June 26, 1990

Cuyahoga Metropolitan Housing Authority  
1441 West 25th Street  
Cleveland, Ohio 44113

Dear Sir/Madam:

Re: Irtshtown Bend Archaeological District, Cleveland, Cuyahoga County, Ohio

This is to inform you that the Irtshtown Bend Archaeological District nomination listed above has been entered into the National Register of Historic Places by the National Park Service, Department of the Interior (NR listed 05/25/90).

The nomination was made in connection with a state plan to identify and document prehistoric and historic places in Ohio which qualify for National Register status under provisions of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 as amended. All nominations are approved by the Ohio Historic Site Preservation Advisory Board.

Enclosed is information explaining the purposes and goals of the National Register of Historic Places.

Sincerely,

W. Ray Luce  
State Historic Preservation Officer

WRL/JW:dh  
Enclosure

x.c. Jeff Brown, Regional Coordinator  
Mayor Michael White of Cleveland  
Alfred M. Lee, Cleveland Museum of Natural History  
Robert Kelser, Cleveland Landmarks  
Eric Johannesen, Western Reserve Historical Society  
NOACA  
State Senator Michael White  
State Representative Jane L. Campbell
United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Registration Form

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations of eligibility for individual properties or districts. See instructions in Guidelines for Completing National Register Forms (National Register Bulletin 16). Complete each item by marking "X" in the appropriate box or by entering the requested information. If an item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, styles, materials, and areas of significance, enter only the categories and subcategories listed in the instructions. For additional space use continuation sheets (Form 10-900A). Type all entries.

1. Name of Property
   historic name Irishtown Bend Archaeological District
   other names/site number n/a

2. Location
   street & number Bounded by Riverbed, Russia, Franklin and Columbus Rd. N/A not for publication
   city, town Cleveland N/A vicinity
   state Ohio code OH - county Cuyahoga code 35 zip code 44113

3. Classification
   Ownership of Property Category of Property Number of Resources within Property
   private                      building(s) Contributing Noncontributing
   ☐ public-local            district            76 1 buildings
   ☐ public-State                site               4 sites
   ☐ public-Federal          structure                Structures
   ☐ object                        Total                5 objects

Name of related multiple property listing: N/A
Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register 0

4. State/Federal Agency Certification
   As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this ☑ nomination ☑ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60.
   In my opinion, the property ☑ meets ☐ does not meet the National Register criteria. ☐ See continuation sheet.
   Signature of certifying official:
   State or Federal agency and bureau:
   Date 11/5/97

   In my opinion, the property ☑ meets ☐ does not meet the National Register criteria. ☐ See continuation sheet.
   Signature of commenting or other official:
   State or Federal agency and bureau:
   Date

5. National Park Service Certification
   I, hereby, certify that this property is:
   ☐ entered in the National Register.
   ☐ See continuation sheet.
   ☐ determined eligible for the National Register. ☐ See continuation sheet.
   ☐ determined not eligible for the National Register.
   ☐ removed from the National Register.
   ☐ other, (explain:)

   Signature of the Keeper: Date of Action
During the second half of the 19th century, Irishtown Bend was perceived by Clevelanders as a distinct residential neighborhood within the city, and as a component of the larger ethnic Irish community on the city’s near west side. From the initial development of the area during the 1850s as a residential neighborhood of unskilled immigrant Irish laborers, through the 1880s, the district’s residents were predominantly first-generation Irish immigrants and their families. During the following two decades, the Irish residents were replaced by new immigrant families, mainly Hungarian in origin. By 1900, more than 50% of the district’s residents were Eastern European, although land ownership continued to be dominated by Irish families. Through the first three decades of the 20th century, Irishtown Bend was gradually abandoned. By 1910, more than a third of the original residences had been demolished, and many more stood vacant. In 1987 only twelve residential structures remained in the district, many of which appear to have stood vacant. By 1952 only five of the original eighty developed lots still contained houses, and all of these were vacant. A concrete block garage, built on four of the original lots between 1952 and 1954, is the only new construction to have occurred within the district since the 19th century. The lots containing this non-contributing structure is shown on the Sketch Map. The remaining seventy-six contiguous properties have remained substantially undisturbed since demolition of the 19th century residences they once contained. During 1959 and 1960 the properties within the district were purchased by the Cuyahoga Metropolitan Housing Authority, but were not used for the construction of housing. With the exception of the garage, currently used for the storage of CMHA maintenance vehicles, they have remained vacant to the present day.

