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Institutionalizing Place: Materiality and Meaning in Boston's North End

Candace Jones, Chair of Global Creative Enterprise
Strategy Dept., University of Edinburgh Business School
candace.jones@ed.ac.uk

Ju Young Lee, Ph.D. Candidate
Management & Organization Dept., Carroll School of Management, Boston College
leeagu@bc.edu

Taehyun Lee, Ph.D. Candidate
Management & Organization Dept., Carroll School of Management, Boston College
taehyun.lee.3@bc.edu

ABSTRACT

Microfoundations of institutions are central to constructing place—the interplay of location, meaning, and material form. Since only a few institutional studies bring materiality to the fore to examine the processes of place-making, how material forms interact with people to institutionalize or de-institutionalize the meaning of place remains a black box. Through an inductive and historical study of Boston's North End neighborhood, we show how locally situated churches that symbolically encoded multivocality shape the institutionalized meaning of the North End as a place.

Keywords: Microfoundations of institutions, Place, Materiality, Material forms, Meaning, Historical analysis

INTRODUCTION

Place is the interplay of location, meaning and material form (Gieryn, 2000). Microfoundations of institutions—cognition, communication, and behavior (Haack, Sieweke, & Wessel, n.d.)—are central to constructing place. Cognition underpins a place's collective meaning—the shared understandings, frames, and interpretations (Zilber, 2017)—because places are interpreted and embedded in values and history (Cresswell, 2004; Gieryn, 2000). Communication constructs how a place is a unique spot (Gieryn, 2000); by engaging in multimodality, Barcelona and Boston were constructed as unique places through rhetoric (e.g., guidebooks and critic reviews), visuality (e.g., architectural styles), and the built environment (e.g., buildings and parks) (Jones & Svejenova, 2017). Behavior with material forms defines place, such as erecting or demolishing buildings, walking the streets, playing in the parks, or living and working in the buildings (de Certeau, 1984; Goldhagen, 2017). Place engages microfoundations of institutions because material forms are mnemonic, "evoking memories, triggering identities and embodying histories" (Cerulo, 1995; Gieryn, 2000, p. 481; Zerubavel, 1997), about which humans communicate and to which they form attachments (Gieryn, 2000; Jones & Massa, 2013). Places are a "unique gathering of things, meanings and values", forming "an unwindable spiral of material form and interpretative understandings or experiences" (Gieryn, 2000, p. 465, 471).

Places are fundamentally "material things" (Cresswell, 2004, p. 6). Material forms are central to the social construction of place, underpinning sign systems, enabling human interaction, and engendering the relative permanence that defines institutions and provides stability and meaning (Jones, 2019). Material forms enable actors to encode meaning and "decode these meanings as part of the production of texts and other activities that constitute institutions" (Zilber, 2017, p. 437). Material forms stabilize memories and give durability to social structural categories, such as religion or ethnicity (Cresswell, 2004; Gieryn, 2000; Jones & Massa, 2013). They enhance perceptions of objectivity and exteriority (Jones, Meyer, Jancsary, & Höllerer, 2017) and engender permanence, which depends on "an investment in fixity" such as infrastructure (Cresswell, 2004, p. 6, 58) because social life is "crystalized" and "fixed upon material supports" (Durkheim, 1897/1951, p. 313). Thus, material forms enable

institutionalization—the relative permanence of a social sort (Hughes, 1936) that provides stability (Scott, 2003). Yet, few institutional scholars consider the material forms with which "humans create, stabilize and reproduce the understandings and meanings that comprise institutions and influence institutional processes" (Jones et al., 2017, p. 652).

There are only a handful of institutional studies that examine microfoundation of place. Zilber's (2002) seminal ethnographic study of a rape crisis center focuses on people as carriers and interpreters of institutions and reveals that the rape crisis center changed its meaning when feminist activists were replaced by therapeutic professionals. Zilber focuses on the construction of meaning through people and does not explore the interaction between people and material forms. For example, the instability in material forms, such as lacking "a documented history" and changing organizational location four times, may have influenced high turnover and de-stabilized the founding mission and meaning. Jones and Massa (2013) examine church buildings, which are a significant material form (Gieryn, 2000). They found that when a church did not express its members' collective identity, members detached, the church was demolished, and the community disbanded, whereas when Unity Temple's material form (e.g., building layout, iconography, and design) expressed the identity and meanings of its Unitarian community, the building elicited emotional attachment and generated resources to protect the building and house the people. The mobility or turnover of people within Unity Temple was not addressed, leaving unclear how people and building interacted over time. Lawrence and Dover's (2015) study of the hard-to-house (i.e., homeless people and those with HIV/AIDS) highlight places in three distinct way: settings for action (containers), ideas that signify and trigger interpretive lenses, and practical objects that complicate. The material forms in their study range quite dramatically—Dr. Peter's apartment, churches, injection rooms, teacups—and leave unclear how the material forms enabled creating socially shared facts and whether the meaning of place, and which place—the apartment, churches, or injection sites—were institutionalized by becoming relatively permanent over time. Given the lack of insight into how people and materials forms interact to create stability in meanings, we ask: what microfoundations and which material forms interact to institutionalize or de-institutionalize the meaning of place?

We sought to reveal the microfoundations that expressed the meaning or "spirit of a particular place" (Cresswell, 2004, p. 5) through inhabitants' cognition (expressions of who and what a place is), communication (written histories, sermons, oral memories), and behavior such as departing or staying as well as the construction of buildings (e.g., renovating, erecting, or enacting rituals with the building). We examined Boston's North End neighborhood, which was constantly re-constructed given its proximity to the waterfront and transatlantic commerce that made it an enduring gateway for new arrivals from foreign countries. The institutions specific to our study are religion, state, and ethnic groups. Religious institutions, whether churches or synagogues, offered material forms that were sites of social interaction. The state determined whether buildings were erected, renovated, preserved, or demolished. Immigrant ethnic groups tapped into shared cognitions and meanings: categories of people that identified with each other based on their "shared culture, such as language, ancestry, practices, and beliefs" (American Sociological Association, 2019). We found that microfoundations involved two key material forms— people, or embodied materiality, and church buildings—which interacted and were critical in institutionalizing or erasing both the physical presence and meaning of a specific place—a church and its community. These microfoundations were influenced by macro institutional forces, such as global immigration and state laws and processes for designating historic sites, to define whose meaning and which history was incorporated into the North End as a place.

MICROFOUNDATIONS AND MATERIAL FORMS:

CARRYING AND PERFORMING THE MEANING OF PLACE

Three key perspectives focus on microfoundations and material forms: technology studies writ broadly, material culture, and more recently institutional theory. Technology studies (e.g., Science and Technology Studies, Affordances, and Sociomateriality) emphasize how institutions are mutually constituted through material forms and people, focusing on the interaction of technology as tools developed by human for their use. The key insight is that material forms have duality; they are actors in, even if inert, as well as carriers of institutions (Jones, 2019; Latour, 2007; Orlikowski & Scott, 2008). The affordance stream

draws heavily on Gibson's (1986) notion that objects offer humans their utility, which must be noticed by humans and are perceived based on "information in touch, sound, odor, taste, and ambient light" (p. 135). Leonardi and Barley (2010, p. 20) emphasize that these tools may be appropriated: "practices that turn material properties into constraints on and affordances for human action." Humans may also repurpose objects—that is, use the material form in hitherto unexpected ways (Jarzabowski & Pinch, 2013). Some science and technology scholars critique affordances and argue for the "need to move beyond current preoccupation with the intentions encoded into the objects or materials themselves to examining activities as they are accomplished" (Jarzabkowski & Pinch, 2013, p. 579). This criticism signals a shift away from a focus on the object toward human practices: what people do with objects.

