

Chapter 11: Specialty Analyses and Preliminary Interpretations

by Deborah L. Rotman

This chapter summarizes the preliminary analyses completed on the data recovered from the first field season at the Gallagher Homesite (20CX201) on Beaver Island. By examining syncretic processes in material culture, dietary changes, and uses of the built environment, this interdisciplinary and collaborative project investigates the ways in which Irish families continued traditions from their homeland, incorporated new cultural norms and practices, and otherwise navigated the multifaceted and ever-changing social landscapes in which they lived. Our ability to address our research questions was dependent upon recovering sufficient data to do so. Since a second field season of excavation is planned for this site in 2011, the following chapter summarizes our preliminary data and cursory interpretations to date. More detailed analyses will be undertaken following the 2011 field season, which will allow for more definitive interpretations of the lived experiences of the families who resided in this home.

Chronology

The first step in the analytical process involved determining the element of “time” at the site. For every unit and every level, the range of dates of manufacture for artifacts as well as the average minimum date and the average maximum date were calculated based on the temporally-sensitive objects present. Levels which did not possess temporally-sensitive objects or for which dates could not be surmised using the law of superposition were not included in the table.

Deciphering time can be a challenge in archaeological analyses. Many artifacts have extraordinarily long dates of manufacture. For example, whiteware was widely manufactured and distributed beginning in the 1830s and continues to be produced today (Mankowitz and Hagger 1957; Price 1981; Wetherbee 1980:32). Consequently, *terminus ante quem* dates – that is, the date before which an object had to have been produced – were often difficult to determine. Likewise, stoneware was manufactured during the late eighteenth century and continued to be widely used well into the twentieth century (Cameron 1986:274-275; Dodd 1964:274-275; Ketchum 1983:19, 1991:9). In this case, *terminus post quem* dates – that is, the date after which an object had to have been produced – can skew the calculation to a much earlier date.

This circumstance is exacerbated by the sheer volume of goods produced under the auspices of industrialization and mass production during the mid- to late nineteenth century and into the twentieth century. So there are many classes of material objects that are not yet well understood by historical archaeologists, particularly artifacts from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The implication for the Gallagher Site is that some calculated dates may be skewed somewhat earlier than they actually represent, since nineteenth century dates may be represented in greater numbers among temporally-sensitive artifacts.

There is one other matter of note with regard to the calculation of mean dates for the excavation levels. Window glass shards were measured for thickness and entered into a formula developed by Moir (1987). Moir cautions, however, that dates for window glass that are earlier than 1810 or later than 1915 may not be valid. The house at the site is believed to have been constructed a Mormon family in the 1840s and continued to be occupied up until 2008, well past the 1915 date. Window glass dates outside of the established time frame were not included in the calculation of mean dates for cultural strata. (See more below on testing Moir’s model.) These dates constituted the first step toward understanding the history of the house.

When possible, the household with which levels and artifacts could be associated were also listed in the table. The occupations were as follows: George and Caroline Preston (1840s-1856) and their large family of nine children; Joseph and Mary Warner (1858-1882), a German couple with no children; John and Margaret Early (1882-1912), a first-generation Irish immigrant family and their son Patrick; Patrick and Mary Early (1912-1967), a second-generation Irish immigrant family without children; and Peter and Dolores Gallagher (1967-2008), a family of Irish descent. There were a couple of speculative transactions

between the Mormon occupation and when the Warners took up residence. It is unknown if anyone was residing in the house in the interim. Distinguishing between the Mormon and Warner occupations of the site was particularly challenging given the data we recovered in 2010. Hopefully, the 2011 excavation will yield additional data that will better help us understand the earliest periods of use of the home.

In addition, households associated with level 1 in any unit are tentative at best, since this stratum represented the active humus layer and likely recent disturbance from humans and the natural world (plants and animals). When possible, the law of superposition was utilized to associate those strata for which few temporally-sensitive objects were available, unless clear disturbance to the stratigraphy was noted during excavation. Furthermore, strata for which dates straddled the periods of occupation were sometimes correlated with adjacent units using the Harris matrix in order to associate those cultural deposits to a family in residence at the site. The results of our date calculation were presented in Table 11.1.

Table 11.1. Summary of dates for units and levels excavated at the Gallagher Site (12SJ438), with all “to present” dates omitted; hence, no “average late” dates could be calculated for some levels.

Field sample #	Unit	Level	Date range	Latest early date	Avg. early date	Earliest late date	Avg. late date	# of objects	Association
1	1	0	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	
2	1	1	1825-1827	1827	1826	1825	1826	3	?
2/3	1	2	1875.8-1880	1892	1875.8	1880	1915	35	Early 1
4	1	3	1863.3-1880	1880	1863.3	1880	1880	33	Warner
5	1	4	1848.2-1880	1880	1848.2	1880	1880	18	Preston/ Warner
6	1	5	1831.4-1880.7	1840	1831.4	1880	1880.7	17	Preston / Warner
7	1	6	1840-1880	1880	1840	1880	1880	12	Preston / Warner
8	1	7	1841.8-1880	1880	1841.8	1880	1880	22	Preston / Warner
9	1	8	1832.8-1880	1839	1832.3	1880	1880	23	Preston / Warner
10	1	9	1830-1880	1830	1830	1880	1880	9	Preston / Warner
11	1	10	1831.4-1880.7	1840	1831.4	1880	1880.7	14	Preston / Warner
12	1	11	1850.8-1881.7	1903	1850.8	1880	1881.7	5	Preston / Warner
13	1	12	1843.6-1880	1880	1843.6	1880	1880	21	Preston / Warner
41	1	13	1830-1880	1830	1830	1880	1880	7	Preston / Warner
24	1	14	1834.5-1880	1839	1834.5	1880	1880	10	Preston / Warner
25	1	15	n/a	1839	1839	n/a	n/a	23	Preston?
26	1	16	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
14	2	0	n/a	1892	1892	n/a	n/a	2	?
15	2	1	n/a	1940	1910.7	n/a	n/a	27	
16	2	2	n/a	1875	1875	n/a	n/a	4	
17	2	3	1860.3-1880	1917	1860.3	1880	1880	13	Warner
19	2	4	1847.8-1900	1880	1847.8	1880	1900	16	Warner

Field sample #	Unit	Level	Date range	Latest early date	Avg. early date	Earliest late date	Avg. late date	# of objects	Association
20	2	5	1853.9-1903.7	1927	1853.9	1860	1903.7	20	Warner
21	2	6A	1846.7-1880	1880	1846.7	1880	1880	3	Preston / Warner
22	2	6B	n/a	1880	1880	n/a	n/a	7	
27	2	7A	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	3	
28	2	7B	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	9	
29	2	7C	n/a	1839	1839	n/a	n/a	1	
30	2	8A	n/a	1880	1880	n/a	n/a	1	
31	2	8B	1830-1880	1830	1830	1880	1880	2	Preston / Warner
32	2	8C	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	
33	2	9	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	1	Preston / Warner
34	2	9B	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	19	Preston / Warner
35	2	9C	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	
36	2	10A	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	Preston / Warner
38	2	10C	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	
39	2	10D	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	8	Preston / Warner
42	3	0	1899	1906	1899	1892	1899	3	Early 1
44	3	1	1895.6-1902.8	1917	1895.6	1880	1902.8	83	Early 1
45	3	2	1875.4-1898.3	1904	1875.4	18959	1898.3	21	Early 1
46	3	3	1845-1880	1875	1845	1880	1880	6	Warner
47	3	4	1842-1892	1898	1842	1860	1892	4	Warner
48	3	5	1867.5-1880	1880	1867.5	1880	1880	44	Warner
49	3	6	1853.9-1879.4	1880	1853.9	1885	1879.4	88	Warner
68	3	7	1830-1880	1830	1830	1880	1880	14	Preston / Warner
69	3	8	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	
70	3	9	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	
50	4	0	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	
51	4	1	n/a	1950	1892.8	1880	1880	15	Early 1, 2
52	4	2	1835-1882.5	1840	1835	1880	1882.5	5	Warner, Early 1
53	4	3	1861.4-1890.5	1922	1861.4	1880	1890.5	27	Warner, Early 1
54	4	4	1845.7-1881	1880	1845.7	1880	1881	22	Preston / Warner
55	4	5	1841.8-1880	1880	1841.8	1880	1880	28	Preston / Warner
56	4	6	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	
57	4	7A	1846.7-1880	1880	1846.7	1880	1880	5	Preston / Warner
58	4	7B	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	1	
59	4	7C	1830	1830	1830	1880	1880	8	Preston / Warner
72	4	8	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	