The eastern, southern and western boundaries of the Irishtown Bend Archaeological District correspond to the property/street boundaries that defined the neighborhood during the 19th century. To the east, Riverbed Road (formerly West River Road), the adjacent Cuyahoga River, Erie Railroad coal docks and the spur trackage that served them, served as an effective boundary. To the south, Columbus Road marked a division between the residences of Irishtown Bend and the industries of the Scranoton Road peninsula. West of Franklin Avenue, the western boundary of the district, the residential community that developed during the 19th century was not so strongly dominated by ethnic Irish settlement. Written and oral histories are ambiguous as to whether the area west of Franklin was considered a part of Irishtown Bend. Further, this area has been extensively disturbed by the construction of CMHA housing during the early 1960s. Irishtown Bend certainly continued north of the line of now abandoned Russia Street, chosen as the northern boundary of the archaeological district. However, construction of a large warehouse terminal north of Russia Street, shortly after 1900, included the excavation of deep basements with heavy masonry foundations. Such construction would have resulted in extensive disturbance of the nineteenth century residential sites that once existed.
north of Russia Street. While isolated residential properties north of Russia Street may retain depositional integrity, the boundary was drawn to include only the area where integrity of location and historic association is unambiguous.

The environment characterizing Irishtown Bend during the 19th century was dominated by the Cuyahoga River and the low, swampy terrain encountered in the floodplain of the river. As the Village of Cleaveland (the original spelling) developed during the 1820s and 1830s as a major lake shipping port, the Cuyahoga River floodplain, known as the Flats, came to be dominated by dock facilities for ship-to-shore freight transfer. The poorly drained land was largely avoided as a place of residence, malaria being quite common until drainage was improved during the late 1830s. With the dramatic increase in shipping through the port of Cleveland during the 1840s and 1850s, the Flats continued to foster communicable diseases, such as cholera. As a result, the district provided cheap land for residential development, within walking distance of a rapidly growing number of jobs for unskilled dockworkers, at the same time that ethnic Irish laborers were entering the city in expanding numbers.

Today, the steeply sloping valley wall of the Cuyahoga River that was once the thriving residential neighborhood known as Irishtown Bend is abandoned and overgrown with dense vegetation. None of the nineteenth century residential structures remain standing. At a rough estimate, more than 75% of the vegetation represents escaped cultivars, including fruit and ornamental trees, Japanese knotweed, raspberries and roses. The remaining 25% of the vegetation is dominated by scar area pioneers that prefer wet soils, mainly sumac and willow. The loosely consolidated urban soils that cover the area, and the soft Cuyahoga Shale bedrock, have contributed to the continued preservation of the 19th century domestic cultural deposits, making redevelopment, until recently, prohibitively expensive.

The Department of Archaeology at the Cleveland Museum of Natural History conducted excavations on Irishtown Bend between June 1987 and May 1989. The district was initially identified as having conditions favorable for archaeological preservation during the 1987 testing and evaluation of a predictive model (Brose and Lee 1985) developed to assess urban historic site formation processes. The first season’s investigations were reported in Lee, Wheeler and Brose (1987).
To provide preliminary evaluation of the predicted depositional integrity, one 1 m² test unit was excavated on each of three properties, at 479 West River Road, 483 West River Road, and parcel 69, facing the northern extension of Hurd Street. An additional 1m² test unit was placed within Franklin Alley, adjacent to 67 Franklin Street and 471 West River Road, to examine construction of the alley. In addition, a total of 16 test units, each 1m², was excavated on 471 West River Road, the 19th century residence of the John Connors family. During the 1988 field season, two additional properties were extensively tested; 441 West River Road and 435 West River Road, the 19th century residences of the Mary Connelly and John Quinn families, respectively. A total area of 22m², combining 1m² test units and larger contiguous blocks, was excavated in each of these sites. The locations of the properties tested are shown on the accompanying Sketch Map. All sites within the district are designated by their 1898 street addresses.

