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A Toast to the Tavern: an Archaeological Study of a 17th and 18th Century Tavern in Charlestown, Massachusetts

Christy Cathleen Vogt
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A TOAST TO THE TAVERN:
AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDY OF A 17TH AND 18TH
CENTURY TAVERN IN CHARLESTOWN, MASSACHUSETTS

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Anthropology

The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

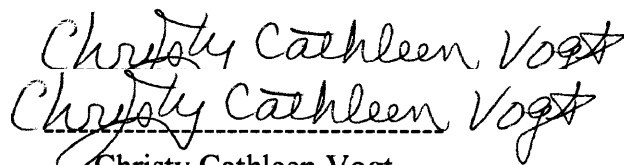
By

Christy Cathleen Vogt

1994

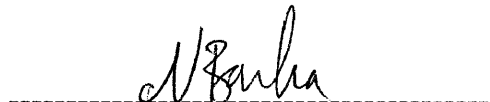
APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts




Christy Cathleen Vogt

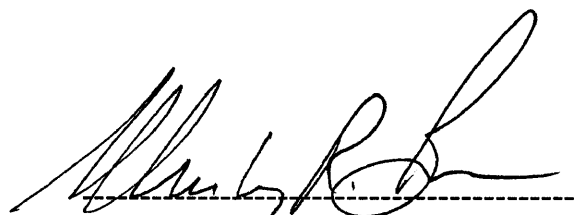
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ABSTRACT

Taverns have long been of crucial importance to New Englanders, who enjoy their drink as much as they enjoy keeping up with the latest events. Taverns in colonial times served many and varied functions for their communities and it is precisely this diversity that makes them such an intriguing area of study. Archaeologically speaking, there has been little chance to fully examine and interpret the findings from colonial drinking establishments. The excavations of a tavern in Charlestown, Massachusetts provides a wonderful opportunity to fill a portion of this gap in our knowledge of early life in New England. Therefore, I have chosen the tavern, known variously as Long's Ordinary, Three Crane Tavern, and the Great Tavern, as the subject of my thesis.

This tippling house was important initially as Governor John Winthrop's first house and Charlestown's first meeting house, and then as an unofficial meeting place for men of importance, travellers, and ordinary townspeople alike. My thesis explores taverns and their contributions to and reflections of social and political climates from the first colonization to the Revolutionary War (the cut-off date coincides with the date the Charlestown tavern was burned to the ground under British attack).

Ceramics, glass, and clay pipes from five privy deposits, excavated from around the Charlestown tavern, were examined for this study. Vessel types and ceramic types were discussed as they relate to the function of the ordinary and to the social and economic dynamics of the town. Glass and clay pipes were studied in conjunction with ceramics to determine both how taver-like and how urban or rural this tavern looks in the archaeological assemblage. I used the Q&A Version 3 computer program by Symantec to sort and compile this information. This analysis of the Charlestown tavern will hopefully contribute to the ever increasing knowledge of colonial New England.

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INTRODUCTION

The Charlestown tavern site presents a unique and interesting opportunity for study. It is a site that has not only remained in the hands of the same family throughout most of its period of occupation, but has also been used as a tavern for most of its existence. Taverns have long been important as places to relax and socialize as well as providing centers of communication on the latest events, and meeting places for different organizations. The Charlestown tavern also has the distinctions of having served as Governor John Winthrop's first house, Charlestown's first meetinghouse, and finally as a tavern where for decades the people of Charlestown could meet to socialize and to relax or carry on the business of everyday life. Archaeological studies of taverns have been scarce until fairly recently and I have chosen the Charlestown tavern as the focus of my study in order to add to our growing knowledge of taverns.

A look at the ceramics, glass, and clay pipes from the five privies surrounding the tavern will provide information which can be used to provide a clearer picture of the activities of the tavern during its existence from 1630 to 1775. These three artifact categories are most easily connected directly to the various activities of a tavern (especially those related to drinking). They will also provide data which can be compared with that found in various other tavern studies.

I have chosen to examine the ceramics in the most detail for a number of reasons. The current information available on ceramics is the most extensive of any artifact category in archaeology. Ceramics provide the best potential for properly dating each privy. Many of the previous tavern studies, which I will be comparing to the Charlestown tavern,

have looked most closely at ceramics. Lastly, ceramics provide a good indication of the wealth or status of an individual in his/her community. The five privies presented the best opportunity to examine these artifacts which would be less likely to be highly fragmented than those found in yard scatter, making the identification of drink related vessels easier.

This paper will examine the ceramics, glass, and clay pipe assemblage from the five privies in order to determine the answers to the following questions:

- Whether or not the vessel types are a reflection of the function of the building.
- Where the tavern falls in terms of the rural-urban spectrum (Rockman and Rothschild 1984) (see below).
- If and how the socioeconomic changes in Charlestown are reflected in the tavern assemblage.

The answer to these questions will demonstrate whether the artifacts reflect the tavern's function and also whether a tavern site can be an accurate measure of the overall socioeconomic climate of the town in which it is situated.

A number of theories which come from previous tavern studies are pertinent to this study. In their article entitled "City Tavern, Country Tavern: An Analysis of Four Colonial Sites," Nan Rothschild and Diana Rockman discussed the differences between the artifact assemblages of four colonial taverns based upon their urban and rural locations (1984). They concluded that the most obvious difference noticeable in the archaeological record would be that the urban taverns would exhibit a higher degree of specialization which would show up in the artifact assemblage. The fact that the Charlestown tavern was occupied over a long period of time in an increasingly urban situation provides the perfect opportunity to test this argument.

Kathleen Bragdon used data from the Wellfleet tavern in Massachusetts to compare it with the nearby homestead of a yeoman farmer to see if the occupational differences were recognizable in the material culture (1988). She concluded that, among other things, "The tavern assemblage is characterized by (1) a large number of vessels; (2) a large percentage of drinking vessels in relation to the total ceramic assemblage; (3) a large percentage of those ceramic types most often found in the form of drinking vessels..." (1988:90). The five privies at the Charlestown tavern offer the opportunity to examine the vessel types in this way to determine whether the assemblage reflects the function of the tavern.

Recent excavations at the Shields Tavern in Williamsburg, Virginia (Brown et. al. 1990) bring to light information about the types of artifacts found in a tavern assemblage. The assemblage from Shields Tavern was compared with those from the taverns in the Rockman and Rothschild study (1984), and it was found that the Shields Tavern became less urban looking as time went on. These artifacts will be compared with the data from Charlestown to see where the Charlestown tavern falls on the urban-rural continuum.

Julia King studied the St. John's site in her article entitled "A Comparative Midden Analysis of a Household and Inn in St. Mary's City, Maryland" (1988). The St. John's site was a 17th century building in St. Mary's City which served first as a house and later as an inn. Analysis of the site revealed that the inn phase yielded more vessels related to food storage, while the house phase contained more food processing vessels (King 1988:37). It was concluded that while the transformation from household to inn only slightly affected its food processing capacity, the seasonal nature of its food supply (obtained either from its own plantation or one nearby) necessitated a huge increase in its

storage capacity (King 1988:30). The Charlestown tavern assemblage will be compared with that from the St. John's Inn in order to establish whether the taverns exhibit similar patterns or whether the environment of the town has an effect upon the vessel types. Although the Charlestown tavern is similar in some ways to the St. Mary's City inn, the town in which it was situated differed in some important ways which may influence the types of vessels found at the site.

A number of other tavern studies have been completed which either focus on a different time period than that of the Charlestown tavern or explore different research questions which are not applicable to this study. These studies will not be discussed.

While it is reasonable to assume that tavern assemblages look similar in many generalized ways, it is expected that this examination of the Charlestown tavern will reveal variations in the assemblage generated by the tavern's context. The rapid growth of Charlestown should be reflected in the tavern's character, and suggest its deviance from the conclusions of previous tavern investigations.

In order to fully investigate the artifacts from this tavern, it is first necessary to examine what was happening both in Charlestown, and in taverns in general during the period 1630-1775. This information can be found in chapters one and two. These chapters give us insight into the everyday activities of a tavern, which can be generally applied to the Charlestown tavern, as well as the nature of Charlestown as it grew. The following chapter explores the people who owned and/or operated the tavern during its existence and helps lay the groundwork for understanding that these proprietors were involved in a tavern that was seemingly very popular and important to the townspeople's daily lives.

The final chapter examines the artifacts and interprets them in the context of the first three chapters (the town, the behavior of taverns in general, and the type of people who were involved). It is in this chapter that the tavern is analyzed in the context of previous tavern studies to determine how similar or dissimilar it is and why. This chapter discusses in detail the idea that vessel types may be examined to determine the function of a building and it also examines what other factors may influence this information. It compares the Charlestown tavern with other taverns to see where it falls in terms of the urban-rural spectrum and whether or not the tavern assemblage reflects changes in the town.

The in-depth analysis of the artifacts from the privies of the Charlestown tavern will provide a better understanding of the factors which may influence the artifacts one finds at a tavern site. It will also add to the information already available on what artifacts might be found in the most abundance at a tavern site. By looking closely at the ceramics, glass and clay pipes from the Charlestown tavern privies, it is possible to learn more about the everyday operation of a tavern in the 17th and 18th centuries and the outside influences which shaped the nature of the an establishment which was ubiquitous throughout the colonial period.

CHAPTER I

A History of Charlestown, Massachusetts: 1630-1775

[T]he country of the Massachusetts [was] the paradise of all those parts, for here are many isles, all planted with corn, groves, mulberries, salvage gardens, and good harbors [sic].

This description of Massachusetts was given in 1614 by John Smith, the first recorded European visitor to that area, and suggests some of the attractions that Massachusetts held for the colonists. A navigator, Smith explored the coast for three months, as his men fished the shores. Although Charlestown was not permanently settled for another sixteen years, fishermen frequently came into the harbor to exploit its plentiful waters.

The first step toward making this area into a permanent settlement was taken when King James granted it to the Council of Plymouth in 1620.¹ At this time, the locale was known as Mishaum . The Council then granted the land to Robert Gorges in 1622, but his attempt to stake a claim was thwarted by a lack of supplies from England. At the advice of his friends, he came home without establishing ownership. Shortly thereafter, the Massachusetts Company purchased the land, and its members were the first Europeans to successfully settle it.

¹ All information in this chapter came from Frothingham 1845 unless otherwise stated (see "sources consulted" for complete reference). Frothingham is the only secondary source for general Charlestown history of this time period. Since the other sources (which are much more specific in focus) did not contradict Frothingham, I am assuming that it is a reliable source. I have removed references to Frothingham in this chapter in the interest of avoiding redundancy.

This occupation of Charlestown was led by two men from Salem, Ralph Richard and William Sprague, who established themselves along the shores of Boston harbor in 1628 accompanied by three or four men. During late June or early July 1629, a ship full of settlers arrived (among those aboard was Thomas Graves, the engineer who later built the Great House/Charlestown tavern). As Reverend Francis Higginson described the passengers,

There are in all of vs both old and new Planters about three hundred, whereof two hundred of them are settled at Neihum-kek, now called Salem: and the rest have Planted themselves at Massathulets Bay, beginning to build a Towne there which wee doe call Cherton, or Charles Towne [*sic*].

It was agreed that each of the inhabitants would receive a "two acre lot to plant upon, and all to fence in common...".

The settlement did not really become permanent, however, until John Winthrop and his ship full of provisions and 1,500 people landed. Winthrop and his companions arrived at Salem in 1630 and, seeing the bedraggled state of the settlers there, decided to establish their own settlement (Rutman 1965:24). Winthrop explored the area and suggested that the *Arbella* passengers set up at a place along the Mystic River. Deputy Governor Dudley argued that they should settle three more leagues up river. An impassioned debate ensued, which ended in a compromise; the colonists settled at a place mid-way between the two suggested spots. On June 6, 1630, the 1,500 colonists took up residence in the area now known as Charlestown (Rutman 1965:25).

This much I can affirme in generall, that I never came in a more goodly country in all my life, all things considered: ...it is very beautiful in open lands mixed with goodly woods, and again open plaines, in some places five hundred acres, no place barren. It is observed that few or none doe here fal sicke, unless of the scurvy, that they bring from aboard the ship with them, whereof I have cured some of my companie onely by labour [sic].

It is very possible that descriptions such as this one written by Thomas Graves in 1629 caused many Englishmen to give up their homes to come to America. There was little information available to the English on the Plymouth or Jamestown settlements, and accounts like this were the only descriptions of the Massachusetts colonies (Banks 1968:15). It is likely that Graves embellished his description in the hopes that such propaganda would encourage new settlers. Even if some of the conditions were accurately portrayed by Graves, the settlers' lack of knowledge about the resources available in the area put them at a distinct disadvantage in their attempt to provide for themselves. Winthrop's description (below) of conditions in the newly settled area differ greatly from those detailed by Graves:

...threescore of their people (were) dead, the rest sick, nothing (was) one, but all complaining, and all things so contrary to their expectation, that now every monstrous humor began to show itself.

It became apparent that Charlestown was anything but the ideal place to settle. The land area was small, difficult to farm and lacked a good source of fresh water (Boston 200 Corporation 1976:1). The combination of being weakened from their long sea journey, unused to the local food and climate, and deprived of proper sanitation, made the Charlestown inhabitants easy victims of scurvy and the "bloody flux" (dysentery). The doctors they had with them were largely helpless because they had limited access to the drugs with which they were familiar (Rutman 1965:27). An anonymous historical

account of this early time reports the following:

...The multitude set up cottages, booths and tents, about the Town Hill. They had long passage; some of the ships were seventeen, some eighteen weeks a coming; many people arrived sick of the scurvy, which also increased much after their arrival for want of houses, and by reason of wet lodgings in their cottages; and other distempers also prevailed...By which means provisions were exceedingly wasted, and no supplies could now be expected by planting; besides, there was miserable damage and spoil of provisions by sea...All which being taken into consideration by the governor and gentlemen, they hired and dispatched away Mr. William Pearce, with his ship, of about two hundred tons, for Ireland, to buy more, and in the mean time went on with their work for settling.

While John Winthrop moved into the Great House that had been built for him, the remainder of the colonists were able to erect only sailcloth tents and wigwam-style abodes (Wood 1969:49). Conditions were primitive at best and Roger Clapp, an original settler, claimed that the Great House was certainly the only habitation in Charlestown worthy of such a name. Eighty Charlestown residents had succumbed to disease by April of 1630, and over the next year at least 200 more died. The people of Charlestown were forced to live on the mollusks from the bay and whatever else they could forage. In February or March 1631, their luck changed when Mr. Pearce arrived from Ireland with a new store of provisions. The worst of the winter was now over and the settlers survived until spring in comparative comfort. The first few years at Charlestown were hard on its inhabitants, but the settlers were able to seize the opportunity to enlarge their land holdings when in the winter of 1633-1634 the Native American population succumbed to a small pox epidemic to which the Europeans were largely immune.

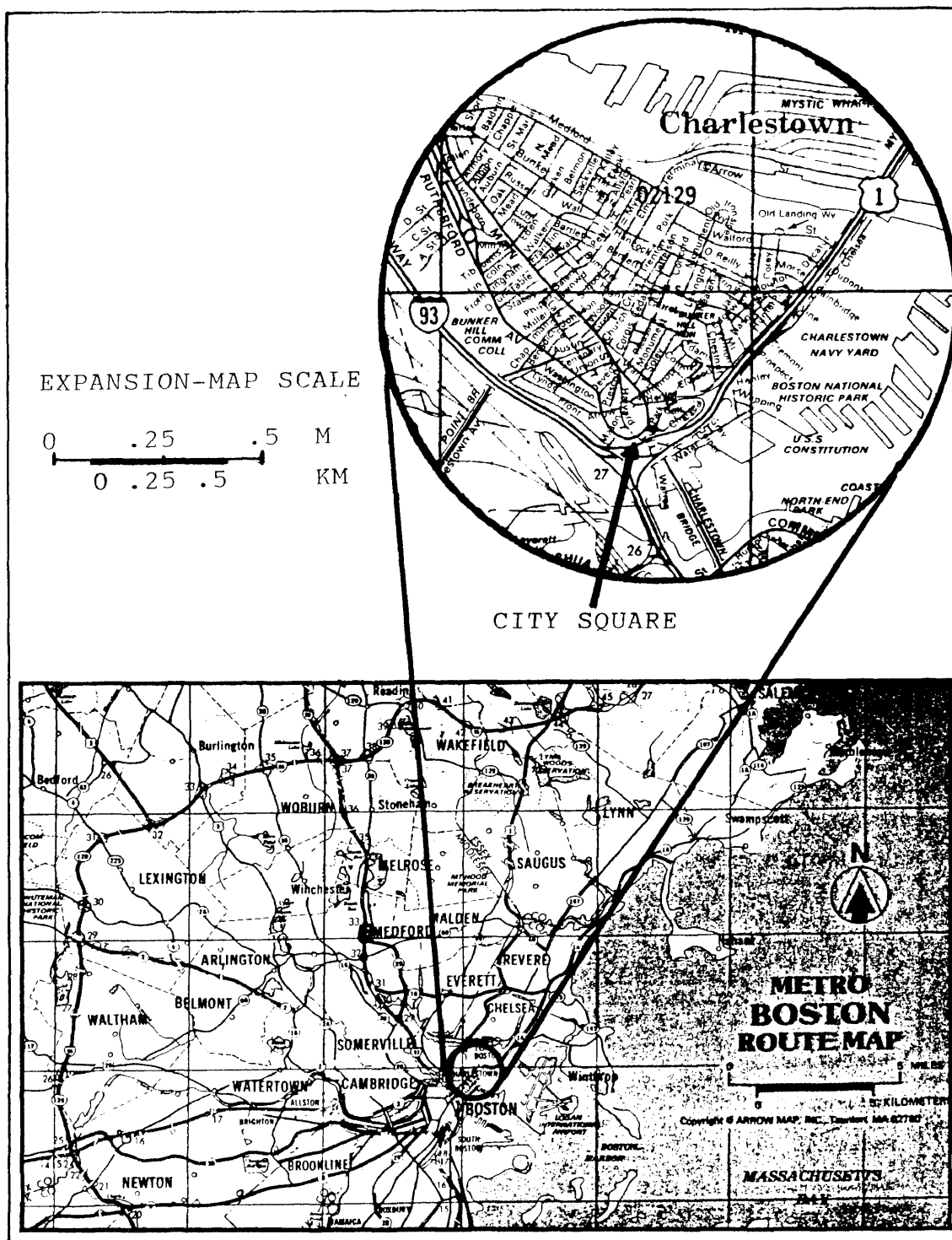
With some of the recent hardships behind them, the townspeople were able to focus on

expanding their commercial economy. By 1639, the first daily canoe ferry took passengers from Charlestown to Boston for three pence apiece, and the town soon realized its geographic potential (Figure 1) (Boston 200 Corporation 1976:2; Earle 1969:331). Because Boston and Charlestown were at the confluence of all commercial waterways in colonial Massachusetts, merchants "made Boston (and to a lesser extent its sister town Charlestown) their port of call" (Rutman 1965:164). The growth of the economy spurred on an increase in immigration. The land allotment laws, which previously allowed everyone a certain amount of land upon entry into the town, were changed in response to this increase in population, and by 1637, a limit was placed on the land allotted. The population of Charlestown by that time is approximately 1,000 people.

