

Exploring Consumer Behaviour in the Saskatoon Area at the Turn of the Twentieth Century.

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By

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ABSTRACT

In 1881, an Ontario-based group known as the Temperance Colonization Society began looking towards the Canadian West with a speculative eye. Interested in acquiring tracts of land from the Canadian Government, the Temperance Colonization Society hoped to one day establish a new colony free from the temptations of alcohol and the troubles associated with older colonies. By 1884, a settlement was established along the south shore of the South Saskatchewan River. This was the beginning of Saskatoon.

As Saskatoon grew from a small settlement founded on temperance ideals to a recognized municipal corporation, the meaning of the material culture associated with this transition also changed. Two archaeological sites pertaining to this transition, the Marr Residence at 326 11th Street East (FaNp-5) and the 11th Street Privy site (FaNp-31), currently comprise the only excavated privy assemblages in the city and hold rich potential for shedding light on urban consumption behaviour at the turn of the 20th century. This study will analyze the archaeological assemblages recovered from these excavations under the scope of consumer behaviour. By orienting the essence of this study towards an archaeology of consumerism, information regarding the dimensions of everyday life in the Saskatoon area at the turn of the 20th Century can be ascertained.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Permission to Use	i
Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements.....	iii
Table of Contents	iv
List of Tables.....	vii
List of Figure.....	viii
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 The Culture of Capitalism	1
1.2 Purpose of the Thesis	2
1.3 Importance of the Thesis	3
1.4 Layout of the Thesis	3
CHAPTER 2: SASKATOON AT THE TURN OF THE 20TH CENTURY	5
2.1 The Early Years.....	5
2.2 1881 to 1890: An Era of Ideals	5
2.3 1890 to 1903: An Influx of New People and Ideas	11
2.4 1903 to 1906: The Creation of a City.....	15
2.5 1906 to 1914: The Hub City.....	19
2.6 The Occupants of the Marr Residence and the 11 th Street Privy Site	22
2.6.1 The Marr Residence (FaNp-5)	22
2.6.2 The 11 th Street Privy Site (FaNp-31)	24
2.7 Privies and the Current Thesis Project	26
2.7.1 Privies in Saskatoon	27
2.7.2 The 1906 Health Bylaw	27
2.8 Material Waste Disposal Practices at the Turn of the 20 th Century	30
2.9 Summary of Chapter	31
CHAPTER 3: PREVIOUS ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH.....	33
3.1 Archaeology at the Marr Residence and the 11 th Street Privy Site	33
3.2 1981 Preliminary Investigations of FaNp-5 by the Saskatchewan Research Council	33
3.2.1 Background	33
3.2.2 Methodology	34
3.2.3 Results.....	36
3.2.3.1 Trench 7, Metre 3 and 4.....	38
3.2.3.2 Area 1, Test Pit 2	38
3.2.3.3 Area 2.....	38
3.3 1997 Investigation of FaNp-5 by Dr. Margaret Kennedy	39
3.3.1 Background	39
3.3.2 Methodology	40
3.3.3 Results	40
3.3.3.1 Feature 1	42

3.3.3.2 Feature 2	42
3.3.3.3 Feature 3	43
3.3.3.4 Feature 4	43
3.3.3.5 Feature 5	43
3.4 2006 Investigations of FaNp-31 by Thanh Tam Huynh	44
3.4.1 Background	44
3.4.2 Methodology	45
3.4.3 Results	45
3.4.3.1 Privy Feature	46
3.5 Summary of Chapter	47

CHAPTER 4: DISCUSSION OF CONSUMER BEHAVIOUR..... 49

4.1 Consumer Behaviour in Historical Archaeology	49
4.2 The Roots of Consumer Behaviour	49
4.3 Consumer Choice Theory.....	51
4.3.1 Class, Status and Ethnicity	52
4.3.2 Socioeconomic Status	52
4.3.3 General Problems to Consider	55
4.4 Consumption Studies.....	58
4.4.1 Consumption and the Study of Material Culture	61
4.5 Moving Towards an Archaeology of Consumerism	63
4.5.1 Theoretical and Methodological Commitments	64
4.6 Consumerism and the Current Thesis Project	65
4.6.1 Spatial and Temporal Context.....	66
4.7 Summary of Chapter	66

CHAPTER 5: ANALYSIS OF THE MATERIAL CULTURE..... 68

5.1 The Material Culture	68
5.2 The Classification Scheme	68
5.3 The Marr Residence (FaNp-5)	72
5.3.1 1981 Project: Trench 7, Metre 3 and 4.....	73
5.3.2 1981 Project: Area 1 and Test Pit 2	73
5.3.3 1981 Project: Area 2.....	74
5.3.4 1997 Project: Feature 1	74
5.3.5 1997 Project: Feature 2	74
5.3.6 1997 Project: Feature 3	74
5.3.7 Area 1 and Test Pit 2 (1981) and Feature 3 (1997) Combined (n = 2259)	75
5.4 The 11 th Street Privy Site (FaNp-31)	75
5.5 The Functional Classification of the Marr Residence (FaNp-5) and the 11 th Street Privy Site (FaNp-31)	75
5.5.1 Personal	84
5.5.2 Health & Hygiene	85
5.5.3 Food Preparation & Use.....	89
5.5.4 Social, Recreational & Indulgence.....	99
5.5.5 Education & Communications	103

5.5.6 Household Furnishings.....	104
5.5.7 Household Maintenance.....	104
5.5.8 Architectural.....	105
5.5.9 Transportation	105
5.5.10 Hunting & Defence	105
5.5.11 Fishing & Trapping	106
5.5.10 Unclassified.....	106
5.5.11 Unclassifiable.....	107
5.6 Discussion	108
5.7 Summary & Conclusion	109
CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION OF THE MATERIAL CULTURE.....	111
6.2 A Consideration of the Functional Categories	111
6.2 The Marr Residence (FaNp-5)	113
6.2.1 Matching Ceramic Sets: Instruments of Continuity?.....	114
6.2.2 Japanese-Style Aesthetic Decorations on Ceramics: The Japan Idea?	123
6.2.3 Children’s Material Culture: Reproducing Consumer Behaviour?.....	127
6.3 The 11 th Street Privy Site (FaNp-31)	132
6.3.1 Plain and Undecorated Ceramics: Maintenance of Naturalistic Ideals?	132
6.3.2 Liquor Bottles and Clay Pipes: Evidence of Deviant Behaviour?	135
6.4 Summary and Conclusion	137
CHAPTER 7: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.....	138
7.1 Summary	140
7.2 Avenues for Future Research	140
REFERENCE CITED.....	142
APPENDIX A: ARTIFACT SUMMARY.....	151

