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# Filling in Round Pond: Refuse Disposal in Post-Revolutionary Boston

## Cover Page Footnote

We would like to thank Clifford Kaye for his generosity in sharing his notes, drawings, and observations on the geological and archaeological information revealed by the excavation of the Boston Common Underground Parking Garage. Our appreciation for Mr. Kaye's time and cooperation cannot be overemphasized. We are also grateful to the Massachusetts Historical Commission, which kindly made the Kaye Collection available to Boston University for analysis. We are grateful as well to Conrad M. Goodwin of the Archaeological Studies Program at Boston University for preparing a catalog of the artifacts in the Kaye Collection. We thank Jane Becker of the Massachusetts State Archives for her aid in research on illustrations for this article, and Richard Kanaski, also of the Archaeological Studies Program at Boston University, for processing the artifact photographs reproduced here. The funding for this research was provided by a Seed Money Research Grant from The Graduate School, Boston University.

# Filling In Round Pond: Refuse Disposal In Post- Revolutionary Boston

Mary Beaudry and  
Tamara Blosser

## INTRODUCTION

Since the time of the first Puritan landing, the change in the physical layout of Boston has been phenomenal. Geologists have catalogued it, historians have chronicled it, and hosts of other scholars have discussed the need for and consequences of such change. As the population of the town grew, industrial and residential demands increased, and the peninsula as it existed was found lacking. A history of landfill and of intensive land utilization has characterized the city. Both processes were made available for study when the lower Boston Common was excavated for the insertion of the underground Boston Common Parking Garage in the early 1960s.

Because of the many changes in Boston's physical features, Walter Muir Whitehill has remarked that the Common is the only "recognizable trace" of the 17th century Puritan town (Whitehill 1968: 15). This does not mean, however, that physical change never occurred on the Common's acreage. Begun in 1960, the parking garage was probably the most extensive, but by no means the first, change wrought on the Common since its purchase by the town residents in 1634 (Shurtleff 1871: 296). A map made by Captain John Bonner in 1725 is the first official map of Boston and shows the town as it must have looked during much of the 17th century (Figure 1).

The Boston Common has been set aside as public, or common, land since its original purchase. It is this status that has allowed it to retain so much of its integrity. Even the little modification that has occurred has been viewed by concerned Bostonians as too much of a compromise. The Boston National Historic Sites Commission noted in its 1961 *Final Report* that the park has no visual remnants

of the Colonial and Revolutionary periods; the report also predicted that the work then in progress on the underground garage would further destroy evidence of those time periods (Boston National Historic Sites Commission 1961: 11).

Unfortunately, the prediction of the Commission has proven true, as the entire western edge of the Common was intensely disturbed by the early 1960s excavation (Figure 2). The area bordering Charles Street now contains a playing field and the aforementioned garage, and although neither is offensive to the public eye, their creation constituted a disaster to the archaeological record. If it were not for the efforts of Boston Research Geologist Clifford Kaye, who monitored much of the construction of the underground garage, information regarding the geology and archaeology of this area would never have been recorded.

Although he was responsible primarily for recording stratigraphic profiles and soils information for the United States Geological Survey, Kaye also collected samples of the artifactual material uncovered during the garage excavation. The collection, on loan to the Center for Archaeological Studies at Boston University from the Massachusetts Historical Commission, has provided a glimpse of what was the archaeological record of the lower Common. Lacking provenience and sampling control, the Kaye Collection is merely an indication of the large quantity of cultural material present before construction. The collection further serves as a reminder of the price that is paid when no systematic excavation is permitted prior to construction in areas so rich in cultural and historical associations.

Taking into consideration the drawbacks inherent in a collection recovered in a totally unsystematic manner, there is still much that can be learned from its study. With a combined examination of the historical record, the geological evidence recorded by Kaye, and the artifact collection, a developmental sequence of land use on the Common can be outlined. An examination of the Common itself and the ways in which it was viewed and utilized by the people of Boston will set the stage for the analysis.



ing roadways. The Common served two major functions in the Colonial and post-Colonial periods: as a pastureland and as a training field for the military. Although a present-day examination would reveal no trace of these functions, they were the reasons that the Common became an area of intense activity. The side of the Common that has changed the most over time is the western or Charles Street side; this was the area exposed during excavation for the underground parking garage.