On all six of the sites where test excavations have occurred, three stratigraphic levels have been observed, representing three distinct episodes in the formation of the sites.

1. The upper level, ranging from 60cm to 2.3 meters in thickness, represents land use activities that have occurred on the properties since abandonment and demolition of the 19th century structures they once contained. In age, this deposit ranges from as early as about 1910 to the early 1950s, and continues to the present. Activities responsible for the deposition of this strata include land grading during demolition on adjacent properties, overbank waste deposition during construction of the CMHA housing along the river bluff edge, unauthorized overbank refuse dumping, downslope sheet erosion, and possibly squatter occupation of the district during the 1930s. While this strata is quite rich in cultural material, none of the artifacts recovered can be reliably attributed to a specific contributing activity or cultural phenomenon.

2. The second stratigraphic level below ground surface on each of the properties averaged 30cm in thickness. It is a
secondary deposit, the product of structural demolition on each individual lot. The cultural materials in this strata, mainly architectural debris, are representative of construction methods employed on Irishtown Bend, but cannot be reliably attributed to a specific structure or household.

3. The third stratigraphic level below ground surface on each of the properties is an in situ primary deposit arising from household use of the residential properties during the second half of the 19th century and the early 20th century. Truncated structural features, including structural foundations, privies and refuse pits, have been consistently encountered in this strata on all six properties that have been investigated.

Site types within the district are predominantly single family residences, accompanied by eight properties where residence and small shops were combined.

Parcel 69, Hurd Street Extension Site

A brick, two-story structure, with a small shop on the ground floor and owner/proprietor’s residence above, occupied this lot from at least 1884, the date of the earliest available Sanborn Insurance Map for the area, until a period between 1912 and 1922. A single test unit, 1m², was excavated on this property for the purpose of evaluating depositional integrity. The test unit encountered in situ brick foundations and associated interior fill. The cultural materials recovered from the interior fill suggest that the structure burned in place with its contents. No further archival or archaeological investigations have been conducted on this property.

479 West River Road Site

A 1-1/2 story frame single-family residence occupied this site from at least 1884 until a period between 1898 and 1912. A single 1m² test unit was excavated on this site for the purpose of evaluating depositional integrity. The excavation encountered in situ brick foundations of the residential structure. No further archival or archaeological investigations have been conducted on this site.
483 West River Road Site

A single 1m² test unit was excavated on this site for the purpose of evaluating depositional integrity. The excavation encountered a waster deposit resulting from the hand-firing of soft paste brick. Investigations on sites in the nearby Ohio City area of Cleveland indicate that hand-firing of soft paste brick was done on the site by the building contractor during both residential and commercial construction. This practice remained common through the 1850s, but had been largely replaced by the purchase of commercially-fired, hard-paste brick by 1870. No further archival or archaeological investigations have been conducted on this site.

471 West River Road Site

This site was the residence of John Connors, who emigrated from Ireland in 1849, from 1852 until his death in 1906. The household is recorded in manuscript census records for 1860, 1870, 1880 and 1900. Connors was employed as a laborer on Cleveland's docks; as of 1900 he was a full-time employee on the Erie Railroad coal dock located adjacent to his home across West River Road. He raised a family of seven children, five of whom lived to adult age. In 1900 his widowed eldest daughter was living in the household with her five children.