LIST OF TABLES

2.1: Table summarizing the various owners of the property of 326 11 th Street East	23
2.2: Table summarizing the various owners of the property of 322 to 324 11 th Street East	25
3.1: FaNp- 5 Identifiable Features in 1981	37
5.1: Functional Classification of Material Culture: Activity and Sub Activity	71
5.2: Functional Category and Artifact Count for FaNp-5 Trench 7, Metre 3 and 4 (n = 136)...	76
5.3: Functional Category and Artifact Count for FaNp-5 Area 1 and Test Pit 2 (n = 562)	77
5.4: Functional Category and Artifact Count for FaNp-5 Area 2 (n = 631)	78
5.5: Functional Category and Artifact Count for FaNp-5 Feature 1 (n = 864)	79
5.6: Functional Category and Artifact Count for FaNp-5 Feature 2 (n = 984)	80
5.7: Functional Category and Artifact Count for FaNp-5 Feature 3 (n = 1697)	81
5.8: Functional Category and Artifact Count for FaNp-5 Area 1 and Test Pit 2 (1981) and Feature 3 (1997) Combined (n = 2259).....	82
5.9: Functional Category and Artifact Count for FaNp-31 11 th Street Privy (n = 222)	83
5.10: Frequencies of artifacts in “Personal” primary activity	84
5.11: Frequencies of artifacts in “Health & Hygiene” primary activity.....	85
5.12: Frequencies of artifacts in “Food Preparation & Use” primary activity	89
5.13: Frequencies of artifacts in “Social, Recreational & Indulgence” primary activity	99
5.14: Frequencies of artifacts in “Education & Communications” primary activity	103
5.15: Frequencies of artifacts in “Household Furnishings” primary activity.....	104
5.16: Frequencies of artifacts in “Household Maintenance” primary activity	104
5.17: Frequencies of artifacts in “Architectural” primary activity	105
5.18: Frequencies of artifacts in “Transportation” primary activity	105
5.19: Frequencies of artifacts in “Hunting & Defence” primary activity	106
5.20: Frequencies of artifacts in “Fishing & Trapping” primary activity	106
5.21: Frequencies of artifacts in “Unclassified” primary activity.....	107
5.22: Frequencies of artifacts in “Unclassifiable” primary activity	107
6.1: Ranking of Activities Represented in Each Privy Feature.....	112
6.2: Quantity of Floral and Naturalistic Decorative Styles for FaNp-5 by Unit	114
6.3: Quantity of Blue Underglaze Transfer Print Floral Design and Brown Underglaze Transfer Print Geometric and Floral Decorative Styles for FaNp-5 by Unit	120
6.4: Quantity of Ceramic Ware Types and Decorative Styles for FaNp-31	133
6.5: Quantity of Plain and Undecorated Vessels for FaNp-31	134

LIST OF FIGURES

2.1: A map forwarded to the Department of the Interior in 1881	6
2.2: Advertisement in the Regina Leader the morning of June 21 st , 1883	8
2.3: Survey Plan of the Colony of Saskatoon 1883.....	8
2.4: The Illustrated War News sketch of Saskatoon during the 1885 Riel Resistance	10
2.5: Sketch map of Saskatoon circa 1885 to 1888 by Mrs. Maude MacIntosh.....	11
2.6: Looking North-West from Nutana towards the Railway Bridge and Station in 1891	12
2.7: The railway station on the west side of the South Saskatchewan River.	13
2.8: The commercial core of Saskatoon in 1903.....	14
2.9: King Edward School during the Empire Day Celebrations in 1904	16
2.10: The Barr Colonists squatters' village, west of the railway station.....	17
2.11: The Three Settlements in 1906.	18
2.12: The Canadian Pacific Railway Station at the junction of 24 th Street and Avenue A.	20
2.13: 2 nd Avenue circa 1913 or 1914.....	21
2.14: The properties of 326 11 th Street East and 322 11 th Street East. Date unknown	22
2.15: The back of a "box-closet" privy in Saskatoon Taken from the Saskatoon Health Inspector Report.....	29
2.16: 1907 City of Saskatoon Fire Insurance Plan of the 300 Block of 11 th Street East.....	30
3.1: FaNp-5 Map showing location of trenches and areas in 1981	35
3.2: FaNp-5 Gravel parking lot in 1997 (looking north-west)	39
3.3: FaNp-5 Stripping the gravel parking lot in 1997 (looking north-west)	40
3.4: FaNp-5 Map of study area and unit grid in 1997	41
3.5: FaNp-5 Map of associated features in 1997 unit grid	42
3.6: FaNp-31 Property of 312 to 322 11 th Street East in 2006 (looking north).....	45
3.7: FaNp-31 Map of study area and location of privy and test unit in 2006	46
3.8: FaNp-31 Privy feature in 2006 (looking east).....	47
5.1: Cat # 7918 (FaNp-5 Area 2): Metal clasp button inscribed with "ENGLISH MAKE"	84
5.2: Cat # 14271-14273 (FaNp-5 Feature 3): Bottles with hand applied finishes on display at the Marr Residence	86
5.3: Cat # 7772 (FaNp-5 Area 2): Bottle with patent marking: "DOUGLAS EGYPTIAN LINIMENT DOUGLAS & CO NAPANEE ONT CAN"	86
5.4: Cat # 13605 -13612 (FaNp-5 Feature 1): Melted "DR. S. N. THOMAS ECLECTRIC OIL" bottle by "NORTHROP & LYMAN CO. LIMITED.....	87
5.5: "DR. S. N. THOMAS ECLECTRIC OIL" Trade Card. Date Unknown.....	87
5.6: Cat # 10438 – 10448 (FaNp-5 Feature 3): Bottle with patent marking: "OXYGENIZED PURE COD LIVER OIL"	88
5.7: "DR T. A, SLOCUM LIMITED" add. Date Unknown	88
5.8: Cat # 7116 (FaNp-5 Area 1, Test Pit 2): Front of vitrified white earthenware plate with maker's mark: "Sunblest by Ridgeway EST. 1792 Staffordshire Made in England"	90
5.9: Cat # 7116 (FaNp-5 Area 1, Test Pit 2): Back of vitrified white earthenware plate with maker's mark: "Sunblest by Ridgeway EST. 1792 Staffordshire Made in England"	90
5.10: Cat # 7821 (FaNp-5 Area 2): Partial maker's mark: "...POTTER C..."	91
5.11: Cat # 7863 (FaNp-5 Area 2): Partial maker's mark exhibiting lion and crest motif	91
5.12: Cat # 7873 (FaNp-5 Area 2): Partial maker's mark: "IM...IRONSTON..."	92