Field sample #	Unit	Level	Date range	Latest early date	Avg. early date	Earliest late date	Avg. late date	# of objects	Association
73	4	9A	n/a	1880	1880	n/a	n/a	1	
74	4	9B	n/a	1839	1839	n/a	n/a	1	
75	4	9E	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	
76	4	10A	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	1	
77	4	10B	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	
87	4	11D	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	3	
88	4	12A	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	
89	4	12D	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	1	
90	4	13A	n/a	1880	1880	n/a	n/a	1	
91	4	13	1830-1880	1830	1830	1880	1880	1	
60/61	5	0	1907.2-1978.3	1965	1907.2	1975	1978.3	40	Gallagher
62	5	1	1924.8-1978.6	1965	1924.8	1969	1978.6	52	Gallagher
63	5	2	n/a	1925	1877.3	n/a	n/a	17	Early 2
64	5	3	1876.5-1895	1917	1876.5	1895	1895	53	Early 1
65	5	4	1856.8-1870	1880	1856.8	1870	1870	27	Early 1
66	5	5	n/a	1880	1878.3	n/a	n/a	16	
67	5	6	1865.7-1903.5	1880	1865.7	1879	1903.5	28	Early 1
78	5	7	1856.6-1898	1880	1856.6	1860	1898	22	Warner, Early 1
79	5	8	1854.1-1901.3	1880	1854.1	1880	1901.3	31	Warner, Early 1
80	5	9	1852-1910	1903	1852	1880	1910	14	Warner, Early 1
81	5	10	1849.7-1860	1880	1849.7	1860	1860	4	Preston, Warner
82	5	11	1830-1880	1830	1830	1880	1880	8	Preston, Warner
83	5	12	n/a	1839	1839	n/a	n/a	4	
84	5	13	n/a	1875	1875	n/a	n/a	1	
85	6	0	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	
86	6	1	1869-1950	1869	1869	1950	1950	3	?
92	6	2	1880-1914	1880	1880	1914	1914	2	Early 1
93	6	3	n/a	1839	1839	n/a	n/a	6	
94	6	4	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	7	
95	6	5	n/a	1839	1839	n/a	n/a	2	
96	6	6	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	
97	6	7	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	
98	7	0	n/a	1955	1955	n/a	n/a	8	Early 2
99	7	1	1852.5-1880	1875	1852.5	1880	1880	28	Warner, Early 1
100	7	2	1867.8-1899	1896	1867.8	1880	1899	30	Warner, Early 1
101	7	3	1859.7-1915	1880	1859.7	1880	1915	6	Warner, Early 1
102	7	4	1855-1880	1880	1855	1880	1880	2	Warner, Early 1
103	7	5	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	

Field sample #	Unit	Level	Date range	Latest early date	Avg. early date	Earliest late date	Avg. late date	# of objects	Association
104	7	6	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	
108	8	0	1921.5-1961.7	1968	1921.5	1943	1961.7	44	Early 2
109, 110, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116	8	1	1896.5-1936.3	1965	1896.5	1860	1936.3	401	Early 1, 2
117, 118	8	2	1899.3-1951.4	1960	1899.3	1940	1951.4	50	Early 1, 2
119	8	3	1864.4-1888	1903	1864.4	1860	1888	16	Warner, Early 1
121	8	4	1868.5-1911.8	1959	1868.5	1880	1911.8	99	Warner, Early 1
122	8	5	1845.4-1908.3	1910	1845.4	1860	1908.3	97	Warner, Early 1
163	8	6	1849.5-1906.3	1918	1849.5	1860	1906.3	23	Warner, Early 1
165	8	8	n/a	1865	1847.7	n/a	n/a	4	Preston, Warner
123	9	0	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
124	9	1	1879-1890	1890	1879	n/a	n/a	10	Warner, Early 1
125	9	2	1865.3	1880	1865.3	n/a	n/a	19	Warner
166	9	3	1860-1890	1890	1860	n/a	n/a	2	
169	9	5	1889-1905	1905	1889	n/a	n/a	6	
171	9	6	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	3	
173	9	8	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	1	
175	9	10	1840	1841	1840.5	1840	1840.5	2	
193	9	13	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	
126	10	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	
127	10	1A	1891.6-1945.5	1925	1891.6	1940	1945.5	24	Early 1, 2
128	10	2A	1865-1950	1865	1865	1950	1950	20	
129	10	2A, 3A	1900-1930	1900	1900	1930	1930	1	Early 1, 2
130	10	3A	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	25	
131	10	4A	1869-1950	1869	1869	1950	1950	8	
132	10	5A	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	13	
141	10	0C	1923-1933	1923	1923	1933	1933	1	Early 2
143	10	1C	1925-1946	1925	1925	1946	1946	14	Early 2
145	10	2C	1929-1954	1929	1929	1954	1954	9	Early 2
148	10	5C	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	
149	10	6C	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	1	
151	10	2D	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	2	
161	10	4E	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	
177	11	1	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	
178	11	2	1924	1929	1924	1919	1924	2	Early 2

Field sample #	Unit	Level	Date range	Latest early date	Avg. early date	Earliest late date	Avg. late date	# of objects	Association
179	11	3	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	1	
180	11	4	1849-1883.3	1867	1849	1880	1883.3	11	Warner?
181	11	5	1857.7-1861.3	1898	1857.7	1815	1861.3	34	Warner
182	11	6	n/a	1835	1835	n/a	n/a	7	Preston?
183	11	7A	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
184	11	7B	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
185	11	7C	n/a	1903	1903	n/a	n/a	1	?
189	11	9	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
190	11	10	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a		
194	12	1	1904.4-1947.1	1965	1904.4	1921	1947.1	60	Early 2
195	12	2	1878.8-1926.7	1950	1878.8	1836	1926.7	37	Early 2
196	12	3	1870.6-1906.1	1935	1870.6	1860	1906.1	117	Early 2
197	12	4	1864.8-1906.6	1925	1864.8	1860	1906.6	58	Early 1
198	12	5	1868.1-1893.4	1903	1868.1	1864	1893.4	31	Early 1
212	12	6	1858.9-1901.3	1888	1858.9	1875	1901.3	18	Early 1
214	12	7	1855.3-1897	1884	1855.3	1882	1897	3	Early 1
216	12	8	n/a	1865	1865	n/a	n/a	4	
199	13	0	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	
200	13	1	1901.4-1946.7	1965	1901.4	1880	1946.7	52	Early 2
202	13	3	1861.9-1880	1955	1861.9	1880	1880	16	Early 1, 2
209	13	9	1863.8-1888	1904	1863.8	1880	1888	9	Warner
211	13	10	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	
213	14	0	1904.3-1905	1917	1904.3	1893	1905	10	Early 1
215	14	1	1875.6-1880	1935	1875.6	1880	1880	40	Early 1
219	14	2	1896	1904	1896	1888	1896	4	Early 1
220	14	3	1858	1858	1858	1858	1858	5	Warner
221	14	4	n/a	1890	1890	n/a	n/a	2	
223	14	6	1849.7-1880	1880	1849.7	1880	1880	24	Preston, Warner
225	14	7	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	16	
226	14	8	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	2	
228	14	9	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	
229	14	10	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	

Changes to the Landscape over Time

The excavation at the house lot focused on some of the standard research questions for domestic sites, specifically issues of chronology and change over time. These research items included:

- Was the building constructed in one episode? Or were there later additions?
- How was the landscape modified over time? When did features come in to and out of use? Why? To what events do those changes correspond?
- How does continuity and change in the landscape connect to larger social, cultural, and economic processes on the island?
- Where were the activity areas in the yard? How might they reflect divisions of labor by gender or age?

Since most structures have windows, we utilized Moir's model for window glass dating – combined with other temporally-sensitive artifacts – to help determine the dates of buildings at the property. Window glass has been shown to gradually increase in thickness through time, which is why it can be a useful tool for dating historic sites. Several dating schemes and formulas have been devised that use average glass thickness to calculate occupation dates. These include Ball (1984), Roenke (1978), Chance and Chance (1976), McKelway (1992), and Moir (1987). Moir's (1987) window glass dating technique utilizes a regression line to date the average thickness of glass.