By 1640, however, the English civil war had all but halted the "Great Migration," and the colonies were left to fend for themselves. Many economies went into a slump. Farmers had produced too many goods, having anticipated an ever increasing demand. Charlestown and Boston were less affected by this slump than other parts of the Massachusetts, however, because they maintained a healthy trade with the West Indies, the Azores, the Canary Islands, and the Iberian Coast (Rutman 1965:184).

It was not long before Massachusetts had worked its way out of this slump. Charlestown's exploitation of alternative trade markets coupled with the end of England's civil war allowed it, along with Boston, once again to become a key part of a trade network. "Who would ever send anything to any Towne in New England," said one man, "(should send it to Boston or Charlestown) for they are haven Townes for all New England and speedy meanes of conveyance to all places is there to be had." (Rutman

Figure 1 Map of Boston and Charlestown, Massachusetts



1965:188).

In addition to trade of farmed goods, fish were also sold by Charlestown and fishing was an important part of the economy. By 1666, Massachusetts had 1,300 fishing boats in operation with Salem, Ipswich and Charlestown as centers for cod and mackerel fishing (Wood 1969:83). Tied into the fishing industry were ship building operations, building shops, warehouses and wharves. Three merchants responsible for turning the economy in this direction were Robert Sedgwick (who later purchased a tavern in Boston), Francis Willoughby, and Richard Russell. By 1641, Charlestown was also exporting furs, lumber, pipe-staves and frames of buildings. In 1677, a large dry dock that could berth a 300 ton ship was built.

As the population and economy grew, other tradesmen came to Charlestown. By 1640, Charlestown reportedly had "tailors, coopers, rope-makers, glaziers, tile-makers, anchorsmiths, collar-makers, charcoal burners, joiners, wheelwrights, blacksmiths; there was a brew-house, a salt-pan, a potter's kiln, a saw pit, a wind-mill, a water mill..." all of which were located in town.

The boundaries of Charlestown changed constantly as the population grew and new towns began to separate from old towns. At one point, Charlestown included parts of Woburn, Cambridge, Everett, Malden, Stoneham, Medford, Somerville, Winchester and Arlington (Figure 1) but as these towns separated, the size of Charlestown was reduced to one square mile (Boston 200 Corporation 1976:3).

The Charlestown residents heard of the trouble that Plymouth Colony was having with

the Native American population soon after settling the area. It was decided that, although Charlestown had a good rapport with their neighbors (Aberginians), the townspeople should build a fortified watch tower on the top of Town Hill (above the Great House). Town Hill soon became the most populous part of Charlestown, and in 1636 there were at least 150 houses in the Town Hill area (Sigler 1972:25). Later, the colonists decided to connect settlements to increase their protection, and Newtown (now known as Cambridge) was established to connect the Charlestown and Watertown settlements. Saugus was soon established and connected Salem with Charlestown (Figure 1)

In 1650, Charlestown had approximately 150 dwelling houses. Over the next decade or so the economy was strong enough so that Charlestown inhabitants were able to focus upon such things as building a free school, paying their deacons, and improving their roads. Each man over ten years old was obliged to work one day per year on the highways as early as the 1670s. In 1673, the town was growing so rapidly that permission was granted to cut down trees in nearby Cedar Swamp for cedar posts, shingles and clapboards.

The war with the Native Americans in 1675 (King Phillip's War) had a temporary effect on Charlestown's growth. Men from the town were sent to help fight off an attack in Sudbury, and those who remained at home had to tend their own crops as well as those of the absent farmers. A heavy tax was levied upon all the colonies to help pay for the war. Charlestown had to pay L180 which was second only to the L200 paid by Boston .

Trade was prosperous for Charlestown during the late 17th century, and despite the

Navigation Acts stating that all goods from the colonies must go to England first, there was direct trade with Spain, Holland and the Canaries. During this time, Charlestown was becoming more independent, and a post office was set up in 1691, followed by a newspaper in 1704. The town was on its way to establishing its particular New English identity, which would surface most noticeably during the confrontations with England leading up to the Revolutionary War.

Not long after settlement, the colonists recognized the need for some form of government. The first Court of Assistants ever held in English America convened in Charlestown on August 23, 1630. This governmental institution was empowered with the ability to punish people and it assumed legislative, judicial and executive power. The institution lasted for the first four years of the settlement (Morison 1958:84). The first decision made by this court was that the Great House would continue to serve as John Winthrop's house until he moved, at which point it would become the town meeting house. This happened almost immediately, as Winthrop moved to Boston in September of 1630 and set up town government there. The town was then managed by eleven selectmen (fashioned after the form of government the Mayflower passengers employed). These selectmen held office for one year and were collectively known as the General Court. The General Court and the town meetings were of crucial importance to Charlestown, since this was the only form of government the people had. The town's sternly religious nature is made apparent by the law that men could only be town members if they were either churchgoers or were considered upright citizens and thereby excluded Quakers from becoming town members. In addition to this, citizens of the town could not entertain non-citizens in their homes without permission from the town elders.

As time went on, the government of Charlestown became more and more organized. In 1630, the inhabitants of Charlestown voted to allot two acres of planting land for each male in a family and two acres for each house lot. Later, as land became more precious to the increasing population, the General Court divided the land according to family size, number of livestock, and position in the town.

By 1633 William Laud, the archbishop of Canterbury, had caused such a state of oppression among the Puritans in England that people felt obliged to emigrate to the new world and they came in droves (Morison 1958:52). This mass emigration was to have far-reaching effects upon the New England area. The Bay Colony was forced to become an organized entity to establish some form of order for its inhabitants. By 1684, the well organized nature of the government of Charlestown was exemplified by the fact that there seemed to be an officer to watch over virtually every aspect of life. In addition to the usual selectmen, constables, and tythingmen, there were also surveyors of highways, and a man to "search into the middle price of wheat".

In 1686, the situation changed for the town when the First Charter of Charlestown was superseded by another English charter, and the town spent the next three years fighting a government which put people on trial based upon rumors that they were seditious and forced landowners to pay huge fees in order to retain their land. By April of 1689 the people had revolted against New England Royal Governor Andros and the old Charter was re-established but things remained in turmoil for a number of years. Charlestown was reported at this time to be "the most ill-affected, distracted and divided town in the country". Three years later yet another Charter was obtained from England, and the

Charlestown people held so strongly to their rights under the Charter that the Lords of Trade remarked in 1701 that "The independence the colonies now thirst after is notorious".

The inhabitants of Charlestown spent the first few decades of the 18th century improving the town. Among the things constructed during this period were a bridge over the Charles River and a new meeting-house. In 1721, another small pox epidemic attacked the town but it was not nearly as severe as the previous ones. In the 1730s more roads were paved (previously only two roads had been paved in the town) and a new courthouse erected. Over the next twenty years more schools were built and the old ones were maintained. The town was growing so rapidly that some townspeople petitioned for a second meeting-house to be built, but their demands were not met. An historical account of Charlestown describes the town at this time:

...the mother of Boston...much more populous than Cambridge...'Tis said one thousand vessels clear annually from these two towns (Boston and Charlestown) only, more than from all the European Colonies in America not in English hands.

In 1752, small pox again struck the town, this time so badly that they ceased to toll the death bell for a number of days because of the adverse effect it would have on those fighting the disease. In addition to these epidemics brought on by Charlestown's contact with sailing vessels, the town was battling severe increases in taxes from England. The cost of keeping up the highways proved too much for even the taxes and in the 1760s Charlestown set up a lottery to pay for it.

By this time, friction was increasing between Britain and her colonies, and the citizens of

Charlestown played as prominent a role in these events as the townspeople of Boston. As boycotts of various goods (including tea) were instituted, most of Charlestown complied. The Boston Gazette reported in 1773 that:

One of the daughters of liberty in Charlestown after suiting herself in a Boston store to articles she wanted to purchase, inquired whether the shop-keeper sold tea? She was answered in the affirmative, upon which she ordered the articles to be put back, being determined...she would purchase nothing where it was sold.

As the inhabitants of Charlestown took active part in the protest of the Stamp Act, they set aside a day of rejoicing when it was repealed. In 1773 the town held a meeting to determine the fate of a ship in the harbor carrying the boycotted tea. When the meeting ended, the participants had come up with a number of resolutions. One of these resolutions stated the following:

...that whoever shall be directly or indirectly concerned in landing, receiving, buying or selling said tea, or importing any tea from Great Britain while subject to duty, is an enemy to America and ought to be treated accordingly.

On December 16, 1773, a ship full of tea was so treated and the colonists dumped the tea on board her into the harbor. Charlestown was as badly hurt as Boston by the retaliatory Boston Port Bill of 1774, which prohibited all water carriage to Boston until they paid for the tea. The sympathy that the two towns gained from the rest of the country, however, contributed toward the unification which allowed the colonists to effectively oppose the British during the Revolution (Sigler 1972:2).

During 1774, Charlestown patriots held secret meetings to discuss their opposition to England, despite the fact that these meetings were forbidden. When the war erupted in

Lexington on April 19, 1775, most of Boston and Charlestown was evacuated. When the British moved to occupy Charlestown, the remaining townspeople were forced to give them food and water. By June, only one or two hundred of the two- to three-thousand inhabitants remained.

On June 17, the famous Battle of Bunker Hill was fought and left 140 Americans dead. The battle served to demoralize the British troops, but it also led to the destruction of Charlestown, as the British were quick to fire upon the Market-place from Boston's Copps Hill. A man on Copps Hill who witnessed the scene reported:

about one hour after the troops were landed, orders came down to set fire to the town, and soon after a carcass was discharged from the hill, which set fire to one of the old houses,...from that the meeting-house and several other houses were set on fire.....

A letter from Salem, some thirty miles to the north, remarked, "Terrible indeed was the scene, even at our distance. The western horizon in the day-time was one huge body of smoke, and in the evening a continued blaze.". Nearly 400 buildings were consumed by the fire comprising nearly the entire town, with an estimated loss of L117,982 5s 2d. It was voted never to rebuild the square, although most of the rest of Charlestown was rebuilt by 1785 (Sigler 1972:3).

The battles at Lexington and Charlestown marked the beginning of open warfare but Charlestown was never again the battleground it was at the beginning of the war. The British Annual Register of 1775 reported:

The fate of Charlestown was also a matter of melancholy contemplation to the serious and unprejudiced of all parties. It was the first settlement

made in the colony, and was considered as the mother of Boston,--that town owing its birth and nurture to emigrants of the former. Charlestown was large, handsome, and well built, both in respect to its public and private edifices; it contained about four hundred houses, and had the greatest trade of any port in the province, except Boston. It is said that the two ports cleared out a thousand vessels annually for a foreign trade, exclusive of an infinite number of coasters. It is now buried in ruins. Such is the termination of human labor, industry, and wisdom, and such are the fatal fruits of civil dissensions.

Despite various setbacks along the way, the people of Charlestown enjoyed an increasingly supportive economy and standard of living in the time leading up to the Revolutionary War. The post-war Charlestown was not the same as the pre-war Charlestown and never again was the town to experience such an important role in the mercantile sea trade network.

CHAPTER II

Taverns in Colonial America

Alcoholic beverages have been in existence for many centuries in many cultures. A variety of drinks were made both at home and in distilleries and brew houses. These beverages have provided sustenance for those working long days in the fields as well as aiding in the celebration of special occasions, both religious and secular.

A gathering place was often needed for these celebrations. In England, for example, these places were formalized during the 13th century, when alcohol was sold in alehouses (Clark 1983:20). By the 15th century, alehouses had become centers for a variety of social activities and were ubiquitous in towns all over Britain. Beer and cider were perhaps the most common drinks sold in these establishments but a number of other drinks (discussed below) were also offered.

English alehouses (and later, taverns and inns) were the precursors to similar businesses in 17th century New England. The New English establishments (most frequently referred to as taverns or ordinaries) diversified and evolved as time went on, consequently taking on a character all their own. A discussion of these New England taverns (most specifically in Charlestown and Boston) will provide the context for understanding the activities at the Charlestown tavern, and facilitate further study.

One of the first things the colonists established when they settled their towns was a tavern. The Dutch and English showed their understanding of the social importance of drinking establishments when they decreed by law that each community in New England establish and support a tavern (Rice 1983:23). Beer was one of the initial items to be imported to the colonies (Earle 1973:164); the *Arbella* (the ship that transported the colonists to Boston in 1630) held three times as much beer as water in addition to ten thousand gallons of wine (Lender 1982:2).

Liquor and beer were considered necessities of life and although the settlers agreed that the New England water was better than European water many stated they "...dare not preferre it before good Beere...but any man would choose it before Bad Beere, Wheay or Buttermilk." (Earle 1973:164). Beer could be so crucial to a person's happiness in the 17th century that the captain of the *Mayflower* was reluctant to share his beer with the settlers of New England (despite desperate pleas from those onshore) for fear of having no liquid refreshment for his crew's return trip. Eventually he gave in but his unwillingness to share gives us some idea of the attachment the colonial people felt to their drink (Lender 1982:3).

At the time New England was being settled, the English were already so sophisticated in their development of drinking establishments that they distinguished between inns, taverns and alehouses. The inn was the largest of the three (with an average of fourteen rooms) and held the highest status while the alehouse (with only five rooms) was the smallest and least notable (Clark 1983:5). The inn sold wine and beer and offered lodging while the alehouse sold only ale and beer and offered limited accommodations to lower classes. The tavern like the inn, sold wine and beer but offered less extensive

sleeping arrangements and had an average of ten rooms (Clark 1983:64).

These distinctions were not so clear in America, where taverns in 17th and 18th centuries were known variously as ordinaries, punch houses, victualing houses, cook shops, grog shops, or public houses. Another name ascribed to these drinking establishments was tippling house. The word "tippling" originally meant "to drip slowly" or "slow and continuous drinking" something at which the early colonists were apparently well practiced (McBurney 1987:3).

Not all taverns looked the same or catered to the same clientele. Some taverns were fancier than others. The Boltwood Tavern in Amherst Massachusetts had a ballroom upstairs and served dinners of ceremony (Crawford 1970:52). Smaller taverns in port cities were found principally along the docks and catered to servants, apprentices and seamen. The owners of these places were frequently former sailors and operated without a license. Lack of license notwithstanding, illicit alcohol (as well as prostitutes) was often available at these "grog" or "slop" shops (Rice 1983:33). There was a wide range of tavern types, many of which were neither formal nor unlicensed, but all of which seemed to be as English traveler George Borrow describes below:

The inn of which I had become an inhabitant was a place of infinite life and bustle. Travelers of all descriptions...were continually stopping at it...an army of servants, of one description or other, was kept; waiters, chambermaids, grooms, postillions, shoe blacks, cooks, scullions, and what-not,...There was running up and down stairs, and along galleries, slamming of doors, cries of "Coming, sir" and Please step this way, ma'am" during eighteen hours of the four-and-twenty. Truly a great place for life and bustle was this inn. (Burke 1943:14).

The tavern in the 17th and 18th century served a number of purposes not associated with the drinking establishments of today. Aside from providing food, drink and lodging, the taverns were also havens for vendues (auctions) of goods, public whippings, and the sale of slaves (Rice 1983:34; Crawford 1970:71). As settings became more urban, the city tavern became a "meeting house, marketplace, restaurant, political arena, social setting, hotel and communication hub" all at once (Rice 1983:21). Well-known Boston merchant John Rowe spent many hours at taverns in his time. He often used these taverns and coffee houses (middle class establishments serving food and liquor) to conduct business, as he indicated in his diary entry of November 2, 1764:

...Went to the Coffee House in the afternoon on an Arbitration between Mr Jno Chipman & Mr Wm Davis, & Joseph Green Esq,... (Cunningham 1903:67).