Today it is hard to imagine cows roaming the Boston Common, but throughout the 17th, 18th, and even into the 19th century, they formed an integral feature of the landscape. A law passed in 1646 stated that no more than 70 cows could be pastured on the Common, but a man might keep four sheep in place of a single cow (Shurtleff 1871: 303). It is not altogether surprising, therefore, that reminders of the era of "Cows on the Common" should be depicted on sherds of Staffordshire transfer-printed tablewares recovered by Kaye from deposits on the Common (Figure 5).

Through the succeeding years, trees were planted along the edges of the Common, and the new malls became popular places for strolling and socializing. The change of the Common from a grassy pastureland to a purposefully wooded park led in 1830 to a prohibition against keeping animals in the area (Howe 1910: 46).

The formal atmosphere of the Common was a product of the changing architecture around the park as well as the planting of greenery along the streets bounding the area. Bulfinch-designed buildings set the style for the residences that began to rise around the Common. The removal of the Almshouse and other unsightly structures located along Park Street completed the improvement of the upper Common, permitting the neighborhood to live up to the example set by the new State House (Whitehill 1968: 60). One of the initial moves towards improving the area was made by John Hancock, who in 1754 received permission to plant a row of lime trees on the Common across from his house (Bridenbaugh 1955: 36). Later in the 18th century, laws were passed

that set fines for driving on the Common and that ordered the area to be fenced. The Tremont Street Mall, a walkway shaded by stately elms, poplars, and sycamores, was the first of the five malls to be established along the boundary streets. Howe noted that the beautification of the Common was a conscious effort to imitate London's famous St. James Park (Howe 1910: 29).

### *Military Activity*

Despite the Common's obvious change from pasture to fashionable park, its role as a military training ground was constant well into the 19th century. Military activity especially characterized the lower Common, and initial changes in the topography of the area were made to accomodate the troops. The physical shape of the Shawmut peninsula was conducive to good military defense; the Common was conveniently located facing the mainland and was in close proximity to the only landward approach. This advantage insured the continuance of the lower region of the Common as a military area.

From the 17th century onward, historians have written of the variety of troops that occupied the Common. In the early days of Boston, the entire Common was used as a training field, the lower marshy area being used for shamfights (Shurtleff 1871: 342).



Figure 2. The Boston Common during excavation for the Underground Parking Garage, facing south from Beacon Hill along Charles Street; the Common is on the left. Courtesy of the Bostonian Society.

