PART II: NEIGHBORHOODS

Part II moves up two scales and provides context for the volume. Following a discussion of the archaeology of neighborhood institutions—St. Mary’s Hospital, the California Collegiate Institute for Young Ladies, and the Silver Street Kindergarten—the chapter describes the three distinct project area neighborhoods: The Edge of Rincon Hill, Shore of Mission Bay, and Tar Flat. What was family life like in each of the three neighborhoods? How did the neighborhoods differ?
San Francisco has always been more than just a city. Born an adolescent during the Gold Rush; destroyed as a somewhat decadent young adult by the 1906 earthquake; then reborn anew, San Francisco is a mythic place encompassing the dreams and desperations of those within its domain. The California Gold Rush changed the world, not just for those who ventured far from home to participate: “For many generations, the only equivalent of its raw excitement—the opportunity to test oneself, to flee the ordinary—has been war. The Gold Rush may have been a celebration of base greed, but it was no war” (Cole 1988:41).

San Francisco was, according to Gunther Barth (1975), an “instant city” rapidly settled by diverse groups of people, some of whom brought with them patterns of urban life that they recreated. The vast wealth flowing from the Gold Rush, along with the “search for social cohesion and cultural identity, set the instant city apart from the score of other western towns developing rapidly during the second half of the nineteenth century as well as older cities that had grown quickly in earlier phases of American history” (Barth 1975:7).

The lure of the Gold Rush and San Francisco snared not just urban sophisticates in search of development opportunities in the gilded age, the poor and downtrodden from around the globe rushed in or slowly advanced toward their vision of a better future for themselves and their children.

Our slice of San Francisco, made possible by the replacement of the West Approach to the San Francisco Bay Bridge, includes neighborhoods settled by both types of players—the urban sophisticates in search of greater wealth and the immigrant poor in search of a better life. All of our neighborhoods are South of Market (Figure 3.1); all were essentially built by the middle 1860s; and all were completely destroyed in 1906. Each neighborhood had distinct characteristics: geographic, social, economic, architectural, and archaeological. This chapter explores those characteristics, after a discussion of the institutions that linked the neighborhoods for which we have archaeological data.
“ON THE OUTSIDE LOOKING IN”:
INSTITUTIONS AND COMMUNITY

Annita Waghorn

The South of Market was never a homogenous, cohesive neighborhood in the decades before its destruction in the 1906 fire. Although its overriding image was one of a poverty stricken immigrant slum, in fact the area was always characterized by extremes of wealth and social standing: it was home to the rich, the comfortably middle-class, and the inordinately poor. The institutions that made their home in the South of Market reflected this variability. Archaeologists investigated three of these institutions: St. Mary’s Hospital, the California Collegiate Institute for Young Ladies, and the famous Silver Street Kindergarten. Groups and individuals from outside the South of Market community founded these institutions. In defining their mission, they brought their own expectations as to the character and needs of the local community.

Social and economic variability were two of the more piquant aspects of the South of Market neighborhoods from their beginning. All cities are distinguished by how their wealthier members separate themselves socially and often physically from their poorer compatriots. In the first years of the Gold Rush, settlement in San Francisco was limited by the peninsula’s geography and the absence of efficient land transportation. People lived close to the city center at Yerba Buena Cove, and the attendant industries in which both rich and poor made their living. As a result, San Francisco of the 1850s and 1860s developed a type of vertical social stratigraphy, in which the well off situated their homes on nearby local prominences.

Rincon Hill, the closest highpoint overlooking the nascent Gold Rush settlement was the first of these elevated refuges of the well to do. From the 1850s, large, well-appointed houses were built on the slopes of the hill, providing not only a refreshing outlook over the bay, but also of the noxious industries of Tar Flat and the unruly settlement spreading south of Market Street. This little enclave, elegantly clinging to the slopes of Rincon Hill, persisted well into the 1890s although gradually losing social cache as innovations such as the railroad and the cable car made Nob Hill, Sutro Heights or far flung settlements on the Peninsula more attractive for the wealthy and socially connected.

Social disparity in the young San Francisco, and particularly in the South of Market neighborhoods, was not just expressed vertically, but also horizontally. In a pattern repeated on several of the blocks in the pre-1906 South of Market, the larger through streets such as Folsom, Harrison, Bryant or Third were often lined with the elaborate houses of the well-to-do, while smaller backstreets in the block’s interior were the preserve of struggling, predominantly Irish immigrants. Thus, only a back fence might separate the wealthy and the working class. This pattern of social distance allied with physical intimacy between classes remained a feature of the South of Market until the earthquake and fire of 1906 destroyed the area.

Into this socially and economically complex community came three institutions. St. Mary’s Hospital was constructed on the south side of Rincon Hill in 1861 by the Order of the Sisters of Mercy, an Irish order established in 1831 for the care of the sick. This new building replaced the Order’s original hospital facility on Stockton Street. St. Mary’s Hospital was the leading charitable institution in the South of Market until its destruction in the 1906 Fire. It was a vitally important community resource given the entrenched poverty in many of the South of Market neighborhoods. Although located within the wealthy Rincon Hill enclave, the Hospital was a
charitable enterprise specifically designed to serve the nearby working-class communities of Tar Flat, Mission Bay, and South of Market. The Hospital, which opened with 27 patients, was divided by floors according to gender and ability to pay. Fees ranged from $10 a week for patients in open wards, to up to $20 a week for those in private rooms. Wealthy benefactors endowed beds for the care of the indigent sick (Olmsted and Olmsted 1993:185–188; Figure 3.2).

St. Mary’s Hospital became the nexus of a group of Catholic social institutions that served the predominantly Irish immigrant community in the South of Market. The complex included the Aged and Infirm Women’s Home, a much-needed refuge for widows and destitute older women from Tar Flat and other parts of San Francisco. Within two years of its opening in 1872, the San Francisco Morning Call noted that although it provided shelter for 125 women aged from 50 to 90 years old, it was still inadequate given the numbers in need (7 January 1874, cited in Olmsted and Olmsted 1993:186). Another building in the St. Mary’s complex was the House of Mercy, constructed in 1873, which provided shelter for up to 24 unemployed younger women, with the goal of keeping them from falling into prostitution as means of support. The girls and women who found shelter there, some as young as 13, earned their keep sewing clothes (Olmsted and Olmsted 1993:186).

Aside from providing spiritual and practical assistance, the hospital complex was also something of a landmark for the surrounding community. The hospital building itself, rising starkly above the neighborhood, must have projected an appearance of earthly indestructibility.
The building did indeed survive the 1906 earthquake, although it and the surrounding complex were totally destroyed by the subsequent inferno. Patients escaped via steamer to Oakland. The site was never rebuilt as even before the Fire it had been planned to move the hospital to a new site near Golden Gate Park. Post-1906, the Depression-era homeless of Rincon Hill camped on the site. Archaeologists uncovered many of the retaining walls that permitted the hospital complex to be built on such a steeply sloping site, together with 1906 Fire-related debris. They also recovered artifacts, including typical hospital equipment such as heavy, institutional tablewares, enamelware basins, trays, bedpans, and urinals. Among the more tantalizing objects recovered was a small hand-painted porcelain medallion, depicting Jesus with a Crown of Thorns, perhaps a possession of one the sisters or their Catholic patients (Figure 3.3).

St. Mary’s Hospital was one of the social and religious cornerstones of the pre-1906 South of Market community. It had particular resonance for the local Irish community, and its destruction may have hastened the departure of Irish-American families from the Tar Flat and Rincon Hill districts in the decade after the Fire. Although the Sisters’ activities included providing educational opportunities for the city’s prosperous Irish community in the form of Our Lady of Mercy’s School established on Rincon Hill in 1871, the emphasis of their mission was in providing practical support that answered the needs of the local community’s most vulnerable members.

Another educational option available to the city’s well-to-do quartered in the South of Market area was the California Collegiate Institute for Young Ladies. This institution operated at 64 Silver Street from 1861 to 1869. Advertised in the City Directory in 1862 as an “admirably arranged and conducted female school,” it provided the wealthy with an alternative to sending their daughters to the East Coast for schooling. A principal and four teachers taught music, dance, languages, gymnastics, and calisthenics to an average of 63 pupils, half boarded at the school. Most pupils were Californians but several came from the northern States of Mexico and British America. Archaeological deposits associated with the teachers and students revealed that the Collegiate Institute placed an emphasis on providing its pupils with sophisticated, elegant surroundings, in keeping with the Victorian belief that a beautiful environment could exert a morally uplifting effect on its inhabitants. The school’s interior was decorated with porcelain vases and figures, and its dining table set with expensive painted and gilded porcelain tableware. Bottles of hair tonics, perfume, hair pins, and rubber and wooden hair combs, together with small personal items including a bone fan, earring and silk ribbons indicate an attention to grooming and sophistication of dress that might be expected from the staff and students of a young ladies college (Figure 3.4).

The decline in the social standing of the Rincon Hill neighborhood from the mid 1860s possibly reduced the student pool for the Collegiate Institute, and by ca. 1869 it had closed. The building itself remained a center for education in the neighborhood, being occupied initially by the Silver Street Primary School, and then by the Silver Street Kindergarten (Figure 3.5). This school, famous for being the first free charity kindergarten opened west of the Rockies, is perhaps today the best known South of Market institution. It opened amidst the working-class
Figure 3.4. Selected grooming items from Privy 7, Block 9; including hard rubber combs and hair pins, and bone toothbrushes.

Figure 3.5. Silver Street Kindergarten, ca. 1879. (Photo courtesy of the California Historical Society, FN-08725)
tenements of Silver Street in 1878 in the middle of a severe economic depression brought on in part by the arrival of the transcontinental railroad that, by giving San Francisco speedy and easy access to the East Coast goods and labor, eroded the economic power of the city’s working class. Whereas at one time San Francisco tradesman and laborers commanded markedly higher wages than their East Coast counterparts, from the 1870s they saw precipitous income declines. These hard years grew into decades of grinding poverty. The South of Market neighborhoods, home to immigrants, tradesmen and laborers, particularly suffered. Church and benevolent societies were quick to respond, and by 1880 there were well over 1000 listings for such groups in Langley’s San Francisco City Directory. These organizations tried to “care for their own” based on ethnic affiliation, trade brotherhood, social club, religious affiliation or fraternal order. Hospitals, orphanages, and destitute and unemployment shelters were initiated in attempts to alleviate the social despair. The Silver Street Kindergarten, together with the many San Francisco free kindergartens that its success inspired, were part of the middle-class philanthropic response to worsening poverty in San Francisco during the 1870s and 1880s.

Frederick Froebel developed the initial concept of a kindergarten in Germany in 1837. Froebel believed that young children had a divine inner spirit that should be nurtured. Structured play, which included practical tasks and activities, and games set to music, together with loving but firm encouragement, could lead children through progressively higher levels of physical, mental, and spiritual growth. Froebel's combination of the mystical and the practical proved highly appealing to middle-class philanthropists, suggesting as it did that a proper example of Christian morality, ethics and character (as provided by the kindergarten teacher) could help lift working-class children out of poverty (de Cos 2001:9). Sarah B. Cooper, an early Californian pioneer of the free kindergarten concept, called it “child-saving work” (Cooper 1884:18–28 cited in de Cos 2001:12). Early kindergartens in the U.S. were fee-paying ventures for the well off—the first California kindergarten was established in 1863 in San Francisco. The Silver Street Kindergarten, following the Froebel model, broke ground by providing free kindergarten education to the working poor. Its first superintendent and teacher was Kate Douglas (later Douglas-Wiggin), an educated, middle-class young woman from the East Coast. In 1880 she also established the California Kindergarten Training School within the Silver Street Kindergarten building, in order to provide trained teachers for the burgeoning West Coast kindergarten movement (de Cos 2001:15; Figure 3.6).

Wiggin was a gifted advocate for the Silver Street Kindergarten, adept at both promoting its goals, and obtaining practical help and donations from San Francisco’s well-to-do. She wrote and
published widely about the kindergarten, and the transformative role that it could play in the lives of poverty-stricken children. In these writings, her descriptions of the South of Market—she called it “a slum of Tar Flat”—played to middle-class readers’ expectations by emphasizing the area’s destitution and moral depravity.

The Shubeners, Levis, Ezekiels, and Appels were generally in tailoring or second-hand furniture and clothing, while the Raffertys, O’Flanagans, and McDougalls dispensed liquor. All the most desirable sites were occupied by saloons, for it was practically impossible to quench the thirst of the neighborhood.

There were also in evidence barbers, joiners, plumbers, grocers, fruit-sellers, bakers, and vendors of small wares, and there was the largest and most splendidly recruited army of do-nothings that the sun ever shone upon.

These forever-out-of-workers, leaning against every lamp-post, fence-picket, corner house, and barber-pole in the vicinity, were all male, but they were mostly mated to women fully worthy of them, their “wives” doing nothing with equal assiduity in the back streets, hard by. Stay—they did do one thing, they added copiously to the world’s population [Wiggin 1923:109].

Wiggin’s descriptions of the Silver Street neighborhood exhibit a marked disdain for the unemployed and those who she saw as succumbing to their poverty and distress. A more objective assessment based on census data from the 1870s and 1880s might suggest that the area was actually home to a good number of established tradesmen and small business owners. Unlike perhaps organizations with deeper community roots such as fraternal or ethnic associations, Wiggin possessed a tendency characteristic of many middle-class philanthropists of the period to see such problems as rooted in a person’s individual morality, rather than their social and economic circumstances. Men were unemployed because of their bad morals rather than because of the local economy. Unemployment was blithely equated with drunkenness and moral laxity. Accordingly, it was thought, the unemployed and destitute deserved little in the way of sympathy or assistance. Hope could be held for their children, however, who through careful teaching and example might rise beyond their background to live lives of sobriety and rectitude.

Wiggin opened the Kindergarten in 1878 as its only teacher and accepted 40 children; although more than 100 would-be pupils were presented at the school’s doors. “I had carefully selected children best calculated to show the amazed public the regenerating effects of the kindergarten method” (Wiggin 1923:116). The experiment was watched with keen interest: as a result of a series of enthusiastic articles describing the school in the Saturday Evening Bulletin, she had over 1000 visitors in the first year. Visitors came armed with ironclad preconceptions, and were often surprised to have them confounded. One of the School’s Board of Supervisors noted on being presented with clean, well behaved children: “The subscribers will think the children come from Nob Hill… Are you sure you took the most needy in every way?” (Wiggin 1923:119).

In an effort to publicize the school and attract well-heeled supporters, Wiggin wrote widely of the kindergarten’s achievements: The Story of Patsy, her popular tale of a small Irish kindergartener (expanded and reprinted in 1889) played shamelessly to both the heartstrings and the prejudices of its middle-class audience (Figure 3.7).

Wiggin wrote of the Kindergarten that it “must have its roots deep in the neighborhood life” (1923:111). There are no known accounts, however, of how the neighborhood regarded Kate Douglas Wiggin or the Silver Street Kindergarten, whether it was seen as an outsider’s interference
or as a genuinely useful and hopeful service. It was from the first, readily patronized by the neighborhood, perhaps because it offered a safe and free place to leave young children who were often underfoot in the family home or business. The pupils’ ages ranged from 3 to 6, and they spent three hours a day in school. In the afternoon, the kindergarten teacher visited the children’s homes to talk with and morally encourage their mothers. Wiggin noted that most mothers delivered their children each morning; suggesting that most of the kindergartners came from a 2- to 3-block area. They arrived very dirty by Wiggin’s standards, and their first task was to wash up in the backyard sinks. This yard also held sand tables in which the children could play and learn manipulative skills, as well as being the location of the school privy.

According to both Froeblian theory and the dominant Victorian ideology, the kindergarten facilities, by being clean, pleasant, and filled with objects of interest, could play an important didactic role by giving children aspirations beyond their home experience. An account of the first San Francisco kindergarten in 1863 in The Californian, described the children as being “gently led over the threshold of learning by the seductive charm of music, flowers, games, pictures, and curious objects” (Hunt 1957:152 cited in de Cos 2001:7). As a young volunteer booster for the Silver Street School exclaimed on its doorstep before its opening: “You’d ought to go upstairs and see the inside of it! There’s a canary bird, there’s fishes swimmin’ in a glass bowl, there’s plants bloomin’ on the winder sills, there’s a pianer, and more’n a million pictures! There’s closets stuffed full o’ things to play and work with…” (Wiggin 1923:114). For many young children of the neighborhood, such an environment must have been an entrancing novelty. Pets were an important part of the kindergarten life, teaching the children habits of nurturing and responsibility. Their accoutrements were part of the classroom: Wiggin wrote of the goldfish globes and brass birdcages that decorated her kindergarten’s interior (1889:10). The presence of these educational pets was also indicated in the Silver Street Kindergarten’s archaeological deposits, which included not only a porcelain fish-tank figurine, but also remains from a dog and an immature cat.

Although archaeological remains associated with the school included a wide range of household furnishings and objects, the largest number were related to the school’s lessons, including 977 slate pencils for drawing and writing (Figure 3.8). A lined slate tablet was also recovered that had been scratched on one side with “DON (backwards N)/DON.” Attesting to the importance of play in the school curriculum, archaeologists also uncovered an array of toys,
including marbles, tea set pieces, dolls, and an India-rubber baby rattle. The Kindergarten was also a training center and home for student teachers, and several hair combs (both plastic and hard rubber) were found as well as a bone fan and pocketknife that are likely to have been these women’s possessions. While it is not known if pupils ate lunch at the school, the archaeological finds indicate that the resident teachers and student teachers ate well from a table set with both expensive porcelains as well as more utilitarian earthenware.

The success of the Silver Street Kindergarten became an inspiration to the free kindergarten movement in San Francisco. By 1888, 40 free kindergartens in San Francisco taught approximately 4500 children. Social leaders such as Mrs. Leland Stanford, Mrs. Phoebe Hearst, and Mrs. Miranda Lux financially supported many of these ventures (de Cos 2001:12). Increasingly, however, the kindergartens lost the earlier Froebelian goal of developing the inner potential of each child, instead seeing their role as socializing immigrant children, and through them their families, improving living conditions among the poor, and providing models of such virtues as temperance, frugality, order, and cleanliness (de Cos 2001:13).

St. Mary’s Hospital, the California Collegiate Institute, and the Silver Street Kindergarten each answered different community needs and, in the case of St. Mary’s Hospital and the Silver Street Kindergarten, had longstanding roles in the South of Market neighborhoods. Unfortunately, we lack an understanding of how these institutions were regarded by local residents. Although today, the Silver Street Kindergarten is the better known, it is likely that the St. Mary’s Hospital complex actually played a more instrumental role in community life. It provided not only much needed support for people during illness and crisis, it did so in the context of Catholic religious faith and charity that may have been comforting to many of the South of Market’s Irish and German Catholic residents.
Sixty-three percent of U.S. households contain a pet, according to the American Pet Products Manufacturing Association 2007-2008 national survey. It is estimated that Americans spent $40.8 billion on their pets in 2007, which is more than the gross domestic product of most nations. More households have dogs than any other pet: 44.8 million households will provide homes to 74.8 million dogs. Today, pets have become more “humanized” and are considered by many as family members. The demand for pet products has expanded into areas that were typically reserved for human consumption: Gourmet foods, designer clothing, and luxury services abound and medical care has become high-tech.

The roots of our current near obsession with pets can be found in the culture of earlier eras. Although royalty and the aristocracy, in various parts of the world, had kept pets for millennia, widespread pet ownership by the middle classes in Europe and America began in the late 18th and early 19th centuries (MacDonogh 1999:237–241; Ritvo 1988:20).