A total area of 16m² was excavated on the 24' by 98' property. Features encountered included the wood and later concrete pilings which comprised the foundations of the structure, a backyard paving of brick apparently salvaged from a variety of sources, and an outbuilding interpreted as a pigpen. Cultural materials recovered in association with in situ features included domestic glass and ceramic (both kitchen and table ware and commodities containers), faunal remains dominated by domestic pig, and architectural debris. Temporally diagnostic artifacts from intact deposits range in date of manufacture between 1875 and 1900.
441 West River Road Site

This site was the residence of Mary Connley from 1872, when she was widowed, until 1909, when she died. The property was abandoned, and the 1-1/2 story frame residence was demolished, by 1912. Mary Connley was 32 when she moved onto the property from a nearby residence (469 West River Road, where she had previously lived with her husband Valentine) in 1872 with her five young children. She appears on the 1880 and 1900 manuscript census records at this address. Her brother, John, also lived nearby through this period at 467 West River Road.

A total area of 22m² has been excavated on this 30’ by 98’ property. In situ features recovered include portions of the brick foundations of the frame house, a privy dated to about 1900 by temporally diagnostic artifacts, two outbuildings, built on 8 by 8 inch wood pilings, which appear on the 1884 Sanborn Insurance Map, and an earlier outbuilding in the same location. The earlier outbuilding had heavy dressed sandstone foundations, a laid brick floor, and was built partially into the side of the sloping valley wall west of the house. The foundations were intruded upon, and partially demolished, during the construction of the later wood-piling outbuildings. Cultural materials recovered from interior infilling date the abandonment of the structure to about 1875, and the Sanborn Insurance Map clearly documents its absence by 1884. The structure is interpreted as a semi-subterranean storage structure, tentatively a root cellar, which was later replaced by two larger, wooden structures for the storage of general household items. Large quantities of kitchen glass and ceramics, architectural debris, furniture parts and personal items, including buttons, marbles, ball clay smoking pipes, harmonica parts, and ceramic doll parts have been recovered from intact primary contexts on this site.

435 West River Road Site

This 1-1/2 story frame structure was the residence of John Quinn, a Cleveland policeman, from 1880 until 1909, when he died. His widow, Ellen, retained ownership of the property until 1937, when it was inherited by her eldest daughter, Elizabeth, and the house was demolished. Quinn emigrated from Ireland in 1869, and was originally a mason by trade. He joined the police
department in 1871, and retired in 1903. He appears as a boarder in 1870 on a map of the unnumbered "distillery lots" situated to the north of the Irishtown Bend Archaeological District, and is shown as the sole resident in an adjacent structure in a pencilled amendment to the same map. The original of this map is in the possession of the heirs of the former owners of the "distillery lots." City directories and the 1880 manuscript census records show that the Quinn family moved to 435 West river Road in 1880.

A total area of 22m² has been excavated on the 30' by 98' site. Features recovered from intact primary deposits include portions of the dressed sandstone foundations of the frame house, sub-floor debris from two frame outbuildings, and the foundations for an undocumented wooden staircase that extended from the rear of the house, up the valley wall to Franklin Alley. The foundations for these stairs were based on large sandstone blocks, matching in size, source material and dressing style the stone used in the construction of the nearby Superior Avenue viaduct, which was completed in 1873. Construction of the stairs would appear to pre-date the Quinn occupation of the property. A large refuse accumulation, over 4 meters in diameter as ranging from 0.6 to 0.9 meters deep, was encountered around the foundations for the stairs. Temporally diagnostic cultural materials date this temporally stratified accumulation from the mid-1870s to the mid-1920s.

