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Suzanne Spencer-Wood

Richard J. Riley

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Cover Page Footnote

The authors would like to thank a few of the many people who assisted in this research. Helpful suggestions and guidance were received from H. Hobart Holly, historian of the Quincy Historical Society, and Lawrence Yerdon, Executive Director of the Quincy Historical Society. Edward Marino, clerk at the Norfolk County Probate Court was especially helpful in assisting the gathering of probate inventories and wills. Graduate students Joan Brown, John Tuma, David Singer, and Dick Riley assisted in transcribing the inventories used in this research. Dick Riley assisted further by gathering inventories and summarizing the local history with emphasis on the ethnic and occupational development of this community.

The Development of an Urban Socio-Economic Model For Archaeological Testing

Suzanne Spencer-Wood and
Richard Julian Riley

INTRODUCTION

The following research comprises the first phase of the formulation of an urban archaeological predictive model. The purpose of this model is to determine the relationship between consumption patterns and socio-economic status so that archaeological data can be used to predict these characteristics at the community level. In order to achieve this goal, documentary data was used to ascertain relationships between consumption patterns and socio-economic data. From this a predictive relationship was established between the documentary and archaeological records of consumption patterns so that when documentary data is not available the archaeological data can be used as an index to consumption patterns and socio-economic status.

This topic developed from previous research in which rural and urban glass consumption patterns at six sites were compared and contrasted (Spencer-Wood 1979). The variable of location with regard to manufacturers distributing their products on the national market was considered as the major factor determining differences in consumption patterns at these sites. A number of studies have analyzed consumption patterns as a function of site location within the national market for glass or pottery (Elliott 1977, Adams 1976, Schuyler 1980, Bridges and Salwen 1980, Riordan 1981). While assessing the effect of location on consumption patterns earlier research raised questions concerning the extent to which socio-economic variables affect consumption patterns (Spencer-Wood 1979). In order to determine the relative importance of these variables, the present research is designed to hold the variable of location rela-

tively constant while assessing the effect of variation in aspects of socio-economic status. This control can be most stringently applied in city environments, where large numbers of people of varying socio-economic status live in close proximity. Once the relative importance of socio-economic variables has been determined the variable of location may be reincorporated. This will generate a more complex model of the factors which are involved in choices to acquire different goods available on the national market.

Consumption patterns are the result of the complex interaction of a large number of variables including income, occupation, ethnic affiliation, family size, proximity to manufacturers of goods, prices of goods, social status, literacy, values, and individual preferences. The literature of economic anthropology deals with the question of the comparative weight of such variables for determining consumption patterns (Douglas 1979, Firth 1967, Sahlins 1974). Economists, following Keynes' argument in *The General Theory*, and considering variables such as individual preferences and values to be constant over the short run, have concluded that nearly all of the variation in quantity of consumer expenditures and saving can be accounted for by variations in income (Dusenberry 1971, Heilbroner 1970: 230). Consumption includes durable goods, non-durable goods, and services. Archaeologists recover only part of the durable portion of consumption patterns; the goal of this research is to predict total consumption patterns to some extent from this partial recovery. Since consumption is primarily determined by income, it may be used as a form of index for socio-economic status. Conversely, variables closely linked to income such as occupation can thus be expected to strongly affect consumption patterns.

Comparative Models

Archaeologists have increasingly believed that socio-economic variables determine consumption patterns. The idea of style preference and popularity has been replaced with a more complex set of socio-economic ex-