The Victorian ideology of domesticity played a central role in the evolving status of pets. Although some pets continued to be kept for practical purposes such as vermin control or the protection of private property, during the 19th century the American and European view of animals shifted from utilitarian to personal accouterment (Russow 1989:32). The most popular pets in 19th-century America were dogs and cats, with dogs being viewed more favorably (Kellert 1989:21).

Centuries of animal breeding had prepared pets for their new role in the family. Domestic animals, especially dogs, had been selectively bred to be neotized to look and act younger and to be viewed more readily as children (Lawrence 1989:62; Russow 1989:33). The pug, a prime example of this trend, with its flat face and large eyes, became a fashion craze in the 1870s. Not only was the live animal popular as a pet, its image was on a wide range of merchandise including Christmas cards, calendars, and ceramics. The majority of dogs would not have been purebreds by today’s standards, but they would be recognizable types such as terriers, spaniels, hounds, and mastiffs. The characteristics of these types were due to their historic work such as assisting hunters, vermin control, or guard dogs. Written breed standards and register books for dogs were rare in the United States until the American Kennel Club (AKC) was founded in 1884 (Grier 2006:28). Although a purebred “dog fancy” seized the upwardly mobile in the 1870s, it was not until the 1940s that registered purebreds became truly popular in the United States. Even today, the majority of dogs in America are of mixed breed (Ritvo 1987:84–85; Serpell 1996:51, 125; Grier 2006: 12, 28).
Chapter 3: Life in the Neighborhoods

As valuable tools for child socialization, cats and dogs were sometimes perceived to have enjoyed the status of family members. According to Miller: “Of all the pets we gather about us, the dog usually comes the nearest to being absolutely one of the family” (1894:141–142). Families were encouraged to keep pets as a tool for training their children. Dogs “offer unequalled opportunity for lessons to our children in humanity, justice, and unselfishness” (Miller 1894:141). If children, especially young boys, were not raised to be kind, there would be troublesome consequences for families as well as society at large. During this period having pets became part of the ideal American childhood (Grier 1999:95–99, 2006:139–178).

In the second half of the 19th century, as pets became integrated into the home, pet keeping became fully commercialized. Ever mindful that even pet keeping should be done properly, instruction books such as Miller’s “Our Home Pets: How to Keep them Well and Happy” were listed in Harper’s Weekly (23 June 1894 595:4). Nationally marketed pet supplies, including food, cages, collars, and leashes, grooming supplies, and medicines were available in specialized stores and through catalogs. In 1886 one could order a seven-pound can of Dr. Wither’s Challenge Dog Food via the mail for 50 cents, which would be almost $11 in 2006 dollars. Most owners, however, prepared the food themselves using table scraps or pet meat picked up at the butcher shop and cooked into stews with rice and potatoes (Grier 1993:114–115). Mainly due to flea problems, the family dog usually spent the majority of his time living outdoors in the 19th century. Dog houses—ranging from a barrel on its’ side with a whole cut in one end to ornate structures—were a common feature of house yards (Grier 2006:62).

As dogs proliferated, populous areas had to develop strategies to deal with their increased numbers. Unlike today where veterinary services
are readily available, Americans in the 19th century and the first part of the 20th century had to deal with animal fertility in a much more natural, albeit callous, way. It was not uncommon to drown or otherwise kill all but one of the offspring in a newborn litter. Also of concern, vaccines for distemper and rabies were not yet available. The general public feared rabies because it was transmittable to humans and always fatal. As a result, there were periodic campaigns in towns and cities to kill wandering dogs. In response to the problem of stray dogs roaming the streets, both San Francisco and Oakland passed strict ordinances in the 1860s regulating dogs.

The 1862 San Francisco ordinance prohibited dogs without a muzzle or leash on any street north of Ninth and east of Larkin. A pound keeper was authorized to round up the strays and execute them if they were not redeemed for $5, which would be more than $100 today. Thus, it is not totally unexpected that according to a newspaper account, of the 255 dogs impounded in the first month of implementation only 20 had been redeemed (Baker 2001:9).

In 1865 Oakland passed an ordinance requiring dog owners to pay a yearly license fee of $2.00 and to procure a collar and display the registered number on it. This ordinance apparently remained dormant until it was “resurrected” in 1872 and vigorously enforced. One newspaper account stated that, “Three days ago one could count from a dozen to 50 dogs within the space of a block or two anywhere on Broadway at almost any time of day. But since the commencement of the dog catchers’ raid these animals have become wonderfully scarce and but few are allowed to roam at will” (Oakland News 12 July 1872 3:1). Like San Francisco, Oakland originally charged $5 to redeem an impounded dog, but this fee was reduced within a year to $3 (City of Oakland 1873, reprinted 1889).

In 1868 a group of humanitarians founded the San Francisco Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, the fourth in the nation and the first “West of the Rockies.” Oakland established its SPCA six years later in 1874.

Stray dogs continued to be a problem in both San Francisco and Oakland. A survey of the San Francisco Pound keeper’s report every five years from 1863 to 1895, shows that an average of 4,609 dogs were impounded each year. Of these dogs impounded on average 78 percent were killed. The dog carcasses were sold to the National Fertilizer Company (City of San Francisco 1863–1895). In 1888 Oakland constructed a new building with a unique apparatus constructed specifically for drowning dogs. The pound master was so diligent in drowning dogs that complaints were made about the number of drowned dogs washing up on the beach. In 1892 the Oakland Humane Society brought charges against him for cruelty, abuse, and corruption (Oakland Examiner 20 May 1892 5:1; 28 May 1892 7:3). In spite of the poundkeeper’s efforts, Oakland had a large dog population. In 1896 the license collector estimated that there were about 1,100 dogs, but little more than half would be licensed because of economic hard times (Oakland Enquirer 20 July 1894 1:2).

As the treatment of pets during their lifetime has changed, so has the disposal of deceased pets by the families with which they lived. In the 1800s, some Americans began to give their beloved pets...
careful burials including eulogies and graveside ceremonies. Although it was much more common to bury a pet in the backyard, some cities had pet cemeteries. San Francisco had a pet graveyard near the Park and Ocean Railroad roundhouse dating to the mid 1880s (San Francisco Morning Call 4 February 1894 11:7).

Many of the inhabitants in the project area undoubtedly had dogs; however, although dogs are found in family photographs and mentioned at times in diaries and letters (see Grier 2006), the historical record does not readily lend itself to identifying exactly who. Archaeology can show that dogs were present in three ways: 1) the presence of artifacts specifically associated with dogs; 2) the presence of dog burials or their skeletal remains in privies and wells; or 3) the presence of bones with gnaw marks made by dogs. Whether the dogs were pets or pests is another issue.

Dog-related Artifacts

Only one leather collar was identified in each of the San Francisco and Oakland collections: these were the only artifacts directly linked to dogs. No patent medicines, food containers, or at the products associated with dogs were identified. Unlike birds that have special food and water dishes, dogs likely ate out of ordinary bowls previously used by their owners.

These collars are the clearest indication that a dog was a family pet rather than a scavenger in the area. A fancy copper dog collar adorned with a Greek Key decorative pattern and having a dog license attached was located at 711 Sixth Street (Privy 1454) in West Oakland. The small collar along with the artifacts in the same deposit and historical records indicated that a little dog lived with a household of woman, some of them related by birth or marriage. The owner-occupant of the property Annie Fallon came from a relatively wealthy Irish family. Annie, who would have been in her mid-30s at the time, inherited the property on Sixth by 1884. She might not have inherited that much else of her mother’s considerable estate ($32,000 in real estate and personal property in 1870) because she had at least four other siblings with whom to share (1870 Census

This photograph of the Kings-Steigelmaier family in the mid 1890s illustrates how many Americans considered dogs as family members (Cabinet card, E.E. Shaver, photographer, Chelsea Michigan). (Courtesy Linda M. Ziegenbein)
Murray Township, page 5). The artifact assemblage at 711 Sixth indicated that the household had limited resources: They set the table with unmatched dishes and ate low to moderate status cuts of meat. They spent their money on patent medicines and other items associated with sickness. Yet they spent money from their limited resources to provide a fancy collar for the little dog and licensed it at least once with the City of Oakland, which was not inexpensive. It is unknown when the little dog died or at what age. One of the three copper-alloy plates on the collar was dated 1881, however, the collar was founded in privy that had been filled around 1890. The little dog could have likely worn the collar through the 1880s. The household had its share of sadness during this period: Annie married and was widowed within a few years and two of the residents, both in their 20s, died of tuberculosis. Annie and her housemates likely spent much of their time nursing these women. One can imagine the little dog keeping the bedridden women company, and providing comfort as they suffered from this terrible disease.

The leather and copper-alloy collar found in the San Francisco collection was from Block 5, 540 Folsom Street (Privy 516). It was found in a deposit associated with Mary Peel, an English widow in her 50s or early 60s, from 1871–1879, the period between her husband’s death to her own, when she apparently lived alone in the big house.

**Dog Skeletons (or elements thereof)**

Due to the parameters of the excavation, the archaeologists focused on privies and wells and did not actively search for dog burials. Hence it is unknown how many dogs were buried in the project area. One dog burial was located on Cypress Block 37 at 1726 William Street. The burial could not be associated with a particular family because it was not associated with either artifacts or stratigraphy that could tie it to a particular time period.

For purposes of this essay, a feature was considered to have a dog present if more than five dog bone elements were recovered in an archaeological feature. If an analytical unit had fewer than five dog bones, the bones were disregarded as background noise. Using this methodology the Cypress Project had five addresses with dogs, while the West Approach Project had only three addresses with dogs. Determining whether the dog disposed of in the trash was the household’s pet or an unwanted pet was also a challenge. Newspaper accounts clearly state that both San Francisco and Oakland had a problem with stray dogs. Could a disgruntled neighbor have killed the dog and tossed it down a well or privy? In 1862 when a dog licensing ordinance was first initiated in San Francisco, the city would pay a 50 cents reward for any dog taken to the pound by the public (Baker 2001:9). Presumably, this would affect how stray dogs were handled in that city at that time. Why not collect the fee rather throwing the stray in the trash?

**The Dogs in Oakland**

The five addresses that had bones indicating the presence of dogs all contained artifacts, such as toys and small shoes, indicating the presence of children. Three of the residences were occupied by renters. The data suggest that for some of the household the dogs might have been pests rather than family members or useful in socializing children, and disposed of accordingly. For example, the renters at 1827 William Street, on Block 20, included men, one woman, and children who according to the archaeological record appeared to eat relatively well, partially by supplementing their diet through fishing, hunting and collecting shellfish. Nearly 10 percent of the bones from their privy (Privy 6300) were burned or calcined—unusually high for collections from the project area—it is likely that the family burned their trash, possibly to control scavenging rats and dogs. The remains of a large puppy, three house mice, two rats, four cats, and kittens were found in the trash. This combined with evidence of rodent gnawing suggests a scavenger problem at the address rather than beloved pets (Praetzellis ed. 2001a:122).
One family stands out as to the potentially adversarial relationship between people and “pets.” In 1880 the Abel French household lived at 669 Sixth Street, just down the street from the Annie Fallon household. Abel, a railroad conductor, and his wife lived with their five children ranging in age from three to eleven. The household ate formally on fashionable ceramics and drank expensive liquor in the appropriate glasses. This family should be the perfect setting for children and their pets as advocated by the literature of that time period. Yet their privy (Privy 954) contained the remains of 10 dogs, mainly puppies, as well as three cats. Not a pretty picture for the socialization of children. It appears that Mr. French was practical and unsentimental when dealing with unwanted animals. Numerous chicken medullary bones and a large quantity of other avian remains suggest that the French family kept laying hens and raised poultry in their backyard. Several chicken elements evidence healed fractures and other trauma indicating altercations between chickens and dogs or cats. The cats and dogs may have been killed to protect the family’s poultry.

Other households might have had pets but they were faced with their uncontrollable fecundity. The data of 830 Linden Street on Block 6, suggest that a minimum of five people usually lived in the small residence (only 625 square feet). They may have raised piglets in the small backyard. Faunal remains in the privy (Privy 4281) indicate that two dogs, three cats, and indeterminate number of puppies or kittens, were thrown out with the trash (Praetzellis and Stewart 2001:357–362). Two other deposits one dating around 1880 and the other 1900 were made by families with children. Both had one dog thrown out in the trash. (Praetzellis, ed. 2001b: 203–210, 305–311).

**Dogs in San Francisco**

Like Oakland, all of the San Francisco features that had dog skeletal elements also had artifacts indicating the presence of children. These three properties were the Usher Family at 20 Perry Street (Well 17), boarders at 236 Fremont Street (Privy 1333), and the Kindergarten at 64 Silver Street (Privy 1).

John P. Usher, a sail maker and railroad worker from Maryland, lived at 20 Perry Street with his wife and three children, including two adult sons, from 1879 to 1881. James the eldest worked as a detective, while John F. was a bank porter. Daughter Mary, at age 12, was still in school. A sister-in-law, Mary Shore, and her adopted daughter, Ida Briggs, both of whom worked as dressmakers lived with the family. The artifact assemblage suggests that the family was involved in many activities including music, sewing, writing, and wood working and Mary had numerous toys. Their dog did not reach full maturity and was thrown out with the trash.

The house at 236 Fremont was unique in that it had a Chihuahua and its puppy as well as a guinea pig. This feature is discussed in detail elsewhere in the chapter (see sidebar “Chihuahua and Guinea Pig, Privy 1333 – 236 Fremont Street” in Chapter 7).

The kindergarten at 64 Silver, discussed in detail in this chapter, was established in 1878.
It taught children ages 3 to 6 from disadvantaged families in the neighborhood. Although pets appear to have been an important part of kindergarten life and were used to teach habits of responsibility and nurturing, the remains of a dog and an immature cat were found in the kindergarten trash. There is no way of knowing whether these animals were for the children, were pets of the teachers that lived on premise, or were strays that were found dead nearby. What is clear is that their disposal in the trash does not indicate the sentimentality or respect that was advocated in the literature.

Bones Gnawed by Dogs

The presence of bones gnawed by dogs, like the presence of their skeletal elements, shows that dogs were present in the project area. Similarly the data suggests that not all dogs were pets and some were likely scavenging pests.

Oakland

The Cypress faunal collection had a total of 48 analytical units containing bones with dog-gnaw marks. Again to weed out “background noise,” the faunal analyst determined that only those units with at least 4 percent or higher of all bones being gnawed by dogs would be a significant indication of dogs (see table). This amounted to six features—about 12.5 percent of the features. Five features showed a moderate amount of dog gnawing and only one unit (with 14.5% of bones being gnawed by dogs) was considered a high amount. As shown by the examples below, the gnawing was likely to have been caused by scavenging pests rather than pets.

Terrance and Annie Brady lived at 812 Castro Street in West Oakland (Block 1) for several decades. He was an Irish plumber, she was from England and they had no children. The probate records and the archaeological deposit dating from 1889 to 1902 indicates that the family ate well, relied heavily on patent medicines, and cluttered their space with soft furnishings, knick-knacks and other dust collectors that would have dismayed social reformers of that time period. Did they share their premises with a family dog? That 14.5 percent of the faunal remains had gnaw marks could indicate that they did. However, the fact that another 10 percent of the faunal remains in the deposit had rodent gnaw marks indicate that their trash could have been subject to scavengers, both rodent and canine. Perhaps their trash disposal practice, like their interior design choices, was not up to the standards of the social reformers of the day.

The addresses with the second highest percentage of dog gnawed bones (7.4%) also had the greatest number (183) of bones gnawed by dogs. This address, 1774 Atlantic, was occupied by Southern Pacific Railroad workers and their families in the 1890s. The number of gnawed bones clearly indicates the presence of dog or dogs. Both the weathering of the bone and gnawing of rodents was a very small percentage (.2%) indicating that there probably was not a scavenging problem and that the gnawed bones in the trash were likely to have been gnawed by pets rather than scavengers.

San Francisco

The West Approach Project faunal collection had a total of 28 analytical units containing bones with dog-gnaw marks. Five of these units—nearly 18 percent—had a statistically significant amount of gnawing. The addresses with the highest
percentage of dog gnawed bones were 6.1, 7, and 18.4 percent (see table).

San Francisco like Oakland had a problem with scavenging dogs; perhaps the problem was even worse. The feature at 64 Silver Street (Privy 7) on Block 9 with 18.4 percent of the bones having dog-gnaw marks, was occupied in the 1860s by the California Collegiate Institute for Young Ladies. Over 90 percent of the faunal remains were weathered and about 55 percent had some form of gnawing. The high percentages of weathering and gnawing by both rodent and dog suggests that the bones may have been left exposed in the institute’s backyard for some time or that the yard was seasonally saturated.

The next largest percentage of gnawed bones was 7 percent of the faunal collection from the privy deposit at 540 Folsom Street (Privy 507) dating from the early 1870s. What is interesting about this collection is that almost 12 percent of the faunal specimens were weathered and about 29 percent had some form of gnawing. This suggests that a fair number of the bones may have been left exposed for some time within the feature prior to burial. Also recovered were bones representing one juvenile cat, a Norway rat, and a black rat. During this period 540 Folsom was occupied by Jonathan Peel, Sr., and his family, one of the wealthier and higher status families in the project area. Peel, an English brewer, merchant, and real estate agent, was related to the famous Sir Robert Peel and in 1870 had $50,000 in assets, over $730,000 in 2006 money. The Peel family lived in an impressive home, surrounded by high status items, and ate and drank well. Yet they left trash in their backyard that evidently attracted scavenging dogs and other creatures.

Conclusion

The archaeology data from both Oakland and San Francisco show that dogs were numerous. However, many of the dogs were not the beloved family members advocated in the literature of the time. Many were likely to have been considered pests—they were dangerous to livestock or a nuisance that scavenged in the trash. Although it is not known how many dogs were buried in the backyard, the fact that some were disposed of in the privy is at odds with the expected treatment of a beloved family member. It presents an interesting conundrum: If a major purpose of pets was to socialize children, what does the treatment of their pets—or other dogs that could be someone else’s pet—upon death tell us about the process of Victorian socialization?
LIFE ON THE EDGE OF RINCON HILL

Rincon Hill, with its view of the bay and easy access to downtown via the Omnibus, provided San Francisco's first exclusive address. Gold Rush entrepreneurs built their mansions here on lots larger than those on the flatlands below. Domestic architecture spanned the gamut of fashionable styles with elaborate entrances, high walls, and lush gardens. Cattle baron Henry Miller lived here (Figure 3.9), as did Indian Agent General John Wilson, and attorney Hall McAllister, whose statue stands at San Francisco City Hall.