McBride and Sharp (1991:70) used this dating formula for window glass recovered at Camp Nelson, Kentucky and retrieved two dates very close to the documentary occupation dates. One date was only one half year late while the other was nearly ten years later. Current research is still investigating the possibility for regional differences in window glass dating schemes.

This method was developed for nineteenth century sites, so it should be appropriate for examining the nineteenth-century occupation of the Gallagher site. Moir (1987) advised that glass dates earlier than 1810 or more recent than 1915 may not be valid.

Moir's technique was used to date all of the flat glass recovered during an excavation. The proveniences and window glass dates are presented in tables in Appendix A of this report. There were no shards that measured and dated prior to 1810, although several shards post-dated 1915. These latter dates were included in the histogram generated for the site. Given nineteenth-century glassblowing technology, a single pane of glass is unlikely to be entirely consistent in thickness throughout. Therefore, a single shard of glass cannot be used to definitively date an excavation stratum. Rather, it is the overall distribution of window glass dates that are important. The distribution of glass dates from the Gallagher site were plotted as a histogram following Day and Clay (2000; Day 2001) (Figure 11.1).

The first major peak of window glass dates occurs in the 1860s, with two additional peaks in the 1890s and the first decade of the twentieth century. It is not uncommon for families to make revisions or renovations to a structure upon first occupying it. Windows can also be broken during storms or accidentally as the result of activity in the home.

All three of the significant peaks roughly coincide with changes in occupation. The peak in the 1860s may be indicative of changes made by the Warner family upon occupying the house after the Mormon eviction. Similarly, the second peak of the 1890s and the third one after the turn of the century loosely correlate with the first generation Irish family taking up residency and the transfer of the property to the second generation, respectively.

The window glass data from the 2011 excavation will be combined with that of the 2010 data presented here to more fully assess construction episodes at the site. The evolution of a domestic space can illuminate the kinds of activity within households, how those activities are organized according to age and gender, and how activity changes over time. More data is needed, however, to fully understand this use of this particular domestic landscape.

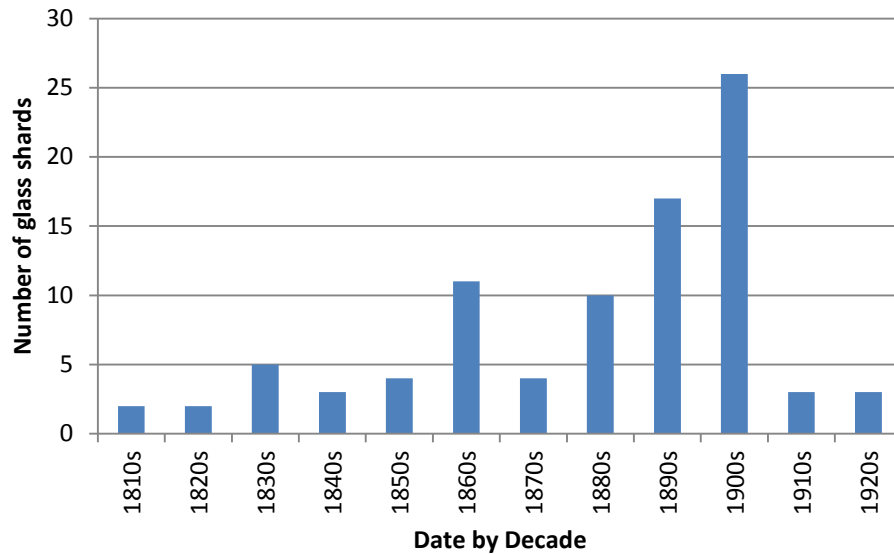


Figure 11.1. Histogram of window glass dates from the Gallagher Site (20CX201).

Incorporation, Alienation, and Transnationalism

Brighton's (2005) dissertation research elaborates upon the Five Points analyses presented in the Literature Review of this technical report (see again Chapter 4 this volume; also Brighton 2004, 2007; Brighton and Levon White 2007; Hull 2007). His analyses include archaeological and historical data from residential sites in both Ireland and the United States: (1) a laborer's mud cabin at Mulliviltrin and (2) the Nary stone cabins at Ballykilcline, both in County Roscommon, Ireland; (3) The Five Points neighborhood, Manhattan; and (4) the Dublin Section of Paterson, New Jersey. This transnational perspective is imperative for understanding continuity and change in Irish immigrant experiences.

Brighton (2005) noted two important trends in material culture, which were used as a model for interpreting the archaeological data from Beaver Island. First, a predominance of proprietary (i.e., patent medicines) rather than ethical (i.e., from a doctor) medicines illustrated a degree of *alienation* from formal healthcare systems and a need to self-medicate (Brighton 2005:249). Irish immigrants were often discriminated against by American doctors who deemed them unworthy of receiving proper medical attention (Brighton 2005:251). Second, increased vessel complexity, such as the incorporation of serving vessels into ceramic tablewares, represented the acceptance of new eating styles and behaviors (Brighton 2005:163). Along with increased vessel complexity came an increased number of white granite vessels in Irish immigrant assemblages, as Victorian Americans utilized formal dining as an important tool for social reproduction. Collectively, these material trends illustrate an increasing *incorporation* into American society and popular culture.

Brighton also noted that symbols of Irish nationalism found on smoking pipes signified the strong dual national consciousness of Irish communities that emerged during the late nineteenth century. This discourse of *transnationalism* was fostered by the group's in-between status as immigrant and citizen (Brighton 2005:223, 266).

Importantly, Brighton (2005:223) notes the inherent tensions in Irish immigrant experiences:

The timing of incorporation is directly related to the degree of alienation from the host society . . . [and] transnationalism is both the impetus for incorporation, as it expresses first and foremost loyalties to the adopted country, but at times fosters alienation whereby the group retains a notion of its former cultural self.

These historical and archaeological investigations provide significant comparative data sets for the examination of Irish immigrant enclaves in the Midwest (both South Bend, Indiana and Beaver Island, Michigan). In addition, they present a model for understanding alienation, incorporation, and transnationalism at the Gallagher Residential site.

During our investigations, we specifically sought material evidence of *alienation* through an examination of glass medicine bottles and *incorporation* through an investigation of the refined earthenwares from the site. No bowls from smoking pipes – and no other symbols of *transnationalism* – were recovered during the 2010 field season.

Glass Medicine Bottles

The glass vessels recovered from the Gallagher Site were analyzed according to function and categorized as either bottle/beverage, food containers, serving vessels, personal artifacts (like shoe polish), and medicine bottles. A minimum of 147 glass vessels were observed, with the majority of these were either liquid beverage bottles or food containers (Table 11.2). Most of the glass vessels were associated with the second generation Irish family, Patrick and Mary Early (N=115; 78.2%).

Medicine bottles appear as the greatest percentage of the assemblage for the first generation Irish family, John and Margaret (N=27.3%). None of the medicine bottles possessed embossed or paper labels, so it was not possible to determine what medicines might have been consumed by the family. Interesting, there is a significant decrease in the medicine bottles as a percentage of the assemblage between the first and second generations of the Early family. Medicine vessels constituted only 9.6% of the glass containers associated with the second generation.

Table 11.2. Summary of minimum glass vessels recovered from the Gallagher Site (20CX201), including their associations. The percentages given are for each category of vessel within each occupation of the site.

Family	Bottles (liquid beverage)		Food containers		Serving vessels		Personal artifacts		Medicine Bottles		Total
Preston	1	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1
Warner	0	0%	1	50%	0	0%	0	0%	1	50%	2
Early 1	6	27.3%	8	36.4%	1	4.5%	1	4.5%	6	27.3%	22
Early 1 or 2	0	0%	1	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1
Early 2	40	34.8%	53	46.1%	9	7.8%	2	1.7%	11	9.6%	115
Gallagher	5	83.3%	1	16.7%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	6
Totals	52		64		10		3		18		147

This second generation coincides with Feodor Protar's occupation of the island between 1893 and 1925 (Price 1976:58, 66). It raises some interesting questions about how the nature of health care might have changed upon Protar's arrival. Price (1976:59) reported that Protar bought medicines wholesale and redistributed them to island residents. He would likely have retained the bottles and other containers in which the medication was shipped to the island and given out only necessary doses. Such a practice could explain why fewer medicine bottles (as a percentage of the overall assemblage) were recovered during the second generation Irish occupation of the site. It also suggests that excavation at the Protar homestead would yield an abundance of these medicinal containers.