planations. The variables most often considered are ethnic affiliation, class, and occupation, all of which are major factors determining income. The following studies involve primarily 19th century sites. At Cannon's Point Plantation, Saint Simon's Island, Georgia, ethnic affiliation, occupation and social status were linked to dietary and related pottery consumption patterns for slaves, the overseer and the plantation owner (Otto 1977). Similar pottery consumption patterns were found at the freed Black Lucy's Garden site in Andover, Massachusetts (Baker 1980), and status was related to ceramic consumption patterns of planter, slaves and poor whites at King's Bay, Georgia (Braley 1981). In Alexandria, Virginia, attempts have been made to distinguish consumption patterns for freed black and white neighborhoods in the city (Cressey 1980). Chinese dietary and other cultural patterns resulting in distinct pottery and food consumption remains have been analyzed for Boise, Idaho (Jones 1981) and for gold rush sites in Madera County, California (Langenwaller 1980, Evans 1980). Pottery consumption patterns have been contrasted for upper class whites and low to middle class Creoles and blacks in two New Orleans neighborhoods (Prieto 1981). The 18th century Bratton house and the 19th century Howser house sites in South Carolina yielded distinct consumption goods disposal patterns which were linked to the British and German ethnic affiliations of these sites, respectively, although they could also represent temporal differences (Carillo 1977). At a more general methodological level George Miller (1980) developed a pottery index for archaeologically measuring socio-economic status from the relative frequencies of differentially priced pottery types. Other studies emphasize the relationship of occupation, class and income levels to consumption patterns. A study of 19th century Troy workers' house sites compared and contrasted these workers' housing and consumption patterns with those of workers in the town in general, differentiating them by class (Baugher-Perlin 1980). Dietary consumption patterns are being analyzed for the particular class group represented by Harvard students

(Graffam 1981). Rathje's Tucson garbage project is an analysis of differences in consumption patterns for groups with widely varying incomes, class and ethnic affiliations. At Weeksville, Roselle Henn (1981) is attempting to link variations in consumption patterns with socio-economic status. The research explicated in this paper is most similar to research by Adams, Smith and Riordan (1981) which analyzed a wide range of differences in consumption patterns for black tenants, black landowner, white storekeeper and white planter in Mississippi.

Documentary Data

In this first research phase of correlating documentary data on consumption patterns and socio-economic status, the analysis utilized probate court inventories for information on consumption patterns and the federal census schedules for information on socio-economic status. These bodies of data were chosen because they are generally available for any town, permitting comparative analyses of different locations. Socio-economic census data is available for 1850-1900, and includes variables of occupation, ethnic affiliation, family size and literacy. If different socio-economic groups exhibit different consumption patterns, then neighborhood profiles of consumption patterns and socio-economic status can be formulated by spatially locating families using business directories and maps. Families for which only the socio-economic census data exists can also be mapped in order to archaeologically test socio-economic predictions of consumption patterns from the established correlations.

The research design is similar to that of the Alexandria Archaeological Research Center, in which different socio-economic groups were mapped in the city and then tested for archaeological differences (Shepard 1980, Beidleman *et. al.* 1980). This study is different methodologically in its emphasis on occupation, and in initially attempting to establish relationships between documentary data which can then be tested archaeologically. The research design is particularly appropriate because probate inventories and archaeological

remains are complementary data sets, with archaeological data representing items discarded while inventories represent items retained in the cultural system.

Application of the Model

Although this model could be applied with some success to nearly any community, Quincy, Massachusetts, was selected as the test case for several reasons. First, there are a good number of itemized probate inventories covering the second half of the 19th century. Such is not the case for some of the more urban cities which cannot therefore be related to U.S. census data for this period. Secondly, exceptional locational information is available for Quincy landowners back to the 17th century, in the form of land ownership maps developed by Ezekiel Sargent (n.d.). This data will greatly facilitate the location of families for archaeological testing before the second half of the 19th century, when there are no business directories or good land ownership maps generally available for most towns.

The long range goal of this research is to be able to predict socio-economic status and consumption patterns before 1850-1900 from archaeological data. In order to attain this goal correlations must first be established between consumption patterns and variables of socio-economic status when these are available from the documentary record of 1850-1900.

The current initial stage of research is concerned only with the predictive relationships of occupation and ethnicity to consumption patterns for Quincy between 1870-80. This decade was chosen for the first test because 1868 is the earliest date when business directories are available, permitting the location of far more families than is possible with historic maps alone. Occupation was chosen for the first correlation because it is the best socio-economic indicator of income among those available in the federal census schedules. The second analysis was concerned with the relationship between ethnic affiliation and consumption patterns.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The natural resources along the shores of Quincy Bay and in the immediate interior attracted the earliest settlers to this area south of Boston. Fresh water was abundant in the streams flowing from the hills to the west, and there was a plentiful supply of fish to be caught in the bay and off shore. The Massachusetts Fields, the Indian garden area in the Wollaston section of Quincy, had been cleared by the aborigines as well as other areas. Acres of salt marsh would supply sufficient hay for cattle. The woods nearby supplied wood in abundance and salt was evaporated from the sea water (Wilson 1904:28).