Gold Rush storyteller Bret Harte lived on Rincon Hill with his sister’s family on Block 6 in 1861 before the neighborhood was damaged by the Second-Street Cut. In 1864 he had moved to 40 Silver Street on Block 9 on the edge of Rincon Hill. This neighborhood also held the name of Happy Valley at this time and Harte seems to have been writing about this location in his “Neighbourhoods I Have Moved From” series in The Californian. He begins: “Soon after I moved into Happy Valley I was struck with the remarkable infelicity of its title. Generous as Californians are in the use of adjectives, this passed into the domain of irony” (Harte 1864b:493). He describes the house on the presumably fictitious Laura Matilda Street, as historical research found no such place, and the feeling that the neighborhood did not feel right with the world. Harte credited this to the “fact that the very foundations of our neighbourhood were artificial” and on “made ground.” Harte continues in his wordy, but in this case, informative way:

We had not been long in our new home before we found an older tenant, not yet wholly divested of his rights, who sometimes showed himself in clammy perspiration on the basement walls, whose damp breath chilled our dining-room, and in the night struck a mortal chilliness through the house. There were no patent fastenings that could keep him out, or writ of unlawful retainer that could eject him. In the winter his presence was quite palpable; he sapped the roots of the trees, he gurgled under the kitchen floor, he wrought an unwholesome greeness on the side of the veranda. In summer he became invisible, but still exercised a familiar influence over the locality. He planted little stitches in the small of the back, sought old aches and weak joints, and sportively punched the tenants of the Swiss cottage under the ribs. He inveigled little children to play with him, but his plays generally ended in scarlet-fever, diphtheria, whooping-cough, and measles. He sometimes followed strong men about until they sickened suddenly and took to their beds. But he kept the green plants in good order, and was very found of verdure, bestowing it even upon lath and plaster and soulless stone. He was generally invisible, as I have said; but some time after I had moved, I saw him one morning from the hill stretching his grey wings over the valley, like some fabulous vampire, who had spent his repast. It was then that I recognized him as Malaria, and knew his abode to be the dread valley of the Miasma,—miscalled Happy Valley! [Harte 1864c:495–496].

The writer describes the sounds—“pleasant melody of boiler-making from the foundries”—and smells—“the gasworks in the vicinity sometimes lent a mild perfume to the breeze.” The street quiet and a passerby or carriage would “run the gauntlet of batteries of blue and black eyes on either side of the way.” There were sights: “From my bedroom window I could plainly distinguish the peculiar kind of victuals spread on my neighbour’s dining-table; while on the other hand, he obtained an equally uninterrupted view of the mysteries of my toilet.” But there were also rules. When a pretty girl's bedroom was “cynosure of neighboring eyes” in the form of opera glasses by an “ingenious youth,” it was met with “such prompt and universal condemnation,
As the daughter of a meteorologist who spent much of his career attempting to predict the weather in the San Francisco Bay Area before the advent of satellite imaging, I find the local weather a fascinating topic. It is so changeable, by the day, hour, even minute that one is always in suspense. But, of course, I am from a long-time California family and have lived here most of my life. I know what to expect—the unexpected. I thought the absence of rain provided the definition of summer; that June meant fog.

Bret Harte hailed from the East Coast; he never warmed to San Francisco; in fact, if we take him at his word he never knew warmth at all—“In winter fires are merely a luxury,—lightening the gloom of a cloudy, rainy day, or taking the office of candles in the brief twilight; in summer they are a necessity” (1866d). While Harte made his fortune writing about California, he did not take the role of booster, he clearly longed for Eastern weather, foods, and landscapes. And when he needed to fill a column and lacked inspiration, the weather provided a convenient topic.

Take the wind:

A cloud of dust, opaque and impervious, files past my window. At the corner it precipitates three or four hats, a boy’s cap, a tin sign, a chimney-pot, and other unconsidered trifles. The air is filled with driving sand, as palpable and stinging as the volley of arrows which the Lilliputians discharged at Gulliver. Pedestrians are scudding before the gale or facing it with that peculiar contraction of the eyebrow which becomes habitual to San Franciscans, and is certificate of their citizenship [Harte 1866c].

Or the cold:

Ought I not to be thankful that I can sleep under blankets instead of being driven to the necessity of celestial contemplation from an open window, through the extreme heat of a summer’s night? Should I not be satisfied that I can work the summer through without needing vacation, instead of idling away a month or two in dreaming by babbling brooks or under whispering trees? . . . Watermelons, and the fog enveloping you like a wet sheet. Watermelons on your table, and a fire in your dining-room. Nature revolts and the blood curdles at the thought [Harte 1866h].

“A fog bank enveloping the Golden Gate Bridge.” (Photo courtesy of: NOAA’s National Weather Service Collection wea00154)
Or the seasons:

The California spring is, in fact, unlike any other season. It does not change into summer, neither is it perennial; its budding youth never develops into maturity and fruition, but is protracted throughout the year in a kind of withered, unprofitable virginity that gets to be very shrill and shrewish toward the close. When it ends finally, it does not fade away with the hectic flush and consumptive beauty of an Eastern autumn; it dies of atrophy with all the hippocratic signs of dissolution—cavernous, sunken, rigid, colorless and cold [Harte 1866a].

And even a backhanded compliment:

We are enjoying our finest season—that tranquil interval between summer and winter, when the winds have ceased and the rains have not yet come. . . . Summer relents at the last moment, and as she departs, gives us one glimpse of her chary beauties. I am perhaps over particular in describing the charms of this rare season, for I have been accused of vilely slandering the “finest climate in the world.” Let this honest tribute to our last two weeks of lovely weather stand recorded against that charge [Harte 1866k].

as an unmanly advantage, from the lips of married men and bachelors who didn’t own opera-glasses, that it was never repeated” (Harte 1864c:495–496).

The West Approach Project did not affect accessible parcels in the most salubrious environs of Rincon Hill, so we could not excavate in these areas. We did, however, work on the edges of Rincon Hill, on Blocks 5 and 9, which while less elegant and exclusive, still housed a mix of predominately professional and skilled households. The 500 block of Folsom on Block 5 probably

Figure 3.9. Henry Miller’s residence, built in 1877, at the corner of Essex and Harrison streets. (Photo courtesy of the California Historical Society, FN-23384)
contained the most fashionable addresses in the West Approach sample. The duplex at 546–548 Folsom (a) and the ornate bargeboard residence at 540 (b) on the panoramic drawing made by Dr. F.N. Otis in 1855 each provided rich archaeological collections (Figure 3.10). Smaller, more densely packed residences backed up on the buildings pictured here and faced Clementina Street, which was more of an alley.

Privy 505, associated with the 546 half of the duplex (a), is associated with the household of Henry Mayne a ship’s carpenter from Louisiana and Thomas O’Connor a sawyer from Canada. The Maynes took in boarders, including another ship’s carpenter, a bookkeeper, and a marble polisher. This household invested in fashionable tableware and moderately expensive meals, including a remarkable quantity and variety of game. Jonathan and Mary Peel lived at 540 Folsom (b). Jonathan worked as a merchant and owned the duplex at 546–548 and other local property as well. An early arrival to San Francisco, Jonathan lived the life of an English country gentleman—and this he may have been, as a relative of Sir Robert Peel, Queen Victoria’s Prime Minister. The contents of Privy 507 are associated with the Peel family; the privy was probably backfilled shortly after Jonathan’s death. The privy contained many items reflecting the family’s comfortable circumstances and interest in Victorian pastimes and consumer goods. Privy 516 appears to have been deposited by the widowed Mary Peel. While not nearly as materially rich of an assemblage, this collection shows that Mrs. Peel continued to live the good life, just more simply. A small backyard cottage occupied by the Fegan brothers backed up on the Peels’ property. Hailing from Ireland, both brothers worked as longshoreman; one was married with a wife and five children. Privy 515 is associated with their household. The artifact collection from this feature is sparse,
but the faunal remains show a clear difference between the high cost of meals served on Folsom and the budget meals served on Clementina.

There are no pictures of the fronts of the small single-family residences on Perry Street on Block 9, although the rear of 14 Perry can be seen behind the Silver Street Kindergarten (Figure 3.11). Archaeologists discovered three artifact-filled features related to families working in the maritime trades on Perry Street. Privy 2 associated with Frank Johnson, a seaman from California, dating to around 1880, was located at 14 Perry. This collection is remarkable for the quantity of porcelain and cut glass tableware indicating formal dining, for the quantity of grooming and health aids, and for the fancy and exotic items displayed in the house and on the dressing table. The occupants of this household chose expensive meat cuts and had an eye for fashionable details. Well 8—associated with Albert Rowe, a shipwright from New Jersey, and dating to around 1887—was located at 16 Perry. The material remains from their well indicate that the family ate well, but not expensively, dressed warmly but not fashionably, kept their best ceramics and glassware for entertaining with tea and alcohol, while serving meals on simple and somewhat dated plates. The children got new shoes when they needed them and the girls had the nicest dolls and toy tea set available. Privy 9 associated with John Usher, a sail maker from Maryland, dated to around 1880, contains a wealth of material representing many of the activities that took place within the small lot—housekeeping, dressmaking, carpentry, music, play, education, and perhaps the keeping of a horse and chickens. The residents of 20 Perry Street took pride in their appearances; they ate moderately well on simple white ceramics and imbibed various alcoholic drinks in fancy stemware and tumblers.

The Shaw brothers’ household from Mississippi, including Ebenezer, an insurance agent, and unrelated boarders is associated with Privy 18, which dates to the early 1870s at 16 Perry. Privy 18 contained a phenomenal quantity and range of footwear: a minimum of 63 pairs with a lot of singles, of various sizes, styles, and construction techniques (see sidebar Chapter 9). Many of the footwear are well worn and appear earlier than those typically recovered in on the West Approach Project. Well 6, dating to the late 1890s, is associated with another large household with many wage earners—that of James Hannan, an Irish Catholic boilermaker, his children, and widowed property owner Theodate Dent and her two grown working children. The residents of the relatively large, simple dwelling at 12 Perry Street discarded an enormous quantity of artifacts representing a lifetime of activities. They ate expensive cuts of meat and shellfish on formal table settings that would have been fashionable in the 1860s. Someone collected buttons, shellfish, and other curios. Goldfish were proudly displayed in large matching fish globes (see sidebar). While rats were a problem in the yard, perfume, cologne, and Florida waters masked obnoxious odors. Some of the quirkiness of the collection may be related to son John Hannan’s occupation as seller of toys, fancy goods, and Yankee notions.
Due to scientific and engineering advancements during the 18th and 19th centuries, European and American perceptions of nature changed dramatically. Humans were to dominate nature, rendering it less threatening and enabling it to be viewed with more affection and artistic appreciation (Ritvo 1988:21). Homemakers brought nature into the parlor: ferns overflowed oriental urns, stuffed wildlife posed under globes or in glass cases, and live birds and fish fluttered and swam in elaborate cages and bowls. Pet owners viewed birds and fish more as living art or pieces of natural history than as companions, like cats and dogs (Ritvo 1987:3; Kete 1994:76).

**Goldfish and Aquariums**

Goldfish appeared in the U.S. in the early 1800s, but were expensive until the 1880s. Many families kept only one—as a parlor ornament (Grier 2006:45–46). Around 1878 goldfish were imported directly from Japan allowing for different varieties than previously available. A leading expert on goldfish, Hugo Mulertt (1883:8) estimated that two million goldfish, with a wholesale value of $300,000, were sold annually in the U.S. in the early 1880s. Using these figures the wholesale value of each fish was 15 cents about $3.02 in 2006 money (The Inflation Calculator 2007). The retail price would be significantly more; hence, goldfish were more expensive than they are today. By 1909 a firm in San Francisco and one in Seattle regularly imported goldfish from Japan and China. The Japanese cultivated ten varieties. The Ryukin (also known as fringe tail) was the most extensively imported. A few of the Oranda variety had also been imported into the states. However, because of their delicate nature, many varieties could not survive the shipping and thus could not be imported (Smith 1909:93–94, 19).

If kept under ideal conditions goldfish can live over a decade; however, they were generally short-lived as pets because they were—and still are—cared for improperly. Goldfish “served the purpose of an animated ornament” (Mulertt 1883:5) and were commonly kept in glass globes in parlors and drawing rooms. Although it was known that this environment was not healthy for them, and the practice decried, it was popular practice because “they are seen to the greatest advantage in them” (Godey’s Lady’s Book 1855:50). The goldfish generally lived short lives because of the lack of oxygen and quickly polluted water. As Godey’s Lady’s Book advised in 1855: “Never give the fish any food; all they require, when in a globe, is plenty of fresh air and fresh water. They will derive sufficient nutriment from the animalculae contained in the water” (1855:50). This undoubtedly contributed to their short life span.

Beginning in the 1840s, some Victorians kept fish in aquariums. The concept behind them was different than the living art approach to parlor goldfish. Aquariums were intended to be balanced systems that could sustain themselves in a closed system indefinitely. Plants added to water in a container would give off enough oxygen to support animals and animal waste would provide nutrients for the plants. These miniature communities likely required frequent restocking of fish and other creatures because amateur aquarists frequently put both predators and their prey in the same container. In the early 20th century, warm-water tropical fish became available. This increased the popularity of aquariums. However, because these fish were both fragile and expensive, wealthy adult men remained the main enthusiasts until the 1920s (Grier 2006:52–54).

Only one household in the West Approach collection, located at 41 Perry, had glass fragments clearly identified as belonging to a fish globe. That household had two fish globes probably related...
to the work of an occupant in a variety store. The Cypress collection from West Oakland did not have any glass fragments identified as a container specifically used for fish. Fish, however, could have been kept in any non-specific, unidentifiable bowl.

A fish tank figurine was found in a deposit from the Silver Street Kindergarten at 64 Silver Street. *The Story of Patsy*, by Kate Douglas Wiggin, provides details of the interior and activities of the Silver Street Kindergarten. Although the book mentions multiple fish globes, it does not specifically mention an aquarium. One little boy, Patsy, described the kindergarten as “most as good as Woodward’s Gardens, – fishes – ‘nd c’nary birds – ‘nd flowers” and the fish apparently had enough room in a large container to swim vigorously (Wiggins 1889:21–22). Another account of the kindergarten mentions fishes swimming in a glass bowl, not an aquarium (Wiggin 1923:114).

**Birds**

European immigrants brought the practice of bird keeping with them when they came to North America in the 17th century. They captured and kept a wide range of American songbirds, but the most common seem to have been goldfinches, mockingbirds, and cardinals. A variety of imported birds could be purchased in the 19th century. The canary, which had been domesticated by at least the 17th century, was imported into the United States sometime before 1840. Described as the “universal parlor bird,” canaries were the most popular caged bird through the 1930s (Grier 2006:48–49). Caged birds were more popular in the Victorian era than they are today. According to Katherine C. Grier, the author of *Pets in America: A History*:

Pet-keeping households of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries cared for an extraordinary number and variety of caged birds. In fact, birds may have been the most favored “indoor pets” with a popularity that crossed lines of class, ethnicity, and race [2006:46].

Birds were valued for both their beauty and their singing. Birdcages were frequently hung in parlors and sitting rooms near a window. They were also kept in bedrooms and sometimes in kitchens. Caged birds were at times also used to provide solace to those suffering from illness (Carlisle 1993:136, 141).

Birdseed could be purchased locally or through the mail, and a variety of books on birds provided recipes of the ideal food to feed various species. Hemp seed was commonly included in bird feed as it supposedly encouraged canaries and other songbirds to sing (Holden 1903:48; Maling 1862:37; Skinner 1825:120; Wood 1869:34–36). As the ownership of pets became more pervasive, the development of products for pets became more widespread in the 19th century. Birds were the first pets to have a full range of products and by the 1840s shopkeepers sold special foods, a variety of tonics, ointments, and insecticide powders, in addition to seeds. By the 1870s special equipment for birdcages, including gravel mats for cage bottoms, awnings to protect birds from direct sun, and bathing and feeding dishes were available (B.C. Vandal 1877; Grier 2006:232; *Oakland Enquirer* 16 November 1886 4:3).

The presence of pet birds in the excavated sites in West Oakland and San Francisco was
based on distinctive accessories such as birdbaths and feeder/founts. Of the 101 deposits in Oakland that could be associated with individual households, 20 had artifacts indicating the presence of pet birds. A higher percentage of households kept pet birds in San Francisco: 10 out of 30 households had artifacts indicating their presence.

No evidence of bird keeping was found in the archaeological deposits from the Silver Street Kindergarten. Kate Douglas Wiggin, however, when writing about the kindergarten mentions birds and birdcages: “The dazzling California sunshine streamed in at the western windows, touched the gold-fish globes with rosy glory, glittered on the brass bird-cages” (1889:10); “you shall come right back with me now, – all the children have gone, – and you and I will be alone with the sunshine and the birds and the fishes” (1889:43). At least one canary lived at the kindergarten (Wiggin 1923:114).

Having birds and fish, as well as other pets, were important teaching tools in kindergartens based on the Froebel system, such as the Silver Street Kindergarten. As Emily Shirreff, the President of the Froebel Society wrote in *The Kindergarten at Home*:

> [T]he care of animals . . . bring the childish mind in nearer contact with outward nature; they call forth feeling, wonder, self-control, and self-sacrifice in their care and management, no less than intelligence and observation and for these reasons were held in high esteem by Froebel [1884:77].

Perhaps the Silver Street Kindergarten’s emphasis on the importance of pet keeping made an impact on the surrounding area. Of the ten households that kept pets, six of them were on Block 10, just down the street.
The Edge of Rincon Hill neighborhood also included features associated with neighborhood institutions, a store, and a 1930s residential complex. St. Mary’s Hospital once stood on the northeastern third of Block 7 and is described at the beginning of this chapter. Further down Rincon Hill, Block 9 contained an additional two privies associated with neighborhood institutions. Privy 7 is associated with the California Collegiate Institute for Young Ladies, an upscale establishment that brought students from throughout the Pacific region in the flush 1860s. Reflecting the neighborhood’s decline, a charitable institution, the Silver Street Kindergarten, operated at the same address from 1878. Privy 1 is associated with the kindergarten. Only one deposit associated with a commercial site was discovered during the West Approach Project: Prussian Henry Knoche’s grocery store at 423 Third Street contained Cesspool 13 (see sidebar). Lastly, one feature, Well 17, dates to the abandonment of a residential building just prior to the construction of the West Approach in the 1935, and is associated with a mix of mainly unemployed, new immigrants. These households are decidedly more impoverished than their 19th-century predecessors. They stretched meals as soups and stews, mended shoes at home when they could, and resorted to a cobbler, rather than discard footwear with life left in them.

CASE STUDY: PEEL FAMILY

While the Peel family is not the average household from the Edge of Rincon Hill neighborhood, they are representative of the families who settled on Rincon Hill during the Gold Rush. Jonathan, his wife Mary, son Jonathan, Jr., and daughter Mary arrived in San Francisco with a servant on the SS Pacific in February 1852. Jonathan was a nephew of Sir Robert Peel, a Tory MP who served as the British Prime Minister from 1834–1835 and again from 1841–1846 (Figure 3.12). Previously serving as Home Secretary, Robert Peel created the London Metropolitan Police in 1829, Robert is also well know as an originator of gun control, income tax, child labor laws, and for the repeal of the Corn Laws, which forbade the import of cheap foreign grain.

Jonathan Peel and his family probably lived in the house at 540 Folsom shortly after their arrival in San Francisco. The house is depicted in an 1854 daguerreotype (Figure 3.13) and Jonathan is listed on the block in the 1856 city directory. The 1860 census shows him as a 45-year-old English brewer, living with his wife Mary. They owned $2000 in both real estate and personal property. A decade later the city directory lists Peel as a real-estate agent, although the census lists him as a retired merchant. During those 10 years, the Peel fortune had grown to $30,000 in real estate and $20,000 in personal property. His son was also a real-estate agent by this time with considerable property living nearby with his wife Margaret Jane, two sons (one also called Jonathan), and an Irish servant. Margaret Jane was the eldest daughter of Matthew Crooks, a prominent San Franciscan. Born in County Tyrone, Ireland, Crooks arrived in San Francisco in 1849 and made a fortune in real estate. The Chinese were among his business associates and he leased property to them, including several theaters and a joss house.
Walking down Third Street, one summer morning in 1880, what might you have seen?