Meetings of all kinds were held at these taverns which originally took their names from familiar English pubs. As early as 1636, the Boston inn owned by Samuel Cole entertained the Indian chiefs who were responsible for signing a treaty between the Narragansetts and the English (Drake 1917:73). The first Grand Lodge of Masons in America was organized at Boston's Bunch of Grapes Tavern in July of 1733 and the Ohio Company which settled Ohio was organized here as well (Stevens 1895:23-24; Drake 1917:37). In 1747, the General Court of Massachusetts were burned out of their building and had to finish their session in Boston at the Royal Exchange Tavern (Drake 1917:26). Plans for the Boston Tea Party were made in 1773 at the Green Dragon (Stevens 1895:23-24). In one room of the Catamount Tavern in Bennington, Vermont, the Green Mountain Boys planned their strategy to capture Fort Ticonderoga in 1775 (Crawford 1970:70).

Taverns were often used for social occasions and celebrations. In his diary entry of August 15, 1768, John Rowe writes about dining with 100 men at John Greatons' Grayhound Tavern (Roxbury) in celebration of the "Anniversary Day of the Sons of Liberty" (Cunningham 1903:172). He also mentions having an annual merchant's club dinner, celebrating the Feast of St. John, and the anniversary of Britain's repeal of the Stamp Act at various taverns (Cunningham 1903:100,125,148,181). The toasts made during some of these events numbered as many as twenty-seven! It is no wonder that some colonial ministers expressed concern over monitoring drunkenness in the town pubs. A law passed in Pennsylvania which prohibited the drinking of healths stated that toasting resulted in "excessive Drinking unto Drunkenness" (Rice 1983:100).

Many taverns served the same purpose which today's newspapers serve. The local ordinaries posted notices of town meetings, elections, new laws going into effect, sales, auctions and records of transfer (Earle 1973:196). The innkeeper was much like a present day bartender in that he was often aware of local newsworthy events and information. Other activities which took place among the patrons at taverns included the borrowing and lending of money and game playing (dice, cards, billiards, etc.) (Isaac 1982:94). In the early 18th century, the showing of wild animals became quite popular and the "Boston Gazette" of April 20, 1741, advertised:

To be seen at the Greyhound Tavern in Roxbury a wild creature which was caught in the woods about 80 miles to the westward of this place called Cattamount. It has a tail like a Lyon, its legs are like Bears, its Claws like an Eagle, its Eyes like a Tyger...Whoever wishes to see this creature may come to the place aforesaid paying one shilling each shall be welcome for their money (Earle 1973:243-244).

Because of their importance in the community, taverns could not help but reflect political and social events from time to time. In 1642, Hugh Gunnison opened the King's Arms Tavern only to change the name to State's Arms during the Puritan movement and then back to the King's Arms when the Stuarts were restored in England (Crawford 1970:76).

While Puritan ethics, dominant in Massachusetts during the 17th and early 18th centuries, did not argue about the necessity of taverns (and many thought small amounts of drink to be medicinal), the condemnation of "the evil drink" and inebriation by powerful evangelists, such as George Whitfield, during the Great Awakening in the 1730s caused some to think twice about tavern activities (Rorabaugh 1979:30). In 1692 the town authorities in Massachusetts felt that tavern activities were getting a little out of hand and they passed a law which defined the "proper" use of taverns:

...the ancient, true and principal use of Inns...is for the Receipt Relief and Lodging of Travelers and Strangers, and the Refreshment of Persons on lawful Business...not intended for the Entertainment...of lewd or idle people to spend or consume their money or time there. (Rice 1983:26).

Apparently these laws had little effect on the general populace and there are many references in the account books of tavern keepers recounting damage caused during drunken brawls. As late as 1794, Samuel Adams, who kept a tavern in Ipswich, Massachusetts, wrote "Some noisy-bucks from Salem here just seven in Sled tarried by little while -- but long enough -- broke Glasses table &c." (Rice 1983:100).

As taverns became more plentiful and more popular, the variety of drinks one could enjoy also multiplied. Just as there are many types of drinks to choose from today, the

colonists were constantly perfecting new liquid concoctions to quench their thirst. In England, people had been brewing beer instead of unhopped ale since the 15th century because beer was cheaper, stronger and lasted longer (some beer was kept for up to a year in order to mature) (Clark 1983:97). With the Great Migration of the 1630s and 1640s came an increase in demand for spirits. Imported liquors were too expensive to satisfy the demand alone so it was up to colonial ingenuity to solve the problem. The colonists developed their own drinks apart from mother England, and with these drinks came a drinking culture that was specifically New English (Lender 1982:4). Recipes of American drinks such as this one for "Best American Gin" were soon common:

5 gals. best Proof Whiskey
 1/2 oz. Sweet Spirits of Nitre
 25 tp 40 drops Oil of Juniper
 1/2 gal. Best Hollands Gin
 The Oil of Juniper to be mixed with
 1 pint of Alcohol, the Whole to be
 well shaken together (McBurney 1987:241).

Mild fermented drinks, which were nevertheless intoxicating, were also made by the colonists. These drinks included beer, mead and metheglin, which were made from water, honey and yeast (Earle 1973:169-170). The popular beer was a heavy brew akin to modern porter or stout. It contained about six percent alcohol (Lender 1982:5). Cider was an inexpensive drink that was home-brewed early on. By 1671 five hundred hogsheads (one hogshead equaling between 63 and 140 gallons) of cider could be made of one orchard's produce (Earle 1973:172).

The cider made at home was less potent than that made in taverns (5% instead of 7% alcohol) and it was a common drink for children at the dinner table (Ulrich 1980:23).

Beverige and switchel were also mild and watery drinks produced in the colonies, but switchel was fortified with vinegar and rum when served to the sailors (Earle 1973:173). Claret, a dry red wine, and sack (which is comparable to sherry) were strong drinks enjoyed by some colonists until sack was forced out of taverns in 1634 due to its high alcohol content (Earle 1973:168). Perry (made from pears) and Flip (made from home-brewed beer, rum, molasses, and sugar) were two drinks that enjoyed a lasting stay in the colonies. These home-brewed drinks were produced by both colonial wives and tavern-keepers (Earle 1973:174,178).

There were also "common brewers" who sold wholesale and retail goods (Lender 1982:5). In order to brew properly, the brewer was dependent upon the not-so-readily available imported hops and malts. Apparently this led to creative brewing as a 1630 poem so aptly points out:

If barley be wanting to make into malt,
We must be content and think it no fault,
For we can make liquors to sweeten our lips,
Of pumpkins and parsnips, and walnut tree chips.
(Lender 1982:5).

Fiercer liquors were also readily consumed throughout the colonial period. Aqua-vitae, a name that referred to strong waters in general and brandy in particular, was brought over in the 17th century for about three shillings per gallon (Earle 1973:174). It had a high alcohol content that caused it to keep longer than beer (Lender 1982:6). Cider was distilled into cider brandy or applejack or fermented into hard cider that contained about seven percent alcohol. Whiskey was made from a variety of things including barley, potatoes, rye and corn (Earle 1969:33;Earle 1973:174-5). Rum (called rhum,

rumbullium or kill- devil) was imbibed straight or made into stone-wall (rum and cider) or blackstrap (rum and molasses) (Earle 1973:175,179). Rum was also the first liquor in the late seventeenth century to challenge the leading role which beer had occupied in colonial lives because it was readily available through trade with the Caribbean Islands (Lender 1982:30).

While it was entirely possible to grow grapes for making wine in the New World, the Virginians whose land was best suited for growing the grapes found tobacco growing a far more profitable endeavor (Lender 1982:6). Various wines therefore, were imported from Europe. Canary wine and Palme wine were particularly popular in New England and a variety of wines were imported from Spain, Portugal, and the Canary Islands (Earle 1973:168,175). Wines were well liked by many as is indicated by this particular traveler in Boston on September 24, 1690:

When I was in Boston I understood there was great plenty of Canary wine, and discoursing with several Gentlemen there they told me they had four ships with Canary wine, two of which belonged to Bristoll. I was asked for twenty four pounds a pipe but told by others I might have my choice of good wine for Eighteen.... (Mereness 1916:10-11).

He later talks about being treated to "...a Glass of good wine, and anchovies..." by a ship captain (Mereness 1916:10-11).

Gin was another favorite drink of the colonies and was imported from Holland (Earle 1973:175). In order to meet the rise in demand for these expensive imports, the colonists attempted to make their own. The first commercial American rum distillery was opened in Boston in 1700 and proved very profitable (Lender 1982:30).

Up until the end of the 17th century, taverns were mostly owned by and frequented by the upper class. In the 1720's, however, something happened which allowed the middle class to enjoy the drink outside their homes as well; the price of rum went down with the advent of local production. In 1722, it cost 3 shillings 6 pence for a gallon of rum but by 1738, the price had gone down to 2 shillings (Rorabaugh 1979:25). At such prices, the demand for rum was high and Boston increased its production so much that by the mid-18th century it shared (with New Haven, Philadelphia and Providence) the distinction of being the center of the distilling industry (Rorabaugh 1979:29). By 1770, Americans were producing 5,000,000 gallons of rum while they were only importing 4,000,000 (Rice 1983:94).

Liquor was also drunk by men in the military and the American troops of the Revolutionary War took full advantage of this newfound ability to buy rum. Enlisted men got domestic rum, while the officers drank imported rum (Royster 1979:75). Apparently, both enlisted men and officers enjoyed their rum immensely as it has been noted that "The continentals imitated other armies more successfully in drinking than in discipline" (Royster 1979:144). From the beginning of the colonial period when the militia trained, the men were seldom sober. There are many accounts where soldiers stumbled upon abandoned liquor in the battlefield and promptly became too drunk to fight (Lender 1982:32).

Port towns, such as Charlestown and Boston, were ideal towns for taverns to develop. Their increasingly stable economy and transient population made them attractive places for tavern keepers to establish themselves. The first tavern to be licensed in the Boston

area was Samuel Coles', which opened in 1634 (Crawford 1970:74). In that same year, Governor's Island in Massachusetts Bay was granted to Governor Winthrop for use as a vineyard; the annual rent was a hogshead of wine (Earle 1973:169). Soon there were so many taverns throughout the Boston area, that Cotton Mather commented by the time of King Phillip's War, that every other house seemed to be one (Stevens 1895:19).

Most drinking that occurred outside the home happened in the town ordinaries. According to the diary accounts in the 1760s of John Rowe many taverns around the Boston area could hold up to 100 people (Cunningham 1903:172). Old almanacs computed distance not between towns but between taverns (Drake 1917:17). Tavern-keepers eventually established partnerships with stagecoach drivers who would see that travelers became patrons of a particular tavern. In return, the tavern-keepers would become ticket agents for the coaches (Rice 1983:45). Postal riders carried mail to taverns where anyone could read the mail and for a high postal fee take away any mail addressed to him (Earle 1973:333).

By 1647, there were so many taverns that the Massachusetts General Court let the County Court take over the task of licensing the taverns (Rutman 1965:223). Licensing was a big business for the colony of Massachusetts. As in England, owners of taverns had to prove their status as upstanding citizens (Clark 1983:166). The prospective tavern-keeper had to submit a petition to either the town selectmen, local session courts, justice of the peace, or Mayor. The acting authority would then judge the case based upon the persons' financial status, the convenience of the tavern's location for both travelers and the inhabitants of the town, the number of facilities already available, and the tavern-keeper's ability to handle his or her duties (Rice 1983:61).

Tavern keeping was not necessarily a respectable job but one had to be respectable to get the license. Frequently the holder of the license was a local magistrate, justice of the peace or a sheriff (Earle 1973:196). In the 18th century people often acquired licenses and then let someone else run the establishments (Rice 1983:47). The ever increasing number of taverns eventually resulted in Massachusetts law limiting the licensing to one tavern per town. The unplanned side effect of this law was the rise of illegal taverns (Rice 1983:65). Illegal taverns were probably not preferred by the general public since guests of such houses were made to eat "...with the family...", was "...not free to demand...", and had "...no right to expect what he wants...", but paid "...quite as much as elsewhere" (Rice 1983:66).

At the same time that England was trying to regulate taverns and drunkenness, Massachusetts instituted a number of laws doing the same. In 1660, a man visiting Lyon, England said "the inhabitants drink more than a dozen Italian towns put together; almost every house is a cabaret." (Clark 1983:2). Things were not much different in the colonies. There were laws that tried to limit the time one could spend in a tavern and the amount one could drink at one time. Puritan magistrates took an early stand against drunkenness of any kind. In 1636, a law was passed in Massachusetts, which subjected a drunkard to confinement in the stocks and a fine while the tavern-keeper was prohibited from selling any liquor to the offender from then on (Earle 1973:166). In 1636, the habit of drinking to one's health was made unlawful because it "was a thing of no use, it induced drunkenness and quarreling, it wasted wine and beer and it was troublesome to many, forcing them to drink more than they wished" (Earle 1973:166).

The church fathers regulated both how much and what kind of liquor could be sold in the ordinaries. In 1634, six pence was an acceptable charge for a meal and one penny for a quart of ale (Drake 1917:13). If the owner overcharged for these items he could expect a fine of ten shillings (Drake 1917:13). He could also expect the same fine if the ale or beer he served proved to be made using the cheap molasses or coarse sugar, which some brewers tried to use as substitutes for proper ingredients (Earle 1973:164).

A number of activities were also forbidden in taverns in the colonial days. Playing cards were considered the "devil's picturebooks" by the colonial puritans and people were therefore prohibited from playing with cards and other games in taverns and other gathering places (Earle 1973:239). Dancing was another sacrilegious practice not tolerated in Massachusetts taverns (Earle 1973:240).

There were also ordinances against selling liquor to the Native Americans and slaves (Rice 1983:28). Slaves were limited in their access to liquor and frequently were not allowed into taverns (Lender 1982:27). In 1633 a law was passed to prohibit the sale of spirits to the "inflamed devilish bloody salvages," namely the Native Americans (Earle 1973:165). Apparently they were considered more susceptible to getting drunk than their European neighbors, and so were perceived as a threat to colonial tranquillity (Lender 1982:23). The colonists were not, however, beyond making alcohol available for treaty negotiations (Lender 1982:26).

Despite the number of regulations, it would seem that few of these ordinances were taken seriously by the townspeople and the inns and ordinaries around Boston continued to be hubs of social activity throughout the colonial period. The variety and number of

taverns in New England were more similar than different from their antecedents in Britain, and represented an important aspect of British life translated into the unique American experience.

CHAPTER III

The Charlestown Tavern and its Owners; 1630-1775

Taverns in Charlestown must have played a significant role in their growing seaport town. Many sailors, farmers, travelers, and merchants needed to be housed, and often the tavern was the only source of news and mail.

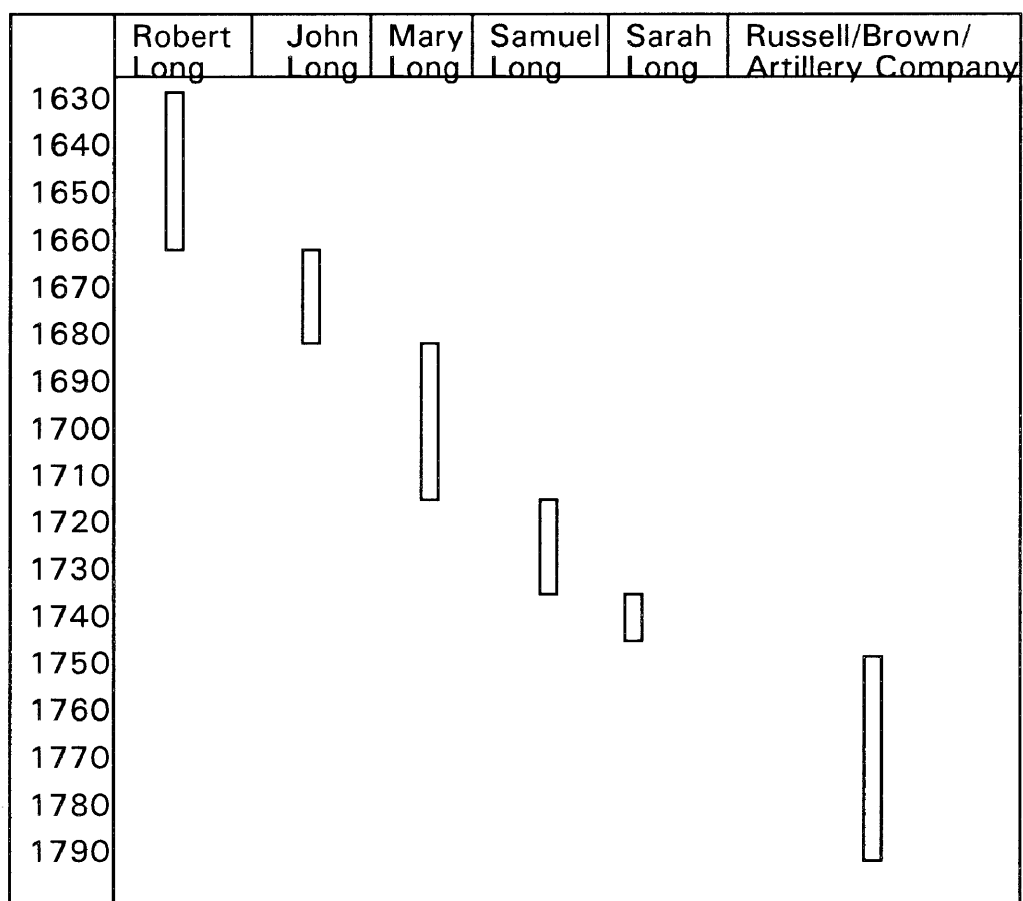
The Charlestown tavern was known variously as "Long's Ordinary," "Three Cranes Tavern," and the "Great House". It is mentioned in John Josselyn's diary as Long's Ordinary in 1638 (Josselyn 1833). The only Charlestown tavern listed in Elise Lathrop's exhaustive book on taverns is the Three Cranes (Lathrop 1926:329). It seems to have been among the most well known and perhaps one of only a few taverns in Charlestown.