5.13: Cat # 12845 (FaNp-5 Feature 1): Porcelain plate with partial maker's mark.....	92
5.14: Cat # 11271 (FaNp-5 Feature 2): Vitrified white earthenware plate with partial maker's mark: "...W" or "M..."	93
5.15: Cat # 11532 (FaNp-5 Feature 2): Vitrified white earthenware plate with partial maker's mark: "ENGLAND"	93
5.16: Cat # 10169 – 10179 (FaNp-5 Feature 3): Large serving bowl or tureen with maker's mark: "SEMI-PORCELAIN JOHNSON BROS ENGLAND"	94
5.17: Cat # 14274-14276 (FaNp-5 Feature 3): White earthenware polychrome underglaze transfer print set with floral design	94
5.18: Cat # 14274 (FaNp-5 Feature 3): White earthenware plate with maker's mark: "DANE COLONIAL POTTERY STOKE ENGLAND"	95
5.19: Cat # 214 (FaNp-31 11 th Street Privy): Back of white granite ware bowl with maker's mark: "IRON...J. & G. MEA...HANLEY...ENGLAND"	95
5.20: Cat # 214 (FaNp-31 11 th Street Privy): Front of white granite ware bowl with maker's mark: "IRON...J. & G. MEA...HANLEY...ENGLAND"	96
5.21: Cat # 150-154 (FaNp-31 11 th Street Privy): White earthenware bowl with maker's mark: "THOMAS FURNIVAL & SONS ENGLAND"	96
5.22: Cat # 162 (FaNp-31 11 th Street Privy): Clay pipe stem fragment: "209...W.WHITE..."	101
5.23: Cat # 162 (FaNp-31 11 th Street Privy): Clay pipe stem fragment: "...ASGOW"	101
5.24: Cat # 7117 (FaNp-5 Area 1, Test Pit 2): Porcelain saucer with polychrome underglaze transfer print floral design.....	102
5.25: Cat # 7118 - 7120 (FaNp-5 Area 1, Test Pit 2): Porcelain saucer with polychrome underglaze and overglaze painted floral design.....	102
5.26: Cat # 7914-7916 (FaNp-5 Area 2): Newspaper fragments	103
6.1: Cat # 7831-7834 (FaNp-5 Area 2): White earthenware fragment with blue underglaze transfer print floral design	118
6.2: Cat # 7822-7830 (FaNp-5 Area 2): Vitrified white earthenware hollowware vessel with blue underglaze transfer print floral design	118
6.3: Cat # 7814-7816 (FaNp-5 Area 2): Vitrified white earthenware fragment with brown underglaze transfer print geometric and floral design	119
6.4: Cat # 11118 (FaNp-5 Feature 3): Vitrified white earthenware fragment with brown underglaze transfer print geometric and floral design	119
6.5: Cat # 11543 & 11557-11558 (FaNp-5 Feature 2): 2 vitrified white earthenware cups with polychrome underglaze transfer print floral design.....	121
6.6: Cat # 14278 (FaNp-5 Feature 3): Vitrified white earthenware sugar bowl with polychrome underglaze transfer print floral design.....	121
6.7: Cat # 7123 (FaNp-5 Area 1, Test Pit 2): Porcelain fragment exhibiting an overglaze hand painted cherry blossom design.....	124
6.8: Cat # 7122 (FaNp-5 Area 1, Test Pit 2): Porcelain fragment exhibiting a partial maker's mark: "JAPAN"	124
6.9: Cat # 14270 (FaNp-5 Feature 3): Porcelain bowl exhibiting an overglaze hand painted Japanese design. Complete maker's mark exhibiting Japanese characters.	125
6.10: Cat # 11642 (FaNp-5 Feature 2): Vitrified white earthenware fragment exhibiting an underglaze hand painted cherry blossom and Japanese designs	125
6.11: Cat # 11275 (FaNp-5 Feature 2): Porcelain bowl with monochrome underglaze transfer print oriental design	126

6.12: Cat # 9626 (FaNp-5 Feature 3): Partial parian doll forehead and eyebrow fragment....	129
6.13: Cat # 14267 (FaNp-5 Unknown): Partial parian doll forehead and eyebrow fragment.	129
6.14: Cat # 14268 (FaNp-5 Unknown): Partial parian doll nose, cheek and mouth fragment.	130
6.15: Cat # 9628 (FaNp-5 Feature 3): Partial porcelain doll hand fragment	130
6.16: Cat # 132 (FaNp-5 T1 M2): Miniature porcelain saucer	131
6.17: Cat # 57 (FaNp-31 11 th Street): Miniature porcelain tea cup.....	131
6.18: Cat # 213 (FaNp-31 11 th Street): Complete wine bottle with a hand applied finish.....	136
6.19: Cat # 157-161 (FaNp-31 11 th Street): Various fragments of clay pipes	136
7.1: The properties of 326 11 th Street East and 322 11 th Street East as of August 2010.....	141

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. The Culture of Capitalism

When we think about capitalism, we think about a particular economic ideology; a political entity in which wealth is invested and maintained individually. Within a capitalistic framework, an individual's placement within the society is largely dictated by their ability to invest and produce capital. Furthermore, as certain individuals rise to prominence, others are displaced into subordinate positions. Although social stratification is not a phenomenon unique to a capitalistic ideology, it can be argued that the shift from a mercantilistic to a capitalistic market economy served to further perpetuate this notion of inequality (Spencer-Wood 1987a: 2). The market economy produces a diverse collection of material culture, made available to the general public for purchase and disposal. However, in a society where money is everything, the socioeconomic status of a particular household determined the actual range of goods available for acquisition. In other words, although money is not the determining factor with regard to the availability of choices, it does establish what particular goods are within the realm of attainability. Not only are individuals socially stratified in a capitalistic economy, but the range of choices available to them is also segregated into rigid hierarchies.

So if the socioeconomic status of a particular household serves to identify the encompassing range of attainable goods for that household, how do we account for the rich diversity of material culture present in each individual household? Are individuals really limited to a certain collection of attainable goods based on their socioeconomic status or is there room for them to transcend these perceived limitations? What other factors can be held accountable for the variable nature of consumer behaviour? And finally, how does the material assemblage of a particular household reflect the household's perceived identity?

To address the questions mentioned above, historical archaeologists have appealed to a wide variety of theoretical frameworks borrowed from numerous disciplines such as anthropology, economics, geography, history and philosophy. Although there are countless examples in which these applications have aided and answered these questions, this scenario

serves to illustrate a crucial point. That is, there is no single theoretical framework that can be applied to an archaeological investigation of consumerism (Majewski & Schiffer 2001: 28).

The culture of capitalism is committed to the production and consumption of consumer goods (Robbins 1999). As such, any archaeological inquiry regarding the relationship between material culture and consumer behaviour must not only take into account the individual as a consumer, but the historical context surrounding particular acts of acquisition. By broadening the scope of inquiry to include these factors, it is possible to attain an understanding of not only the prevailing trends of consumer goods at any particular point in time, but an understanding of the various strategies employed by people to appropriate and incorporate the material culture around them into their own universe.

1.2. Purpose of the Thesis

This thesis project will analyze, interpret and discuss the material culture recovered from the Marr Residence (FaNp-5) and the 11th Street Privy site (FaNp-31) under the scope of studies in consumer behaviour and, in particular, the theoretical frameworks of consumer choice and consumption studies which are in essence, two different approaches to the same question. On a general level, these theoretical paradigms aim to analyze the purchasing patterns of a particular household within the context of a market economy and how this selective process is reflective of the dynamic relationship between the immediate household and the larger society of which it is a part. Whereas consumer choice theory has traditionally focused on explaining varying household choices as causal outcomes of social status or ethnic identity (Baughner and Venables 1987; Clark 1987; DeCunzo 1987; Henry 1987; Orser, Jr 1987; Reitz 1987; Shephard 1987; Spencer-Wood 1987a, 1987b), consumption theory provides a more dynamic exploration of the reasons why people consume goods and the factors influencing their decisions (Appadurai 1986, 1990; Douglas & Isherwood 1996; McCracken 1988; Miller 1987). The present study will draw aspects from both theoretical paradigms and use this synthesis to delineate specific patterns of consumer behaviour in the Saskatoon area at the turn of the 20th century as demonstrated by the Marr Residence and the 11th Street Privy site assemblages.

1.3. Importance of the Thesis

This thesis project is important because it will not only contribute new information to the early history of the Saskatoon area, but also shed light on particular patterns of urban consumer behaviour at the turn of the 20th century. Since not much is known about Saskatoon in this context, it is anticipated that this thesis will contribute to a deeper understanding of the local history of Saskatoon at this pivotal moment in time by revealing to us how particular individuals may have conceptualized the changing world around them and how their appropriation and use of particular items of material culture may have reflected their perceptions of this world.

1.4. Layout of the Thesis

In an attempt to make the information presented in this thesis more accessible, the contents of this study will be placed into seven separate chapters, each containing numerous subsections pertaining to a specific topic. Each chapter will then be concluded with a brief summary of the material presented in the chapter.

