

ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis:

FAKE IT TILL YOU MAKE IT: CLASS,
CONSUMPTION AND CITIZENSHIP IN
PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA, 1892-1938

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Over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the American economy and culture underwent dramatic changes. One such change was the shift in the household economy from a mostly self-sufficient producer to a consumer. As consumption became increasingly vital to everyday life, American citizenship began to be defined by its relation to the consumer economy: what you could buy and display to represent your social status. At the same time, immigrants flooded into America to fill labor shortages. The majority of these immigrants and their families worked in dangerous and low-paying jobs, and in cities like the study area of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania they filled blue-collar jobs in steel mills and factories.

In this thesis, I ask how do differences in purchasing patterns represented in the material culture of middle-class and working-class domestic sites expose expressions of citizenship? To answer this question, this study compares four domestic sites from historically working-class neighborhoods and four domestic sites from a historically middle-class neighborhood in the greater Pittsburgh area. Oral histories and memoirs pertinent to these contexts were also identified and analyzed.

The oral histories and memoirs reveal two different standards of living between the working and middle-class but a similar distaste for foreignness, even among the working-classes who were largely comprised of recent immigrants. Ethnic stereotyping was present even in the mills, where certain ethnic groups were assumed to be suited only for certain, often lower, positions. The comparative artifact analysis demonstrated the middle- and working- class artifacts were dispersed across the functional groups in similar manner, with the exception of the Structural group. More variation was evident within the categories of each group, however, significant overlap was still observed. Taken into the context of consumption as citizenship theory, it is proposed that working-class women, who were responsible for the near total management of the household and its funds, identified that full citizenship required shedding of all foreign markers and proper participation in the consumer economy. By imitating the purchasing patterns of the middle-class, the working-class families literally bought their way into recognition as full American citizens.

FAKE IT TILL YOU MAKE IT: CLASS, CONSUMPTION,
AND CITIZENSHIP IN PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA:
1892-1938

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Forward

Research for this thesis was originally guided by the hypothesis that women in the working-class maintained greater control over the household finances than their middle-class counterparts. This would be evident in the kinds of artifacts recovered from the domestic sites. As research continued, the available data and the patterns emerging shifted the research question. However, the research presented in this thesis still maintains a gendered lens.

Dedication

To my parents, for letting their eight-year-old daughter believe she could be an archaeologist.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Through this study, I ask how differences in purchasing patterns represented in the material culture of middle-class and working-class domestic sites expose expressions of citizenship. To answer this, I will focus on historically middle-class and working-class neighborhoods in the City of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania from the years 1892-1938. Eight previously excavated domestic sites were analyzed. Four sites represent middle-class families and are encompassed in site trinomial 36AL0269, while the remaining four represent working-class families and are located in historically working-class neighborhoods. These sites are 36AL0569, 36AL0574, 36AL0575, and 36AL0578. The sites in working-class neighborhoods were all excavated as part of Section 106 compliance for the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) and the surveys were conducted by cultural resource management (CRM) firms.

During the Gilded Age, American life was in a state of flux. Beginning at the onset of the Industrial Revolution in the early nineteenth century, the very basis of the economy had rapidly shifted from agrarian to one dominated by manufacturing. People left family farms in small rural towns to work at the mills in urban areas and immigrants flooded into the United States in response to the demand for labor. Additionally, more goods became available to more people of different means. The unstated rules and assumptions that governed society no longer applied as these new technologies, economies, and demographics spread to all aspects of life (Cowan 1983, Shackel 1996, Strasser 2000). With an increasing presence of foreigners and a quickly growing wealth disparity between those at the top of the economic scale and those at the bottom, a monumental shift occurred in how American citizens saw themselves and in what it meant to be a citizen at all. By the end of the nineteenth century, citizenship was defined partly by one's

participation in the consumer economy. The ability to freely participate in consumption, and to have that consumption reflect one's social status, was so vital to the American way of life that contemporary sources describe it as a right of the American citizen (Mullins 1999, McGovern 2006, Camp 2013).

The City of Pittsburgh saw itself similarly transformed along with the rest of the nation with the expansion of American manufacturing. By the mid to late nineteenth century, Pittsburgh was the leading producer in the steel industry at a time when steel was in high demand (Kobus 2015). The steel companies themselves commonly sought out and employed the newest immigrant class to fill the unskilled and semi-skilled blue-collar jobs in the mills. That work was physically hard, dangerous, and poorly paid, but the men who filled those jobs had few options for advancement, particularly if they were from a stigmatized group such as Black American, Eastern European, or Italian. Ethnic heritage played a large role in one's life during this period and ethnic neighborhoods were common in the mill towns, forming a large part of one's social sphere (Hepps 2021, Byington 1910).

Life for women in the working-class was difficult in its own ways. With their husbands spending the typical 12-hour 'turn' or shift in the mill six to seven days a week, women were responsible for all other aspects of life. A woman was expected to make her husband's pay stretch as far as it could, perform laborious domestic duties, raise children, and, when necessary, take on additional work to supplement the family funds. Women in this world often had to break social norms on what was considered 'appropriate' for women to keep her family functional (Bell 1941, Wood 2004, Westmont 2019).

Comparatively, life for middle-class families was easier. Men occupied jobs that typically paid better, were safer, and were less physically taxing. Their families greatly benefited from

this, as they could afford more comforts and goods that provided a more luxurious life. Women faced less pressure to financially provide for the household and could more strictly adhere to the contemporary customs for their sex. By the turn of the twentieth century, the typical ancestry of those in this class were Western European such as English, Scottish, German, or Irish. Or, as the census records reveal, they considered themselves to be simply American.

Chapter 2 is a summary of previous literature relating to the history of domestic life, the post-industrial division of labor, and consumption as citizenship. The chapter concludes with the theoretical positioning used for this study. With the rise of wage labor during the Industrial Revolution, households stopped being ‘producers’ who created many of the goods they needed for subsistence and moved into ‘consumers’ who used the wages earned to buy the goods they once made (Cowan 1983, Shackel 1996, Strasser 2000). This switch inevitably made itself into the consciousness of the American citizenry, who began to use consumption as an integral part of citizenship (Mullins 1999, McGovern 2006, Camp 2013). At the same time, the removal of work from the home created ‘separate-spheres’, wherein domestic life was distinct and separate from public life of business and politics. While men were able to move freely between the two, women were strictly relegated to the former (Spencer-Wood 1996; 2013).

Chapter 3 discusses the history of Pittsburgh. Beginning as a fort during the French and Indian War, it was an agricultural community that specialized in trade in the years following the Revolutionary War. Its position at the mouth of the Ohio River, which runs westward into the Mississippi River, made it one of the gateways for those traveling west (Lorant 1999). Throughout the nineteenth century, this position along major waterways was a significant contributor to the economic shift to manufacturing and industrialization. Its industrial history began primarily with glass, fiber, and iron production, but men like Andrew Carnegie

transformed Pittsburgh into a steel manufacturing titan towards the end of the century (Toker 1986, Rooney and Peterson 2013, Brown 2019). Air pollution was an unfortunate side effect of the industrial growth, and the middle and upper classes began moving to the suburbs away from the mills beginning in the mid-nineteenth century (Rooney and Peterson 2013). This was around the same time as the first wave of immigrants from Western Europe began to arrive to fill labor shortages. Eastern Europeans arrived in the second wave of immigration beginning in the 1870s. Following the Homestead Strike of 1892, unionism disappeared from factories and mills until its successful reintroduction in 1938 following decades of worsening working conditions (Brody 1998, Brown 2019, Terrell 2025).

Chapter 4 describes the methods used for this research and presents the definitions of class and citizenship as used in this thesis. Three main lines of evidence are used: oral histories, memoirs, and the eight artifact catalogs from the previous excavations mentioned earlier in this chapter. The various lines of evidence were analyzed with the purpose of discerning how societal ideas of what constituted a citizen were expressed in the everyday lives of the middle- and working-classes, and how this expression differed between the two socio-economic classes.

Chapter 5 describes the results of the research. The oral histories and memoirs are reviewed and analyzed for memories and statements that fall into one of twelve categories that cover a wide range of topics of domestic life. This chapter also describes the history of each domestic site including the history of development, history of ownership, and tenant history, where the data for these histories were available. Following the site histories, the artifact analysis of each site is presented. Each site assemblage is divided into functional artifact groups and categories and the percentages of each functional group and category were calculated. These percentages were then compared against each other in terms of class, meaning all the middle-

class sites were compared against all the working-class sites. This was done to reveal any significant patterns, similarities, or differences in how the artifacts were dispersed between the two classes. Ideally, this would indicate where each class prioritized spending household funds.

Chapter 6 takes the results presented in Chapter 5 and discusses the patterns that were discerned. These patterns are then placed into the context of the academic literature, history of Pittsburgh, and theoretical positioning outlined in Chapters 2 and 3. In sum, the oral histories and memoirs reveal two different standards of living between the working and middle-class but a similar distaste for foreignness, even among the working-classes who were largely comprised of recent immigrants. Ethnic stereotyping was present even in the mills, where certain ethnic groups were assumed to be suited for only for certain, often lower, positions. The comparative artifact analysis demonstrated the middle- and working- class artifacts were dispersed across the functional groups in similar manner, with the exception of the Structural group. More variation was evident within the categories of each group, however, significant overlap was still observed. Taken into the context of consumption as citizenship theory, it is proposed that working-class women, who were responsible for the near total management of the household and its funds, identified that full citizenship required shedding of all foreign markers and proper participation in the consumer economy. By imitating the purchasing patterns of the middle-class, the working-class families literally bought their way into recognition as full American citizens.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Background

As stated in the previous chapter, the research question is: how do differences in purchasing patterns represented in the material culture of middle-class and working-class domestic sites expose expressions of citizenship? The research uses Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania from the years 1892-1938 as a setting to examine this question. In order to do so, this chapter provides the theoretical positioning necessary to understand how citizenship was viewed, created, and maintained during this time. This chapter begins by outlining how the relationship between home and work observed during the study period was created by the Industrial Revolution and the effects that had on how women were expected to move through society. The discussion then moves to how citizenship was created, embodied, and maintained, and the role of the consumption economy in that process.

Approximately 150 years ago, massive social and economic changes were underway throughout American society. As the Industrial Revolution evolved throughout the nineteenth century, the American economy shifted from agrarian production to wage labor in factories and mills (Cowan 1983:69-79). Prior to the rise of wage labor, work was primarily situated within the home. American households produced much of what they consumed and required the work of both men and women within and around the home for survival. As working patterns shifted over the course of the nineteenth century, however, the household economy shifted from partially self-sustaining to nearly completely reliant on consumer goods. Consistent wages were now a necessary part of life, and families had little option but for the men to leave the home to obtain them. The very idea of work became increasingly separated from the home as men had to physically leave the household to earn a wage (Shackel 1996).

This eventually led to the much more formal separation of home and work, creating the ‘separate-spheres’ ideology. Men belonged to the public sphere where business, work, and politics were discussed and conducted. Women, on the other hand, were confined to the domestic sphere and charged with home management and child-rearing (Shackel 1996, Spencer-Wood 1996). During the Victorian Era, the domestic sphere was intended as a haven from the evils of the public domain, a place of morality and virtue. Children became good citizens and good Christians within the home, and women’s role was to uphold this domestic morality (McDannell 1992). By the late nineteenth century, the separation of home and work was not only possible, but desirable (Cowan 1983:69). Women’s respectability was tied to their place in the home and of maintaining the boundary between them and the world of business and politics (Weber and Stearns 1983:xix).

However, women’s roles and the meaning behind them changed significantly over nineteenth and early twentieth century, from the moral and virtuous anchor for the family during the Victorian Era to the more scientific home economist around the turn of the twentieth century. Women played no small part in changing meaning of the domestic realm, as they often manipulated it to the advantage of their families and themselves (Westmont 2019, Spencer-Wood 2013).

With the foundations of American identity and society in a rapid state of evolution, the material record left behind from the activities within the home has proven to be a rich landscape for analysis and theorization of how identity is formed and how the domestic sphere was used to attain social and economic goals, promote class and self-interest, and situate a household within the larger socio-economic hierarchy (De Cunzo 1983, Mrozowski 1990, Little 1994, Shackel 1996, Wall 1999, Battle-Baptiste 2011, Spencer-Wood 2013, Westmont 2019).

The replacement of household production with wage labor, however, irrevocably altered the societal idea of work. Following the adoption of separate-spheres ideology, work began to be associated with activities done outside the home for a wage, resulting in the denigration of domestic labor (Strausser 1982:185). Regardless, many women, particularly of the working-class, supplemented their husband's income by taking on other domestic tasks for pay, such as boarders, sewing, and laundry. By taking on additional domestic tasks for pay, women were able to maintain their respectability by staying in the home and setting their own schedules (Strausser 1982:6). As privatized services began to remove these earning opportunities from working-class women, reformists became alarmed as the boundaries between the domestic and the public became more porous. Women were leaving the house to earn wages and perform other chores, increasingly inviting the outside world into the home. In an effort to combat this, around the turn of the twentieth century reformists began to equate the increasingly dominant scientific ideals with the home and the primary role women played within society evolved from maintaining the family virtue to home economist (Strausser 1982: 203-206; McDannell 1992).

Suzanne Spencer-Wood (2013) states these changes described above were the result of intentional and gradual shifts initiated by women from within the home. Spencer-Wood posits women altered and manipulated the world and material culture available to them to gradually imbue new, more positive meanings to objects associated with femineity, thereby shifting the societal view of women into a more positive light. Over time, these changing meanings allowed women to operate with increasingly greater freedom and expand further into the public sphere, something that Annie Gray (2013) observes in women's tea ceremony in eighteenth to twentieth century England.

While women have used material culture and the associated social meanings to further their position in society, they participated within that same culture for multiple other purposes. Throughout the industrialized period of American history, women and their households have negotiated their way through class hierarchies to provide their families better economic and social opportunities (Westmont 2019).

At the same time, American identity was in flux during the nineteenth century, as described by Lauren Berlant in her seminal work *The Anatomy of National Fantasy: Hawthorne, Utopia, and Everyday Life* (1991). In this work, Berlant analyzes the works of Nathaniel Hawthorne, the mid-nineteenth century author whose works are a commentary on American society and politics of the time. Berlant argues that in Hawthorne's works, American identity is presented as a complex jumble of the political, linguistic, territorial, genetic, and experimental (1991:5). She coins this system the National Symbolic, which she defines as "the order of discursive practices whose reign within a national space produces, and also refers to, the 'law' in which the accident of birth within a geopolitical boundary transforms individual into subjects of a collectively held history." (1991:20). In other words, the National Symbolic is the apparatus through which the state creates, maintains, and replicates citizens, with the goal of creating a 'stabilizing' national identity.

The creation of such citizens, as theorized by Berlant, required the "symbolic and practical orchestration of a public mentality." (1991:7). The National Symbolic provides the field of activity for this, in which the individual interacts with and takes on the national ideology and heritage into their everyday lives, effectively becoming a citizen. Ideally for the state, the national identity will then be reproduced by the citizens independently, without the state's interference. The citizen, on the other hand, gains the security and safety of national personhood.

Berlant argues that national citizenship and a place in an organized society is as necessary to modern life as earning a wage and marrying, as citizenship provides protections, privileges, and a place in the national and international community, and she further claims “national citizenship’s essential status for an actual person.” (1991:13). The definition and idea of citizenship is maintained not in isolation, however, but in constant competition with other social and political formations, such as feminism or foreign cultures (1991:9).

Berlant lays out the how ideas of citizenship are created and maintained along with the appeal to aspire to citizenship. Even as the state relied on the subjects to participate in recreating citizenship, the citizens themselves directly benefited from having a place in a nation that provided protections and privileges. Throughout the study period (1892-1938), consumerism was distinctly tied to definitions of citizenship. Over the course of the nineteenth century, consumerism and materialism became inflated with American identity and a family could demonstrate their respectability and patriotism by taking part in the consumer economy (Mullins 1999, McGovern 2006:103, Camp 2013).

Charles McGovern describes how advertisers consistently linked goods and spending to a pathway to naturalization, including symbols of American heritage within their advertisements (2006:103). Paul Mullins further elaborates on this with his study of genteel African American house sites in Annapolis, Maryland. Mullins observed the use and discard of bottles from national brands at these sites, which he interpreted as the effort of the genteel African American class to subvert local racist practice to participate in the national consumer culture. This consumer culture emerged in the late nineteenth century, during which Americans began to believe that their right to consumption was integral to their citizenship. As Mullins states “Americans clearly began to believe that their social and material ambitions could be realized by

commodity consumption which required privileges in both workplaces and public consumer space” (1999:24).

In her 2013 book *The Archaeology of Citizenship*, Stacey Camp, similar to McGovern, notes that consumption, which she defines as “the act of consuming, shopping, displaying, and acquiring goods” (2013:5) is a political choice that encapsulates one’s relationship to the American nation. Similarly to Mullins, Camp argues that people of marginalized groups denied *legal* citizenship have historically used consumption to make claims towards and seek acceptance as a cultural citizen (pp 5). Framed by Berlant’s National Symbolic, Camp essentially claims individuals use the symbolic act of consumption to turn themselves into citizens and circumvent the legal obstacles. Camp uses multiple different archaeological sites to highlight this mechanism, and acknowledges that archaeologists are uniquely privy to the consumption habits of past people and therefore the beliefs consumerism represent.

Considering the increasing importance of consumption, the desire to present the family as respectable became inextricably tied with buying the right goods, with working-class families making household choices that would allow the family to be perceived as maintaining a middle-class respectability, despite their economic means otherwise (Wall 1999, Westmont 2019). Sacrifices were often made to maintain this appearance of middle-class respectability, as noted by V. Camille Westmont (2019) in her doctoral thesis describing early twentieth century working-class neighborhoods in the anthracite coal towns of Eckley and Pardeesville in northeast Pennsylvania. In her thesis, Westmont describes a system wherein the women, in order to maintain the middle-class ideal of a stay-at-home wife and mother, would send their children to work to supplement the household income.

The aspirations of the working class, and the definitions and distinctions between classes, has been a subject of study for multiple archaeological studies of mill towns, such as the study of corporate housing at the Boott Mills Corporation in Lowell, Massachusetts (Mrozowski 1990, Beaudry and Mrozowski 1988) and the archaeology of workers' housing in Paterson, New Jersey (De Cunzo 1983). In her dissertation, De Cunzo (1983) examines privy assemblages at worker house lots. Artifacts such as ceramics, bottles, and glassware are analyzed for various attributes such as their level of expense, contemporary fashion, and location of production to answer a series of questions surrounding class identity formation and changes in consumer demands and technology. Through these examinations, De Cunzo observed that workers "consciously adopted adaptive strategies to approximate middle class standard of living" (1983:438). She further posits that while these same workers maintained their ethnic identity through church, family ties, and ethnic associates, they "strove for upward mobility and displayed the American 'ethic' of conspicuous consumption." (1983:439).

In their 1988 article, Beaudry and Mrozowski utilize a similar archaeological assemblage recovered from the corporate housing for workers at the Boott Mills in Lowell, Massachusetts. The authors analyze the workers' domestic assemblage to interpret ways in which workers strove to exercise control over their lives in the face of corporate paternalism. In this article, and other studies of these assemblages (Mrozowski 1990), expressions of working-class identity and middle-class aspirations are observed in the domestic assemblages through consumerism. This consists of examining faunal remains, glass fragments, pottery, and personal items such as accoutrements, smoking, and drinking. Comparing these worker assemblages to the middle-class Agents House domestic assemblage allowed Beaudry and Mrozowski to identify class distinctions in consumerism by how the individuals chose to participate in the consumer

economy and the differences in how they used this economy to construct individual identities in the face of corporate moral oversight (1988).

When considering how cultural forces affect certain groups, it is important to understand the variability of experiences within groups. Now called Intersectionality, Little (1994) notes that numerous different identities, such as race, gender, and class, all contribute to a variability of experiences within groups.

In her article, Little describes the concept of muted groups, proposed by Edwin Ardener (1975). The term muted groups generally applies to any subordinate group, and states the muted groups remain muted because “their models of reality and worldview cannot be expressed adequately through the modes and ideology accepted by the dominant group.” (Ardener 1975:196). Even though everyday forms of resistance occur, “muted groups have little choice but to express themselves through dominant groups’ ideology and modes of expression or risk ostracism, condemnation, or belittlement by embracing their own.” (1975:197).

However, forms of resistance by these ‘muted groups’ has been observed and theorized. In her 2015 book *Yearning: race, gender, and cultural politics*, bell hooks describes how the act of homemaking can also be an act of resistance. While specifically discussing the struggles of Black women and the Black community, many of the theories she proposes have similar implications across racial divides. hooks described how in a system meant to assert its control by draining Black women and families of the energy needed to create and maintain a sense of self and community, Black women’s efforts to create a homeplace, or a place where one has the “opportunity to grow and develop, to nurture our spirits” (pp. 42) was a resistance to this oppressive system. She additionally posits that it is through the home that the center of community forms, and through the community political action occurs.

Paul Shackel (1996) likewise notes how resistance is evident in workers' homes in Harper's Ferry during the mid-nineteenth century. The domestic assemblages recovered are more reflective of ceramic styles from earlier decades, rather than currently fashionable refined earthenware, indicating a rejection of consumer culture and mass-manufacturing. Shackel theorizes this is due to working-class resistance to the economic system that drastically altered their livelihood and living habits.

The rise of separate-spheres ideology during the Industrial Revolution created a social system with two distinct spaces, the public and domestic spheres, wherein specific, distinct activities took place that were gatekept on a basis of gender. Women were relegated to the household in this system and virtue, morality, and social standing were all discernable through overt consumerism. Throughout the late nineteenth to early twentieth century, consumer culture became inherently tied to Americanness and national culture, and participation via the buying and displaying of goods came to be considered a right of the citizen and a path to naturalization.

Women's role as household managers afforded them a certain level of respectability and control over the household. Performing their domestic duties was tied to the respectability of themselves and their families, and the consumer choices they made reflected their ideology on citizenship, consumerism, and identity. Once ignored or overly simplified in scholarship, the domestic sphere and women's work within it has come to be understood and studied as a place of identity formation and negotiation, and community and resistance building. The ways in which this occurred are closely tied to industrial society and how the necessity of not only earning enough to survive, but earning enough to maintain an appearance of the desired middle-class standard, led to choices in consumerism, supplemental wages, and investment in one's own family and community.

Thomas Bell's novel *Out of This Furnace* (1941) offers a view into how all these social and economic forces intersect and are acted out in the day-to-day lives of the working class. The work depicts the fictional story of three generations of Eastern European immigrants to the United States, specifically Pittsburgh. Each generation works in the steel industry performing blue-collar jobs and lives their lives in the associated mill towns from their arrival to the area in the late nineteenth century until the re-introduction of a functioning union in 1938 (see Chapter 3 for more details on the fall and resurrection of unionism in the steel industry). While fictional, Thomas Bell is recounting the story of his own family, Slovak immigrants who came to Pittsburgh for the promise of work. The novel has been well-established as an accurate, well-researched example of how immigrants of the working class participated in and thought about the American social systems and captures their frustrations, their agency, and their joys living within these systems.

Chapter 3 explores the historic context of Pittsburgh during the study period, explaining how the transformation of the city into a steel manufacturing titan created distinct social classes with vastly different access to resources and how the social demographics of the study period were formed as a result.

Chapter 3: Historic Context

3.1: Introduction

Pittsburgh and its surrounding towns have always been defined by their position at the confluence of three rivers: the Monongahela, the Allegheny, and the Ohio. The Monongahela and Allegheny come together to form the mouth of the Ohio, which flows west through the Appalachian Mountains to the Mississippi River. These rivers and their valleys form what is today known as ‘Steel Valley’, a collection of industrial towns and cities dedicated to and reliant upon steel production. The present research is focused on the domestic lives of those who inhabited these industrial towns, with a specific focus on Braddock, a mill town east of Pittsburgh, and the western Pittsburgh neighborhood formerly known as Allegheny City prior to its annexation into the City of Pittsburgh in 1907 (Figure 1).

The European-American history of Steel Valley begins just prior to the French & Indian War with the construction of a military fort and outpost at the confluence of the three rivers. During the late eighteenth century, Pittsburgh grew from an agricultural community to a commerce economy and over the course of the nineteenth century further evolved into a major industrial city. As Pittsburgh’s economy evolved, so too did the working conditions, social demographics, and politics that governed daily life. The present research focuses on the years between 1892 to 1938. These two dates bookended the non-union era in Pittsburgh, and are marked by labor struggles, poor working and living conditions, and distinctly marked socio-economic class hierarchy. The eight domestic sites analyzed later in this thesis fall within this time range.

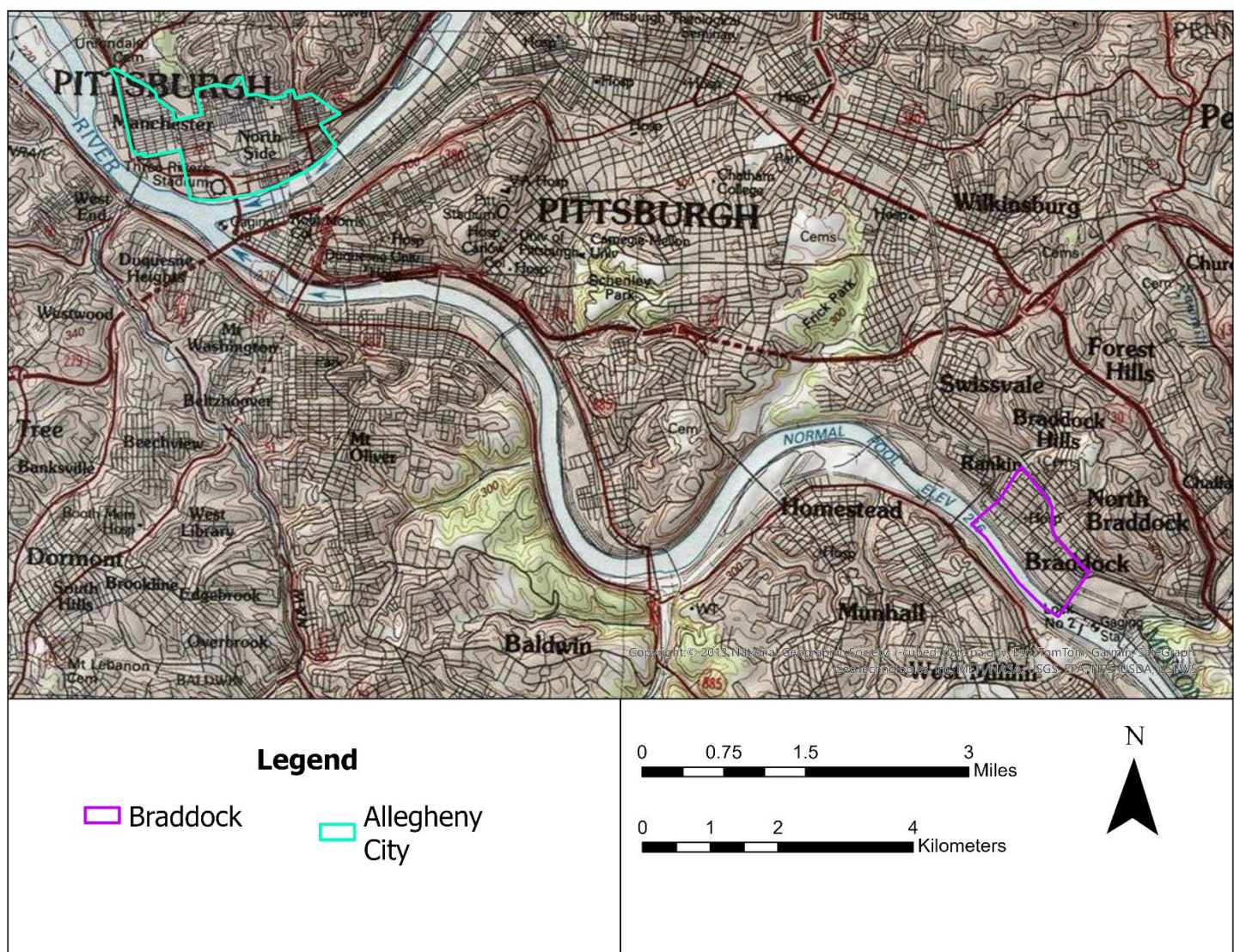


Figure 1. Locations of Braddock and Allegheny City overlayed on the 1986 Pittsburgh West and 1986 Pittsburgh East USGS topographic maps.