Comparative Data: South Bend, Indiana

Irish immigrant experiences in the Midwest have also been examined historically and archaeologically in South Bend, Indiana. Rotman and Holcomb (2008) were particularly interested in the

nature of medical care in the city and whether Irish immigrants experienced the kinds of alienation from medical care that Brighton observed in the Five Points in New York. Both of these case studies provides important comparative data for interpreting the archaeological and historical evidence from Beaver Island.

Health Care in South Bend

There were a variety of health care options in nineteenth century South Bend. Patients could seek care from “regular” (allopathic) physicians, homeopathic physicians, and even “clairvoyant physicians” (Feil 2007a; Marlatt 2000). Following the guidelines established by Indiana Medical Law, regular physicians charged 75 cents for an office call, and 50 cents to \$1 for prescriptions (Anonymous 1904; Bickel 1970). Individuals could also choose to self-medicate with herbs or patent medicines (Feil 2007a, 2007b). An individual or family understanding of health and wellness may have shaped the choices they made with regard to treatment of illness.

The germ theory of disease did not emerge until the second half of the nineteenth century and was slow in gaining support. Indeed, Dr. [H.T.?] Montgomery, a prominent South Bend physician, wrote a paper in 1892 rejecting the theory (Bickel 1970). Treatment by regular physicians like Montgomery often included bleeding and purging (Marlatt 2000).

The first hospital in Indiana, the Central of Indianapolis, was founded in 1848 for the care of mental patients, but the Indianapolis General Hospital was not established until 1883 (Bickel 1970). South Bend’s first hospital, St. Joseph Hospital, was founded in 1882 by the Sisters of the Holy Cross, the convent associated with Notre Dame. Its first patients came primarily from the country farm and the jail (Bickel 1970). The hospital was so desperate for more patients that it put out advertisements in local newspapers. At the time, people were generally reluctant to go to hospitals, as the care provided was crude and rarely beneficial.

Homeopathy, curing by tiny doses of drugs, was proposed in 1810 by German doctor Samuel Hahnemann (Bickel 1970). Several homeopathic medical schools were established in the United States, but did not adhere to the homeopathic theory of treatment (Bickel 1970). The primary difference between regular and homeopathic physicians, at least for South Bend residents, was that of expense: homeopathic physicians charged on average 30 cents less than regular physicians for an office visit (Bickel 1970).

Druggists provided other options for treating illness, which included patent medicines and pure drugs as well as “pure wines and liquors for medicinal purposes” (*Holland’s South Bend City Directory 1867-1868*). Patent medicines could also be ordered in the mail. The 1897 Sears Roebuck catalog offers twelve pages of remedies, including several prepared by the laboratory of Sears, Roebuck & Co. (Israel 1968). For example, a large bottle of Bromo Seltzer, used to treat indigestion, heartburn, upset stomach, and headache, could be purchased for 80 cents, compared to the retail price of \$1. Homeopathic specifics, “prepared under the supervision of an old experienced Homeopathic Physician” to treat particular diseases, typically cost only 18 cents. The company also sold homeopathic cases “filled with any assortment of remedies you wish,” including arsenic, belladonna, ipecac, opium, and sulfur, accompanied by a “Homeopathic Manual” with directions for use. A case with 12 remedies cost 85 cents.

There were a variety of health care options available to families in South Bend and specifically to the Fogarty family. The factors shaping the choices to see a regular or other physician or even to self-treat an illness were complex. They may have been influenced by issues of cost or discriminatory views of Irish and/or Catholic immigrants held by doctors or other unique circumstances of an individual family.

The Fogarty Household in the Sorinsville Neighborhood

The University of Notre Dame 2007 Archaeological Field School focused on a residential homelot at the southern boundary of a housing development created by Fr. Edward Sorin, the founder of the University of Notre Dame (Figure 11.2) (Rotman 2008b; Rotman et al. 2008). Edward and Rose Fogarty came to South

Bend from Chicago and purchased the homelot at 602 North Notre Dame Avenue in 1865 (Figure 11.3). The parcel was occupied by four generations of the Fogarty family.

Edward was born in Dublin on March 25, 1827 (*South Bend Tribune* 1902) and emigrated as a young boy with his family in 1832 (United States Bureau of the Census 1900). His obituary indicated that “he was educated in Ireland and came to America when quite a young man. He resided in Chicago for some time and in 1865 removed to South Bend, where he had since made his home” (*South Bend Tribune* 1902). He worked as a brick mason (United Bureau of the Census 1870) and was deemed “one of South Bend’s best Irish citizens” (*South Bend Tribune* 1902).

Unfortunately, we know very little about Rose. She was born ca. 1829 and lived to be 62 years old (United States Bureau of the Census 1870; *South Bend Tribune* 1891). She “had long been an invalid,” but we do not know the nature of her ailment (*South Bend Tribune* 1891). Rose’s obituary also indicated that “She was a native of Ireland, and during her long residence made a great many friends who esteemed her highly for her many noble traits of character” (*South Bend Tribune* 1891).

They built a home on the southeast corner of the intersection of North Notre Dame Avenue and Sorin Street. The home appears for the first time on the 1917 Sanborn map (see again Figure 2). This area of the city was too peripheral to be illustrated on earlier maps, even though such maps had been produced for South Bend as early as May 1885.

The house currently extant at the property is unlikely the original house (Figure 3). This architectural style is the American Four Square, which was popular from ca. 1890 through the 1930s; peaking in popularity before and after World War I (Howard 1989:128-129).

The Fogartys had two daughters – Catherine and Anna – and, shortly after their arrival in South Bend, had two sons, Edward Jr. and John. Catherine married Charles Keller in 1884 which was reported by the *South Bend Tribune* (13 June 1885):

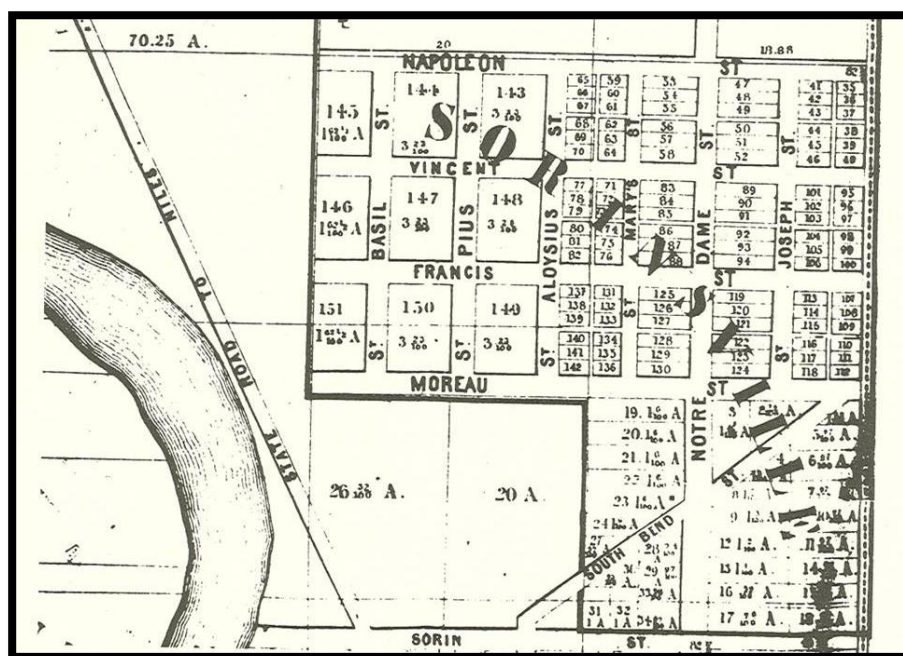


Figure 11.2. 1873 plat map of the Sorinsville neighborhood, South Bend, Indiana. Courtesy of the University of Notre Dame Archives.