The Irishtown Bend Archaeological District possesses, directly or indirectly, integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling and association. The archaeological remains of a nineteenth century residential community have been shown, through a combination of a tested predictive model and subsurface sampling of individual sites across much of the district, to include in situ structural features and refuse deposits. Further, these deposits can be directly associated with documentable households occupying the properties at any given time. While the structures have been demolished, and their remains covered over with more recent debris, archival records and archaeological evidence together preserve substantial data regarding architectural design and materials, the setting as it existed in the nineteenth century, and the material reflections of daily life in this community of
ethnic Irish, and later central European, laborers' neighborhood. Though district boundaries were drawn to define an area of archaeological preservation, they also encompass an area that was perceived as a distinct neighborhood at the time of its occupation.
United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Irishtown Bend Archeological District, Cleveland, Ohio, Cuyahoga County

Section number 7  Page Photographs, page 1 of 2

PHOTOGRAPH INFORMATION
IRISHTOWN BEND ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISTRICT

ALL PHOTOGRAPHS

Photographer: Alfred M. Lee
Date: April 1989
Location of Negatives:
Archives, Department of Archaeology
The Cleveland Museum of Natural History
Wade Oval
Cleveland, OH 44106

Photograph Number 1 Irishtown Bend District, Cleveland, Ohio.

View southeast along Riverbed Road, showing western end of district and non-contributing CMHA service garage. Near corner of service garage marks the former northern corner of 425 West River Road, one lot east of Russia Street.

Photograph Number 2 Irishtown Bend District, Cleveland, Ohio

View northwest along Riverbed Road, showing location of former lots 441 and 435 West River Road (near utility pole stands on former location of 435 West River Road). Non-contributing CMHA service garage stands in background.

Photograph Number 3 Irishtown Bend District, Cleveland, Ohio

View west along Riverbed Road from the eastern end of the district. Photographer standing at former location of 505 West River Road. Third utility pole from the photographer marks the former location of 471 West River Road.

Photograph Number 4 Irishtown Bend District, Cleveland, Ohio

Panoramic view of Irishtown Bend District, eastern end, looking south from the east bank of the Cuyahoga River. Cleveland Union Terminal/RTA Rapid Transit bridge on left.
Photograph Number 5  Irishtown Bend District, Cleveland, Ohio

Panoramic view of Irishtown Bend District, central portion, looking south from the east bank of the Cuyahoga River. The alteration in contour of the valley wall, where Franklin Alley used to run, is visible to right of center.

Photograph Number 6  Irishtown Bend District, Cleveland, Ohio

Panoramic view of Irishtown Bend District, western end, looking south from the east bank of the Cuyahoga River. The non-contributing CMHA service garage is visible at right center.
8. Statement of Significance

Certifying official has considered the significance of this property in relation to other properties:

☐ nationally   ☐ statewide   ☑ locally

Applicable National Register Criteria  ☑ A  ☐ B  ☑ C  ☑ D

Criteria Considerations (Exceptions)  ☐ A  ☐ B  ☐ C  ☐ D  ☐ E  ☐ F  ☐ G

Areas of Significance (enter categories from instructions)

Archaeology - Historic - Non-Aboriginal

Ethnic Heritage - European

Social History

Economics

Architecture

Period of Significance

1850-1910

Significant Dates

N/A

Cultural Affiliation

Irish

Central/Eastern European

Significant Person

N/A

Architect/Builder

N/A

State significance of property, and justify criteria, criteria considerations, and areas and periods of significance noted above.

The Irishtown Bend archaeological district qualifies for designation as a National Historic Place under Criterion D, A and C. The area has yielded information, and is likely to yield additional information, important in history as related to the development of Cleveland, Ohio, during the second half of the nineteenth century. The archaeological deposits are associated specifically with two major events, or patterns of events in that developmental history; the process of the enculturation of European immigrant populations into a major American industrial city, and the nature of daily domestic life among unskilled laborers in the city’s shipping ports and industrial center. To the extent that archaeological data from contemporary properties elsewhere in the city is available, the sites within the Irishtown Bend Archaeological District can be shown to embody distinctive characteristics of domestic life in Cleveland during the period of occupation, as well as elements that reflect the unique adaptation of the ethnic, occupational and economic classes that lived on Irishtown Bend.