A roadway misted by fog and thick with wagons and carriages with their attendant horses, men, coats pulled tight around them, moving off to work, and women venturing out of their homes in the back alleys, to buy milk and food for the day’s meals. The flow of people would have swept back and forth along the sidewalks, between workplace, home and errands. It would have swept people past a parade of stores and saloons that had positioned themselves on almost every street corner in the South of Market in order to catch the eye. Sometimes they were one and the same, selling both staples and liquor. More than just commercial establishments, such places were among the lynchpins of the South of Market neighborhoods, places where gossip, information or relaxation could be had as easily as flour, meat, or a beer.

If you had been walking down Third Street on that summer morning, you would have passed by a small combination store and saloon on the southeast corner of Third and Perry streets. The store was instantly recognizable as a commercial establishment; a two-story building sporting a first-story canopy that wrapped around two sides of the building, so that it appeared to address both the bustling Third Street thoroughfare and the quieter Perry Street. From 1871 through to 1885 this store was owned by Henry Knoche, who lived nearby at 118 Perry Street. Knoche was a middle-aged immigrant from the German state of Prussia, married to a fellow Prussian immigrant, the 23-year old Johanna Homeyer. He was a prosperous business man, and in partnership, also ran...
another grocery/liquor store a few blocks away at 120 Second Street. This wasn’t uncommon, as German immigrants in the South of Market often gravitated to businesses such as corner stores and saloons (Olmsted and Olmsted 1997:106). Knoche continued to operate the Third Street grocery until his wife’s death in 1885, after which he sold up and moved to Oakland. His store was taken over by another German immigrant, and was run as a grocery store until 1906. Around 1880, Knoche had his premises connected to the main city sewer line. Previously, household wastes were directed into a dome-topped cesspool located under the store’s back porch. When the dome was broken off in order to run the household line to the main sewer, the disused cesspool was filled with refuse from the store and resident clerk. Archaeologists excavated the cesspool. The artifacts found give us a sense of the role of this store, and ones like it, in the surrounding community.

For the working-class residents of the South of Market neighborhoods, there were limited options for obtaining food. Most families and residents only had recourse to their own feet when it came to lugging provisions home, and no refrigeration to keep perishables fresh. Food had to be bought often and, if possible, bought locally. The ubiquitous corner grocery and liquor store, along with peddlers pushing carts or leading a horse drawn wagon were the main sources from which to buy household goods and provisions. The South of Market and in particular the small back alleys such as Perry Street were the homes of the working-class poor. Perry Street was lined with small two-story working-class houses. Most of these households consisted of extended families with children. Many, although by no means all, were Irish immigrants with their breadwinners working in the small businesses, factories and the docks that were concentrated in the South of Market. Some worked only as day laborers or were unemployed (Olmsted and Olmsted 1993:209–210). It was an area of entrenched poverty and struggle. In such areas, the corner grocers would run a weekly tab for their regular families, with the tab being paid off on Friday nights after the arrival of the breadwinner’s pay packet.

The Knoche Store would have been one of the mainstays for the families living on Perry Street, although similar stores were located at many of the intersections in the South of Market (Olmsted and Olmsted 1997:103). It is probable that the Knoche Store garnered most of the Perry Street business, in keeping with the strong sense of tribalism that characteristically pervaded each back street in the South of Market (Olmsted and Olmsted 1997:106).

In the Knoche Store, the Perry Street residents would have found a full complement of household staples and provisions. The store sold meat, perhaps conducting some butchering or boning out on site, since bones found in its cesspool represented over 500 pounds of meat. Cuts of beef, pork and mutton were available, although many were of moderate cost suitable for soups and stews. Fish was occasionally for sale, perhaps when a local fisherman sold his excess catch to the store. Perry Street residents may have relied on the Knoche Store for their meat for simple, day-to-day soups and stews, venturing further afield to a butcher shop only for special occasion steaks and roasts. The store sold a full complement of condiments as well including olive oil, peppersauce, pickles, spices, and Worcestershire sauce.

Aside from meat and fresh produce, Knoche stocked household goods. On the store’s shelves you would have found glue, ink, and pencils; sewing aids, such as pins, thimbles, and buttons and beads of various types; ammunition and even some cheaper items of jewelry (see photo). Patent medicines and other grooming aids would have occupied a considerable amount of shelf space. Perfume, cologne, toothwash, toothbrushes, hair combs, hairpins, makeup, and hair

Items recovered from Cesspool 13. They may include inventory from the Knoche store (for example the bullets or ink bottles), or perhaps the personal belongings of the store clerk, who resided there.
dressings were all available for sale. Medicinals covered the spectrum from female complaints, to infant teething, to pain and coughs: Ayer’s Cherry Pectoral, Bristol’s Sarsaparilla, Burnett’s Coffee, Hemblo’s Fluid Extract, Injection Brou, Koenig’s Hamburger Tropfen, Moses’ Pills; Mrs. Winslow’s Soothing Syrup, Jamaica Ginger, and Spencer’s Sapoin. Knoche stocked his store to provide for the household needs of local wives, mothers and daughters. It would have been convenient for Perry Street women to nip down to the corner for medicine for a sick child, a few buttons to repair a shirt, or some meat and bones to make the evening’s soup; a familiar place, where a quick word could have been exchanged with the clerk, or a passing neighbor. Children hanging onto their mother’s skirts, or coming in themselves with a penny for sweets, would have been a commonplace sight, as suggested by some lost marbles and a toy saucer, swept up by the clerk at the end of the day and disposed of in the disused cesspool.

The other role of the Knoche Store was as a local saloon for the neighborhood’s men. The saloon may have been located in the store’s back room, behind the grocery, or they may have shared a room, with the saloon section differentiated only by the presence of a rough bar and a few tables. Alcohol was served by the glass or the bottle; over 30 glasses were recovered from the store’s cesspool, as well as 37 alcohol bottles, including beer/ale, whiskey, and wine/champagne. Other drinks may have been served from wooden kegs. Numerous smoking pipes were also found as well as a bone gaming peg. Perhaps for many of the neighborhood’s men, a drink, a smoke and a game or two of cribbage at Knoche’s Saloon was a favorite way of killing a few hours after the week’s work was done (see photo).

At a time when the temperance movement in America was rapidly gaining strength, San Francisco was noted for its number of saloons, and its inhabitants’ laissez-faire approach to alcohol consumption: in 1881 a local paper could write that: “The people of San Francisco, as a body, are not very straight-laced in matters of this sort . . . they are a pleasure-loving folk” (“San Francisco News Letter and California Advertiser” 12 November 1881). A drink could be had at any number of places, from traditional saloons, corner grocires and drug-store bars. The density of saloons and grocery/saloons was especially pronounced in the South of Market neighborhoods, contributing to the reputation of the area as a ribald slum. William Chambliss, a naval officer who visited the South of Market in 1887, wrote that: “I shall never forget my first impressions of San Francisco. . . . The first thing I saw . . . were numbers of whiskey and beer saloons and chop houses. . . . They were low, filthy-looking places, with vulgar signs on their windows which read ‘Steam Beer, five cents’. . . . The background for this scene was the south side of Rincon Hill” (Chambliss 1895).

Chambliss’ disgust at the sight of working-class drinking was common enough in the 1880s in an America stirred to indignation by the temperance movement. Middle-class women, who linked the legal prohibition of alcohol with female suffrage, particularly championed the movement, which had been gaining ground since the 1820s. They and many others believed that drink caused social ills as diverse as poverty, political corruption, and domestic abuse (Rorabaugh 1987:41).

Temperance beliefs made slow inroads into working-class households, however, for a number of reasons; drinking played a strong role in many immigrant cultures such as that of the Irish, it was an alternative to less than clean water supplies, a cheaper alternative to beverages such as tea, coffee and chocolate, and it remained a common belief that alcohol supplied extra energy needed by the working man (Kelly 2000:266). Given that many middle-class temperance advocates found the drinking habits of working-class men and immigrants so egregious, saloons in working-class neighborhoods became a favored target. Quite clearly, according to temperance advocates,
Saloons, by excluding women, provided a powerful alternative to the Victorian mythology of the home, with women as its moral center (Kingsdale 1973:485). The saloons were a world that was self sufficiently male in character. They provided men with opportunities for relaxation, conversation, business discussions, or social networking among familiar faces and cultures, particularly since individual saloons often became closely associated with specific neighborhoods, trades, or ethnic groups. Although the temperance movement was ostensibly concerned that saloons were luring married men away from their families, the saloon clientele were more likely to be drawn more from the large single male population present in cities at the time. In 1890, 42 percent of the American male population over 15 was single (Kingsdale 1973:486). The preponderance of single men in cities was due in part to their overrepresentation within the first generation of many immigrant groups (Kingsdale 1973:489). Although many families lived in the South of Market, the area’s industry drew a heavy concentration of single men, many of them immigrants. They lived in crowded boardinghouses or as lodgers, often separated from any family connections. Although for married men, the saloon might have provided a respite between the demands of work and the family, for single men living in crowded lodgings, the saloon may have been one of the few places available in which to spend free time. For many men, married or single, immigrant or native born, the saloon became a local club, or even a surrogate home (Kingsdale 1973:476).

Until the 1920s, saloons were for working-class men, many of whom might have worked 10 to 12 hours a day, six days a week, one of the only sources of recreation (Olmsted and Olmsted 1997:104). Parks were infrequent and distant, and money for omnibus or tramcar fares to other parts of the city might not be often available. Alternatives such as reading rooms, clubs, labor union recreation halls and such were not common in neighborhoods such as the South of Market, and often reflected more the concerns of the sponsoring middle-class philanthropist than their working-class patrons. Instead the saloons, by offering newspapers, cards, games, a place to sit down, and a bite to eat “tried to give the workingman exactly what he wanted” (Kingsdale 1973:478). Clubs, unions and political associations often tacitly supported the idea of the saloon as

drink and the saloons kept working men down, kept their families in poverty, and prevented them from ascending into the middle class through hard work and thrift. Saloons took money and time from working men that should rightly be devoted to their families. They were also places where immigrant men could socialize with their compatriots, and as such, it was felt, encouraged immigrants to retain their language, their customs, and their religion rather than adopting the (Anglo-protestant) American ethics of industriousness, sobriety and rectitude (Kingsdale 1973:478). Middle-class commentators, in short, roundly demonized saloons. In doing so, they were unable to consider the more complex role actually played by saloons in working-class and immigrant neighborhoods.

Saloons played three important roles in the social network of 19th-century working-class neighborhoods: they were almost entirely male establishments; they acted as a neighborhood center for local men; and they were a conduit for the transmittal of working-class and immigrant cultures (Kingsdale 1973:472). As one commentator noted at the turn of the century: “The saloon is, in short, the clearing house for the common intelligence – the social and intellectual center of the neighborhood” (Melendy 1901:450). In the popular imagination, saloons were as intrinsically linked with masculine culture, as the home was with female morality and authority. Reflecting this, the female-centric temperance movement was “profoundly vested in domesticity and the contrast between public male drinking and private female abstinence” (Murdock 1998:54). Under this moral structure women were seen as the potential victims of alcohol both because of male drunken abuse and because their own natures were so vulnerable to degradation. Drinking by women in public, especially to excess, was viewed with a particular horror. Saloons were a public space, a male space, and women who frequented them must therefore, be prostitutes (Murdock 1998:43–44). This is not to say that working-class women did not drink. Alcohol could be bought at saloons to be drunk at home, a fact recognized by beer companies who advertised the sterile healthy nature of beer as a good alternative to the diseased milk and unclean water often available in towns and cities (Murdock 1998:54). However, female drinking remained a private matter, largely hidden within the home.
Chapter 3: Life in the Neighborhoods

the neighborhood center by hold their meetings in saloons, which would offer free space with the expectation that members would order drinks. Politicians also used the saloons as venues for campaigning.

Saloons also offered the workingman a variety of services. The saloon owner often cashed checks, lent money or acted as a message center for his regulars. Saloons were often the only option for public toilets for working-class men. And of course, many saloons also offered the infamous Free Lunch—a daily spread that might consist of cold meats, potato salad, boiled eggs, cheese and pickles, of which customers might partake for the price of a drink. San Francisco was famous for its Free Lunch Saloons, and they were common in the South of Market, catering to the workers in the neighborhood’s many factories, works, wharfs and Butchertown. Many working men depended on the Free Lunches as “keeping me alive.” By providing so many of the services of a neighborhood center to workers, the saloon offered a logical place in which to spend free time.

As Jack London, who frequented the saloons of the South of Market, noted: “The saloons are poor men’s clubs. Saloons are congregating places. We engaged to meet one another in saloons. We celebrated our good fortune or wept our grief in saloons. We got acquainted in saloons” (1913a:78). By providing women with a convenient way of obtaining food and household provisions, and men with the opportunity for a drink, relaxation and the latest neighborhood news, the Knoche Store would have become a focal point for the Perry Street community. Up and down the South of Market, this same relationship would have been replicated between other grocery/saloons and nearby residents. In this way, such stores played an essential role not only in provisioning the neighborhood, but in knitting it together into a community.

Jonathan died in March 1871 at the age of 55. In 1876 Jonathan Peel, Jr., died at the age of 37. Mary Peel was last listed at 540 Folsom Street in the 1879 city directory, the year in which she died at age 63. In 1880 Jonathan Jr.’s widow, Margaret, lived with their three sons—Jonathan, Matthew, and Robert—and two female servants. Her father had also died in 1879, leaving an estate valued at more than a million dollars. In October 1881 she married Dr. Thomas Morffew, a dentist who lived at the Cosmopolitan Hotel. Her sons took his name as their middle name, creating some confusion in city directories. Jonathan Peel III followed in his stepfather’s footsteps and became a dentist.

Privy 507 was wood-lined and located in a rear corner of the parcel at 540 Folsom Street. It had been truncated by later construction. The TPQ is 1871 based on a Lady Liberty half-dime minted that year. The deposition date is probably the early 1870s after Jonathon Peel, Sr.’s death in 1871 (Figure 3.14).

When Mr. and Mrs. Peel arrived with their two children in 1852, they apparently brought little tableware with them—hardly surprising considering transportation cost and the rigors of the voyage. Only two marked vessels have end manufacturing dates that precede the family’s arrival, but as both of these were marked in America it’s likely that they were purchased here: a fancy Parian pitcher from the Bennington Pottery in Vermont and a decorative plate made by Mason in Staffordshire and sold by a
New York importer. The family purchased fashionable ceramics from among the best makers in England, Europe, and the United States. Expensive decorated porcelain sets predominated (Figure 3.15), accompanied by white improved earthenware vessels in popular transfer printed and molded patterns. The presence of dozens of serving vessels and numerous sizes of plates indicates that formal dining took place within the household. Three teapots of various fabrics and formalities—earthenware, porcelain, and pearlware—mirror the occasions upon which tea was served from familiar to formal. The pearlware teapot probably was an heirloom and may have been brought with the family from England.

The Peels also purchased sufficient glassware to entertain numerous guests with a variety of alcoholic beverages in suitable glasses—cordials, goblets, stemware, and tumblers. Jonathan had begun his career in San Francisco as a brewer, so it is not surprising that beer/ale bottles outnumbered wine/champagne bottles in this professional household. Schnapps and whiskey also appear to have been favorites. Tobacco use ranged from smoking and chewing tobacco to snuff.

The faunal collection indicates that the Peel family ate well and collected exotic birds. A total of 575 bones were identified from Privy 507. The total quantity of meat represented from both mammals and birds is a little over 586 pounds. Over half, 55 percent, of this total is represented by beef followed by mutton with about 28 percent and pork at almost 10 percent. The reflected
status of calculated meat weights from all major meat animals combined shows a preference for high economically classed cuts (over 49%) leaning slightly towards the moderate end of the scale (over 35%). Over 41 percent of the meat weight from beef is represented by cuts from the loin followed by the chuck at nearly 33 percent. A little over 53 percent of all the beef was in the form of steaks, followed by portions appropriate for soups and stews at about 13 percent, and roasts at about 4 percent.

Leg and shoulder dominate the identified retail cuts from mutton, together contributing over 67 percent, followed by a preference for rib and loin at about 28.5 percent combined. Cuts appropriate for soups and stews are well represented comprising nearly 25 percent of the identified chunks of mutton. A penchant for steaks is also well represented at nearly 24 percent followed by roasts at 7.7 percent of the identified chunks of meat. A single round bone lamb roast or ‘leg of lamb’ was identified. A little over 33 percent of the meat weight of pork is from ham; nearly 31 percent is from the loin followed by noteworthy contributions from the shoulder at about 18 percent. Well represented are steaks from the ham and loin at over 27 percent of the total identified chunks of pork; followed by cuts appropriate for soups and stews at almost 17 percent and roasts at 10.4 percent.

A wide variety of avian species were identified. The predominantly represented species is domestic chicken with an MNI of 10. Combined, the avian elements total about 6.8 percent of the combined meat weight. The MNI for chicken consists of 2 roosters, 6 hens and 2 juveniles, a range that suggests that these animals could have been kept on the premises. Identified elements from no less than 18 other avian species were recovered from this feature. Included are contributions from turkey, California quail, northern pintail, green-winged teal, bufflehead, rhinoceros auklet, band-tailed pigeon, domestic pigeon, Steller's jay, greater roadrunner, marbled godwit, western meadowlark, greater yellowlegs, Virginia rail, dowitcher, grouse, barn owl, and a lilac-crowned parrot.

Certainly many of these birds came into the household as elements of the menu and the presence of shorebirds (godwit, dowitcher, and yellowlegs) in San Francisco is hardly surprising. Other birds, however, show an interest on the part of a Peel family member in collecting and probably displaying natural phenomena within the home—a very Victorian element. Of the 6 barn owl (Tyto alba) specimens analyzed, 2 had knife scores in places indicating 19th-century taxidermist techniques. Barn owls have a unique mournful expression that may have endeared them to collectors (Figure 3.16). Both humeri of the rhinoceros auklet have knife cuts in identical locations indicating a more purposeful technique, in this case cutting the wings (see short essay in Chapter 7). This bird lives in the open ocean only coming to shore to breed, and it has a unique horn, hence the link to the rhinoceros. With its long tail and bill and sleek form, the roadrunner is also an attractive candidate for household display. It is not native to the San Francisco Bay
Area and would have required a trip to drier inland regions for capture. The presence of a truly exotic bird—the lilac-crowned parrot—is further evidence of collecting. This parrot is native to Mexico and only rarely observed nesting in the San Gabriel Mountains of southern California. This colorful bird has been part of the pet trade for thousands of years. The left canine tooth from an elephant seal (*Mirounga angustirostris*) is another exotic collectable item from this collection.

The presence of several game birds suggests recreational hunting, although these birds may have been available in local markets. A pistol and 3 lead-shot pellets were the only artifacts indicating hunting recovered from Privy 507. The lead-shot, which measured 1/16 inch and 1/8 inch, are consistent with pellets used in a shotgun shell.

In addition to the apparent display of stuffed birds, the Peels had at least three vases and four pots for flowers, a decorative fruit stand, and a Christmas tree in season, as indicated by glass beads. They lighted their home in a variety of ways, from candlesticks, to glass chimneys, to a whale-oil lamp with glass tinklers to diffuse the light in colorful patterns (Figure 3.17). The large quantity of pencils and inkwells, along with newspaper and printed material suggest that reading and writing occupied the family, while dozens of pins and needles, a thimble and darning egg show that some clothing was at least mended at home, if not actually constructed.