In 1680, the Massachusetts court ruled that Charlestown could only have "...3 publick houses..." (Shurtleff 1855 volume 2:227, 305). In 1710, six more people became innkeepers but none seemed to be located in the marketplace (Frothingham 1845:245). Besides having limited competition, Robert Long's ordinary may have had the added advantage of being located in the town's social, economic, and political center with shops, a meetinghouse, and various houses surrounding it.

The building that became the Charlestown tavern was built in 1629-1630 by engineer Thomas Graves (who also laid out much of the Charlestown streets) (Frothingham

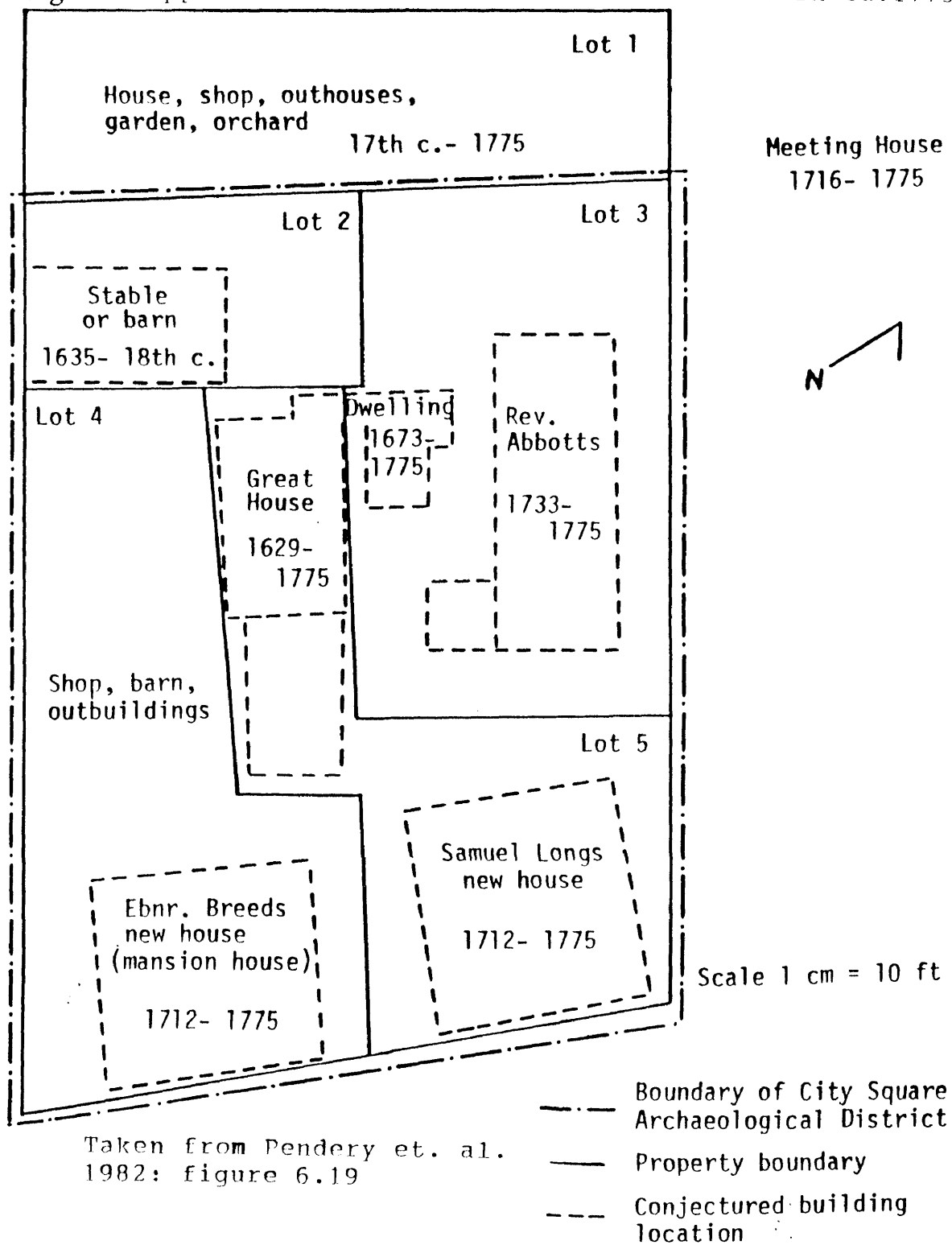
1845:21). He built the structure as the home for John Winthrop and at this time it was known as the Great House. When Winthrop later moved to Boston and became the first Governor of Massachusetts, the house was sold to the town for L10 and became Charlestown's first meetinghouse and courthouse (Hunnewell 1888:110). The house remained in the hands of the town until 1635 when Robert Long bought it for L30 (Hunnewell 1888:114) (Figure 2).

Figure 2: Charlestown Tavern Owner/Occupancy Dates



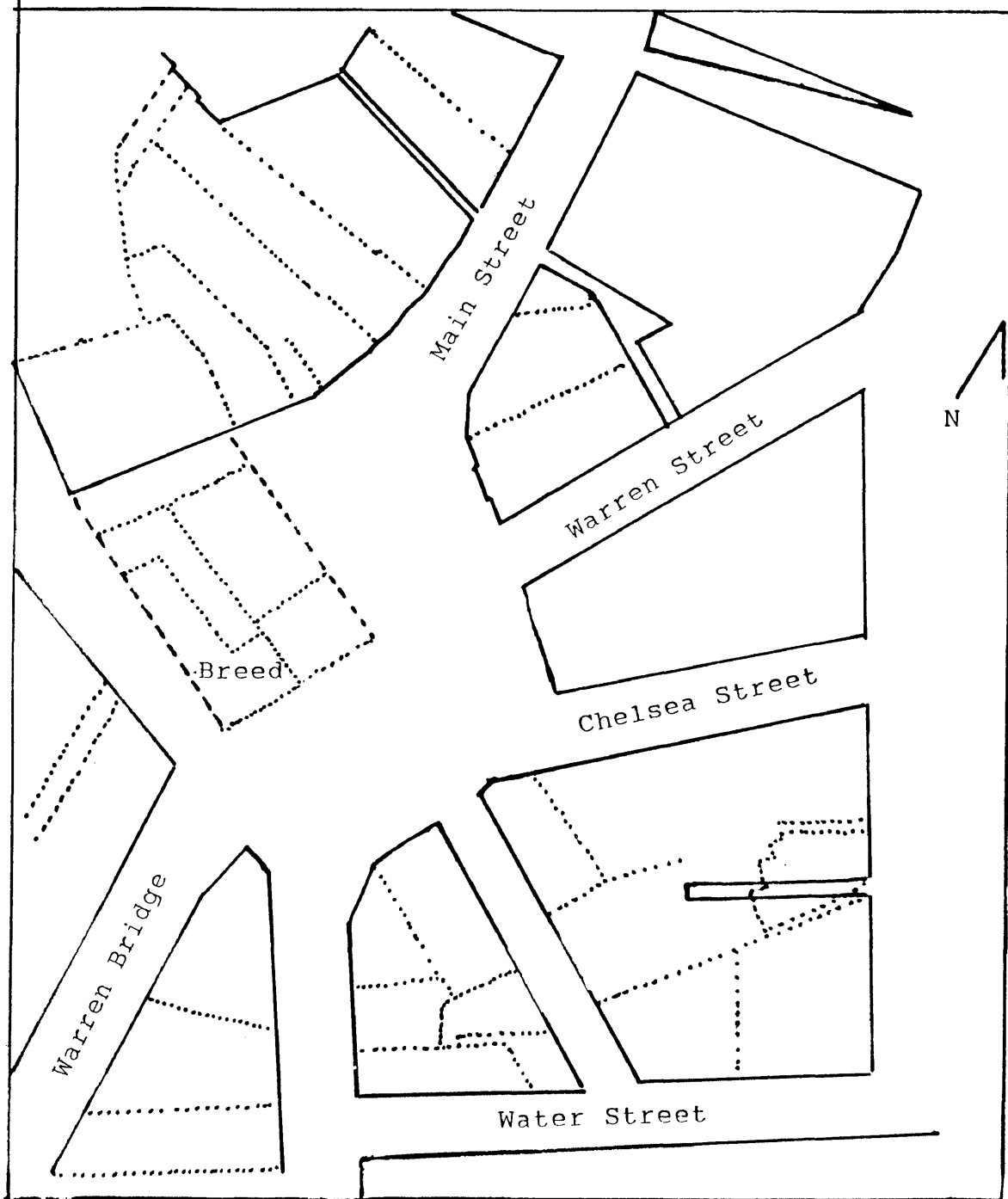
The tavern was located in what is now City Square and is said to have "...stood wholly in the square." (Hunnewell 1888:114) (Figure 3,4). It remained virtually unchanged from

Figure 3 Approximate Location of Charlestown Tavern Ca.1775



Taken from Pendery et. al.
1982: figure 6.19

Figure 4
1836 MAP OF CHARLESTOWN SQUARE BY A. WORDSWORTH



the time of its construction in 1629/30 until its destruction by fire in 1775. The building was surrounded by a yard, gardens, a dwelling house and a stable. Throughout this time, the building was known as a tavern from the first mention of "...the tavern..." in the 1683 inventory of John Long, to the mention of "...the great tavern..." in 1711, and "...3 Crane Tavern..." in 1713 (Hunnewell 1888:114).

Robert Long left Dunstable, England in July 1635 with his wife Elizabeth, and their ten children. He was listed as an innholder in Dunstable and soon became established as one in Charlestown (Woods 1991). The town told Long in 1635 he was

...granted to have the Great House wholly when we shall be provided of another meeting-house, and to pay L30, and for the present to have the south end, and so much of the chamber as the deacons can spare, and when the congregation leaveth the house, the deacons are to have the plank and the boards which lie over the chamber with all the forms below and benches (Frothingham 1845:65).

Judging from this description, the structure must have been two storeys in height.

The tavern structure and yard area itself seems to have remained much the same throughout its history. Robert Long's 1664 probate inventory talks of a "...dwelling house stable and garden or ground adjoining..." (Massachusetts Archives Library 1683). It also mentions a hall and a chamber over the hall, which is probably referring to the dwelling house. John Long's inventory of 1683 describes the tavern as having a "...great low room...", a "...great chamber...", a "...kitchen where the bar is kept...", "...chambers that are up the kitchen stairs...", a "...brewhouse...", a "...chamber over the wine cellar...", and a "...wine cellar..." (Massachusetts Archives Library 1683). Mary Long's

inventory of 1730 does not mention rooms in the tavern but it does state that the "...old dwelling house, and land adjoining near the meetinghouse...(contained)...about 85 foot front and 45 deap." (Massachusetts Archives Library 1730). Ebenezer Breed's inventory from 1754 mentions similar rooms to John Long's inventory 71 years before. Both mention the "...lower room...", the "...kitchen...", and a "...cellar..." (Massachusetts Archives Library 1754). If the New English colonists were using the same terminology as their English counterparts during this time period, then this structure would have been called a tavern. The English labeled a structure with an average of ten rooms a tavern while structures with an average of 14 or 5 were called inns or alehouses respectively (Clark 1983:64).

A new meetinghouse was built in the market-place to replace the Great House and sold in 1639 for L10 (Frothingham 1845:94). In 1638, Robert Long was allowed to "draw wine," provided "that he take what wines or waters are in the hands of Thomas Lynde, who formerly sold the wines, so that he not be damnified." (Frothingham 1845:84). At this time, no ordinaries were allowed to sell sack or strong water (Shurtleff 1853 volume 1:205), and the price of ale was strictly regulated. In fact, Robert Long was fined 20 shillings along with two other tavern owners on May 2, 1638, for selling at two pence a quart (Shurtleff 1853 volume 1:228). In 1648 Robert Long purchased the right to sell retail wines along with five other vintners at a cost of L160 a year (Frothingham 1845:114). By this time, he was paying a tax of ten shillings for "...every butt of sack drawn" and two and one-half shillings "...for every hogshead of French wines and other wines..." (Shurtleff 1853 vol.2:130). In his Voyages, John Josselyn writes of visiting "one Long's Ordinary" and indicates that he was disturbed to find these taverns so strict (Frothingham 1845:96). He writes:

If a stranger went in, he was presently followed by one appointed to that office, [a tythingman] who would thrust himself into his company uninvited, and if he called for more drink than the officer thought in his judgment he could soberly bear away, he would presently countermand it, and appoint the proportion beyond which he could not get one drop (Frothingham 1845:96).

Josselyn also reports that Long could not allow tobacco to be used, cards or dice to be played and could not charge more than six-pence for food or a penny for beer or he would face a ten shilling fine (Frothingham 1845:96). It was a ten shilling fine for anyone found drunk and excessive drink was defined to be more than one-half pint of wine per person at one time (Shurtleff 1853 volume 2:100). In 1648, the Massachusetts courts felt that drunkenness was such a problem that they charged a five pound fine to any vintner who failed to call a constable when someone was inebriated (Shurtleff 1853 volume 2:257). By 1649, Robert Long, along with five other vintners, had received the right to sell wine for the next five years (Shurtleff 1853 volume 2:277). In return, they agreed to sell "...sacks, muskadels, alligant and tex wine for 15d per quart; and French wines, white wines and claret wine for 8d per quart for the next five years (Shurtleff 1853 vol.2:277).

Robert died in 1663, leaving a good size estate to his large family (Figure 2). Robert's son, John, took possession of the tavern in 1663 after buying out his siblings' shares. He must have been involved in the tavern business before his father died as he was fined three pounds in 1641 for "...his distemper in drinking & giving wine to others." (Shurtleff 1853 volume 3:427). John, who was married to Mary Nowell Winslow Long, was listed as an innkeeper and sea captain (Wyman 1879:626). Mary was the daughter of the very

influential, but not very wealthy, Increase Nowell who was chosen to run Charlestown after Winthrop left (Wall 1972:4). Judging from both the numerous references to the Nowell family in the history books and the lack of references to the Long family, it is highly probable that Mary brought some prestige to the Long family name. She also was listed as one of those chosen by the town to be a tythingman in 1678 (Frothingham 1845:183).

During the time that John owned the tavern, the area around it was becoming more built up. The market-place now contained a meetinghouse to the Northeast of the tavern (in 1672 this was repaired and enlarged), a few shops which the deacons were allowed to build on "the two sides of the meetinghouse", a whipping post, a pillory, a brewhouse, stables, and a "messuage and tenement" to the West of the tavern (Frothingham 1845:114,186,207-208; Hunnewell 1888:20). A dwelling was also built adjacent to the tavern in the 1670s. The only other public building in town at the time was the watch house built on Town Hill (Frothingham 1845:94-97).

By 1663, tavern owners' licenses were subject to renewal once a year, and the price of beer was now in direct proportion to the amount of malt used: 2d for a quart must contain 2 bushels of malt per barrel (Shurtleff 1853 volume 3,4-2:427,135). The Massachusetts courts ruled in 1680 that Charlestown shall only have "...3 publick houses, 1 retailer of wine and strong liquors out of doors..." while Boston was allowed "...6 wine taverners, 10 innholders, and 8 retailers of wine and strong liquors out of doors..." (Shurtleff 1853 vol.2:305).

Mary inherited the tavern when John died in 1683. She rented it to her nephew Henry

Cookery II (who lived in a house nearby) in 1698 and got L20 yearly income from the tavern (MCP 6:139). At this time there must have been a number of unlicensed taverns operating in Massachusetts because the court was petitioned to crack down on these illicit establishments (Shurtleff 1853 vol.4-2:448). Cookery did not rent the tavern long, for he died in 1704. By 1711, Mary had given over possession of the tavern to her son Samuel, a mariner, but she still kept possession of her house near the tavern (MCRD 15:583).

Competition for the Longs may have become stiff at this time, because in 1710, the selectmen of Charlestown approved six more people to be inn-keepers (Frothingham 1845:245). Luckily the market-place was busy during this time, and in 1716 a new meeting-house was built on or near the old one, possibly keeping the tavern owners busy serving food or drink after meetings (Frothingham 1845:247).

Samuel mortgaged half of the tavern for L300 to Charles Chambers in 1712. Samuel used the money to build a dwelling 36' long by 34' wide for himself and his wife Sarah on property adjacent to the tavern (Figure 3). He sold the other half of the tavern to Ebenezer Breed in 1711 for L200 (Wyman 1879:626).