Chapter 2 (Saskatoon at the Turn of the 20th Century) will provide the reader with a detailed historical account of the area with which this study is concerned. Topics to be covered in this section include the initial settlement of the area by the Temperance Colonization Society, the progression of the Saskatoon area into ‘modernity’, a history of the various occupants of the Marr Residence and the 11th Street Privy site, and a consideration of health and sanitation standards in the Saskatoon area at the turn of the 20th century.

Chapter 3 (Previous Archaeological Research) will familiarize the reader with past archaeological investigations carried out in the study area in terms of their purpose and significance. First, a summary of the preliminary investigation of The Marr Residence conducted by the Saskatchewan Research Council in 1981 followed by a detailed account of the excavation of privy features conducted by Dr. Margaret Kennedy (University of Saskatchewan) in 1997 will be provided. A detailed account of the assessment and excavation of the 11th Street Privy site conducted by the author will conclude the chapter.

Chapter 4 (Discussion of Consumer Behaviour) will provide the reader with information regarding the theoretical frameworks employed for this study. The chapter will open with a

general discussion on the development of consumer behaviour as an academic discipline. After this has been done, the discussion will focus on the adoption of consumer behaviour theory by the discipline of historical archaeology, with particular interest placed on the development of two approaches commonly used in historical archaeology - consumer choice theory and consumption studies. The author will then explain how these frameworks, although unique from one another, can be incorporated into a single, cohesive framework appropriate for an archaeological study of consumerism.

After the theoretical parameters of the study have been established and defined, the data will then be organized, interpreted and discussed. The information here can be found in Chapter 5 (Analysis of the Material Culture) and Chapter 6 (Discussion of the Material Culture).

The closing chapter of the thesis, Chapter 7 (Summary and Conclusion) will summarize the information covered in the preceding chapters. After this has been done, comments will be made in regard to the significance of this study and how it has contributed to our knowledge of urban life ways in the Saskatoon area at the turn of the 20th century.

CHAPTER 2

SASKATOON AT THE TURN OF THE 20TH CENTURY

2.1. The Early Years

By the late 19th century, the Canadian west was engaged in a period of transition and growth. The acquisition of Rupert's Land from the Hudson's Bay Company coupled with the passing of the Dominion Lands Act and the Homestead Act opened up the west for settlement, marking the beginning of a new era of immigration and growth. However, despite the initial efforts of the Dominion Government, settlers migrating to the west were few and far between. In 1881, the Dominion Government decided to amend the Homestead Act, making it possible for colonization companies to obtain tracts of land from the Dominion Government which they could promote and sell to potential settlers. The only condition, of course, was that the land had to be settled within a period of five years.

During these early years, the future province of Saskatchewan consisted of a few sparsely scattered settlements such as Batoche, Battleford, Prince Albert and Regina. Although settlements such as these were situated along major trading routes and trails, the future home of Saskatoon was not. Rather, Saskatoon was to be founded on the hopes and ideals of an Ontario based group known as the Temperance Colonization Society.

2.2. 1881 to 1890: An Era of Ideals

In 1881, J. A. Livingston, a Toronto businessman, and John Lake, a former stockbroker and former Methodist minister founded the Temperance Colonization Society (Delainey et al. 1982:6). Like many others at the time, the company looked at the Canadian west with commercial hopes. However, what made the Temperance Colonization Company unique was their vision to create a settlement free from the sins and evils that had plagued, in their minds, the older colonies. It was believed that the big city lifestyle had resulted in the collapse of religious standards and that a return to a simplified rural lifestyle, free from alcohol, would rectify this disintegration. With these ideals in mind, the Temperance Colonization Society reorganized as a company and, in 1882, applied for a massive land grant (Figure 2.1).

Although the Temperance Colonization Society did not receive all of the land originally sought, they still received a sizeable tract of land. In total, 21 townships traversing the South Saskatchewan River were granted to the society (Figure 2.1). Accordingly, John Lake, now the commissioner of the society, led a party west to examine the newly acquired tract of land and to establish a location for the colony's administrative center. An examination along the river terrace revealed to the party that there was only one section in which the banks of the South Saskatchewan River were low enough so that the terrace edge could be reached by wagon and a ferry operated. As such, Section 28 of Township 36, Range 5 West of the Third Meridian (28-36-5-W3M) was selected as the town site for Saskatoon (Duerkop 2000:16). In 1883, John Lake returned to the area accompanied with the first group of settlers. Their first order of business was to survey and establish Saskatoon on the south bank of the South Saskatchewan River. On August 18th of 1883, the survey had been completed and a liberty pole was erected by the settlers to commemorate and celebrate the founding of Saskatoon (Delainey & Sarjeant 1975:3).

There are different accounts of the story pertaining to the naming of Saskatoon. The story John Lake himself told took place on the banks of the South Saskatchewan River and involved one of his companions bringing him berries picked from shrubs along the river bank. The companion informed Lake that the First Nations called the berries *Mis-sask-quah-too-men*, to which Lake proclaimed "Arise, Saskatoon, Queen of the North!" (Delainey et al. 1982:6). However, this story may have been romanticized by John Lake as the name Saskatoon appears in Temperance Colonization Society minutes well before Lake's party left to examine the land grant (Duerkop 2000:16).

Enthusiasm for the new temperance colony was high as advertisements (Figure 2.2) and promoters boasted Saskatoon as a place "[w]here they will be forever free from the accursed influence of the liquor traffic" (The Regina Leader 1883). Although the colony was established in a basic 'grid' pattern which was popular at the time, a deviation from the grid pattern can be seen in the north-east corner of the colony (Figure 2.3). The alteration may have been due to the physical constraints of the South Saskatchewan River terrain. However, it has been suggested that Broadway Avenue followed the Moose Wood Trail which was utilized by First Nation and Métis groups travelling to and from Batoche (Delainey & Sarjeant 1975:4). It has also been

suggested that the Temperance Colonization Society was trying to incorporate their philosophical beliefs into the geographical landscape of the colony of Saskatoon:

The major variance from the typical pattern of towns then being laid out elsewhere in Canada was the provision of particularly wide streets, suited to have boulevards in the middle. Perhaps this was a product of the Temperance Society's basic philosophy, an attempt to bring the "good" characteristics of the countryside – open space, grasslands, trees – into the town... (Delainey & Sarjeant 1975:5).

By providing like-minded individuals with an environment free from alcohol, it was believed that the Temperance Colonization Society could save people from corruption. Soon after John Lake returned to the colony in 1883, other settlers began migrating to the west. Among the first structures to be constructed was the Temperance Colonization Society office located on the corner of Broadway and Main. In 1884 a ferry was constructed, establishing Saskatoon as an important passageway connecting Regina to Battleford. By 1885, a blacksmith shop, a tin shop, a hotel and a post office as well as numerous residential dwellings with associated barns and outbuildings had appeared in the colony (Delainey & Sarjeant 1975:5).

Despite the fact that Saskatoon was growing, faith in the colony began to waver. John Palliser's 1860 report on the area's agricultural potential continued to discourage potential settlers from settling the area while those who did come with no prior knowledge or experience in dry farming techniques (Archer 1948:10; Delainey & Sarjeant 1975:5). The perceived benefits of the South Saskatchewan River as a cheap and efficient transportation route proved ill conceived as the shallow waters and shifting sand banks made navigation through the river difficult. Furthermore, Saskatoon was not located along or near any major railways. The closest railways to the colony were located in Moose Jaw and Regina and were only accessible by an overland trail.