3.2: The beginnings of Pittsburgh and Steel Valley

The first European settlement in the area began with the construction of a British fort at the confluence of the three rivers in 1752. The British attempted to stake a claim in territory disputed by the French, who took the area prior to the fort's completion and built their own, named Fort Duquesne, in that same year (Lorant 1999). The British attempted to take said fort multiple times during the war and the Braddock area was the site of the massacre of British General Braddock and his troops following their ill-fated campaign in 1755 (Toker 1986). The area remained in French hands until the close of the war, after which the British took control and rebuilt the dilapidated fort, renaming it Fort Pitt (Lorant 1999).

Following the end of the French & Indian War in 1763, Pittsburgh was largely agricultural, consisting of little more than log huts (Toker 1986). Allegheny City was originally laid out in 1787 as Deprecation Lands intended as payment for Revolutionary War veterans, although few actually settled here (Rooney and Peterson 2013; Toker 1986). Pittsburgh's location at the mouth of the Ohio, however, quickly made it a major entry point for settlers heading west. As the Ohio was one of the few navigable rivers cutting through the Appalachian Mountains, the local economy began to grow with commercial goods passing through its waters (Lorant 1999, Toker 1986).

Even as Pittsburgh enjoyed a thriving commerce economy, industrialization began in the early 1800s. Glass production was the first major export of the city in 1795, and the first iron foundry was established in 1805. The outbreak of the War of 1812 led to British tariffs on manufactured goods, and Pittsburgh industry boomed in response to the demand for American-manufactured products (Lorant 1999). It was at this point that industry in Pittsburgh began to become a true economic contender.

3.3: Nineteenth Century Industrialization

Manufacturing in Pittsburgh continued to explode after the War of 1812 to the point where the city no longer relied on commerce to support its economy. The introduction of steam power led to the first steam powered rolling mill in 1812 and other factories quickly followed suit implementing the new steam-powered technology (Lorant 1999). Glass, iron, and oil were mainstays of Pittsburgh manufacturing economy, while cotton was the major product of Allegheny City (Toker 1986; Rooney and Peterson 2013). Factory owners were becoming increasingly wealthy and used their new-found wealth to move into more rural middle-class neighborhoods such as Allegheny City to escape the smog and dirt of Pittsburgh proper (Rooney and Peterson 2013). This migration to the outer neighborhoods of the city helped to separate the members of the middle-class from both their place of work and those of lower socioeconomic status. Middle-class neighborhoods thus became a domestic haven during the mid to late nineteenth century (Weber and Stearns 1983:xv-xix).

By 1840, Pittsburgh was the iron manufacturing capital of the United States (Kobus 2015). This rapid growth led to a labor shortage that was filled by the first wave of post-industrial immigration; mainly western Europeans of Irish, German, Scottish, and English descent. By 1860, one-third of Pittsburgh residents were immigrants (Lorant 1999). Factories were generally still independently owned at this point which allowed for more direct contact between owner and employee. Workers fell into two categories: skilled or unskilled (Brown 2019). The most important skilled positions to the iron industry were ‘puddlers’, men responsible for knowing how, when, and in what amounts to mix and pull off the iron. It was a position that had to be learned and was often passed from father to son. The first unions were formed of

skilled iron workers, notably the Sons of Vulcan, and harsh negotiations and strikes with management were not uncommon (Kobus 2015).

The Civil War created another economic boom for the area as demand skyrocketed for the war effort (Lorant 1999). The war turned Pittsburgh into an industrial titan, and the rapid railroad expansion west in the decades following the war sealed that status. Pittsburgh mills were able to supply most of the steel needed for locomotives and their tracks, primarily because the mills were now powered by coal, of which western Pennsylvania had in abundance. By 1880, Pittsburgh mills were producing two-thirds of all crucible steel in the United States (Lorant 1999). The Pennsylvania Railroad reached Pittsburgh in 1852, with the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad (B&O) arriving shortly thereafter. This altered the way product was moved in and out of the area and Andrew Carnegie built his Edgar Thomson Works in Braddock in 1873 due to its proximity to the B&O rail line. Braddock's population boomed following the opening of the Edgar Thomson Works, a pattern that was replicated in many of the eastern mill towns such as Homestead and Turtle Creek (Toker 1986).

Automation was increasingly incorporated into the mills in the later decades of the nineteenth century and, while this increased production and wealth for the owners, the working conditions became even more dangerous as men struggled to keep up with the machines they operated (Brown 2019). An example of this is the introduction of the Bessemer process, a new and more efficient means of producing steel, to the Edgar Thomson Works in 1881. Production skyrocketed and neighboring mill towns were flooded with a new population looking to fill the labor shortage (Toker 1986).

3.4: Subject Years of 1892 to 1938

By 1892, mill work became increasingly dangerous even as the wealth gap between the laborers and the owners grew exponentially. The primary union at this time was the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers (Amalgamated), who only allowed skilled workers into their ranks, an ever-shrinking group in the face of automation (Brown 2019, Lorant 1999, Terrell 2025). While laborers in Carnegie's Homestead mill had enjoyed an eight-hour workday policy instituted in 1878, this policy was reversed to the industry standard of twelve-hour shifts, six to seven days a week when Henry Frick took over as Carnegie's manager (Kobus 2015). In 1892, the contract for skilled workers was ending, and renegotiations were due. Both Carnegie and Frick sought to break the union's hold in all of the mills and produced terms unacceptable to the Amalgamated representatives. The Amalgamated called a strike on the mills and the men and women of Homestead took up arms against the company hired militia. When Frick called in the militant detective agency the Pinkertons the ensuing riot resulted in several Pinkerton deaths. Later titled the Battle of Homestead, this was the opening act to a months-long strike that would ultimately fail. The unions in the mills were broken, essentially destroying unionism and the workers' ability to collectively bargain for better wages, safer conditions, and better quality of life (Terrell 2025).

At the turn of the twentieth century, immigrants were still supplying the majority of the steel mill work force. Now, however, that workforce came from Eastern Europe; specifically, Poland, Italy, Slovakia, and Hungary (Toker 1986; Lorant 1999). By 1907, approximately 55% of Carnegie's workforce was listed as Slavic on the employee payroll. The Western European immigrants from a generation prior held a sense of ethnic superiority over the new immigrant class, as the older immigrant class now occupied white-collar jobs, managerial positions, and

generally refused to do the lower-paid, unskilled work they viewed as more acceptable for a ‘Hunky’, a slur for a Slavic immigrant. This xenophobic view of the Eastern European immigrants was replicated among other classes and social groups in the city (Brown 2019).

Working conditions continued to grow more dangerous, while living conditions were generally abysmal. The majority of the unskilled families, who were mostly Eastern European, made poverty-level wages and many families often rented their homes, or rooms in a home (Bell 1941; Lorant 1999; Brown 2019). The homes themselves were generally unmodern, often lacking modern sanitation and conveniences such as running water, gas heat, indoor toilets, and electricity (Brown 2019, Byington 1910). As the twelve-hour shift system was in place until World War I, male heads-of-household had no energy to expend on anything after work, leaving their wives in complete charge of the family and household affairs (Lorant 1999).

In the late nineteenth to early twentieth century, the middle and elite classes made Allegheny City their retreat. Brighton Road and Ridge Avenue were known at the time as Millionaire’s Row. Following the 1907 annexation to Pittsburgh, however, Allegheny City became increasingly noisier and more crowded. As a result, the wealthy began to move further from the city and home values dropped. This opened the neighborhood up to a new demographic of a mix of white- and blue-collar families (Rooney and Peterson 2013).

When World War I broke out in 1914, all immigration from Eastern Europe halted. Those who had planned to return to their birth country no longer were able and the labor shortage was filled by Mexicans and Black Americans from the South during the Great Migration. This once again shifted the demographics of the area (Brody 1998; Brown 2019; Terrell 2025). The Eastern European immigrants now found themselves beginning to be able to access the higher positions that had evaded them before the war and oversee this new migrant class (Brody 1998: 267).

The war, as in previous decades, created an increased demand. The increased profits were not reflected in the workers' wages, however, and owners' refusals to increase pay or quality of life led to several violent clashes, including the nation-wide Great Strike of 1919 (Brown 2015). The discontent of the workers was felt everywhere, and a report on the abysmal labor conditions of the steel industry published by the Committee of Inquiry of the Interchurch World Movement in 1920 brought national public attention and outrage to conditions in the steel mills. Forced to capitulate on the 12-hour workday, anti-unionism amongst the steel corporations continued to grow more militant during the 1920s (Brody 1998:271-273).

The production boom ended with the onset of the Great Depression. Although Pittsburgh experienced a slight lag, soon enough the full effects were known as production plummeted, swaths of employees were laid off, and those that retained their jobs took large pay cuts (Lorant 1999). The Works Progress Administration (WPA) and the Public Works Administration (PWA) came to Pittsburgh and attempted to supply jobs with large public works projects. The WPA and PWA were the main employers in certain neighborhoods such as Allegheny City, now known as North Side. Economic recovery in Pittsburgh was slow. In 1934, The WPA and PWA employed 61% of North Side residents while one-third of Pittsburgh's workforce remained without work (Lorant 1999; Rooney and Peterson 2013).

The economic shock of the Great Depression destroyed the American mentality of worker self-sufficiency (Lorant 1999). Congress passed several pieces of worker's-rights legislation, building off a trend that began in the late 1910s (Brown 2019). It was under these circumstances that several smaller unions merged to form the Committee of Industrial Organization (CIO) in 1935. The CIO earned a major victory in 1937 when the Carnegie-Illinois Steel Company in Illinois capitulated to many of the union's demands, including a wage-raise, a 40-hour week, and

time-and-a-half overtime. This began a domino effect in American industry as other major mills and factories across the country submitted to the demands of the CIO and their members. In 1938, several Pittsburgh mills agreed to the new demands and worker lives improved drastically as a result (Brown 2019; Bell 1941).

3.5: Conclusion

The re-introduction of a functioning union into the Pittsburgh mills came just in time for the outbreak of World War II. Demand for steel skyrocketed as a result and, with new wages and worker protections in place, steel mill household incomes increased significantly. War time quotas for the mills resulted in the destruction of the old ethnic neighborhoods to make way for expanding mills, and the once insular neighborhoods were scattered across Steel Valley in a demographic shake-up (Hepps 2017). Additionally, the rise of automobiles hastened the decline of traditional neighborhoods as many no longer needed to walk to work and could live in distant neighborhoods (Lorant 1999). While the Pittsburgh steel industry all but collapsed in the 1980s, it was instrumental not only the growth of Pittsburgh, but to American labor history and the worker's rights enjoyed today.

Chapter 4: Methods Chapter

4.1: Introduction and definitions of class and citizenship

With the theoretical and historical context of the thesis topic presented, this chapter will describe the research design used to guide the study. Following this, the data sources used for the project are described, and the chapter concludes with a description of the methods implemented in this study.

As the study relies on a distinction between classes, it is necessary to discuss how class is defined for the present study. Class is defined as an intermingling of shared beliefs and customs often deriving from a similar ancestry, a similar economic status that is tied to the types of occupation typically performed among the members of the group, and similar ways of understanding and moving through the world, which are often influenced by how the shared beliefs and economic status are reacted to by the dominant culture. Based on the history of Pittsburgh's development, discussions of class can also be bound to specific neighborhoods, therefore geographical boundaries play a role in the definition. Archaeologically, definitions of class also include an analysis of how the material culture was used to create, maintain, and replicate class interests and identity.

Within the present research, the working class are those who make up the lowest level of the socio-economic scale, performing either manual, blue-collar work typically involved with industry or providing a service to those that do perform this work. The working-class members earn a range of wages, primarily from poverty wages to just self-sustaining, but on occasion can make greater income (Byington 1910). During the study period, neighborhoods associated with

steel mills or other industry are often classified as working class and the residents make up a distinct culture based on shared socio-economic status, relative location to the mills, and a similar world view. The middle class is located just above the working class on the socio-economic ladder and is similarly encapsulated by the geographic boundaries of neighborhoods where the residents share similar economic status, customs, and a worldview distinct from that of the working class. Those who belong to the middle class typically have more disposable income and perform white-collar work that is generally not physically laborious in nature. One's position within their class designation is a range, however, and the distinction between classes can blur, particularly when discussing those who straddle the socioeconomic line, such as those of the lower middle-class and those of the upper working-class (De Cunzo 1983). Thus, the geographic boundary of neighborhoods with a specific economic reputation becomes an integral part of discussions involving class.

The present research also requires a definition of citizenship. In this thesis, citizenship is defined as the purposeful interaction between the individual and state wherein the individual agrees to participate in the approved actions, habits, and mindset of the state in exchange for recognition as a citizen. Citizen, or national personhood as described by Berlant (1991), then grants the individual access to wider society and bestows on them the rights and privileges of national personhood. For the present research, the state is synonymous with the dominant social group, who are white, male, Protestant, and of Western European descent.

Berlant's theory of the National Symbolic and national personhood is integral to this definition of citizenship, and it is important to note that the *legality* of citizenship is excluded from the presented definition. As Camp (2013) notes in her opening discussion of citizenship, those who are legally excluded from national personhood can and have circumvented these

legalities by participating correctly in society regardless of their legal status. In this way, individuals seek social inclusion and the status of a ‘cultural citizen’ (2013:5). For cultural citizens, the dominant group, or the state in this instance, acknowledges the individual and accepts them into society, which then provides the same access to rights and privileges. Many of the immigrant members of Pittsburgh’s working-class lacked a naturalization status that would mark them as legal citizens. Therefore, the working definition of citizen relies on the concept of the cultural citizen and disregards legal status.

The reasoning for this is because archaeologically, material culture is used to identify expressions of citizenship which rely heavily on the mechanisms of meaning and transformation described by Berlant and Camp, which are enacted through a social field of activity rather than a legal one.

4.2: Research Design

In the context of turn-of-the-century Pittsburgh, the present research intends to test the following research question: How do differences in purchasing patterns represented in the material culture of middle-class and working-class domestic sites expose expressions of citizenship? It is hypothesized that this distinction will be represented in their respective domestic material culture as a large majority of working-class households in Pittsburgh during the study years were made up of an immigrant class. Middle-class households generally were more established American citizenry, and the distinction between the two identities will likely be observed in the domestic refuge.

This research design relies on three lines of evidence: oral histories, memoirs and contemporary documents, and previously excavated artifact assemblages. Oral histories represent

an important line of evidence when the subjects are of those groups under-represented or completely left out of official records (Metheny 2005:104). Typically, these groups are poorer, immigrants, non-white, or another demographic that does not fall into the ideal majority population. Additionally, oral histories are an excellent way to reconstruct the daily lives of those who had neither time nor ability to put their own memories into print (Hoffman 1974:26). In the current research, oral histories will be a vital part of data collection as working-class mill and factory workers are central to the study. Information on the daily lives of these workers during the study years of 1892-1938 is already sparse, and contemporary sources describing daily life are usually authored by the companies, government agencies, or foundations. Often, the authors have a more privileged reality and often color the lives of the mill workers with a sort of exoticism. The oral histories component of this project therefore is vital to building an accurate representation of working-class domestic life.

Memoirs and primary sources will bolster any description of domestic life in both middle and working-class households. Contemporary documents include housing reports and economy studies of working-class neighborhoods while memoirs describe the domestic life of middle-class families. These will assist in creating a fuller understanding of both middle- and working-class domestic life while also acting as an external validity test against the oral histories.

Finally, the artifact assemblages chosen for this project will reflect both working and middle-class households with an equal number of households being represented in each grouping. Each grouping will contain four households to provide comparison and pattern identification within each social class.

4.3: Data sources and locations

The artifact assemblages used for the present research were excavated as part of Section 106 compliance archaeology in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (NHPA). The assemblages come from two reports that were accessed from Pennsylvania's State Historic & Archaeological Resource Exchange (PA SHARE), the GIS and project management system maintained by Pennsylvania's State Historic Preservation Office (PA SHPO).

The first report is "Archaeological Investigations of 1501-1509 Brighton Place, Acquisition Parcel 3, Pennsylvania-Brighton Redevelopment Area, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania" authored by Dr. Lu Ann De Cunzo (1988). The report documents a Phase III data recovery of archaeological site 36AL269, which encompasses five middle-class domestic households located in the present-day North Side neighborhood, formerly Allegheny City, of Pittsburgh at addresses 1501-1509 Brighton Place. The artifacts are currently curated with the Edward O'Neill Research Center, which houses collections for the Archaeology & Anthropology Department of the Carnegie Natural History Museum in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. The relevant assemblages were accessed in person at the Edward O'Neill Research Center on February 16, February 23, and March 5, 2026.

The second report is "Phase Ib and II Archaeological Survey of Urban Archaeological Resources, Mon/Fayette Transportation Project, S.R. 51 to I-376 Section, Allegheny County, Pennsylvania" authored by Dr. Melissa Diamanti, Dr. David Rue, and Dr. Conran Hay (2009). The report documents the identification and evaluation of several working-class domestic sites during Pennsylvania Turnpike rehabilitation. While several sites were identified during the survey, four sites were selected from those that were subject to more intensive Phase II excavation and were determined Eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places

(NRHP): 36AL0569, 36AL0574, 36AL0575, and 36AL0578. While the assemblages could not be located, the artifact catalogs provided as an appendix in the report allowed for cautious analysis.

The oral histories used for this research were obtained through the Rivers of Steel archives. The Rivers of Steel is a non-profit organization dedicated to preserving the history and experiences of Pittsburgh's steel industry and their archives serve as their repository for donated and sourced objects pertaining to the local steel industry. The oral histories used for this research come primarily from the 1992 and 2003 oral history surveys conducted by Rivers of Steel employees and volunteers. Oral histories from these two surveys exist as audio recordings and were listened to both at the archives and on a personal laptop at home following their digitization at the request of the author. A full list of the oral histories with their subjects and accession codes can be found in Appendix A. Please note that the 1992 oral history survey was not accessioned until 2025, therefore the accessioning dates used for citations and found in Appendix A reflect the year of accessioning, not the year the survey was performed.

The primary sources and contemporary documents were identified from various sites and sources, including the Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh catalog, the Historic Pittsburgh website, and personal recommendations from the staff at the Rivers of Steel archives. The following titles are the documents and sources used as primary sources for the present research:

- *Out of This Furnace* by Thomas Bell (1941)
- *Homestead: The Households of a Mill Town* by Margaret F. Byington (1910)
- *Spencers of Amberson Avenue: A Turn-of-the Century Memoir* by Ethel Spencer (1983)

- *Chronicle of a Pittsburgh Family* by Evelyn Bitner Pearson (1999)

Out of This Furnace and *Homestead: The Households of a Mill Town* describe life in the working-class neighborhoods of Pittsburgh during the study period. *Spencers of Amberson Avenue* and *Chronicle of a Pittsburgh Family* are middle-class memoirs and describe life in Pittsburgh's middle-class neighborhoods during the study period.

4.4: Methods

Analysis of the assemblages will be based on the Sonoma Historic Artifact Research Database (SHARD) artifact categorization system. SHARD was developed by the Sonoma State University's Anthropological Studies Center and is intended to provide a consistent system to catalog artifacts from mid-nineteenth to early-twentieth century archaeological sites. It is based on the methods outlined by Stanley South (1977) for pattern recognition and analysis, adapted to operate well with artifact collections from the historical period engaged by this thesis.

Written notes of each oral history were taken as the oral history was being listened to. The notes recorded each memory and discussion that occurred on the tape along with the tone, pauses, and tonal indicators that would not otherwise be evident in text. Notes also contained the researcher's in-time observations. The memoirs, although a text rather than an audible data set, had written notes taken in the same manner, although observances of the biases of an edited work were taken into account. The notes were then reviewed and each statement or memory recounted were coded into one of twelve categories that were created based on the topics within the oral histories and memoirs. These categories are detailed in the results chapter below. Oral histories and memoirs were subjected to both internal and external validity tests. Validity is defined as "the degree of conformity between the reports of the event and the event itself as recorded by

other primary resource material” (Hoffman 1974:25). In essence, those elements that appear through multiple unrelated oral histories or memoirs can be assumed to be more accurate than those that appear in singular histories.

Internal validity will be established for each oral history or memoir by examining the content for floating themes or motifs (those elements that add ‘color’ to a story), logic within the story, the proximity of the informant to the information they are sharing (first-hand account vs. second- or third-hand accounts), and the biases of the informant and/or the group(s) they belong to (Allen and Montell 1981:71-83). External validity is established comparing oral histories to written accounts, to other memoirs, and cross-comparing oral histories across ethnic groups and other social divisions (Allen and Montell 1981:83-87). The oral histories and memoirs will be analyzed for discussions of topics such as financial responsibilities, gender roles, family dynamics, ethnic stereotypes, and typical purchases made for the household. The artifact analysis and oral history analysis will be compared and interwoven to attempt to answer the research question stated in the research design.

While not used for the present research, text mining is an alternative and often useful option for oral history analysis. This is a way to analyze large volumes of text quickly with reproducible methods and limit the inherent biases of the researcher. Shackel and Brown (2023) discuss the different methods of text mining such as frequency analysis, natural language progression (NLP), network analysis, and topic modeling in their article on the utility of text mining methods of oral histories from the anthracite coal region of Pennsylvania. The process of text mining requires a computer software program properly coded to perform the appropriate text mining search. The program in turn requires a readable text from which to mine, therefore the oral histories must be converted into a pdf text file. This level of effort was beyond the scope of

this thesis, which focused on the qualitative data gathered from specific memories and tonal shifts in the oral histories. The previously described methods were therefore used.

Chapter 5: Results

The following section will discuss the results of the oral history and memoir analysis followed by the artifact analysis of each of the eight sites. A brief overview of the history of each site will be followed by the analysis for that site's assemblage.

5.1: Working-class oral histories and middle-class memoirs

The distinction between oral histories and memoirs cannot go unnoticed or unstated. The oral histories identified for this research came from two separate oral history projects conducted by the nonprofit Rivers of Steel located in Homestead, PA. The oral histories were conducted in 1992 and 2003, both of which aimed to record the history of the steel mill industry and towns of the Steel Valley. A total of 24 oral histories were included in this study. Oral histories were chosen for their discussion of home life, as opposed to work in the mill, the time period they were discussing, and their geographical relationship to Braddock, one of the central mill towns and the community where two of the working-class sites are located.

Conversely, no middle-class oral histories were able to be located. Two published memoirs written by native middle-class Pittsburgh women within the appropriate time period were located and included in this research project (Pearson 1999 and Spencer 1983). The difference between oral history and memoir is itself a statement of class, as the preparation of memoirs (the writing, editing, and publication) requires access to time, financial resources, and education that are often out of reach by working-class members (Hoffman 1974:26). Additionally, published memoirs operate as a product in the marketplace and assume people care enough about their contents to purchase them. Oral histories, on the other hand, operate outside of the economic sphere and are often the result of an individual seeking out its subjects, who

often question the researcher's concern with their lives. This indicates a belief by the subjects that the details of their day-to-day lives are of no interest to a larger audience (Strasser 2000:4). The nature of these distinct data sources creates their own biases that should be considered when analyzing them for their content.

To quantify them for analysis, the content of all oral histories and memoirs were coded using twelve categories: Household Finances, Woman's Household Contributions, Woman's Financial Contributions, Living Quarters, Entertainment, Man's Occupation, Man's Household Contributions, Drinking and Tobacco Use, Family Dynamics, Health and Education, Gender Relations and Dynamics, and Ethnic Stereotypes and Associations. A count was kept of each time a memory or statement fell into one of these categories in each oral history or memoir. This allowed for a quantifiable discussion of the oral histories and memoirs, which is detailed in the following subsections.

5.1.1: Working-class oral histories

Within the 12 categories described above, Family Dynamics was mentioned most often in the working-class oral histories, possibly because it has a wide range of activities that can be associated with it. All family interactions that indicate how individuals in a family operate or relate to each other were included in this category. The total number of times each category is mentioned within the oral histories is detailed in Table 1 below.

Table 1. Total count for each category in the working-class oral histories.

Category	Number of mentions
Household Finances	12
Woman's Household Contributions	15
Woman's Financial Contributions	13
Living Quarters	21
Entertainment	6
Man's Occupation	32
Man's Household Contributions	7
Drinking and Tobacco Use	13
Family Dynamics	36
Health and Education	10
Gender Relations/Dynamics	9
Ethnic Stereotypes and Associations	22

Within the Household Finances category, two separate themes are evident and are evenly split between discussions of spending money (on benevolent institutions, schools, and grocery purchases) and the matter of payday itself. The payday discussions are of most interest to the present study and four of them make statements about the husband either turning over his pay to his wife or his wife collecting his payday from him. During her 1992 oral history interview, subject Lillian Feodor discusses the abuses of her husband, stating she “...never saw his payday.”. They later divorced (Feodor 1992). Another oral history subject, Dona Koren, in her 2003 oral history interview recalls her mother accompanying Dona and her siblings to the mill on payday to collect her husband's paycheck from him and promptly going to the shopping district of the town (Fisher and Koren 2003). The only statement discussing payday without

mentioning turning it over to the wives is from oral history subject Frances Busch, a store owner's daughter who says she would have to arrive at the store early on payday to catch the men coming out of the mill to make a payment on their account before they went to the bars (Busch 2003).