The growth of the local population and agricultural production led to the development of small local gristmills, sawmills, and craftshops of blacksmiths, masons, carpenters, wheelwrights, and boatmakers, who could trade their products for local produce (Cameron 1974:25).

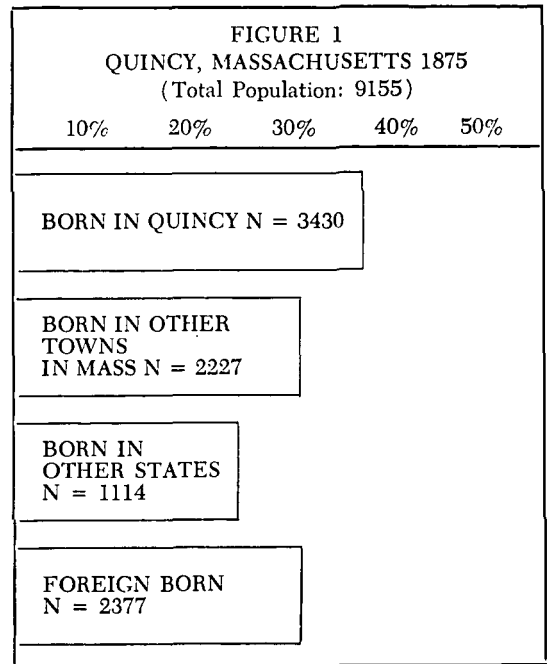
Although most of the population was primarily agriculturally employed, in this early period some small scale industries were founded with varying success. The earliest documented commercial enterprise was a grist mill established in 1641, and an attempt to produce iron was undertaken in 1644 by John Winthrop, Jr., the son of the governor. Winthrop and his company were granted three thousand acres in Old Braintree along the Weymouth boundary to supply wood to fuel the iron furnace. The venture failed in 1653 primarily because of the poor quality of the bog iron and inadequate water power. It was cheaper to import iron from England than to produce it in Old Braintree (Cameron 1974:25; Wilson 1926:271).

In 1750 the area then known as Shed's Neck, a peninsula stretching into Town River Bay, was surveyed for a major planned industrial complex including a glassworks, a shipyard, a salt works, and some other minor industries. Streets and house lots were laid out to accommodate the arrival of twelve German families to work in the glassworks (Horner 1979:27; Wilson 1926:278). The first attempt to operate the glassworks failed, and a second

attempt in the same vicinity in 1752 was destroyed by fire in 1755. A third attempt in the next decade failed financially in 1769, and the enterprise was abandoned (Horner 1979: 27). Substantial, though inconclusive evidence exists to indicate that the glass for the windows at King's Chapel came from this glassworks (Horner 1979:35-37). Large quantities of salt were produced by the salt works in this same area, which became known as Germantown after the immigrant glassworkers from that country (Cameron 1974:26).

Industries established in the late 18th and 19th centuries became so successful that manufacturing of various types became the main employment for Quincy residents in the second half of the 19th century.

In the late 18th century, the manufacture of boots and shoes began as a cottage industry of local, and then more widespread, importance. Over 900 pairs of footwear were produced in 1795 (Pattee 1878:601). By 1829 more men were employed making footwear than in any other industry. But by the mid 19th century the process of extracting granite from the hills surrounding the town was becoming the primary source of employment in Quincy (Massachusetts 1876). As early as 1753 with the building of King's Chapel in Boston, Old Braintree (particularly the North and South Commons, now Quincy) supplied granite for a number of imposing structures throughout the country. Many Custom Houses, notably those in Boston, New York, and San Francisco, were constructed of Quincy granite (Wilson 1926:222; Giarusso 1958). The records of King's Chapel reveal conclusively that the granite was brought from Old Braintree and dressed by German laborers in front of the building (Wilson 1926:218; Horner 1979: 36). Perhaps the major impetus for an increased use of Quincy granite was the building of the Bunker Hill Monument in 1826. In that year the Granite Railway, from the foot of the Pine Hill Quarry and the inclined plane portion of the Railway (which is still evident today) extended to the banks of the Neponset River, a distance of some three miles. The granite, some loads as heavy as 16 tons, was transported down the inclined plane and along