When the Irish first arrived in Cleveland during the late 1820s, they settled near the mouth of the Cuyahoga River in an area to the north of Irishtown Bend known as Whiskey Island. These early Irish immigrants were for the most part employed on the construction of the Ohio and Erie Canal. Owing to the geographically transient nature of canal construction, most of the several thousand Irish who came to Cleveland at this time did not remain in residence. The temporary housing erected for them on Whiskey Island did, however, establish the nucleus of the community in the Flats that was known as Irishtown. During the next twenty years, Irish immigration into Cleveland was quite modest. Their number increased from approximately 500 in 1826 to 1,024 in 1848. They worked mainly as unskilled laborers and dockworkers, and on the excavation of a new channel and mouth for the Cuyahoga River. Irish residence gradually expanded over Whisky Island, and across the old channel of the Cuyahoga River to the Main Avenue peninsula, all within walking distance of the residents' jobs. In the years following the catastrophic 1848 potato famine in Ireland, the rate of Irish immigration into Cleveland increased dramatically. By 1870, they numbered almost 10,000, representing 10% of Cleveland's total population.

During the 1850s, the community expanded and spread southward from the Main Avenue peninsula, to include the land along the curving west bank of the Cuyahoga River between

☑ See continuation sheet
Detroit Avenue and Columbus Streets. It was this area that came to be known as Irishtown Bend. The year 1850 has been selected as the beginning of the period of significance for the Irishtown Bend Archaeological District. The residents of Irishtown Bend remained almost entirely ethnic Irish through the mid-1880s, when eastern European immigrants began gradually to replace Irish residents in the area. As the second generation of Irish families obtained better-paying work, and as dock work was increasingly mechanized, they tended to move up out of the Flats and along the major streets radiating out of Ohio City. By 1900, nearly half of the neighborhood came from central Europe, mainly Hungary. By this time, many of the second-generation Irish still living in the community were skilled or semi-skilled laborers. The central Europeans who settled on Irishtown Bend were for the most part also semi-skilled laborers, and appear to have chosen their place of first residence on the basis of economic and occupational, rather than ethnic, similarity.

After the turn-of-the-century, the neighborhood was gradually abandoned. From 1898, when all 80 properties along the two streets and the alley were occupied, structures in the Irishtown Bend district began to be demolished without replacement before 1912. By this date, nearly one-third of the lots were vacant, and many more houses appear to have stood unoccupied. The year 1910 has been selected to end the period of significance for the Irishtown Bend Archaeological District, on the grounds that the fundamental character of the neighborhood had substantially changed by then. Cut off by the railroad tracks down Riverbend Road and the steep hillside up to Franklin Avenue, the Irishtown Bend district occupied an unusual location between developing industry along the river and the more affluent neighborhood of Ohio City to the west. Upward mobility and the institution of strict immigration quotas during the early 20th century resulted in depletion of the population with little replacement. Neighborhood construction was almost entirely 1 or 2 story, single family, frame structures. Because of changes in the location of available jobs, better accessibility of public and private transportation, and the belated introduction of sanitary facilities in this part of the city, abandonment of the properties on Irishtown Bend was followed by dilapidation and
burning with no new construction, and very little other activity, to disturb the archeological materials and features deposited since the middle of the 19th century.

Thus, Irishtown Bend District during the 19th century was an economically and socially homogeneous ethnic working class neighborhood. A wealth of historical data derived from federal censuses, county tax archives, city directories, church records and oral histories is available for the district. Today, the area is a "preservation window" in which cultural deposits associated with the community appear to have been preserved. Evaluative testing has confirmed the presence of intact cultural deposits and structural remains.