Woman's Household Contributions includes everything a woman did to maintain or improve her home and family, without any form of payment to her. Female children's activities are not included in this category and are rather placed under Family Dynamics, due to interviewees rarely recalling specifically gendered chores. This category is mentioned 15 times, and consists primarily of discussing the cooking, cleaning, laundry, and sewing wives and mothers did (mentioned 11 out of the 15 times). The remaining four mentions discuss being a stay-at-home mother, with oral history subject Margaret Fisher, in her joint interview with Dona Koren, claiming all mothers were stay-at-home (Fisher and Koren 2003). Packing lunch is mentioned often, and packing lunches for boarders is mentioned once. Laundry is mentioned being done in the basement once and being done in the shared yard at the shared water pump once.

On the opposite hand, the category Woman's Financial Contributions consist of the activities a woman did to earn money for her family. This category is mentioned 13 times, six of which are about private business, mostly assisting in operating a family business or maintaining one following the passing of a husband/father. Another six times, the category is mentioned when discussing the jobs women did to bring money in from a separate source. Waitressing at night, taking in boarders, running labor camps for a local steel mill, and operating a bootleg still following a husband's death are each mentioned as ways women contributed to the finances of the family. One story illuminates the expectation of women to financially maintain the

household. Oral history subject Margaret Kuzma, in her 1992 oral history interview, tells of a man losing his vision following an accident in the mill. The company doctor purportedly stated that “He has a strong wife. She can keep him.” The interviewee found this appalling, stating “Would you want your wife or your mother to keep an able-bodied man because he lost his vision?” (Kuzma 1992).

Living Quarters are mentioned 21 times. Six of those times were interviewees discussing owning or renting their homes. There was a mix of those who owned, those who rented, and those who inherited their homes, however, there was some disagreement regarding the ratio of who owned versus rented.

The layout and utilities of homes were mentioned eight times. Twice the specific layouts of the home were mentioned. The first described a kitchen and two bedrooms (one for the parents and one for the children) making up three stories and the second described a kitchen, dining room, and four bedrooms (one for the parents, one for the children, and two for the eight boarders) with the first floor consisting of the kitchen and dining room and the bedrooms on the second and third floors. Other interviewees mention outdoor wells, privies, and coal or wood sheds. The remaining mentions discuss the activities that typically occurred in the house, primarily the discussion of bathing and washing clothes either in the basement or the kitchen. Dona Koren and Margaret Fisher agree on the centrality of the kitchen to daily life, with Dona stating “The kitchen was the center of attraction, everything went on in the kitchen.” (Fisher and Koren 2003).

The Entertainment category is mentioned six times, which primarily discuss going to dances, movies, and listening to the radio as forms of entertainment. Twice, the activities are discussed as being either cheap or free. Men’s Occupation is mentioned 32 times. Not

surprisingly, the overwhelming majority of the occupations discussed are a range of unskilled to semi-skilled mill jobs, with a male household member occasionally holding a skilled job.

However, other jobs are mentioned with far less frequency, like owning private businesses (a butcher shop, music shop, and a contracting business being expressly mentioned) or being a teacher.

Man's Household Contributions, like its female counterpart, includes everything a man would do towards the maintenance of the household and family. There are seven mentions that fall within this category. Three of them discuss childcare and rearing, while the ability of the fathers to build and construct things was mentioned twice. Dona Koren and Margaret Fisher agreed that "Everything we had our dads made" (Fisher and Koren 2003). The remaining two mentions related to household activity, including warming water for baths and killing a chicken for dinner.

Drinking and Tobacco Use is mentioned a total of 13 times, only one of which discusses tobacco use in which the children cleaned their boarders' spittoons. The remaining 12 times exclusively discuss men's drinking habits. Most common were discussions of men in saloons or bars following their shift at the mill and before going home, with the 'shot and a beer' phrase occurring three times. A shot and a beer combination was commonly used to clear dust and dirt from the mill workers' throats and lungs after a shift. In separate interviews, Margaret Kuzma and oral history subject Joe Chiodo, a bartender in a bar he owned, made points to state that while the men were heavy drinkers, they were not 'drunkards' (Kuzma 1992, Chiodo 1992).

With 36 mentions, Family Dynamics is the category mentioned most often. In general, children assisted their parents, either with chores at the home, with the family business, or, for young girls, taking over primary household duties for an ailing mother. One particular trend is

worth mentioning. Five times interviewees recall at least one parent insisting only English be spoken in the house, as opposed to a foreign language which would have been the parents' or grandparents' first language. As Frances Busch remembered, "[Her mother] insisted she was an American and didn't want to speak any other language." (Busch 2003).

Health and Education is mentioned a total of 10 times. Only twice was health mentioned and the remaining eight times focused on education, four of which mentioned high school and two of which discussed going to college. The Gender Relations/Dynamics category encompasses interactions that reveal information on how genders are supposed to interact both within the group and with each other. This was only mentioned nine times and had no discernable patterns. One instance is of note. As Margaret Kuzma remembered women would complain to the mill Superintendent about how the mill treated their husbands, fathers, and sons, interviewer Ron Baraff observed that the women of Homestead did "...quite a bit for their men." (Kuzma 1992).

Perhaps unsurprisingly, Ethnic Stereotypes and Associations are mentioned 22 times. Of note, negative connotations associated with foreignness are mentioned five times, which is the most prevalent pattern in this category. Interviewees recount a distaste for presenting as anything other than American, with most who were first- or second-generation Americans pointedly stating their American identity came before their ethnic identity. Frances Busch specifically recalls girls not piercing their ears as that had foreign connotations (Busch 2003). Despite this, other interviewees recall the tightknit communities of different ethnicities and the reliance the members of these communities had on their individual groups. However, oral history subject Frank Galilei, in his 1992 oral history interview, notes that ethnic associations with specific jobs in the mill were likely the result of the common practice of using personal connections, such as

family, friends, or neighbors, to find work. These connections, due to the insular nature of the ethnic communities at this time were most likely to be the same ethnicity (Galilei 1992).

5.1.2: Middle-class memoirs

While no oral history surveys that centered on middle-class life in Pittsburgh were located, two published memoirs of this class and time in Pittsburgh were identified and consulted in place of oral histories. The memoirs, *Chronicle of a Pittsburgh Family* by Evelyn Bitner Pearson and *Spencers of Amberson Avenue* by Ethel Spencer describe life growing up in Pittsburgh's middle-class during the turn of the twentieth century. Ethel Spencer grew up in the Shadyside neighborhood of Pittsburgh, a historically middle-class neighborhood from its earliest days. Her father worked as a company man for Henry Clay Frick, commuting into downtown Pittsburgh every day until his retirement. Her mother, as was standard of the time, stayed home to manage the household and the children.

Evelyn Bitner Pearson was born in 1910 and recalls growing up first in Aspinwall, a borough on the west bank of the Allegheny River, and then in the East End, present day Squirrel Hill just south of the Shadyside neighborhood. Founded by a heavily Jewish population, Squirrel Hill was a fashionable neighborhood by the time of Evelyn Pearson's move there. Her father worked his way up through the ranks of newspaper management, eventually becoming editor in chief and providing his family a very comfortable life. Her mother also stayed home with the children. Although the two memoirs recall different lives revolving around different personalities, comparing the two provides an understanding of life for Pittsburgh's middle-class. The events and memories of the memoirs were placed into the same categories described in the working-class oral history section.

Like the working-class oral histories, Family Dynamics was the most common category in the middle-class memoir and was mentioned 32 times. This was the largest category mentioned by far in the memoirs (Table 2).

Table 2. Total count for each category in the middle-class memoirs.

Category	Number of mentions
Household Finances	12
Woman's Household Contributions	10
Woman's Financial Contributions	3
Living Quarters	12
Entertainment	6
Man's Occupation	3
Man's Household Contributions	5
Drinking and Tobacco Use	2
Family Dynamics	32
Health and Education	6
Gender Relations/Dynamics	7
Ethnic Stereotypes and Associations	3

Household Finances were mentioned 12 times. Three times household accounting was mentioned, twice concerning the mother keeping track of expenditures (servant wages, groceries, and other household expenses) in an account book and once the father was mentioned keeping an account of the cost of his children's education in his own separate account book. The remaining eight mentions detail purchases made for the household, including the groceries and clothes, but also purchases such as a new car, Liberty bonds, silver dollars for good marks in school, and a mother who loved fine china, linens, crystal, and silver.

The category Woman's Household Contributions is mentioned 10 times, all of which relate to cooking, sewing, cleaning, shopping, and one instance of caring for a pet. The women in these memoirs had assistance from hired help and still appear to have performed much of the household labor themselves. In instances where hired help fell through, the women stepped into the role, such as Ethel Spencer's mother who filled in as cook on a family vacation, although the experience exhausted her mother. Notably, Woman's Financial Contributions is mentioned only three times, twice concerning profits the women made from business investments or real estate in the years following their husband's deaths. The third relates how women had to take up men's roles in the workforce during World War I and is considered a special circumstance.

Living Quarters are mentioned 12 times. While there is no reconstruction of the entirety of the house, different accounts mention having in addition to the kitchen and bedrooms a parlor, a dining room, a library, a porch, and a playroom or nursery for the children. Twice additions or construction of the house are mentioned. Ethel Spencer recalls her father having an additional bathroom built onto the house following a visit of an excessive number of guests, and Evelyn Pearson tells of her father having the house wired for electricity, going so far as to have the utility lines wired up the hill on poles. It is notable in both instances the father is credited for the additions to the house. The way the authors and their families used and lived in the spaces are only mentioned four times. Ethel Spencer remembers being given full roam of the house while her father was not at home, unusual by her own remembering as children were normally confined to the nursey when inside the house. She also recalls the library being her father's private space and office. Evelyn Pearson, additionally, notes that porches were in common use for visiting, relaxation, entertainment, and courting, in contrast to the parlor, which Ethel Spencer recalls as a room "nobody could comfortably live in" (Spencer 1983:16).

Six times a memory fell into the Entertainment category. Three of these times refer to lessons for dancing, singing, and music that young girls took at the behest of their parents. Young boys also took dancing lessons, but only young girls took all three. The remaining three instances relate to adult entertainment, ladies paying afternoon calls, and fathers enjoying photography and musical theater.

Man's Occupation is only related three times. Unsurprisingly, the occupations mentioned were white-collar occupations, but the third instance discusses the husband taking the trolley into downtown for work each day. Within the Man's Household Contribution category, however, there are five memories that fall into this category. Four of these times relate to either home construction or improvement, which the man of the house is credited with both conceiving of and making a reality. The last example within this category relates how Evelyn Pearson's father (who was a newspaper man) would carefully watch his children's homework and correct their grammar.

Drinking and Tobacco Use are mentioned only two times in total, once each. Ethel Spencer remembers her father coming home after work and having a drink, which he simply lied to the children and called his 'tonic', while Evelyn Pearson recalls her father using chewing tobacco. The framing of this story indicates this was considered a lower class activity.

Family Dynamics is the most common category in the middle-class memoirs, occurring 32 times. While these cover a broad range of interactions, in general they can be placed into two types: parents' interactions and relations to their children, and parents' interactions and relations with each other. Within the first type, parents cultivated and looked out for their children's economic and social futures. Ethel Spencer's budget-conscious family, while forgoing certain social privileges for their younger children, relented as the children grew older to allow them to

fully participate in society. Concerns for daughter's economic futures are mentioned twice. Both Ethel Spencer and Evelyn Pearson recall one parent (In Ethel's case her mother, and in Evelyn's case her father) wanting their daughter to learn a trade or earn an education with which to support herself if necessary. The opposing parent, and the authors themselves, always considered this unnecessary and absurd, presuming a trust would be set up for her instead. The implied sentiment is that women of this class were not expected by society at large to work at any point in their lives. In general, both authors recall both themselves and their siblings being emotionally closer to their mother than their father.

In the second type of interaction, mothers are remembered as putting their husbands' interests and care before her children's, exemplified by Ethel Spencer stating "For Mother, Father came first." (1983:122) and "Mother's endless activity revolved around her children and her husband; it was motivated by their desire to make them comfortable and happy" (1983:125).

Aside from typical childhood and adult diseases, Health is not mentioned once in the middle-class memoirs. Education, however, is mentioned six times. In general, children attended either private or boarding school or, in one case, were instructed for a brief period by a governess. There are two notable instances of the authors recalling going to college. Ethel Spencer, however, states going to college wasn't "socially the thing" to do for young women" (1983:81), while Evelyn Pearson simply states that, following a gap year, "it was time to choose a college." (1991:72). This offers a variable view of how college for young women was perceived by this class at this time.

Gender Relations/Dynamics are mentioned seven times within the memoirs. In general, these relate what was and wasn't acceptable for young women. As stated above, the memoirs recall young women being somewhat discouraged from going to college, while both authors

recall their parents sending their daughters to singing, music, and dancing lessons. Adult daughters moved into their widowed father's houses to manage the household for their fathers, and Evelyn Pearson found that her father was a bit unusual in that he expected women to use their intelligence.

Ethnic Stereotypes and Associations are mentioned only three times and relate to the servants the household employed. In one remembrance, Ethel Spencer recalls her mother teaching the newly immigrated servant girls to baked bread and speak English, taking pride when the servants learned well, integrated into society, and in general "[feeling] proud for having helped to make so worthy of an American citizen" (1983:35).

5.1.3: Notable trends in the oral histories and memoirs

In reviewing the oral histories and memoirs, an outline of everyday life for the middle- and working-classes can be seen. Within these outlines, a few trends relevant to the present study are evident. These trends will be discussed in further detail in the following analysis chapter. The first evident trend is the difference in money management systems between the working and middle-class households. Middle-class families appear to use the formal "double-entry" accounting system wherein credits and debits are accounted for in a ledger. It appears both men and women participated in this system of accounting. Working-class households, on the other hand, were much less formal with their financial management. The common system appears to have been the husband turning over his pay to his wife for her independent management.

In a similar vein, the expectations of women varied between the middle- and working-classes. While both middle and working-class women performed domestic duties such as household management and childrearing, working-class women were far more likely, and

expected by outside society, to support the household financially, either in place of or to supplement their husband's pay. Middle-class women, on the other hand, were clearly not expected or meant to step outside their domestic roles even in the cases of financial strain.

The use of space within the home also differed between classes and represents a third trend. Living spaces in the working-class household were limited to the kitchen and, if available, the living room to a lesser extent. This resulted in rooms containing a multitude of different activities and the kitchen becoming the center of family life for the working-classes. In comparison, middle-class households often had more rooms with dedicated uses within their households. Activities were spread out more within the middle-class household, individual rooms could belong to individual members of the family, and privacy was more abundant.

One thing the middle- and working-classes did appear to feel similarly about, however, was the presentation of foreignness. The members of the middle-class appear to have rewarded and applauded when immigrants fully assimilated into American culture and left behind any indication of their foreign ethnicity. Members of the working-class, similarly, worked to hide these ethnic indicators, some speaking only English within the home and avoiding dress with ethnic connotations. This is despite that these ethnic groups seem to have made up the support system of many communities and were inroads to employment.

5.2: Site histories and artifact data

Within this subsection, a brief site history is described, which includes a reconstruction of the ownership of each property along with a residential history, where available, for the relevant study period (1892-1938). The site histories are taken from the original technical reports, which compiled this information from census records, water tax records, and deeds. The first four

domestic assemblages discussed (1501-1509 Brighton Place) are all included in one site number, 36AL0269, and represent the middle-class domestic sites incorporated into this thesis (De Cunzo 1988). They are all located in what was then Allegheny City (Figure 2). Allegheny City was historically a middle-class neighborhood at the turn of the century, although working-class families began relocating there as transportation became more accessible and reliable.

The second set of domestic sites represent the working-class. These sites are located in historically working-class neighborhoods associated with the steel mills and railroads, and many of the residents were employed doing blue-collar labor for a number of different industries (Diamanti et al. 2009) (Figure 2). Site histories are also detailed for this group of domestic sites. While a complete ownership history of each of the sites was located via deed traces, tenant information was not provided within the original report. Water tax records, which De Cunzo (1988) used to determine tenants in the middle-class households, do not appear to be available for the working-class assemblages which uniformly had access only to (free) well water. Census records assisted in filling in some of the gaps, but do not offer a complete look at the residential history of the working-class sites.

All sites demonstrated extremely fragmentary assemblages. While the sites exhibited stratification and features such as trash pits, middens, and privies were identified within the sites, the *terminus post quem* (TPQ) and the *terminus ante quem* (TAQ) for these strata and features overlapped significantly with each other. As residence at all sites were highly transitory, multiple occupations could fit into the TPQ and TAQ of each of the strata and features. No one family can therefore be attributed to the deposition of any of these strata or features, as De Cunzo herself noted in her original report of the Brighton Place house sites (1988:151). Therefore, the assemblage for each site will be analyzed as a whole, rather than on a feature and strata level.

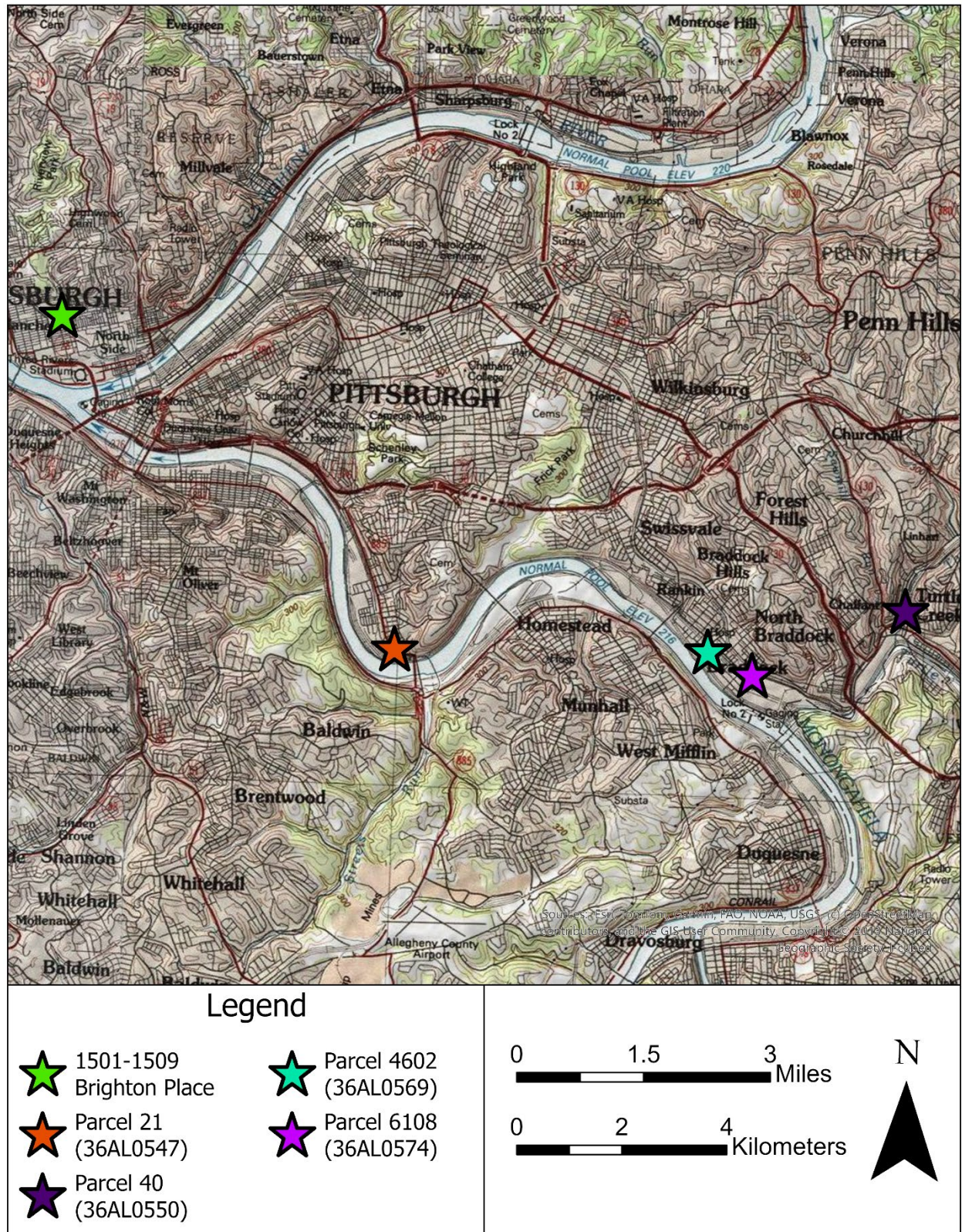


Figure 2. Overview of the location of the working- and middle-class sites.

5.2.1: Middle-class sites

The middle-class sites are located in the present-day North Side neighborhood of Pittsburgh (Figure 3). Each of the sites described in this section contains a history of the site followed by an artifact analysis from each individual house location. The ownership records and tenant history are replicated from De Cunzo's original report, although some original additional deed research was conducted at the Allegheny County Department of Real Estate to fill in gaps in the data. Tenant records were taken from water tax records for Allegheny City, prior to its incorporation into Pittsburgh, and supplemented by federal census record data (1988). Following the annexation of Allegheny City into Pittsburgh in 1907, these water tax records are no longer available and federal census data is used to determine residency. As De Cunzo describes in her original report, the houses within this site sat on a layer of industrial fill, consisting of structural and fuel waste. De Cunzo suggests this was a leveling event that predates the 1872 construction of the houses (1988). Therefore these layers, along with the modern topsoil layer, were excluded from the artifact analysis included in the 1988 report.

A ceramic analysis is included at the end of the artifact analysis. The artifact assemblage across all four house sites is extremely fragmentary, therefore minimum vessel number (MVN) is foregone and instead ceramics are analyzed based on type (whiteware, stoneware, porcelain, etc.). This excludes ceramic items that fall into the Structural or Indefinite Use groups, as these tended to be artifacts such as electrical insulators or drainpipes, which were not necessarily a matter of personal choice and therefore do not reflect consumption patterns of the residents.

1501 Brighton Place (36AL0269)

1501 Brighton Place was constructed in 1872. It sat on the corner of Brighton Avenue and Jacksonia Street. The house was a two-and-a-half story brick row home that was originally

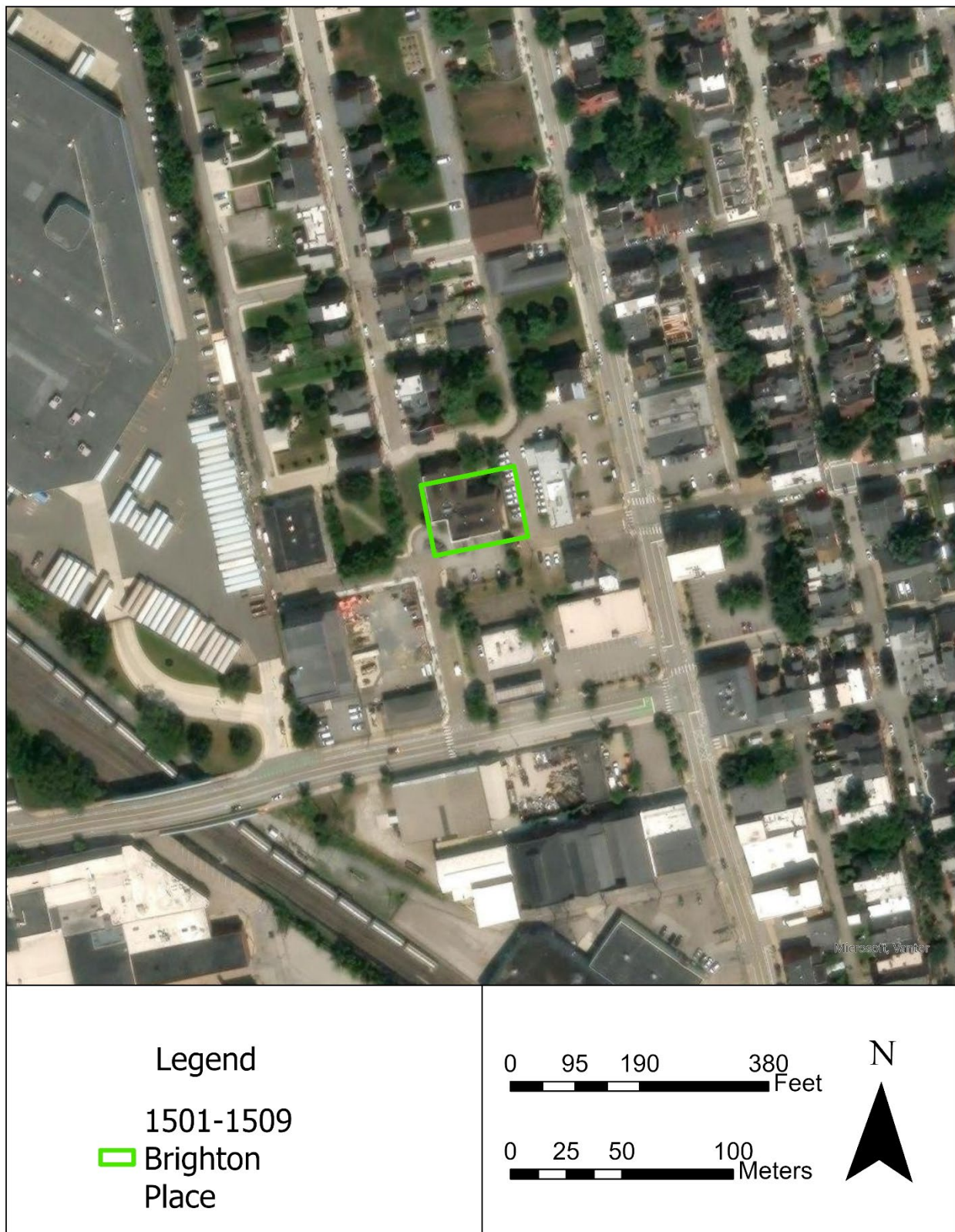


Figure 3. Aerial view of the location of 1501-1509 Brighton Place.

owned and constructed by William Stewart. Part of the deed information was missing from the original report and was unable to be recreated at the Allegheny County Division of Real Estate. However, it seems probable ownership of 1501 Brighton Place followed the pattern of the other parcels, therefore following William Stewart's death c. 1885, the property passed between his heirs, Martha and Margaret Stewart, and possible relative James Stewart until it was purchased by Mary Cunningham in 1922. According to De Cunzo's original report, Mary Cunningham then sold it to Nathaniel and Edna Houseal the following year (

Table 3). The Houseals constructed a garage in the rear of the property and operated a car repair business out of it.

It appears 1501 Brighton Place was rented out to tenants until the Houseals purchased the property and possibly beyond. No records were able to be located for the 1930 census to determine residency. The majority of the known tenants appear to have held middle-class occupations throughout the study period with the exception of Mr. Murphy who was listed as a sheet iron worker and occupied the house from 1896-1897. Based on the 1920 census, which lists the head of household at that time as a cigar store manager, residents with white-collar occupations continued to rent out the house in the years following Mr. Murphy's occupation. The three tenants with known birthplaces and parentage are all listed as at least second-generation American, with the exception of Mr. Gratwold, the cigar store manager, who is listed as French of French parentage (Table 4).