In the spring of 1885, Saskatoon found itself involved in the Riel Resistance. Although the colony was not directly involved in any of the battles, it played an essential role by contributing to the war efforts. On May 1st of 1885, three of the largest houses in Saskatoon (Figure 2.4) were requisitioned for use as field hospitals to treat wounded soldiers brought in from the battles at Batoche and Fish Creek (Klimko 1981:3). Dr. T. G. Roddick of Montreal, who was appointed chief of the medical staff, reflected in his journal as to why these houses were requisitioned for use:

It [Saskatoon] is well situated from a sanitary standpoint, the banks for the river here being high and the soil naturally porous and dry. In fact it would be difficult to find a better “sanitarium”, and I am convinced that much of the success which followed the treatment of the sick and wounded billeted here was due to the remarkable healthy conditions of this place.

The buildings referred to, which I requisitioned were especially well placed on the bank of the river, and being unfinished, could be conveniently arranged for hospital purposes. Two of the buildings were two storey, the other one-storey (Klimko 1981:2).

July 3rd of 1885 marked the end of the field hospital operations in Saskatoon as the patients were moved to Moose Jaw due to its location on the railway (Klimko 1981:3).

Though some were reluctant to settle the area due to the perceived dangers associated with the Riel Resistance, others were attracted to the area and decided to settle in and around the settlement. By 1888, new businesses had appeared in the colony, including three general stores, a hotel, a dressmaker and a physician. A Methodist Church was built and the first school (Figure 2.5). Despite the fact that new businesses were emerging in Saskatoon, the settlement itself appeared to be on the brink of collapse as the five years that followed the Riel Resistance were plagued with drought, early frost and isolation.

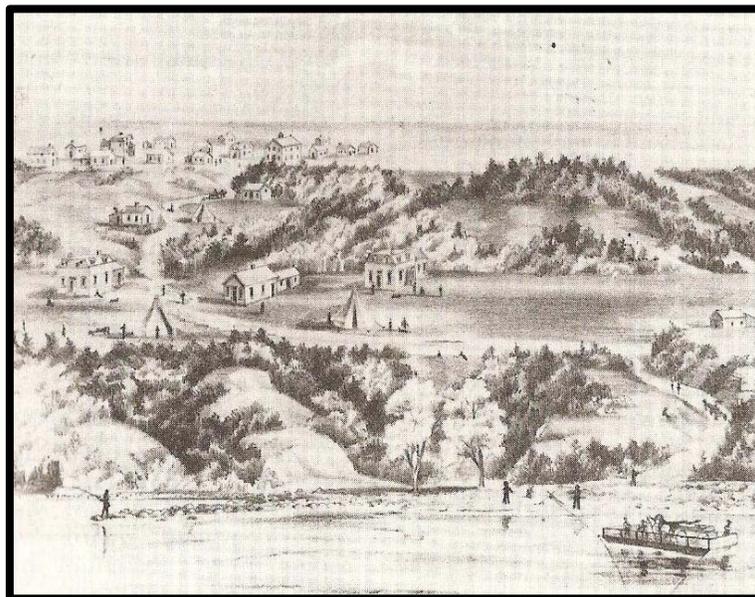


Figure 2.4: The Illustrated War News Sketch of Saskatoon during the 1885 Riel Resistance. The three houses which were requisitioned for use as field hospitals are located in the foreground (Adapted from Delainey & Sarjeant 1975:5).

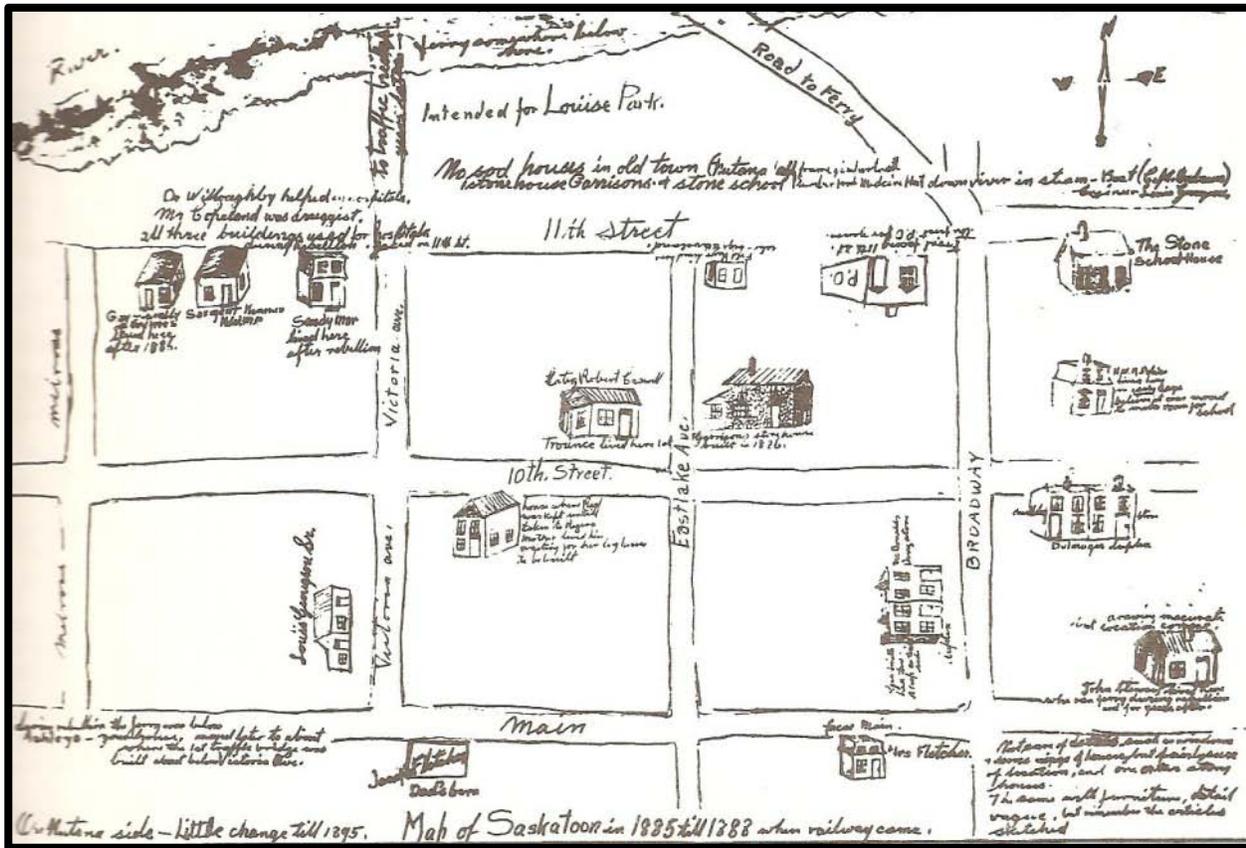


Figure 2.5: Sketch map of Saskatoon circa 1885 to 1888 by Mrs. Maude MacIntosh. Drawn from memory (Delainey & Sarjeant 1975:8).