The Cleveland Museum of Natural History archeological research at Irishtown Bend District has demonstrated the presence of in situ deposits on every property thus far tested. Three properties have been investigated in detail: the John Connors property in 1987, and the Connley and Quinn properties in 1988. Taken together, these three households reflect some degree of the variation in economic status and social position among the mid to late nineteenth century ethnic Irish residents. They range from a widow with no children (Connley) of working age to a relatively well-paid Cleveland policeman (Quinn). John Connors stands in between these two extremes and was selected for investigation as being in many ways typical of a large number of Irish dock workers who lived in the neighborhood. The on-going analysis of the carefully recovered artifacts is already beginning to suggest ways in which household material culture, building characteristics and use of open space reflect household social, economic and ethnic factors. These data and interpretations, to some extent, compliment and supplement the information available from written sources, but also, in many striking ways contradict the impressions of late nineteenth century Irish life as depicted in contemporary accounts.

Until 1884, Cleveland's insurance maps show lot lines, structures and other information necessary for obtaining fire insurance up to the borders of the Irishtown Bend District. Irishtown is shown as a blank space with the words "Shanties Beyond this Point." In the 1877 engraving "Panoramic View of Cleveland, Ohio," only a few hut-like structures are shown.
Popular accounts of Irish life (designed for use in school systems) refer to "a tar-paper shack or clapboard lean-to" and "shanties on the side of hills...on stilts...open-air basements."

Recent archeological excavation of construction materials and structural foundations in the Irishtown Bend District presents a contrasting picture of the physical appearance of the neighborhood.

At the Connors site, besides support pilings, quantities of commercially manufactured mortared brick were found which appear to have formed a cosmetic facade across the front of the "open-air" basement. Excavations at the Connley site revealed a brick foundation of a 26' x 26' frame house of 2 stories. Foundation supports for one of the two frame outbuildings on this site had been placed down into a much earlier stone structure. That building appears to have had a semi-subterranean root cellar with well-dressed walls of Berea sandstone and a neat dry-laid brick floor. The Quinn home, a 2-1/2 story frame, was 26' x 26' and had a sandstone foundation.

These findings are in sharp conflict with the notion of tar-paper shacks set on stilts with open-air basements. Furthermore, analysis of oral histories that describe tarpaper shacks with dirt floors points to recollections referring to the early 1930's and the "Hooverville" communities erected on vacant lots in many parts of Cleveland, including the Irishtown Bend District. By this time, the majority of structures that had housed Irish families had been demolished. In the few 19th century photographs of the area and the structural foundations and construction materials found through the archeological excavations, one can persuasively argue that these "shanties" would have been called frame houses if built in another location and not occupied by the Irish.

In their choices of domestic and subsistence animals, in the varieties chosen for garden plantings, and certainly in the consumer choices made among the materials that Cleveland's economy offered from 1850 to 1910, there were common patterns among Irishtown residents that contrast with patterns of behavior among other Cleveland ethnic groups in other Cleveland neighborhoods. Analysis bearing on the material aspects of
ethnicity remains to be completed, and will only become fully interpretable with the accumulation and analysis of archaeological data from other communities. At an elementary level, a taste for shamrocks on decorated ceramics is clearly noted in the residential debris from Irishtown Bend. A clay pipe style, molded with the Irish national crest and the slogan "Home Rule", has been observed on Irish properties, although, on the basis of a very limited sample, these appear more common among the more affluent "Lace Curtain Irish" who lived in the neighborhoods west of the river bluff during the nineteenth century. Analyses of a larger sample of artifacts such as these pipes, as well as ceremonial paraphernalia associated with ethnic societies, is likely to demonstrate differing levels of political activity both among ethnic Irish of varying social and economic status and between Irish and other ethnic communities.