Table 3. History of ownership of 1501 Brighton Place.

Grantor	Grantee	Date	Deed/Will Book
Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne, and Chicago Railway Company	William M. Stewart	November 9, 1870	Deed Book 274 Page 647
William M. Stewart	Martha and Margaret Stewart	N/A	N/A
N/A	Mary Cunningham	1922	N/A
Mary Cunningham	Nathaniel and Edna Houseal	1923	N/A

Table 4. History of residents of 1501 Brighton Place.

Dates of residence	Head of Household	Occupation	Place of birth (if available)	Parents' place of birth
1872	W. I. Gilmore	Agent of the Pittsburgh Trunk Factory	N/A	N/A
1873	J. Stevenson	Jeweler, for family business John Stevenson and Sons, Co.	N/A	N/A
1874	Thomas Miller	Printer	N/A	N/A
1878	C. J. Sanderback	N/A	N/A	N/A
1879-1884	J. K. Smith	Attorney	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania/Ohio
1887	Suisure	N/A	N/A	N/A
1889	Leasure	N/A	N/A	N/A
1892	P. E. Collins	Policeman	N/A	N/A
1891	J. E. Hall	Stenographer	N/A	N/A
1892	W. W. Davis	Druggist	N/A	N/A
1896-1897	Murphy	Sheet iron worker	N/A	N/A
1901-1906	Shief (alternate spelling Sheaff)	N/A	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
1920	Leopold G. Gratwohl	Cigar Store Manager	France	France

The testing from the original survey consisted of three 5ft-by-5ft test units and one 3ft-by-5ft test unit excavated in the back and side yard of 1501 Brighton Place. The total testable

area of 1501 Brighton Place was 577 square feet, and the total amount excavated was 90ft squared, or 15.6% of the accessible yard. The excavation identified three historic-era strata underlying recent topsoil and overlying fill layers that pre-date the construction of 1501 Brighton Place and consisted primarily of industrial waste and coal ash. Additionally, five features were identified throughout the excavated units: three builder's trenches, one brick walkway, and one porch support.

The total number of artifacts recovered from 1501 Brighton Place, following the exclusion of the pre- and post-dating layers, is 174. Of the relevant artifact counts, the Structural group makes up the overwhelming majority, making up 62.07% (n=108) of the assemblage. Following this, the Domestic group is the second-most prevalent, making up 17.82% (n=31) of the assemblage. The group totals are detailed in Table 5 below.

Table 5. Functional group percentages of the total artifact count for 1501 Brighton Place.

Group	Number	Percentage of assemblage
Lithic	4	2.30
Domestic	31	17.82
Indefinite Use	12	6.90
Personal	7	4.01
Structural	108	62.07
Undefined Use	12	6.90
Total:	174	100.00

Of the groups present within the assemblage, of most interest is the Structural, Domestic, and Personal groups. The Structural group is divided between two Categories: Materials (71.30% of the Structural group) and Hardware (28.70% of the Structural group) (Table 6). While the Hardware category consisted exclusively of fasteners (nails, screws, etc.), the materials group overwhelmingly consisted of window glass.

Table 6. Functional categories of the Structural group of 1501 Brighton Place.

Category	Number	Percentage of Structural Group	Percentage of Total Assemblage
Hardware	31	71.30	17.82
Materials	77	28.70	44.25
Total:	108	100.00	62.07

The majority of the Domestic group belongs to the Food Prep/Consumption category. Twenty-five of the 31 Domestic artifacts belong in this category, of which 16 are of the Serving type and nine are of the Drinking Vessel type. The categories within the Domestic group of the 1501 Brighton Place assemblage are detailed in Table 7. The Personal group in the assemblage for 1501 Brighton Place is equally distributed between Clothing, Grooming/Health, Social Drugs, and Toys categories (Table 8).

Table 7. Functional categories of the Domestic group of 1501 Brighton Place.

Category	Number	Percentage of Domestic Group	Percentage of Total Assemblage
Food	3	9.68	1.72
Food Prep/Consumption	25	80.64	14.37
Misc. Ceramic Item	2	6.45	1.15
Food Storage	1	3.23	0.58
Total:	31	100.00	17.82

Table 8. Functional categories of the Personal group of 1501 Brighton Place.

Category	Number	Percentage of Personal Group	Percentage of Total Assemblage
Clothing	1	14.28	0.57
Grooming/Health	2	28.58	1.15
Social Drugs – Alcohol	2	28.58	1.15
Social Drugs – Tobacco	1	14.28	0.57
Toys	1	14.28	0.57
Total:	7	100.00	4.01

The ceramic assemblage of 1501 Brighton Place consisted primarily of whiteware (n=17), although redware made up another significant portion of the ceramic assemblage and consisted primarily of food storage containers (n=11). The remainder of the ceramics are spread across stoneware, yellowware, and porcelain (Table 9). The ceramic assemblage was extremely fragmentary, and the only identifiable pattern from the ceramic assemblage was a banded blue and white mocha pattern on a yellowware fragment. Diagnostic artifacts are few (n=7). Three are nails, all of which were recovered from the lowest strata of historic occupation. Two are square nails (production dates 1790-1892) and one is a wire nail (production dates 1850 – present). The remaining four diagnostic artifacts are yellowware, one of which is banded with production dates of 1850-1930 and three are banded mocha with production dates of 1870-1895.

Table 9. Percentages of ceramic types of 1501 Brighton Place.

Ceramic Type	Number	Percentage
Whiteware	17	45.95
Porcelain	2	5.41
Redware	11	29.73
Stoneware	2	5.41
Yellowware	5	13.50
Total:	37	100.00

1505 Brighton Place

1505 Brighton Place was constructed in 1872 by William Stewart. It appears it was tenant-occupied from the time of its construction until the 1930s although it changed ownership from Maragaret to Martha Stewart (William Stewart's heirs) to James Stewart in 1891 and then from James Stewart to Mary Cunningham in 1922. After this, ownership changed hands in fairly rapid succession until 1929, when it was purchased by the Randazzos (Table 10). According to the 1930 census, the head of household Joe Randazzo lived at the property with his wife, four daughters, two sons, and two boarders. Joe Randazzo is listed as a retail fruit merchant while it

appears one of his boarders worked for him at this fruit stand. All residents were listed as Italian of Italian parentage.

1505 Brighton Place was sold at a sheriff's auction in 1937. During its use as tenant-housing, the occupations of the tenants shifted from white-collar jobs to more blue-collar, before turning back to white-collar. Throughout its history of occupation, however, there's only one recorded instance of unrelated people sharing 1505 Brighton Pl. This was in 1910, when the Crawfords and Fords occupied the house at the same time. During the 1880, 1900, 1910, and 1920 census all of the occupants of 1505 Brighton Place are listed as American-born with American parentage, except for Grier in 1880, whose parents are listed as Irish. The Randazzos, as Italians of Italian parentage, are the first to not be native Americans (Table 11). In 1926, a one-story frame addition was added along with a detached one-story garage.

Table 10. History of ownership of 1505 Brighton Place.

Grantor	Grantee	Date	Deed/Will Book
Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne, and Chicago Railway Company	William Stewart	November 9, 1870	Deed Book 274 Page: 647
William Stewart	Martha and Margaret Stewart	June 5, 1885	Will Book 29 Page: 20 Number 13
Martha and Margaret Stewart	James H. Stewart	September 21, 1891	Deed Book 810 Page 228
James H. Stewart	Mary A. Cunningham	November 15, 1922	Deed Book 2151 Page 121
Mary and James Cunningham	Joseph and Rae Labovitz	February 13, 1923	Deed Book 2145 Page 242
Joseph and Rae Labovitz	Benjamin Bronstein	July 18, 1924	Deed Book 2212 Page 276
Benjamin and Lena Bronstein	Mary A. Lang	March 8, 1927	Deed Book 2323 Page 229
Mary A. Lang	Joseph and Marianna Randazzo	November 21, 1929	Deed Book 2408 Page 273
Sheriff of Allegheny County	State Capital Savings and Loan Association	January 4, 1937	Deed Book 2570 Page 74

Table 11. Tenant history of 1505 Brighton Place.

Dates of residence	Head of Household	Occupation	Place of birth (if available)	Parents' place of birth
1872	George Buchanan	N/A	N/A	N/A
1873-1874	C. Retter	Piano and organ dealer	N/A	N/A
1875-1879	S. Hirsh	Wholesale clothier of Hirsh and Brothers	N/A	N/A
1880-1885	S. C. Grier	Water assessor	Pennsylvania	Ireland
1888-1889	Barbour (Barber)	Book keeper	N/A	N/A
1892-1891	Mrs. Herbert	Widow	N/A	N/A
1892	J. H. Short	Electrotyper	N/A	N/A
1893	McFarland	Hauler	N/A	N/A
1896-1898	Hawthorne	Clerk/salesman/tinner	N/A	N/A
1900	John Dunlap	Machinist	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
1901	Schlatter	N/A	N/A	N/A
1902	Harvey P	N/A	N/A	N/A
1903	Mirth	N/A	N/A	N/A
1906	Muth	N/A	N/A	N/A
1910	G. W. Crawford	Laborer in steel mill	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
	Benjamin Ford	Bartender	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
1920	Perry Willoughby	Elevator Man	Pennsylvania	United States
1930	Joe Randazzo	Retail fruit merchant	Italy	Italy

The total testable area of 1505 Brighton Place was 565 square feet. Testing strategy for the original survey consisted of two 5ft-by-5ft units and two 2ft-by-5ft units placed in the rear yard of the property. Together this encompasses a total of 70 feet square or 12.4% of the rear yard. Notably, it appears the pre-construction fill event is not present at 1505 Brighton Pl, possibly due to its higher elevation on the hillslope.

Six features were identified during excavation. A drainage ditch that was later covered with brick pavers is possibly the earliest feature within 1505 Brighton Pl. At the same time as the brick pavers were placed, a utility line was placed and filled, wherein artifacts date from the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries. Three post holes were observed in the yard, one of which

was cut into the drainage ditch, and a trash pit in the rear of the yard contains a mixture of dark coal ash and silt. This trash pit contains two-thirds of the total artifact assemblage of 1505 Brighton Pl. It was apparent during excavation that the trash pit overflowed into the rest of the yard, creating a layer of artifact-dense, dark silt film over the entirety of the yard.

A total of 1,865 artifacts was recovered from 1505 Brighton Place. The most common group represented in this assemblage was the Domestic group, making up 47.45 % (n=885) of the total artifact count. Following this, the Structural group makes up 29.17% (n=544) of the total count, followed by the Indefinite Use group which makes up 17.27% (n=322) of the total count. The remainder of the assemblage is divided into much smaller percentages between the other groups. The breakdown of the assemblage into the functional groups is detailed in Table 12 below:

Table 12. Functional group percentages of the total artifact count of 1505 Brighton Place.

Group	Number	Percentage of assemblage
Precontact Lithics	8	0.43
Activities	15	0.8
Domestic	885	47.45
Indefinite Use	322	17.27
Personal	61	3.27
Structural	544	29.17
Undefined Use	29	1.55
Waste	1	.05
Total:	1,865	100.00

Of these groups, Structural, Activities, Domestic, and Personal groups warrant further examination. The Structural group is primarily distributed across Hardware (64.71% of the Structural group) which consists overwhelmingly of fasteners (n=346) and Materials (34.19%), which, similarly to 1501 Brighton Pl, consists almost exclusively of window glass (n=154).

Electrical and Misc. Metal artifacts make up negligible portions of the Structural group (Table 13).

Table 13. Functional categories of the Structural group of 1505 Brighton Place.

Category	Number	Percentage of Structural Group	Percentage of Total Assemblage
Electrical	5	0.92	0.28
Hardware	352	64.71	18.87
Materials	186	34.19	9.97
Misc. Metal Item	1	0.18	0.05
Total:	544	100.00	29.17

Within the Activities group, the Writing category is heavily represented, making up over half of the Activities group (n=8; 53.33%). A single ink bottle and seven pencil fragments were identified. The remainder of the artifacts are fairly evenly distributed over the Commerce, Firearms, Religious, and Transportation categories (Table 14). Of note, the single identifiable religious artifact recovered from the entirety of the middle-class house sites was recovered here.

Table 14. Functional categories of the Activities group of 1505 Brighton Place.

Category	Number	Percentage of Activities Group	Percentage of Total Assemblage
Commerce	2	13.33	0.11
Firearms	3	20.00	0.16
Religious	1	6.67	0.05
Transportation	1	6.67	0.05
Writing	8	53.33	0.43
Total:	15	100.00	0.8

The majority of the Domestic group is spread primarily over three categories: Miscellaneous Ceramic Item category (n=220); a combined Food Prep/Consumption & Heating/Lighting group that consists entirely of an unidentifiable mixture of tableware and lamp chimney/globe glass (n=210); and Food Prep/Consumption (n=182). Specifically within Food Prep/Consumption category, 39 artifacts belong in the Drinking Vessel type, 59 belong in the

Serving type, and 84 belong in the Tableware type. The remainder of the artifacts from the Domestic group are spread over other categories in smaller percentages (Table 15).

Table 15. Functional categories of the Domestic group of 1505 Brighton Place.

Category	Number	Percentage of Domestic Group	Percentage of Total Assemblage
Clothing Maintenance	1	0.1	0.05
Food	54	6.1	2.89
Food Prep/Consumption	182	20.57	9.76
Food Prep/Consumption & Heating/Lighting	210	23.73	11.26
Food Storage	12	1.36	0.64
Furnishings	79	8.93	4.24
Heating/Lighting	6	0.68	0.32
Misc. Ceramic Item	220	24.86	11.80
Misc. Container	13	1.47	0.70
Misc. Glass Item	108	12.2	5.79
Total:	885	100.00	47.45

Within the Personal group assemblage, the overwhelming majority of artifacts belong in the Toys category (n=26). No other category represents such a significant portion of the Personal group assemblage, and the next most prominent categories are the Clothing and Footwear categories with 10 artifacts each (Table 16).

Table 16. Functional categories of the Personal group of 1505 Brighton Place.

Category	Number	Percentage of Personal Group	Percentage of Total Assemblage
Accoutrement	5	8.20	0.27
Clothing	10	16.39	0.54
Footwear	10	16.39	0.54
Grooming/Health	4	6.56	0.21
Social Drug – Alcohol	1	1.64	0.05
Social Drugs – Tobacco	5	8.20	0.27
Toys	26	42.62	1.39
Total:	61	100.00	3.27

The ceramic assemblage, like that of the other house sites, was fragmentary. The 1505 Brighton Place ceramic types consisted primarily of whiteware (n=189) and porcelain (n=158), with the rest of the ceramics consisting of stoneware, yellowware, unidentified earthenware, and redware which consisted primarily of flowerpots (Table 17).

Table 17. Percentages of ceramic types of 1505 Brighton Place.

Ceramic Type	Number	Percentage
Whiteware	189	36.63
Porcelain	158	30.62
Redware	95	18.41
Stoneware	25	4.84
Yellowware	19	3.68
Earthenware	30	5.82
Total:	516	100.00

There were some ceramic pattern attributes observed in the 1505 Brighton Place assemblage that are indicative of a late-19th to an early-20th century occupation, including transfer print (1840-present), decal decoration (1880-1910), gilt decoration (1870-1910), and molding. Rockingham ware (1830-1900) and Flow Blue (1840-1900) specifically were identified. Production dates for these noted ceramic patterns and attributes begin generally in the mid-to late nineteenth century and conclude in the early twentieth century. Known production dates over the entire assemblage generally follow this pattern of late nineteenth to early twentieth century production.

1507 Brighton Place

1507 Brighton Place was constructed in 1872 and was a two-and-a-half story brick row home with a one-story addition to the rear ell. It sat on an 18ft-9inch by 100ft lot with a side and rear yard making up approximately 590 square feet.

Like 1501 and 1505 Brighton Pl, 1507 Brighton Place was constructed and owned by William Stewart. Following his death, the property appears to have been passed between Stewart relatives until 1922 when James Stewart sold the property to Mary Cunningham. The house then changed hands in rapid succession until 1925 when Giacomo and Rosalia Miserentino purchased the property from Samuel and Mollie Singer. The Miserentinos were the first owners to also occupy the property (Table 18).

The house was occupied by tenants from the time of its construction through 1925, and it appears, where information is available, that the occupants of 1507 Brighton Place held white-collar jobs through this time. The sole exception is Mr. Orison, who occupied the house in 1898. Mr. Orison was a machinist, however, which would have been a skilled and likely well-paid blue-collar job. Through its history, the house was occupied by single families, consisting generally of parents and their children, although occasionally those children were grown. The Hall family, who occupied the house from 1902-1906, appear to have had a young bronze factory molder named Alonzo Harkless boarding with them for a time. The house itself was occupied until shortly before the original fieldwork began in 1986.

Until its occupation by the Miserentinos, occupants appear to have been Pennsylvania-born, with parents either from Pennsylvania or a Western European country (such as Ireland or Germany). The Miserentinos, who were born in Italy and of Italian parentage, appear to be the first occupants to break this pattern (Table 19).

Table 18. Ownership history of 1507 Brighton Place.

Grantor	Grantee	Date	Deed/Will Book
Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne, and Chicago Railway Company	William Stewart	November 9, 1870	Deed Book 274 Page: 647
William Stewart	Martha and Margaret Stewart	June 5, 1885	Will Book 29 Page: 20 Number 13
Martha and Margaret Stewart	James H. Stewart	September 21, 1891	Deed Book 810 Page 228
James H. Stewart	Margaret and Martha Stewart	April 12, 1892	Deed Book 810 Page 226
Margaret and Martha Stewart	James H. Stewart	June 29, 1910	Deed Book 1619 Page 409
James H. Stewart	Mary A. Cunningham	November 15, 1922	Deed Book 2151 Page 121
James J. and Mary A. Cunningham	Catherine Burns	February 1, 1923	Deed Book 2149 Page 682
Catherine Burns	Samuel and Mollie Singer	October 1, 1924	Deed Book 2229 Page 271
Samuel and Mollie Singer	Giacomo and Rosalia Miserentino	July 30, 1925	Deed Book 2267 Page 181

Table 19. Tenant history of 1507 Brighton Place.

Dates of residence	Head of Household	Occupation	Place of birth (if available)	Parents' place of birth
1872-1873	W. K. Carlisle	Surveyor		
1874-1875	H. Rosenberg	Treasurer of Improvement Trust Company		
1877-1878	D. Hollander	Merchant tailor		
1879-1881	J. H. McCullough	Clerk	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania and Ireland
1882	William Kerr	Clerk		
1883-1892	Schluederberg	Secretary and Treasurer of Oak Ridge Coal Company		
1892	L. Ralt	N/A		
1894-1896	McCoshes	Stenography, general clerk, and carpenter		
1897	Mrs. Wilson	Widow		
1898	Orrison	Machinist		
1899-1901	Wilson	Engineer	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania and Ireland
1902-1906	J. Hall	Cigar maker	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania

1920	George Lingenhoel	Chiropractor	Pennsylvania	Germany
1930-1935	Giacomo Miserentino	Barber	Italy	Italy

Four 3ft-by-5ft units and one 2ft-by-5ft unit were excavated in the rear yard for a total of 70ft squared or 11.9% of the rear yard. The modern topsoil layer and pre-construction fill layer were identified in these test units and have been excluded from the present study. Five features were identified during excavation: two trash pits, two post holes and molds, and a coal ash dump. Of note, approximately half of the artifacts came from one of the two trash pits.

Overall, a total of 1,161 artifacts was recovered from 1507 Brighton Pl. The Domestic group is the most represented within the 1507 Brighton Place assemblage with 418 artifacts, or 36.00%. That is followed by Indefinite Use group with 374 artifacts (32.21%), and then Structural group with 320 (27.56%). The rest of the artifacts are dispersed in much smaller percentages across Activities, Personal, and Undefined Use (Table 20).

Table 20. Functional group percentages of the total artifact count of 1507 Brighton Place.

Group	Number	Percentage of assemblage
Activities	4	0.34
Domestic	418	36.00
Indefinite Use	374	32.21
Personal	29	2.51
Structural	320	27.56
Undefined Use	16	1.38
Total:	1,161	100.00

Within the Structural group, Materials category make up the majority of the group (71.89% of the Structural group). Once again, window glass makes up almost all of the Materials group (n=229). Hardware, consisting entirely of fasteners, makes up the remaining 28.11% of the Structural group (Table 21).

Table 21. Functional categories of the Structural group of 1507 Brighton Place.

Category	Number	Percentage of Structural Group	Percentage of Total Assemblage
Hardware	90	28.11	7.75
Materials	230	71.89	19.81
Total:	320	100.00	27.56

Upon further examination of the Domestic group, the most common category by far is the Food Prep/Consumption category of which 191 artifacts of the Domestic group account for (45.69%). Within this category, Tableware accounts for 138 artifacts, followed by Serving (n=38), Drinking Vessel (n=22), and then Miscellaneous Ceramic Items (n=3). Miscellaneous Domestic Items are the second most prevalent category within the Domestic group, making up 123 artifacts, or 29.43% of the Domestic assemblage. The remainder of the Domestic assemblage is spread out in smaller proportions across Food, Food Storage, Heating/Lighting, and Furnishings (Table 22).

Table 22. Functional categories of the Domestic group of 1507 Brighton Place.

Category	Number	Percentage of Domestic Group	Percentage of Total Assemblage
Food	58	13.88	5.00
Food Prep/Consumption	191	45.69	16.39
Food Storage	7	1.67	0.60
Furnishings	29	6.94	2.49
Heating/Lighting	10	2.39	0.86
Misc. Domestic Items	123	29.43	10.56
Total:	418	100.00	36.00

Within the Personal group, approximately 30% of the group consists of Toys (n=10; 34.48%). The rest of the group is more evenly distributed across other categories (Table 23). Of note is a Kewpie Ring, which was popular in the early twentieth century amongst children. The Activities group is evenly distributed across the Writing category (pencil lead), Commerce (an

advertising button for the 1893 Columbian Exposition) and Painting (two fragments of a turpentine container) (Table 24).

Table 23. Functional categories of the Personal group of 1507 Brighton Place.

Category	Number	Percentage of Personal Group	Percentage of Total Assemblage
Accoutrement	2	6.90	0.17
Clothing	7	24.14	0.60
Footware	3	10.34	0.26
Grooming/Health	2	6.90	0.17
Social Drug – Alcohol	5	17.24	0.43
Toys	10	34.48	0.86
Total:	29	100.00	2.51

Table 24. Functional categories of the Activities group of 1507 Brighton Place.

Category	Number	Percentage of Activities Group	Percentage of Total Assemblage
Writing	1	25.00	0.09
Commerce	1	25.00	0.09
Painting	2	50.00	0.16
Total:	4	100.00	0.34

The ceramic artifacts were fragmentary, as previously discussed. The most common ceramic type is whiteware (n=91), followed by porcelain (n=41), and then redware (n=24) which consisted primarily of flowerpots. While the assemblage was fragmentary, a few diagnostic patterns and attributes were identified (Table 25). These include decals (1880-1910), Flow Blue (1840-1900), gilt decoration (1870-present), molding, and Gaudy Dutch sponge decoration (1880-1930). This places the artifact deposition between the late nineteenth to early twentieth century, matching the historic documentation.

Table 25. Percentages of ceramic types of 1507 Brighton Place.

Ceramic Type	Number	Percentage
Whiteware	91	56.52
Porcelain	41	25.47
Redware	24	14.91
Stoneware	3	1.86
Yellowware	2	1.25
Total:	161	100.00

1509 Brighton Place

1509 Brighton Place was a two-and-a-half story brick row home with a two-story rear ell and a one-story frame addition. It was constructed in 1872 and sat on an 18ft 9inch by 100ft lot with a rear and side yard that was approximately 596 ft squared.

The ownership records of 1509 Brighton Place show it followed the same ownership pattern as 1501, 1505, and 1507 Brighton Place. William Stewart owned the property at the time of the house's construction, and following his death the property passed between Stewart relatives until it was sold to Mary Cunningham in 1922. Mary and her husband then sold it to Otto and Della Luppe the following year (Table 26). It appears 1509 Brighton Place was likely tenant occupied until the Luppes bought the property, however, it appears that tenants and their families occupied the house without boarders being listed. The Luppes owned the property until the 1938. Della Luppe is listed as still living on the property at this time. She was, however, renting to three different families and her husband Otto is not listed. It seems likely Otto died by this point and Della was renting her home to boarders as a means of income.

Based on the water taxes, the property was inhabited by white-collar workers from its earliest construction through the purchase by the Luppes. The boarders Della Luppe took on appeared to have been employed in blue-collar industries. Of note, where the information is

available, the residents of 1509 Brighton Place were all born in Pennsylvania, with the exception of the Luppes, who were born in Ireland (Table 26).

Table 26. Ownership history of 1509 Brighton Place.

Grantor	Grantee	Date	Deed/Will Book
Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne, and Chicago Railway Company	William Stewart	November 9, 1870	Deed Book 274 Page: 647
William Stewart	Martha and Margaret Stewart	June 5, 1885	Will Book 29 Page: 20 Number 13
Martha and Margaret Stewart	James H. Stewart	September 21, 1891	Deed Book 810 Page 228
James H. Stewart	Margaret and Martha Stewart	April 12, 1892	Deed Book 810 Page 226
Margaret and Martha Stewart	James H. Stewart	June 29, 1910	Deed Book 1619 Page 409
James H. Stewart	Mary A. Cunningham	November 15, 1922	Deed Book 2151 Page 121
James J. and Mary A. Cunningham	Otto A. and Della B. Luppe	January 6, 1923	Deed Book 2150 Page 414

Table 27. Tenant history of 1509 Brighton Place.

Dates of residence	Head of Household	Occupation	Place of birth (if available)	Parents' place of birth
1872-1873	John Ebbert	Upholster	N/A	N/A
1874	T. T. McNish	Clerk	N/A	N/A
1877-1881	Mrs. Holt	Widow	N/A	N/A
1882-1883	Jones	Clerk	N/A	N/A
1884-1887	J. C. Lowe	Book keeper	N/A	N/A
1888-1889	R. F. Mayer	Merchant of looking glasses, pictures, and frames	N/A	N/A
1892	P. G. Pecktey		N/A	N/A
1891-1893	James Offerman	Architect	N/A	N/A
1894-1896	J. Bradley	Clerk	N/A	N/A
1898-1903	J. Henderson	N/A	N/A	N/A
1906	Nichol	N/A	N/A	N/A
1920	Mary Wall (and adult children)	Widow (sons are salesmen)	Pennsylvania	Ireland
1930	Della Luppe	Home housework	Ireland	N/A
	Louis Thomas	Laborer	Pennsylvania	N/A
	Charles Clark	Laborer	Pennsylvania	N/A
	Aloysius Klos	Painter	Pennsylvania	N/A

The original survey consisted of two 5ft-by-5ft units and one 3ft-by-5ft unit for a total area of 65 feet squared or 11% of the rear yard. Multiple features were identified and can be grouped into three events: stone carriage tracks and steps, a brick path underlying the recent overburden with an associated bedding sand under the brick path, and a brick drain with associated sediments over and underlying the drain.