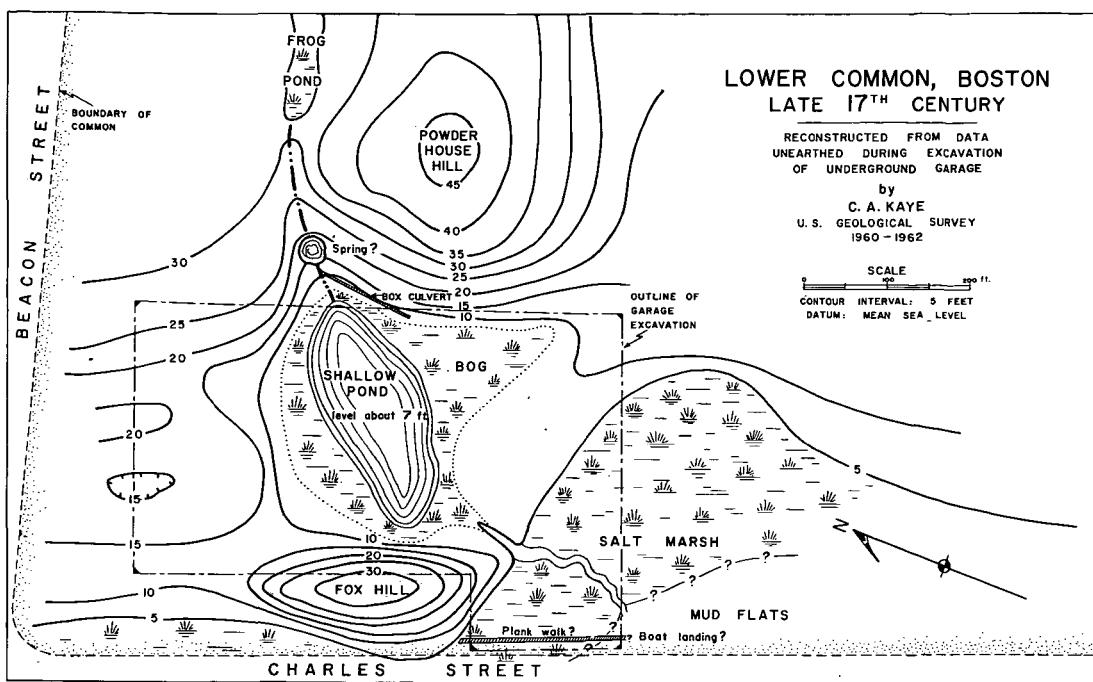


Figure 3. Clifford Kaye's plan of the lower common showing the outline of the former Round Marsh prior to its being filled in. Courtesy of Clifford Kaye and the U.S. Geological Survey.

This area was later to become the 19th century parade ground, but many changes took place in the intervening years that caused the gradual shift from military activity to the lower Common. The major cause of this shift was the beautification of the upper reaches of the Common in the 18th century, forcing the militia to make use of the less desirable lower portion.

The foot of the Common in the 18th century became a camp for friendly, then for hostile troops as the Revolution approached. An earthwork built in 1709 by Paul Mascarene, a British artillery officer, represented the first major locus of military activity on the Common. British troops became a familiar sight on this training ground; Howe noted that "the red coats of the soldiery gave the Common its most distinctive color in the eighteenth century" (Howe 1910: 32). Before the Revolutionary War the troops included those of Sir William Pepperell, who marched from the Common in 1745 to fight the French at Louisbourg. But as the Revolutionary War drew closer, British troops received unenthusiastic welcome in Boston.

Shortly preceding the war, the Common became the scene for patriot discontent. The use of the lower end by the Patriots for drilling of militia or for voicing anti-British sentiments was cut short in 1768 by the arrival of the 14th and 29th Regiments of the British Army. On September 30 of that year, troops landed at Long Wharf, and the populace waited for their next move. A journal entry for October 1, 1768, reveals that

[The British Troops] meditate landing this day, to encamp on the Common, in hopes of intimidating the magistrates to find them quarters, which they cannot force until the barrack are filled, without flying in the face of a plain act of Parliament (Dickerson 1936: np).

Some 700 men landed under cannon fire at approximately one o'clock in the afternoon and marched up King (State) Street to the Common. The 29th Regiment camped there, while the 14th moved on to occupy Faneuil Hall. Dickerson's journal entry of October 10, 1768, quotes a British soldier who justified the use of the Common because it was "King's Land" (Dickerson 1936: np). Subscribing to this notion, the British retained occupancy of the Common until their evacuation of Boston

on March 17, 1776. The British troops marched off the Common to Bunker Hill on June 17, 1775, and returned after the battle to bury their dead in trenches at the foot of the park. The following winter, with war a reality, the British maintained a garrison of 1,750 on the site (McCord 1948: 41).

This intensive occupation left scars on the Common that lasted into the 19th century. Lieutenant Page's map of 1775 (Figure 6) shows the fortifications constructed by the British during their protracted occupation of the Common. Both Powder House Hill and Fox Hill were entrenched, and an extensive earthwork had been thrown up on the north-west corner of the Common.