Sociomateriality scholars reject the view of technology as a tool that has affordances as well as the primacy of human agency (Orlikowski & Scott, 2014). Instead, they advocate the relationality of tools and people, emphasizing an ensemble view characterized by dynamic entanglement between people and technology (Orlikowski & Iacono, 2001; Orlikowski & Scott, 2008). Orlikowski and Scott (2014) draw on agential realism that theorizes the entanglement of matter and meaning; they focus on materializations and performativity. Affordance scholars critique sociomateriality as having an "unrelenting focus on the emergence of practices in the here and now … documenting the micro-social processes of institutionalization … [which] has also made it difficult for researchers to speak to how preexisting, entrenched social structures shape how technologies are deployed and used" (Leonardi & Barley, 2010, pp. 22-23).

Although technology scholars often state that they focus on meaning, they emphasize information—what is understandable and usable, especially in knowledge work. Material forms are epistemic objects, whether a tool, boundary object, spreadsheets, graphs, data packs, or documents (e.g., Bechky, 2003; Ewenstein & Whyte, 2009; Jarzabkowski, Spee, & Smets, 2013). This focus on material forms as epistemic objects is quite distant from material forms that are central to conceptions of place: as identity statements that trigger emotional attachments, are embedded in history, and evoke shared values (Cresswell, 2004; Gieryn, 2000; Jones & Massa, 2013; Jones & Svejenova, 2018). Another important

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difference between place and technology scholars is the temporal focus: technology/practice scholars examine short durations in time—months to several years—which illuminates microfoundations and generates challenges to reveal which practices become shared and relatively permanent social facts across people and time. Place scholars, in contrast, emphasize longer time periods and how material forms play stabilize social institutions. Cresswell (2004, p. 85) argues that "[t]he very materiality of a place means that memory is not abandoned to the vagaries of mental processes and is instead inscribed into the landscape—a public memory." Buildings give "structure to social institutions … persistence to behavior patterns" (Gieryn, 2002, p. 35). Thus, material forms play a central role in what behaviors and memories become institutionalized.

A material culture perspective examines how material forms shape interpretation and meaning-making processes through the material forms that encode meanings, values, and social relations (Hicks & Beaudry, 2010, p. 2). People write, or encode, and read, or decode, culture; thus, material culture highlights "the intimate connections between the body and material culture" (Hicks & Beaudry, 2010, p. 11), which includes embodiment—or humans' lived experiences and practices—as a material form (see Crossland, 2010 for a review). Scholars of material culture tend to focus on cultural objects, such as flags and national anthems, as carriers that can be read to decode the histories and meanings of nations (Cerulo, 1995), or architectural styles and layout of cities (Jones & Svejenova, 2018). More recently, scholars illuminate how humans perform culture and enact institutions with material objects, such as fashion (Miller, 2009). Scholars highlight material properties such as "size, shape, weight, orientation, or placement" (McDonnell, 2010, p. 1801), which imply that the visibility and decay of material objects are important to whether they carry and perform meaning. For example, McDonnell illustrates that when AIDS prevention posters disintegrated (e.g., letters were missing or partially covered by other material artifacts), they no longer carried the meaning of prevention nor performed as an educational vehicle to sway behavior. Material culture has moved to incorporate a more relational approach by examining the interactions between humans and material forms; material forms not only carry meaning, but also shape

meaning-making processes by how material forms affect people's experiences (Griswold, Mangione, & McDonnell, 2013).

Institutional scholars draw heavily from material culture and recently have sought to understand how material forms influences the relative permanence of institutions and institutional practices (Jones et al., 2017) and shape institutions through processes of meaning-making (Boxenbaum, Jones, Meyer, & Svejenova, 2018). They offer a lens into microfoundations by revealing how material forms carry and perform meaning (Jones, 2019). As carriers, material forms are a vital to reproducing or altering practices (Friedland, 2001; Jones, Maoret, Massa, & Svejenova, 2012), (de)stabilizing the cognitive pillar of institutions (Scott, 2003), encoding and expressing identities of designers and organizations (Elsbach, 2003; Jones & Massa, 2013), and enabling deviance from a dominant logic (Lepourte & Valente, 2012). Thus, institutional scholars have started to examine either how actors stabilize, maintain, or change institutions (e.g., Lawrence, Suddaby, & Leca, 2009), or how actors use material forms to influence stability and change (Jones et al., 2012; Jones & Massa, 2013), but less often how people and material forms interact to (de)institutionalize the meanings of places.

Next, we describe our methods for revealing the microfoundations of place and how material forms—the situated churches—enabled (or not) the relative permanence of the meaning of Boston's North End neighborhood.

METHODS

Our empirical case is the North End neighborhood of the City of Boston from its founding in 1630 to 1980. We focused on data sources that captured the key elements of location (e.g., North End as a peninsula in Boston), meaning (e.g., emotional attachment to buildings and/or shared understandings and memories of groups), and material forms (e.g., people and buildings), that are highlighted by Gieryn (2000) and Cresswell (2004).

Data Sources

Our first data sources were histories of Boston (e.g., Allison, 2004; Handlin, 1941/1991; Jacobs, 1961/1992; Whitehill & Kennedy, 1959/2000) and the North End (e.g., Goldfeld, 2009; Todisco, 1976). These histories are also a material form that leaves a trail of meaning that can be traced over time.

Our second data source was census reports, which traced changes in people in the North End over time. For the earliest reports of people, or embodied materiality, we drew on historians' records of Boston because census data specific to the North End were not available. Historians emphasized English religious immigrants from 1630-1790s, who were primarily Puritans, Congregationalists, or Baptists, and that Boston's population doubled between 1790 and 1820 (Gibson & Jung, 2005). The earliest year in which we could obtain data at the neighborhood level was 1820 for racial composition and 1850 for ethnic composition compiled by the U.S. federal government, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, or the City of Boston. Whereas the location, or boundaries of the North End as a neighborhood, was defined by key geographical markers and thus remained relatively constant over time (e.g., Charles River, Atlantic Ocean, major streets established early in its history), the census units changed. We consulted documents on and historical maps of wards or census tracts for each census year to select those that best aligned with the physical boundaries of the North End neighborhood (See Appendix A for sources used). These census data from 1820 onward revealed three distinct immigrant waves for the North End: Irish 1850-1890, Eastern European 1890-1910, and Italians 1890-1970s. Our third data source was the North End neighborhood report in 1976, oral history and interpretation of the North End by its citizens, which focused on the meaning and changes in meaning and people over time. In 1976, Boston celebrated the 200th anniversary of the United States and each neighborhood published its own report that focused on "significant events or places, famous native sons, the impact of topographical changes, immigration, and unique architecture", which included oral histories and memories of current and sometimes former residents (Boston 200 Corporation, 1976). The North End neighborhood report oral history was comprised of 11 oral history interviews: one Irish American, one Eastern European Jewish American, and nine Italian Americans.

Our fourth data source focused on landmark buildings, including applications with National Historic Landmark (NHL), National Register of Historic Places (NRHP), and Boston Landmark Commission from 1961 through 1980. Many of these are available from the Massachusetts Historical Commission (MHC) in the Massachusetts Cultural Resource Information System (MACRIS). We also utilized church annual reports, building permits, and Boston Globe articles about churches (See Appendix B for sources used).

Analytic Approach

We went through recursive cycling among the cases, emerging theory, and extant literature to identify how people and religious buildings interacted to generate meaning and engage in actions that constitute the microfoundations of place. Our first step was to identify temporal sequences to reveal processes (Langley, 1999). We attended to which groups of immigrants had lived in the North End and summarized historians' key events and insights. The second step involved coding the data of historical accounts— historical books, church records, and the Boston 200 report—to uncover the role that material forms played in shaping the meaning of the North End as a place over time. Following Miles and Huberman (1994), we tracked which materials forms were mentioned and the role they played. We identified two primary material forms, namely (1) embodied materiality in people which were different immigrant groups and (2) religious buildings that served as their centers for social relations. We engaged in more in-depth analysis of the interaction between people and their buildings to gain greater insight into how the microfoundations of place that occurred in the churches influenced the meaning and history of place as the North End.