A total of 807 artifacts was recovered from the historic occupation layer of 1509 Brighton Place. Domestic group artifacts make up over half of the assemblage (n=437; 54.15%). Following this, Structural group artifacts are the second largest group of the assemblage with 235 artifacts, or 29.12% of the total assemblage. The remainder of the assemblage is dispersed among Indefinite Use, Personal, and Undefined Use groups to a much lesser extent (Table 28).

Table 28. Functional group percentages of the total artifact count of 1509 Brighton Place.

Group	Number	Percentage of assemblage
Domestic	437	54.15
Indefinite Use	109	13.51
Personal	14	1.73
Structural	235	29.12
Undefined Use	12	1.49
Total:	807	100.00

Further analysis of the Domestic group shows that the majority of the artifacts in this group are Miscellaneous Domestic Use category (n=272; 62.24%). Artifacts in this category consist of ceramics and glass that were so fragmentary their uses and categories could belong to multiple categories within the Domestic group (Table 29). The next most prevalent category was Food Prep/Consumption (n=89; 20.37%), the majority of which consisted of Tableware (n=81).

Table 29. Functional categories of the Domestic group of 1509 Brighton Place.

Category	Number	Percentage of Domestic Group	Percentage of Total Assemblage
Food	12	2.75	1.49
Food Prep/Consumption	89	20.37	11.03
Food Storage	7	1.60	0.87
Furnishings	32	7.32	3.96
Heating/Lighting	25	5.72	3.10
Misc. Domestic Items	272	62.24	33.71
Total:	437	100.00	54.15

The Structural group was somewhat evenly distributed between Hardware (42.55% of the Structural group) and Materials (57.45%) (Table 30). While the Hardware group consisted entirely of fasteners, the Materials group was almost exclusively window glass (n=132).

Table 30. Functional group categories of the Structural group of 1509 Brighton Place.

Category	Number	Percentage of Structural Group	Percentage of Total Assemblage
Hardware	100	42.55	12.39
Materials	135	57.45	16.73
Total:	235	100.00	29.12

The other group worth analyzing further is the Personal group. The sample size is small (n=14), and the artifacts are generally evenly distributed across the categories Accoutrements, Footwear Social Drugs – Tobacco, and Toys. Only the Clothing category stood out with six artifacts, or 42.86% of the Personal group assemblage (Table 31).

Table 31. Functional categories of the Personal group of 1509 Brighton Place.

Category	Number	Percentage of Personal Group	Percentage of Total Assemblage
Accoutrement	2	14.29	0.25
Clothing	6	42.86	0.74
Footwear	1	7.14	0.12
Social Drugs – Tobacco	2	14.29	0.25
Toys	3	21.42	0.37
Total:	14	100.00	1.73

Whiteware makes up the majority of the ceramic types within the assemblage (n=118). Porcelain, accounting for 33 of the ceramic sherds, is the second most prevalent type, followed by redware which accounts for 24 and consists entirely of flowerpots. Stoneware and yellowware are present in minimal numbers (Table 32).

Table 32. Percentages of the ceramic types of 1509 Brighton Place.

Ceramic Type	Number	Percentage
Whiteware	118	65.92
Porcelain	33	18.44
Redware	24	13.41
Stoneware	3	1.67
Yellowware	1	0.56
Total:	179	100.00

Diagnostic artifacts were entirely ceramic within the 1509 Brighton Place assemblage. While the overall assemblage was fragmentary, ceramic decorations and attributes include transfer print (1840-present), gilt decoration (1870-1910), Rockingham ware (1830-1900), and various sponge decorations (1840-1900). These diagnostic decorations represent a late-nineteenth to early twentieth century use for 1509 Brighton Place, which is consistent with historical documentation.

5.2.2: Working-class sites

The working-class sites are located in neighborhoods east of Pittsburgh (Figure 4 through Figure 6). Each site description contains a history of the parcel, including ownership, tenant history, and previous archaeological survey, followed by the artifact analysis from each site. The ownership records and tenant history are replicated from the original Phase I/II report (Diamanti et al 2009), although original deed research was conducted at the Allegheny County Department of Real Estate and federal census research was conducted on Ancestry.com to supplement the original technical report. Unfortunately, the level of detail regarding tenant history that was available for the middle-class house sites was not available for the working-class sites. The report also observed a modern soil overburden overlaying the historic deposits at all the sites. Therefore, these layers were excluded from the artifact analysis.

A ceramic analysis is included at the end of the artifact analysis. Like the middle-class sites, the artifact assemblage across all four working-class house sites is extremely fragmentary, therefore MVN is foregone and instead ceramics are analyzed based on type. This excludes ceramic items that fall into the Structural or Indefinite Use groups, as these tended to be artifacts such as electrical insulators or drainpipes, which were not necessarily a matter of personal choice and therefore do not reflect consumption patterns of the residents.

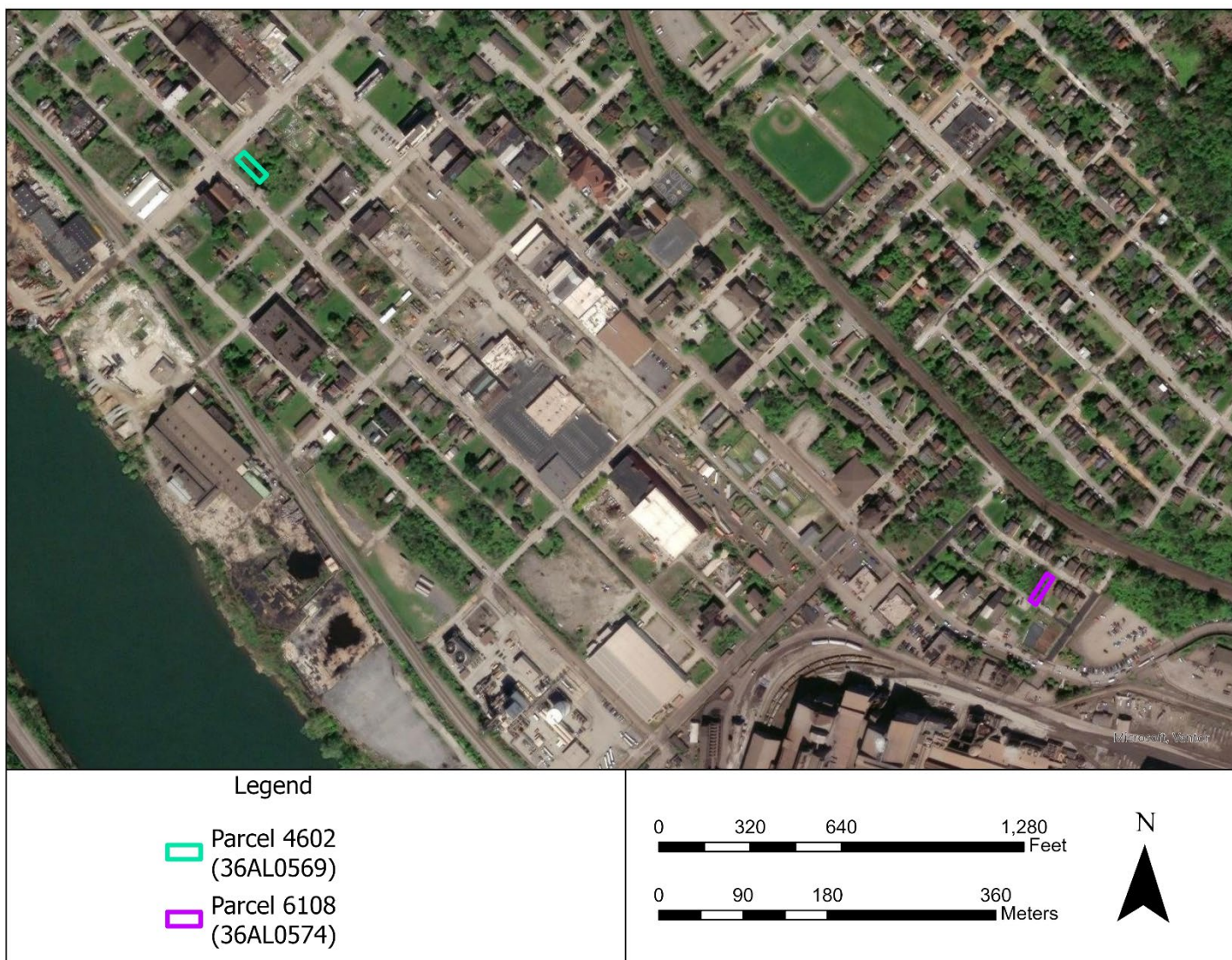


Figure 4. Location of working-class sites 36AL0569 and 36AL0574

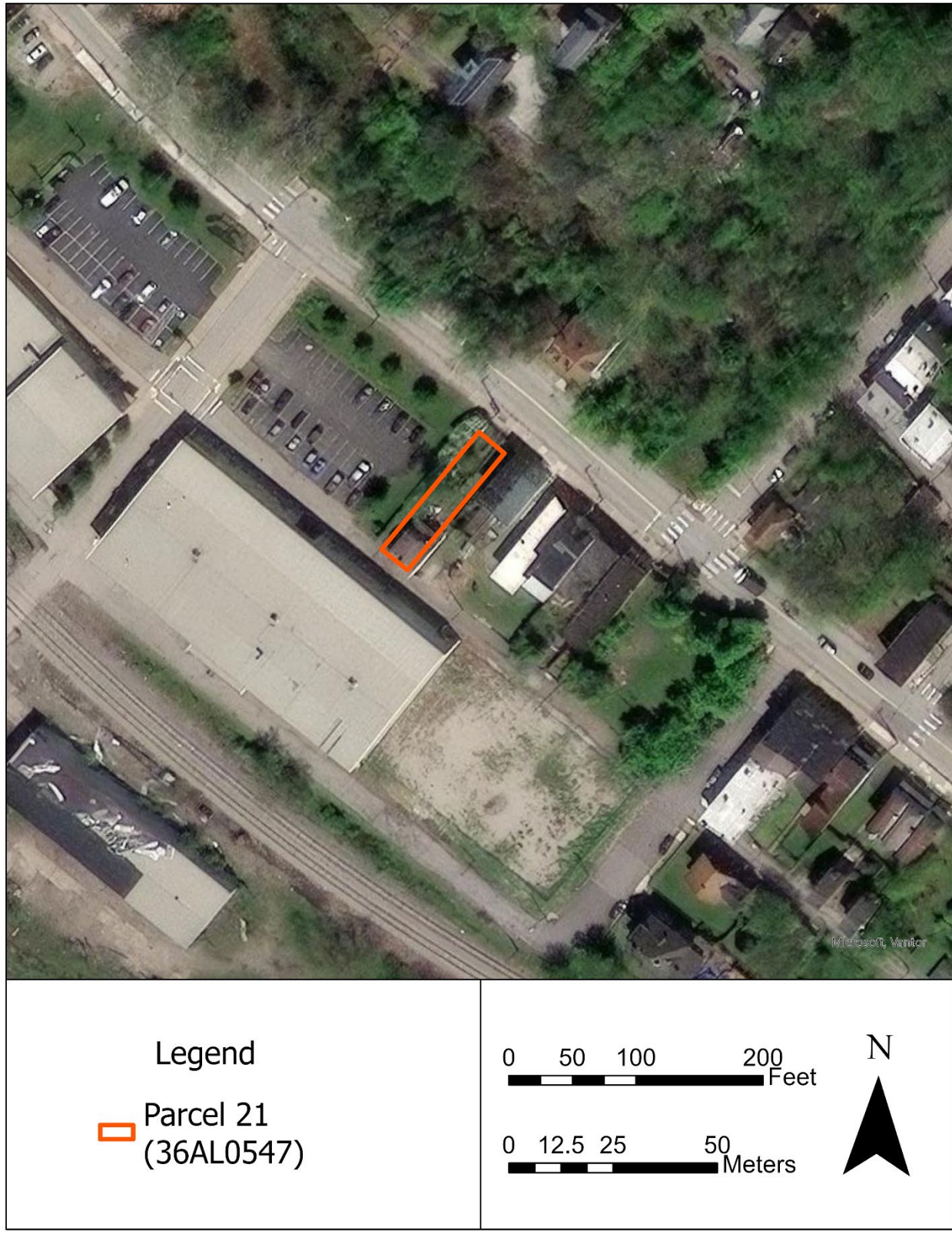


Figure 5. Location of 36AL0547



Figure 6. Location of 36AL0550.

36AL0569 (Parcel 4602)

36AL0569 was located at 204-206 Sixth Street in the Borough of Braddock (Figure 4). The parcel measured 6,250 square feet in total, of which 3,552 square feet were available for testing. No standing structure was present at the time of the original survey. Forty-nine STPs and seven test units were excavated for a total of 128.88 square feet or approximately 3.63% of the available testing area.

It appears the first building on the parcel was a duplex originally constructed c. 1876. However, by 1886, that duplex was replaced with a one-story office building, a one-story outbuilding, and a two-story gas meter house. At this time, it appears the building was rented out by the Philadelphia Fuel Company, as listed on the 1886 and 1901 Sanborn maps (Diamanti et al 2009:21-16). The Slatterys owned the property from the time of its original construction until 1902, when they sold it to a Thomas Walker, who, according to the original report, appears to have torn down the office building and outbuildings and constructed a three story building on Parcel 4602 with a business in the ground level and residences on the top two floors (Diamanti et al 2009:21-2). The Walkers, or their heirs, owned the property until 1959 (Table 33).

Table 33. Ownership history of 36AL0569.

Grantor	Grantee	Date	Deed/Will Book
Alex and Maria Miller	Patrick Slattery	August 30, 1864	Deed Book 178 Page 52
Margaret Slattery	Thomas Walker, Sr.	February 10, 1902	Deed Book 1198 Page 151
Alex Walker	Charles Prodanovich	February 27, 1959	Deed Book 3766 Page 493

It is unknown who the original tenants were of the 1876 duplex constructed on Parcel 4602. No census data associated with this address could be located, and unlike those residences

along Brighton Place it is unlikely duplexes constructed in working-class Braddock had utilities with which to search payment records. It is known that for the remainder of the nineteenth century until 1902, the parcel was occupied by the Philadelphia Fuel (later Gas) Company. Following the construction of the three-story complex, the first residents according to the 1903 Hopkins map were the Joneses, listed on the 1900 census as African American (Diamanti et al 2009:21-2). It appears they operated a restaurant out of the ground level.

By the 1910 census, Mrs. Jones is listed as a widow running a grocery store while taking on 11 boarders, all of whom are listed as wagon drivers, and all of whom were listed as African American. Mrs. Jones as well as her boarders are from the United States, as were their parents. Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Virginia, Ohio, and North Carolina are listed as places of birth. The 1920 census shows Mrs. Jones no longer occupied Parcel 4602 and instead the Jacksons, headed by Henry Jackson, rented the building through this time and took on a listed 18 boarders. Mr. Jackson and his boarders were all listed as African American on the 1920 census. Henry Jackson worked as a teamster in the construction industry while the majority of their boarders were laborers in the steel mills. Mr. Jackson along with all his boarders were born in Southern states, as were their parents, such as Virginia, Georgia, North and South Carolina, and Alabama.

Henry Jackson still resided at 204 Sixth Street in the 1930 census along with his wife, Ida, and four boarders. The boarders, similar to the 1920 census, were all born in southern states (Virginia and North Carolina, specifically) as were their parents. Two of the boarders worked as laborers, one in the steel mills and another in the builder supply industry, and the two worked as janitors (Table 34).

Table 34. Tenant history of 36AL0569.

Dates of residence	Head of Household	Occupation	Place of birth (if available)	Parents' place of birth
1900	Philadelphia Fuel Company	Gas Company	N/A	N/A
1910	Lucy Jones	Widow	West Virginia	West Virginia and Virginia
1920-1930	Henry Jackson	Teamster	Virginia	Virginia

Testing on Parcel 4602 identified a variable and disturbed soil stratigraphy, but which generally consisted of a recent top soil fill episode overlaying historic deposits including fill episodes from the demolition of structures which in turn overlayed subsoil. Features identified included three middens, one historic pipe trench, one historic post mold, and one ditch/trench feature whose use was not identified.

Controlling for the recent topsoil and the three fill events attributed to the construction and/or demolition of structures on the property, a total of 10,199 artifacts were recovered from Parcel 4602. Of this number, the Domestic group made up nearly half of the assemblage with 5,019 artifacts, or 49.21% of the assemblage at Parcel 4602. The Indefinite Use group was the second most prevalent, making up 28.83% (n=2940) of the assemblage, followed by Structural group making up 18.5% (n=1887). The remaining artifacts are detailed in Table 35 below.

Table 35. Functional group percentages of total artifact count of 36AL0569.

Group	Number	Percentage of assemblage
Activities	11	0.11
Domestic	5,019	49.21
Indefinite Use	2,940	28.83
Lithic	1	0.01
Personal	133	1.30
Structural	1,887	18.5
Undefined Use	208	2.04
Total:	10,199	100.00

The functional groups Activities, Domestic, Personal, and Structural are worth closer examination. The Activities group is a small part of the assemblage (0.11%), but does demonstrate some of the activities that occurred on-site. The majority of the Activities group are represented by the Transportation category (n=7), all of which are related to automobiles, the remaining belong to Painting, Tools, and Writing (Table 36).

Table 36. Functional categories of the Activities group of 36AL0569.

Category	Number	Percentage of Activities Group	Percentage of Total Assemblage
Painting	7	63.64	0.07
Tools	1	9.09	0.01
Transportation	1	9.09	0.01
Writing	2	18.18	0.02
Total:	11	100.00	0.11

The Domestic group is further broken into several analytical categories. The most prevalent of these within the Domestic group is Miscellaneous Domestic Item which makes up 56.50% (n=2,836) of the Domestic group. Of this category, the overwhelming majority (n=2,821) were curved glass with no function distinguished in the artifact catalog. The next most prominent category was Food Prep/Consumption, which makes up 31.12% (n=1,562) of the Domestic group. Serving type artifacts account for 1,357 artifacts of the 1,562 artifacts in Food Prep/Consumption, followed by Tableware (n=170), Drinking Vessels (n=34), and Closures (n=1). The remaining categories within the Domestic group make up much smaller portions of this group and are detailed in Table 37 below.

Table 37. Functional categories of the Domestic group of 36AL0569.

Category	Number	Percentage of Domestic Group	Percentage of Total Assemblage
Clothes Maintenance	1	0.02	0.01
Food	163	3.25	1.60
Food Prep/Consumption	1,562	31.12	15.32
Food Storage	355	7.07	3.48
Furnishings	98	1.95	0.96
Heating/Lighting	4	0.08	0.04
Misc. Domestic Items	2,836	56.5	27.81
Total:	5019	100.00	49.21

Within the Personal group, the Toys make up the overwhelming majority (n=77; 57.89%). Clothing is the next most prevalent category (n=29; 21.80). The remaining artifacts within the Personal group are more evenly dispersed across the remaining categories with significantly fewer numbers per category (Table 38).

Table 38. Functional categories of the Personal group of 36AL0569.

Category	Number	Percentage of Personal Group	Percentage of Total Assemblage
Accoutrement	8	6.01	0.08
Clothing	29	21.80	0.28
Footwear	3	2.27	0.03
Grooming/Health	4	3.01	0.04
Social Drugs – Tobacco	8	6.01	0.08
Social Drugs – Alcohol	4	3.01	0.04
Toys	77	57.89	0.75
Total:	133	100.00	1.3

Within the Structural group, Materials comprise the majority of the Structural assemblage (75.15%). Window glass makes up the majority of this category (n=1,078) but brick represents another large portion with 272 fragments. The Hardware category, consisting almost exclusively of fasteners, makes up 24.48%, while Electrical category is 0.37% of the Structural assemblage (Table 39).

Table 39. Functional categories of the Structural group of 36AL0569.

Category	Number	Percentage of Structural Group	Percentage of Total Assemblage
Hardware	462	24.48	4.53
Materials	1,418	75.15	13.9
Electrical	7	0.37	0.07
Total:	1,887	100.00	18.50

While 162 artifacts have beginning production dates within the late eighteenth century, all except a single piece of creamware and one wrought nail span through at least the turn of the twentieth century. Production dates for 1,378 artifacts begin throughout the nineteenth century, but similarly, all were produced through at least the turn of the twentieth century. Another 180 artifacts have production dates that begin sometime between 1900 and 1936, while a scant eight began production after that date. Flow Blue (1840-1900), gilt decoration (1870-present), manganese glaze (1827-1930), and decal decoration (1880-1910) are all prevalent decorations within the ceramic assemblage. Taken with the historical record, this presents a site that was occupied from the late nineteenth to early twentieth century.

Whiteware sherds make up the large majority of the ceramic assemblage (n=1,303, or 79.11%), followed in much smaller portions by porcelain, redware, stoneware, yellowware, and unidentified earthenware (Table 40).

Table 40. Percentages of ceramic types of 36AL0569.

Ceramic Type	Number	Percentage
Whiteware	1303	79.11
Porcelain	51	3.10
Redware	122	7.41
Stoneware	114	6.92
Yellowware	32	1.94
Earthenware	25	1.52
Total:	1647	100.00

36AL0574 (Parcel 6108)

Parcel 6108 is located at 28 Wood Street in Braddock (Figure 4). The lot measures 2,700 square feet and at the time of survey, two extant houses were on the property. The first was a two-story house constructed c. 1892 at the front of the lot, and the second was a two-to-three story house constructed c. 1900 at the rear of the lot. Retaining walls, concrete walkways, and other paved areas created a testable area that was 459 feet squared. Testing of the site consisted of four STPs and seven test units, comprising an approximate 81.75 square feet or 17.8% of the testable area.

John and Mary Carr purchased two adjacent lots in 1892 from the J. Robinson Heirs Plan. They owned the property until 1914 when Mary Carr, then a widow, sold the property to John and Dorothy Wilczek (Wilsack). The Wilczeks owned the property until 1938 when John Wilczek, by then a widower, sold the property to his son, Theodore. Theodore Wilczek owned the property until 1949 (Table 41)

Table 41. Ownership history of 36AL0574.

Grantor	Grantee	Date	Deed/Will Book
Samuel and Margaret (Robinson) Shaw	John and Mary Carr	August 16, 1892	Deed Book 704 Page 455
Mary Carr	John and Dorothy Wilsack	July 6, 1914	Deed Book 1775 Page 652
John Wilsack	Theodore Wilsack	October 3, 1938	Deed Book 2604 Page 593

According to federal census records, in 1900 two different families were renting property at Parcel 6108. Thadius Casidy, a carpenter, lived in the rear of the property with his wife, three daughters, and three sons who were day laborers. All were born in Pennsylvania with Pennsylvania parentage. Ida Gordon, a dressmaker and a widow, lived in the front of the property

with her two daughters and son as well as her boarder, Charles Schmidt, a conductor by trade. All were born in Pennsylvania, but Ida's parents were from Ireland, as was her husband, and Schmidt's parents were German. In the subsequent 1910 census, one family, the Tolans, were listed in the front dwelling, while two families, the Carrs and Shaws, are listed in the rear. All the men work as laborers in the steel mills, and the adults all were born in Ireland with Irish parents, while the children were born in Pennsylvania.

By 1920, two families are listed at the property. Nicholas Tassler was a craneman and lived at the front property with his wife and one boarder, a pipefitter named Andrew Stegina. All were born in Pennsylvania with Austrian parentage. The Knafls occupied the rear residence. Michael Knafls, the husband, was a coal miner who lived with a wife and three sons. Three boarders lived with them, all laborers in the steel mill who were born in Austria to Austrian parents.

The pattern of Eastern European occupants continues in 1930, as the two families occupying the property at this time, the Evanegas and the Murajdas, were Czechoslovakian. Andrew Evangea operated an open hearth at the steel mills and lived with his wife, three sons, and boarder Joseph Danko, a roller at the mill who was also Czech. John Murajda was a driller for the steel mill who lived with his wife, four daughters, and three sons (Table 42).

Table 42. Tenant history of 36AL0574.

Dates of residence	Head of Household	Occupation	Place of birth (if available)	Parents' place of birth
1900	Thadius Cassidy	Carpenter	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
	Ida Gordon	Dressmaker and widow	Pennsylvania	Ireland
1910	John Tolan	Laborer	Ireland	Ireland
	John Carr	Laborer	Pennsylvania	Ireland and Georgia
	Daniel Shaw	Laborer	Ireland	Ireland

1920	Nicholas Tassler	Craneman	Pennsylvania	Austria
	Michael Knafls	Coal miner	Slovakia	Slovakia
1930	Andrew Evanega	Open hearth operator	Czechoslovakia	Czechoslovakia
	John Murajda	Driller	Czechoslovakia	Czechoslovakia

During the original field survey, a straightforward stratigraphy was observed. A thin recent topsoil overlayed a historic occupation layer consisting of two strata that overlayed a sterile subsoil. Within this stratigraphy, however, a surface midden along with three brick-lined privy vaults were recorded. Of the three privy vaults, one was excavated to a depth of 310cm. The other two were excavated to depths of 23cm and 10cm, as was determined to be a reasonable level of effort for a Phase II survey.

Controlling for the recent topsoil, a total of 7,023 artifacts were recovered from Parcel 6108. Domestic group artifacts are the most prevalent category by far, comprising 55.18% of the total artifact assemblage of Parcel 6108. While not making up as significant a percentage as the Domestic group artifacts, Structural and Indefinite Use group artifacts make up 21.46% and 18.81% of the assemblage, respectively. Personal artifacts comprise an additional 3.15% of the assemblage, and the remaining artifacts are spread across the remaining groups in increasingly smaller portions (Table 43).

Table 43. Functional group percentages of the total artifact count of 36AL0574.

Group	Number	Percentage of assemblage
Activities	9	0.13
Domestic	3,875	55.18
Indefinite Use	1,321	18.81
Lithic	2	0.03
Personal	221	3.15
Structural	1,507	21.45
Undefined Use	88	1.25
Total:	7,023	100.00

Over half of the Domestic group consists of the Indefinite Use category (n= 2,168; 55.95%), which consists almost exclusively of curved glass (n=2,156). The next three most prevalent categories are Food Prep/Consumption (18.19%), Food category (15.3%), and Food Storage (7.28%). Of note within the Food Prep/Consumption category, there are 570 Serving type artifacts, 79 Drinking Vessel type, 52 Tableware type, and 4 of Indefinite Use. The remainder of the Domestic group is detailed in Table 44 below.

Table 44. Functional categories of the Domestic group of 36AL0574.