Grooming was also important with many hair combs, hairpins, toothpaste, toothbrush, toothbrush holder, soap dishes, perfumes, colognes, hair tonics, and other beauty products recovered from Privy 507. The presence of three nearly complete chamber pots and two lids in different patterns—sided, molded water lily, and blue printed Priory—indicates a housecleaning episode following the transition to plumbed toilet facilities. Further indications of grooming and health care were an adult human tooth with a small gold filling.

While the Peel children had left the house by 1860, the 17 toys including marbles, dolls, and toy tea set pieces probably remained in the house for their grandchildren, who lived a short distance away, to play with. Many
items can be associated with Mrs. Peel, including the hair combs, cosmetics, jewelry, three silk dresses in black, copper-toned madder, and mint green, corset hardware, fan, and decorative buttons.

The artifacts and faunal collection from Privy 507 evoke a couple who kept a well provisioned, fashionable, but eclectic household. They consumed alcohol, tea, and tobacco, pricy cuts of meats, and relatively expensive cosmetics in the search for a youthful appearance. Meals were formal and colorful, as was clothing. Perhaps in retirement, they appear to have kept poultry in their large yard, ventured forth to the seaside and interior to gather natural specimens in the form of rocks, coral, birds, and a sea elephant tooth. Stuffed roadrunners, a rhinoceros auklet, and barn owl probably graced Mr. Peel’s private space. The Peels did well for themselves in San Francisco, making money in real estate; they seem to have enjoyed the fruits of their labor in the purchase of consumer goods and the practice of their hobbies. Their children and grandchildren inherited their property, remained in the area, and did well for themselves.

**Rincon Hill Sample**

The Edge of Rincon Hill sample is composed of nine archaeological features associated with residences that date before 1900. Table 3.1 shows the characteristics for these features. The average lot measured nearly 3000 square feet and the average dwelling just over 1500. Most of the residences had basements, which were not included in the square footage, but would have

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3.1. Edge of Rincon Hill Feature Characteristics</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ARCHITECTURAL</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lot Size</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High – 5625 sq. ft.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low – 1875 sq. ft.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average – 2953 sq. ft.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House size</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High – 1946 sq. ft.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low – 600 sq. ft.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average – 1565 sq. ft.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 out of 9 features are from residences with basements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiple family parcels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duplex (1); backyard cottage (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Square footage per person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High – 1500 sq. ft.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low – 75 sq. ft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average – 424 sq. ft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SOCIAL/ECONOMIC</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nativity (Head of Household)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canadian (1); English (2); Irish (2); U.S. (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation (Head of Household)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wealthy Professional (1); Professional (1); Skilled (5); Semi-skilled (2); Widow (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner (4); Tenants (3); Unknown (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic (1); Protestant (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ARCHAEOLOGICAL</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample size</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Features</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Privy (7); Well (2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Basements not counted in square footage. 2 Some features associated with more than one household.
been eventually developed into living space as the neighborhood became less exclusive and more compact. The average square footage per person, based upon available information, was just over 400 square feet. Compared with over neighborhoods in this study, these were spacious accommodations.

Most of the heads of these households had been born in the United States (6), followed by England (2), and Ireland (2), with one Canadian (in dwellings with multiple families, each head is counted). Four households had connections with Protestant churches, while one was Catholic. The occupations of the heads of households tended toward skilled professionals with one Wealthy professional, one Professional, five Skilled, two Unskilled, and two Widows. Four families owned their homes; three rented; and the status of the other two could not be determined. In summary, these features are associated with individuals and families who came to San Francisco from the eastern and southern United States and from England and Ireland; they generally brought with them skills and resources that enabled a successful transition.

**LIFE ON THE SHORE OF MISSION BAY**

The Shore of Mission Bay neighborhood developed with small working-class houses and industrial complexes as the bay was filled in the 1860s. By the 1880s our blocks were densely packed with residences and work places. A mix of skilled and semi-skilled households settled on Perry and Silver streets with the most affluent arriving earlier and taking the higher, firm ground near Third Street. Unlike the houses on Blocks 5 and 9 on the Edge of Rincon Hill built in various sizes, shapes and setbacks, the houses on Block 10 are remarkable for their uniformity. Developers clearly built housing in blocks for quick sale; this is particularly true as one moves toward Fourth Street.

The Stephen Baker family resided at 108 Silver Street near Third. Baker worked his way up from policeman to police captain to the owner of a wharf. The family backfilled their well (which was probably constructed in the late 1850s) before they left San Francisco in the early 1870s. Well 853 is remarkable for the quantity and variety of the artifacts it contained, including printing plates and typeface from the middle 1860s.

Two doors down at 112 Silver, also on high ground, Well 866 had been backfilled in the middle 1880s by two families related by marriage and living in the three-story residence divided into two units. Patrick McDonald was an ironworker, his son James a salesman, and his daughter Annie a dressmaker. A second daughter, Susie, married John Tobin, a bookkeeper, and lived in the adjoining unit. This well was also artifact rich and reflected the combined earning capacity of the family’s multiple wage earners. The Metcalf family lived next door at 114 Silver Street from 1864 to 1906. Alfred Metcalf was a successful sea captain and, although he may have spent long periods away from the family, he appears to have separated from his wife Catherine, perhaps as early as 1872. Privy 851, associated with the Metcalfs, contained a gold ring that may have been a wedding band, what appears to be mourning jewelry, and the remains of an infant.

Further down Silver Street at 120, a three-story residence once owned by a successful bookkeeper had been subdivided and housed several families. Privy 808 was backfilled in the early 1880s by the residents at that time. These included the families of Emil Schreiner, a bartender from Saxony; Christian Johnson, a saloonkeeper from Denmark; Peter Degnan, an Irish laborer; and Thomas McIntyre, an Irish ship’s steward. The privy contained a wealth of material,
including faunal remains representing over 1,700 pounds of meat, much of it high priced. Near mid block on filled land at 142 Silver Street, the family of Joseph Sheridan an Irish teamster backfilled Privy 801 in the late 1880s. The Sheridans had nine children and also took in boarders. Not surprisingly, this feature contained a large number of toys and slate pencils.

Moving to Perry Street near Third, Irishman Michael Dolan owned a duplex at 109–111 Perry. Michael began as an expressman and worked his way up to a shipping clerk with a company doing business in China. In 1880 son James was a commercial agent and son John a law student and clerk. The Norwegian Michelson family rented the adjoining duplex. Jacob was a master mariner and his son William worked as a box maker. Between them the families had 12 children. They backfilled Privies 857/858 in about 1880. Along with the usual household artifacts, these privies contained a number of unique and eclectic pieces perhaps reflecting the wide-ranging commercial connections of the households’ heads.

Two doors down in a relatively large three-story residence at 115 Perry Street lived the German Jewish Strauss and Ackerman families. Related by marriage, members of the household worked in the butcher and upholsterer trades, and were quite successful. Privy 849 was backfilled in the early 1870s. Although not as artifact rich as the other Block 10 features, it does provide a glimpse of the family, who appear not to have adhered to strict Jewish dietary traditions. Further down the street within 100 feet of the 1852 shoreline, German master mariner Ferdinand Gee owned a relatively spacious two-story residence from the middle 1860s at 123 Perry. The 1868 earthquake did considerable damage on properties built on fill and Gee’s seems to have been one of these. Subsequently, the backyard was raised behind a retaining wall and then a privy (Privy 807) was excavated into these fill layers (see Meyer sidebar this chapter). The fill contained a large quantity of artifacts apparently discarded by the Gees after the quake. This is one of the largest and most varied collections from the block. Gee also owned the duplex next door at 125–127 Perry Street. The two-chambered privy behind this residence was backfilled in around 1880 by the families in residence: Scotsman Murdock McIver who worked as a stevedore and English Jewish commission merchant Abraham Martin who worked out of Alaska. Four of widowed McIver’s eight children worked: the sons as a box maker and a polisher and the two daughters as dressmakers. Martin’s elder son was also a commission merchant, the younger worked as a frame maker. This large and varied collection has a distinct feminine aspect, perhaps related to the two dressmakers and the several women and children in the combined households.

Three families shared the residence next door at 129 Perry in around 1880 when Privy 812 was backfilled. These included John Maloney, an Irish stock dealer; John Hill, a Canadian machinist; and Charles Towne, a railroad clerk. Hill and Towne had recently married sisters and the families would remain close for decades. This is another large collection with a high percentage of porcelain, patent medicine bottles, and feminine attributes; perhaps reflecting the newly weds. The Aaron family lived in a very similar house, which they owned, next door at 131 Perry Street. The members of this Russian Jewish family worked as a peddler (father), barber (son), and teaching assistant (daughter). Despite the father’s death, the family did well, accumulating property and finding affluent marriage partners. Privy 814, backfilled before they moved in the middle 1870s, unfortunately contained too few bones for faunal analysis, but did demonstrate the family’s early less affluent surroundings.

From the middle 1860s through the 1880s, the Irish Catholic Moynihan family owned and lived in a duplex at 133 Perry Street. Andrew Moynihan died by 1866 and his wife Mary took in laundry and renters to support her family. The duplex was always crowded generally
San Francisco is known for its natural beauty, yet it is a landscape that has been severely altered. Massive amounts of sand and soil were moved to make the terrain conform to the city grid imposed upon it. With the population boom of the Gold Rush, the city expanded westward by cutting and filling hills and valleys to normalize grades, and eastward into the bay first with wharves then followed by fill. Early Coast Survey maps show how, with each passing year, trails following the natural topography were replaced by the street grid, and early homes situated topographically were moved or removed to conform as well.

South of Market Street, Mission Bay was completely filled and Mission Creek extended in a channel to the San Francisco Bay. Yerba Buena Cove was filled past Rincon and Clark’s points. In the 1850s Fremont Street, the eastern boundary of Block 4, was at the western edge of Yerba Buena Cove. Today it is five blocks west of the Embarcadero and bay. One of the most infamous acts of grading was the Second-Street Cut of the late 1860s. The cut through Rincon Hill benefited the railroad and commercial access to the southern waterfront. The cut sounded the death knell for the prestigious Rincon Hill neighborhood as some houses actually slid into the cut and were destroyed.

Archaeologists found evidence of filling episodes in several areas of the project. During excavation it became clear that Block 4 had been subjected to extensive filling with dune sand. The builders’ trenches for some privies were at a 1:1 slope or shallower. The earliest features identified dated to the 1860s. It is likely that earlier deposits remain on the block buried deeper beneath the sand fill.

Further up Folsom Street on Block 5, the Peel family’s lot contained two privies at different elevations. The earlier Privy 507 was filled in the early 1870s. It was capped by a mortared brick foundation (see photo), which was apparently a retaining wall for raising the backyard of the Peel home. Once the backyard was raised several feet, Privy 516 was constructed and used until the late 1870s, most likely after Mary Peel’s death in 1879. It too was capped with a brick foundation. The later foundation was probably associated with surviving family members converting their former home to income property. A three-story Italianate townhouse was built in the original house’s side-yard by the mid-1880s.
Substantial portions of Blocks 10 and 11 were filled marshlands. Midden from part of a prehistoric site along the former margins of Mission Bay was found on Block 10 (see sidebar Chapter 1). Nearby the remains of a wooden retaining wall were found between 120 Silver Street and 123 Perry Street. At 120 Silver Street, Privy 817 was abandoned and filled as part of filling the backyard. Privy 808 was built on top of Privy 817 once the yard had been raised (see photo). At 123 Perry Street, refuse was deposited as sheet refuse and within the wall chambers as part of lot filling (see photo).

The earthquake and fire of 1906 burned South of Market in the project area to a blank slate. A massive amount of fill was deposited in the area. Mission Bay was filled until it could hold no more and the remaining debris from the city was sent on barges and dumped near Mile Rock (Bronson 2002:170). Old foundations and paving from both before the earthquake and before freeway viaduct construction were seen in the soil profiles of Block 10 (see photo), and on the Bayshore Project to the west.

In the 1930s Rincon Hill was cut for the west anchorage of the Bay Bridge. As the top of the hill was cut, the old foundations of St. Mary’s Hospital were filled leaving only the old retaining wall along the street exposed.
housing over a dozen individuals and perhaps a business. Privy 813 behind the duplex was backfilled in the late 1870s. At this time, the following people lived there: Mary, who worked as a washwoman, her two sons who worked as cord makers; Margaret Boorem, whose husband had been a fire-engine driver, but may have died, Margaret sometimes is listed as a washwoman, her two sons also worked as cord makers; and a niece worked as a dressmaker's apprentice. The other half of the duplex housed the Collins family; John worked as a barber, his wife Mary took in washing, one son was a rope-maker's apprentice; the Collins' two school-aged children and an apparently unrelated seamstress also lived in the household. This feature was notable for the quantity of toys, the quality of the clothing, and the modest expenditure on meat as reflected in the faunal remains. Two doors down Irishman John Monahan owned a duplex at 137–139 Perry Street, where he lived through 1879. Privy 810 backfilled in the late 1870s is associated with the Monahan family. John owned a saloon and liquor business on Pine Street. Thomas Griffin a ship's fireman probably resided in the other half of the duplex. The collection from this privy is remarkable for the quality of the table and glassware and the proportion of high-priced meat, particularly mutton.

As marshlands through the 1850s, Block 11 was not developed until the middle 1860s and was never as densely packed as Block 10. Only two features were found on Block 11, Privy 1600/1601 located at 207–209 Perry Street. The duplex at this address originally backed up on the Kimball Carriage Works, one of the city's largest manufacturers at the time. The privy was backfilled around 1880, at which time the Irish Donnelly family headed by a blacksmith and the Scottish Beal family headed by a gold miner, sometimes hardware-store affiliate. The families had 12 children between them. Due to the saturated nature of the soils on Block 11, a stunning quantity of fabric, wood, and metal artifacts survived, probably reflecting the quantity of discards of this material on other blocks as well.

**Case Study: Baker Family**

Of the 14 feature complexes in the Mission Bay sample, half had employment connections to the maritime industry, in jobs ranging from steward to master mariner. The deposit associated with wharfinger Stephen Baker is taken as representative of this group. A wharfinger is an owner or keeper of a wharf, responsible for the delivery of goods, day-to-day activities, and dispute resolution. Baker appears to have kept the wharf as a representative of the Harbor Commission.

In January 1861 Stephen Baker connected his property at 108 Silver Street to the municipal water main. He may have been the original owner of the late-1850s house. Stephen and his wife, Louisa, were from New York, arriving in California by 1855 at the latest. Stephen worked as a policeman achieving the rank of captain by 1864. The first district station was located at First and Mission. In 1866 the city added a new station at Fourth and Harrison, not far from Baker's home. At this time each officer carried a "large revolver" and a large Bowie knife in a scabbard beneath their uniform (Tully 2009). By 1868 Baker had translated his policing skills to a new job overseeing the management of a city wharf.

The family lived in a modest two-story dwelling of just over 1,000 square feet. Stephen's real estate was valued at $2,000 in 1860 and his personal property at $200. Stephen and Louisa had a 5-year-old daughter and a 3-year-old son. A young mariner, also from New York, resided with the family. By the time of the 1870 census, the family's assets had increased to $4,000 in real estate and $3,000 in personal property. The family had a new addition since the previous
The 1870 United States Federal Census: William M., age 7. All three of the children attended school. The Bakers probably left San Francisco before 1872. By 1880 they were living in Cook County, Illinois. Stephen Baker worked as a telegraph operator. All three of the children still lived at home. The youngest child William also worked in the telegraph industry; while the elder son, George, worked as a clerk in the town hall.

Well 853 was located beneath what was probably an addition to the original dwelling and measured 3 feet 9 inches in diameter and just over 17 feet deep. Only the upper foot or so contained brick lining. This was the deepest well excavated in the West Approach Project area. A slide-rail shoring system, submersible pumps, and continual bailing were needed to enable excavation (Figure 3.18). The TPQ for the filling of Well 853 is around 1872 based on an Upham's Japanese Hair Stain bottle. Middle period marbles dating from around 1870 are the only other artifacts that have potential beginning dates in the 1870s. The vast majority of the artifacts have beginning dates in the mid to late 1850s. The ceramic mean date based on 58 marked pieces and datable patterns is 1860.8.

The well seems to have been backfilled rapidly in the late 1860s to early 1870s coinciding with the departure of the Stephen Baker family from 108 Silver Street. Numerous pockets of ash were noted throughout the fills suggesting regular stove cleanouts and giving support to the idea of that the deposit formed over an extended period. The Baker family’s artifacts predate many of the other archaeological collections from the West Approach Project. If they were not the original owners of the house, it was at most only a few years old when the Bakers moved in. The well was abandoned and likely filled with daily refuse until finished with a massive cleanout of items considered not worth moving halfway across the country to Illinois (Figure 3.19).
Figure 3.19. Well 853, Artifact Layout, the Baker Family. In 1861 Stephen Baker connected his house to municipal water. He may have been the original owner of the late-1850s house. Stephen and his wife, Louisa, were from New York. They were in California by 1855 at the latest. Stephen worked as a policeman achieving the rank of captain before changing jobs to wharfinger. The archaeological deposit dates to the early 1870s when the well was filled prior to the Bakers moving near Chicago. The deposit contains numerous pieces of matched tableware and other items that demonstrate the Bakers’ participation in consumer culture by displaying the trappings of financial success.
The family’s tableware is composed of matching sets of dishes and glassware. The mean ceramic date is about the same date as the Bakers’ arrival at this address. Most of the ceramics were just over a decade old when discarded. The matched sets reflect the Bakers’ economic success. Although there were few expensive porcelain dishes (4%), the less expensive white improved earthenware pieces were apparently purchased new in matched sets. The Bakers also had a sufficient quantity of serving vessels for multi-course meals and the requisite variety of drinking vessels to match. The ceramic food preparation and consumption vessels are overwhelmingly of white improved earthenware (85%) with some opaque porcelain (7%) and only a few pieces of porcelain. Three-quarters of the ceramic vessels are decorated, most of which is molded. There are several patterns of molded matched sets: St. Louis Shape, Scalloped Decagon, Split Pod, Twelve Paneled Gothic, Girard Shape, Hanging Leaves, and ordinary paneled. The only vessels with other decorations are a Chinese porcelain blue painted bowl and 2 annular bowls with blue and brown bands. Like the ceramics, many glass pieces match; these include items of the pressed Ashburton pattern, paneled decoration, both cut and pressed in various sizes, a goblet is paneled and stained, and a tumbler is paneled and fluted. The other pressed glass goblet is decorated with Loop and Chain Band. The Bakers clearly had enough vessels of high quality and variability of form to fashionably entertain guests (Figure 3.20).

Their consumption of alcoholic beverages, as reflected in their artifacts, did not keep pace with their glassware, for only 8 wine or champagne bottles and 3 beer or ale bottles were recovered. Nine ball clay pipes and a spittoon indicate that tobacco was both smoked and chewed.

The amount of meat represented by the faunal bone is an impressive 2,572 pounds. This quantity suggests that the well was filled incrementally over many months with daily refuse. Almost 26 percent of the bone exhibits rodent gnawing. In addition, remains of at least 24 Norway rats were found along with those of a mouse and a skunk. One rat tibia had been punctured by a cat’s tooth (see Stoyka sidebar).