The evacuation of Boston by the British marked the end of "enemy" occupation of the Common, but the Patriot militia soon moved in, and the Common's military tradition continued. The militia began once more to drill and review there, and in 1852 a formal parade ground was established.

In keeping with the beautification efforts on the rest of the Common, the Charles Street area was tidied up. This tended to obliterate the remnants of military occupation and resulted in a filling-in and levelling of the area. While the landscaping efforts benefited military practice, they also permitted other uses of the once marshy lower Common.

### 19th Century Land Use

Signs of industry became apparent on the edges of Charles Street. The city hay scales and numerous ropewalks were established at this end of the Common around the turn of

the 19th century. Real estate was ever-increasing in value, and by this time extensive land reclamation was in the works. The first great landfill scheme was the filling in of the old Mill Pond located between the North and West Ends with earth from the Trimountain (Pemberton, Mount Vernon, and Beacon Hills). As grand a scheme as this was, it was later to be surpassed by the filling in of the entire Back Bay.

The conscious filling of the Back Bay in the last half of the 19th century was preceded by other less obvious changes. At the western edge of the Common, Charles Street was laid out in 1803 and was fenced in soon after. This did not mean that this edge of the Common compared with the other four borders. Several more years of change and improvement were necessary before the Charles Street area would become as fashionable as the rest of the Common (Shurtleff 1871: 326).

The establishment of ropewalks in this vicinity was a benefit to the Town for a number of reasons. By deeding the land at the lower end of the Common to the ropemakers, the Town guaranteed the retention of this ancient industry within the town boundaries. The remote location also assured a degree of safety for the town.

The ropemakers had been forced to seek a new site when their ropewalks, located in the vicinity of Fort Hill, burned to the ground. The town felt it safer to deed to them the "worthless" land on the lower Common because it was so far from residential areas. In February of 1806, the town's caution was rewarded when all six of the highly flammable ropewalks structures recently erected on the

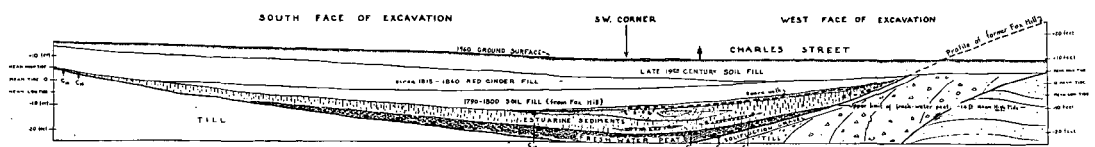


Figure 4. Clifford Kaye's profile drawing of the fill sequence of Round March area, taken from the South wall of the Garage excavation. Courtesy of Clifford Kaye and the U.S. Geological Survey.

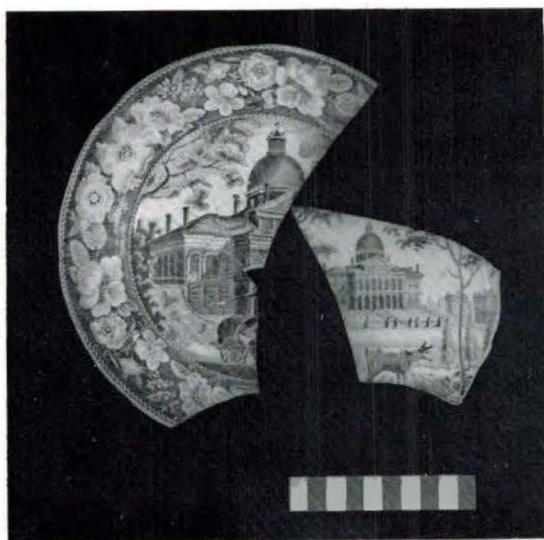


Figure 5. Two views of the Boston State House on transfer-printed plate fragments.

Common were consumed by fire. Five of these were rebuilt, only to be once more destroyed by fire in November of 1819 (Shurtleff 1871: 342).

