.1 / 20.0	2	14.3 / 100.0	1	4.8 / 12.5	3	23.1 / 60.0	1	3.8 / 33.3	1	4.2 / 12.5		
Germany									5	19.2 / 100.0	1	4.2 / 20.0		
Italy									2	7.7 / 25.0	2	8.3 / 15.4	13	68.4 / 40.6
Other					1	4.8 / 100.0			1	3.8 / 100.0	10	41.7 / 100.0		
TOTAL	9		14		21		13		26		24		19	

TABLE 8: OCCUPATIONAL CLASSES,
BY NATIVITY, UNSKILLED WORKERS AND LABORERS, STUDY AREA, 1850 to 1915

	1850		1860		1870		1880		1900		1905		1915	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
NATIVE					2	40.0 11.2			4	33.3 17.4	4	16.7 26.7		
FOREIGN	1	100.0 11.1			3	60.0 17.6			8	66.7 42.2	20	83.3 51.3	17	100.0 53.1
England, Scotland											1	4.2 33.3		
Ireland	1	100.0 20.0			3	60.0 37.5			2	16.7 66.7	6	25.0 75.0		
Germany											2	8.3 40.0		
Italy									6	50.0 75.0	11	45.8 84.6	17	100.0 54.8
TOTAL	1				5				12		24		17	

class cultural patterns and beliefs to industrializing America" (Gutman 1977: 43).

Group survival depended on the maintenance of ethnic boundaries through the manipulation of behavioral and material symbols. The boundaries thus established between ethnic groups channel social life, and as the needs and circumstances of the group change over time, the boundaries and symbols are appropriately modified (McGuire 1980: 2-3).

Three nationalities dominated the immigrant population of the Dublin study area in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—the English, Irish, and Italians. Each will be discussed briefly below.

The English

Britain's industrial growth stimulated emigration by 1) creating a pool of technological skill, 2) increasing unemployment, 3) and also increasing mobility. In America, British skilled workers gravitated to the centers of their crafts (Jones 1976: 105-7) — such as the silk mills of Paterson.

Coverage of Paterson news in the local English press attracted English silk workers. By the 1880's, a sophisticated network had developed. An English weaver's union established a local in the city, and early arrivals saved to aid relatives and friends pay the steamer fare to New York. Experienced weavers were still paid high wages, and the possibility of upward social mobility provided added incentive to prospective immigrants. As the silk industry began its decline in Paterson in the 1890's, the immigration of skilled workers correspondingly waned, and by the first decade of the twentieth century, had virtually ended (Margrave 1975: 56-7).

Most immigrant working men retained their British loyalty and banded together to preserve familiar social institutions. Strong British "ethnic communities," however, were never common.

The British immigrant's cultural background contributed to his material success in America, while his economic position (most in Dublin were mill owners and managers or skilled workers) assisted his social adjustment to his new environment. Urban British workers more readily accepted the American concept of progress than other foreign peasants (Berthoff 1953: 128-9). Despite one

native American's assertion in Paterson in 1832 that the English mill hands were "the most beastly people I have seen," (Berthoff 1953: 146) the British generally escaped the ridicule faced by the Irish and southern Europeans.

The Irish

In her study of Dublin's social structure, Jo Ann Cotz examined the history and cultural background of Paterson's Irish immigrants as well as their adaptations to the nineteenth century urban setting to which they removed (Cotz, Rutsch and Wilson 1980: 103-157).

The family was the basic social and economic unit in nineteenth and twentieth century rural Ireland, while the village community provided stability and a designated social role for each individual (Cotz, Rutsch and Wilson 1980: 105-6).

The Irish countryman was able to retain aspects of his native social structure in America. The family unit remained essentially intact. With the tie to the land removed, however, the family functioned in a different capacity in the urban industrial environment. Traditional avenues of gaining status were closed to the Irish male, and economic necessity often forced the wife and children also to seek employment outside the home. A new system of social institutions, which "transcended familial allegiance [developed]. The new framework functioned on personal merit and achievement and was based in part on the development of voluntary organizations." (Cotz, Rutsch and Wilson 1980: 109).

The Roman Catholic Church played a vital role in Irish life, providing the religious and social context in which the immigrants acculturated to American life (Greeley 1972: 92). In addition to providing places to worship, the Church aided the socialization/acculturation process for the Irish immigrant by 1) establishing church-affiliated social organizations; 2) sponsoring a parochial school; and 3) founding a number of benevolent societies (Cotz, Rutsch and Wilson 1980: 125). Military clubs and then the volunteer fire departments were other forms of voluntary associations that attracted Irishmen in Paterson.