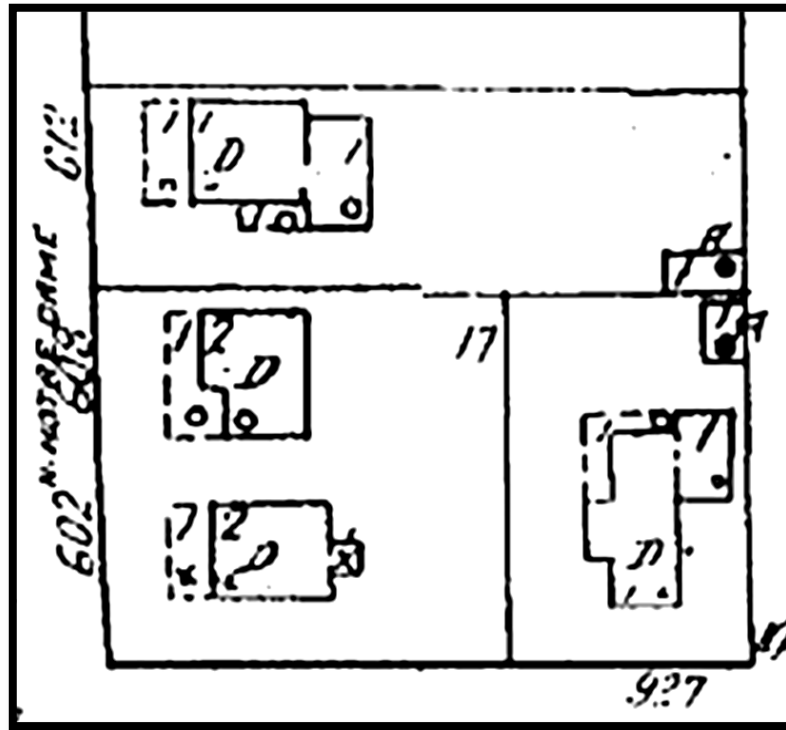


Figure 11.3. 1949 Sanborn Fire Insurance map showing the Fogarty parcel: Edward and Rose Fogarty at 602 North Notre Dame Avenue; Edward F. (grandson) and Grace Keller at 608; Charles and Catherine (daughter) Keller at 612. The rental house appears in the lower right corner of the image (numbered 927 East Sorin Street).

Mr. Charlie A. Keller and Miss Kitty Fogarty have been quietly fitting up a cottage on Notre Dame street [sic] for some little time and it was pretty generally understood among their friends that they were soon to be joined in the bonds of matrimony and settle down to housekeeping in the nest they were preparing. Friday, however, without giving any public notice of their marriage, they occupied the cottage for the first time. Some friends finding this fact out, the couple were treated to a lively serenade, during which it transpired that they had been man and wife for nearly a year, and for reasons best known to themselves had kept the matter a secret. They were married June 16, 1844 by Justice Reuben H. Rice, in Niles township [sic]. The groom is a son of Deputy Marshal Lew Keller, and the bride has been a trusted domestic for some two years of more in the family of E. P. Chapin.

Charles was a member of the city police department (*South Bend Tribune* 1932). The newlyweds had built a house at 612 North Notre Dame Avenue – which at the time would have been right next door to her parents (see again Figure 11.3). The couple had two children, Edward and Margaret. Charlie “had been ill for several years with dropsy” and died in December 1932 (*South Bend Tribune* 1932). Catherine passed away in January 1935 (*South Bend Tribune* 1935).

Edward and Rose’s eldest son, Edward Jr., originally became a brick layer, but was elected mayor of South Bend from 1902 to 1910 (*South Bend Tribune* 1929a). Many Irish immigrants sought employment in public service, which offered job permanence and pensions as well as access to political and economic power (McCaffrey 1997:86, 106). After completing two terms as mayor, Edward Jr. became the warden of the Michigan City prison (1911-1925) and was nationally renowned for his methods of prison reform (*South*

Bend Tribune 1929b). In September of 1926, he was appointed warden of the Cook County jail in Chicago (*South Bend Tribune* 1929c). In 1929, following some political upheaval at the jail, it appears that Edward Jr. suffered a nervous breakdown. He returned to South Bend to be with family and, in June of that year, took his own life (*South Bend Tribune* 1929d). He never married.

Little is known about Catherine and Edward Jr.'s siblings, Anna and John Fogarty. City directories and census enumerations show Anna living with her father and then Edward Jr. At the time of the 1910 census enumeration, she is still listed as unmarried (United States Bureau of the Census 1910). Anna does not appear in the 1920 census for South Bend. She would have been a relatively young woman yet, only 55 years old. No obituary was found for her and we suspect that she may have moved back to Chicago, since the family had ties there. John Fogarty appears to have moved to Kalamazoo, as indicated in his mother's obituary (*South Bend Tribune* 1891), but we were unable to learn anything more about him.

Ca. 1912, and for reasons we do not yet understand, a small house was built on the rear of the original parcel owned by Edward and Rose Fogarty, at 927 East Sorin Street (see again Figure 2). This property appears to have always been a rental unit. When Catherine and Charles Keller's eldest son, Edward F., married his wife, Grace, in 1924, they built a house at 608 North Notre Dame Avenue – between his parents' and grandparents' homes (see again Figure 2). Edward Keller followed his paternal grandfather Lew Keller (Deputy Marshall), Uncle Edward Fogarty Jr. (mayor), and father Charles Keller (police officer) into public service. He was the South Bend City treasurer (United States Bureau of the Census 1920) and then St. Joseph County Recorder (*R. L. Polk City Directories* 1929-1935).

Descendants of Edward and Rose Fogarty continued to live in the homes at the intersection of Notre Dame Avenue and Sorin Street into the 1960s. The archaeological assemblage from the 2007 field excavation, however, was associated with the first and second generations of this family.

Evidence for Health Care at the Fogarty Household

The excavation at the Fogarty site was preceded by remote sensing. We used the results of electrical resistivity to guide the placement of test units in the yard. We completed seven 1 x 1 m units – sampling the sheet midden and excavating one feature (Rotman et al. 2008).

The artifact assemblage was associated with two periods of occupation at the site. The first represented the Fogartys as a young nuclear family, dating from ca. 1865 – the year they purchased the homelot from Fr. Sorin – to ca. 1885. The later occupation dated from ca. 1885 to ca. 1914. This latter assemblage likely included artifacts from the original house on the lot and Catherine's family who lived next door. We believe that the two households operated communally, particularly given that Catherine's father was in his 60s and her mother, Rose, had died shortly after Catherine married.

Sixteen medicine bottles were found at 12SJ438 (Table 11.3). Only one bottle was definitively associated with the earliest deposit at the site; patent medicine – Simmons Liver Regulator.

Table 11.3. Summary of medicinal bottles recovered from the Fogarty Site (12SJ438).

	<i>Early Deposit</i> <i>ca. 1865- ca. 1885</i>	<i>Late Deposit</i> <i>ca. 1885 – ca. 1914</i>	<i>Spanning both</i> <i>ca. 1865- ca. 1914</i>
<i>Proprietary medicine</i>		1	2
<i>Patent medicine</i>	1	5	2
<i>Probable patent medicine</i>		5	

Eleven bottles were associated with the later deposit. There was one proprietary medicine (a graduated bottle made by W. B. M. Co.) and 10 patent medicines, including Simmons Liver Regulator, Foley's Kidney and Bladder Cure, Bromo Seltzer, Dr. M. M. Fenner's Kidney and Backache Cure, and an unidentified medicine manufactured by Wyeth & Bros. in Philadelphia. Five additional bottles were associated with the later occupation at the site. These bottles were fragmentary and did not possess sufficient

embossing to determine the medicine contained within. Nevertheless, based on their characteristic shape, these vessels were included as patent medicines from the late occupation of the site.

The remaining four bottles – two proprietary and two patent medicines – were recovered from deposits that could not be definitively associated with only one of the occupations of the site, but could be associated with the Fogarty family (ca. 1865- ca. 1914). One of the proprietary medicines was from “M. Myer/Druggist/South Bend, Indiana” and the second was an unidentified graduated vessel. The patent medicines from this subset of the assemblage included Foley’s Kidney and Bladder Cure and Veronica Medicinal Spring Tonic Water.