the Railway to the river, loaded onto barges, and floated to Breed's Hill in Charleston (Wilson 1926:220-221; Cameron 1974:27-28). According to Professor Cameron of Eastern Nazarene College in Wollaston "the rapid development and growth of the granite industry transformed a rural community into an industrial center" (Cameron 1974:27).

Although the granite industry flourished for almost a century, it was subsequently surpassed by the ship building industry on the Fore River in South Quincy. In 1696 a ketch called the *Unity* was the first ship to be built and launched from a shipyard down river from the modern yard. Throughout the late 18th and 19th centuries, shipbuilding in Quincy gained in importance. It was given further impetus from numerous government contracts when the navy decided to build up its fleet after the sinking of the battleship *Maine*. During both world wars, the Fore River Shipyard supplied the United States Navy with numerous battleships, destroyers, cruisers and carriers, and was the major employer in the city. During off peak years, in terms of government contracts, a number of commercial ships were constructed. It is now, as General Dyna-

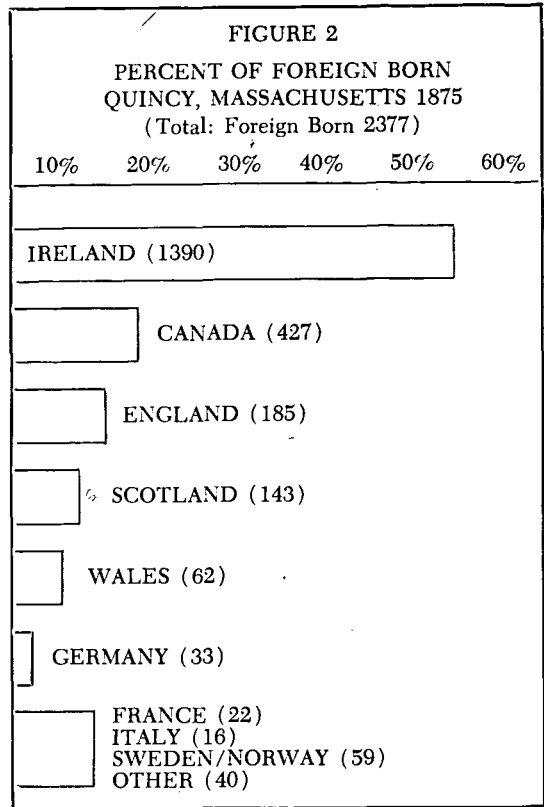
mics, a major builder of LNG tankers (Carcone and Rines n.d.:5, 18-20, 23, 37).

ETHNIC IMMIGRATION

As might be expected, the earliest settlers in Old Braintree were from England. There are very few ethnic references such as Germantown to groups other than the English in the early history of Old Braintree, or Massachusetts Bay for that matter. Until the mid-19th century, Quincy, like most towns in the region, was largely a rural farming community, with very little representation by ethnic groups other than the original Anglo settlers (McMahon 1974:15). In the 1875 State Census, which forms the midpoint of the 1870-1880 study period, only 26% of the total Quincy population of 9155 was foreign born (Figure 1, Massachusetts 1876). Although Quincy's population was always predominantly English, the second half of the 19th century involved a shift in the ethnic origin of immigrants from predominantly English stock, to over half Irish by 1875. In this year Canadian immigration was second highest, followed by English, Scottish, Welsh, and western European immigration (Figure 2).