The Italians

The lives of Italian peasant immigrants were also governed by the family, the major transmitter of the culture, and to an extraordinary degree Italian immigrants

TABLE 9
YEARLY INCOME AND COST OF LIVING OF PRIMARY WAGE EARNERS IN SELECT OCCUPATIONS AND SUPPLEMENTAL EARNINGS OF OTHER FAMILY MEMBERS, NEW JERSEY, 1883

Occupation	No. Report.	Average Yearly Income/Self	Average Yearly Income/Others	Cost of Living Family
Silk weavers (Power loom)	15	$428.79	$261.00	$551.00
Silk weavers (Hand loom)	6	419.00	500.00	900.00
Silk ribbon weavers	11	585.45	312.50	770.45
Silk warpers	4	421.00	150.00	487.00
Doublers, winders, finishers - female	8	276.68	—	282.96
Shirtmakers	17	311.35	200.00	600.00
Machinists	35	604.56	230.18	600.93
Carpenters	17	635.70	253.71	689.21
Iron moulders	9	641.66	166.66	653.33
Engineers	5	638.00	—	623.00
Laborers	21	361.00	233.87	550.45

(Data taken from N.J. Bureau of Statistics 1883)

duplicated the experience of the Irish a half century earlier. (Jones 1976: 198-9). In the cities where they settled, family and village-based Italian communities were created. In part, this ethnic cohesion was a response to the strong anti-foreign feeling against them, which focused on three fronts: 1) their religion, 2) their foreign ways, and 3) their threat as a cheap labor source (Gambino 1974: 106). In the case of religion, they even met prejudice from the established Irish dominated, Roman Catholic Church. In time, Italian parishes and churches were established. For a while, however, in Paterson's Dublin as in other sites of Italian settlement, religion served only as another source of antipathy between the new immigrants and the old.

Evidence from the present study area supports the idea of a strong Italian family and community. Residence was almost exclusively in nuclear families, with relatives and unrelated single males boarding. Home ownership in the study area often remained in the same family until the 1970s, when the state acquired the properties. In addition, the concentration of Italians in northern Dublin was greater than that of any nineteenth century immigrant national group.

Technology

Over the period 1830 to 1915, the northern Dublin blocks studied here changed economically, ethnically, and structurally. The primary reason behind those changes—technological innovation—cannot be ignored if the community is to be understood. The impact of technology on the world economy brought European immigrants to Paterson; technology determined the city's occupational structure and its economic vitality (and later decline); mass production affected domestic economy and redefined the role of the household.

Both the documents and the artifact assemblages have information to contribute on Paterson's technological development, industrialization, and man's cultural adaptation to them. It is not my purpose here to write the industrial history of Paterson, but to point out its role in determining the social, economic and ethnic structure of the Dublin community.

COMPARISON OF TWO PRIVY DEPOSITS

In this section two privy deposits will be compared, illustrating the types of information the artifacts provided. It is recognized that two privy deposits are not a statistically valid sample. These two have been chosen for comparison here only to illustrate the types of differences found between assemblages of different dates deposited by households of various types, sizes, ethnicity and socio-economic level.

Deposit 1 (9 Ellison Street—see Figures 2 & 4) dates to the late 1850s and early 1860s. In 1848 Samuel Beyea, a native of New York state, purchased the house and lot at 9 Ellison Street for $1100. The 1850 census shows Beyea was a machinist, 48 years old, and illiterate. His wife Catherine, also from New York, was 44, and five daughters, aged 12 to 20, were all unmarried and living at home. The youngest daughter attended school.

By 1860, the eldest daughter had left the household, and the three youngest were working as skirt and dress makers. Mary and Fanny had a hoopskirt manufactory on Main Street. The family remained at No. 9 until the late 1870s, by which time Samuel had died, and one other daughter married (twice).

Deposit 2 (12 Mill Street—see Figure 2) dates to the 1880s and early 1890s. In the first years of the 1880s, two households occupied No. 12. Francis Seymour, a 72 year old Frenchman employed in a paint mill headed a household which also included his crippled French wife and four children, aged 8 to 20. The two sons worked in a silk mill, and the eldest daughter kept house.