The Sears Catalog (Israel 1968) describes the various uses for the patent medicines recovered from the Fogarty households:

- Veronica Medicinal Spring Tonic Water: for cough, stomach and urinary disorders, rheumatism, or as a general tonic
- Simmon’s Liver Regulator: for fever, headache, constipation, dyspepsia, and “all bilious infections”
- Foley’s Kidney and Bladder Cure: kidney, bladder, and prostate ailments
- Dr. MM Fenner, Fredonia, NY, Kidney and Backache Cure: for urinary disorders, catarrh, dropsy, rheumatism, backache, and female troubles
- Bromo Seltzer, Emerson Drug Co.: for indigestion, heartburn, upset stomach, and headache

Late nineteenth-century druggists, in addition to carrying patent medicines and preparing physician’s prescriptions (*Holland’s South Bend City Directory* 1867-8), also sold their own medicinal formulas directly to the public (Marlatt 2000). The bottle from “M. Myer, druggist [sic], South Bend, Indiana” could have contained either a physician’s prescription or a patent medicine marketed by Myer.

The medicine bottles recovered were consistent with what we know about the health of the Fogarty family. The Simmon’s Liver Regulator from the earliest occupation of the site could have easily been used for mundane ailments that do not necessary require a doctor’s intervention, such “fever, headache, constipation, dyspepsia, and ‘all bilious infections’” (Israel 1968). Similarly, three of the patent medicines from the latter occupation included Simmons Liver Regulator, Foley’s Kidney and Bladder Cure, and Dr. M. M. Fenner’s Kidney and Backache Cure; all treating the same class of ailment. We know that Charlie suffered for some time from dropsy (or edema), which can be a symptom of kidney disease. These vessels may be representative of that chronic condition. The remaining patent medicine, Bromo Seltzer “for indigestion, heartburn, upset stomach, and headache” (Israel 1968), would have also been used for illnesses that could easily be treated at home.

Discussion of the South Bend data

This high proportion of patent medicines (13 of 16 or 81.3%) is consistent with that which was observed at Five Points. The alienation model proposed by Bonasera and Raymer (2001) and Brighton (2005, 2009), however, seems an unlikely explanation for the assemblage at 12SJ438. So although the persistent use of patent medicines is identical for nineteenth-century Irish immigrants on the East Coast and in South Bend, the factors shaping those uses were very different.

Irish immigrants who came inland likely fared better and experienced less discrimination than their counterparts on the East Coast, particularly in the fledgling urban and economic centers of the Midwest:

South Bend offered the foreign-born opportunities that could not be had in the isolated life along the farming frontier or in the overcrowded cites of the eastern seaboard. Here the immigrant might hope to find a community whose social and economic structure was not already fixed by long tradition. Here the newcomer could avoid the anonymity of the ethnic

ghetto and participate in the formulation of a new urban community. Perhaps unaware of his role in the social and economic movements of the time, the immigrant could at least sense the optimism and enthusiasm of this adolescent midwestern city (Esslinger 1975:29).

Edward Fogarty, Jr.'s election as mayor indicates incorporation, not alienation, and is consistent with Esslinger's assessment of opportunities for immigrants in the burgeoning community of South Bend. Therefore, it appears that immigrants in the Midwest experienced a greater degree of incorporation – and by extension, a lesser degree of alienation – than immigrants on the East Coast.

Similarly, the family would have had access to St. Joseph Hospital, located just two blocks from their house. Founded by the Sisters of the Holy Cross, it would not likely have discriminated against the Irish Catholics. The unique history of this particular institution – that is, care for primarily the destitute and convicts – may have made this an undesirable option for health care for this family.

The patent medicines recovered from the Fogarty site would have treated ailments that did not necessarily require a doctor's attention. In addition, there were at least two members of the family who had chronic health concerns – Rose Fogarty was an invalid and Charlie Keller had dropsy. Rose and Charlie may have chosen to self-medicate rather than continue to visit a physician regularly. As such, treating chronic versus acute illnesses may have also influenced the family's uses of primarily patent medicines as part of their health care. Furthermore, as the matriarch of the household, Rose's use of patent medicines and probable pattern of self-medication as an "invalid" may have become the customary practice, one that her children followed later simply out of habit.

Although the archaeological assemblage at the Fogarty homelot is strikingly similar to that from the residences of Irish immigrants on the East Coast, the social, cultural, and political contexts under which the material world was consumed were very different. We propose that the persistent use of patent medicines by the Irish immigrants in South Bend was not a result of their alienation from health care and the larger cultural milieu. Rather, we believe that (1) the Fogarty family experienced a greater degree of incorporation into this young urban center of the Midwest than Irish immigrants on the East Coast at the same time; (2) the poor nature of formalized health care in South Bend made self-medication a preferred option; and (3) the treatment of chronic versus acute illnesses as well as the role of customary practices in the household contributed to continued use of patent, rather than proprietary, medicines by the family.

More comparative data is needed, however, in order to understand whether the Fogartys were typical or atypical of Irish immigrant experiences in South Bend. We seek to understand the diverse and varied experiences of the immigrants in South Bend as well as how unique local conditions presented different opportunities to other Irish immigrants in the United States. As we continue to excavate at the Fogarty homelot and other residences in the Sorinsville neighborhood, we will seek to understand what it means to be Irish and Catholic in South Bend and how those intersecting identities shaped consumer choices, social relations, and other aspects of their lived experiences.

Comparison with Beaver Island

Given the remote location of Beaver Island and the relative homogeneity of the Irish population, particularly during the second half of the nineteenth century, it is unlikely that we would expect to see a persistence of patent medicine bottles and the alienation from medical care that Irish immigrants in New York experienced. Like South Bend, the community into which Irish immigrants settled provided utterly unique circumstances that were very different from the concentrated urban slums of New York City. The unique health care provided by Feodor Protar, for example, did not discriminate among island residents. A decrease in the overall number of medicine bottles as a percentage of the assemblage between the first and second generations of the Irish family (the Earlys) may be an indicator of changing health care options on Beaver Island with Protar's arrival. Additional sampling of the deposits at the Gallagher Homesite in 2011 may yield even more evidence that helps us to better understand health care practices at the site.

Refined Earthenwares

As with the glass medicine bottle data, refined earthenwares were of particular interest in the analyses of the artifacts recovered from the Gallagher Homesite during the 2010 excavation. The minimum number of vessels was determined and those vessels were associated with particular families who had occupied the house (Table 11.4). These ceramics were compared with assemblages from South Bend, Indiana and the Five Points neighborhood in New York City.

Two important observations regarding the ceramic assemblage from the Gallagher Homestead were made. Notably, the “blue willow” pattern – with the exception of a single plate fragment – was associated exclusively with the first generation Irish immigrant family at the site and there were no matched sets recovered from the site.

Table 11.4. Summary of minimum ceramic vessels recovered from the Gallagher Site (20CX201), including their associations.

Association	Vessel #	FS #	Description
Preston/Warner	I4	11	Ironstone, undecorated, flatware
Warner	I3	180	Ironstone, Gothic paneled, teapot?
Warner	I7	49	Ironstone, undecorated, flatware
Warner	SW4	47	Stoneware, unglazed, flatware?
Warner	W21	47	Whiteware, blue willow transfer print, hollowware
Early 1	I1	197, 198	Ironstone, undecorated, teacup
Early 1	I2	212	Ironstone, undecorated, soup plate
Early 1	I5	122	Ironstone, embossed, soup plate
Early 1	I6	197	Ironstone, undecorated, hollowware
Early 1	I9	121	Ironstone, embossed, soup plate
Early 1	SP1	67	Semi-porcelain, green border, plate
Early 1	SW1	122, 197	Stoneware, Albany-glazed, hollowware
Early 1	SW2	121, 197	Stoneware, Albany-glazed, flatware?
Early 1	SW3	197	Stoneware, Albany-glazed, hollowware
Early 1	SW5	214	Stoneware, Albany-glazed, hollowware
Early 1	SW6	100	Stoneware, Albany-glazed, flatware?
Early 1	SW7	121, 122, 163	Stoneware, Albany-glazed, hollowware
Early 1	W2	121	Whiteware, polychrome floral decal, bowl
Early 1	W4	163	Whiteware, gold border, trivet
Early 1	W6	78, 79	Whiteware, brown transfer print, hollowware
Early 1	W7	121	Whiteware, polychrome floral decal, teacup
Early 1	W17	163	Whiteware, blue willow transfer print, flatware
Early 1	W18	163	Whiteware, blue willow transfer print, flatware
Early 1	W22	198, 212	Whiteware, blue willow transfer print, flatware
Early 1	W23	197, 198, 212	Whiteware, blue willow transfer print, flatware
Early 1	W24	67	Whiteware, undecorated, flatware
Early 1	W25	119	Whiteware, polychrome floral decal, probable teacup
Early 1	W28	197	Whiteware, blue willow transfer print, plate
Early 1	W29	119	Whiteware, red transfer print, teacup
Early 1	W33	198	Whiteware, blue willow transfer print, flatware
Early 1	W37	121, 122	Whiteware, blue willow transfer print, flatware