2.3. 1890 to 1903: An Influx of New People and Ideas

In 1890, the Temperance Colonization Society made an agreement with the Qu'Appelle, Long Lake and Saskatchewan Railway to construct a railway through the colony of Saskatoon. Not only would the railway link Prince Albert to the main Canadian Pacific Railway line in Regina, but it would be the first major route linking Saskatoon to the rest of Canada. Anticipation for the new railway was high as many believed that the survival of the faltering colony depended on it. However, enthusiasm soon turned into worry as the proposed location for the railway station was not on the east bank, but the west bank of the South Saskatchewan River (Figure 2.6)



Figure 2.6: Looking north-west from Nutana towards the Railway Bridge and Station in 1891 (Local History Room, Saskatoon Public Library LH-857).

To the dismay of the colonists, the decision was made to establish the new railway station on the western bank of the South Saskatchewan River as the lower slopes of the west bank would provide the locomotives with easier access to water. As per the agreement with the railway company, the remainder of section 28 and a portion of section 33 were surveyed for a new town site based around the railway and the railway station (Delainey & Sarjeant 1975:7). With the exception of 1st Avenue, which ran parallel to the railway, the new town site was to be set up in the same ‘grid’ pattern as the old town site on the east bank. Similarly, the streets in the new town site also exhibited wide open streets as insisted on by Thomas Copland, one of the founding members of the original temperance settlement.

The railway placed Saskatoon “on the map” by establishing it as a centre for emerging industries in the Canadian West. Not only did the range-cattle industry prosper from the railway, but the convergence of the Battleford and Bone Trail with the railway station in Saskatoon enabled traders to ship buffalo bones directly from Saskatoon (Figure 2.7). As commodities flowed to and from Saskatoon, so did the news of the area’s economic potential. Soon afterwards, more and more settlers began moving to the colony and establishing themselves. Business ventures of all types began to prosper which in turn, encouraged more potential entrepreneurs to settle the area.

Saskatoon’s growth after 1890 was attributed to the construction of the railway and the railway station on the west bank. Accordingly, all subsequent developments intended to benefit services attached to the railway also focused on the west bank as infrequent ferry services were

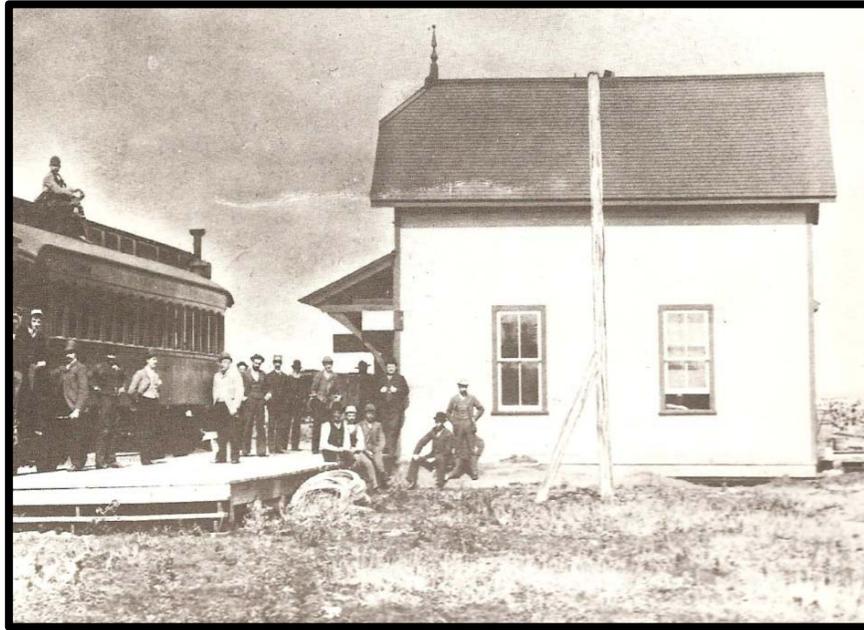


Figure 2.7: The railway station on the west side of the South Saskatchewan River. Note the pile of buffalo bones located behind the station (Local History Room, Saskatoon Public Library LH-1268).

infrequent and problematic (Delainey & Sarjeant 1975:8). Various stores and services including the Windsor and Queen Hotel soon lined 1st Avenue while adjacent streets such as 2nd and 20th street housed warehouses, stock yards and lumber yards (Figure 2.8). A residential section also began to emerge in the area east of the commercial development and along the bank (Delainey & Sarjeant 1975:8).

As the settlement on the west bank began to grow and prosper, the settlement on the east bank began to struggle. When post office operations were moved from the east to the west bank, the settlement on the west bank assumed the name of Saskatoon. Discontented and wanting to assert its own identity, the settlement on the east bank assumed the name Nutana, which was believed to have originated from the Cree word *Nootaska* meaning “first born” (Archer 1948:14). Although Nutana continued to function as a centre for social activities, settlers in Saskatoon grew tired of not only sending their children across the river for school, but crossing the river themselves. As such, new schools and churches were built in Saskatoon by 1900 and by 1901 Saskatoon had incorporated itself as a village (Delainey & Sarjeant 1975:8-9). Further discontent arose when it was clear that the ideals of the temperance colonists were being challenged by the actions of newcomers. Soon after the arrival of the railway, reports started

filtering in of entrepreneurs attempting to establish bars in the settlement (Delainey & Sarjeant 1975:8). Reports of liquor trafficking were soon followed by reports of misdemeanors and misconduct (Delainey et al. 1982:7). Although both settlements were primarily dry, it was clear that the vision of a temperance colony was beginning to dematerialize.