It soon became apparent that land on the Common would be more valuable if it were developed for residential use. Real estate speculators and the former ropewalk owners openly disagreed with the townspeople of Boston on this matter. Feelings ran high against placing more houses so close to the Common, and eventually the City was forced to pay some \$54,000 in order to recover control of the land it had so freely deeded away less than 30 years before. The Public Garden was eventually created out of much of this once-controversial parcel of land (McCord 1948: 81).

In order to increase the productiveness of the land, the City took steps to improve the character of the lower Common. Kaye was able to trace these changes in the geological and archaeological record exposed during the garage excavation. As early as 1787, the historical record mentions attempts to drain the lower Common so that the land could be used as an exercise area for horses. The attempt involved the digging of a simple drainage ditch and was not particularly effective (Shurtleff

1871: 343). Other disturbances in the existing topography were brought about by rubbish disposal. A law first passed in the 17th century stated that garbage should be buried on the Common rather than strewn about (Howe 1910: 7), and until the establishment of Boston's city government in 1822, the scavengers (garbagemen) were burying swill collected from tenements in the vicinity on the lower Common (Shurtleff 1871: 342). These small intrusions do not, however, account for the drastic change in the appearance of the lower Common.

Kaye notes that ridge and swale topography characterized this end of the Common before man's interference (Kaye 1976: 53). Glacial activity pushed up ridges around the edge of Beacon Hill and created depressions that were the swampy areas of the early Common. The ridges were Fox Hill and Powder House Hill, while the swales were the areas of the Frog Pond and the Round Marsh (Kaye 1976: 53-54).

Fox Hill was the outstanding geological landmark of the extreme western edge of the Common. It is pictured on early maps as both an island and as a small peninsular area. A 19th century historian explained that the Hill was at times of high tides often completely surrounded by water (Shurtleff 1871: 346). Such a situation would account for the hill's being occasionally depicted as an island.

Standing only about 20 feet high and having a circumference of approximately 50 feet, Fox Hill was considered a worthy piece of property in comparison with the surrounding salt-marsh. It was originally deeded to Thomas Painter on August 27, 1649, for the purpose of constructing a grist mill. The next mention of the ownership of the hill occurs in the mid-18th century, when John Leverett, former governor of the Commonwealth, acquired the property. The deed was dated February 26, 1765, and carried a stipulation "granting the inhabitants of the town to fetch sand or clay from the said hill" (Shurtleff 1871: 347). This evidence documents the lowering of the hill, but what of the filling of the surrounding hollows?



profiles of the southern and western faces of the garage excavation provide approximations of earlier tidal levels as well as a clear depiction of the fill sequence.

Natural deposits of freshwater peats and estuarine sediments comprise the lower levels of the profiles and contain few artifacts, since they date for the most part to an extensive preoccupation depositional period. Evidence of human habitation on the Shawmut peninsula is seen in the levels above the natural sediments. Kaye dates the oldest of these levels to ca. 1790-1800 and reported that very few artifacts occurred in this stratum. The small number of artifacts in the collection that date to this early in time would seem to bear out Kaye's observation. On top of the late 18th-century fill, Kaye noted the remains of what he believed to have been an old boardwalk. This walk could have been one of those constructed in the early 19th century by the ropewalk owners or the city in order to make the still marshy area passable for pedestrians.

The layer deposited above the boardwalk is dated by Kaye to the time period of ca. 1815-1860. The level was characterized by its dark cinder fill and by large quantities of artifacts. The majority of artifacts in the Kaye collection from the Common fall within his proposed date range for this layer, which presumably was deposited during the time that the area was converted to an official parade ground. Kaye, as a geologist, felt that the area would have been subject to continual subsidence and slumping due to its marshy char-

acter. This would have necessitated repeated depositions of coal ash and other fill material—probably the “dry garbage” collected from the surrounding neighborhood by Boston's scavengers. Since landfill earth was a scarce commodity at the time, household refuse was an ideal solution to the problem of the sinking parade ground.