Category	Number	Percentage of Domestic Group	Percentage of Total Assemblage
Clothes Maintenance	5	0.13	0.07
Food	593	15.3	8.44
Food Prep/Consumption	705	18.19	10.04
Food Storage	282	7.28	4.02
Furnishings	92	2.37	1.31
Heating/Lighting	10	0.26	0.14
Indefinite Use #	2,168	55.95	30.87
Misc. Domestic Items	20	0.52	0.28
Total:	3,875	100.00	55.18

Within the Structural group, Materials and Hardware each make up approximately half of the Structural artifacts. Materials make up 55.94% of the group and window glass makes up the overwhelming majority of the Materials artifacts (n=763). Hardware, made up almost entirely of fasteners (n=656), makes up 43.73% of the Structural artifacts. Electrical artifacts make up the remaining 0.33% (Table 45).

Table 45. Functional categories of the Structural group of 36AL0574.

Category	Number	Percentage of Structural Group	Percentage of Total Assemblage
Hardware	659	43.73	9.38
Materials	843	55.94	12.00
Electrical	5	0.33	0.07
Total:	1,507	100.00	21.45

Compared to other sites, Personal group artifacts comprise a slightly larger percentage of the overall assemblage. Clothing is the largest portion of this, making up 40.72% of the Personal group artifacts. This is followed by Footwear (29.41%), then Toys (19.46%). The remainder of the artifacts are spread across Accoutrements, Grooming/Health, Social Drugs (Alcohol and Tobacco), with each category comprising less than 10 artifacts (Table 46).

Table 46. Functional categories of the Personal group of 36AL0574.

Category	Number	Percentage of Personal Group	Percentage of Total Assemblage
Accoutrement	9	4.07	0.13
Clothing	90	40.72	1.28
Footwear	65	29.41	0.93
Grooming/Health	2	0.91	0.03
Social Drugs – Tobacco	4	1.81	0.06
Social Drugs – Alcohol	8	3.62	0.11
Toys	43	19.46	0.61
Total:	221	100.00	3.15

While the Activities group makes up a small portion of the Parcel 6108 assemblage (0.13%), it is worth examining its components further to explore the lifestyle of the occupants. The Writing category accounts for four of the nine artifacts, followed by Firearms with two spent shells. Transportation (an automobile light), Tools (a thermometer), and Painting (a paint chip) all contain one artifact each (Table 47).

Table 47. Functional categories of the Activities group of 36AL0574.

Category	Number	Percentage of Activities Group	Percentage of Total Assemblage
Writing	4	44.45	0.07
Firearms	2	22.22	0.03
Transportation	1	11.11	0.01
Tools	1	11.11	0.01
Painting	1	11.11	0.01
Total:	9	100.00	0.13

Diagnostic artifacts consist of a mix of ceramic decoration types and technological innovations. Ceramic decorations and attributes consist of gilt decoration (1870-1910), decal decoration (1880-1910), transfer print (1840-present), Rockingham ware (1830-1900), and Albany slip (1805-1938). Mason Jar lids and lid liners are present within the assemblage, which begin production in 1858, while wire nails (1850-present) are heavily represented. A few sherds of Bakelite were recovered (1906-present), along with various plastic implements that can be dated to 1915 at the earliest. Only six artifacts began production after 1938. Overall, when combined with the historical data, this is representative of a late nineteenth to early twentieth century site.

Considering the ceramic types, whiteware is the overwhelming majority (73.72%). Porcelain and redware are approximately equally represented. Stoneware and earthenware make up smaller portions of the ceramic assemblage (Table 48).

Table 48. Percentages of ceramic types of 36AL0574.

Ceramic Type	Number	Percentage
Whiteware	505	73.72
Porcelain	68	9.93
Redware	66	9.63
Stoneware	43	6.28
Earthenware	3	0.44
Total:	685	100.00

36AL0547 (Parcel 21)

Parcel 21 is located at 5516 Herbert Way, in the Glenwood neighborhood of Pittsburgh (Figure 5). The parcel is 2,890 square feet and contains a duplex, which was occupied at the time of the original survey. A total of 180.98 square feet, or 6.26% of the total parcel, was excavated during the survey. The size of the original testable area is unknown. The duplex is historic,

although its construction date is somewhat debatable. The Allegheny County Real Estate portal notes the duplex was constructed in 1896, however the authors of the original report speculate this might have been referring to an adjacent lot, as the duplex does not appear on any maps until the 1905 Sanborn map (Diamanti et al 2009:34-1). A privy/shed combination appears on this map but disappears by 1925.

William Fried sold the property to Jon Folger in 1892, who then sold the property to John Edmundson in 1902. The duplex was constructed by either Edmundson or Folger. John Edmundson left the property to his daughter, Carrie Stadfeld, who sold it to Nykolaj Bochonok in 1927. Bochonok sold the property to his son, Nicholaus, in 1943 (Table 49).

Table 49. Ownership history of 36AL0547.

Grantor	Grantee	Date	Deed/Will Book
William Fried	John Folger	May 11, 1892	Deed Book 801 Page 235
John Folger	John Edmundson	November 29, 1902	Deed Book 1243 Page 354
Carrie Stadfeld	Nykolaj Bochonok	October 25, 1927	Deed Book 2359 Page 110
Nykolaj and Anna Bochonok	Nicholaus Bochonok	December 23, 1943	Deed Book 2789 Page 346

Considering the property appears to have been built after 1900, there are no census records for this property from 1900. Additionally, no census data was able to be located for 1910, however, census data from 1920 indicated two Hungarian families, the Parches and the Kis', were renting the duplex at the time. Both of the heads of households were boilermakers, a semi-skilled blue collar occupation. Joseph Parch lived with his wife, also Hungarian, four daughters, and son. William Kis and his wife both were native to Hungary and lived in the other half of the duplex with their daughter and two sons. By 1930, two new families were renting, the Binokits

and the Programiczmis, both of whom were Polish. Mr. Programiczmi was a laborer while Mr. Binokits was a machinist's assistant, both blue-collar occupations of varying skill levels. Nick Binokit lived with his wife, two daughters, and son, while Andrew Programiczmi lived with his wife, two sons, and Peter Zakalata, their boarder and a car repairman who immigrated from Poland and parents were also from Austria Galicia (present day Ukraine) (Table 50).

Table 50. Tenant history of 36AL0547.

Dates of residence	Head of Household	Occupation	Place of birth (if available)	Parents' place of birth
1920	Joseph Parch	Boilermaker	Hungary	Hungary
	William Kis	Boilermaker	Hungary	Hungary
1930	Nick Binokit	Machinist's assistant	Poland	Austria Galicia
	Andrew Pogramizin	Laborer	Poland	Austria Galicia

The general stratigraphy of the site was represented by an artifact-dense recent topsoil overlaying a historic deposit consisting of two strata, which in turn overlays an Ab horizon overlaying a subsoil. Two middens, two refuse pits, and two post molds are present within the historic deposit.

Controlling for the recent topsoil, there is a total of 21,309 artifact recovered from Parcel 21. Domestic group artifacts make up 58.70% of the total artifact assemblage, the largest portion of the assemblage (n=12,509). The next most prominent group is Indefinite Use, which is significantly smaller making up 20.6% of the assemblage (n=4,389). The Structural group makes up a similar percentage with 16.24% (n=3,461). The remaining assemblage is spread across Activities, Lithics, Personal, and Undefined Use, each group making up less than 10% of the assemblage (Table 51).

Table 51. Functional group percentages of the total artifact counts of 36AL0547.

Group	Number	Percentage of assemblage
Activities	23	0.11
Domestic	12,509	58.7
Indefinite Use	4,389	20.6
Lithic	1	0.01
Personal	404	1.89
Structural	3,461	16.24
Undefined Use	522	2.45
Total:	21,309	100.00

Within the Domestic group, the Indefinite Use category accounted for 8,598 artifacts, or 68.73% of the Domestic group. Food Prep/Consumption is the second most prominent category, although at a much smaller percentage. There are 2,816 artifacts in the Food Prep/Consumption category, making up 22.51% of the Domestic group and consisting of 2,453 Serving vessel fragments, 192 Tableware fragments, and 171 Drinking Vessel fragments. The remainder of the Domestic group is detailed below in Table 52. None of the other categories account for more than 10 percent of the Domestic group assemblage.

Table 52. Functional categories of the Domestic group of 36AL0547.

Category	Number	Percentage of Domestic Group	Percentage of Total Assemblage
Clothes Maintenance	2	0.02	0.01
Food	576	4.60	2.70
Food Prep/Consumption	2,816	22.52	13.22
Food Storage	357	2.85	1.68
Furnishings	139	1.11	0.65
Heating/Lighting	16	0.13	0.07
Indefinite Use	8,598	68.73	40.35
Misc. Domestic Items	5	0.04	0.02
Total:	12,509	100.00	58.70

The Materials category makes up 67.47% of the Structural group assemblage, while Hardware category makes up 32.39%. Electrical artifacts comprise the remaining 0.14%. Flat

window glass makes up nearly all of the materials group (n=2,277), while the Hardware group is made up almost exclusively of fasteners (n=1,113) (Table 53).

Table 53. Functional categories of Structural group of 36AL0547.

Category	Number	Percentage of Structural Group	Percentage of Total Assemblage
Hardware	1,121	32.39	5.26
Materials	2,335	67.47	10.96
Electrical	5	0.14	0.02
Total:	3,461	100.00	16.24

Within the Personal group, Clothing and Footwear each contribute 100 artifacts (24.75% per category). Following this, Social Drugs – Alcohol is the next most prevalent category, making up 21.29% (n=89). Toys also make up a larger portion of the Personal assemblage, contributing 12.63%, or 51 artifacts. The remainder of the Personal group is detailed in Table 54 below.

Table 54. Functional categories of the Personal group of 36AL0547.

Category	Number	Percentage of Personal Group	Percentage of Total Assemblage
Accoutrement	12	2.97	0.06
Clothing	100	24.75	0.47
Footwear	100	24.75	0.47
Grooming/Health	24	5.94	0.11
Social Drugs – Tobacco	86	21.29	0.40
Social Drugs – Alcohol	31	7.67	0.15
Toys	51	12.63	0.24
Total:	404	100.00	1.89

While it only makes up 0.11% of the total assemblage, the Activities group also warrants further examination. Firearms, Writing, and Transportation all account for 26.08% of the Activities group. The Transportation category consists entirely of railroad spikes. The remaining

categories represented are Commerce (one half dollar), Tools (Thermometer fragments), and Entertainment (harmonicas) (Table 55).

Table 55. Functional categories of the Activities group of 36AL0547.

Category	Number	Percentage of Activities Group	Percentage of Total Assemblage
Commerce	1	4.34	>0.01
Entertainment	2	8.70	0.01
Firearms	6	26.08	0.03
Tools	2	8.70	0.01
Transportation	6	26.08	0.03
Writing	6	26.08	0.03
Total:	23	100.00	0.11

The earliest diagnostic artifact identified within Parcel 21 is mocha patterning identified on yellowware, dating from 1790-1939. This pattern, like the also present Albany Slip (1805-1938) and transfer print (1840-present), has a wide production range, extending well into the 20th century. Ceramic ware decoration such as decal decoration (1880-1910) and gilt decoration (1870-1910) are well represented in the assemblage and have a much smaller production range, closely spanning the turn-of-the-century, while the presence of graphite pencils (1875-present), wire nails (1850-present), crown top closures (1891-present), and various early plastic fragments (1915-present) are all technological advances that indicate the property was inhabited beginning sometime in the late 19th century and spanning into the 20th century, which is in line with the historic documentary data.

Similar to the other working-class sites, whiteware makes up well over half of the ceramic assemblage (65.19%). Stoneware is the second most prevalent category or 13.52% of the assemblage. The remainder of the ceramic assemblage, including porcelain, makes up less than 10 percent of the assemblage (Table 56).

Table 56. Percentages of ceramic types of 36AL0547.

Ceramic Type	Number	Percentage
Whiteware	1,075	65.19
Porcelain	131	7.94
Redware	117	7.10
Stoneware	223	13.52
Yellowware	75	4.55
Earthenware	28	1.70
Total:	1,649	100.00

36AL550 (Parcel 40)

Parcel 40 is located at 412 Larimer Avenue in Turtle Creek Borough (Figure 6). At the time of the survey, a historic residence constructed circa 1900 stood on the property. According to the Allegheny County Real Estate portal, the lot is 3,000 square feet. During survey, approximately 123 square feet, or 4.10% of the total lot area, were excavated from the yards within Parcel 40. The total amount of testable area is unknown. Originally, the property was owned by J. N. McClelland who subdivided his tract of land and sold off Parcel 40 to Elmer Jobe in 1892. Mr. Jobe then sold it to widow Mary Cronin in 1895. Eventually, the property was forfeited to the sheriff's department and sold to George Monro in 1912. The property then passed in rapid succession to John Price in 1913, Abe Trevoskis in 1916 and to James Champion also in 1916. Champion owned and appeared to have lived on the property until 1938 (Table 57).

Table 57. Ownership history of 36AL0550.

Grantor	Grantee	Date	Deed/Will Book
John and Margaret McClelland	Elmer Job	May 5, 1892	Deed Book 692 Page 333
Elmer and Laura Job	Mary Cronin	November 30, 1895	Deed Book 917 Page 573
Sherrif's sale	George Monro	October 12, 1912	Deed Book 1745 Page 217

Goerge and Sarah Monro	John and Margaret Price	May 14, 1913	Deed Book 1773 Page 509
John Price	Abe Travaskis	February 9, 1916	Deed Book 1861 Page 2
Abe Travaskis	James Champion	February 26, 1916	Deed Book 1846 Page 297
James Champion	George Mikalauskis	July 31, 1938	Deed Book 2665 Page 381

Prior to its occupancy by James Champion and his family, the house was tenant-occupied. While no census records were located for the property during the 1900 census, in 1910 two families occupied the house. Simpson Shoop, a laborer for the railroad, occupied the front of the house with his wife, who was a music teacher at will. Both were born in Pennsylvania with Pennsylvania parentage. Slone Wherry, a barber, occupied the rear of the house with his wife and two sons, all of whom were born in Pennsylvania with Pennsylvania parentage.

In the 1920 census, the Champions were occupying the house by themselves, which they owned according to deed research. The father, James, worked as a laborer on the railroad and lived there with his wife, four daughters, and three sons. James was born in Vermont with English parentage. His wife, however, was born in Pennsylvania with Pennsylvania parentage. The Champions were still residing at the property in 1930 and James and his wife were now living with two of their sons, their daughter, and her husband, who worked as a gardener. James still worked as a laborer for the railroad (Table 58).

Table 58. Tenant history of 36AL0550.

Dates of residence	Head of Household	Occupation	Place of birth (if available)	Parents' place of birth
1910	Simpson Shoop	Carpenter	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
	Slone Wherry	Barber	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
1920	James Champion	Laborer	Vermont	England
1930	James Champion	Laborer	Vermont	England

The site stratigraphy is fairly straightforward. A stratum of recent topsoil overlays a historic deposit layer consisting of two strata, two historic middens, and a privy feature. In a portion of the site a destruction layer from the demolition of a former garage intercuts the recent topsoil and the upper-most strata of the historic deposit. The historic deposit overlays a culturally sterile subsoil.

After controlling for the recent topsoil and the garage demolition layers, there is a total of 6,670 artifacts within Parcel 40's assemblage. Of these, Domestic and Indefinite Use group make up very similar portions of the total assemblage (40.21% and 38.5%, respectively). While these two groups make up approximately 80% of the total assemblage, Structural group contributes an additional 18.68%. The remainder of the assemblage is spread across Activities, Personal, and Undefined Use, each of which comprises less than 2% of the total assemblage (Table 59).

Table 59. Functional group percentages of the total artifact count of 36AL0550.

Group	Number	Percentage of assemblage
Activities	15	0.22
Domestic	2,682	40.21
Indefinite Use	2,568	38.5
Personal	116	1.74
Structural	1,246	18.68
Undefined Use	43	0.65
Total:	6,670	100.00

Taking a closer look at the separate groups, the Domestic group is made up primarily of the Food category (n=1,509; 56.26%). Food waste makes the majority of this category with 1,446 artifacts. Food waste consists primarily of bones (n=1,404), of which 892 were modified, but also peach pits and eggshells. The remainder of the Food category is made up of milk bottles and tin cans, accounting for 63 of the artifacts in this category. Food Prep/Consumption is the second most prevalent category within the Domestic group. It accounts for 33.33%, or 894

artifacts, of the group, and consists of 600 Serving type artifacts, 147 Drinking Vessels, 97 Tableware, and 50 Kitchen. The Kitchen type artifacts are all mica from stovetops. Following this, Furnishings, the majority of which are flowerpots, make up 4.92 % (n=132) of the Domestic assemblage, Heating/Lighting makes up 3.99% (n=107) consisting primarily of lamp/lantern parts, Food Storage makes up 1.45% (n=39), and Clothing Maintenance makes up 0.05% (n=1) (Table 60).

Table 60. Functional categories of the Domestic group of 36AL0550.

Category	Number	Percentage of Domestic Group	Percentage of Total Assemblage
Clothes Maintenance	1	0.05	0.01
Food	1,509	56.26	22.62
Food Prep/Consumption	894	33.33	13.40
Food Storage	39	1.45	0.58
Furnishings	132	4.92	1.98
Heating/Lighting	107	3.99	1.60
Total:	1,246	100.00	40.21

The Structural group consists primarily of Hardware (66.53% of the Structural group). Within this category, all but one of the artifacts are fasteners (n=828). Materials make up another 32.66% of the Structural group assemblage. Window glass accounts for three-fourths of this category (n=299) while tile fragments account for 68 more artifacts. Electrical and Miscellaneous Metal make up less than one percent of the remainder of the assemblage (Table 61).

Table 61. Functional categories of the Structural group of 36AL0550.

Category	Number	Percentage of Structural Group	Percentage of Total Assemblage
Hardware	829	66.53	12.44
Materials	407	32.66	6.10
Electrical	9	0.72	0.13
Misc. Metal	1	0.09	0.01
Total:	1,246	100.00	18.68

Within the Personal group, Clothing is the most prevalent category and makes up 38.79% (n=45). Nearly all of this category were Fasteners (n=43) of some kind (buttons, buckles, eyelets, and strap and suspender attachments). The remainder were fabric remnants. Toys make up the second largest portion of the Personal artifacts, representing 24.14% (n=28), followed by Alcohol (14.65%, n=17), Accoutrements (7.76%, n=9), Grooming/Health (6.9%, n=8), Footwear (4.31%, n=8), and Tobacco (3.45, n=4) (Table 62). Within the Grooming/Health category, seven artifacts are medicine/prescription bottles, while one is a comb.

Table 62. Functional categories of the Personal group of 36AL0550.

Category	Number	Percentage of Personal Group	Percentage of Total Assemblage
Accoutrement	9	7.76	0.13
Clothing	45	38.79	0.67
Footwear	5	4.31	0.07
Grooming/Health	8	6.9	0.12
Social Drugs – Tobacco	4	3.45	0.06
Social Drugs – Alcohol	17	14.65	0.25
Toys	28	24.14	0.42
Total:	116	100.00	1.74

The Activities group contained only 15 artifacts and is evenly spread over its categories. The categories are Firearms (n=2), Games (n=4), Tools (n=2), Transportation (n=1), and Writing (n=6).

Table 63. Functional categories of the Activities group of 36AL0550.

Category	Number	Percentage of Activities Group	Percentage of Total Assemblage
Firearms	2	13.33	0.03
Games	4	26.67	0.06
Tools	2	13.33	0.03
Transportation	1	6.67	0.01
Writing	6	40.00	0.09
Total:	15	100.00	0.22

Diagnostic ceramic decoration types and attributes include, like previous sites, Albany Slip (1805-1938), transfer print (1840-present), gilt decoration (1870-present), and decal decoration (1880-1910). Technologically, the diagnostic artifacts are much more representative of a late 19th to early 20th century site, as Mason jar lids and lid liners (1858-present), graphite pencils (1875-present), wire nails (1892-present), an electrical insulator (1885-present), bottles exhibiting Owens Scar (1903-1917), early plastic fragments (1915-present), and a cellophane fragment (1908-present) all represent a large portion of the diagnostic technological domestic assemblage and are representative of the mass manufacturing following the Civil War.

Within the domestic ceramic assemblage, whiteware makes up 70.43% of the ceramic types. Redware makes up 12.76%, the second largest type at Parcel 40, and consists primarily of flowerpot fragments. The other ceramic types make up less than 10% of the ceramic assemblage each. All types are detailed in Table 64 below.

Table 64. Percentages of ceramic types of 36AL0550.

Ceramic Type	Number	Percentage
Whiteware	574	70.43
Porcelain	72	8.83
Redware	104	12.76
Stoneware	23	2.82
Yellowware	15	1.84
Earthenware	27	3.32
Total:	815	100.00

5.2.3: Notable trends in the site histories and artifact assemblages

When comparing the census and tenant data from the site histories, it must be noted that the houses at all of the sites were rented out by the owners for a majority of the study period (1892-1938). Census, deed, and water tax records show that the middle-class sites generally were rented by white-collar occupants until about 1900, when tenants appear with skilled blue-collar and low-level white-collar employment. However, it appeared that the tenants at all middle-class sites all had either Pennsylvanian or Western Pennsylvania birth with similar parentage until the late 1920s, when those who purchased the properties began inhabiting them as well. At this time, two sites, 1505 and 1507 Brighton Place, were owned and occupied by Italians, something not seen previously in the records of these middle-class sites.

Compared to this, working-class sites were not occupied by their owners during the study period except for 36AL0550 (Parcel 40), which was owned and occupied by the Champions towards the end of the study period. These houses were often rented out to multiple families, a mix of blue-collar workers of American heritage and Eastern European heritage at various times throughout their history. Of note, at any given time, when multiple families rented out rooms in the same home, they would be of the same heritage.

The artifact assemblages also reveal a few notable trends. Working-class sites contained a much higher artifact count than their middle-class counterparts. All assemblages were described as extremely fragmentary in their original reports, and all sites had a roughly equal portion of their available testable area excavated. Additionally, when comparing the middle-class and working-class assemblages, artifacts were dispersed across the functional groups in similar patterns. The Structural group appears to be the sole exception to this, as the middle-class assemblages had noticeably higher percentages than the working-class assemblages.

Within the group categories, more variation becomes evident between the middle and working-class sites, although significant overlap is still present in nearly all of the categories. When considering ceramic ware types, however, middle-class house sites contained a noticeably higher percentage of porcelain than the working-class, which overwhelmingly contained whiteware.

The following chapter will take the results of the oral history, memoir, site history, and artifact analysis presented above and analyze them in the context of the existing literature and theoretical positioning detailed in Chapter 2. This analysis will then be applied towards answering the research question.

Chapter 6: Analysis

As demonstrated in the data of the previous chapter, the lives of the working- and middle-classes were starkly different in many ways. In the present chapter, however, we will consider how the relevant data can answer the proposed research question: How do differences in purchasing patterns represented in the material culture of middle-class and working-class domestic sites expose expressions of citizenship? To begin answering this question, we review the oral history data, then the artifact analysis, and finally end with a discussion combining all data to answer the above-presented research question.

6.1: Oral histories and memoirs analysis

When reviewing the oral histories and memoirs, there were two trends that became increasingly clear and are of particular relevance to this thesis. The first is the difference in what is expected of middle-class women and what is expected of working-class women, which is manifested in multiple ways throughout these histories. The second is a similar desire to discard foreignness seen in both the working- and the middle- classes.

The first evidence of how expectations of women differed between classes came in discussions of money management. It became evident the middle- and working-classes maintained two separate systems for managing money. For the middle-classes, it seems it was typical to maintain a dedicated account book or ledger, in which family expenses and credits were recorded in a formal two-column or double-entry system that could be referred back to in later years. We see this in both Ethel Spencer's and Evelyn Pearson's memoirs, in which they recount memories of both their mothers and fathers maintaining an account of expenditures,

albeit it appears for different things (the mother recorded household expenses such as clothing, groceries, and servants' pay, and the father his children's education costs).

Within the working-class, however, this system was far less formal. There is no mention of a formal accounting system in the working-class oral histories. Instead, the typical money-management system appears to have been the wife's personal management of her husband's 'payday'. This tradition of a husband turning over his pay to a wife for her to manage occurs four times in the oral histories and is a common theme in Thomas Bell's *Out of This Furnace* (1941). At most, Thomas Bell recounts a system where wives marked on the family calendar what accounts were due when, to whom, and for how much. Further evidence of a lack of formal accounting within working-class households comes from Margaret Byington's economy study of Homestead households, where she notes of working-class women, "Keeping personal accounts is arduous...and it was not surprising that busy women declined to add this task to their burdens." (1910:37).

While it appears that men turning their pay over to their wives for management may have evolved out of necessity during the earliest years of mass Eastern European immigration to Pittsburgh, as long shifts in the mill left little time for men to do much else, over time it appears to have evolved into an expectation and a sign of a good husband and a proper marriage. This is exemplified by Lillian Feodor complaining that she never saw her ex-husband's payday.

As is typical in working-class towns, the women described in the working-class oral histories were far more likely to contribute financially to the household than middle-class women. Women's financial contributions were mentioned 13 times in the oral histories compared to the three times they are mentioned in the middle-class memoirs. There also appeared to be an expectation of working-class women to shoulder responsibility typically assigned to men when

necessary. This is revealed in the story of a doctor who assumed a woman who should ‘keep’ her blinded husband, and the heavy presence of women at the Battle of Homestead in 1892 (Terrell 2025, Johnson 2008). Working-class women appear to occupy the public sphere to advocate for and support their family, as noted by interviewer Ron Baraff, who stated the women of Homestead “did a lot for their men”.

On the opposite side, middle-class women were kept separate from business and politics (Weber and Stearns 1983:xix). Middle-class neighborhoods were often located away from the business of downtown and the mill towns, creating a physical space between the private (domestic) and the public spheres of activity. Additionally, it was evident in the memoirs that the daughters of middle-class families were not expected to cross the public-private boundary at any point, nor were they expected to provide financially for themselves or their families.

While the firmness of the separate-spheres boundary varied between the middle and working-classes, the gendered division of labor did not. In both classes, women were expected to care for the home with tasks such as sewing, cooking, cleaning, and child rearing while men were expected to financially provide and to perform any home improvements or construction needs.

Availability of domestic space plays another role in how women could move through the world within different classes. Multiple interviewees of the oral histories recall limited living quarters, consisting of the kitchen and the shared bedrooms. Occasionally a living room was included. Regardless, the center of activity in a working-class household was the kitchen. Here laundry, bathing, meals, socialization, and many other activities occurred. Dona Koren and Margaret Fisher make the centrality of the kitchen explicit in their joint interview when Dona stated “The kitchen was the center of attraction, everything went on in the kitchen.” (Fisher and

Koren 2003). This rings true in Thomas Bell's work (1941), where so much of the story about the everyday lives of mill workers occurs in the kitchen of the house. The kitchen, a traditionally female domain, belonged more equitably to the other members of the household than in the middle-class.