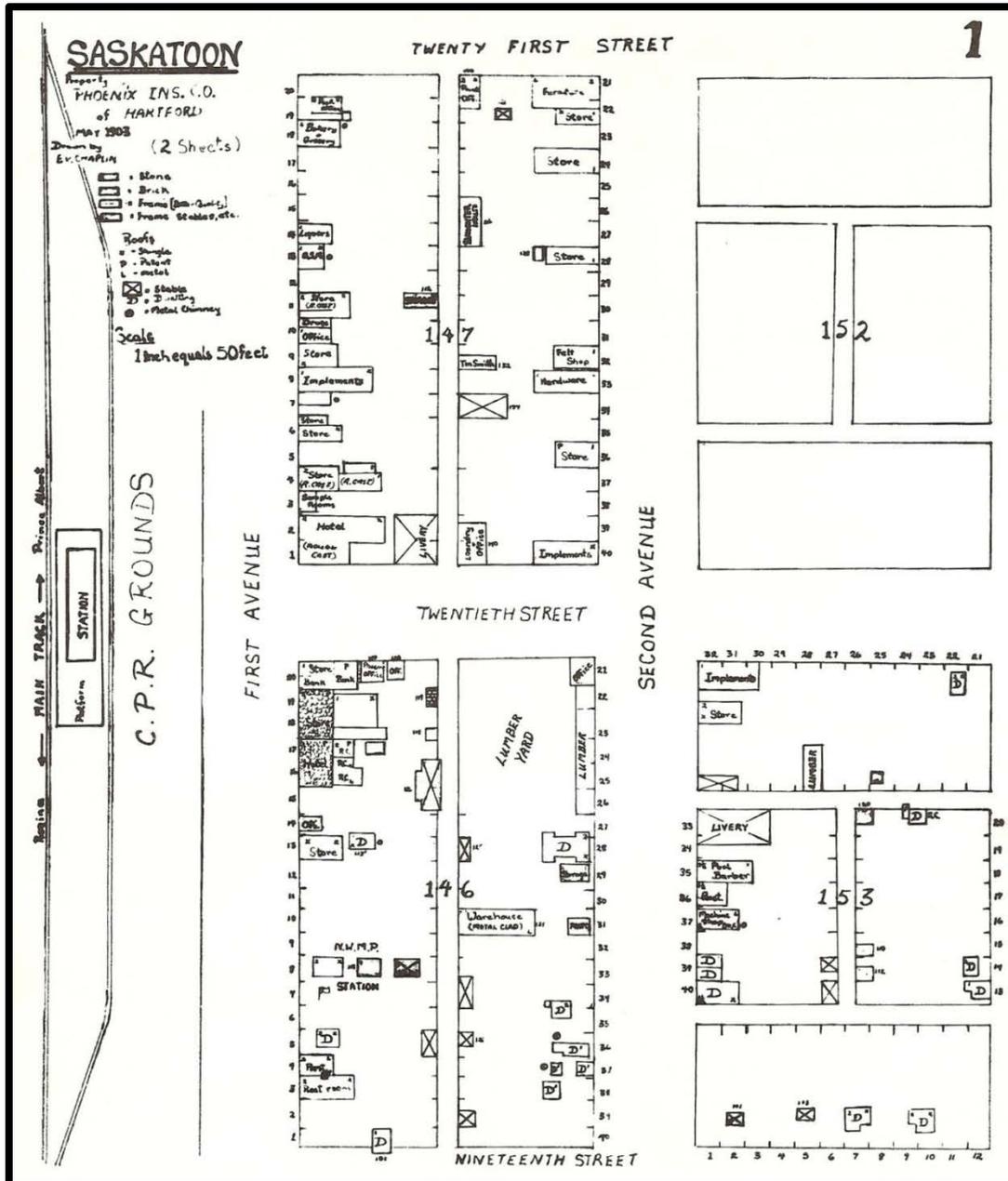


Figure 2.8: The commercial core of Saskatoon in 1903. From a contemporary Phoenix Insurance Co. plan (Adapted from Delainey & Sarjeant 1975:11).

2.4. 1903 to 1906: The Creation of a City

Since 1901, the population of Saskatoon had grown from 133 to 544 by 1903 (Duerkop 2000:18). While new businesses and services such as grain elevators, flour mills and a creamery helped the town flourish, the establishment of a number of real estate firms helped attract potential settlers to the prospering town. However, the increasing population led to the recognition that Saskatoon was in need of better local services such as street maintenance, garbage disposal, sanitation and building control regulations. Although the village council had the authority to collect taxes from its residents, coupled with a borrowing capacity of up to 5% of its total assessment, these assets fell short of the necessary funds required to improve local services (Delainey & Sarjeant 1975:9). Community leaders and businessmen in Saskatoon pressed the village to apply for town incorporation as it would enable Saskatoon to borrow up to 10% of its total assessment (Delainey & Sarjeant 1975:9-10). Incorporation was granted on July 1st, 1903 and on July 25th, the first town council took office (Archer 1948:18). Shortly after its incorporation as a town, Saskatoon saw the establishment of a Board of Trade (now the Chamber of Commerce), its first banks (Bank of Hamilton, Union Bank) as well as its first daily newspaper the *Saskatoon Phenix* (Delainey & Sarjeant 1975:9-10; Duerkop 2000:18).

Similar to Saskatoon, Nutana was also experiencing a steady growth in population. However, by 1903 the growth had resulted in an overcrowding of schools in both settlements. As such, the School Board purchased a property just north of Saskatoon and proposed to build a new \$13,000.00 multi-room school - the King Edward School (Figure 2.9) (Archer 1948:18). Although the residents of Saskatoon welcomed the proposition, those in Nutana disagreed with the expenditure and requested the formation of a new school district. The request was granted and in July of 1903, Nutana School District, No. 869 was established (Archer 1948:18). Further assertions of independence were declared when in October of 1903, Nutana was incorporated as a village (Archer 1948: 18).

In 1902, Reverend Isaac Barr, a London curate, bought a tract of land in the area of present day Lloydminster. Using Saskatoon as a staging area for food, shelter and transport, Barr was planning on establishing the colony as “[t]he British Colony for the Saskatchewan Valley” (Archer 1948:16). In April 17 of 1903, the first train carrying Barr colonists arrived in Saskatoon (Archer 1948:16).



Figure 2.9: The King Edward School during the Empire Day Celebrations in 1904 (Saskatchewan Archives Board RB 806).

In total, approximately 1,437 Barr colonists stopped in Saskatoon on their way to the new Britannia Colony (Archer 1948:16). However, although Reverend Isaac Barr had promised that provisions such as food, shelter and transport to the new colony would be ready for the colonists in Saskatoon, he failed to make these arrangements. As a result, the colonists were forced to camp in tents and shacks immediately west of the railway on reserved school land located in the northeast quarter of section 29 (Figure 2.10). Under the new leadership of Reverend C. E. Lloyd, a chaplain during the Riel Resistance, the Barr Colonists were equipped with supplies acquired from local merchants and by the end of May, were well on their way to the Britannia Colony via the Battleford Trail (Archer 1948:16; Delainey et al. 1982:18).

Not only did the plight of the Barr Colonists give Saskatoon publicity abroad as well as stimulate its local economy, it also provided the backdrop for the establishment of a third settlement. After the Barr Colonists left Saskatoon, the quarter section temporarily settled by the

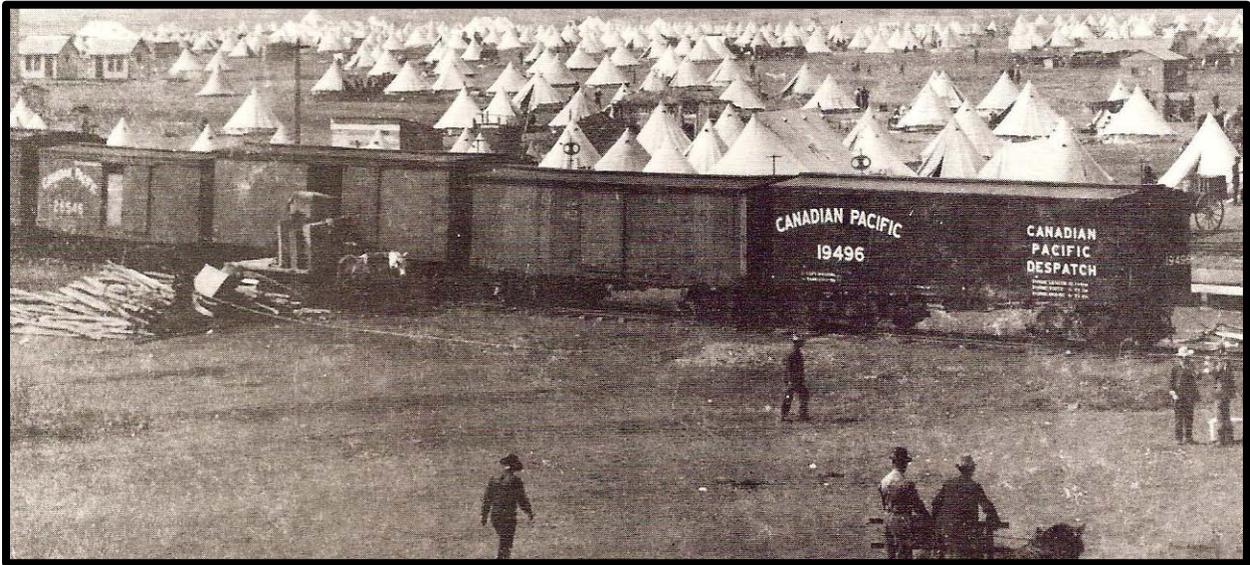


Figure 2.10: The Barr Colonists squatters' village, west of the railway station (Saskatchewan Archives Board RA 2309).

colonists was released by the government and purchased by a local real estate firm (Delainey & Sarjeant 1975:12). Similar to Nutana and Saskatoon, the future settlement of Riverdale (later Riversdale) was also established in the typical 'grid' pattern. However, the new settlement did not exhibit any of the 'philosophical' layout of the older colonies. Wide open streets with large rectangular house blocks were replaced by rigid narrow streets lined by small rectangular house blocks. Although one block was set aside for a possible school, the new settlement was devoid of any green and park space as these spaces could be used for further housing developments.