The third step involved an analysis of specific church buildings, their key actors, and actions over time. We examined multiple buildings and selected church buildings that were "polar types" (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007), differing in which groups of immigrants they served, whether they were stable or changed in the people that they served, and whether they were preserved (e.g., had gained landmark status) or were demolished by 1980. The four buildings selected for a more detailed analysis were: (1) Christ Church, known colloquially as "Old North Church" served English Colonial immigrants

(Episcopalian but formerly Church of England) and gained landmark status; (2) St. Mary's Church built by and served Irish Catholics and was later demolished; (3) St. Stephen's Church served Congregationalist and Unitarian denominations from England, next Irish Catholics and then Italian Catholics and gained landmark status; and (4) Baldwin Place Synagogue, which was originally built as a Baptist church, but later served the largest number of Eastern European Jews in the North End and also demolished.

THE NORTH END:
MATERIAL FORMS AND THE MEANING OF PLACE

Place is the combination and interplay among geographic location, meanings, and material forms (Cresswell, 2004; Gieryn, 2000). Historians highlighted the importance of the North End's location as a peninsula, which means it is "waterlocked" between the Charles River to the north and Boston Harbor to the east. It is also landlocked by neighboring villages of West End, South End, and Beacon Hill. The waterfront, Charles River, and major and intersecting streets demarcated (and still do) the boundaries of the North End, defining it as a distinctive place and its own neighborhood within Boston (Goldfeld, 2009).

The two key material forms of the North End—people and buildings—have been particularly important in the processes of institutionalizing the meaning and material forms of the North End as a distinctive place. As waves of immigrants poured into the North End, the population density of the North End grew to the highest in the United States (Jacobs, 1961/1992) because most immigrants could neither afford to move to higher rent districts such as Beacon Hill nor could they afford to pay the fees for ferries or bridge tolls to commute to work (Handlin, 1941/1991). Some claim Boston rivaled Kolkata (also known as Calcutta) (Boston 200 Corporation, 1976; Todisco, 1976). The combination of stable boundaries and dynamic flow of people created the conditions for a vibrant community: small and dynamic due to multi-use (Jacobs, 1961/1992). The increased number of people in the same location meant that the buildings of the North End were altered, demolished, or erected.

Macro Institutional Dynamics of the North End: Changing Immigrants and Meaning

People embody and carry cultural institutions with them (Scott, 1995, 2003; Zilber, 2002). Immigrants carried their institutional practices and cultural understandings to their new home in the North End. The English settled in the North End from 1630 through the 1790s. The temporal phases revealed by the census data for immigration in the North End are shown in Figures 1 and 2. The Irish dominated from 1850 to 1890, followed by a significant number of Eastern Europeans (primarily Jewish) from 1890 to 1910, and finally Italian immigrants, who dominated the neighborhood from 1890 through the 1970s. Figure 2 illuminates the mobility of the North End: more than 90% of the residents of the North End were immigrants between 1890 and 1905. This constant flux of people meant that the materials and meaning of the North End as a place fluctuated as distinct groups inscribed their histories and cultures into practices and buildings. By 1910, the Italian immigrants expanded to 60% of the North End's population and remained in place during 1930 to 1950s, when native-born outpaced immigrants. In the 1960s and 1970s, Italians immigrated to join Italian descendants in the North End, reinforcing its meaning as an Italian neighborhood.

[Take in Figure 1 about here]

[Take in Figure 2 about here]

The changes in people and material forms of the North End are captured in Table 1, which triangulates our three archival sources. The first column shows key events and insights from historians' studies written between the 1940s and 2000s; the second column landmarked churches between 1961 and 1976 that were preserved to carry and perform meanings of the respective immigrant groups; the third column shows excerpts from the Boston 200 report of 1976, which focused on oral histories and the memories of North Enders. This report illuminated the movement of different groups in and out of the neighborhood and the central role that churches played in the neighborhood.

[Take in Table 1 about here]

The first and perhaps the most enduring story of the North End is that of Colonials—English immigrants who arrived in the 1630s. In carrying 17th century English institutions and practices to America, they enacted the centrality of the church in both religious and political life. From 1630 until

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1688, only certified members of the church could vote on political matters and "church requirements were so difficult that only 10% were full members … [who] owned most of the property, held public offices and made most of the decisions in the public sphere" (Goldfeld, 2009, p. 21). Although the English immigrants moved out of the North End by the 1790s, they left material forms, such as Christ Church (Old North Church), Paul Revere's house, and Copp's Hill Burying Ground. We examine Christ Church below to gain insight into the microfoundations by which Christ Church (Old North) encodes and performs as a durable marker of Colonial ties to the British and to the American Revolution.

The Irish were the next wave of immigrants that poured into the North End. They arrived sometime after 1824 (Todisco, 1976) and in significant numbers after the Irish potato famine in 1846. As poor Irish immigrants flooded the waterlocked geographic location, the available living space became smaller. Tenements arose. The large wooden houses constructed by the Colonials were split up into multi-housing units where each family was crammed into one to three rooms, most often with no bathrooms or washrooms; thus, public bathhouses became an important fixture of the North End neighborhood and part of the public schools (Goldfeld, 2009). During this time, the Irish in the North End erected both its first red light district and its first church, St. Mary's in 1835, and later St. Stephen's was adapted to serve Irish Catholics (1863-1967). Catholic churches were not only places to worship but hubs of social activity. After 1890, the Irish moved out of the North End as the Eastern Europeans Jewish and the Italians moved in. Below, we examine the microfoundations that led to St. Mary's eventually being demolished in 1977 and St. Stephen's still standing to this day, and their implications for the meaning of the North End.

The Eastern European Jewish community settled into the North End from the 1870s. They adapted the North End's existing buildings to form all the necessary elements of a religious community—*chevras* (societies or associations), *sochet* (kosher butchers), shops, and synagogues (Goldfeld, 2009, p. 144). Only one synagogue was newly constructed, the Shari Jerusalem synagogue in 1903, which looked like other buildings in the neighborhood. By the 1920s, the Eastern European Jewish population had pretty much departed the North End with only 12 families left, as Table 1 oral history shows. Their material forms, such as synagogues, dwellings, or monuments that had been adapted from earlier

inhabitants were adapted by those who followed or demolished as in the case of Baldwin Place Synagogue, which was the largest synagogue in the North End. In the section below, we detail below the microfoundations of Baldwin Place Synagogue, which no longer stands today to remind residents and visitors to the North End of its Jewish history and heritage.

Italian immigrants have been the most continuous and dominant presence in the North End over time, from 1880 to 1970. Initially, only certain areas and streets were known as "Little Italy," such as around North Square in 1890. As the influx of Italian immigrants continued, they made up 60% of the North End's population by 1910 (see Figure 1). These Italian immigrants carried and performed (and still do) their traditions such as the Saints' festivals, which center around the Catholic church. Initially, the Saints' festivals bound Italians from distinct regions together in specific churches. As Italian immigrants continued to come to the North End, the festivals spilled out of the churches and into the streets and "Little Italy" became the entire North End (see Table 1). Not only did Italians have high rates of immigration, but they also settled into the North End: the percent of native-born continued to rise from 1920 through 1950 (see Figure 2). Italian immigrants and their descendants used their embodied materiality to create shared experiences and memories that knit together immigrants from distinct areas of Italy, creating and reinforcing the meaning of the North End as Italian.