Association	Vessel #	FS #	Description
Early 1	W38	67, SS58	Whiteware, blue willow transfer print, flatware
Early 1	Y1	122, 163	Yellowware, undecorated, hollowware
Early 1	Y2	119	Yellowware, undecorated, hollowware
Early 1	Y3	80	Yellowware, undecorated, hollowware
Early 2	F1	108	Fiestaware, maroon, teapot
Early 2	F2	112, 113	Fiestaware, yellow, bowl
Early 2	P1	196	Porcelain, red/green decal?, teacup
Early 2	W1	112, 113, 114, 218	Whiteware, red transfer print, teacup
Early 2	W3	110, 112, 114	Whiteware, polychrome floral, teacup
Early 2	W5	195	Whiteware, embossed, handle to teacup
Early 2	W8	114	Whiteware, gold border, plate
Early 2	W9	110, 113	Whiteware, embossed, flatware
Early 2	W10	110	Whiteware, embossed, hollowware
Early 2	W11	114	Whiteware, undecorated, bowl
Early 2	W12	196	Whiteware, blue willow transfer print, flatware
Early 2	W14	114, 196	Whiteware, undecorated, bowl
Early 2	W15	110, 114, 195, 196	Whiteware, embossed, plate
Early 2	W16	196	Whiteware, undecorated, flatware
Early 2	W19	196	Whiteware, undecorated, plate
Early 2	W20	113, 195, 196	Whiteware, undecorated, hollowware
Early 2	W26	114	Whiteware, scallop rim, plate
Early 2	W27	114	Whiteware, scallop rim, flatware
Early 2	W30	110	Whiteware, red transfer print, teacup
Early 2	W31	110	Whiteware, polychrome floral decal, teacup
Early 2	W32	118	Whiteware, polychrome floral decal, teacup
Early 2	W34	79	Whiteware, blue willow transfer print, flatware
Early 2	W35	112, 113, 118	Whiteware, embossed, plate
Early 2	W36	196	Whiteware, blue willow transfer print, flatware

This "blue willow" pattern was made as early as 1780. Produced in England, it was imported to Ireland and, at least initially, to the United States as well. Blue Willow was characterized in the contemporary literature as "cheap and pretty" (*Good Housekeeping* 1889:249). It appears to have been a pattern preferred by non-elite families and those who used this pattern seem to have been derided for doing so, perhaps in part because it was so overproduced. It was literally everywhere! *Littell's Living Age* (November 1851) said, "When the whole English nation, below the upper circles - in all its families of the vast middle classes, one and all, day after day, and year after year, morning, noon and night -- only ate off the blue 'willow pattern,' the sense of the beautiful, as an element of the popular mind, must have been incredibly low."

Even Charles Dickens poked fun at the ubiquity of the ware. He visited Copeland Pottery in Staffordshire and wrote an essay entitled, "A Plated Article," which was published in 1894. He says, "...together with the rest of that amusing blue landscape, which has, in deference to our revered ancestors of the Cerulean Empire, and in defiance of every known law of perspective adorned millions of our family ever since the days of platters!" He goes on to observe, "Then (says the plate), was not the paper washed away with a sponge, and didn't there appear, set off upon the plate, this identical piece of pre-Raphaelite blue distemper which you now behold? Not to be denied! I had seen all this and more. I had been

shown, at Copeland's, patterns of beautiful design, in faultless perspective, which are causing the ugly old willow to wither out of public favor; and which being quite cheap, insinuate good wholesome natural art into the humblest households" (Dickens 1894:430).

My students and I saw this pattern everywhere we went during our cultural study in Ireland. Máirtín Breathnach of the Dan O'Hara Heritage Center in Clifden, Co. Galway indicated that the blue willow pattern was a symbol of love in the home, that it was lucky to have in your home and unlucky to break it (M. Breathnach, pers. comm., 2011). Caroline Carr of the Donegal County Council related that blue willow was just for show – 'for 'good' as they would say. It was rarely used, if at all, only perhaps if an important visitor came to the house – the priest, doctor or teacher or on a special occasion. [She had] never come across as it being regarded as lucky or a charm in Donegal. It was more of a status symbol- the more you had displayed and not used (C. Carr, pers. comm., 2011).

Clearly, this pattern was important to the first generation Early family. Equally significant is the fact that the second generation deliberately eschewed this pattern, with the exception of one fragment which may have been an heirloom piece from Patrick's parents. This is not entirely surprising since the occupation of the house by the second generation Irish family occurs just a few years after the arrival of the Beaver Island Lumber Company and the return of a multicultural society to the island. The second generation was likely more attuned to the low status of the blue willow pattern in the changing cultural context of the island.

In addition, there were no matched sets of ceramic dishes recovered from the site, which suggests an absence of formal dining. This too was not unexpected as the house itself did not contain a formal dining room, indicating that meals and tea time were likely informal occasions attended only by family and close friends. The absence of matched sets parallels this ideology and practice within the home, a trend that was observed elsewhere in Irish immigrant families.

Comparative Data: South Bend, Indiana

Like the glass medicine bottled, the Fogarty site in South Bend provides an excellent comparative data set for the ceramic vessel data recovered during the excavation on Beaver Island. Rotman (2010) and Shakour et al. (2010) were particularly interested in what refined earthenware can elucidate with regard to social relations among Irish immigrant populations.

Refined Earthenwares and Family Life

Domestic households are key loci of social reproduction and, consequently, significant sites for archaeological research (Ludlow Collective 2001). In her study of the Presidio in California, Barb Voss (2008:209) observed that "the home was an important locale where institutional policies and practices interfaced with small-scale interpersonal relationships." The Fogarty family was clearly part of their local Irish-Catholic community – the ideals of which were reinforced daily through the workplace, neighborhood, and parish. Their home was the place, however, wherein the larger social and cultural worlds were negotiated, strategically accepted or rejected (either in whole or in part), and a meaningful family life created.

The historical documents available for the Fogartys present an incomplete picture of daily life. The census enumerations provide some demographic details, information about homeownership and employment statuses of family members, and other details of the household. The newspaper clippings and obituaries also give some glimpses into the family, but overall, the historic documentation does not yield more than a basic description of only some aspects of life in the Sorinsville neighborhood. Archaeological investigation allowed us to interrogate the knowledge gained from written records, enabling us to confirm or refute what we thought we knew as well as learn some things that were entirely new.

An important comparative data set for Sorinsville in South Bend came from the historical archaeological investigation of Irish immigrant households in the Five Points neighborhood in New York

City. In the Five Points, archaeological analyses of refined earthenwares associated with Irish immigrants revealed an increase in ceramic vessel complexity over time. Specifically, new serving vessels, such as soup tureens, were incorporated into Victorian table disciplines, which represented the acceptance of new eating styles and behaviors during the late nineteenth century (Brighton 2005:163; Fitts 1999). In addition, there was an increase in the number of white granite vessels, which paralleled the rise of formal dining as an important tool for social reproduction. Collectively, these material trends in the Five Points illustrated an increasing incorporation of Irish immigrants into some of the social ideals popular in the larger American society and culture of the time (Brighton 2005:229; Fitts 2001).

Refined earthenwares from the Fogarty household were compared with the data from the Five Points neighborhood. The dishes from the site were a mix of ironstone/white granite and whiteware vessels in an assortment of plain, embossed, and hand-painted designs (Table 11.5). Only two sherds representing two different vessels were transfer-printed, neither of which had a discernable pattern. All of the decorations on the refined earthenwares were relatively plain, such as scalloped rims with embossed dots or hand-painted polychrome flowers (for examples, see Figures 11.4 and 11.5). Only one serving vessel, an undecorated platter, associated with the earliest occupation of the site (ca. 1865-ca. 1885) was recovered during the excavation (Table 11.6). In addition, the assemblage yielded no clear matched sets for either occupation (neither ca. 1865-ca. 1885 nor ca. 1885-ca. 1914).