Irish

The Irish settled in Quincy in the mid 19th century. Their motives were undoubtedly those of the Irish who settled elsewhere, i.e., to escape the severe economic conditions in Ireland at this time. In 1842, there were about 100 people of Irish birth in Quincy (Pattee 1878:280). By 1875, 1390 people born in Ireland were residents in the town, comprising 58% of the foreign born populations and 15% of the entire population (Massachusetts 1876). A portion of the Quincy Point area of the town became known as 'Dublin' because of the high concentration of Irish living there (Fiavin 1972:2). Irishmen may have worked along the shore in the shipyard or in other maritime pursuits. However, an examination of the 1870 U.S. population schedules for Quincy, shows that a greater proportion resided in the West Quincy section near the



quarries. Preliminary sampling of the city directories for the decade indicates that a large number of those with Irish surnames were quarrymen (United States Census 1870; Calkins: 1876, 1878).

Scots

A number of Scottish prisoners were brought to Old Braintree in 1651 in an attempt to make the iron works a profitable venture by using this cheap labor. After the iron works failed, these men were assimilated into the native population. The immigration of Scots before 1880 did not involve very large numbers, as exemplified in the 1875 census. They comprised only 6% of the total number of foreign born in Quincy (143), slightly less than the 7.8% English born (Massachusetts 1876; Figure 2). While Scottish immigration increased between 1880-1930, it was never as large as the Irish immigration (Burke and Callagher 1944:100-104).

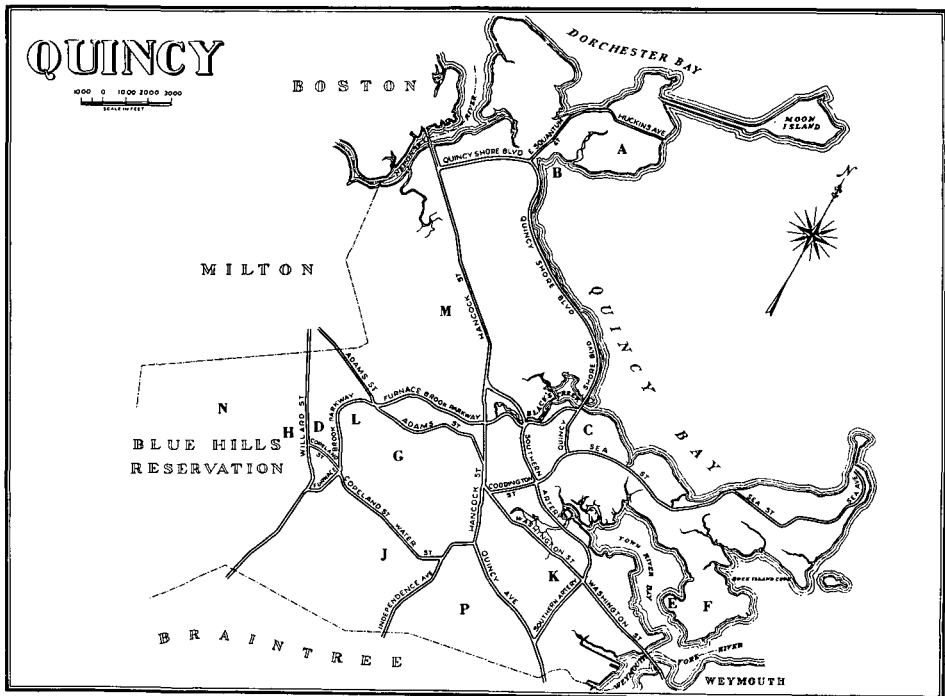
Italians

There is evidence of Italian immigration to the town, as early as the 1860s and 1870s, but it was not until the 1890s that appreciable numbers of Italians began to settle there (Marini 1937:2; Figure 3). Many Italian immigrants from Sicily and the southern provinces came as contract laborers. Stone cutters from the north of Italy were mainly employed in monument shops and were considered the artisans of the granite workers (Burke and Gallagher 1944:98, 100). In addition to the quarries and monument shops Italians also found employment in the shipyard (Marini 1937:2). Many Italians settled in a close knit community equidistant from their two major employments, in an area south of the major commercial portion of town (Burke and Gallagher 1944:98, 100).