The extended Kearney family also rented at No. 12, from 1880 to almost 1900. Ann Kearney, an Irish widow, headed the household. An unmarried daughter, married daughter and her husband and three young children, and three male boarders, all silk mill hands, comprised the household in 1880. In 1885 only the married daughter, her husband and four children lived with Ann. The hus-

TABLE 10
STATISTICAL DATA, CERAMICS AND GLASS, DEPOSITS 1 AND 2

	DEPOSIT 1[1] #	DEPOSIT 1[1] (%)	DEPOSIT 1[1] Average # Deposit./Yr.	DEPOSIT 2[2] #	DEPOSIT 2[2] (%)	DEPOSIT 2[2] Average # Deposit./Yr.
Minimum # Ceramic Vessels	96		16.0	150		16.7
Minimum # Bottles	84		14.0	57		6.3
Minimum # Glassware Vessels	13		2.2	24		2.7
Minimum # Tableware Vessels	41	(47.7)		48	(33.3)	
Minimum # Flatware Vessels	21	(24.5)		28	(19.4)	
Minimum # Serving Bowls	11	(12.8)		13	(9.0)	
Minimum # Storage Vessels	9	(10.4)		13	(9.0)	
Minimum # Tea and Coffee Ware	27	(31.4)		54	(37.5)	
Minimum # Ceramic Shapes[3]	16			24		
# Ceramic Ware and Decorative Types	17			17		
# Ceramic Patterns	47			66		
# Different Bottled Products	48			50		
Minimum # Glassware Vessel Types	5			15		
Minimum # Glassware Patterns	8			23		
CCI[4] - Plates	1.80			2.25		
CCI - Tea Ware	3.0			4.59		
CCI - Bowls	1.67			—		
Porcelain Vessels		(3.1)			(18.7)	
Highest Priced Earthenware[5]		(30.2)			(49.4)	
Minimum # Medicine Bottles	55		9.1	15		1.7
Minimum # Wine Bottles	6			4		
Minimum # Liquor Bottles	3			3		
Minimum # Beer Bottles.	—			11		
Minimum # Soda/Mineral Water Bottles	5			13		

[1]Deposited over a period of 5-7 years (6 year average late 1850s to early 1860s).
[2]Deposited over a period of 8-10 years (9 year average 1880s to early 1890s).
[3]i.e., Plate, Tea cup, Bowl
[4]Miller's Cream Colored Index Value
[5]Plain and molded ironstones

band, James McNamara, worked as a machinist.

Table 10 presents statistical data on the two ceramics, bottle, and glassware assemblages which will be discussed in the analysis which follows.

It was hypothesized that the number, size, and composition of households would be reflected in the archaeological assemblages. Deposit 2 (representing two households in the early 1880s) did not contain significantly greater numbers of ceramic vessels, bottles or glassware deposited per year than did Deposit 1, however. Deposit 2 (as expected from a dual household residence) did show somewhat greater diversity in the ceramic and glass assemblages, but that is partly a function of other factors (see below).

Household composition and structure exerted a greater influence on the archaeological record. In all of the privies, artifacts associated with specific household members and indicative of household composition, are present. Fragments from toy tea sets, china dolls and marbles were discarded by the McNamara children; while the tobacco tin and twenty two clay pipes belonged to McNamara or the male boarders. One or more members of the Beyea family appear to have had hypochondriacal tendencies, as the privy contained fifty five medicine bottles, including "Liver Complaint," a "Rheumatic Liniment," "Pain Killer," and "Hair Restorer." A bottle of sewing machine oil (three of Beyea's daughters

were seamstresses) was also discovered. Similar "individualized" artifacts were found in the other privies as well.

Herbert Gutman dates the period of intense industrialization and urban growth in Paterson to 1850-1870. Large mills were established by alien industrialists, population increased, and markets and city services correspondingly expanded (Gutman 1977: 240, 250). Increases in quantity and diversity of material possessions should be noted as a result of the technological innovations of the period and urbanization.

The Seymour/Kearney households did dispose of greater total quantities of ceramics and glassware vessels (not bottles) than did the Beyeas; however the differences disappear when the "average number of vessels deposited per year" figures are used. The later deposit does exhibit greater diversity than the earlier one, containing more ceramic vessel shapes and patterns, a greater variety of commercially bottled products, and more glassware vessel types and patterns.