Next, we focus on the microfoundations of four churches, which carried and performed the locally situated meaning of place for distinct immigrant groups and shaped the meaning of the North End as a neighborhood place.

Microfoundations of Place: North End Religious Buildings

Key material forms, such as churches, served as centers for social interaction and elaborated the meaning of the North End as a place. We compared four churches to illuminate microfoundations: Christ Church (Old North), St. Mary's, St. Stephen's, and Baldwin Place Synagogue—a Jewish synagogue converted from a Christian church. The churches capture the major periods and immigrant groups of the North End. Of the four churches, two were preserved (Christ Church and St. Stephen's), institutionalizing—making relatively permanent—the meanings of specific people in the North End whereas two were demolished

(St. Mary's and Baldwin Place Synagogue), de-institutionalizing their meanings by replacing their churches with other buildings and erasing their history from the memory of the North End.

   Christ Church. Christ Church (known as Old North Church) incorporated multivocal meanings over time, making the material form resonant for distinct groups who used and appreciated the church. This multivocal meaning was enacted by the church's first Rector, Timothy Cutler, who, also as President of Yale, renounced Congregationalism, converted to the Church of England, and went to London to be confirmed (Babcock, 1947). He was fired by Yale, which was founded by Congregationalists because his actions were seen as a betrayal to those who had fled England for religious freedom. Christ Church held only religious services, in contrast to the first meeting houses, which held both civic (town meetings) and religious services. Whereas the early meeting houses, such as Old North Meeting House, were designed as the "antithesis" to Anglican churches (Goldfeld, 2009) and espoused religious and political dissent, Christ Church, or Old North Church, had England imprinted into its building. As the Landmark petition noted: it expressed "the fully developed character of Christopher Wren's London church." Thus, it is somewhat ironic and surprising that the Old North's steeple became the vehicle for hanging lanterns to warn American rebels of British troop movement and incite the American Revolution. Both British Tories (supporters of England) and American revolutionaries sat cheek by jowl in the church. For its 'sins,' Christ Church was shut down for three years by the British, but not demolished.

   In the 19th and 20th centuries, rectors of Old North systematically enacted multivocality; the church's meaning included an Episcopal church that originated from and was tied to England and a cornerstone of the American Revolution. They preached about Old North's role in the American Revolution starting in 1823. In 1893, the sexton (Downer, 1893) wrote a guidebook that showcased key artifacts of both the British Crown (e.g., King George's gifts of communion set and the "Vinegar" Bible—a typographical error that spelled the parable of the vineyards as vinegar) and American revolutionaries (e.g., a bust of George Washington and bells by Paul Revere). Their efforts were rewarded. The City of Boston in 1867 sought to place a plaque on the church for the hanging the lanterns and the ride of Paul Revere. The church as a carrier of meaning about the American Revolution was

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contested by other Bostonians and churches, which claimed that Old North referred to the meeting house, not the church. The dispute was finally settled in 1878 by an independent commission. In the 20th century, church leaders reinforced the church as a multivocal carrier of meaning but appeared to have altered their priority: American Revolution first, church second, British origin third. In 1927, they started rituals, such as the Lantern Ceremony, which continues to this day. On Patriot's Day, the descendants of Paul Revere and Robert Newman (the sexton who hung the original lanterns) re-enact the event by lighting and hanging lanterns from the church tower. In the 1930s, they also altered the area around Old North to remove tenements and install Paul Revere Mall. With declining membership, they became a mission church in the 1930s. By 1945, they shifted to a "special vocation as a national landmark." In 1961 and 1966, Old North applied for and was granted landmark status by the State and Federal governments, protecting its material form and enshrining its role as carrying and performing the meaning of the American Revolution. In 1973, on its 250th anniversary, the Rector and church leaders held capital campaign and events, heralded with the motto "250 Years of Freedom, 250 Years of God," highlighting the church's role in the American Revolution before its religious purpose. In the 1976 oral histories (Table 1), Christ Church acted as a mnemonic cue for performing, such as retelling stories about and reenacting the hanging of the lanterns of the Colonial people in the North End during the American Revolution. The church carries and performs multivocal meaning: as an Episcopal Church, as part of the British Crown and Church of England historically, and also one of the key birthplaces of the American Revolution. By doing so, the church institutionalizes multivocality across generations within the North End to Boston's residents and to tourists.

St. Mary's. St. Mary's restricted its meaning as Irish Catholic throughout its history despite the changing environment. It was the first Catholic church erected in the North End in 1836 "largely in response to the influx of Irish immigrants generated by the declining agricultural conditions in Ireland" (Boston Landmarks Commission, 1976, p. 4). In 1847, the Society of Jesus (more commonly known as the Jesuits) took possession of St. Mary's Parish. Services were a catalyst for Irish to gather and enact the meaning of the North End as Irish. St. Mary's protected the Irish Catholics from discrimination by the

Protestants as illustrated by the famous Eliot School rebellion in 1859. A ten-year-old boy, a member of St. Mary's church, was punished at the public Eliot School for refusing to recite the Ten Commandments as written in the Protestant King James Bible. In response, St. Mary's established a boys' parochial school. The church grew and a new church was built and dedicated in 1877. However, as mentioned earlier, by the 1890s, the North End soon experienced a rapid change in demographics, with the Irish population moving out of the neighborhood and the Italians moving in. The church faced low attendance, dropping from 15,000~20,000 parishioners at its peak to about 250 members by the 1920s. Despite the Irish and the Italians sharing the same Catholic faith, St. Mary's "struggl[ed] to assimilate into the larger life of the Church in our land the newer groups that are now settled all about it" [*sic*] (St. Mary's Parish, 1922, no page numbers). The Italians built their own churches rather than share the existing church focused on Irish Catholics.

St. Mary's continued its life as a mission church rather than serving its immediate neighborhood. In history books written to celebrate the 50th, 75th, and 100th anniversaries (i.e., 1897, 1922, and 1947) of the coming of the Jesuits, St. Mary's highlighted the church's past of serving the neighborhood that had once been dominantly Irish. The church called itself "Old" St. Mary's and continued to host reunions such as "Dearos," or Dear Old North End, that occasionally brought back former Irish residents to the neighborhood. The church leaders attempted to preserve the church as Catholic but did so by looking inward; they installed a replica of Lourdes Grotto, stain glass windows, shrines, and renovated the sanctuary. However, in its exterior or public face to the community, it disengaged. After the two church towers were damaged by a hurricane in 1938, "which were for many years a conspicuous landmark from down the harbor" and "rear[ed] its mighty towers above the surrounding homes" (St. Mary's Parish, 1947, p. 16, 21), the church failed to restore them. They were removed in 1946. In 1975, the church announced its plans to close due to financial conditions. Despite some efforts to save their church, St. Mary's Church failed to gain social recognition as preservation-worthy and was denied Boston Landmark status in 1976. St. Mary's had not embedded itself in and become "identified with the Italian North End" (Boston Landmarks Commission, 1976, p. 4). The church was demolished in 1977 and replaced with an apartment

building which included a St. Mary's Chapel. In 1992, what remained of St. Mary's parish members were merged with the nearby St. Leonard's parish. The chapel was later cut in half and then ultimately closed in 2010. St. Mary's as a mnemonic cue performed a restricted meaning of Irish Catholic in the North End. After its demolition, the stories and histories of the Irish people in the North End also disappeared. The North End is primarily known as an Italian neighborhood with English colonials' playing a critical but historical role in the American Revolution.