The middle-class memoirs reveal a far different arrangement of household activities. Throughout the books, activities are spread throughout the household, which naturally contain more rooms. The kitchen, the dining room, parlor, bedrooms, a study/library, and nursery are all recounted as areas of activity within the house, without including outdoor spaces such as the yard or the porch. In these memoirs, room was plentiful enough that distinct activities could be assigned to each room, and some rooms could even be assigned to an individual member of the family. The kitchen belonged to the mother and whatever servant and children she allowed in. Ethel Spencer recalls her father's desk in the library, where he spent much of his time. Ethel also recalls that children of the time were expected to be relegated to the nursery while in the house. Here, then, we see another distinctive difference in how the middle-class and working-class families were able to conduct their lives.

The second significant pattern noted in the oral histories and memoirs was a rejection of any foreign identifiers, in particular by the working class. Five times in the working-class oral histories an interviewee recalled at least one parent refusing to speak any language other than English at home. An additional five times outward expressions of foreignness was discouraged or downplayed, such as Frances Busch recalling girls did not pierce their ears due to foreign connotation. Additionally, multiple interviewees explicitly stated their American identity took priority over their ethnic heritage.

From a middle-class perspective, immigrants shedding their markers of foreignness was celebrated, if rarely mentioned. Ethel Spencer remembers her mother's pride when one of their former east German servants, Amanda, who took well to her English and housekeeping lessons, visited the family years later after she married a doctor, bore two sons, and spoke in perfect English (1983:35). In general, the distaste for foreignness was felt throughout all classes, with signs of 'Americanness' being English-speaking, middle-class, and children that could reproduce middle-class standards.

Ethnic stereotyping was pervasive in Pittsburgh at this time, and one interview exposes how it interfered with hiring in the mills. When interviewing Frank Galilei, the interviewer asks specifically about certain ethnicities being more commonly assigned to certain jobs. Frank responds with he did not believe it was because one ethnicity was better at a job than the others but rather attributed it to personal connections: You were more likely to get hired if you knew someone and you were more likely to know someone the same ethnicity as you. The fact that the interviewer asked about this topic specifically and Frank's familiarity with the stereotype indicates it was a pervasive belief throughout society.

6.2: Site histories and artifact analysis

When considering the artifact assemblages, the first notable trend is that artifact counts from working-class sites were astronomically higher than their middle-class counterparts. Total artifact counts from working-class sites range from 7,791 to 29,356 while the middle-class sites range from a total artifact count of 267 to 1,865. All sites were excavated with approximately equal samples of the available yard at each of the house sites and all of the artifact assemblages were described as extremely fragmentary in their original reports (De Cunzo 1988, Diamanti et al 2009) (Table 65). This precludes alternative explanations for the dramatic difference in total

artifact count between the sites and indicates the sites associated with working-class households did contain a substantially higher amounts of refuse.

Table 65. Total excavated area compared to total testable area of each site.

Site	Area excavated (square feet)	Total testable area (square feet)	Percentage of the total testable area that was excavated	Total number of artifacts
1501 Brighton Pl	90	577	15.60	174
1505 Brighton Pl	70	565	12.40	1,865
1507 Brighton Pl	70	590	11.90	1,161
1509 Brighton Pl	65	596	11.00	807
36AL0569 (Parcel 4602)	128.88	3,552	3.63	10,199
36AL0574 (Parcel 6108)	81.75	459	17.80	7,023
36AL0547 (Parcel 21)	180.98	2,890	6.26	21,309
36AL0550 (Parcel 40)	123	3,000	4.10	6,670

De Cunzo notes in her report that trash-clearing services, either public or private, were in place for the Allegheny City/North Side neighborhood since the construction of 1501-1509 Brighton Place (1988:151). Alternatively, Margaret Byington notes that by 1908, mill boroughs such as Homestead were slow to implement modern utility and sanitary ordinances, and landlords were often reluctant and little-incentivized to make these improvements to the existing homes (1910:24-25). Unlike Allegheny City, water tax records are not available for historically working-class homes included in this study because they were not accessing municipal water. This stunning difference in total artifact counts between working and middle-class house sites seems to indicate a lack of health and sanitary services in the traditional working-class neighborhoods, wherein in middle-class neighborhoods trash was removed and disposed of off-site.

Comparative analysis of the artifact groups (Domestic, Structural, Activities, etc.) showed these groups percentages were dispersed in similar patterns between middle- and working-class

sites. When comparing sites associated with the same class, variation of the percentages of each functional group to the total assemblage is evident. However, when this variation, or range of percentages, of each functional group is compared to those of the opposite class, significant overlap is evident. For example, the Domestic function group in middle-class sites makes up a range of 17.82% to 54.15%, with the majority ranging closer to 40-50%. Within the working-class sites, Domestic function group artifacts make up a range of 40.21% to 58.7% of the total artifact assemblage. This represents a significant overlap where any functional group ratio in a middle-class site has a counterpart in the working-class sites. This is visually represented in Figure 7 below.

The only exception to this is the Structural group, where even the lowest percentage of the middle-class group (27.56%) is higher than the highest percentage of the working-class group (21.45%). Within the Structural group, two primary categories are evident: Hardware, which was comprised primarily of fasteners such as nails and screws at all sites, and Materials, which consisted almost exclusively of window glass at most sites. When comparing the dispersal of the percentages of these categories within the Structural group between the middle- and working-class, a nearly duplicate range is seen (Figure 8 and Figure 9).

When looking at the Materials category, while window glass makes up the large portion of this category at all sites, a range of other materials is detailed such as brick, tile, plexiglass, mortar, stone, and roofing. None of these other materials makes up a notable portion of the Materials category with the sole exception of site 36AL0569, where brick makes up 19.18% of the Materials category (window glass makes up 76.02%). It is worth noting that in the artifact catalogs, the working-class sites appear to have a wider range of materials accounted for, likely due to differing collection strategies.

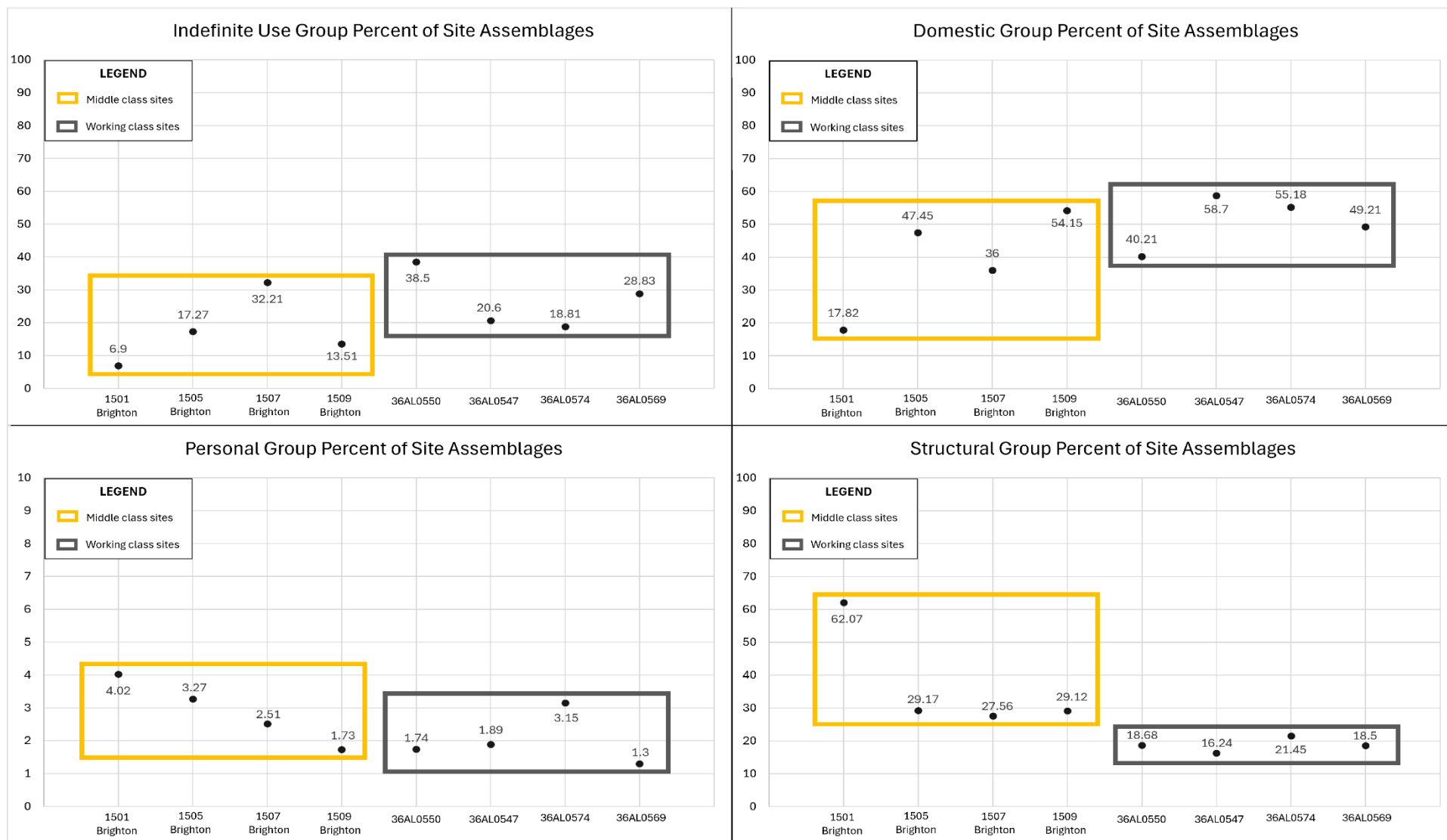


Figure 7. Functional group percentages across the middle- and working-class sites

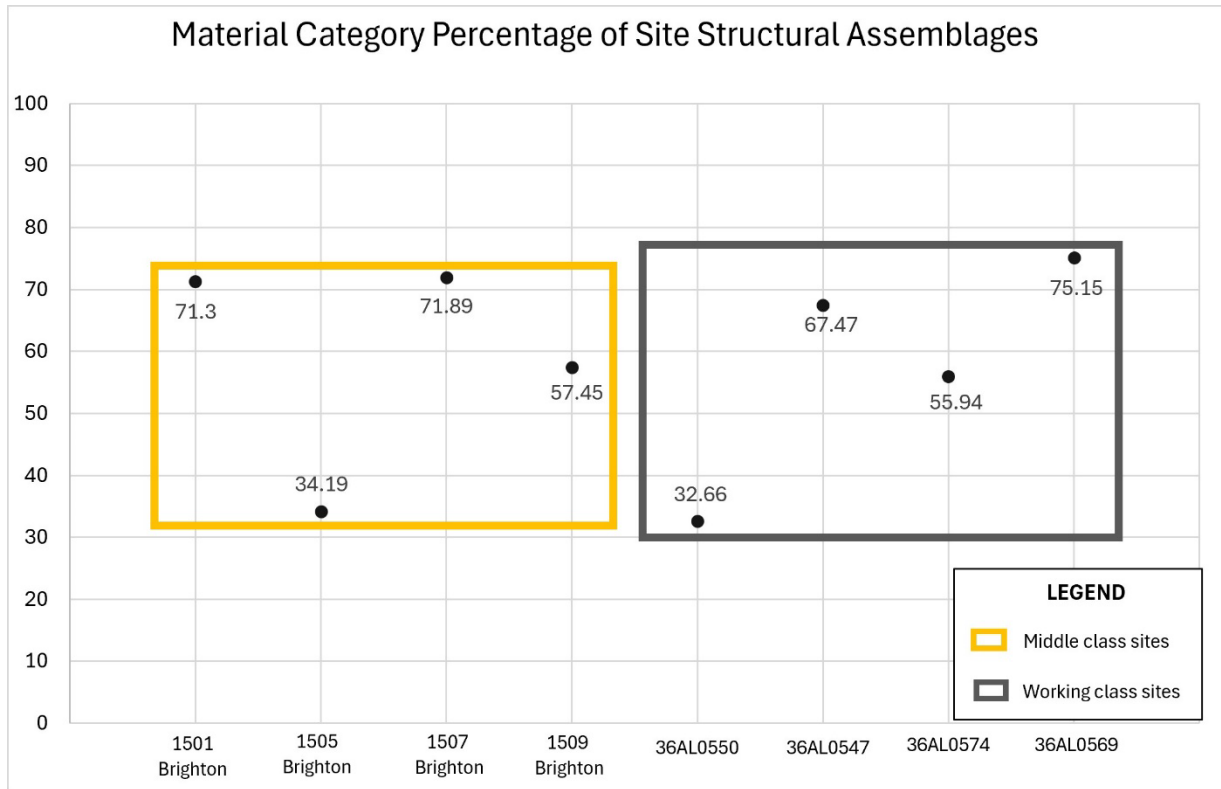


Figure 8. Materials functional category of the Structural group of all sites.

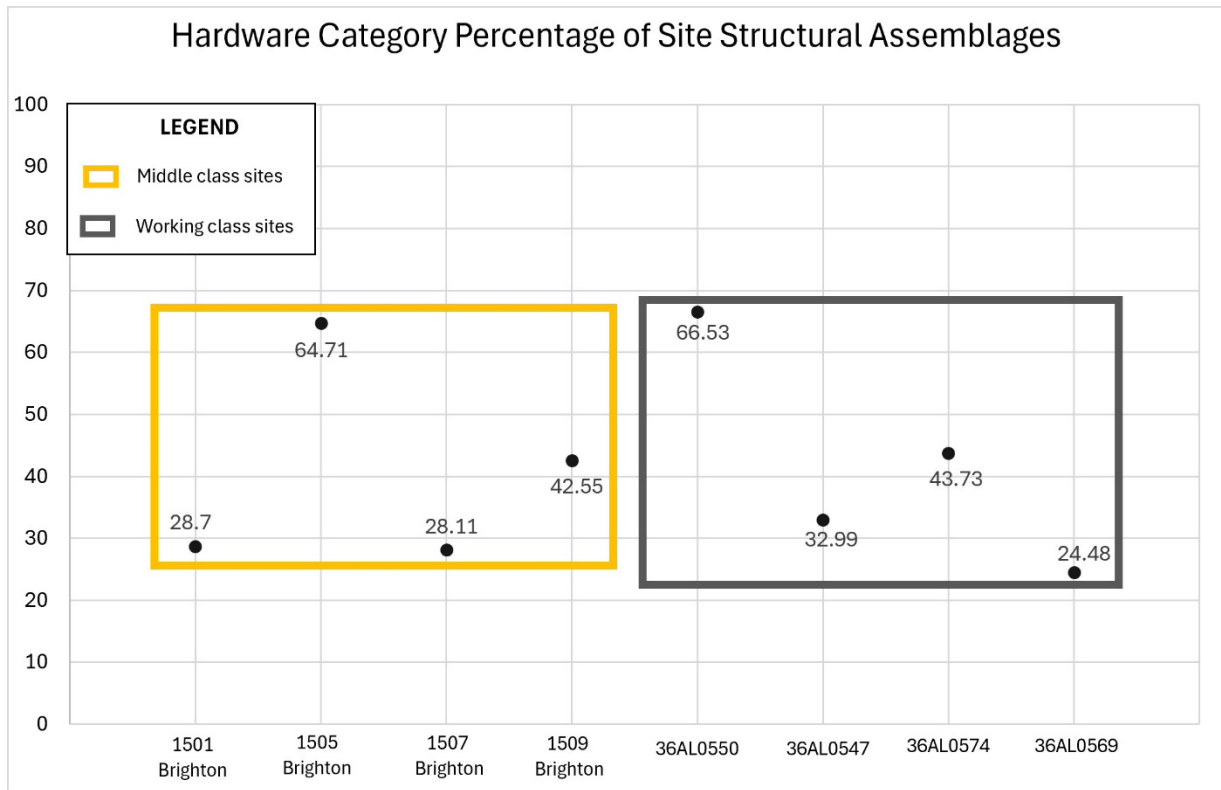


Figure 9. Hardware functional category of the Structural group of all sites.

It is interesting to observe that while Structural group artifacts are present at higher rates in middle-class sites, the categorical breakdown of this group is nearly identical between the middle and working-class sites. Possibly, this indicates that the same kinds of construction/structural activities were occurring at both middle and working-class sites, but they were happening at a greater occurrence in the middle-class sites. The oral histories and memoirs reveal that construction was typically the responsibility of the male members of the house. It could be the higher Structural group in the middle-class sites is the result of more disposable income and more male leisure time, allowing the men of the household to take part in a traditionally male-coded activity they otherwise would not have the time or money to partake in. Considering the North Side neighborhood where the middle-class sites are located was becoming more accessible to blue-collar workers over the course of the study period, it seems possible the patterns observed with the Structural function group are demonstrative of residents who recently had moved upward on the socio-economic ladder and carried over habits, such as the kind of construction/home maintenance that is necessary, but found themselves with the means and time to enact it at a greater rate.

When analyzing the artifact assemblages at the Categories division of the SHARD classification system, the distribution of artifact percentiles exhibits significant overlap between the middle and working-class sites in most categories (Figure 10 and Figure 11). While the range of percentages of intra-class sites varies somewhat depending on the category being analyzed, in almost all cases there is significant overlap between middle and working-class sites of the same category. Some outliers do exist, such as the Food category at site 36AL550, a working-class restaurant and boarding house. At this site, the Food category makes up 56.26% of the Domestic group; while the remainder of the sites have a Food category percentage between 15.3% and

2.75%. Obviously, this is to be expected of a site that once contained a restaurant. Similarly, the other outliers, and even the variation seen between class sites between all categories and groups, is likely an indicator of personal need and choice.

While the artifact assemblages showed that middle- and working-class sites exhibit generally similar percentile ranges for the functional groups and their categories, some potential differences appear. When analyzing the categories of the Domestic group, it appears that middle-class sites appear to contain, on average, more artifacts within the Food Prep/Consumption category (which makes up serving vessels, tableware, and drinking vessels) while Food Storage (generally canning products) made up more of the artifacts in the working-class sites (Figure 10). The slightly larger representation of Food Prep/Consumption category in the middle-class sites could possibly be an indicator of a middle-class emphasis on serving vessels. Diana Wall (1999) and Suzanne Spencer-Wood (2013) have both performed studies analyzing the importance of diverse serving vessels to the presentation of middle and upper class status.

The Food Storage category is somewhat more mysterious. Again, while the data is only somewhat skewed towards the working-class sites, a subtle difference is present (Figure 10). This could be interpreted as working-class growing and preserving their own food, which was not unheard of within the oral histories and other primary source documents. However, current scholarship suggests that as canned goods became more affordable, available, and less time consuming, middle and upper classes turned to home gardening and preserving as a hobby, while the working-classes continued with purchasing shelf-stable foods (Cowan 1983, Strasser 2000). Therefore, this particular category provides a bit of a mystery, and no further information is revealed in the oral histories or memoirs.

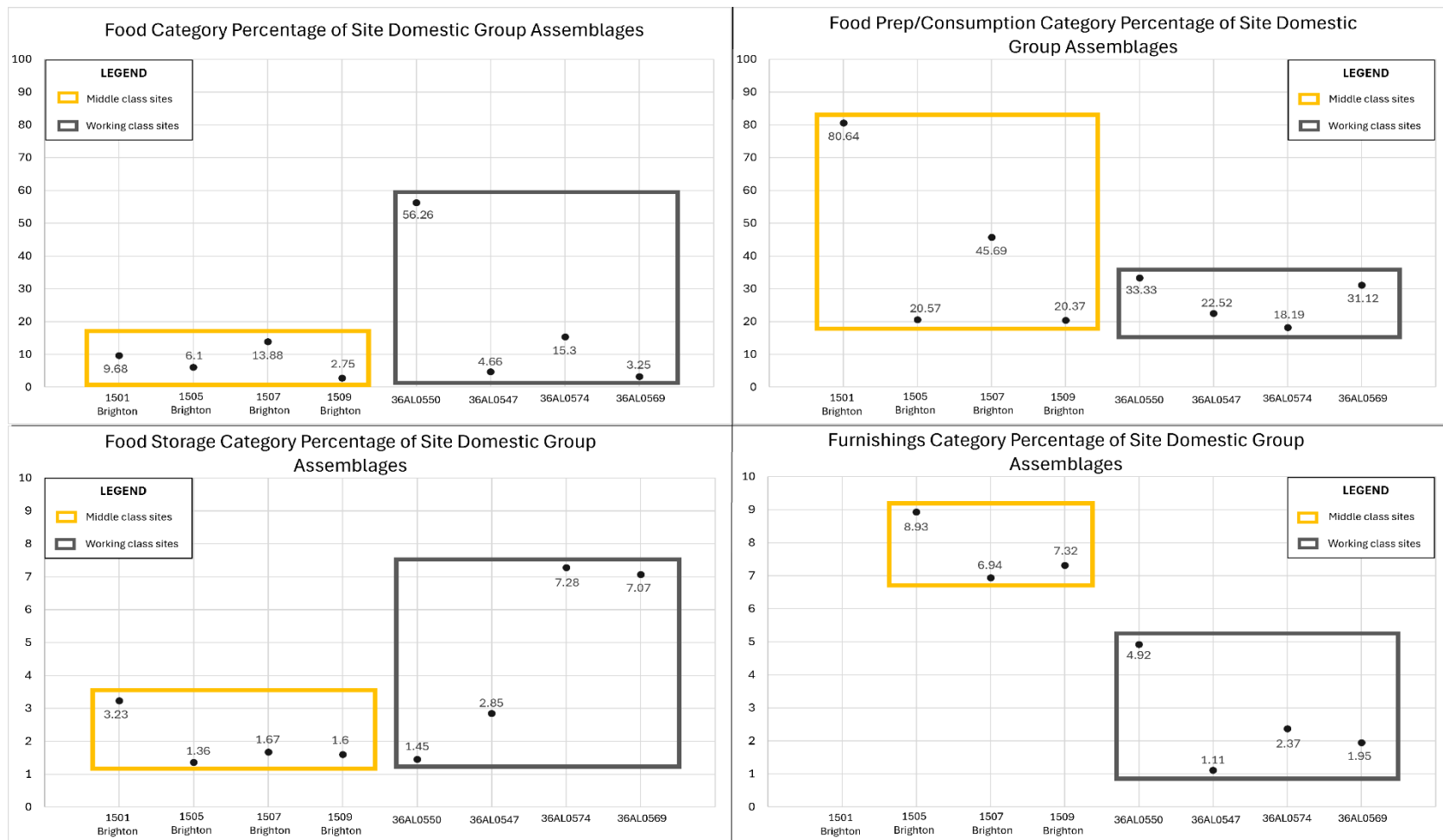


Figure 10. Functional categories of the middle- and working-class Domestic group artifacts.

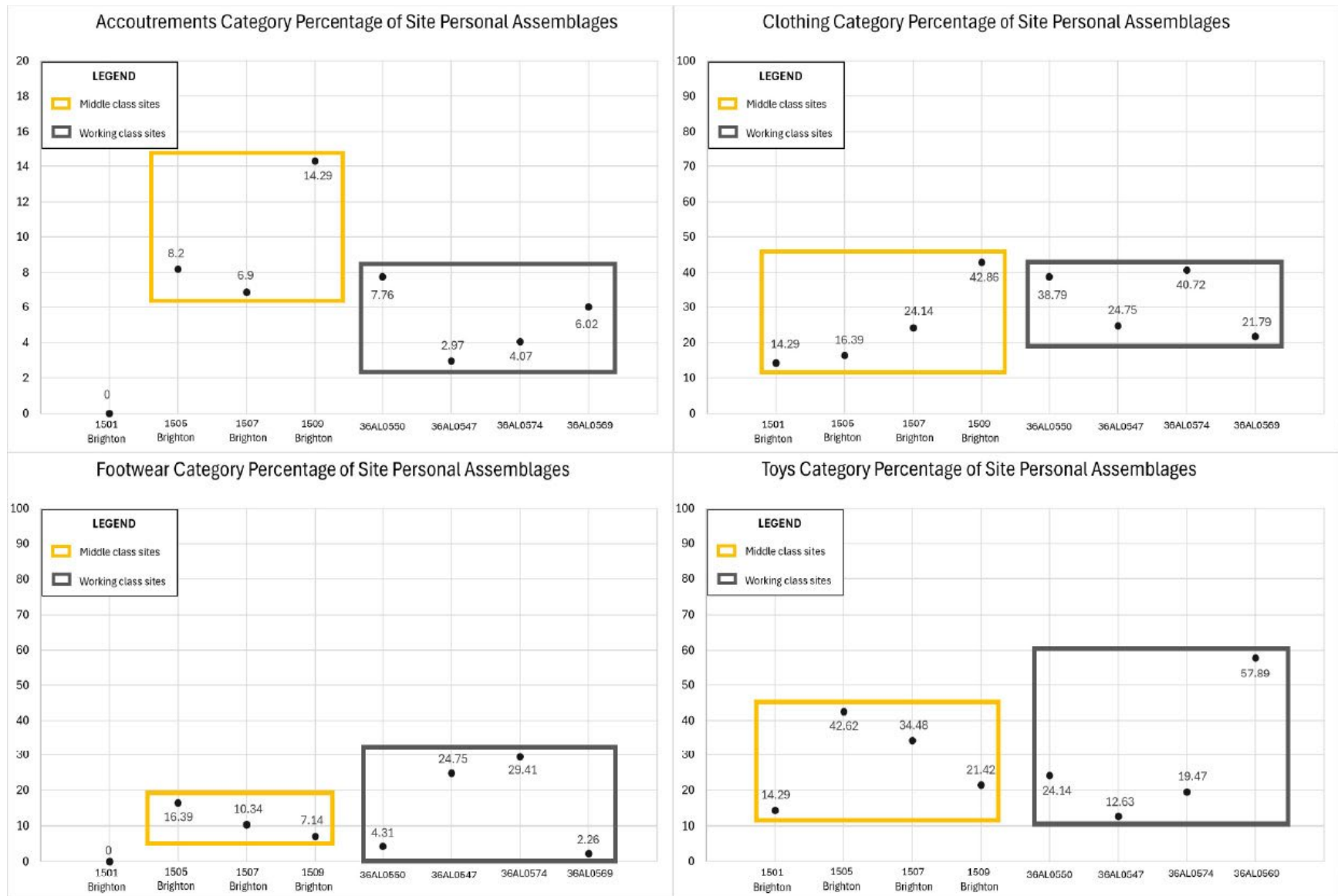


Figure 11. Functional categories of middle- and working-class Personal group artifacts.