The uppermost layer recorded by Kaye probably dates to the late 19th century. It contained very few artifacts and appeared to have been a conscious levelling of the area during the Victorian era. Kaye's profile drawings show what he terms the “root” of Fox Hill; evidently, what was left of the hill was used to accomplish this final leveling and filling of the Round Pond.

#### *The Artifact Assemblage: Whose Trash?*

Despite the fact that the materials comprising the assemblage from the Common were recovered in what can best be characterized as a *grab sample*—a most unsystematic collection method—they nevertheless provide a fascinating glimpse of refuse from Boston's early 19th-century homes. The sample consists of artifacts from the garage excavation area in general (see Figures 2, 3, and 4), but Kaye noted that the majority of objects he collected and observed occurred in what he has designated as “circa 1815-1860 Red Cinder Fill” on his map of the excavation's south profile (Figure 4).

The manufacture dates of ceramics and glass collected by Kaye from the Common coincides with the known time of greatest landfill activity in the lower Common. The dates likewise coincide closely with the years during which Beacon Hill was developed into a fashionable residential neighborhood. It is logical to assume that the fill of cinders and dry household trash noted by Kaye represents Beacon's Hill domestic refuse, for landfill operations going on in other areas of the city at that time had claim on the household trash of neighborhoods in the West End. It seems unlikely that the scavengers of Beacon Hill trash would have made an effort to haul their collections any great distance, especially when



Figure 7. Transfer-printed bowl (l.) and child's mug (r.) recovered from landfill on the Boston Common.



Figure 8. A saltglaze stoneware ale bottle (l.) dated 1852 and a saltglaze stoneware blacking bottle (r.) from Boston Common landfill.

a tradition existed of burying trash on the Common and when landfill material was in demand to combat the recurring soggy ground of the former saltmarsh turned parade ground.

The majority of the structures on Beacon Hill date from before 1850. In fact, Weinhardt noted in *The Domestic Architecture of Beacon Hill 1800-1850* that 75% of the area's houses fit into the category of Federal-Greek Revival. Thirteen percent are "Victorian 1850-1900" and 9% "20th Century nondescript" (Weinhardt 1973: np). In the late 18th century, the Beacon Hill district was as yet undeveloped, despite the important role played by the Common as a pasture, gathering place, and military staging ground. The decision in 1787 to locate a new statehouse adjacent to the northwest end of the Common immediately focused interest upon this vicinity, however, and investors lost little time before they incorporated as the Mount Vernon Proprietors (Weinhardt 1973: np).

The Proprietors quickly purchased the land between the site of the new statehouse and the river and began planning the layout of streets, lots, and buildings that would be built.

Construction of homes—free-standing, double, and rowhouses—did not begin in earnest until after 1800, however. Many of the houses were designed by architects such as Bulfinch, Peter Banner, or Ascher Benjamin, although groups of vernacular rowhouses were erected as well (Weinhardt 1973: np).

Thus while the finds made on the Common cannot be linked to any one household or family, they can be attributed with some confidence to a residential neighborhood of relative socio-economic homogeneity. The artifacts do not reflect everything a household may have purchased, used, and discarded, but they do reflect the tastes of the time, especially the changing fashions in glass and ceramic tablewares.

The majority of artifacts collected by Clifford Kaye from the garage excavation were objects of ceramic and glass. Metal, wood, flint, bone, and brick are also represented in the collection, although in extremely small quantities. Table 1 presents a breakdown of artifacts by type. The high proportion of ceramics appears to be largely a result of the fact that these were the most highly visible items in the fill; most of the ceramic items are of a fairly large size. Kaye tried to collect whole or almost-whole vessels rather than sherds; there is, therefore, a distinct bias against objects that would have broken readily into innumerable tiny fragments.