The Breeds, who came from Lynn, were among the first group of settlers in Charlestown. Ebenezer was a tin plate worker and at one point, a town treasurer. He had a good deal of real estate on the Mystic River side of Charlestown, and is listed as having had "estates on the Square, where he resided" (Sawyer 1902:175-176). He also owned land on Breed's Hill where the famous Battle of Bunker Hill commenced years later. Breed was instrumental in writing the petitions to England protesting the tea tax,

particularly the aforementioned resolution of 1773. Ebenezer bequeathed his half of the tavern to his son, John in 1754 who left it to his son, Ebenezer Breed II, when he died in 1757.

In 1730, Mary Long died and officially bequeathed the tavern to her son Samuel. Samuel died the following year and his wife Sarah inherited the tavern. When Sarah died, she left "...a Large Copper, and a Kitchen Jack, now in my House in Charlestown Called the three Cranes..." to her second husband, George Shore in 1743 (Massachusetts Archive Library 1743). Shore sold it to Chambers Russell, who sold it to Nathaniel Brown.

By 1766, the tavern was mortgaged to the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company. The British attack on Charlestown in 1775 burned all of the market-place including the tavern. The estate was given to the inhabitants of Charlestown in by the secretary of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company in 1794 and remains theirs today (Figure 2).

The wealth of the aforementioned tavern owners varied. Including his land, Robert Long died with L648.19.01, while his son John left L1630.00.00 in possessions. Mary died with L886.7.6 to her name. Samuel and Sarah Long left no inventories, so that the next recorded probate is that of Ebenezer Breed, who, in 1754, owned L5647.16.1. This inventory is unusually large because Breed owned his own dwelling house at the time, and had sold some of his real estate to the Navy Yard, the Salem Turnpike and the Chelsea Bridge Corporation (Sawyer 1902:176).

Although the wealth seems to have varied between tavern owners, the possessions were

mostly unchanging. Featherbeds, blankets, curtains, and vallances make up most of the bedroom-related possessions while spits, tongs, kettles, pots and copper brewing utensils make up the kitchen inventory. Chairs, andirons, a cow and a hog, and a "negro girl" make up the remaining common entries at least among the Longs, who may have passed these things down. According to Frothingham (1845:209), these inventories were typical for Charlestown inhabitants. They also compare with the inventories of innkeeper Samuel Ruggles of nearby Roxbury (1692) and innkeeper William Clarke of Salem (1647). Clarke, who was considered moderately wealthy, owned a total of L586.2.2 in possessions that were comparable to those of Robert Long. Many of the items listed in the Ruggles and Clarke inventories are similar to those mentioned above in the Charlestown tavern owner's inventories.

The Charlestown tavern's location in the market-place put it at the center of religious and commercial activity for the town's inhabitants. Its ownership through many generations coupled with the desire by later owners to build their homes nearby is a good indication of both the growth of the area and its importance to the community. Because colonial taverns were central to many townspeople's lives, it is reasonable to assume that the owners of the Charlestown tavern were important to their community.

CHAPTER IV

An Analysis of the Charlestown Tavern Ceramics, Glass, and Clay Pipes from Five Privies

The purpose of this study is to show that, while some generalizations can be made about the type of assemblage one would expect to find at a tavern site, the individual tavern, so much a part of its surrounding community, will also greatly reflect the unique combination of qualities of the town in which it is located. It demonstrates how some predictions can be made about the type of artifacts and ceramic wares expected to be found in abundance at a tavern site (Bragdon 1988), but shows that caution must be used when making generalizations based upon artifact analysis about the urban or rural nature of the town in which a tavern is situated (Rockman and Rothschild 1984). The Charlestown tavern provides us with interesting data to support these conclusions.

Charlestown was an urban area connected to many other parts of the world through its ever increasing sea trade in the 17th and 18th centuries. The Charlestown tavern was established by a former English innkeeper from a rural area and located in the center of a town that did not seem to have many other taverns. This town center contained many buildings and was often the center of the town's activities. A study of the Charlestown tavern privy contents will help show whether these factors influence the character of the assemblage and will indicate just how useful it can be to look carefully at the town in

which a tavern is located before making generalizations about what we expect to see.

In order to complete my objectives, I employed the following methods of analysis. The assemblage I chose to analyze came from five privies in the yard of the tavern (Figure 5). The privies were chosen because of the likelihood of containing the most intact sherds, making vessel reconstruction and analysis easier. The privies also contained the most undisturbed features.

I used "Q&A", Version 3 for the bulk of my computer analysis of the five privies. I chose Stanley South's date range for the ceramics that were classifiable in order to compare my data to that of other tavern studies which use South's dates (South 1978).

In order to study the change in vessel forms through time and the different vessel functions, I classified all of the identifiable vessel forms according to the POTS classification system (Beaudry *et. al.* 1983). This analysis makes it possible to tell which wares and forms taverns owners may have been using. While this system is intended for use in 17th century Chesapeake sites, and not 17th and 18th century Massachusetts sites, I chose to use it for the following reasons:

- 1) Its use facilitates the comparison with the other tavern sites for which the same classification system was used.
- 2) The vessel categories made up by the vessel forms are generalized and can be applied to the Massachusetts sites.

I have included illustrations of the Charlestown vessel forms to which I refer in the text (Figure 6). The vessels recovered at the Charlestown tavern can be compared with

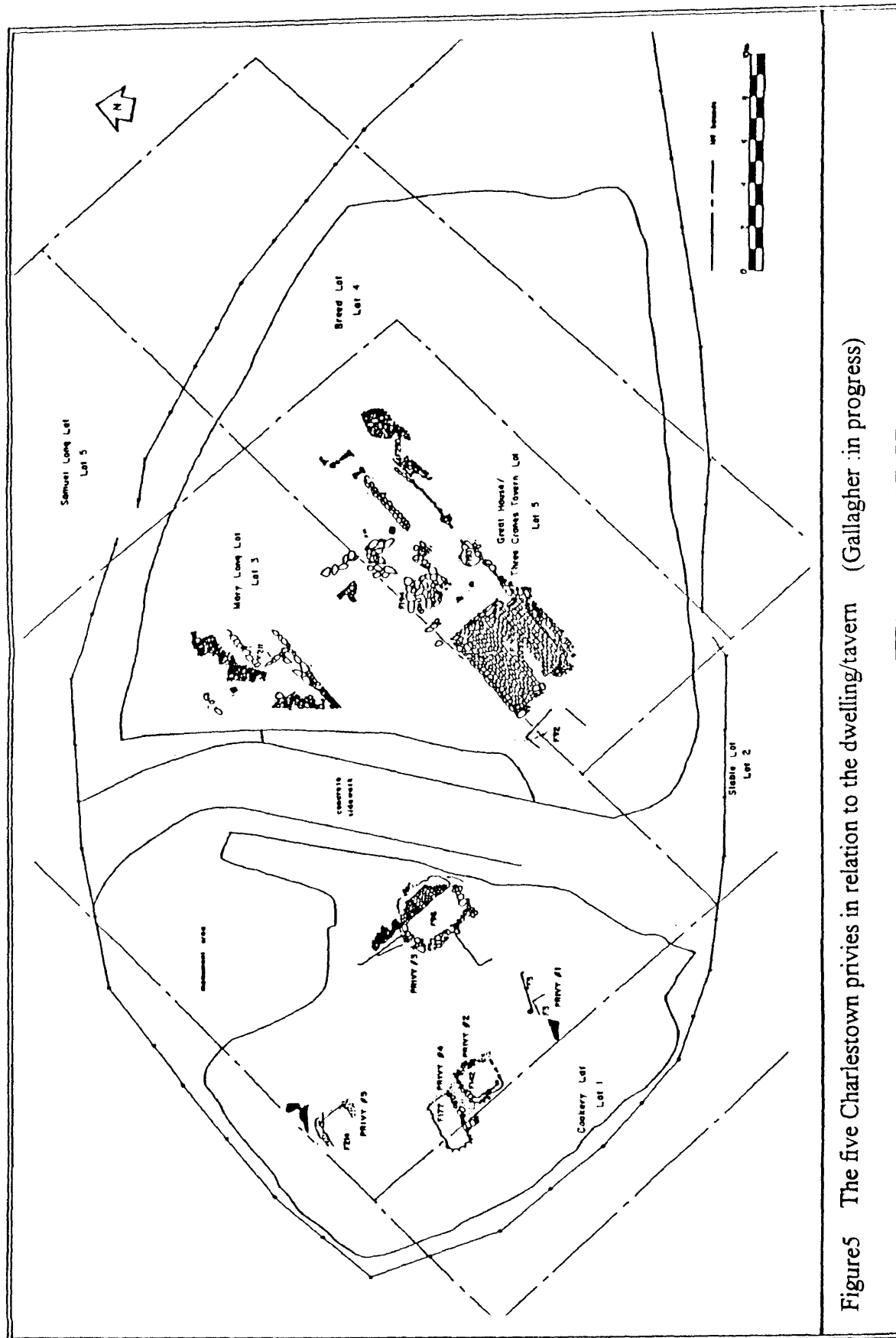


Figure5 The five Charlestown privies in relation to the dwelling/tavern (Gallagher in progress)

Figure 6

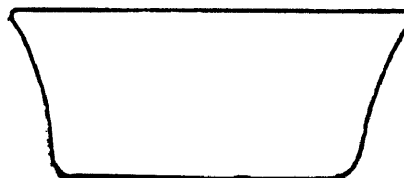
Ceramic Vessel Forms at
Charlestown Tavern

All Drawings: 1/5 actual
size

FOOD PROCESSING



Milk Pan

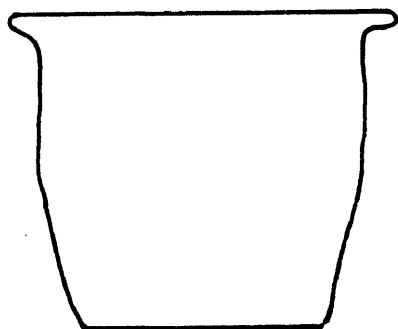


Pudding Pan

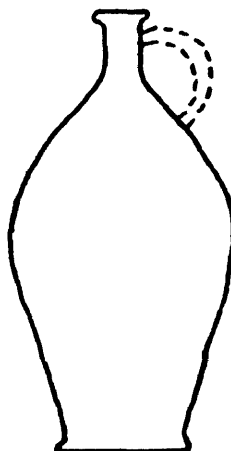


Bowl

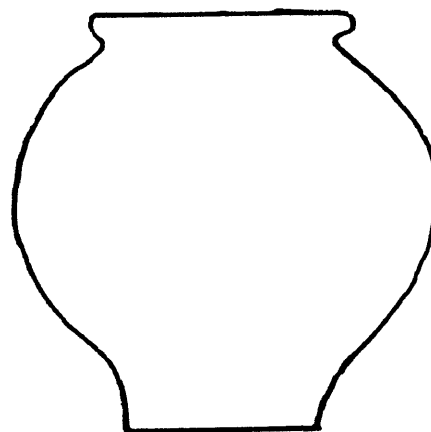
FOOD AND DRINK STORAGE



Storage Pot

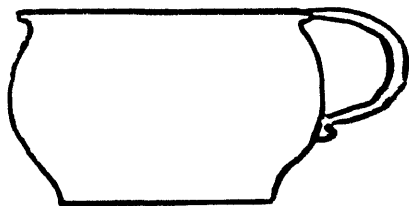


Bottle



Jar

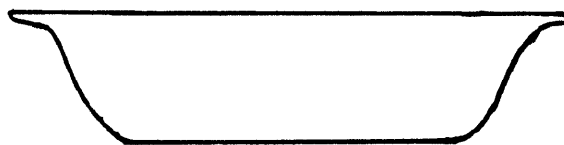
HEALTH/HYGIENE



Chamber Pot



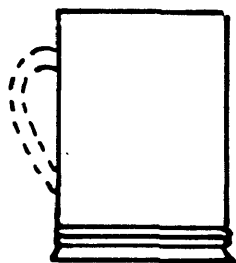
Galley Pot



Basin

Figure 6

BEVERAGE CONSUMPTION

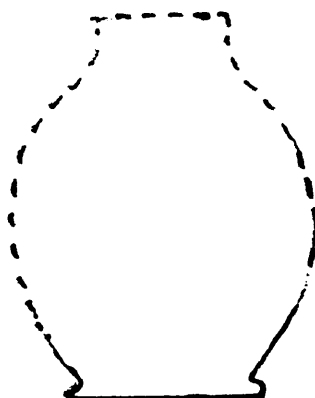


Mug



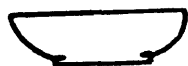
Drinking pot

BEVERAGE SERVING



Pitcher

FOOD CONSUMPTION



Saucer



Dish



Small Bowl



Plate

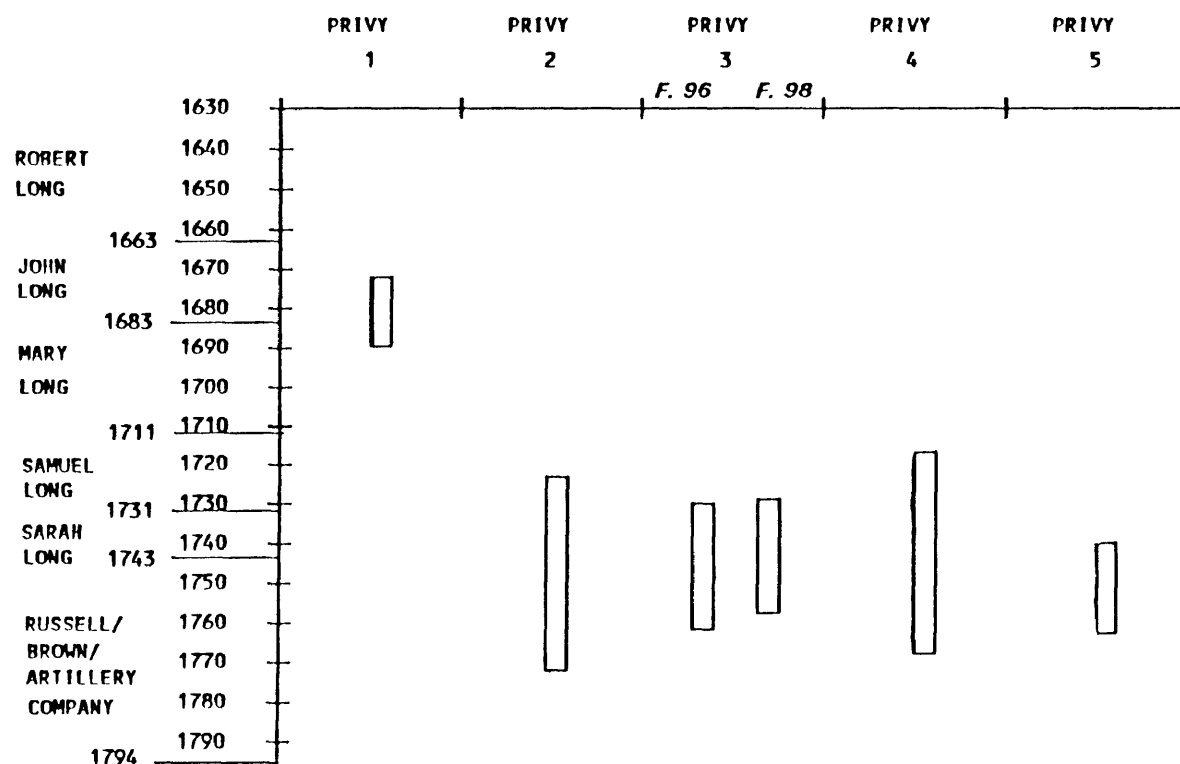
those found at other tavern sites to discover whether or not the Charlestown assemblage exhibits similar traits to those of other taverns.

Using Stanley South's date ranges (1988) for the ceramics, I was able to determine the mean dates for most of the privies as well as the standard deviation (Mrozowski 1984) from which I could derive a date range for each privy (Table 1, Figure 7). Privy 1 did not have enough dateable artifacts to arrive at a mean date but by looking at the builder's trench and surrounding layers, I was able to come up with a *terminus post quem*, and a possible fill date which will be discussed later. Many of the features within the privy appear to represent a relatively short fill episode so that the mean dates are relatively accurate. Privy 3 has two fill episodes which are labeled feature 96 and feature 98 and appear to have been deposited very close in time. The dates for these privies will be discussed in the section called "The Privies."

TABLE 1: DATE RANGE FOR CHARLESTOWN TAVERN PRIVIES BASED UPON MEAN DATES OF CERAMIC VESSELS (EXCLUDING PRIVY 1) (SOUTH 1978)

PRIVY #	FEATURE #	NUMBER OF VESSELS	MEAN DATE	STANDARD DEVIATION	DATE RANGE FOR PRIVY
2	142	48	1751	25	1726-1776
3	96	26	1750	17.1	1733-1767
3	98	18	1747	14.1	1733-1761
4	177	32	1741	29.7	1711-1771
5	214	12	1757	12.9	1744-1770

FIGURE 7: CHARLESTOWN TAVERN OWNER/OCCUPANTS WITH THE DATE RANGES FOR EACH PRIVY (PRIVY 1 DATES ARE BASED UPON BUILDER'S TRENCH AND *TERMINUS POST QUEM*)



I have also briefly examined the glass and clay pipes from these privies in order to compare the general types, the dates and the number of pieces showing up with those of the other tavern studies (Brown et. al. 1990, Bragdon 1988, Rockman and Rothschild 1984). Because these studies compared sherds (not vessels) of these items, this study will only refer to sherds when discussing glass and pipes.