Rather than representing a random hodgepodge of dishes, this assemblage strongly parallels the ceramic vessels recovered from home sites in Ireland. Indeed, “large and varied collections of fine earthenwares were the norm rather than the exception” (Orser 2010:101). The eclectic nature of the refined earthenwares from the Fogarty site may reflect the piecemeal acquisition of refined earthenwares, a common practice in Ireland, particularly rural areas (Brighton 2005; Brighton and White 2007), rather than acquiring dishes as matched sets. The Fogarty family may have acquired ceramic vessels as need dictated and resources allowed in a pattern of consumption familiar to them. It may also reflect strategic action as they consciously selected some aspects of local cultural norms and material practices while not choosing others through their consumption choices (Orser 2010:96).

Table 11.5. Vessel and decoration summary of ceramic tea and table wares by occupation, Fogarty Site (following Wall 1991, 1999, 2000).

	Early Occupation mid-1860s to mid-1880s		Later Occupation mid-1880s – ca. 1914	
	Tableware	Teaware	Tableware	Teaware
Plain or molded	7	3	4	6
Floral hand-painted		1		
Floral decal	1	1		1
Flow blue floral			1	
Copper luster tea leaf			1	
Gilt banding				1



Figure 11.4. Copper lustre plates recovered from the feature. Photograph by the author.



Figure 11.5. Polychrome decal teacup with embossed rim from the feature. Photograph by the author.

Table 11.6. Summary of vessel forms by occupation, Fogarty Site.

	Early Occupation mid-1860s to mid-1880s		Later Occupation mid-1880s – ca. 1914	
	Tableware	Teaware	Tableware	Teaware
Platter	1			
Dinner plate	3		1	
Other plate	3		4	
Bowl	1		1	
Sugar bowl?		1		1
Cup		4		7

The absence of matched sets may also reflect the family's incorporation into their Catholic community of the University, neighborhood, and parish. The ritual of afternoon tea, for example, may have been used to solidify existing familial and social bonds rather than serving as an exercise in upward social mobility (Wall 1991, 2000). For wealthy families, the social ritual of tea drinking exhibited a family's status, and the dishes used were part of a competitive display by the mistress of the house "designed to impress her friends and acquaintances with the refined gentility of her family" (Wall 1991:79). For less affluent families, however, only individuals equated with family and community would have even been invited for tea. Thus, competition in this arena was unnecessary.

Similar practices may have been followed in South Bend. Edward Fogarty Sr. was an employee of Notre Dame. The family was actively involved with St. Joseph Parish and well-known residents of the Sorinsville neighborhood. They were well-incorporated into their Catholic community and among friends at work and worship. Their status was asserted through their engagement and affiliation with these entities and may not have needed to also be asserted materially (Rotman and Clay 2008; Rotman and Staicer 2002).

An absence of matched sets may have also been a deliberate strategy by the family to minimize any conspicuous displays of wealth. The Fogartys consistently purchased teawares and tablewares with floral patterns, which would have created a complementary and somewhat unified appearance on their table, even if the vessels did not match exactly (Fitts 1999, 2001). An overt material display of a separate tea set may have been viewed as wasteful or decadent in this conservative Catholic community, particularly during the financially difficult decades of the late-nineteenth century (Rotman and Clay 2008; Rotman and Staicer 2002).

For some poorer middle-class residents in New York at about the same time, "dazzling their friends with sumptuous ceramics was not necessarily a productive strategy in an environment where they might need the help of their peers to maintain their precarious position at the lower end of the middle class" (Wall 1999:113). Consequently, ceramic vessels in the Five Points were used to highlight group similarities rather than to emphasize differences. This strategy of deliberately eschewing overt material displays of wealth may have been employed by the Fogarty family as well.

There was also no increase in the number of white granite vessels in the Fogarty assemblage that might indicate a shift toward late Victorian table disciplines, such as that which was observed in the Five Points neighborhood (Brighton 2005:163, 229). Furthermore, for the early period of occupation (ca. 1865-ca. 1885), tablewares (N=8) outnumbered teawares (N=5), but the relationship was reversed for the later period – with teawares (N=8) outnumbering tablewares (N=6). The increase in the overall numbers of tea wares in the later period of occupation may suggest an increased importance of tea drinking beginning about 1885 at the site. This stands in marked contrast to the larger cultural milieu in which a shift *away from* social tea drinking *toward* social dining activities had occurred beginning a quarter of a century earlier (Brighton 2005:236). Since tea drinking was a customary practice Ireland, this may have been the social ritual that was most familiar and most comfortable for the family (Shakour et al. 2010).

Consumer choices are not solely about relative poverty or engagement with familiar practices. Consumption of material goods is also about household priorities (Orser 2010:98). The ceramic tea and tablewares from the Fogarty site reflect in inward orientation, an emphasis primarily on the family, rather than outward concern for social reproduction in the larger community (Rotman 2010). The family matriarch, Rose, died in 1891. Consequently, the ceramic assemblage from the latter period of occupation at the site represented a time when the eldest daughter Catherine served as the female head of an extended family unit that consisted of two households – one containing her widower father and unmarried siblings (Edward Jr. and Anna) and the other of her own young nuclear family. Such inward orientation, therefore, may also be attributable to the unique life cycle of the family at the time.

The Materiality of Complex Social Worlds

The lives of the Fogarty family and other Catholic immigrants in the Sorinsville neighborhood were profoundly shaped by their affiliation with the University. Their status as Catholics gave them access to employment, education, and mortgages, among other material resources. The neighborhood's location between the highly visible landmarks of the Golden Dome and the spires of St. Joseph Parish, however, demarcated their insular enclave, making them targets for anti-Catholic and anti-immigrant discrimination, creating a space in which Sorinsville residents were simultaneously incorporated and alienated from the social worlds of the city.

The dishes from the Fogarty table appear to embody all of the complexities of their lived experiences – traditional practices from their homeland (Shakour et al. 2010); negotiation of cultural norms of the city and creation of a meaningful home life (Fitts 1999); the need to solidify family or close family-like social bonds through meal sharing and tea time (Wall 1999, 2000); a desire to emphasize similarities with neighbors rather than differences (Rotman and Clay 2008); and the unique life history of the family in the wake of their mother's death (Rotman 2010). As such, their consumer choices were not reducible to simple binary assessments of poverty or wealth, familiar or unfamiliar practices, alienation or incorporation into the cultural world of South Bend. Rather the refined earthenwares from the site illustrate the Fogarty family's navigation of the multifaceted social landscapes in which they lived.

Catholicism “provided a focus for unity in Irish ghettos, creating an Irish American community out of a people who arrived in America with diverse loyalties to parish, townland, and country” (McCaffrey 1976:8). Yet immigrant experiences were also influenced by the particulars of their local circumstances. As Catholic residents of the Sorinsville neighborhood, the Fogarty family had access to a range of opportunities through their neighborhood, parish, the University, and the city. The Fogartys selectively embraced some aspects of local cultural norms, material resources, and social rituals while eschewing others in ways that reflected not only their

Comparison with Beaver Island

The assemblage from the Gallagher Homestead on Beaver Island was much more similar to that of the Fogarty family in South Bend, Indiana than the Five Points neighborhood in New York City. Simple place settings and the absence of matched sets clearly indicate that meals and tea time were not used for conspicuous displays of wealth or social status, but rather were gatherings for family and close friends and opportunities for solidifying existing close communal bonds. These social practices may have been brought with the Early family from the homeland. Similarly, the presence of “blue willow” patterned whiteware vessels associated with the first generation Irish (Early) family also represents the persistence of some material practices from Ireland. More data is needed, however, to fully understand the material practices of the Irish immigrant families and how they were similar to or different from earlier occupations of the site.

This chapter summarized the specialty analyses completed on the data recovered from the first field season at the Gallagher Homesite (20CX201) on Beaver Island. By examining syncretic processes in material

culture, dietary changes, and uses of the built environment, this interdisciplinary and collaborative project investigates the ways in which Irish families continued traditions from their homeland, incorporated new cultural norms and practices, and otherwise navigated the multifaceted and ever-changing social landscapes in which they lived. Our ability to address our research questions was dependent upon recovering sufficient data to do so. Since a second field season of excavation is planned for this site in 2011, the preceding chapter summarized only our preliminary data and cursory interpretations to date. More detailed analyses will be undertaken following the 2011 field season, which will allow for more definitive interpretations of the data.