St. Stephen's (previously New North Church). St. Stephen's was continuously appropriated by different religious groups due to the changing environment, which layered distinct, multiple—thus potentially multivocal—meanings onto the church. St. Stephen's was originally the New North Church built by Puritans. Congregationalists appropriated the church in 1742 and by 1775 became the largest Congregationalist church in Boston at the time. In 1804, the congregation built a new church, the current brick building designed by Charles Bulfinch, the first native-born American professional architect. However, by 1813, with the explosive growth of Unitarianism, Unitarians appropriated the building and stayed until 1863. The church's environment changed with Irish immigrants in the mid-1800s. Despite numerous efforts by Unitarians to grow the church including a Sunday school program, they finally detached, moved out, and the Unitarian church failed. In 1863, the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Boston purchased and appropriated the building to serve the increasing Irish Catholic population, along with St. Mary's, in the North End. In 1870, the church was expanded: the main auditorium ran out of space, which was literally "scooped out" and the building raised 6½ feet to add space by inserting another level. After Italians became a more dominant ethnic group and following World War II, the parish no longer needed the lower church as a place of worship.

With its renovation in 1964, under the leadership of Cardinal Cushing of the Massachusetts Catholic Diocese, St. Stephen's was fixed with a multivocal meaning—a British Georgian style Protestant church that served first the Irish and then the Italian Catholics. Indeed, everything that was "not Bulfinch" was taken out, as noted by Reverend Francis P. Sullivan, or adapted with compromises such as lowering the Protestant high back, family pews that violated Catholic practices (Denvirs, 1965, p.4). The building

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was restored back to its original Congregational form of 1804 as a Protestant church in the Federalist, or Georgian derived, style after King George, who lost the American Colonies; he was also monarch for both Great Britain and Ireland. This restoration was not only physically challenging, such as lowering the building "an inch at a time to the ground-level dictated by … Bulfinch" (Denvir, 1965, p. 12), but was also fiscally challenging, costing $800,000 and taking 15 months. During this time, the 1,600 parishioners, who were entirely Italians (Denvir, 1965), attended Sunday Mass at the former Catherine Moor Settlement house (Driscoll, 1964). Instead of overwriting the Protestant history of St. Stephen's despite the historical strife between Protestants and Catholics, Cardinal Cushing as a Catholic embraced its Protestant heritage and sought to reconcile Protestants and Catholic strife in restoring St. Stephen's. Cardinal Cushing stated, "standing on hallowed ground through 2 ½ centuries of Protestant and Catholic alike, St. Stephens is the perfect example of ecumenism" (Denvir, 1965, p. 8). This act of reconciliation was aimed at Boston's large Irish community rather than the church's current Italian members. Boston's Irish Catholics were familiar with the "troubles" in Ireland from the 1920s until the 1998 Good Friday agreement, where Catholic Ireland wanted to be one country and the Protestant Northern Ireland wanted to remain in the United Kingdom. Cardinal Cushing articulated the church's multivocal meaning as "a unique monument to Bulfinch and a shrine of Boston's earliest Protestant religious fervor, but also, for Catholics particularly, a glorious link between us and our ancestors in the faith" (Ryan, 1966, p. 12). With this restoration, Cardinal Cushing symbolically reconciled competing tensions between Protestant and Catholic, British and Irish in one church, creating multivocality of meaning for the building. Cardinal Cushing's actions were recognized in 1970 when the Boston Society of Architects with its Historic Preservation Award. In 1975, the building was listed into the National Registry of Historic Places (NRHP) preserving its material form and its role as a carrier of Protestant and Catholic history and meaning.

   Baldwin Place Synagogue (previously Baldwin Place Baptist Church and Baldwin Place Home for Little Wanderers). The building of Baldwin Place Synagogue was repurposed by different groups as the environment changed, but without the layering of or integrating past meanings into multivocality. It

was built in 1811 by the Second Baptist Church to accommodate its increasing members and changed its name in 1839 to Baldwin Place Baptist Church. Members of Baldwin Baptist focused internally, writing histories of their church in 1843 and 1854. By 1865, however, due to changing demographics of the North End, its members left, built a new meeting house in the South End neighborhood and sold the building on Baldwin Place. The next occupant of the building was Baldwin Place Home for Little Wanderers, a non-denominational orphanage. The annual report described how the building was vastly renovated to include over sixty rooms. The Home stayed in the building for 24 years and then moved out to a newly built home in the Jamaica Plain neighborhood. In 1889, Orthodox Jewish Congregation Beth Israel, which had seceded from Shomre Beth Abraham a year earlier, moved into the building and renovated the building once again, this time as a synagogue. Baldwin Place Synagogue quickly became the largest synagogue in the North End and was considered "the headquarters of orthodox Judaism in Boston" (Gamm, 2005, p. 143). The synagogue served not only as a place of worship, but also as a social hub: "[a]ll manner of social events took place in the shul [Baldwin Place Synagogue] including public lectures, Zionist forums, lodge meetings, technical school classes, American and Jewish holiday celebrations, and even a Hebrew School for girls" (Kaufman, 2005, p. 187). However, in the early 1900s, as the Italian population surged in the North End, the Jewish moved to other Boston neighborhoods, including the West End, Dorchester, Roxbury, and Mattapan neighborhoods and built new synagogues that "reflect[ed] … the affluence that had started to come their way" (Kaufman, 2005, p. 195). The Congregation disbanded in 1920. The City of Boston acquired the property in 1922 with original plans to build a playground but instead demolished the building and erected a health unit in 1923. The only material form left of the past Jewish presence is the sign "Jerusalem Place" in the alley next to Baldwin Place. It is too small to act as a mnemonic cue; it neither carries what was once "the great centre of the Jewish population of Boston" (Gamm, 2005, p. 143) nor does it perform—elicits stories about the histories and lives of the Jewish people of the North End. The only material forms that encode the Jewish presence, history, and meaning are not in the North End, but rather specialized history books and websites, rendering the Jewish presence and history in the North

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End more abstract and less likely to be known and experienced by those who live in and visit the North End.

In summary, the in-depth analysis of the four churches illuminated the microfoundations of institutions that enabled or derailed these places to be institutionalized into the meaning and landscape of the North End. Two churches—Christ Church and St. Stephen's—were preserved due to the agency and emotional attachment of leaders and members to their church. Although they had different material practices, each church communicated multivocality — offered distinct meanings that resonated with a wider audience, gained formal social recognition, and drew additional resources—that enabled members to preserve their churches' material forms, and encode key events, memories, and histories. Thus, the church continued to perform as a mnemonic cue to members and the wider society. In contrast, both St. Mary's and Baldwin Place Synagogue had restricted meanings: St. Mary's as strictly Irish Catholic and Baldwin Place Synagogue as written and overwritten by each group that used the building. These restricted meanings rendered the churches vulnerable to larger institutional changes as their leaders and members detached from the church, either disbanding or reconstituting their community elsewhere. Since the buildings were demolished, they could neither carry mnemonic cues for meanings, identities, and memories of the Irish, Jewish, Baptists, and orphanage as part of the North End nor perform to elicit the stories and rituals of these people's histories. They have literally been rendered mute and their presence erased in the North End's collective memory.

An important insight from our comparison of buildings is that at present no church or other types of buildings have been preserved to encode the Italian immigrant experience in the North End, despite it being as characterized as the "Italian Neighborhood" of Boston in the 1976 North End report for the Bicentennial, Boston Globe 1967 series on neighborhoods, or even in contemporary websites. Italian immigrants and their descendants in the North End are attempting to save Sacred Heart and St. Leonard churches as carriers of meaning for the Italian community. These churches still perform—that is they are still active and practicing churches where Sunday worship and the festivals of the Saints continue. It is an

open question if the churches will be preserved and carry meaning or be demolished and the Italian

experience succumb to the vagaries of memory as the demographics of the North End change.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Our inductive, longitudinal study sought to illuminate how microfoundations and material forms shaped

the meaning-making process of place. Our empirical site enabled us to explore the microfoundations and

interactions of material forms—people and churches—in either institutionalizing or de-institutionalizing

places over an extended time period. A key finding revealed that place is nested. Thus, locally situated

churches were buffeted by global immigration patterns and their response also shaped which groups and

meanings become institutionalized within the North End as a neighborhood. We also reveal that place is

historically situated and this may influence whether places are malleable or durable. We provide a process

model that summarizes and visualizes our findings (see Figure 3).