Scandinavians

Swedes, Norwegian and Finns were originally attracted to Quincy by the prospect of employment in the quarries. Most settled in the West Quincy area, near the quarries (Peterson 1937:3; Kenyon 1937). The Scandinavians never equaled the numbers of the Italians or Irish (Burke and Gallagher 1944:98). The local accounts summarized above yield general information on the occupational and residential areas chosen by different ethnic groups which immigrated to Quincy (Figure 2). The data from the 1875 state census yield more specific information on the relative quantity of immigration by different ethnic groups in the mid-year of this study. The spatial and occupational patterns comprise a general background which can hopefully be further refined in the continuing

FIGURE 3 MAP OF QUINCY



KEY

A	Squantum	F	Germantown	K	Quincy Point
B	Mosswetuset Hummock	G	North Commons	L	West Quincy
C	Merrymount	H	Granite Railway Incline	M	Wollaston
D	Winthrop Blast Furnace	J	South Quincy	N	Quarries
E	Glass Factory (Shed's Neck)			P	South Commons

NOTE: As is true with other communities, the areas of Quincy, such as Wollaston, West Quincy, and South Quincy are not clearly demarcated by any natural or cultural boundaries.

analysis of documentary and archaeological data.

METHODS AND RESULTS OF ANALYSIS

In order to analyze consumption patterns of different occupational and ethnic groups a total of 171 inventories were gathered for the decade 1870-80 (Norfolk County Probate Court). Out of this number only 75 inventories listed material objects in enough detail to merit their analysis for status items which might differentiate occupational or ethnic groups. Analysis further focused on durable aspects of consumption patterns which are likely to be found archaeologically. These durable status items included crockery and glass, silverware, jewelry, mirrors, clocks, and watches. The analysis involved the calculation of the average total value of these status items, and the average value of all inventoried material culture objects for each occupational category. The value was used rather than the number of items because the number could not differentiate cheap from expensive types of the same item, as is necessary to determine status. Ideally, the value, divided by the number of items on each type, could be used to hypothesize the kinds of material objects to be expected from archaeological excavations. But since the number of items was often not recorded, the value alone was left as the most consistent, if rough, indication of quality of goods consumed. The archaeological data can be used to test for the different types of materials expected from the valuation of status items.

Of the 75 itemized inventories, 55 individuals had occupations listed in the Quincy business directories of 1868-73, and/or in the manuscript federal census schedule of 1870. These 55 inventories were grouped into occupational categories which were hypothesized to represent different consumption patterns due to projected differences in income. The resulting four occupational groups were farmers; wage earners such as laborers in factories, quarries, and fields; craftsmen who were self employed producers of classes of objects; and proprietors of businesses in-

TABLE I
AVERAGE VALUES AND RANGES FOR
INVENTORIED MATERIAL CULTURE BY
OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY:

QUINCY, MASSACHUSETTS, 1870-80

	<i>Employees</i>	<i>Craftsmen</i>	<i>Farmers</i>	<i>Proprietors</i>
Average Value of Status Durables	\$15	\$22	\$66	\$71
Average Value of All Material Culture	\$171	\$455	\$726	\$1633
Range in Value of All Material Culture	\$68- \$389	\$64- \$1854	\$37- \$3067	\$168- \$7100

cluding factories, stores and quarries, or professionals such as lawyers and doctors. The 55 inventories were distributed among these occupational categories as follows: 11 wage earners, 13 craftsmen, 13 farmers, and 19 proprietors/professionals.

Because the sample size is small, the results of this study can only be considered to yield initial indications of differences among these occupational categories. Nevertheless the results of this pilot study do demonstrate clear occupational differences in the average values both of the selected status items and of the total material culture inventoried. First, for each occupational category the average value was calculated for the combined durable status categories of crockery and glass, silverware, jewelry, mirrors, clocks and watches. The average value for laborers was \$15, increasing to \$22 for craftsmen, to \$66 for farmers, and to \$71 for proprietors. These occupational distinctions in the average value of a small number of durable status items were supported by differences in the average total value of material culture. The average total value of material culture increased from \$171 among wage earners, to \$455 among craftsmen, \$726 among farmers, and \$1633 among proprietors. The large differences between these average values for all material culture items corroborates the significance of the smaller differences in the average value of durable status items between these occupational categories. Further, the value ranges for

total material culture, while overlapping somewhat at their lower ends, do distinguish among these occupational categories in their upper limits and total ranges (Table I). Even this small sample clearly demonstrates the patterns of increasing value of material culture and status items across the four occupational categories of wage earners, craftsmen, farmers, and proprietors. A larger sample may validate these initial differentiations and permit distinctions between finer occupational categories.