Of note, the Furnishing category represents the single category of the Domestic group that did not contain any overlap between the middle and working-class sites (Figure 10). The Furnishing category is represented primarily by flowerpot fragments and decorative items (vases, figurines, etc) and occasionally furniture hardware, fragments, or mirror fragments were recovered. In the Furnishings category, middle-class sites contained more furnishing artifacts than the working-class sites, with the lowest middle-class percentage of 7.32% of the Domestic group at 1509 Brighton Place exceeding the highest working-class percentage of 4.92% of the Domestic group at 36AL550. The greater presence of flowerpots at middle-class sites supports the idea of gardening as a hobby, but the presence of decorative items is indicative of an effort on behalf of the middle-class families to display taste. Additionally, as discussed earlier, more space was generally available in middle-class households, creating a larger area to decorate.

The categories within the Personal group show a similar pattern to the Domestic group (Figure 11). Most of the functional categories show significant overlap in the percentiles of the working and middle-class sites with the exception of one: the Accoutrements category. This particular category is represented primarily by jewelry fragments. Here, middle-class sites have a slightly higher representation of Accoutrements than their working-class counterparts.

Overall, however, it appears the artifact assemblages indicate both the working and middle-class households were spending a roughly similar portion of the household budget on similar things, hereafter referred to as purchasing patterns. Differences in purchasing power, however, can be observed in the types of domestic ceramics found within the working and middle-class assemblages. Middle-class assemblages contained a noticeably higher percentage of porcelain than their working-class counterparts (Figure 12). Porcelain made up an average of 19.99% of middle-class ceramics compared to an average of 7.45% of the working-class

ceramics. The one exception is 1501 Brighton Place, which contained an extremely low count of ceramics regardless (37) and its data may be skewed. Working-class sites, on the other hand, overwhelmingly contained whiteware sherds with an average of 72.29% of the ceramic assemblage compared to the middle-class sites average of 51.26% (Figure 13).

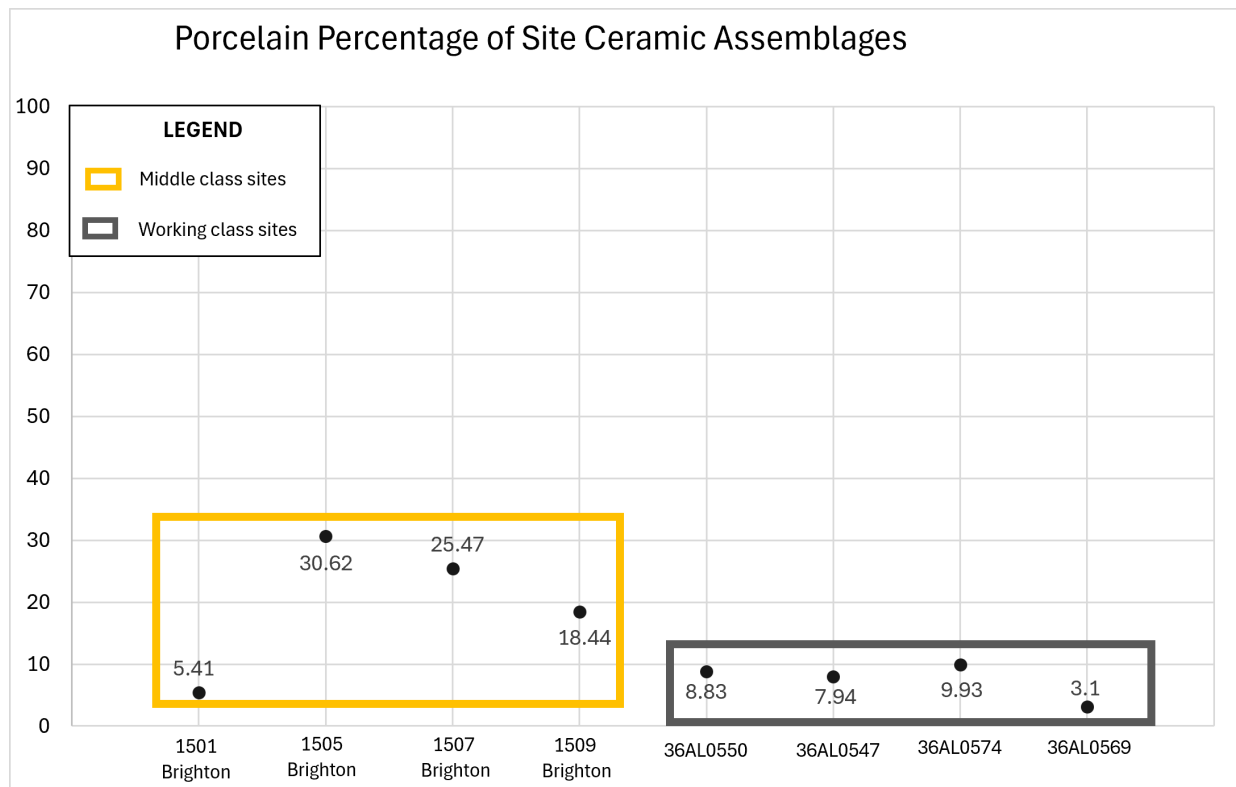


Figure 12. Porcelain percentages of the middle- and working-class assemblages.

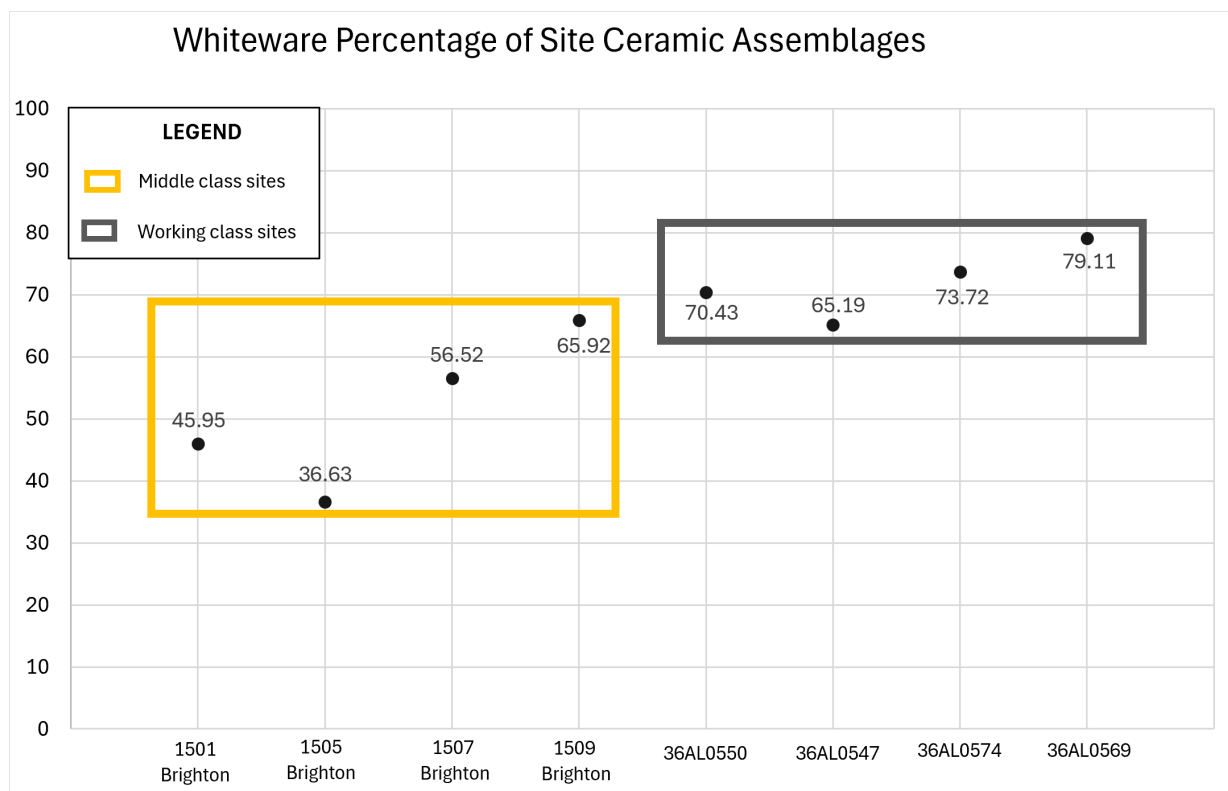


Figure 13. Whiteware percentages of the middle- and working-class assemblages.

Porcelain was considered a finer, more expensive ceramic for domestic use. Whiteware, albeit a catch-all term, was a cheaper, everyday, utilitarian use ceramic. Beyond porcelain and whiteware, the middle-class sites also contained more redware sherds than the working-class sites, while yellowware and stoneware were similar across class boundaries. Interestingly, the distribution of ceramics by ware type varied more among middle-class sites than working-class sites, which were more consistent between each other. It could be that this is reflective of the transitory nature of the Allegheny City neighborhood for the middle-classes, representing more of a stepping stone out of the mill neighborhoods for the members of the working-class. Therefore, it might be expected that a wider range of purchasing power can be seen in the middle-class neighborhood as established middle-class families lived alongside those who recently moved up into the middle-class.

Overall, slight variations in the artifact assemblage groups and categories are evident. However, the variations observed are to a far lesser extent than was expected. Significant overlap between the middle- and working-classes occurs in nearly all of the artifact groups and categories. This would suggest the middle and working-classes had similar purchasing patterns, meaning they bought items of similar functional categories at similar rates, with some variation. However, the difference observed in the presence of porcelain and whiteware at the middle and working-class sites indicates the *quality* of these items may have been higher at middle-class sites compared to the working-class sites. Therefore, it seems possible that people of the working class were buying items in a similar pattern as those members of the middle class, even if they were of perhaps lower quality.

6.3: Consumption, citizenship, and the home

It has been established in previous literature that material household goods are imbued with meaning (Gray 2013, Spencer-Wood 2013, Wall 1999). Additionally, over the course of the late nineteenth to early 20th century, the very act of consumption, the buying, owning, and displaying of objects, became inextricably tied to the notion of being an American citizen (Mullins 1999, McGovern 2006:62-65, Camp 2013). In the context of Lauren Berlant's theory of the National Symbolic (1991), consumption became one of the fields of activity in which the "symbolic and practical orchestration of a public mentality" (1991:7) could occur, turning individuals into citizens. In turn, citizens (consumers) are offered the full rights and protections of a national identity.

Full citizenship and the rights associated with it was not something given freely at this time and many groups, including women, immigrants, and people of color, were excluded from its definitions. Inevitably, though, as the wage economy replaced home production, American

society began to determine the value of citizens in what they could buy rather than the self-sufficiency of the early decades of the country (Cowan 1983, McGovern 2006). Being an American then meant correctly participating in the consumer economy and the definition of a good citizen became inextricably tied to the middle-class: those who earned a sufficient income to buy the clothes, furniture, and objects that could mark their social class (Mullins 1999, Camp 2013). Additionally, consumption as a form of imitation is well documented. Materially emulating those of a higher status as an attempt to associate oneself and one's family with more social respectability was a well-documented practice and is also an element of consumer culture during the turn of the twentieth century (Little et al. 1992). For example, De Cunzio observed a pattern of 'conspicuous consumption' in her research of worker housing in Paterson, New Jersey, which she attributed to workers' attempts at upward mobility by presenting an American pattern of behavior (1983:439).

To bring the discussion back to the research question, I propose that the members of the working-class attempted to gain full citizenship by imitating the purchasing patterns of the middle-class. Recognizing the conflation of Americanness with the middle-class and of the middle-class with consumption, the working-class members attempted to achieve a safer, more secure place in society by presenting themselves as the proper consumers. Part of this aspiration towards presenting middle-class included shedding associations of foreignness which, due to contemporary widespread stereotypes, asserted certain ethnicities were suitable only for low-paying professions.

As the oral histories show, displays of foreignness were frowned upon by the members of the middle-class and members of the working-class actively attempted to shed indicators of their ethnic identity. This was demonstrated by the working-class interviewees insisting on their

American identity, the memories of parents only speaking English at home, and the memory of avoiding dress with foreign connotations. Simultaneously, the middle-class applauded the assimilation of the new immigrants into American culture and their adoption of middle-class markers, exemplified by the pride Ethel's mother took in Amanda, the east German immigrant who learned English, shed her accent, and married a doctor with whom she raised two professional sons.

Further, it can be asserted that this 'fake it till you make it' approach was the machinations primarily of the working-class women. Oral and historical accounts describe factory labor that left men with little time for themselves or their families, much less leisure. When men did take part in leisure activities, it seems this occurred out of the domestic realm and away from their wives and children. Discussions of the centrality of the kitchen to everyday life in working-class households reveal the general lack of privacy one had in a working-class home. Here the kitchen (traditionally a woman's domain) was the stage for most domestic activity and personal time. As Ruth Cowan says "-adults who simply needed some place to organize their thoughts either went without or went somewhere else" (1983:162). It appears that the men, then, went somewhere else. The small portion of liquor and beer bottles recovered from the working-class sites appear to support this as working-class men seem to have spent much of their free time drinking in bars and saloons, shown in Thomas Bell's novel (1941) and several of the oral histories that discuss men's drinking habits.

Supervision of all other aspects of life, including management of the household funds and purchases, then fell almost exclusively to the wives and mothers of the working class. While in the middle-class it appears both the men and women maintained financial records and accounting, within the working class it appears men relied on their wives far more heavily to

keep track of the finances. It can then be reasonably concluded that the domestic assemblages of the working-class are more reflective of the prerogatives of the women than of their husbands. Analysis of these assemblages show the artifacts of the middle and working-class sites were dispersed across the functional groups and categories in similar patterns with some exceptions, showing more commonality with each other than not. This would indicate that working-class and middle-class women had similar ideas about what was considered 'proper' consumption, aligning them in the meanings tied to American consumerism, and through that, citizenship.

However, working-class women as a whole moved through the world much differently than their middle-class counter-parts. While a middle-class American standard of living increasingly included the expectation of leisure and freedom from hard labor, including domestic labor, working-class women were expected by this same society to take up the labor of providing and defending their families and communities when the men could not. Considering the injury and death rates in the mills, this was a frequent occurrence. Working-class women often had little choice but to cross into the male-dominated public realm that middle-class women were purposefully kept away from as a marker of their respectability.

The geographical boundaries that separated the classes contributed to the different experiences of the middle- and working-class women. As stated earlier, by the time of the study period, middle-class families had moved to the suburbs of Pittsburgh to escape the smog and dirt produced by the steel mills, the center of production. Middle-class fathers and husbands then relied on public transit, such as trains and inclines, to travel between work and home every day. The consistent use of public transit was an expense working-class families could not afford, who by necessity lived within walking distance of the mills, their place of work. This is a trend noted by De Cunzo in her doctoral thesis on the mill town of Paterson, New Jersey. As Paterson grew,

the town became functionally, socioeconomically, and ethnically segregated with the middle and elite classes moving to distant sections of the town away from the mills, the heart of production (1983:437-440).

However, the middle-class flight to the suburbs meant that for these families the public domain of business and domestic domain of the home was not just symbolically separate but maintained a great physical distance between the two. For the middle-class of Pittsburgh, the domestic sphere was a train (or incline) ride away, completely removing public sphere from mind, smell, and sight (Weber and Stearns 1983). The boundary between the public and domestic spheres was then able to be far more firm, which lent to the maintenance of middle-class women's respectability.

Working-class families by necessity, however, lived within walking distance of the mills, the men's place of work. In these mill towns, not only was the space between the public sphere of work and the domestic sphere of the home much smaller, but reminders of work were ever-present. The mill structures dominated the skyline of their towns, even at night as the Bessemer were constantly illuminating the night sky with fire from steel production (Bell 1941). Here, then, the distinction between home and work was always somewhat blurred for their residents. Even the term 'mill town' indicates this on some level: the public sphere of work (mill) combined with the domestic sphere (town). By nature, the geographical location of these towns precluded the women's ability to maintain that middle-class standard of separate spheres.

The spatial element of class, which is included in this thesis' definition of class, is therefore integral to understanding how middle- and working-class women and their families perceived the world, or more importantly for the present discussion, how greater society perceived them.

All this is to say that working-class women were deeply aware of the social stigma and restrictions to social assimilation (and movement) foreignness created. The similarities observed between the middle-class and working-class sites are likely the result of the purposeful imitation by the working-class women, who were aware that participating in the consumer economy in the right way was part of the gateway to full-fledged American citizenship. This in turn brought access to the middle-class, social security, and safer, better-paying jobs. Being the newer class of immigrants who relied on social networks to secure employment, Eastern Europeans and other groups such as Italians were the victims of negative stereotyping, wherein it was widely believed these ethnicities were only suitable for the unskilled or semi-skilled blue-collar jobs. Members of the working-class appear to have realized that shedding these outward ethnic indicators was necessary to move upwards on the socioeconomic ladder and the women quite literally bought into the material expression of Americanness and the middle-class promise of leisure, rights, and full citizenship.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

The thesis presented above sought to answer the research question of “How do differences in purchasing patterns represented in the material culture of middle-class and working-class domestic sites expose expressions of citizenship?”. During the study period of 1892-1938, Pittsburgh was a titan of steel production. At this time, the American economy was fully industrialized and rapid social change accompanied the shift. Wage labor was dominant and as work moved away from the household, the boundaries between public and private spaces became more distinct. In this new system, women belonged strictly in the private, domestic sphere of the home, caring for the house and children. The public sphere of business and politics belonged strictly to men, who were free to move back and forth between the two spaces (Cowan 1983, Little 1994, Shackel 1996, Spencer-Wood 2013, Westmont 2019).

People, primarily men, now left the home to earn money to buy items necessary for subsistence. Previously, most households produced much of what they needed to survive. In this way, Americans saw themselves primarily as producers. That production was replaced with consumption, however, as wage labor expanded. With men gone from the home most of the day, sustainable production became near impossible and the wage a man earned replaced the labor he provided at home. By the time of the study period, Americans had grown accustomed to buying, rather than producing, all the things they needed. Over time, this practice made its way into the center of American culture, as consumerism replaced production as a defining quality of American citizenship. One’s ability to buy was a social class marker, and American citizens reserved the right to take part in the consumer economy (Berlant 1991, Little 1994, Little et al 1992, Mullins 1999, McGowan 2006, Camp 2013).

Throughout the mid-nineteenth to early twentieth century, Pittsburgh experienced several large influxes of immigrants. During the study period, Eastern Europeans and various other groups such as Italians were the newest immigrant class. These immigrants came to fill labor positions in the steel mills where the work was hard, dangerous, and poorly-paid. They formed a large part of the working-class in Pittsburgh. Paths out of these jobs were often difficult to come by due to stigmatization surrounding foreignness and the working-class.

In order to answer the research question, I sought to understand the differences in how the working and middle-class chose to spend their household funds. To do so, I identified eight previously excavated sites, four from a historically middle-class neighborhood and four from historically working-class neighborhoods and examined their artifact assemblages using the SHARD classification system. This system was based off Stanley South's classification system for colonial sites (1977) but has been updated to be reflective of late nineteenth to early twentieth century domestic sites. The four artifact assemblages from the middle-class neighborhood are curated at the Edward O'Neil Research Center. The artifact assemblages from the working-class neighborhoods, however, were unable to be located. Additionally, oral histories and memoirs were consulted as additional lines of evidence. The oral histories were identified from oral history surveys conducted by the Rivers of Steel nonprofit intended to record lifeways within the working-class towns and neighborhoods of Pittsburgh and the surrounding area. The memoirs were identified from the local Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh and detail life in the middle-class in Pittsburgh during the study years.

Oral histories and memoirs were analyzed for stories, memories, or statements that were then placed into one of twelve categories of aspects of domestic life. The topics most relevant to the research question were analyzed for qualitative data that provided insight into those aspects

of daily life of the working and middle-classes in Pittsburgh during the study period of 1892-1938. The artifacts in each assemblage were placed into a group, category, and type to allow for cross comparison. Individual artifact assemblage was then analyzed to determine how the percentages of the functional groups were dispersed across the total assemblage. Functional category percentages were analyzed to determine how they were dispersed within their parent functional group. The percentages and dispersal patterns were then compared between the middle-class and working-class sites. As the working-class artifact assemblages were unable to be located, more qualitative analysis of artifact types was difficult due to uncertainty of differences in terminology and sorting. This more in-depth qualitative analysis therefore played a minimal role in the present thesis research.

Artifact analyses showed that functional groups had relatively similar ranges between the middle- and working-classes. The Structural group was the sole exception. Here, middle-class sites as a set contained a greater percentage of Structural artifacts than the working-class sites. Comparing the functional categories of each site produced a similar outcome of an artifact category dispersal between the middle- and working-classes that was more similar than it was different. While variation and outliers were present, this initial artifact analysis appears to indicate the working-class sites and middle-class sites analyzed for this thesis were buying objects of similar functions at roughly similar rates. Certain exceptions to this, such as the Structural functional group and the Furniture category of the Domestic functional group, which occurred at higher rates in the middle-class sites, could be indicative of more available disposable funds, or perhaps the need to maintain more genteel appearances in the historically middle-class neighborhood. Regardless, it was expected that more pronounced differences would be evident between working and middle-class sites.

The oral histories and memoirs help shed light on this pattern. Within the oral histories and memoirs, the two most important trends to the present research observed are the difference in expectations and responsibilities of women between the working and middle-classes and the shared rejection of foreignness between the two classes. Working-class women often were expected and needed to take on extra responsibilities that often required them to move out of the respectable feminine domestic sphere and into the public world of business and politics. Out of necessity, working-class women often took on paying work to supplement household funds and were expected to support the family should their husband become unable to work (such as becoming injured or dying in the mills). Middle-class women, on the other hand, expected to be provided for regardless of their husband's physical health and were purposefully provided for so they could maintain the respectability of remaining in the home.

Differences in money-management systems contribute to the differences in ability to perform respectable womanhood. While middle-class households kept formal, written ledgers of credits and debits, which both men and women took part in, working-class households relied heavily on the wife's ability to budget. The system of 'bringing home the payday' meant the wife was primarily responsible for keeping track of how that payday was spent. Additionally, the kitchen, a woman's traditional space in the household, was much more central to daily life in working-class households than in middle-class households, where space was more abundant and rooms could be assigned for specific uses for specific people, creating more privacy and equitable ownership of the living spaces.

The one trend where the middle-class and working-class sensibilities appear to agree is the rejection of foreignness. Oral histories revealed that parents in the working-class often refused to speak anything other than English, avoided dress with foreign connotations, and

interviewees insisted on placing their American identity above their ethnic heritage. Different ethnicities were believed to be suitable only for certain work during the study period, and this stereotype, or the desire to reject it, appeared in the oral histories. On the opposite hand, the members of the middle-classes applauded these efforts to assimilate into American culture, which by this time had become synonymous with middle-class.

When taken in the context of consumption as citizenship, it appears that the similar distribution of artifacts across the functional groups and categories was an attempt of working-class women, who were deeply aware of the stigmas surrounding foreignness, to assimilate into American culture by imitating the purchasing patterns of the middle-class. As consumerism and the ability to buy and display goods was a core tenant of American identity, correctly participating in the consumer economy would be necessary to assimilation. This desire to project an American outward appearance translated to the rejection of their outward foreign markers, which marked them as a societal other and excluded them from the rights that belonged exclusively to American citizens. Therefore, it appears that in order to access the rights and privileges offered to American citizens, members of the working-class actively shed foreign markers and attempted to replicate the purchasing patterns of the middle-class, providing them the opportunity to move upwards on the socio-economic ladder.

This thesis demonstrates one aspect of how newly arrived immigrants adapted to American life and attempted to navigate the cultural systems in a way that would provide a more leisurely and safer life for themselves and their children. Through this thesis, it is my hope that interpretations of working-class and immigrant sites can become a little more full.

This thesis relied on artifacts recovered from Section 106 compliance archaeology projects. As compliance archaeology and cultural resource management (CRM) in general

continues to make-up the overwhelming majority of archaeology performed in the United States, it is vital to recognize the research value in the sites identified and excavated. In the face of deadlines, budgets, and client pressures, archaeological sites are not always given a thorough contextualization in current theory and literature or properly recognized for how they can progress our understanding of the past. Many of the reports produced from these site excavations go on to live in ‘gray literature’ accessible only to those already in the field of CRM. However, as hopefully this thesis demonstrates, archaeological sites recovered through compliance archaeology contain troves of information with the potential to radically change how we interpret the cultures of the past and deserve proper research and recognition.

Further research directions are plentiful. Of interest would be examining the significant difference in the Structural group representation between the middle and working-class sites. Additional research into how limited domestic space affected working-class family dynamics, and in a similar vein how these same dynamics affected the gender power structure within the home. Considering the middle-class sites were located in a neighborhood that, over the span of the study period, became increasingly accessible to blue-collar workers, another interesting source of study would be how changing demographics affect neighborhood culture, or the role of geographical boundaries in definitions of class. These would all be interesting and worthwhile topics to explore.

This thesis also demonstrates the value in returning to previously excavated assemblages. As research priorities change and social theory evolves, older assemblages still hold valuable information that can contribute significantly to the field. In this same manner, this should also demonstrate the critical need for proper curation and recordation of the assemblages and their whereabouts. Orphaned collections are not rare, but once the artifacts are lost, so too is much of

the information they possess. This thesis evolved in response to a lost collection but research was able to be continued thanks to a detailed artifact catalog available in the original report. In this way, this thesis demonstrates the need for both proper care of collections, but also proper and detailed recordation of them as well.

Hopefully this thesis also shows the usefulness of archives, oral histories, and local resources to archaeology and CRM. Oral histories, memoirs, and the expertise of the Rivers of Steel archivists were vital to capturing a portion of the life of the working- and middle-classes of Pittsburgh. Without consulting these sources, my interpretations would have been drastically different and considerably less intriguing and useful. Local heritage resources are incredibly useful and, along with theory, can contribute quite meaningfully to compliance archaeology, creating greater research potential and more meaningful interpretations.

Appendix A: List of Oral Histories located in the Rivers of Steel Archives

Accession No.	Name of Interviewee
2025:030:006	Joe Chiodo
2025:030:014	Bill Sheasley
2025:030:010	Ruth Kidd
2025:030:003	Sanford Brundige
2025:030:001	Mel Atzchen
2025:030:007	Michael Doby
2025:030:012	Lorraine Novak
2025:030:008	Yvonne Godblot
2025:030:002/98:07 ES92 SS1-6	Mary Anne Boytim
2003:03:001	Frances Busch
2003:03:007	George and Isabelle Monk
2003:03:008	Richard and Kathleen Andrejchak
2003:03:028	Andy and Marcie Muha
2003:03:032	Peggy Katrincsak, Mary Jane Hermensderfer, and Ruby Cunningham
2003:03:034	Joseph Joyce
2003:03:086	Barbara Wolfe
2003:03:038	Paul & Marjorie Poguliott; Marcelino Manso
2003:03:044	Margaret Fisher and Dona Koren
2025:030:015	Helen Bochko
2025:030:016	Frank Galilei

2025:030:17	Margaret Kuzma
2025:030:018	Falasco and Flora Lenzi
2025:030:019	Mary Francis Ryland
2025:030:020	Lillian Feodor

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