[Take in Figure 3 about here]

The microfoundations start with peoples' choices of whether to attach to the material form, in our

case buildings, or detach when faced with pressures from wider institutional environment, which involved

changes in demographics due to the distinct waves of immigration in the North End. These choices led to

four distinct material practices: protect, maintain, appropriate, or repurpose the building. When people

attached to their buildings as places, they sought to protect or maintain the building whereas when people

detached, the buildings were either appropriated or repurposed by others. The material practices shaped

the meaning of both the buildings and the North End as places in important ways. With protecting, the

church members sought to address changes that threatened the church by associating the church with

meanings, events, and histories that had wider resonance, such as the American Revolution while

enacting their more localized meaning as a church. With maintaining, church members sought to blunt the

force of change by turning inward and focusing on their specific ethnic meaning and identity—Irish

Catholic in the case of St. Mary's—rather than reaching out to Italian Catholics, despite their shared

religion. With appropriating, the church and its members had many distinct layers of meaning and did not

gain a wider resonance until Cardinal Cushing sought to fix the church's meaning on a vital historical and

social issue: reconciling the conflict between Protestants/English and Irish/Catholics through

multivocality where the church encompassed these multiple, often discordant, meanings. The message

was especially resonant at the time for Boston's large Irish Catholic population given the conflict

occurring in Ireland. With repurposing, the church building had many distinct meanings that were

layered, as it went through significant renovations from a Baptist church to an orphanage to a Jewish

synagogue. The diversity of meanings likely hindered the ability to reconcile them into multivocal

meaning that resonated with wider audiences beyond the current group and its members.

These material practices generated wide or limited resonance, which influenced which buildings

and their communities could preserve their meaning. Multivocal buildings integrated competing meanings

and tensions within one building so it could speak to multiple audiences whereas restricted or layered

meaning had resonance with a specific group that made it vulnerable to the changing institutional

environment. Because places are nested, buildings within neighborhoods, neighborhoods within a city,

and cities within a country, the preserved and stable meanings reverberated upward to shape the meaning

of the North End as a place where the American Revolution began and home to Italian Catholic

immigrants, but also downward as the state and professions deemed what meanings were worthy and

granted preservation status to fix those meanings into material form that could carry and perform those

meanings across different people and time.

Our findings contribute to and highlight the crucial role that materiality plays in institutional

processes. Zilber's (2002) study showed that when embodied materiality—people—changed, then the

meanings of the rape crisis center as a place and institution changed from feminist to therapeutic. Our

study offers further insight into Zilber's study—the rape crisis center had few stable material forms,

whether building location or historical records—that likely exacerbated the change in people and thus

amplified a change in meaning. Zilber's (2017) more recent focus on the role of materiality is a welcomed

extension of her insightful research. Material forms may act as a countervailing force to the change in

people and may help to offset the drift in meaning, as seen in our examples of Christ Church and St.

Stephen's. We believe that the foundations of institutional theory offer insight as to why and how material

forms enable meanings to endure despite changes in people or the environment. Berger and Luckmann (1967, p. 51) argue that "material artifacts … are objectivations in the sense of being objectively available beyond the expression of subjective intentions 'here and now'." These material forms help establish exteriority and objectivity in meanings that may dampen the flux of people. Our study reveals that material forms, such as the building and other material artifacts, can capture key histories and proffer a multivocal meaning that persists over time and enables the organization to withstand the significant changes in the environment and even its own population. Our findings resonate with Carlile's (2015) insight that too much focus on processes and dynamics may limit our ability to see how "materiality gives us the means to see durability not just dynamics" (p. S22). The focus on materiality does not exclude us from paying attention to the temporal aspects because materiality involves layering that enables agency; social actors choose which meanings and practices are reclaimed and built upon to offer stability in the midst of change. The core insight for institutional theory is that material forms and multiple material forms likely interact to engender meanings and actions that are objective and exterior, surviving beyond the here and now to become stable, durable, and recognizable over time, which is especially important in dynamic environments where people and technologies change at a rapid pace.

Our study also speaks to the existing research on place in meaningful ways. The meaning of the North End is nested within the wider institutional environment shaping and being shaped by it, as shown in Figure 3. The North End neighborhood was the site of significant immigration, where churches offered sites of meaning, identity, and social interaction and where the microfoundations were located. This nested view of place offers a significant point of departure from Lawrence and Dover (2015), who employ a flat ontology of place, which can be a teacup, couch, apartment, church, or Vancouver. A flat ontology can obscure the interactions between people and material forms and how these percolated up to institutionalize place, such as by church member to preserve memories and histories, which shaped the meaning in the larger institutional environment. It also obscures the multiple levels involved in institutionalizing place, which included not only upward activities but also downward when the state and professions formally recognized and sanctioned specific meanings of the North End as a place. Some

immigrant groups' histories and memories were incorporated into its meaning whereas others were forgotten. Our study did not reveal distinct ontologies of place, such as container versus signifier. The church was both a setting where social interactions occurred, but also a signifier of meaning such as the American Revolution, or reconciliation of religious conflict. When they were tightly coupled, the place endured; when they were decoupled, the meaning of the place was literally replaced. In Lawrence and Dover, it may be that these ontologies are also entangled, as when a church offers homeless shelter to signify their belief in Christ's message of social justice by serving the poor, or the nurse at an injection site has not only a practical function to reduce contamination, but also communicates care to the addict. Future research offers the potential to understand when and whether places enact distinct ontologies or whether they are coupled and assembled relationally to shape what meanings a place has and how robust this meaning is over time.

Our study revealed that immigration waves generated distinct temporal dynamics for the North End with changes in material forms and meanings. Thus, it speaks to the nascent but important research on how temporality shapes institutional change processes. Granqvist and Gustafsson (2016) showcase actors' practices, such as entrain, construct urgency, or enact momentum, that shaped how institutional change unfolded. The clearest similarity to our study is entrainment—top-down actions that synchronize institutional projects. Cardinal Cushing brought top-down urgency and resources that used the renovation of a local church, St. Stephen's, to speak to larger symbolic, political and material concerns: the conflict between Protestants and Catholics in Ireland that was salient to Boston's large Irish population and resonated with St. Stephen's past as an Irish parish. A very different form of entrainment was revealed in our study that had neither urgency nor momentum: glacial institutional change that would be missed with a study of two to ten years. The Rectors of Christ Church associated the church to the American Revolution repeatedly over time (e.g., 1823, 1873, 1893, 1913, 1927, 1945, 1960) during high rates of immigration to the North End. Christ church slowly adapted the church to its changing environment. It took 100 years for new rituals, such as the Lantern ceremony (1927 onwards), and the shift to a special vocation as a historical site (1945 onwards). A third contrast illuminates the tension between taken-for-

grantedness and the ability to perceive and construct urgency. When a group was ascendant, it built materially, engaged in everyday practices and took for granted that their shared history, practices and material forms would survive over time. Only when a group was in the throes of demise did it construct urgency, which was often too late and the window of opportunity has closed. They sought to preserve materially their meaning and experiences, sometimes in landmark status of the building (St. Mary's to signify the Irish presence in the North End) and other times in a small sign (Jerusalem Place to commemorate Jewish presence in the North End). The irreversibility was clear. The groups failed and their meaning and history to the North End are effectively lost. The important and critical question for the Italians of the North End, who dominate but have no socially recognized material forms, such as landmarked churches, is whether they may also disappear from the North End's meaning as a place over time, which is likely unimaginable given their dominance. These contrasts suggest future research on temporality and institutional change. One is whether change accretes and remains largely invisible, such as Christ Church, and how that alters social actors' practices and strategies. A second is what cues from the environment enable a group to perceive and act on the temporal change to a sense of urgency before it is too late?