Over half the meat consumed by the family was beef, with lesser amounts of mutton, pork, and bird; remains of a single rabbit were recovered. Overall, by weight the meat cuts were priced moderate to high. Beef was almost evenly divided between high, moderate, and low cost. Mutton was overwhelmingly high priced. Pork cuts were priced similar to beef. Identifiable beef and mutton cuts were primarily eaten as steaks with more soup bones than roasts. Pork has the fewest unidentifiable cuts and the most soup bones. Domestic poultry accounts for 100 pounds
The relationship between humans and cats is well documented throughout history. The revered and notable stature of cats is probably best recognized in the art, history, and culture of ancient Egypt. The beginning date of this cooperative association is being pushed back earlier than most would expect through archaeological evidence. In 2004 a grave was uncovered in Cyprus that revealed the intimate pairing of a human and feline in a single internment that dates to 9,500 years before present (National Geographic 2004).

Domestic cats (Felis catus) are frequently represented at urban historic sites. The Cypress and West Approach projects are no exception. There are both similarities and areas of stark contrast in comparing the two data sets. The primary role for domestic cats in 19th-century cities can be summarized in a single statement: “Cats were crucial to urban rat control, especially around markets and stables” (Grier 2006:35). All of the blocks in the San Francisco project area were surrounded by numerous butcher shops and fish markets. The relationship between cats and rodent populations is unmistakable. For this reason, free roaming cats (tramps) were tolerated much more than ownerless dogs and were depicted as a service rather than a nuisance. Dogs were subjected to early efforts by animal control, were feared to carry diseases (especially rabies), and were known to bite or attack local people. Groups of feral dogs operated in cooperative packs, while cats were individual hunters. Cats were largely left alone possibly because “cats were not likely to attack people, and they usually conducted their lives at night, away from human eyes” (Grier 2006:215). In fact, many businesses and governmental offices kept cats and budgeted for their care to keep pests in check (Miller 1894:199–200). This was especially true for American port cities, such as San Francisco.

While cats were not persecuted like dogs, they occupied a “grey” area in relation to their association with humans. Dogs were and still are considered a companion, and have been honored by breed and as show animals for a long time. The first American dog shows took place in the early 1860s (Grier 2006:29). In contrast, the first formal National Cat Show did not take place until January 1878 in Boston (Grier 2006:38). Cats had an ambiguous role in American households and were seen as somehow less tame than dogs. Their roles were of aloof independent contractors and unrepentant predators.

At first glance there appears to be a gender bias towards cats. While many historic images depict men and boys with their dogs, cats were considered to be more appropriate companions for women, girls, and children, and as a result held a lower social status. In spite of this, many historical accounts describe the relationship between men and cats. Samuel Clemens (Mark Twain), for example, was a passionate lover of cats, and had photographs of his numerous pets published as “Mark Twain’s Cats” in the Pictorial Review.

Archaeology in San Francisco and Oakland produced numerous features with cat remains. From the West Approach Project, 20 analytic units (47.6% of the total) provided cat bones representing 61 individuals. A breakdown of cats represented by age show that 67.2 percent were kittens (mostly neonate), 23 percent adult or fully mature cats, and 9.8 percent sub-adults (whose long bones were nearly full sized but with unfused epiphyses). In contrast, Oakland’s Cypress Project recovered cat remains in a total of 31 analytic units (31.6% of the total) representing 65 individual cats. In Oakland most cat remains were from fully adult individuals (66.2%) as opposed to 33.8 percent kittens. The San Francisco-Oakland numbers reflect an inverse relationship. Much higher and denser populations of cats are counted for San Francisco, and the animals showing up in the archaeological record are far more likely to be kittens (see table).

The potential reasons behind the counts and age range of cats represented in the archaeological evidence are most likely related to population density in San Francisco and the resulting sanitation issues. With the population explosion of San Francisco during the Gold Rush and a parallel explosion of the rat population, came a greater need for feline pest control. Some of the features from the West Approach Project produced Norway rat remains in numbers that are quite alarming. For a burgeoning port city during this
time period, the proliferation of rats comes as no surprise. Six of the excavated features contained the remains of dozens of rats. One rat element in particular displays clear evidence of the hunter/prey relationship between cats and rats. Well 853 from Block 10 produced a rat tibia that displayed puncture damage consistent with cat dentition (see photo).

It seems very likely that the large number of kittens present is at least partially due to culling. Many of the adult cats may have met their fate in a similar manner. A small percentage of the neonate kittens can also be attributed to infant mortality. The female domestic cat can become fertile several times a year. The average litter for a cat is three to five kittens. With the number of feral cats, large numbers of kittens were being produced. It was common practice to dispose of unwanted litters of kittens by drowning them very shortly after birth. It should also be noted that none of the cat elements identified from West Approach Project bore any signs of trauma to the bones.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Evidence of Cats by Project</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Features with cats % of Total Total MNI % Adult Cats % Sub-adult cats % Kittens</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cypress 31 31.6 65 66.2 33.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>West Approach 20 47.6 61 23 9.8 67.2</td>
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In another account, a man had complained about the “yawling concerts” of his neighbor’s cats around the house, and noted in passing in a list of chores that he had “killed a couple of useless cats” (Grier 2006:37). Some of the cats may have been lax in their obligation to be supreme mousers. Yet another source, with instruction for young naturalists, suggests that if birds, bird-nests, and eggs are to be collected, a trade-off of nurturing the local population of birds was also desirable. The book suggests feeding birds in winter and summer, supplying them with bird boxes and houses, and “waging a relentless war upon marauding cats” (Verrill 1913:61).

Another line of query concerns the transition of America’s 19th-century cities to a consistent plan for issues of health and hygiene. New York, Boston, and Philadelphia enforced the destruction of hundreds of thousands of feral cats. Once sanitation issues were addressed in those cities, rat populations declined, and the services of cats as pest control no longer was highly valued. San Francisco began its efforts to modernize sanitation in 1875. The largest number of cat remains from the entire project was from Privies 1600 and 1601 on Block 11, and Privy 1303 from Block 4, each with 10 individual cats. Block 10 had Privy 808 where 8 cats were found. All of these features had Irish residents and the deposition dates of all three features were 1880 to 1882. The two features from the Cypress Project with similar characteristics are Privy 955 from Block 1 and Privy 6300 from Block 20, where 7 and 14 cats were included, respectively. These features also had deposition dates in the very early 1880s. Although the sample size is too small to come to a definitive conclusion, the data at least raise the question that a negative attitude towards cats was becoming more prevalent during this period.

There are also numerous historic accounts of the problems of feral felines. In May 1872, Alice Stone Blackwell, a cat lover who also cared for a small flock of fowl at her family’s suburban house, found herself confronting her next-door neighbor to “tell him if he did not keep the cat shut up we should have to kill it” (Merrill 1990:71; Grier 2006:35). Many of the features examined had evidence that chickens were being raised at home. Is it possible some of the cats were chronic molesters of fowl and had to be disposed of?

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of meat, consisting mostly of turkey with some chicken. The wild fowl accounts for an additional 41.5 pounds of meat and includes a variety of birds: Canada goose, greater white-fronted goose, American widgeon, northern pintail, surf scooter, and California quail.

Shellfish were also part of the diet: 328 shells were identified as food refuse. The most common are bent-nosed Macoma, native Pacific oyster, and Pacific littleneck clam. Well 853 also contained a large quantity of fish bone with moderate variety, including cod, Pacific mackerel, rockfish, silversides, jacksmelt, white seabass, Chinook salmon, starry flounder, lingcod, and California barracuda. These represent moderate to high-priced meals.

Only a few furnishings were recovered: a mirror, porcelain bud and spill vases, a possible opaque-white glass vase, and portions of a Jacob’s ladder (see Gibson sidebar in Chapter 7). There are a remarkable 54 lamp chimneys, a lamp globe, and 2 tinklers. An unusual number of unique decorative items could not be categorized: balls, disks, tubes, and a globe or ball; a porcelain bird head; and a piece of soapstone.

The presence of Siegert’s Bitters and Osgood’s India Cholagogue bottles in the Bakers’ refuse, leads to speculation that someone in the household may have suffered digestive trouble. Siegert’s was advertised as a remedy for all digestive ailments, while Osgood’s was for the cathartic elimination of bile. Also recovered was Hamlin’s Wizard Oil used for both internal and external remedy on “all painful afflictions.” It was made of 55 percent alcohol and 40 percent camphor oil. Just over one half of the perfume bottles are unmarked; of the marked specimens, however, Lubin (6) was preferred over Violet (1). The Florida Water may have served as either a perfume or mouthwash. The importance of hair care is indicated by bottles of Upham’s Japanese Hair Stain, Lyon’s Kathairon for the Hair, and an unmarked hair tonic, along with three combs, two hairpins, and a beaded silk hairnet. Toothbrushes are present in both adult and child sizes. Other grooming and health items include a syringe, three vials, a breast pump, a dresser box and two chamberpots.

An assortment of 21 garments was constructed mainly from wool, with a greater than normal amount of copper-toned madder—a distinctive dye used predominately from 1860 to 1880. In general the fabrics exhibit a much greater range than typically recovered from West Approach features. What might have been an entire ensemble for a woman or older girl was homemade in madder-brown wools. A fitted dress or basque has both hand-sewn buttonholes and machine-made elements. Another outergarment fashioned from a brown woven-ribbed weave also had at least one handsewn buttonhole on a lapel constructed without interfacing. The lack of interfacing created a floppy lapel that would have needed pressing to encourage suitable laying and would have easily pulled out of shape when under stress.

Other garments include a man’s plaid work shirt, everyday trousers, and dress or other outergarments. A variety of decorative buttons are in a range of sizes that could have been used for children’s and women’s garments and men’s vests.

Besides the many straight pins recovered and the garments described above, there is another indication of home sewing. A scrap from a discarded garment was used to practice making a buttonhole (see short essay Chapter 5). Making a buttonhole is one of the most difficult steps in constructing an outergarment; the results are unforgiving and highly visible. It is a common practice for those learning (or relearning) this skill to practice on a scrap of similar-weighted fabric. Louisa Baker had basic sewing skills and some common sense, though not enough to
make outer garments professionally. She made clothes for herself and perhaps her children, and it appears that she was passing down her knowledge to her daughter, Jeanie.

A corset fastener was also recovered in addition to 2 trouser buckles. Most of the 15 discarded shoes are indeterminate women’s, girls’ or children’s with 1 definite adult’s shoe, and 1 child’s size 7-1/2. Two pieces of jewelry were discarded in the feature along with a possible fob chain, 3 pocket watches, 3 pocketknives, and an umbrella.

Three sets of toy dishes are in the collection. Two porcelain cups and a white improved earthenware plate are child’s size, while the remaining porcelain teapot, three cups, and one white improved earthenware cup were more appropriate for serving dolls. There is a large china doll and three small Frozen Charlottes as well is an unusual number of marbles of porcelain, glass, agate and onyx. Most of the porcelain marbles are painted with lines or leaves, and some of the glass marbles have core swirls (Figure 3.21).

Shells representing 10 different species more appropriate for collecting than for food indicate someone’s hobby; these include a Recluz’s moon snail that is found from Santa Barbara to Baja California. Other collected items include a piece of petrified wood and a water-worn piece of Chinese ceramic. A Chinese Tong Bao may have also been collected as an item of interest or may have adorned a sewing basket along with some of the glass beads (see Figure 5.3). Numerous writing implements were discarded including a slate tablet, 35 slate pencils, 4 graphite pencils, and an inkbottle. Most unusual are 9 printing plates and 139 pieces of type. Several of the plates bore dates from the mid-1860s including the “Business Directory and Mercantile Guide 1864–1865.” Another plate was from “The Sheep Breeders Guide” (see Gibson sidebar Chapter 7). The
hand tools recovered are an ash shovel, a chisel or a hammer, and a dagger, which could have been part of Stephen’s police equipment.

The family’s connection with the sea is reflected in their meals of fish, game birds, and shellfish, in their collectables, and what may have been clay gaming pieces with a three-masted sailing ship on one side and other nautical symbols on the other (see Stoyka sidebar, Chapter 10). We can only guess why the family decided to move to the middle of the country.

**Mission Bay Sample**

The Shore of Mission Bay sample is comprised of 21 archaeological features associated with residences and dating to before 1900. The West Approach Project discovered 14 of these features, 7 were discovered by the SF-80 Project (Praetzellis, ed., 2004). Table 3.2 provides the characteristics for these features. The average lot measured just over 2400 square feet and the average dwelling just over 2000. While the Rincon Hill sample had larger lots, the residences were smaller. Eight out of 21 Mission Bay residences, however, did not have basements, making them effectively smaller than the basemented residences on Rincon Hill. The Mission Bay residences also housed more individuals, based on available information, with an average per person square footage of only 251, compared to just over 400 square feet on Rincon Hill.

<table>
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<th>Table 3.2. Shore of Mission Bay Feature Characteristics</th>
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<td><strong>ARCHITECTURAL</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Lot Size</td>
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<tr>
<td>Basements</td>
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<td>Square footage per person</td>
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<tr>
<td>Multiple family parcels</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>SOCIAL/ECONOMIC</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Nativity (Head of Household)³</td>
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<tr>
<td>Occupation (Head of Household)</td>
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<td>Tenure</td>
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<td>Religion</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>ARCHAEOLOGICAL</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Sample size</td>
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<td>Feature Type</td>
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¹ Basements not counted in square footage. ² Counted under social/economic factors as a household. ³ Some features associated with more than one household.
The majority of heads of households had been born in Ireland (16), followed by Germany (6), and England/Scotland (3). Poland, Canada, Denmark, and Norway were each represented by a household. Only three heads of households had been born in the United States. These features clearly represent a more diverse group than those found on Rincon Hill. Nine families had Catholic backgrounds, three Jewish, and two Protestant. The occupations of the heads of households tended toward professional, with 11 Professional, 9 Skilled, 7 Semi-skilled, 3 Unskilled, 1 Wealthy professional, and 1 Widow. Nine families owned their homes; 8 rented, and the status of 4 households could not be determined. In summary, these features appear to be associated with families who emigrated from northern Europe, primarily Ireland; they either arrived with marketable skills or quickly acquired the means for gainful employment.

**LIFE IN TAR FLAT**

Originally on the shoreline of Yerba Buena Cove, Tar Flat was part of what was known as “Happy Valley” in early 1850s. The cove provided protected anchorage for vessels and rapidly filled with treasure seekers from around the world who camped on the sandy beaches. By the late 1850s, developers had flattened the sandhills and filled the bay. Block 4 developed into the site of heavy industry with large iron foundries, lead works, and the city’s Gas Light Company operating beside smaller foundries and blacksmiths, with residences, hotels, and shops occupying Baldwin Court and portions of Folsom and Fremont streets. Coal tar from the city’s gas works dumped directly into the bay and gave the district its new name. The Miner’s Foundry overshadowed the small cottages on Baldwin Court that backed directly into its yard (Figure 3.22).

It is unlikely that Bret Harte ever lived in Tar Flat, but his description of a neighboring court in a nearby neighborhood might well apply here. The “gentility” of his neighborhood suffered from the “blight” of an unwholesome cul-de-sac, whose “primitive people living in a state of barbarous freedom” apparently spent the “greater portion of their lives on their own door steps.” Most shockingly:

Many of those details of the toilet which popular prejudice restricts to the dressing-room in other localities were here performed in the open court without fear and without reproach. Early in the week the court was hid in a choking, soapy mist, which arose from innumerable wash-tubs. This was followed in a day or two later by an extraordinary exhibition of wearing apparel of diverse colours, fluttering on lines like a display of bunting on shipboard, and whose flapping in the breeze was like irregular discharges of musketry. It was evident also that the court exercised a demoralizing influence over the whole neighbourhood [Harte 1864b:492].

Despite the pollution, noise, and the crowded conditions, many families remained in their tiny homes on tiny lots on Baldwin Court for decades. The family of Irish blacksmith William Thompson lived at 21 Baldwin Court for 30 years; their tiny home backed up on the coke oven of the Miner’s Foundry. Their eldest son was blind, their daughter died of smallpox at age 14, and the other sons suffered long periods of unemployment. The family backfilled Privy 1303 in around 1880; it shows a preference for mutton and very modest expenditures on meat and household goods. Privy 1304 behind the small residence next door at 19 Baldwin Court was filled in much later in around 1895, probably when the residence was converted into storage for the Miner’s Foundry, which had acquired the property. Foundry workers and their families
had lived in the residence for decades and, while the residents who created the deposit cannot be determined, they were probably similar. Like their neighbors next door, the residents of this house made only modest purchases of meat and household goods; but they did show a marked preference for pork that was unique for the project.

The residents of the cottage at 13 Baldwin Court filled a line of three privies in their tiny backyard. The earliest, Privy 1307, is associated with the family of John Brown, an Irish laborer and sometimes stevedore, his wife, and seven children. Like their neighbors, the Browns ate very modestly, but they did have a large and varied table setting and many unique household items, perhaps related to their son’s job in a junk store. Two families replaced the Browns: that of Martin Fuchs, a French carpenter in the iron trade, and of William Cadigan, an Irish laborer and sometime stevedore. Between the two families there were eight children still in school. A minimum of 12 people crowded into this 730-square-foot house on a 600-square-foot lot. They also ate modestly and the wives appear to have taken in washing. The household furnishings included some older, heirloom pieces. The third privy on the lot contained too few materials for study. The family of Patrick Murphy lived in their equally tiny cottage next door at 11 Baldwin Court for nearly 30 years. A Protestant from Belfast, Murphy worked as a laborer. The family had at least six children; at least one of their five girls worked as a dressmaker. The Murphy family filled their backyard privy (Privy 1318) around 1880. The family appears to have spent more on

Figure 3.22. The Miner’s Foundry on First Street, ca. 1865 by William Keith. (Illustration courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley: fF862.3 M324 v1:2)
meat and to have lived in better-appointed surroundings then their neighbors; they also may have raised poultry.

Patrick and Nancy McSheffrey lived at 9 Baldwin Court; Patrick worked as a laborer, sometimes as a longshoreman or weigher, and could neither read nor write. The family appears to have had no children living with them and took in boarders, one of whom was a teamster. They backfilled Privy 1310 in the middle 1870s; this privy contained over 30 alcoholic beverage bottles and 128 soda water bottles, most of which were whole and crammed into the small space. Irish immigrants George and Isabella Clark married in 1864 and shortly thereafter moved to a small cottage at 7 Baldwin Court. Adjoining privies (1311/1320) in their backyard appear to have been backfilled after the earthquake of October 1868 and before the Clarks moved around the corner to 242 Fremont Street. George had a long career in the iron industry as a boilermaker. In keeping with George’s skilled occupation, the family ate better quality meats than most of their neighbors; the large collection of alcoholic beverage bottles (representing ca. 25% of the collection) may have been related to breakage in the quake.

As a main street, Folsom developed differently from Baldwin Court. Larger lots served more than one function often with two dwellings and a business operating on the ground-floor street frontage. Irish Catholic Robert Taylor owned a doublewide lot at 414–412 Folsom. Robert worked first as a packer for an importer of crockery and glassware and then as a porter for an importer of oils and lamps. As a property owner and collector of rents, he was relatively well off. The October 1868 earthquake appears to have destroyed much of the family’s breakables. They backfilled their privy (1301) with a sizeable quantity of upscale ceramic, glassware, and lamps prior to moving to firmer ground in the Hayes Valley neighborhood.