There were certainly real distinctions in the quality and quantity of household objects among the differing economic levels represented by the three properties excavated in Irishtown Bend. The relative wealth of the Quinn household, as compared to the Connors and Connelly households, is especially apparent. The Quinn family, in the period 1880 to 1900, owned at least one complete set of dishes, whereas table ware from the other two households are all of differing patterns indicating that they were purchased as individual pieces from open stock (and probably as discontinued patterns). The Quinn assemblage also contains a wider variety of what at the time were more expensive decorated table wares, including one serving piece of imported English porcelain. There is both greater quantity and variety of modest luxury items in the Quinn property assemblage, including a silver plated tankard, glass "crystal" lamp prisms, and woman's semi-precious jewelry. Refuse from all three households includes a few items that predate the documented immigration of the family from Ireland. The quantity and cost of those items brought from the old country parallels the relative economic status of the three households soon after their arrival in Cleveland.

Substantial quantities of animal bone were recovered from all three properties. While faunal analysis has yet to be completed, preliminary impressions suggest that the results will also reflect economic differences. The Connelly assemblage is clearly dominated by very inexpensive cuts of pork and beef,
mainly shank roasts, shin cuts and stew meat. While similar cuts of meat were common in the Connors house, anatomical identification of the analyzed bone clearly indicates that John Connors was raising and butchering his own pigs on the property. The Quinn faunal assemblage contains a slightly higher proportion of more expensive cuts of beef and pork, and was the only property to yield chicken bone. During the nineteenth century, families of lower economic position generally kept chickens for egg production or to be sold at market, rather than for home consumption. Harding’s 1920 campaign slogan “A Chicken in Every Pot” echoes the former position of this now-cheap poultry as a relatively high status food. Differences in how foods were prepared and served among the three households are also reflected in the relative frequencies of vessel types. Bowls and soup plates dominate the Connelly assemblage, reflecting the frequency with which soups and stews comprised the main meal of the day. There are relatively more plates, and an absolutely wider range of sizes, in the Connors and Quinn assemblages. Only in the Quinn assemblage do cups and saucers reach a significant number. Coffee and tea were to an extent luxury items, and their service was often more a matter of status display than of personal preference in consumption.

Household composition also had an effect on the material items used on a property and accumulated in archaeological deposits. The presence of children at all three of the Irishtown Bend properties we tested is clearly shown by the large numbers of marbles, ceramic doll parts, toy dishes and cast lead soldiers recovered from the deposits. Inexpensive ceramic tobacco pipes were as common on the Irishtown Bend properties occupied by Quinn and Connors as they are on most nineteenth century domestic sites. On the widow Connelly’s property, where there was no adult male in residence, the household deposits dated between 1880 and 1890 contained numerous toys and slate pencils but no tobacco pipes. But the widow Connelly had three growing boys, and she had two small outbuildings. In the deposits indicating these sheds were used for storage, tobacco pipes were among the most common artifacts.

A long term and multi-phased archaeology program for Irishtown Bend District can shed light on many aspects of ethnic, national and local history for which the records are ambiguous,
biased and rarely complete. Investigations of the people who used these artifacts, along with studies in the natural and social sciences are certain to suggest new interpretations of local technology and geographic change. They may lead to revisions in the social and economic history of Cleveland.
9. Major Bibliographical References

Lee, Alfred K., Robert A. Wheeler and David S. Brose

Sokolich, Martin
1989 The Occupancy History of Irishtown Bend. MS Report, CMNH, Department of Archaeology Archives.

Brose, David S., and Alfred M. Lee

10. Geographical Data

Acreage of property 6.9 acres

UTM References

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
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Verbal Boundary Description

The district is bounded by Riverbed Rd. on the east, Columbus Rd. on the south, Franklin Ave. on the west, and the former line of Russia St. on the north.

Boundary Justification

Irishtown Bend was perceived as a distinct neighborhood during the second half of the 19th century. Property/street boundaries conform to historic neighborhood limits on east, south and west. The northern boundary marks the extent of contiguous, minimally disturbed properties within the former neighborhood, as determined by land use records, historic maps and text excavations.

11. Form Prepared By

name/title Alfred M. Lee, Associate Curator of Archaeology
organization Cleveland Museum of Natural History
street & number W. 113th St., University Circle
city or town Cleveland, Ohio
state Ohio
zip code 44106

date 7/25/89