Our study contributes to the literature on place. We illuminate the conditions when a place is stable versus malleable, which speaks to the competing assumptions of place scholars. Gieryn (2000, p. 465), for example, claims that the "meaning of the same place is labile—flexible in the hands of different people or cultures, malleable over time' whereas Cresswell (2004, p. 86) focuses on the "stabilizing persistence of place." We found locally situated places of church as both malleable and stable. When buildings as places are layered and have restricted meanings to a specific group, then meaning is malleable as detachment is more likely to occur where one group's meaning and identity replaces another. When buildings as places are multivocal, engaging multiple meanings simultaneously, then the place can offer a stable yet flexible meaning that incorporates key histories of diverse peoples. This multivocality for a building enabled resonance with different audiences and enhanced the ability of the church as a place to gain preservation status, granted by the wider institutional environment. By preserving the

material form, this stabilizes meaning and enables the material form to act as a mnemonic cue that carries meaning, but that may also perform meaning by using the material form for practices, such as rituals and activities. Our findings reveal that place is malleable or stable only under certain conditions. Future research is needed to examine the limits of multivocality of material artifacts: how many meanings can be reconciled without causing confusion and engendering flux in the meaning of place, and thus impeding relative stability. There may also be key temporal inflection points when meanings are more likely to be stabilized or destabilized. Both historical and temporal processes are important for understanding the dynamics of place and offers rich opportunities for future research.

APPENDIX A

Census and Map Sources

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APPENDIX B

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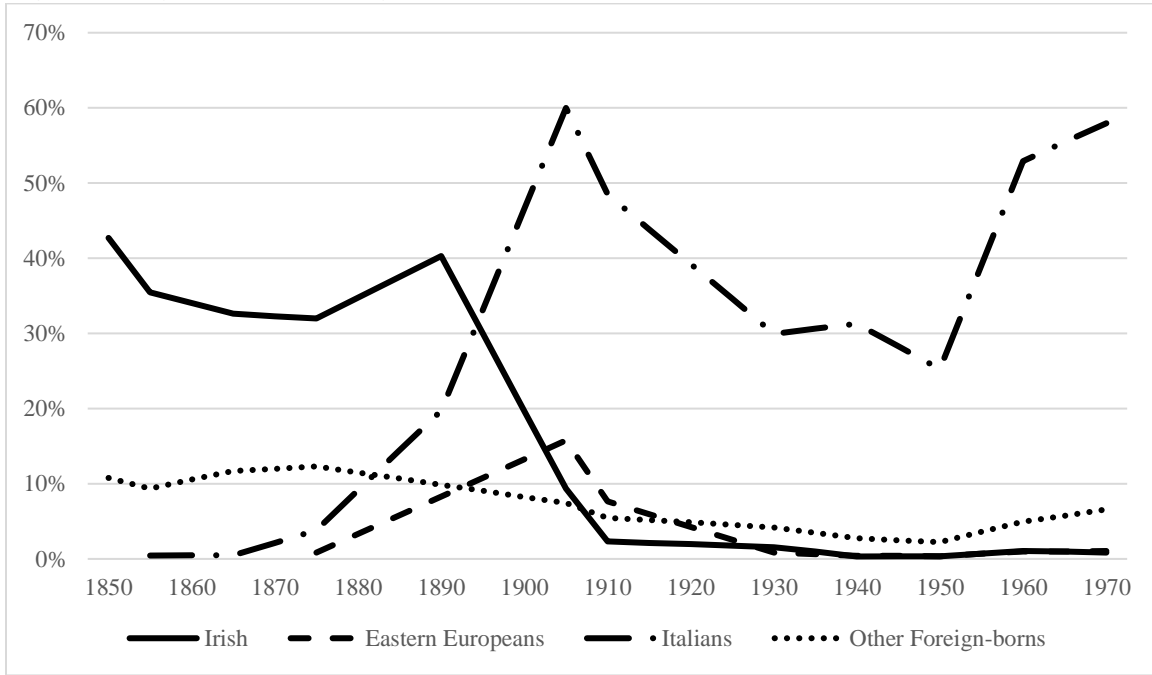**Fig. 1. Foreign-born Percentage in the North End by Nativity**

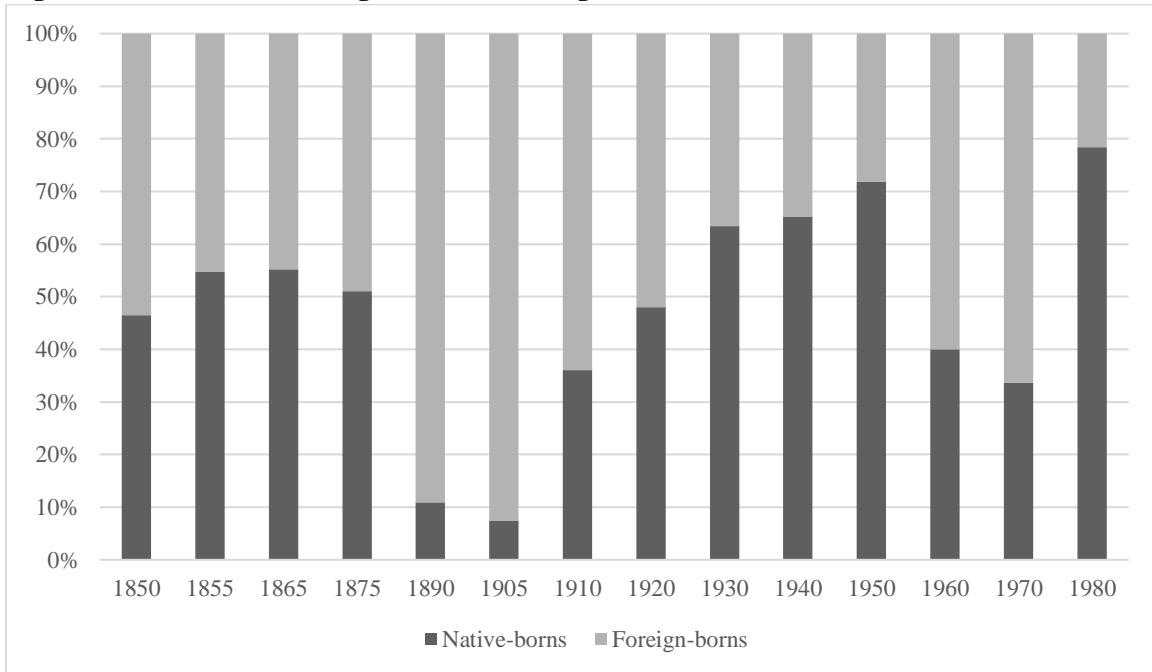**Fig. 2. Native-born vs. Foreign-born Percentage in the North End**