Taylor’s tenants, the Irish Catholic Thomas McEvoy family, next door at 414 Folsom also lost a sizable amount of personal property in the 1868 quake. Thomas engaged in various business ventures during his long tenure at this address, including selling fruit, furniture, groceries, liquors, and eventually running a boardinghouse. The family appears to have filled in their privy after the quake. At the time of the earthquake, Thomas was listed in the furniture business; but the 29 schnapps bottles in the privy indicate that he had another business operation on the site. The family of Wolf Samuel, a Jewish Polish tailor, lived in one of the two residences next door at 416 Folsom Street from 1880 until the area was destroyed by fire in the 1906 earthquake. The contents of Privy 1300 are associated with his family and probably with that of Leonard Smith, an engineer who lived in the back during the middle 1880s when the privy was filled. Privy 1300 was unusually deep and remarkable for the quantity and preservation of its artifacts, including fabric associated with Samuel’s business.

Originally bay frontage, Fremont Street developed with a mix of small industries and residences, sometimes on the same lot. As on Baldwin Court, industry expanded onto former domestic lots. The small residence at 236 Fremont with a “storage” unit facing Baldwin Court stood next door to the Western Foundry, which took over the lot in the middle 1890s. The residence’s privy (1333) was backfilled prior to the change in use. William Dougherty, an Irish longshoreman, may have been the last occupant of the residence. No specifics on his wife and possible children could be found. He did sell liquors from the property, and the privy contained a large quantity of table and glassware, as well as an unusual collection of faunal remains; William may have served meals along with his liquor. The remains of pets, a guinea pig and Chihuahua, were also unique to this feature (see Stoyka sidebar Chapter 7).
South of Market: Historical Archaeology of 3 San Francisco Neighborhoods

Gold Rush San Francisco was a boomtown made of wood, which seemed to be always on fire and overrun with rats (Derr 2004:143). Years later the great city on the bay’s rat population brought about a serious health crisis. In 1900 (one year after an outbreak in Honolulu via southern China) the Plague invaded the docks and waterfront (Barde 2004). The source of this outbreak was the rats arriving in the thousands of ships that moved through the port.

Despite the unpleasant implications of rat infestation, some residents made the best of the situation. Some people derived entertainment and income from this malady: “residents paid top dollar for terriers or other proven rat killers, and the dogs regularly drew a crowd when loosed on their prey in city streets. They would also race the clock in barroom competitions designed to see how many rats they could kill in a set period of time” (Derr 2004:143–144). Rat catchers became a needed service for the population. Such individuals would go out every night on the outskirts of town and near the waterfront, trapping and hunting the numerous rodents. The rodents in many cases were later skinned, cured, and sold in bundles to a French company who manufactured them into kid gloves branded as “Alexandre’s Best” for resale to America (San Francisco History 2006, citing San Francisco Herald 1857).

Archaeological evidence from the Cypress and West Approach projects provided information on what the average resident had to deal with from vermin through the MNI of rats and the rates of rodent gnawing on recovered bones. The deposition dates from the many features excavated in San Francisco and Oakland are bracketed by the historic accounts detailed above with most features falling between the 1860s and 1900. It is clear that residents from West Oakland and from San Francisco’s Tar Flat neighborhoods had very different experiences in the rodent department.

Only three Cypress features had high numbers of rats, ranging from five to nine individuals per feature. Many of the West Oakland features had no rodent representation at all or are in the very low single digits. The same data from San Francisco towers over Oakland in regards to rodents. The features from Cypress with high counts are essentially equivalent to the “background noise” for West Approach. The range for the most rat-laden features from South of Market is from 8 to 24 individuals; 8 privies and wells had this kind of quantity.

The rates of rodent gnaw-marks correlate with the MNI’s of the rats from each project area. Most of the Cypress features had percentages of gnawing that were in the single digits, while about one quarter of the features from San Francisco had gnawing rates of over 30 percent and 2 were as high as 46.5 percent (Block 9, Well...
6) and 66 percent (Block 9, Privy 8). It is apparent that the rodent infestation in San Francisco was at a much higher level than in Oakland. The conclusions are logical when San Francisco’s isolated geography, population density, and nautical setting are taken into account. The San Francisco project area also had a high concentration of retail and wholesale butcher and fish shops, which would have attracted rodents. Every residence in the project area was within one or two blocks of several establishments of this type (San Francisco City Directories v.d.).

Pathologies

The *Rattus norvegicus* (Norway rat) bone specimens from San Francisco lead to another very interesting area of study. The faunal analyst described seven pathologies on rat elements. One of these elements bears a direct correlation to the animals responsible for keeping rat populations in check: A rat tibia with small puncture marks consistent with the canine teeth of a domestic cat. No healing took place at the site of the wound, which strongly suggests that this interaction resulted in the rat’s demise (see Cats sidebar, this chapter). The other pathologies on rat elements are best characterized as bone growth or porosity deformities and abscesses. While most of these anomalies are due to reactive bone probably from disease and/or infection, a couple could also be the result of trauma. A particularly impressive pathology is a humerus, radius, and ulna that have completely fused from bone growth. The anterior of this elbow joint also has a significant abscess. It may be that this animal was lucky enough to escape the clutches of a cat only to live out the rest of its days with a crippled and deformed limb.

The remaining bone deformities fall into four categories: two human teeth, avian remains, fish bone, and food bones. The state of 19th-century dental hygiene is a subject unto itself. It is not uncommon to recover human teeth from historic features either as deciduous losses or extractions due to periodontal disease. A tooth from Privy 1300 on Block 4 has a deep cavity that was surely quite uncomfortable and probably led to its forcible removal. In contrast, a tooth from Privy 507 on Block 5 had a cavity that had been treated and filled with gold, but was ultimately extracted anyway.

Another category for skeletal anomalies is on avian remains. The specimens described represent both domesticated and wild fowl, and are almost entirely from the West Approach Project. Two bone growth pathologies on a humerus and a tarsometatarsus, an ulna with a healed fracture, and a humerus with a smooth perforation are on chicken bones. The pathologies could be related to survived attacks by the numerous feral dogs and cats that were roaming these neighborhoods. There is evidence that chickens were being raised for eggs and/or meat in quite a few households, so the chickens may have been rescued from the clutches of a violent death (possibly resulting in the bludgeoning of the culprit), and were than cared for so they could return to their egg-laying duties (Grier 2006:35; Praetzellis and Praetzellis, ed. 2004: 150–151).
The California Academy of Sciences possesses avian specimens with healed fractures that occurred in the wild. Bird skeletons are very strong for their weight and function but can be damaged during flight, landing, or by predation. Susan Heckly from the Lindsay Wildlife Center in Walnut Creek states, “I’m sure that some wild animals can survive after serious injuries, especially with subsidy from humans. Many people have ended up with a wild ‘pet’ when the animal’s been injured and then ‘rescued’. Most serious injuries would cause such a handicap for the animal that it wouldn’t survive for long without help” (pers. comm. 2007). Three elements from two different ducks found in Privy 1333 raise the possibility that someone at this address was caring for injured birds. A mated radius and ulna from a large duck species displayed healed fractures resulting in a significant misalignment of the healed bones and the sternum of a greater scaup has a deformity of its posterior keel.

A California quail tibiotarsus had a healed trauma resulting in the distal fusion of the fibula with that element (West Approach Block 10, Privy 808). This specimen could be another survived attack from a predator. Quail (a bird that spends most of its time on the ground) are particularly vulnerable to cats, rats, raccoons, and dogs. Quail can be found in limited numbers in Golden Gate Park and the Presidio today. The numbers of quail in San Francisco have dwindled in recent years. Whether one cause of this decline could be the feral cat population is a point of some contention.

Several duck elements revealed another type of trauma—evidence of shotgun pellet damage. Two large duck elements from West Approach Block 10, Privy 808 exhibited shot damage. A duck keel from West Approach Block 4, Privy 1316 showed evidence of a wound that has a small circular entry wound on one side and a bulging impact on the opposite side. This example is slightly different, because the trauma does not appear to have been fatal since the wound shows signs of healing. Lastly, a duck skull from the SF-80 Bayshore Project, Privy 3 with shotgun pellet damage denotes its acquisition as a game animal. All of these features also contained artifacts related to firearms.

Two fish elements of the more than 43,000 such bones recovered bore unusual features. One rockfish vertebra found in Privy 857 on Block 10 has a large bone growth on its spine. There are numerous vectors for fish pathologies including injury, predation, disease, and parasites. Another interesting ceratohyal bone from a rockfish has tooth perforations that are consistent with the canine dentition of a domestic cat leading to the conclusion the cat made a snack of the scraps after human consumption.

Finally, there are eight examples of pathologies on mammalian food animals. These specimens are perhaps the most alarming considering the diseased elements represent meals. When broken down by meat type: two are from beef bones, two are from mutton bones, and four of the...
examples are on pork elements. Most of the major meat animals’ abnormalities are bone growth pathologies from disease and/or trauma, or abscesses and are located at or near an articulation. It appears that pigs have a slightly higher tendency for disease. An extremely pathological pig femur was recovered that bore consecutive knife scores or “carving marks” confirming that it was a ham and indeed a food item. The diseased element is fully involved in whatever condition or pathogen caused the abnormality resulting in significant bone growth, and with routes from the center of the bone for a flow of puss clearly visible. The irrefutable evidence for consumption makes this example particularly disturbing.

A total of 31 pathologies and oddities have been observed and identified during this analysis. The number of pathologies on items that were obviously consumed tells us quite a bit about the state of the food animal population at the time and has possible implications regarding animal husbandry practices. One must also wonder whether there may have been one or more questionable butchers in some of these neighborhoods. In contrast, the Cypress Project in Oakland had nearly twice as many features and bones analyzed, but only produced two such anomalous elements. One sheep tibia has damage that could only have been caused by a firearm, and may have been used for target practice. The only other pathology from this project is a sheep rib with puncture damage of unknown origin.

Two doors down and two decades earlier, widow Amanda Scales operated a boardinghouse at the three-story residence at 240 Fremont. Amanda’s husband had been a relatively well-off merchant, but her fortunes declined following his death. In 1870, her son worked in the customs house, while boarders included machinists, seamen, stevedores, clerks, and a tailor; Amanda had a housekeeper and was listed as blind on the census. Privy 1326, backfilled around the time Amanda moved from 240 Fremont, sat upon a unique granite base that may have been installed because the facility was excavated into sand. Residents of this boardinghouse ate their varied, but moderately priced meals in a fashionable setting. Two families lived in the simple house next door when Privy 1322 was backfilled in the late 1880s: that of Michael Hurley, an Irish laborer, and James Conniff, an Australian Catholic fireman; both men worked at least part time as lamplighters for the S.F. Gas & Light Company. The simple collection associated with these two young families has some evidence of hunting (an elk bone) and a large quantity of fish.

**Case Study: Murphy Family**

The family of Patrick and Cecelia Murphy is a good representative of the residents of Baldwin Court in the middle of the 19th century. The Irish Protestant family lived on a tiny lot in a small two-story cottage dwarfed by the Miner’s Foundry behind them. Patrick worked as a laborer and his wife and daughters helped support the family in various ways, from backyard agriculture to sewing. The family owned their home at 11 Baldwin Court where they lived for over 30 years.

A native of Belfast, Patrick Murphy became a naturalized American citizen in Brooklyn, New York, in 1852. Patrick was born around 1825; his Irish wife, Cecelia, was born seven years later in County Down,
Northern Ireland. Their two oldest daughters, Mary and Rose, were both born in New York before 1859. By 1860 the family had arrived in San Francisco. In that year, Patrick worked as a laborer and the family lived around the corner at 312 Fremont. According to the census enumerator, Cecelia could neither read nor write, while 6-year-old Mary attended school. The Murphy family had moved to 11 Baldwin Court, when Patrick registered to vote in June 1866. In the early years, the Murphy family occasionally took in a boarder. According to the 1870 census, Patrick and Cecelia had three more children since the previous enumeration: Catherine, age 8; Maggie, age 6; and James age 3. Catherine attended school with her two older sisters. From 1875 to 1888, Patrick was listed as a laborer in the city directories except in 1887, when he called himself a stonemason. Patrick and Cecelia had another daughter, Lizzie, born about 1872. Mary no longer lived at home in 1880, but their other children still did. Twenty-one-year-old Rose worked as a dressmaker. The previous two years she had worked as a machine operator at E. Derrick & Company manufacturers of bags, tents, and awnings. Catherine, age 17, no longer went to school with her three younger siblings.

Patrick died at age 59 on 7 June 1888. The funeral was held at his home and he was buried at Mount Calvary Cemetery. James Patrick Murphy, his sole son, worked as a last maker (shoe forms) for Potter & Sexton in 1889. The family appears to have remained at 11 Baldwin until at least 1894. By 1896 James lived at 307 First Street. It is unknown whether his mother Cecelia was still living at 11 Baldwin when she died in 1897 at age 63. Either her late husband or her son had been a Mason and a Knight of Pythias, because her funeral was held at Pythian Castle under the auspices of Excelsior Lodge No. 12, K of P; Cecelia Murphy was buried at the Masonic Cemetery.

Privy 1318 was located in a rear corner of the backyard. The TPQ is 1877 based on a Pioneer Soda Works bottle and the ceramic mean date based on marked pieces or datable patterns is 1866.7 based on 24 items. The feature is believed to have been filled in around 1880, when the dwelling may have been hooked up to the sewer line. Privy 1318 is associated with the Murphy family who lived here from 1866 through at least 1894 (Figure 3.23).

The Murphy tableware is primarily made of white improved earthenware (60%), with lesser, yet similar, quantities each of opaque porcelain (14%), pearlware (12%), and porcelain (11%). In addition there are single vessels of Jackfield and earthenware. Most of the ceramic vessels are decorated (58%), with the white improved earthenware vessels being decorated by molding; named patterns include Scalloped Decagon, Potomac Shape, Sharon Arch, Fig, True Scallop, Forget-me-not, Triple Border, and Double Sydenham. Decoration on white improved earthenware other than molding includes: blue transfer print, hand painted, hand painted and cut sponge, and scollop with hand painting. Opaque porcelain is decorated only with molding—Double Sydenham, Hanging Leaves, and Lily of the Valley. All the pearlware is decorated. Matched pieces include five blue shell-edge plates, gaudy plate and saucer, and two annular bowls in matching colors of yellow and blue (Figure 3.24); another annular bowl is blue and brown in similar pattern. A creamer is hand painted with sprigs. Most of the porcelain (70%) is undecorated; the three decorated items are a sided possible sugar, a lid, and a hand painted and gilt saucer. It appears that the collection represents portions of several matched sets of tableware in various designs and fabric types. The earthenware teapot has a variegated glaze and the lone piece of Jackfield is undecorated, however, its dark purplish color is in stark contrast to the collection's majority of white vessels. Although the ceramic mean date based on marked pieces or datable patterns coincides with the family's move to Baldwin Court, at least some of
the ceramic vessels may have been acquired second-hand; the pearlware was long out of date (Figure 3.25).

If the ceramic and glassware vessel types are combined, drinking vessels are in the majority (42%) with lesser amounts of tableware (35%), and serving vessels (20%). Glassware is overwhelmingly composed of drinking vessels (85%); the rest are serving vessels. Most of the glassware is decorated (83%). All but one of the 52 pieces of glassware is colorless; the exception is Vaseline glass cordial. The most common glass decoration is panels of varying height and number; this style is found on 2 cordials, 1 goblet, 2 stemware, 18 tumblers, and 1 stemware or tumbler. Other matched patterns on multiple vessels include: 2 etched grape and vine, 2 honeycomb, and 2 diamonds. The quantity of drinking glasses indicates that the Murphys had a sufficient supply and variety of glassware to entertain guests in a semi-formal manner. A total of 9 alcoholic beverage bottles was recovered: 5 ale or beer, 3 wine, and 1 indefinite. The only tobacco artifacts are 6 ball clay pipes.
The Murphys served beef (49%) more often than mutton (22%), pork (15%), or fowl (14% by meat weight). The proportion of pork, however, is higher than in most deposits in this neighborhood. The beef eaten was typically of moderate price (55%) with slightly more high (25%) than low (20%). The cuts consumed were most often blade or sirloin steaks followed by stews or soups. Only two rump roasts are represented. Mutton cuts are more uniformly priced with high (37%) and moderate (33%) slightly favored over low (30%). Soups and stews were eaten more often than steaks. Mutton roasts were eaten more often than beef roasts, including the leg of mutton (see Stoyka sidebar in Chapter 4). Pork cuts are typically low priced (50%), and with more high value cuts (31%) than moderate (19%). The most common cuts are soup or stew bones from the head and jowl. The few pork steaks and roasts are in similar proportion to mutton. An unusual aspect of these major meat animals is the presence of a juvenile animal from each group. Cuts from juvenile cows, lambs, or piglets are rarely found, so the presence of all three is most unexpected.

The fowl remains are notable for the number of birds present. Domestic poultry (67%) are more common than game birds (33%) due to the presence of a turkey and 10 chickens. The game birds include mallard ducks (3), a northern pintail, a goose, a duck, and a duck or goose. The remains of 4 indeterminate juvenile birds were also found; these may have been chicks raised on site. A single cottontail rabbit is represented; it is not clear if this was a pet or a meal. A juvenile cat was recovered along with 4 juvenile mammals (not kittens) that were too young to identify. The presence of dog gnawing on a small number of bones may indicate the presence of puppies from a small breed of dog kept by the Murphys. The remains of 5 Norway rats were found in the fill.
The Murphys discarded a variety of decorative items including a clock, furniture parts, and four flowerpots. There is a pair of hand painted polychrome porcelain vases, a Parian figural vase of a hand holding flowers, and a porcelain spill vase with molded and applied flowers and berries highlighted with gilded accents (Figure 3.26). At least four mirrors and three photographs are in the collection. A porcelain picture hanger that may have held one of the mirrors suggests picture molding in at least one room of the house. Several types of lighting devices were discarded: two candlesticks, at least three oil lamps, and three whale oil lamps.

Grooming and Health items account for over 9 percent of the total items recovered, including a hairbrush, 8 combs and 2 toothbrushes. A perfume bottle and a paint pot for cosmetics were also discarded. There are numerous containers: a soap dish, a glass syringe and plunger, and a rubber pump with tube. Chamberpots were typically discarded when privies are filled for conversion to plumbed fixtures; there are four from this privy.

The remains from several wool and one silk garment were found along with a variety of buttons. These included an inexpensive, store-bought men’s jacket with machine-made buttonholes and an old-fashioned woven woolen plaid shawl with fringe. By 1877 Rosie Murphy appears to have been operating a sewing machine at E. Derrick & Co, maker of awnings, tents, and bags. In 1880 she was listed as a dressmaker. The only evidence of her skills are the possible scrap from a remade outergarment and a bone crochet hook.

Four shoes were discarded—an adult size 6-1/2, boy’s size 13 wide, child’s size 9, and toddler’s size 5. The boy’s shoe shows wear and a cobbler’s repair along the toe. The smaller children’s footwear shows no signs of wear and were probably outgrown.

The Murphy children had apparently outgrown their toys as well. There are 9 porcelain dolls: 7 china head and 2 Frozen Charlottes. A hard rubber doll head is a less destructible version of a china doll. The 13 doll dishes are all of porcelain. The marbles are porcelain (14), glass (4), and clay (1). A harmonica and domino were also found.

Although Cecelia Murphy was listed as illiterate on the 1870 census, her children all attended school and could read and write. The remains of 2 slate tablets, 13 slate pencils, and 4 ink bottles were recovered.

By the time the Murphys filled their privy with domestic refuse in the 1880s; they had lived for more than ten years on the lot and would remain another decade thereafter. Some of their discarded tableware was already falling out of fashion when they moved to Baldwin Court in
The late 1860s. Much of what they discarded was clearly behind the times by the 1880s. Although they owned numerous vessels for serving coursed meals, the service did not match. More expensive porcelain was limited to a few pieces that may have been reserved for formal teas. The Murphys ate moderately priced cuts of meat with a higher proportion of pork and fowl than their neighbors. Despite the small size of the lot and yard, the family may have raised poultry for eggs or meat. Although the house was small, it was owned, not rented, and appears to have been well appointed with decorative items. The children had numerous toys and good grooming was important to the family.