The Beyea deposit is more like the Kearney and other later nineteenth century deposits than the deposits of the 1830s and 1840s. The marketing of increasing numbers of commercially packaged products is reflected. Liquor, beer, soda water, innumerable patent medicines, condiments, household cleaners, etc. appear only or at least in greater numbers after 1850, and are present in both deposits considered here. More glassware vessels, more types and more patterns are present in the later deposit, probably the result of a number of factors, including availability and price as well as individual taste, and household breakage patterns (the Kearney household included young children). All of these variables of course are reflected in the archaeological assemblages, and discerning the influence of each is often difficult.

The Beyea family was in a better economic position than the Kearney and Seymour households. Machinists were highly paid industrial craftsmen, and three of the Beyea daughters contributed to the family income. Beyea also owned his own house. At age 72, Seymour still worked as a laborer in a paint mill, and two sons were employed as unskilled help in a silk mill. James McNamara was also a machinist, but he was supporting a larger family on his salary, supplemented only occasionally by paying boarders.

Still, the economic distance between the Beyeas and Seymour/Kearneys was not great, and the households' trash reflects this. In fact, Deposit 2 contained greater percentages of porcelain and ironstones (highest priced earthenware) than Deposit 1, and the Cream Colored Index values were also higher. Of all the privy deposits, Deposit 2 included the greatest percentage of procelain, and an 1884 ad in the *Paterson Daily Press* may help to explain the apparent discrepancy. The ad, for Henkel's Baking Powder, announced the giving away of free "Brown Willow Cups and Saucers/3 line gold band China Cups and Saucers..." with the purchase of the baking powder (*Paterson Daily Press* 1884). Eight of the twenty-three porcelain tableware vessels in Deposit 2 are "three line gold band China Cups and Saucers"; a brown willow teacup was also found. One wonders whether other household items were acquired in a similar fashion.

The Seymours and Kearneys also deposited more glass tableware; all was American made, non-lead, pressed glass. By 1880, such wares were well within the pocketbook of even the working class.

A closer look at the porcelains, ironstones, and glass tablewares discarded at both residences is also revealing. Although both households were able to afford these wares, their quality suggests only seconds and non-matching odd pieces were purchased. Variations and defects in glaze, size and thickness of the ceramics, and the presence of odd tumblers, goblets, and miscellaneous tableware articles in different patterns suggests neither household could afford complete sets or "firsts," but were nevertheless fashion conscious.

Ethnicity Reflected in Archaeological Deposits

Historical archaeologists have only recently addressed the question of ethnicity. Pro-

blems inherent in identifying ethnicity archaeologically revolve around two distinct aspects of the phenomenon: 1) *traditional* behaviors and material culture maintained by the immigrant, and 2) sets of ethnic *symbols* with which a group defines its boundaries, not necessarily of traditional origin (Praetzellis et al. 1981: 32; Horvath 1980: 4, 6).

The documents demonstrated that the European immigrants resident in northern Dublin did maintain their ethnic identity, at least in non-material ways, such as through retention of strong family ties and ethnic religious and social institutions. These institutions and relationships combined tradition and boundary maintaining symbols, and are not expected to be highly visible archaeologically. Indeed, ethnicity was not strongly reflected in the study privy assemblages. (No deposits dated as late as the Italian period of occupation, however).

The two deposits under consideration here represent the trash of American, French, and Irish-American families. No material symbols of ethnic identity were recovered from either privy. More subtle ethnic-based differences may not be discernible, as Deposit 2 was produced by two families of different backgrounds. The ceramic assemblages from the two deposits do differ, in the relative percentages of tableware, teaware and storage vessels. This may reflect differences in eating habits, food preparation and storage practices, however the pattern is not supported by the assemblages from the other privies.

The differences in beverage consumption seen here (Table 10) are found in other of the deposits, and appear to reflect a combination of date of deposition, economics and ethnic background. Of the total sample, only the poorer Irish households at the end of the 19th century purchased commercially bottled beer and soda waters in quantity. Wine bottles (probably reused for other homemade beverages as well) predominate in the other assemblages.

One other pattern identified in the larger study is also seen here. Consumption of patent medicines is greater among native Americans than immigrants. Preference for traditional folk remedies and the price of the commercial nostrums may account for their limited acceptance by the latter group.

In this case study of a community adapting to industrialization over 85 years, both the documents and artifacts have contributed important information. The documents tell of the structure and function of the family and household, socio-economic status, ethnicity and acculturation, industrialization and urban growth. From the artifacts come information about family life, the impact of mass production on household consumption, class aspirations, marketing networks, ethnicity and acculturation. Only by integrating all the data can Dublin, or any community, be understood, and its history written.

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