A study of the ceramics, glass, and pipes from the Charlestown Tavern privies will provide more information about taverns and how they may reflect the unique flavor of

the town in which they are situated. A comparison of this assemblage with that from other tavern sites in different towns will urge archaeologists to consider all the aspects which make a particular tavern what it is before they make predictions. I have chosen four tavern studies which examine six taverns to compare with the Charlestown data. In most cases, I have compared the Charlestown tavern ceramic vessels with those of the other taverns, but in some cases, I have also compared ceramic sherds. In such instances, I shall make it clear that I am referring to sherd counts rather than vessels.

The Shields Tavern was located in Williamsburg, Virginia and originally owned by a French Huguenot named Jean Marot (Brown *et. al.* 1990). It has two distinct periods of use as a tavern, the early period (1708-1738) and the late period (1738-1800). This study will mostly be concerned with the results which came from the study of the late period and will be discussed later.

The Wellfleet Tavern in rural Wellfleet, Massachusetts was in operation from sometime in the late 17th century until approximately 1740 when the whaling community which supported it left (Bragdon 1988). Kathleen Bragdon studied the Wellfleet tavern in an effort to discover how a tavern can be distinguished from a domestic site in the archaeological assemblage. The results of this study will be compared with those of the Charlestown tavern later in this paper.

Julia King's study of a 17th century tavern in St. Mary's City, Maryland called the St. John's site provides us with an opportunity to study a tavern which (like the Charlestown tavern) existed during its town's strongest economic period (1988). A comparison of these two sites will demonstrate how two taverns in seemingly similar situations can

display very different artifacts.

Finally, a look at a comparative study of four taverns (including the previously mentioned Wellfleet tavern) by Diana Rockman and Nan Rothschild (1984) will help determine whether or not the Charlestown tavern looks rural or urban and why. The conclusions of their study were that taverns in urban areas should exhibit artifacts representative of a more specialized function while those in rural areas should produce artifacts more tied to the generalized nature of these taverns. These assumptions will be tested by the data generated by the Charlestown tavern.

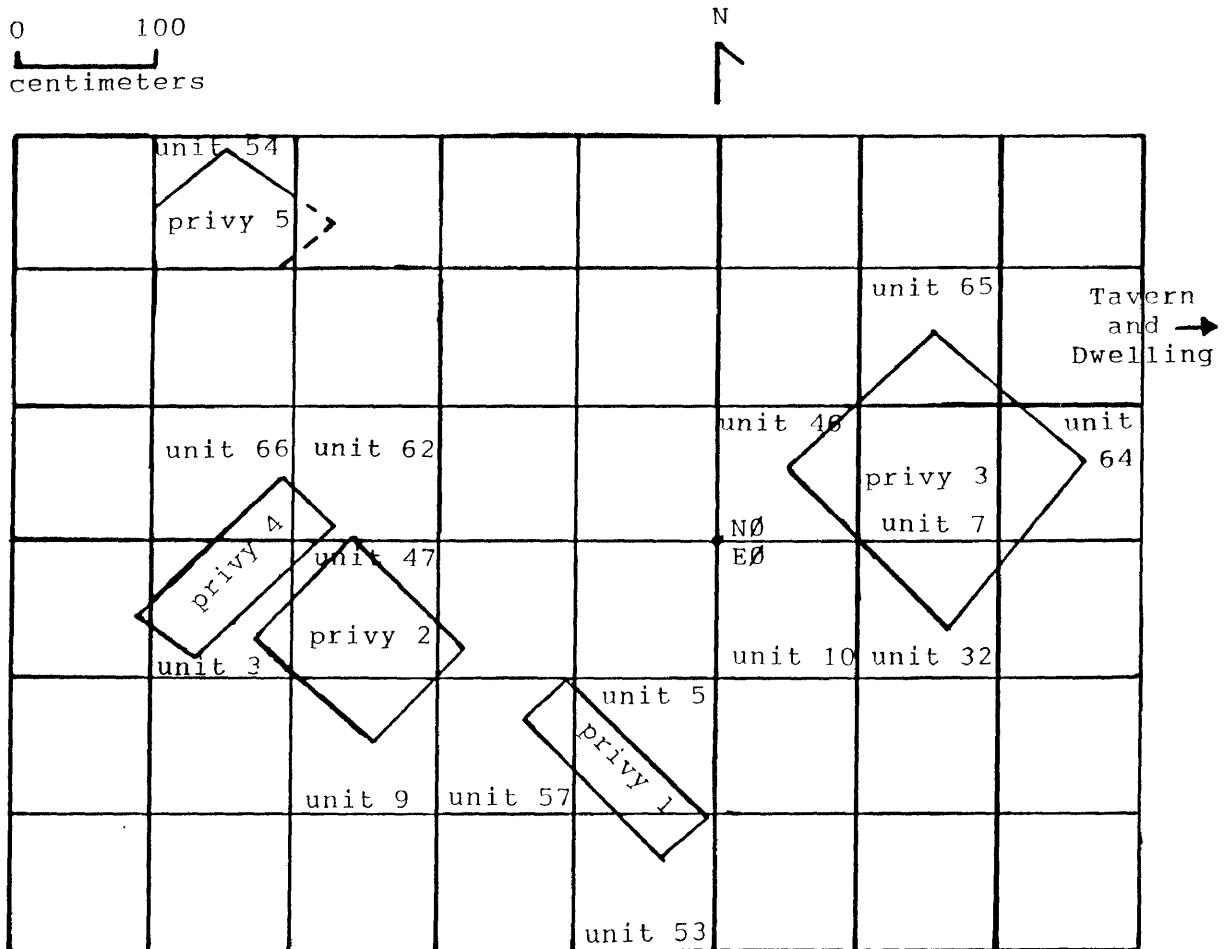
I have chosen the above studies for either their temporal and/or comparative compatibility or their contrasting nature to the Charlestown tavern site. These comparisons allow us to see the Charlestown tavern as part of a larger picture, making our understanding of taverns more complete.

THE PRIVIES

The units in which the privies were uncovered were two meters squared and were oriented on a north/south axis (Figure 5). I chose to analyze the privies for this study because they contain the most undisturbed features on the site and exhibit less fragmented material than the yard scatter.

The privies at the Charlestown tavern site are all in close proximity (Figure 5,8). The privy fill which I will discuss refers to the trash discarded in to the privy after it was no longer used for its primary function of human waste disposal. Many of these privies

Figure 8
Location of Privies



were filled in rapidly, as is evidenced by the lack of distinct stratification within the features representing the fill. It will be noted when there was less rapid deposition. The dates that the privies were constructed has been derived in every case from a computation of the *terminus post quem* for the ceramics found in the privy builder's trenches.

Privy 1 is the earliest privy on the site. The ceramics in the builder's trench indicate this privy was built between 1675 and 1685 so it was most likely built by John Long (Figure 7,9). The ceramics in the privy fill (feature 3) suggest a *terminus post quem* (TPQ) of 1690. A trash pit (feature 4) extends into the privy fill in the northwest quadrant from 8-110 cm and also has a TPQ of 1690. The entire wood-lined privy is 125 cm deep.

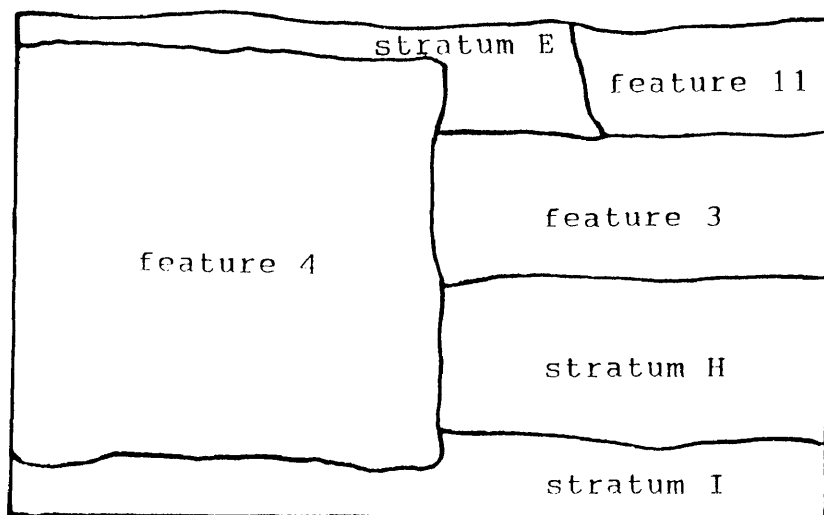
Privy 4 was the next of the privies to be filled in. The builder's trench provides a date of 1750 and the privy was possibly built by Nathaniel Brown (Figure 7). It is a wood-lined, field-stone walled, rectangular privy. The ceramics in the privy fill (feature 177) have a mean date of 1741 and a TPQ of 1762. The privy is capped by a 1775 fire destruction level (feature 18) and the fill is somewhat disturbed by 19th century utility trenches. It lies adjacent to privy 2, with only an outer lining of clay separating the two on its southeast side (Figure 10). The privy is approximately 110x250 cm. in area and ends on marine clay at a depth of 170 cm. below datum.

Privy 2 was the next privy to be filled with what has been labeled as feature 142. The builder's trench for this privy indicates it was built around 1740, and the ceramics TPQ indicates it was filled sometime after 1765. It is stone lined with interior wood planking

Figure 9

UNIT 53
NORTH PROFILE

privy 1

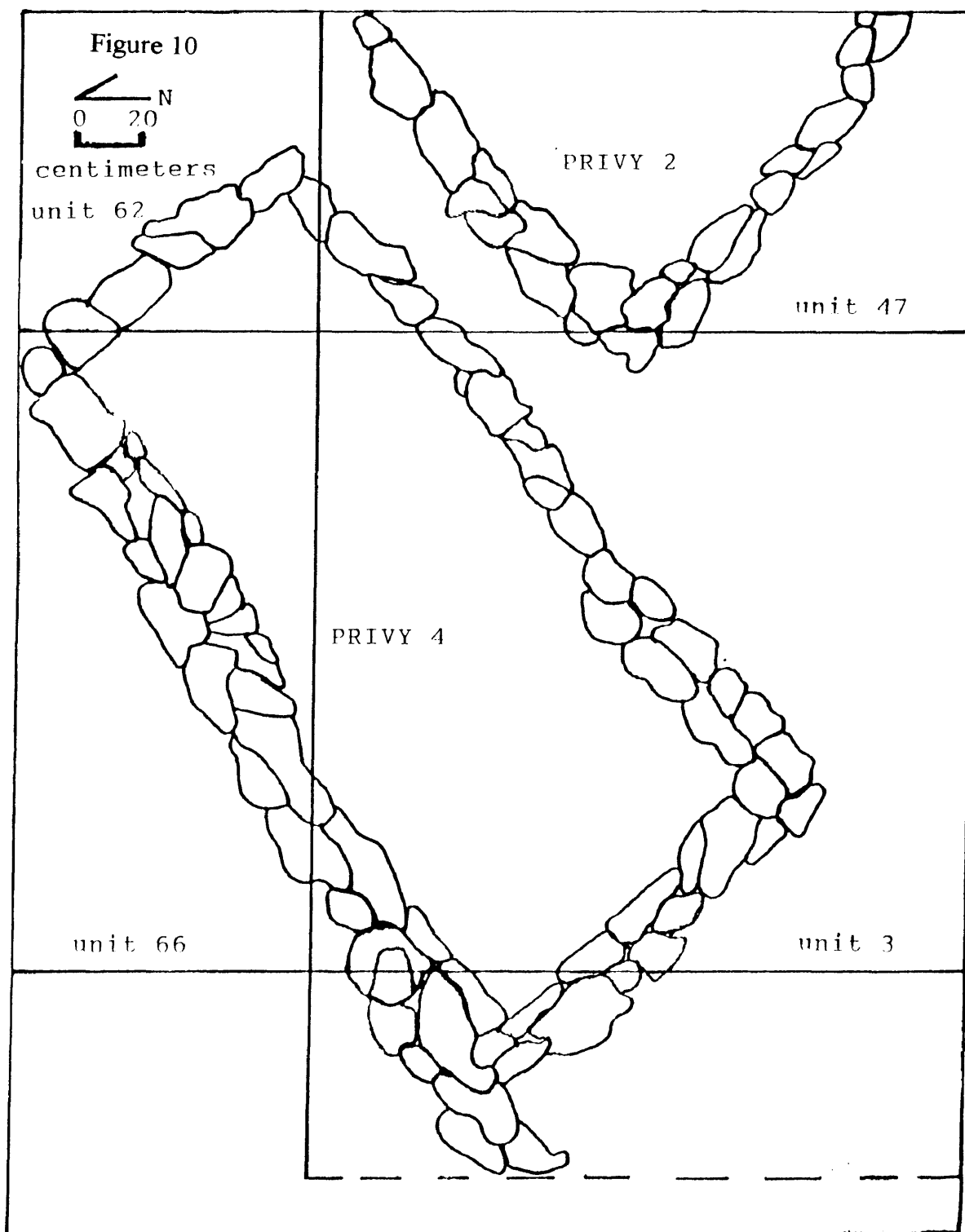


Feature 4--18th century trash pit

Feature 3--17th century privy fill

Feature 11--utility trench

0 20
centimeters



in vertical and horizontal positions. Three wooden corner posts were excavated and a fourth most likely exists. It is possible that this privy continued to be filled after the 1775 fire due to the preponderance of late 18th century artifacts in the upper layers. The only disturbance in this privy comes from slumping of a portion of the top 170 cm. in unit 9. The privy is approximately 120x140 cm. in area and 300 cm. deep. It is oriented in a northeast/southwest direction. This privy is within 40 cm. of privy 4 (Figure 11,12).

Privy 3 was the next privy to be filled in. Built around 1770, the privy was filled in two episodes (Figure 13). Feature 96 represents the primary fill which has a mean ceramic date of 1750 and a TPQ of 1745. Feature 98 is the secondary fill with a TPQ of 1762. The privy is approximately 330 cm. from east to west and 370 cm. from north to south and terminates on a clay floor at 160-165 cm. below the datum, maintaining the same dimensions all the way down. The presence of both burned and unburned wood indicates that, in addition to being lined with dry laid field stones, it may once have been wood-lined.

The integrity of features 96 and 98 is poor. Part of feature 98 slumped due to many days of rain, and feature 96 was interrupted by an iron water pipe in unit 7. It is unfortunate that feature 96 was not wet-screened as this would have recovered more of the smaller artifacts.

Privy 5 was built around 1750 and was only excavated in one unit, (54) and presumably extends to other units in the south and west. The privy is wood- framed with at least two wedged corner posts. The fill was designated feature 214. It ends at 190 cm. below