TABLE 1  
Artifacts from the Excavation of the Boston  
Common Underground Parking Garage

TYPE	#
Ceramics .....	115
Glass .....	27
Bone .....	3
Metal .....	2
Wood .....	1
Flint .....	1
Brick .....	1
Miscellaneous .....	2
TOTAL .....	152

**Ceramics.** The ceramics in the collection include porcelain, earthenwares, stonewares, and clay pipes. Most of the porcelain and earthenware fragments represent serving vessels, while the stoneware items are chiefly bottles.

The Chinese export porcelain is represented by fragments of three plates and three additional serving plates or platters as well as by two hollow forms that were probably serving bowls. The decoration on all consists of blue underglaze with the Canton rim surrounding a Willow design (Noel Hume 1978: 262-3). In addition to a single fragment of a bone china creamer or small pitcher, four fragments of English soft-paste porcelain were collected. These include a plate and saucer from a set displaying the "House" design in pink lustre (Atterbury 1978: 245-8). This design, according to Atterbury, was popular from 1780 to 1830, with the American market boom in its distribution occurring between 1810-1830.

All but two of the earthenware examples may be classed as "refined earthenwares" and represent the wide range of variation in white earthenware body or paste type from pearlware to whiteware noted by historical archaeologists for assemblages of a similar date range (cf. Miller 1979). The most readily datable examples are those with recognizable transfer-prints and those with makers' marks.

Of course the most striking design motif among the transfer-printed wares are the two views of the Boston State House (Figure 5). The earliest of these was manufactured by Rogers of Longport and dates to ca. 1825 (Atterbury 1978: 169). The second version was manufactured by Enoch Wood and Sons of Burslem and seems to be a slightly later engraving ca. 1818-1846 (Godden 1964:686; Atterbury 1978: 210-215; Howe 1910: 16). Both of these designs occur in the collection on plates that must have been elements of large dining/serving sets. The interesting aspect of these finds is that they were unearthed so close to the vantage point from which the transfer-prints' engravings would have been made.

TABLE 2  
Ceramics from the Boston Common  
Parking Garage

WARE	# FRAGMENTS
Porcelain	
Chinese export .....	9
English .....	5
Earthenware	
pearlware .....	39
pearlware/whiteware .....	15
whiteware .....	21
whiteware/ironstone .....	1
ironstone/semi-porcelain .....	3
redware (oil jar) .....	2
Stoneware	
jasperware .....	1
jackfield-type .....	2
Burslem/brown .....	2
ale bottle, brown .....	5
ink bottle, brown .....	1
beer bottle .....	2
blacking bottle .....	3
Pipes	
bowls .....	2
stems .....	2
<b>TOTAL</b> .....	<b>115</b>

A wide variety of other transfer-print motifs and colors are also present in the collection. Of these, blue and dark blue patterns are the most prevalent (13 vessels), with Willow design being present on four vessels, oriental motifs on two, a pagoda on one, and "Royal Sketch" on another while other fragments possess floral decoration (Atterbury 1978: 178) Figure 7 shows a small blue transfer-print footed bowl and a child's mug. The mug is a black transfer-print on a pearlware/whiteware body with the legend "The History (of the house that) Jack Built." This example was probably produced prior to 1840 and is one of three black transfer-print vessels in the collection (Atterbury 1978: 216-217).

Green and purple designs are present as well, although on only four vessels. Two appear to be a plate and saucer from a set in the "Abbey Ruins" design in manganese transfer-print on a pearlware body. These are marked J. MAYER . LONGPORT and were probably produced by T. J. & J. Bayer of Furlong Works & Dale Pottery, Burslem, be-

tween 1843 and 1855 (Godden 1964: 424). The vessels decorated with green prints include a small saucer or plate with an oriental hunting motif with an impress P and the legend BELZONI on the bottom as well as a rim fragment of either another saucer/plate in the same set or perhaps an unmendable portion of the same vessel. The design was most likely produced by Pountney & Allies Bristol Pottery between 1818-1835 (Godden 1964: 479, 507). One plate with a red oriental transfer-print is present but cannot be firmly identified.