Fig. 3. Microfoundations and Institutionalization of North End as a Place
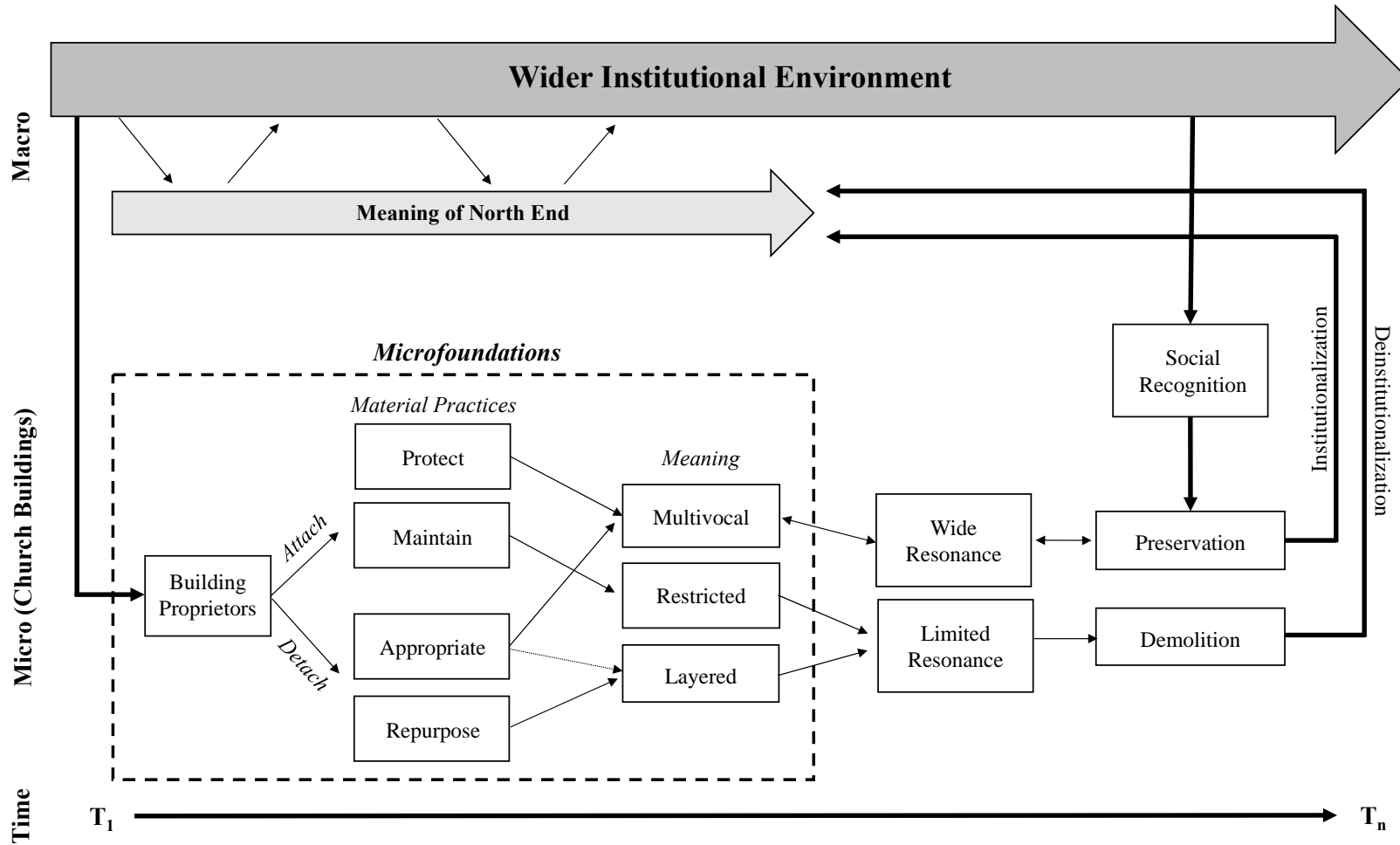
Table 1. North End Temporal Sequences from Data Triangulation

Time Span and People	Historians' Key Events and Insights	Landmarked churches (built, name, recognition date)	Memories (Excerpts from Oral History)

1630-1790s **English Puritans and minority African Americans**	• 1650 Erected Old North Meeting House; area around it called North Square
	• 1723 Erected Christ Church (Old North Church)
	• 1775 Paul Revere arranges Robert Newman & John Pulling to hang two lanterns on Old North Church to warn of British movement to Lexington and Concord. Start of American Revolutionary War.
	• 1800s English moved to Beacon Hill
		• **1723 Old North Church** (Christ Church) (1961 NHL; 1966 NRHP)
		  o Church of England (Episcopalian after American Revolution)
		  o "First building in English colonies with fully developed character of Christopher Wren's London church."
		  o Lanterns hung from bell tower
		• **1804 St. Stephen's Church** (1975 NRHP)
		  o Congregational; then Unitarian (1813); then Catholic (1862)
		  o Last remaining church in Boston designed by Charles Bulfinch
			• "Isn't that something to be proud of?" demands Albert Mostone, sexton of the Old North Church. To say, 'Look, these people had nothing in colonial days, and yet look what they built,' Here's a church been standing here weathering for 251 years."
			• "We had a good opportunity to make an extra quarter, half a buck a day reciting the history of the [Old North] church to tourists."

1824-1890s **Irish Catholics**	• 1824 Irish start to arrive
	• 1836 Erected St. Mary's—First Catholic church
	• 1840 "The Black Sea" red-light district in North End begins
	• 1846 Irish potato famine sparks large scale immigration
	• 1865 North End mostly Irish
	• 1890 Irish exited North End
		• **1834 St. Mary's Church** (BL petition denied in 1976; demolished in 1977)
		  o "… decline in attendance at St. Mary's from 20,000 at the turn of the century to around 250 in 1976 can be attributed to the failure of St. Mary's to be closely identified with the Italian North End."
		  o Known as the "Dearos" for Dear old North End, the last of the Irish residents have annual reunions at St. Mary's or at St. Stephen's Church on Hanover Street [as of 1976]
			• "… people from County Donegal, Ireland, settled in the North End and then they went to Charlestown …Medford and Stoneham and… South Boston…"
			• "Before I was born there was an exodus of the Irish out of Boston's North End … to this day we have our annual reunion of the Dearos on Columbus Day. We alternate between St. Stephen's Church and St. Mary's Church…people get together and reminisce."

1870s-1920s **Eastern European Jews**	• 1782 Michael Hay first openly Jewish household to settle on Hanover Street • 1870s Formed elements of stable community: *chevras* (societies or associations), *sochet* (kosher "butcher"), matza factories, shops, synagogues, and Hebrew schools • 1900s-1920s Eastern European Jews moved out	• No house or synagogue landmarks • Only visible material form is street sign "Jerusalem Place" where Shari Jerusalem synagogue once stood.	• "In 1926, when my family moved out, there were only 12 Jewish families left in the whole North End … the Jewish community moved out … as Italian community came on strong in 1920s." • "The Russian, Lithuanian and Polish Jewish people opened their own synagogues in the North End, on Hanover Street and later on Baldwin Place, Jerusalem Place and on Salem Street … Friday night you would go to the temple or synagogue with your father. And Saturday morning you would go to the synagogue with your father …"
1880s-1980 **Italian Catholics**	• By 1890, North Square known as Boston's "Little Italy" • By the 1920s, Black Sea (red light district) dissipated and overcrowded wooden houses replaced by brick tenements • By 1930 North End known as "Little Italy" • 1960-1970 tensions between North Enders and outsiders • By the time of the Bicentennial (1976), the neighborhood was no longer inhabited solely by Italian Americans	• No house or church landmark petitions filed by 1976; St Leonard's and Sacred Heart remains "under study" landmark status as of 2018 (petitioned in late 1970s and early 2000s, respectively)	• "Most immigrants, however, turned to their religion to find solace from the hardships of their lives in Boston and the Catholic Church retained its central place in Italian life. The Irish had already established churches in the North End, but they were hostile to the Italians, so the immigrants founded their own … St. Leonard's Church is another big church which consists of Neopolitans. And Sacred Heart Church is made up of the Genoese, who were the first. Then the Sicilian people moved in and took over."

Abbreviations: NHL=National Historic Landmark; NRHP=National Register of Historic Places; BL=Boston Landmark