plan view

Figure 11

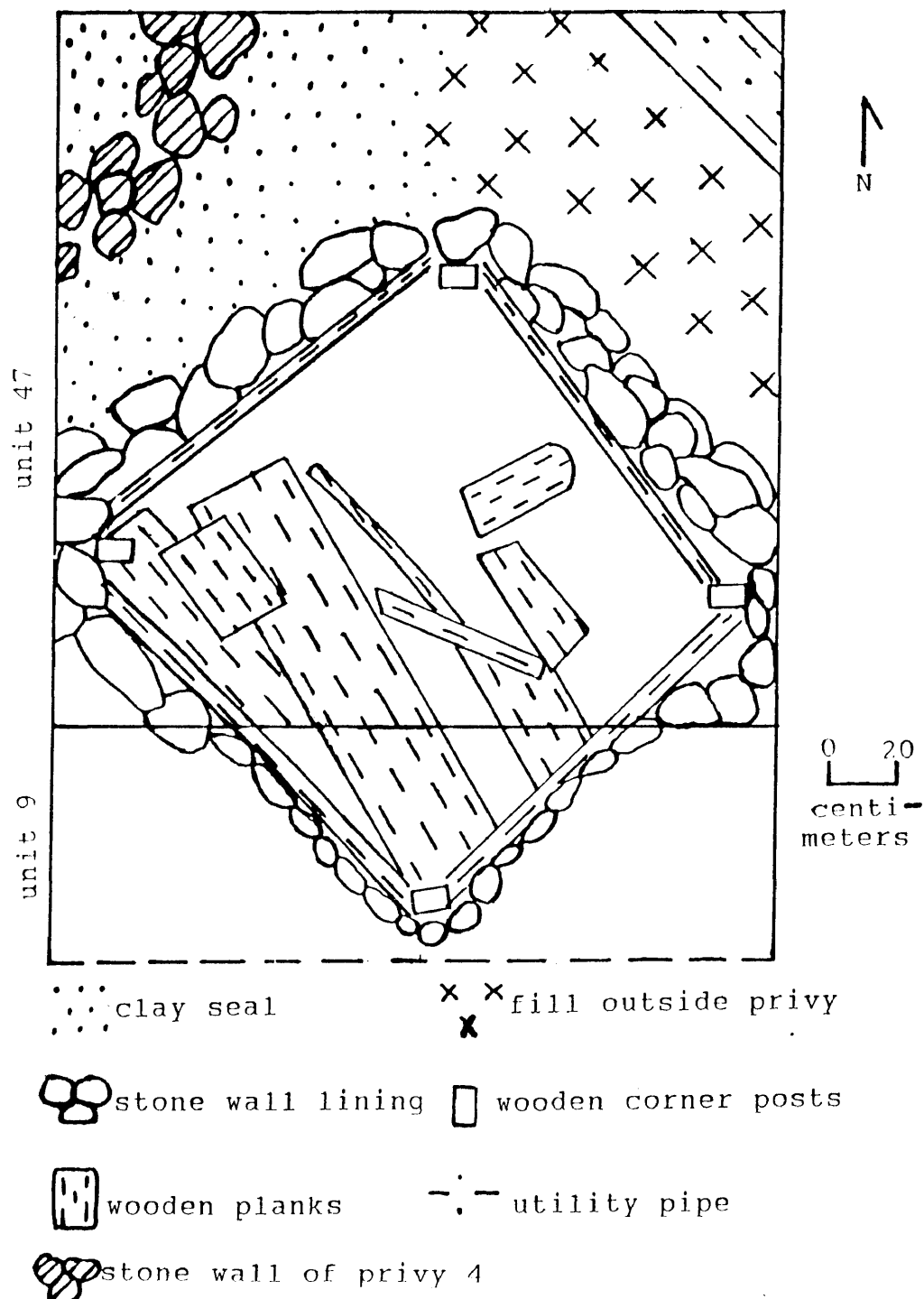
UNIT 47
PRIVY 2

Figure 12

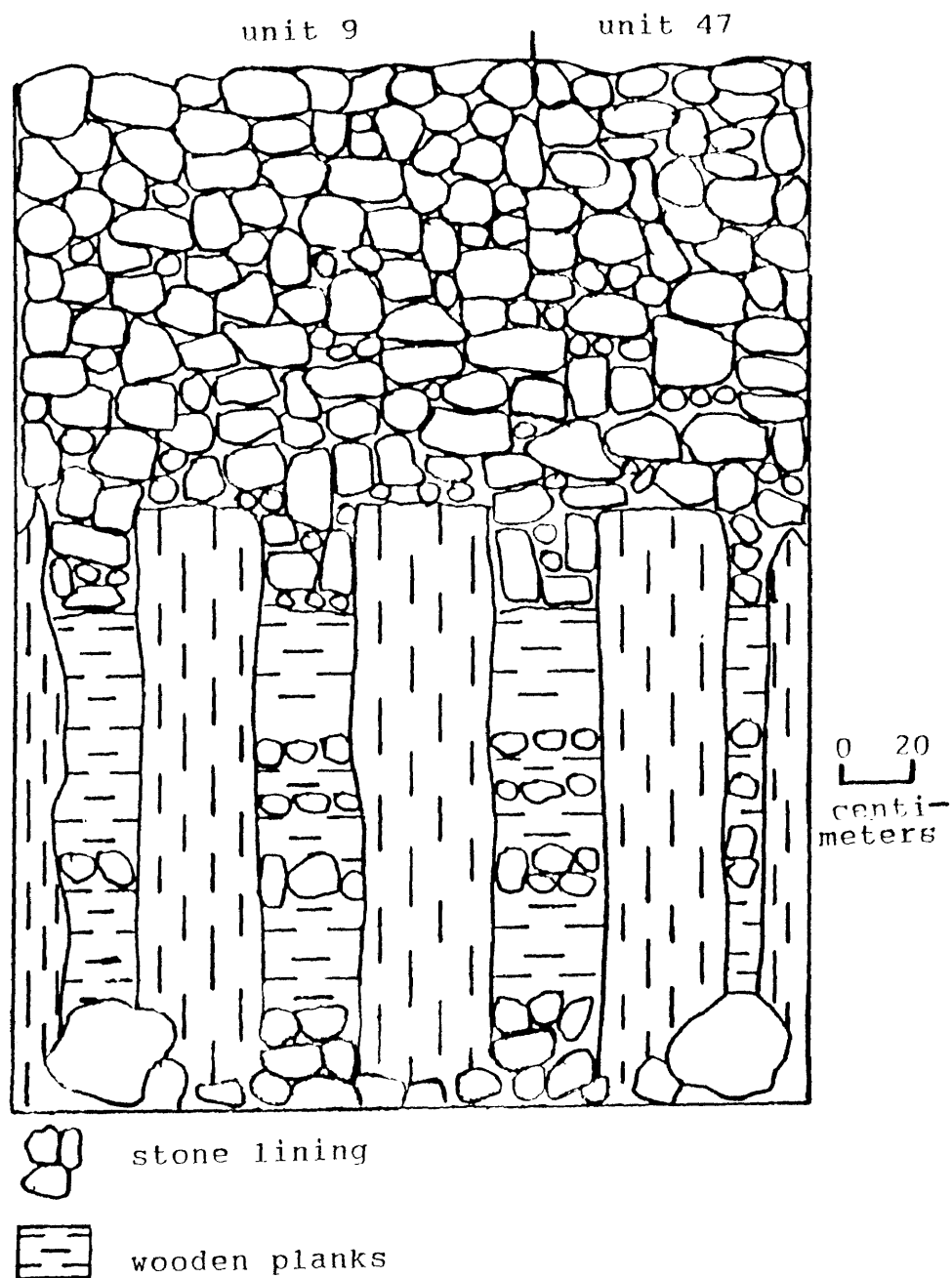
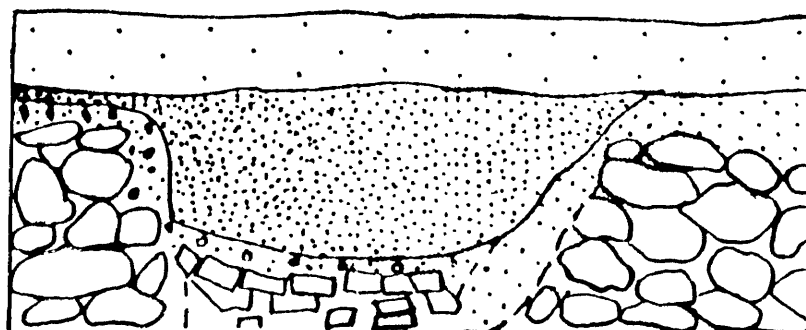
PRIVY 2
SOUTHWEST PROFILE

Figure 13 UNIT 7
NORTH PROFILE

privy 3



0 20
centimeters



stratum E



feature 96
stratum A primary fill



feature 98 secondary fill
stratum A



feature 98 secondary fill
stratum B



brick



stone lining

datum on very fine silt and measures 140 cm. along the northwest/southeast oriented wall (Figure 14). The TPQ for this privy (based upon the ceramics in the fill) is 1765 while the mean ceramic date is 1757.

THE ARTIFACTS

The Charlestown tavern assemblage provides an opportunity to study a site that has been used as a tavern for the majority of its existence. The fact that the tavern was owned by the same family for many years and was situated in one of the busiest seaports of the time perhaps contributed to its continued and increasing success. If the growing nature of Charlestown affected the tavern's business, it is reasonable to assume that the owners of the tavern would have paid attention to Charlestown's growth and made decisions for the tavern based upon changes in the town.

This study examines changes in artifact or vessel types to determine the correlation between choices the owners were making and the direction of growth of the town. It also looks for an increase in drink related vessels as the tavern presumably moved from a small tavern in a small town to a popular tavern in a widely visited town. An analysis of the drink related artifacts tests the theory that a tavern assemblage is recognizable from a household assemblage (Bragdon 1988). Lastly, this study explores the possibility that the increasing urbanization of Charlestown is noticeable in the ceramic, glass, and clay pipe assemblage (Rockman and Rothschild 1984).

In order to accomplish these goals, it is necessary to examine aforementioned tavern studies for comparative purposes and to determine what trends we could expect to see in

future tavern studies. When comparing the vessel types from the Charlestown tavern to that of the other taverns, I used five vessel function categories taken from the POTS classification system (Beaudry *et. al.* 1983) to classify the vessels. These categories were: food preparation, food and drink storage, beverage consumption (individual and communal), food serving and consumption, and health/hygiene. The first category of vessel types I discuss are those related to drinking.

According to Kathleen Bragdon (1988), the highest percentage of ceramic vessels for a tavern site should be from the categories involving drinking. The artifacts from the Shields Tavern, in Colonial Williamsburg, fit this hypothesis, while the Wellfleet Tavern (17th century Massachusetts) data show a slightly higher percentage of utilitarian vessels than drinking vessels (Figure 16,17). When this information is compared to that of the Charlestown tavern, we find that it agrees with Bragdon's theory as the beverage consumption vessels are among the highest percentages in privies 2 through 5 (Figure 15). Food preparation vessels, however, also form a large portion of the assemblage in the five privies lending credence to Louis Feisters' suggestion that "...the preparation of food may have been of greater importance at tavern sites than has heretofore been assumed." (1975:15). Food processing and health/hygiene vessels shared the highest number for vessel types in privy 1. The least common vessel types in privy 1 were in the beverage serving category. Privy 1, the earliest privy, was built by John Long and may well reflect a quieter time at the tavern and a slightly more household oriented assemblage as the tavern was just getting started..



FIGURE 15 : PERCENTAGE OF VESSEL TYPES IN EACH OF THE CHARLESTOWN TAVERN PRIVIES

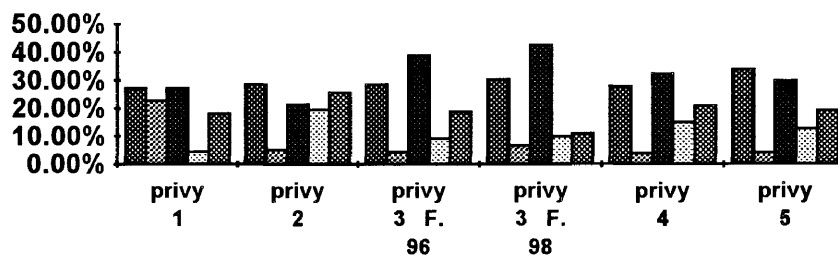


FIGURE 16: PERCENTAGE OF VESSEL TYPES FOR EARLY AND LATE SHIELDS TAVERN ASSEMBLAGE (BROWN ET. AL. 1990:76,114)

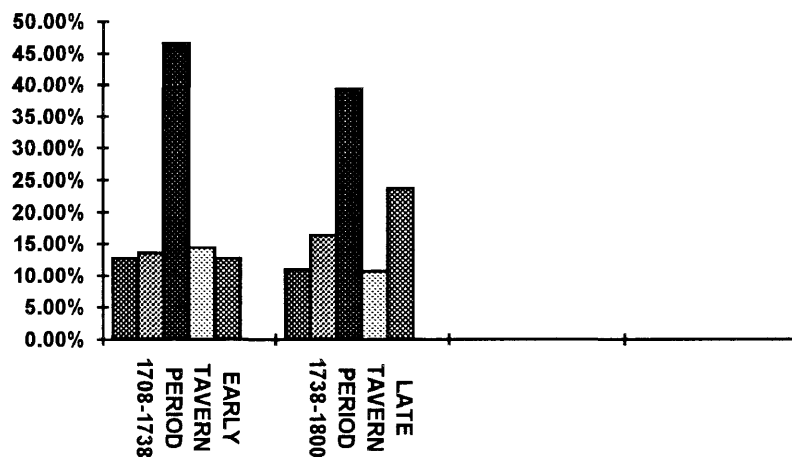
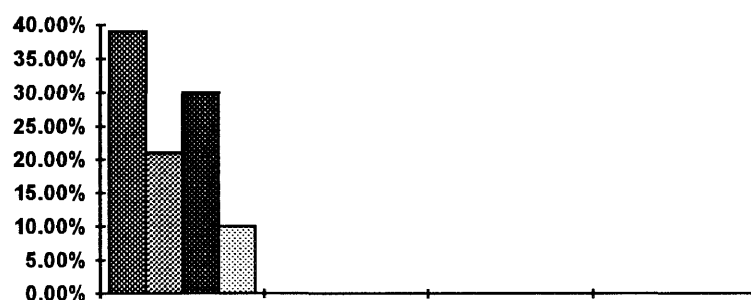
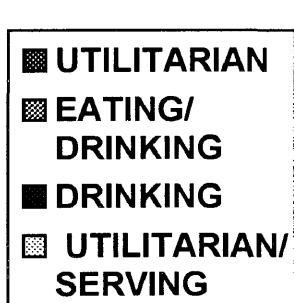


FIGURE 17: PERCENTAGE OF VESSEL TYPES FOR WELLFLEET TAVERN (BRAGDON 1988:89)



Bragdon also maintains in her article comparing Wellfleet Tavern to a domestic site, that the tavern should exhibit a higher percentage of wares (not vessels) which most commonly come in the form of drinking vessels (1988:88). At the Wellfleet site, 54% of the ceramic wares found fell under this category (Table 2). In the Charlestown assemblage, the numbers vary between 9 and 28%, with the highest percentages showing up in privy 2 (26.7%) and privy 5 (27.7%). While these numbers are not as large as those at Wellfleet, they do represent nearly one-third of the assemblage, showing that the occurrence of these six wares in abundance on a site can be an indication of tavern activity.

TABLE 2: PERCENTAGE OF WARES (BASED UPON SHERD COUNTS) IN EACH CHARLESTOWN PRIVY AND AT WELFLEET AS THEY RELATE TO DRINKING (BRAGDON 1988)

TYPE OF WARE	PRIVY 1	PRIVY 2	PRIVY 3 FEATURE 96	PRIVY 3 FEATURE 98	PRIVY 4	PRIVY 5	WELL- FLEET
COMBED SLIPWARE		2.0	4.1	2.7	2.6	4.3	13.5
REFINED REDWARE		2.0	.06	.57			20.0
MOTTLED WARE							7.0
WHITE SALT GLAZE		20.4	3.8	3.9	6.5	21.3	4.5
ENGLISH BROWN	9.0	1.0	3.5	.76	1.3	2.1	2.0
WESTERWALD		2.0	2.2	2.8	5.2		7.0
TOTAL	9.0%	27.6%	13.7%	10.7%	15.6%	27.7%	54.0%

An examination of the vessel types (as opposed to the sherds) shows that privies 3, 4, and 5 all exhibit the same pattern. Every one of these privies has a high percentage of both beverage consumption and food preparation related vessels, and very low percentages of food and drink storage related vessels (Figure 15). As mentioned earlier, food preparation has been quite likely overlooked in its importance to tavern activities (Feister 1975:15). Privy 1 is slightly different from this pattern and the variance will be explained later.

The prominence of food preparation vessels in the Charlestown assemblage is in contrast to a seemingly similar tavern in St. Mary's City, Maryland and it is important to understand why. The St. John's site was a 17th century building in St. Mary's City, Maryland which served first as a house and later as an inn (King 1988). Although this tavern is from the 17th century and the Charlestown tavern assemblage encompasses both the 17th and the 18th century, comparisons can still be made between the two sites based upon the fact that both towns were at similar stages of development. St. Mary's City reached its urban height by the 1680s while Charlestown was not to reach its height until sometime in the middle of the 18th century (Miller 1986). Analysis of the St. John's site revealed that the inn phase yielded more vessels related to food storage, while the house phase contained more food processing vessels (King 1988:37). It was concluded that while the transformation from household to inn only slightly affected its food processing capacity, the seasonal nature of its food supply (obtained either from its own plantation or one nearby) necessitated a huge increase in its storage capacity (King 1988:30). While the Charlestown tavern is similar in some ways to the St. Mary's City inn, the town in which it was situated differed in some important ways which would influence the types of vessels found at the site. A look at the differences between St. Mary's City and Charlestown will help explain this variance.

Charlestown, unlike St. Mary's City, was an urban seaport from early on in its settlement. Pendery points out that Charlestown had a "...transformation from agrarian community to commercial community during the first generation of settlement..." with an "...increasing specialization of labor..." (1987:abstract). When talking about the Boston area in the colonial period, Landon states that "...the ability of the townspeople to

support themselves agriculturally, even during the early years of the settlement, was severely limited" (1991:68). The Charlestown tavern, therefore, was situated in a town which had little agrarian support from within but which enjoyed constant contact with farmers from inland who came to sell their goods, as well as with traders from other areas of the colonies and the world. Ebenezer Breed operated a store right next to the tavern at this time, making acquisition of goods even easier. It stands to reason that the tavern-keepers would have purchased supplies in small quantities, since there was a constant (not seasonal) supply with no need to store them for later. Storage vessels, therefore, should be represented less than vessels associated with food processing in the Charlestown assemblage. While this is true for four out of five of the Charlestown privies, there must also be an explanation for the fact that privy 1 has a relatively high percentage of food and drink storage vessels (Figure 15). This privy is much earlier than the others (Figure 7), and Charlestown did not have as advanced a trade network as it did later on when the four other privies were filled. Early winters were harsh for the people of Charlestown and ships' arrivals were unpredictable at best. Therefore, storage of food and drink for later was essential at this time.

If the ceramic assemblage of the tavern was reflecting both the function of the building and the mercantile nature of the town, then presumably it would also reflect the urban nature of Charlestown. Nan Rothschild and Diana Rockman have provided us with a well thought out comparison between urban and rural taverns in the 17th and 18th centuries and have concluded that the differences should be discernible in the archaeological record (1984). According to their theory, the urban taverns should be more specialized, offering mostly drinks for their customers, than rural ones which may additionally offer food and lodging. This difference should manifest itself in the

archaeological assemblage by a dominance of clay pipes and drink related glass in urban taverns and a preponderance of ceramics (often associated with food) in rural taverns.

The Charlestown tavern appears to deviate from this pattern (Table 3). The clay pipes and drink related glass do not outnumber the ceramics as might be expected and this may be for a number of reasons. First of all, it is important to remember that Rockman and Rothschild's assumptions are based upon excavations which included either entire sites or assemblages directly associated with the building itself (cellar fill or kitchen refuse), while the Charlestown tavern assemblage comes from privies which may not have the same association. Their data relies upon sherd counts rather than vessel counts which can skew the results. Also, the assemblages examined by Rockman and Rothschild were all from the 17th century while the majority of the Charlestown assemblage is from the mid- to late-18th century.