**Tar Flat Sample**

The Tar Flat sample is comprised of 13 archaeological features associated with residences and dating to before 1900. Table 3.3 provides the characteristics for these features. The average lot and dwelling measured considerably smaller than both Rincon Hill and Mission Bay samples—at about 1250 square foot for the lot and 1180 for the residence. Additionally none of the dwellings had basements, making them effectively even more crowded. Each individual claimed only just over 200 square feet based on available information. Some lots housed multiple residences and businesses as well within the same cramped quarters.

As with Mission Bay, most heads of households had been born in Ireland (10), although Australia, France, and Poland were each represented. The heads of only two households

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Table 3.3. Tar Flat Feature Characteristics</strong></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ARCHITECTURAL</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lot Size</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High – 2165 sq. ft.; Low – 600 sq. ft.; Average – 1241 sq. ft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House size</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High – 3000 sq. ft.; Low – 600 sq. ft.; Average – 1184 sq. ft</td>
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<tr>
<td>Basements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 out of 13 features are from residences with basements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Square footage per person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High – 500 sq. ft.; Low – 61 sq. ft.; Average – 203 sq. ft</td>
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<tr>
<td>Multiple family parcels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 with 2 residences (possible businesses as well); 1 lodgings¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SOCIAL/ECONOMIC</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nativity (Head of Household)²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australian (1); Irish (10); French (1); Polish (1); U.S. (2); Unknown (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation (Head of Household)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional (1); Skilled (7); Semi-skilled (3); Unskilled (4); Unknown (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner (3); Tenants (9); Unknown (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic (4); Jewish (1); Protestant (2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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¹Counted under social/economic factors as a household. ²Some features associated with more than one household.
were born in the United States. The occupations of the heads of households were more mixed than the other neighborhoods with seven Skilled, three Semi-skilled, four Unskilled, and one Professional. They tended to change occupations more frequently and to suffer more periods of unemployment. Only three families owned their homes, nine rented, and the status of one family could not be determined. Four households had Catholic backgrounds, two Protestant, and one Jewish. In summary, these features appear to be associated with working-class Irish households with various ranges of training from skilled to unskilled.

STATISTICAL FINDINGS

Bruce Owen

In San Francisco as in many American cities, the average household’s economic status declined as one moved from the hills to the flats, and with proximity to noxious industry and environmental pollution. In this study, Rincon Hill clearly was the best neighborhood in relation to views, quiet, and amenities; Tar Flat was the least desirable due to overcrowding, pollution, and noise. Neighborhood level statistics provide details on the significant archaeological correlates of these neighborhood differences. The three neighborhoods fell into a single, clear order of general socioeconomic status when ranked by every category of consumption except social drugs. Rincon Hill was the most prestigious or wealthy neighborhood, followed by Mission Bay, with Tar Flat at the bottom.

The methods used in these analyses are described in more detail in Chapter 11 and only briefly referenced here; the detailed statistical analyses by Bruce Owen are provided in full in Appendix F. Two statistical tests were used: The Wilcoxon rank-sum test, which assesses whether two distributions of values are significantly different (do households in neighborhood A tend to have a higher proportion of porcelain ceramics than households in neighborhood B?); and the Spearman rank correlation, which tests for an ordered relationship between values such as “pounds of beef” and a ranked series of categories, such as Unskilled, Semi-skilled, Skilled, Professional, and Wealthy professional occupational status groups.

The Wilcoxon tests showed that the neighborhoods vary consistently in both meat species and meat cut prices (Table 3.4). People’s choices about the cost of meat cuts corresponded just as expected to the occupational status ranking of their neighborhood. While the species patterning did not reach the 10 percent confidence level, it was so consistent across all categories that it should be studied further. Rincon Hill households ate the most expensive cuts and more of the preferred species (i.e., beef over pork). Tar Flat households ate the cheapest cuts and more pork in relation to beef. Mission Bay was intermediate on both measures. Households in all neighborhoods bought similar proportions of low-priced cuts. Households in the lower-status neighborhoods economized by buying fewer expensive cuts and substituting more medium-priced ones, rather than by eating more cheap cuts. While households in Mission Bay tended to purchase an intermediate mix of cuts. The use of domestic poultry did not vary by neighborhood, although there was a slightly larger contribution of game to the Tar Flat diet, suggesting that game functioned as a lower-status necessity rather than a high-status luxury.

The Spearman rank correlations showed that high-priced cuts comprised a larger percentage of meat consumed in the Rincon Hill neighborhood and medium-priced cuts a higher percentage of meat consumed in Tar Flat, both at well under the 5 percent confidence level. Mission Bay
Table 3.4. San Francisco Neighborhood Statistically Significant Differences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Neighborhoods</th>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Which has more</th>
<th>Probability</th>
<th>Sig @ 5%</th>
<th>Sig @ 10%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RH vs. TF</td>
<td>High Meat Price</td>
<td>RH</td>
<td>0.0135</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RH vs. TF/MB</td>
<td>High Meat Price</td>
<td>RH</td>
<td>0.0290</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RH vs. TF/MB</td>
<td>Medium Meat Price</td>
<td>Not RH</td>
<td>0.0316</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TF vs. RH/MB</td>
<td>High Meat Price</td>
<td>Not TF</td>
<td>0.0413</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TF vs. RH</td>
<td>Medium Meat Price</td>
<td>TF</td>
<td>0.0027</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TF vs. RH/MB</td>
<td>Medium Meat Price</td>
<td>TF</td>
<td>0.0191</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TF vs. MB</td>
<td>Medium Meat Price</td>
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<td>0.0788</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RH vs. MB</td>
<td>Earthen/car³</td>
<td>MB</td>
<td>0.0082</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RH vs. MB</td>
<td>Earthen/cer</td>
<td>MB</td>
<td>0.0071</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RH vs. TF</td>
<td>Earthen/cer</td>
<td>TF</td>
<td>0.0062</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RH vs. TF</td>
<td>Earthen/sub</td>
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<td>0.0050</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RH vs. MB/TF</td>
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<td>MB/TF</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<td>RH vs. MB/TF</td>
<td>Earthen/sub</td>
<td>MB/TF</td>
<td>0.0026</td>
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<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RH vs. TF</td>
<td>WIE/sub</td>
<td>TF</td>
<td>0.0825</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RH vs. MB/TF</td>
<td>WIE/cer</td>
<td>MB/TF</td>
<td>0.0807</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>RH vs. TF</td>
<td>Ceram/sub</td>
<td>TF</td>
<td>0.0905</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>RH vs. MB/TF</td>
<td>Ceram/sub</td>
<td>MB/TF</td>
<td>0.0975</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>MB vs. TF</td>
<td>Wine/talc⁴</td>
<td>MB</td>
<td>0.0704</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MB vs. TF</td>
<td>Tobacco/fpc</td>
<td>TF</td>
<td>0.0365</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MB vs. RH</td>
<td>Tobacco/fpc</td>
<td>RH</td>
<td>0.0057</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
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<td>RH vs. MB/TF</td>
<td>Tobacco/fpc</td>
<td>RH</td>
<td>0.0379</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MB vs. RH/TF</td>
<td>Tobacco/fpc</td>
<td>RH/TF</td>
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<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TF vs. RH</td>
<td>Soda/sub</td>
<td>TF</td>
<td>0.0021</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TF vs. MB</td>
<td>Soda/sub</td>
<td>TF</td>
<td>0.00365</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TF vs. RH/MB</td>
<td>Soda/sub</td>
<td>TF</td>
<td>0.0052</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RH vs. MB</td>
<td>Soda/sub</td>
<td>MB</td>
<td>0.0295</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RH vs. MB/TF</td>
<td>Soda/sub</td>
<td>MB/TF</td>
<td>0.0048</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TF vs. RH</td>
<td>Soda/fpc</td>
<td>TF</td>
<td>0.0029</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TF vs. MB</td>
<td>Soda/fpc</td>
<td>TF</td>
<td>0.0176</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TF vs. RH/MB</td>
<td>Soda/fpc</td>
<td>TF</td>
<td>0.0030</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RH vs. MB/TF</td>
<td>Soda/fpc</td>
<td>MB/TF</td>
<td>0.0327</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RH vs. TF</td>
<td>Gr-equip/fpc 5</td>
<td>RH</td>
<td>0.0162</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RH vs. MB/TF</td>
<td>Gr-equip/fpc</td>
<td>RH</td>
<td>0.0304</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TF vs. RH</td>
<td>Perfume/fpc</td>
<td>RH</td>
<td>0.0698</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TF vs. MB</td>
<td>Perfume/fpc</td>
<td>MB</td>
<td>0.0316</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
appears the most variable of the neighborhoods in terms of meat-price preferences (Table 3.5 and Figure 3.27).

The ceramic wares used in the three neighborhoods reflected the neighborhoods’ socioeconomic ranking, but not strongly. Rincon Hill households averaged the highest proportions of porcelain and Overseas Chinese porcelain, and the lowest proportions of white improved earthenware, earthenware, and basic wares. Households in Tar Flat had the lowest average proportions of porcelain and Overseas Chinese porcelain, and the highest of earthenware. Mission Bay tended to fall in between, or close to Tar Flat, for all of these wares. Households in the lower-status neighborhoods averaged relatively more opaque porcelain and basic wares. Only some of these patterns are statistically significant (Table 3.4). Rincon Hill had fewer items of the cheaper earthenware fabric than Mission Bay and Tar Flat in six comparisons at the 1 percent level. White improved earthenware made up a larger proportion of the ceramic assemblage in Tar Flat, and in Tar Flat and Mission Bay in comparison with Rincon Hill. This strongly confirms the association of earthenware with lower economic status.

The Spearman rank correlations also showed a strong correlation between earthenware and neighborhood rank at better than 1 percent, with the lower-status neighborhoods having more earthenware both as a fraction of the ceramic assemblage and as a fraction of all significant discards (Table 3.5, Figure 3.28).

Wealthier neighborhoods discarded fewer ceramics relative to other refuse: Rincon Hill exhibited the lowest mean proportion of ceramics to other discards; assemblages from Mission Bay contained an intermediate mean proportion of ceramics as a fraction of all items, and Tar Flat contained the highest mean proportion of ceramics relative to other discards. This pattern

---

Table 3.4. San Francisco Neighborhood Statistically Significant Differences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Neighborhoods</th>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Which has more?</th>
<th>Probability</th>
<th>Sig @ 5%</th>
<th>Sig @ 10%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TF vs. RH/MB</td>
<td>Perfume/fpc</td>
<td>RH/MB</td>
<td>0.0196</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TF vs. RH</td>
<td>Perfume/gr-cons</td>
<td>RH</td>
<td>0.0266</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TF vs. MB</td>
<td>Perfume/gr-cons</td>
<td>MB</td>
<td>0.0199</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TF vs. RH/MB</td>
<td>Perfume/gr-cons</td>
<td>RH/MB</td>
<td>0.0085</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RH vs. TF</td>
<td>Patent/sub</td>
<td>TF</td>
<td>0.0824</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RF vs. MB/TF</td>
<td>Patent/sub</td>
<td>MB/TF</td>
<td>0.0619</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RF vs. TF</td>
<td>Patent/gr-cons</td>
<td>TF</td>
<td>0.0168</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RH vs. MB/TF</td>
<td>Patent/gr-cons</td>
<td>MB/TF</td>
<td>0.0586</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TF vs. RH/MB</td>
<td>Patent/gr-cons</td>
<td>TF</td>
<td>0.0425</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Wilcoxon Rank-Sum Test; see Appendix F.
2 Neighborhoods: RH, Edge of Rincon Hill; MB, Shore of Mission Bay; TF, Tar Flat.
3 Ceramic MNIs were run as a fraction of total ceramic MNI (cer), fraction of all significant items (sub), and MNI of serving items and ceramics overall.
4 Social drugs were run as fraction of all significant items (sub), fraction of all food prep and consumption items (fpc), and mean of alcohol type over all alcohol items (alc).
5 Gr-equip is grooming and health equipment (chamber pot, soap dish, hairpins, toothbrushes, etc.), Gr-cons is grooming and health consumables (product containers)
Figure 3.27. San Francisco neighborhood significant Spearman rank correlations related to meat price.
suggests that wealthier households sold or donated a greater fraction of their unneeded ceramics than did poorer households.

While one might expect that households in more prosperous neighborhoods used more ceramic serving vessels, the proportion of ceramic serving vessels as a fraction of all food preparation/consumption items is virtually identical in all three neighborhoods. This is unexpected and suggests little difference in the ability to set a formal table in each of the different neighborhoods.

The social drugs category only patterned weakly by neighborhood and was much stronger by occupational rank. The summary tables of means suggests that the overall consumption of social drugs and of alcohol alone was highest in Tar Flat, less in Mission Bay, and least in Rincon Hill. None of these trends, however, proved to be significant in the Wilcoxon tests. Only one pairwise analysis proved significant: Mission Bay had more wine/champagne bottles relative to other alcohol items than did Tar Flat, presumably reflecting the number of professionals living in Mission Bay.

Tobacco use did pattern by neighborhood: Tobacco items were most common relative to food preparation/consumption items in Rincon Hill, intermediate in Tar Flat, and smallest relative to food preparation/consumption in Mission Bay (see also Chapter 6 on tobacco). The Spearman Rank tests found no correlations between social drugs and neighborhoods.

There were 9 Wilcoxon significance tests at the 5 percent confidence level related to soda water bottles. In all of them, Tar Flat residents discarded more soda water bottles than other neighborhoods, while people on Rincon Hill discarded the least. The Spearman analysis confirmed the strength and significance of this correlation generating the largest correlation coefficients of the study (Table 3.5, Figure 3.29). This dramatic neighborhood effect suggests a specific causal factor directly related to neighborhood, such as differences in the availability of piped water. The geographic and documentary data support this interpretation. Much of Tar Flat was on land reclaimed from the bay. None of the residences in our sample had wells; even if they

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Correlation coefficient</th>
<th>Probability</th>
<th>Sig @ 5%</th>
<th>Sig @ 10%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High Meat Price</td>
<td>-0.41</td>
<td>0.0093</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium Meat Price</td>
<td>0.47</td>
<td>0.0025</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earthenware/all ceramics</td>
<td>0.40</td>
<td>0.0081</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earthenware/MNI</td>
<td>0.40</td>
<td>0.0085</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soda water/MNI</td>
<td>0.53</td>
<td>0.0003</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soda water/Food prep, con</td>
<td>0.49</td>
<td>0.0008</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grooming-health equip/Food prep, con</td>
<td>-0.35</td>
<td>0.0215</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfume-primping/Food prep, con</td>
<td>-0.32</td>
<td>0.0385</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfume-primping/Groom-health cons</td>
<td>-0.40</td>
<td>0.0079</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patent medicine/MNI subset</td>
<td>0.27</td>
<td>0.0837</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patent medicine/Groom-health cons</td>
<td>0.38</td>
<td>0.0134</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Spearman Rank Correlations, see Appendix F.
Figure 3.28. San Francisco neighborhood significant Spearman rank correlations related to ceramics.
Figure 3.29. San Francisco neighborhood significant Spearman rank correlations related to soda water bottles.
had been dug, the water would have been brackish. It is unclear when city water reached this neighborhood. As late as 1870, operators of a water cart lived on Fremont Street in the project area. South of Market Boys remembered hauling water from the local cemetery:

In the old days, before the Spring Valley Water Co. extended its pipe lines south of Market, the residents of the District depended upon the water cart for its household requirements. One of those institutions was owned by Joe Fairfield and his establishment consisted of a large barrel or pipe mounted on two wheels and drawn by a horse. The minimum amount Joe would sell was twenty gallons which was measured out in five gallon containers and then poured into the purchaser's barrel. Old Tom Tierney had three children and lived at 24 Folsom Avenue where he had a well which supplied his neighbors. In those days, mother bathed us on Saturday night in the family wash tub and when we got prosperous, a tin bath tub was purchased which was hung outside the kitchen door to the envy of neighbors. Well, it took a large amount of water to keep us youngsters clean which, I believe was responsible for Tom Tierney's well going dry. With this advent, Joe Fairfield got a new customer, but the twenty gallons he supplied were far from sufficient to bathe us all and leave a surplus for wash day Monday. We had a lot of fun, however, toting water from the cemetery at Seventh and Market down to the house and it was necessary to make several trips to fill the barrel [Roxburgh 1926:11].

There were significant differences in the importance of appearance and personal grooming between the neighborhoods, as shown in both the Wilcoxon tests and the Spearman correlations. The higher a neighborhood's socioeconomic rank, the more perfume and primping items its residents used, and the less patent medicine. The more affluent the neighborhood, the more grooming and health equipment its residents discarded. Households in higher-status neighborhoods may have required more grooming and health equipment in each bathroom; they may have had more bathrooms per inhabitant; or they may have replaced grooming and health equipment more frequently, perhaps tolerating less wear or damage than did lower-status households, or responding more quickly to changes in grooming and health fashions. Rincon Hill residents discarded more grooming and health equipment (items that are not product containers, e.g., chamber pots, hairpins, basins, etc.) than the other neighborhoods (Figure 3.30) and Tar Flat discarded fewer perfume/primping containers than the other neighborhoods (Figure 3.31).

Another general trend identified by both statistical analyses is the tendency of households in lower-status neighborhoods to discard more patent medicine bottles relative to all significant discards and to all of their grooming and health items. Rincon Hill residents discarded fewer patent medicine containers, relative to all significant discards and as a fraction of all grooming and health consumables; Tar Flat residents discarded more (Figure 3.32). The consumption of soda water and patent medicines in Tar Flat may be related to different health conditions prevalent in that area.

As indicated in Tables 3.4 and 3.5, there were numerous statistically significant differences in the material culture of these three neighborhoods. Some may have been expected based upon the occupational rankings of the households involved, such as the meat-price findings; others, like the lack of any significant correlations related to serving vessels or the higher end ceramic fabrics, are entirely unexpected. While people's choices about meat cuts, ceramic wares, and various grooming and health items reflected their neighborhood as strongly and clearly as their household occupation rank, and sometimes more so, their use of social drugs was much less related to their neighborhood, and more strongly tied to their occupation rank. This hints that
social drug use was more strongly influenced by individual household factors such as occupation rank, while meat consumption, ceramic purchases, and grooming and health purchases were relatively more influenced by the social environment of the neighborhood.

That ceramic assemblages might reflect neighborhood values is understandable, since ceramics would have been lasting and visible markers of social status. Grooming and health equipment, and perfume and primping items affected personal appearance, which people may have adjusted to fit neighborhood norms. Why meat consumption might respond more to the neighborhood context than did tobacco and alcohol consumption is harder to imagine. Perhaps a substantial fraction of the alcohol consumption was more private than were prepared meals, and thus less affected by neighborhood standards? At this point, we can only speculate on the reasons. Clearly the patterning of material culture is very complex. This topic is discussed further in Chapter 10, when three neighborhoods from West Oakland are added to the mix.

Figure 3.30. San Francisco neighborhood significant Spearman rank correlations related to grooming and health.
Figure 3.31. San Francisco neighborhood significant Spearman rank correlations related to perfume.
Figure 3.32. San Francisco neighborhood significant Spearman rank correlations related to patent medicines.