A second analysis was undertaken in order to establish ethnic distinctions in consumption patterns. The country of origin of the 55 inventoried individuals and their parents was recorded from the 1870 manuscript federal census schedule. Since only four of these individuals with itemized inventories were foreign born (or had foreign born parents), statistical analysis of ethnic differences in consumption patterns would not be productive with this sample. These results indicated a positive relationship between ethnicity, wealth and itemization of inventories. The 55 itemized inventories represent a relatively wealthy subsample of the 171 inventories originally gathered. Smaller estates, in which personal estate was given one value without itemization, included a few more individuals of non-English ethnic extraction. Although this study extends to a later time period, it supports the previous made supposition that within the social structure of colonial Boston the older more established families, mostly of English background, held a greater proportion of the available resources (Henretta 1965:75-92).

CONCLUSION

This report has presented partial results of an initial formulation of an urban archaeological community model. Differences in consumption patterns, represented by the average value both of durable status items and of the total material culture in 55 inventories, corresponded to the occupational categories of laborers, craftsmen, farmers and proprietors. Analysis of these inventories indicates that more native-born Americans have itemized inventories than other ethnic groups, which

appear underrepresented in the 171 inventories. While recognizing the limitations of the small sample size in this analysis, these results are indicative of patterns which can be tested in further analyses. Yet to be undertaken are correlations of consumption patterns with literacy and family size, and the locational analysis which will permit the development of a model of community ethnic and occupational distribution. These data are in the process of being computerized, using the occupational code designed for the Philadelphia Social History Project (Hershberg and Dockhorn 1976).

Archaeological tests for status differences will involve calculations of the value of the material culture recovered based on the number of items weighted by the value of different types of items as listed in trade catalogues and manufacturers price lists. The information required to calculate an index of socio-economic status from pottery has been developed by George Miller (1980) and may be compared and contrasted with similar indices which may be developed for other types of artifacts. A major problem which is expected in the archaeological testing involves the difficulty of isolating single family deposits which are comparable to the inventories analyzed. Well, cistern, privy, and sheet refuse deposits may sometimes be identified with a single family. Group deposits can be analyzed in terms of neighborhood socio-economic mix, as determined by spatially plotting the inventories. If data from site deposits can be correlated with inventory data it may be possible to formulate a model for predicting consumption patterns and socio-economic status from the archaeological data alone.

Each type of data has its own biases which affect the results of this analysis without negating the pattern of consumption distinctions for occupational groups. Inventories are biased towards the older members of the community who have accumulated enough material culture for an itemized inventory. Inventories also do not list items given to relatives before an individual's death. The value of the inventory represents the goods accumulated through a lifetime of various employments, while in

this initial study only the last occupation(s) before death were taken from the 1870 manuscript federal census schedule, or from business directories. The archaeological data is biased towards common frequently discarded items and away from highly valued status items which are better cared for and thus less frequently broken and discarded. Analyses of both the archaeological and documentary data will provide more information on consumption patterns and socio-economic status of communities over time than can be obtained from either source alone.

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The authors would like to thank a few of the many people who assisted in this research. Helpful suggestions and guidance were received from H. Hobart Holly, historian of the Quincy Historical Society, and Lawrence Yerdon, Executive Director of the Quincy Historical Society. Edward Marino, clerk at the Norfolk County Probate Court was especially helpful in assisting the gathering of probate inventories and wills. Graduate students Joan Brown, John Tuma, David Singer, and Dick Riley assisted in transcribing the inventories used in this research. Dick Riley assisted further by gathering inventories and summarizing the local history with emphasis on the ethnic and occupational development of the community.

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Authors:**SUZANNE SPENCER WOOD**

*Associate Graduate Program
Director-Historical Archaeology
University of Massachusetts
Department of Anthropology
Boston, Massachusetts 01215*

RICHARD JULIAN RILEY

*Graduate Student — Department
History/Historical Archaeology
University of Massachusetts
Boston, Massachusetts 01215*