TABLE 3: PERCENTAGE OF CLAY PIPES, CERAMICS AND GLASS IN EACH OF THE TAVERNS BASED UPON SHERD COUNTS (ROCKMAN AND ROTHSCILD 1984:118)

TAVERN OR PRIVY	PIPES	CERAMICS	BOTTLES AND GLASS
LOVELACE	65.6	06.0	28.4
JAMESTOWN	35.0	26.5	38.5
JOHN EARTHY'S	37.1	61.8	01.2
WELLFLEET	24.1	69.4	06.0
CHARLESTOWN:			
PRIVY 1	34.4	44.2	21.4
PRIVY 2	03.6	35.4	61.0
PRIVY 3 FEATURE 96	27.0	61.8	11.2
PRIVY 3 FEATURE 98	34.4	51.7	13.9
PRIVY 4	08.7	72.2	19.1
PRIVY 5	26.7	55.4	17.9

Another explanation for this difference may be that, although there are vague references to other taverns in Charlestown in the 17th and 18th centuries, there seem to have been

no other taverns in the market place area. Situated as it was so close to the docks, it is likely that the Charlestown tavern catered frequently to guests from all over the world and was the first tavern newcomers laid eyes on when arriving in town. It may have been in the tavern's best interest to provide as many services as possible to stop people from continuing on until they found a more suitable establishment. The urban areas discussed by Rockman and Rothschild (those of Jamestown and New York) may have had other taverns in direct competition nearby and therefore, needed to specialize in order to develop a loyal clientele.

The Shields Tavern data produced similar results to the Charlestown data when compared with the Rockman and Rothschild information, and perhaps a look at why may shed some light on the Charlestown findings (Brown *et. al.* 1990). While the assemblage from the early Shield's Tavern period (1708-1738) shows a higher percentage of clay pipes than ceramics, the late tavern period (1738-1800) has less clay pipes than ceramics. It was concluded that "...during the Late Tavern period the tavern was apparently less specialized than during the Early, perhaps serving a wider clientele and providing a greater range of services" (Brown *et. al.* 1990:185). This is perhaps the same case for the later period of the Charlestown tavern as well.

The fact that the artifacts from privy 1 (which are the only artifacts from the Charlestown tavern which are comparable in time period to those of Rockman and Rothschild's study) do not exhibit urban traits, but rather lie just beyond the Shield's Tavern late period in its rural traits, must be further explained. Perhaps the function taverns performed in the colonies in the 17th century were due in part to the traditions that early tavern owners brought with them from their country of origin and were not solely tied to the town's

urban or rural nature. In his book on English alehouses from 1200-1830, Peter Clark writes that England had three types of drinking establishments (1983:5). In order of declining size and status, these establishments were; the inn, the tavern, and the alehouse. Inns were "large and fashionable establishments offering wine, ale and beer, together with quite elaborate food and lodging to well-heeled travelers...", while taverns sold wine to those who could afford it and offered less extensive accommodations (Clark 1983:5). Alehouses served only ale and beer and offered the very basics for food and lodging. Clark also notes that, while these distinctions were fairly clear in the more urban areas of England, the more rural areas often had establishments which were a cross between the three types (1983:5). The first owner of the Charlestown tavern was Robert Long who came from a small town north of London, England called Dunstable. It is possible that the rural traditions he practiced as an innkeeper in England were brought with him to Charlestown, and carried on for the next generation, therefore accounting for the "rural" nature of the assemblage.

As mentioned earlier, many of these Charlestown tavern privies contain fill which was deposited after the privy ceased to be used for its primary purpose. Lack of distinct stratification in most of the fill levels indicates that the privies were filled rapidly, and in many cases, probably represent a house cleaning episode which often takes place when a new owner takes over an establishment. The artifacts being discarded could represent items which were no longer considered fashionable but they could also represent objects which were no longer functional (perhaps they were in disrepair or obsolete). With this in mind, I will look at the ceramic vessels as well as types found in the various privies, and draw some conclusions about the choices the proprietors were making by throwing out these items. In order to better examine how these choices may have been influenced

by the character of the town in which the establishment was located, I will add in information about the clay pipes and glass found on the site.

A total of 556 vessels were identified from the five privies at the tavern site. Eleven of these were found in privy 1, ninety-eight in privy 2, two hundred and forty-six in the third privy and one hundred and fifty-four and forty-seven vessels in privies 4 and 5 respectively. Only a portion of these vessels were dateable and are mentioned in Table 1. The abundance of beverage serving vessels in privies 3, 4, and 5 (Figure 15) indicates that the tavern was probably at its busiest in the twenty year period just prior to the burning of the building. This was also the time when Charlestown itself was experiencing rapid growth in its commercial activities. Colonial trade was thriving in the 1700s and Boston and Charlestown seemed to be at the head of it all. In 1769, 35.2% of all ships built by the colonies were made in Massachusetts making it the leading ship builder (Bauer 1988:33). For most of the 18th century, the Boston area was the leader in colonial exports of provisions and presumably was importing large amounts as well (Middleton 1992: 195). As mentioned before, the lack of food and drink storage vessels compared to other types of vessels in all but the earliest privy (privy 1) indicates that Charlestown, which was trading constantly, had no need to store the supplies which were coming in frequently.

A large number of artifacts in this collection seem to date from the period between 1730-1760 indicating that the tavern's business increased as early as the 1730s. These acquisitions were most likely made in order to keep up with the increase. The large number of artifacts present for this time period may also be an indication that consumption in Charlestown was on the rise, and that wood and pewter, favored in New

England in the 17th century, were being replaced by ceramics in the 18th century (King 1988:28). Pendery points out that people may have been encouraged to buy more goods during the 18th century in Charlestown in order to emulate the wealthy (1992:67). Perhaps this data is a material reflection of his theory. In addition to this, the market-place, in which the tavern was situated, was changing as Charlestown grew. More ships passed through Charlestown ports during the early part of the 18th century than at any other time during the colonial period (Frothingham 1845:252-256). This growth was reflected in the physical landscape of the town, when the townspeople altered the market-place by building an almshouse, erecting a new meeting-house and courthouse, and raising L100 to pave the square (Frothingham 1845:252-256).

Some of the vessel forms were changing during the period between 1730 and 1775, with more of the forms relating to solid food consumption and service than had previously been the case. Perhaps the tavern was continuing to grow during this time and more visitors were being served food as well as drinks. It is probable that the apparent acquisition of new ceramics (plates and other food serving vessels) and the discard of the older ones by the tavern proprietors was also prompted by the desire to reflect the new look of the market-place and to keep up appearances. Pendery notes that it was during this same time period that "... less affluent households [in Charlestown] had proportionately more of their assets invested in consumer goods than did wealthier households" (1987:270).

A look at the ware types in the Charlestown tavern privies will give us an idea of what the proprietors were concentrating on in terms of both the functional and the aesthetic qualities of the tavern. The most common wares in four of the five privies was coarse

redware (Table 4). Privy 1, the earliest of the privies was made up mostly of coarse redware which is to be expected from such an early date when redware was most available. The later privies (privies 2-5) exhibit similar patterns in that their top four ceramic types are nearly identical. They consist of coarse redware, stonewares, tin enameled wares, and porcelains. When these wares are compared with those at Shield's Tavern we find that Shield's Tavern had more tin enameled earthenwares than anything else (Brown *et. al.* 1990:187). By contrast, Wellfleet Tavern had more coarse redware than any other ware. It would seem that perhaps the Massachusetts taverns were concentrating more of their efforts upon food processing and/or serving and therefore held more coarse redware vessels which are most often associated with such a task. These wares would most likely have been used by the tavern proprietors in the preparation area (such as the kitchen) of the tavern while the "nicer" wares (such as the aforementioned teawares) would have been reserved for the use of the customer. This makes the tavern more appealing to the status conscious patron.

TABLE 4: PERCENTAGE OF WARES IN EACH TAVERN BASED UPON VESSEL COUNT (ITALICS INDICATES HIGHEST PERCENTAGE FOR EACH SITE) (BROWN *ET. AL.* 1990) (BRAGDON 1988).

	CHARLESTOWN (1630-1775)						SHIELD TAVERN		WELLFLEET
WARE TYPE	PRIVY 1	PRIVY 2	PRIVY 3 Feature 96	PRIVY 3 Feature 98	PRIVY 4	PRIVY 5	EARLY TAVERN (1708-1738)	LATE TAVERN (1738-1751)	WELLFLEET TAVERN (1670-1740)
REDWARE/COARSE	<i>45.45</i>	31.63	<i>61.69</i>	<i>66.3</i>	<i>60.64</i>	<i>51.06</i>	11.86	9.22	<i>54.0</i>
TIN ENAMELED EARTHENWARE	18.18	7.14	10.39	7.61	13.55	10.64	<i>41.53</i>	<i>36.52</i>	3.0
PORCELAIN	9.09	19.39	7.79	2.17	3.9	8.51	10.17	14.89	
REFINED EARTHENWARES	9.09	7.14	4.55	6.52	5.17	4.26	.85	3.9	27.0
STONEWARE	9.09	<i>32.65</i>	15.58	17.39	16.77	25.53	35.59	35.46	16.0

The presence of teawares shows that some hot coffee, tea, or chocolate was being served. The tavern keepers would have been serving these drinks to their wealthier clientele until about 1750 when the practice of drinking hot drinks reached the middle

class. These wares, consisting of teapots, tea bowls, and saucers comprise a large portion of the drink related vessels in privy 2 (Table 5). In fact, according to vessel counts, they make up two-thirds of the drink-related assemblage in this privy. The remaining privies also contain teawares, though not in such large numbers, which account for anywhere between 10 and 33% of the drink related ceramic vessel assemblage. It is logical that two of the later privies (privies 2 and 3) contain the most teawares as such wares were more common then. Many of the later privies (privies 2, 3 and 5) contain teawares made of porcelain, Jackfield, scratch-blue stoneware and white salt-glazed stoneware. The presence of these ceramic types compares with those of the Late Period Shields Tavern and represents the fight by many ceramic manufacturers to capture the tea market (Brown *et. al.* 1990:116). These would have probably been the newest and fanciest wares when purchased by the tavern proprietors and would have been commonplace by the time of discard in the late 18th century. This further illustrates the desire of the tavern owners to keep up with changes around them.

TABLE 5: NUMBER OF VESSELS RELATED TO TEAWARE IN EACH CHARLESTOWN TAVERN PRIVY

VESSEL TYPE	PRIVY 1	PRIVY 2	PRIVY 3 FEATURE 96	PRIVY 3 FEATURE 98	PRIVY 4	PRIVY 5
TEA POT		2				
TEA BOWL		6	1			
SAUCER	1	6	5	7	5	2
TOTAL	1	14	6	7	5	2

We now know what ceramic types and vessels the tavern owners were using and a look at where these vessels came from will give us an indication of how much the proprietors were tied to the trade networks which were so important to Charlestown's economy in the 18th century. Many of the tavern owners were either seamen or owned shares in sea

going vessels and likely would be very tied into the Charlestown trade network.

In the 17th century, the Charlestown tavern appears to have obtained most of its clay tobacco pipes and glass tableware from England. The ceramic assemblage, however, contains only one definitely British vessel (an English brown stoneware mug), while most of the rest were either of local origin or made in Germany. Despite the fact that trade patterns were established early on in Charlestown's history, it seems likely that the settlers remembered all too well the first few harsh winters where supply ships arrived none too soon and starvation seemed imminent. This would make early colonists hesitant to indulge in frivolous purchases.

After the turn of the century, although the ceramics, glass, and pipes were still primarily of English origin, the variety of wares (especially of ceramic types) was increasing. Whereas previously only porcelain, coarse redware and stoneware appeared, now refined redwares and buff bodied earthenwares were showing up as well. The variety of stonewares and number of porcelain items being used also increased. In addition to ceramics from England and Germany, the tavern was getting vessels from Spain, Holland, and the Far East. The owners were also obtaining some vessels just across the market place at the Parker pottery (Gallagher 1992:149). Glass was coming from France as well as England. This diversification ties in with the fact that the tavern seemed to be busiest at the same time that Charlestown had established itself as a stop on many trade routes, and was receiving goods from many areas of the world. As the town grew and became more firmly anchored in its position as a commercial center, the tavern had a chance to flourish and the owners seem to have been taking advantage of this in their acquisition of artifacts.

CONCLUSIONS

The fact that the tavern was owned and/or operated by members of the same family for a number of years is significant. Perhaps because of the stability inherent in a continuous ownership the tavern was able to survive for as long as it did. The lengthy tenure of one family implies that differences noted in the ceramic assemblage are likely a reflection of a change in the socioeconomic structure of Charlestown. The assemblages will be discussed below in context of the relevant time period and the extent to which they both represent the artifacts to be expected at a tavern site and the growth of the town.

Pendery (1987) has pointed out that Charlestown shifted from an agrarian emphasis to a commercial one in one generation. If this is the case, then the relatively low percentage of drink related vessels found in privy 1 (used by the first generation of the Long family) is a reflection of Charlestown's more agrarian/rural nature at the time. The large quantity of coarse redware and lack of variety of other wares in this privy is a further indication of the subsistence orientation of the tavern due to the undeveloped nature of Charlestown as a new and unstable port town with an economy still struggling towards self reliance. The small number of artifacts recovered in this privy lends credence to the theory that, in contrast to the consumerism of the 18th century with its inherent "discard the defective" mentality, frugality prompted by frontier economics encouraged the colonists to hold onto their material goods as long as they had a practical purpose (Carr and Walsh 1980).

The remaining privies at the site date to the 18th century and a time when Charlestown was growing and changing. The ship building and trading industry was thriving and

Charlestown had a status second only to that of Boston. Presumably with this increase in growth came a corresponding increase in business for the tavern, possibly the only significant one in town. This is exemplified by the large number of artifacts present in the later privies as well as the diversity of artifacts. Perhaps this increase in business also led to more diverse clientele. As Kathleen Bragdon suggests in her study of the Wellfleet Tavern, a high percentage of beverage related vessels, coupled with a high percentage of ceramics most likely to be found in the form of drinking vessels indicates the presence of a tavern. As Charlestown grew and the tavern became increasingly busy, this pattern began to define itself more clearly. In addition to this, the need for food and drink storage seems to have all but disappeared in this century since contact with new or fresh items was most likely common during this time.

The rapid deposition which appears to have taken place in most of the privies seems to indicate that the tavern owners were cleaning house either periodically, or as new owners came in. The strong presence of teawares in the later privies, coupled with the increasing diversity of ceramic wares, shows that the owners were trying to keep up with the latest fashions and give the tavern an internal face lift.

While all of these factors indicate that the Charlestown tavern and the town itself were exhibiting increasingly urban traits, this does not support the theories put forth in Rockman and Rothschild's study (1984). As mentioned earlier, the Charlestown tavern differs from this study for a number of reasons including a temporal and cultural gap between this and many of the taverns studied. With the increase in diversity of vessel and ceramic types in the 18th century, it would appear that the Charlestown tavern was becoming more specialized, at least in its drink offerings. It is important, that the criteria

laid down by Rockman and Rothschild be used as one in a series of tests to discern the urban or rural nature of a town in which a tavern is situated.

When the data from the Charlestown tavern is compared with the results from other tavern studies we find some interesting results. The Charlestown assemblage supports the theory that a tavern site should display mostly drink related vessels, and mostly ceramic types usually in the form of drinking vessels (Figure 15) (Bragdon 1988). The fact that there were also many food preparation vessels supports the theory that, while many tavern's primary function was that of providing drink, perhaps many gave nearly equal emphasis to providing food for their guests (Feister 1975). While this seems to be true of the Charlestown tavern, it is also true that the proprietors were making a real effort (much like the owner of the Shields Tavern) to cater to its status conscious clientele by offering teawares and increasing the variety of the ceramic wares for their other vessels.

The tavern in Charlestown had an auspicious beginning as the Great House in 1630. Although as a tavern it remained in relative anonymity in the later historical accounts, it was at the center of activities in a town that was of crucial importance to the survival of the surrounding communities. It was most likely a busy tavern run by people of moderate wealth in the center of an area which was the focus of activities for the townspeople. The tavern owners were involved in preparing and serving food to both townspeople and transients, though they most likely offered only limited accommodations.

As the town grew in population and stature, so the tavern grew in clientele, as did the

number and variety of ceramics purchased. The ownership of the tavern by several successive generations of the same family may have contributed to its success as well since each generation could draw upon the experience and wealth of the other. The predominance of vessels related to food processing indicates that the Charlestown economy provided an opportunity to have relatively fresh food at the tavern year round, especially during the tavern's busiest time in the first half of the 18th century. It was also during this time that the tavern owners were apparently disposing of many vessels which may have been passed down through generations and acquiring new ones in an effort to keep up with the changes in the immediate environment of the market-place.

This tavern site has many contributions to make to archaeological studies, both of colonial taverns and of early settlements in New England. The documentary evidence, combined with the archaeological data in this study provide a small glimpse of a complex and fascinating past. Taverns were important centers of communication and social and economic change in both England and America, and this one was no exception. This analysis shows how the Charlestown tavern reflects the growth and vitality of Charlestown when it was in perhaps the most notable phase of its commercial and social history.

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