Other earthenware vessels include annular and mocha wares (Noel Hume 1976: 131-133) and hand-painted floral designs, as well as blue molded and plain white or cream-colored (CC) vessels (cf. Miller 1979). Only one flow blue vessel is present, an ironstone saucer transfer-printed with the ‘Chapoo’ design; no specific identification for the pattern could be found.

One entire red earthenware “amphora” or oil jar is present in the collection. This has a pronounced conical shape and would have had to have been placed in a tripod stand or rack in order to remain upright. Only one other fragment of a similar vessel was recovered.

The stonewares are almost all in the form of ale, beer, or blacking bottles, although there are also a jasperware lid fragment (cf. Atterbury 1978: 125-7), a jackfield-type teapot handle (Noel Hume 1978: 78; 123), and a Burslem-type brown glazed storage jar (Figure 8). Several of the bottles bear imprinted legends such as SOUTH’S CREAM BEER or 3 BOTTLES . NOT . SOLD J. SIMONDS.

Pipes from the garage excavation are not numerous, probably because they did not readily catch Kaye’s attention. No doubt pipe stems, at least, were present in large quantities in the fill. All of the collected examples are white clay. The bowls have relief molded figures with unidentifiable designs; the stems, both with 4/64” bore diameters, are impressed MURRAY on one side and GLASGOW on the other.

The total count of ceramic vessels in the Kaye Collection from the Boston Common is as follows:

TABLE 3  
Total Count of Ceramic Vessels

Vessel	#	Vessel	#
plates .....	18	teapots .....	3
platters .....	5	child’s mug .....	1
bowls .....	11	creamers .....	2
pitcher .....	1	amphoras .....	2
cups .....	4	storage jar .....	1
saucers .....	11	ink bottle .....	1
ladles .....	2	blacking bottles .....	3
pipes .....	2	ale/beer bottles .....	7

**Glass.** The glass from the Boston Common excavation represent a wide variety of bottles, drinking vessels, and other objects. The largest quantity of glass fragments are from wine bottles, all of early 19th century date. The raised impression on the kick of one such wine bottle reads H. RICKETTS&CO GLASSWORKS BRISTOL, indicating that it was in use from 1814-1821 (McKearin and Wilson 1978: 206, 216). Ale bottles of dark olive metal are present, as well as a possible ale bottle of light turquoise metal that was machine blown in a two-piece mold.

A fine early 19th century drinking glass, probably of Irish Waterford cut glass, is decorated with the “plain diamonds with fluting” pattern (Schwartz 1974: 76-78). Other glass vessels include an amber flask with a vertical line pattern, a late 18th—early 19th century Stiegel-type smelling or pungent bottle, a clear glass tumbler, and several unidentified footed vessels (McKearin and Wilson 1978: plate VI, no. 5; 370-374). One fragment of window glass was recovered.

CONCLUSIONS

While the artifacts from the Boston Common Parking Garage do not represent the full range of materials that archaeologists would normally collect from a similar context, they do provide an interesting sample of materials disposed as household refuse in Boston during the first half of the 19th century. As such, the collection should be valuable for comparison with other urban dumps or landfill from the same time period. Furthermore, the objects

reflect consumption patterns that were gaining popularity as citizens of Boston, like their counterparts elsewhere, began more and more to heed the call of consumerism by responding to the deliberate and aggressive marketing practices of the ceramic industry and, more than ever, to dispose of unwanted or unstylish items as part of an unconscious "throw-away" culture attuned to planned obsolescence. Nothing could illustrate this habit better than the sheer quantity of domestic items present in the refuse of so-recently established a neighborhood as Boston's Beacon Hill. The only other archaeological work performed in this area of Boston reveals essentially the same pattern in the primarily Afro-American residential area of the North Slope of Beacon Hill (Bower 1977). Until further controlled excavations can be performed, collections and data recovered from construction sites, such as those monitored by Clifford Kaye, are, for some areas of Boston, all we have. If we recognize their potential as well as their limitations, they have much to tell us.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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