Taxes in the new settlement of Riverdale (Figure 2.11) were low as the lots were small and the community lacked local services. However, since the settlement was located immediately west of the railway station in Saskatoon, its residences had access to school, medical, police and fire services at the expense of Saskatoon taxpayers. Although there was pressure for Saskatoon to incorporate the settlement into its town limits, Riverdale chose to avoid this option and in 1905, incorporated itself as the Village of Riverdale (Delainey & Sarjeant 1975:12).

By 1906, what has started out as a single colony founded on temperance ideals had grown into three settlements. Although Nutana, Saskatoon and Riversdale were technically self-governing settlements, their proximity to one another made them all dependent on one another.

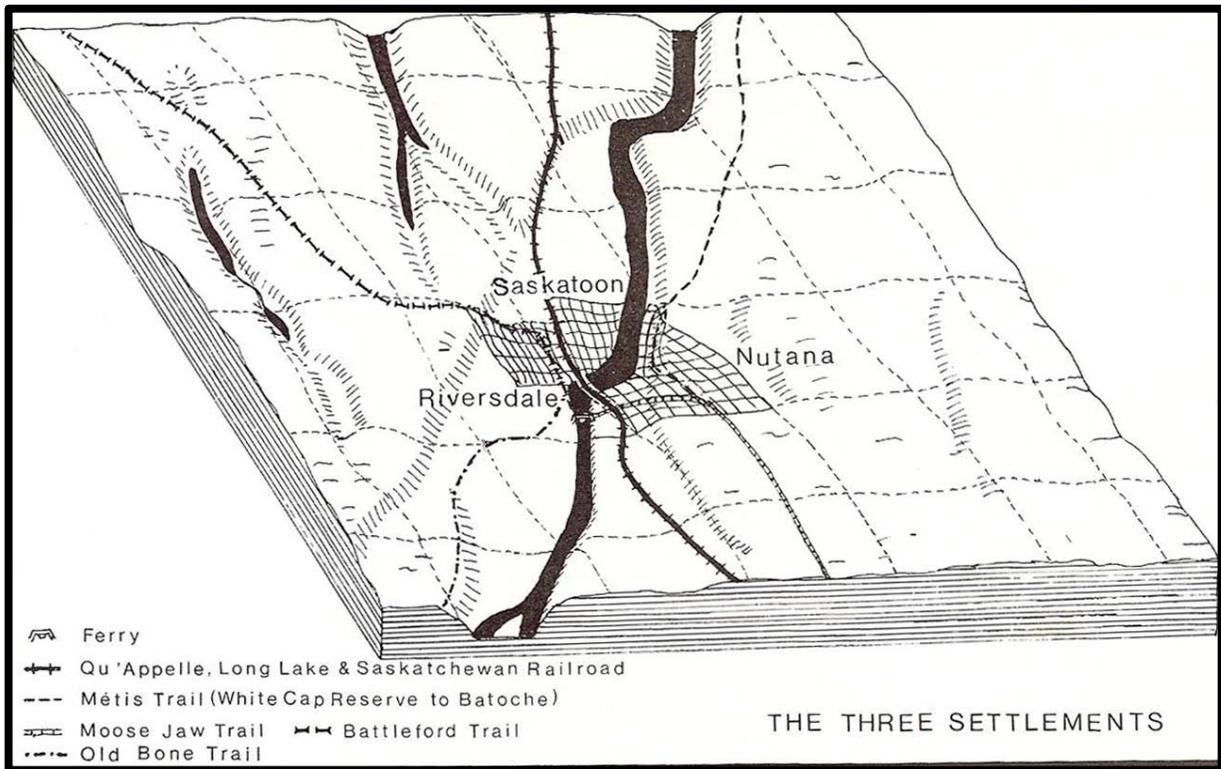


Figure 2.11: The three settlements in 1906 (Adapted from Delainey et al. 1982:27).

After Saskatchewan became a province in 1905, competition ensued between Regina and Saskatoon as to which settlement would be chosen as the provincial capital. Although Regina was eventually chosen, the challenge served as a good catalyst for Saskatoon as it encouraged the settlement to improve its infrastructure and develop modern facilities. Recent outbreaks of typhoid, dysentery and infantile diarrhea reinforced the belief that Saskatoon was in desperate need of modern sewage and water lines (Delainey & Sarjeant 1975:13; Delainey et al. 1982:19; O'Brien 2010b:16). Furthermore, it was recognized that improvements such as these would attract more people and businesses to Saskatoon. Unfortunately, Saskatoon did not have enough resources or borrowing power to cover the expenses associated with these improvements. Incorporation as a city would increase the settlement's borrowing power, making these improvements possible. However, with a population of 3,011, Saskatoon fell short of the population quota required for city incorporation (Delainey & Sarjeant 1975:12-13). Fortunately, the Village of Nutana as well as the Village of Riversdale, with a combined population of approximately 1,200, was drawn to the potential prospect of modern services. Recognizing the

dilemma before them, the three settlements decided to amalgamate and on May 26th, 1906, the City of Saskatoon was incorporated (Delainey & Sarjeant 1975:13).

2.5. 1906 to 1914: The Hub City

Although the newly incorporated City of Saskatoon was eager to move forward with plans to improve its infrastructure, it had a number of obstacles to overcome. The City of Saskatoon was in essence, the amalgamation of three distinct settlements; the Village of Nutana, the Town of Saskatoon and the Village of Riversdale, each founded and governed in accordance to separate ideals.

Nutana, the old Temperance Settlement, had its own centre (Broadway). It had been planned carefully and had grown only slowly; its spaciousness was unimpaired by rapid commercial expansion and its social and political attitudes were innately conservative. Riversdale had been constructed in haste; with profit as the sole objective. Its streets already had an air of constriction and congestion, the lack of forward planning all too evident; and its social attitudes were similarly conditioned by a desire for quick returns and a lack of concern for the future. Saskatoon proper had inherited something of the spaciousness of the original settlement, both in its layout and in its attitudes; and, though its basic philosophy was expansionist, a typical “boom-town” outlook, there was yet a quality of restraint and an inherent desire for civic dignity quite lacking in other contemporary towns (Delainey & Sarjeant 1975:13).

Even though the settlements collectively existed as the City of Saskatoon, their independent histories coupled with their distinct social and political attitudes had resulted in each area perceiving itself as distinctively unique from one another. Physical boundaries such as the South Saskatchewan River as well as the railway further reinforced this idea of individuality between the three areas.

In 1907, Saskatoon was viewed as a “large prairie town with only modest prospects for growth” (Delainey et al. 1982:35). However, by 1912 it was described as the “fastest growing city in the British Empire” (Delainey et al. 1982:35). Even though there are many factors which contributed to this growth, such as the establishment of the University of Saskatchewan in 1909, an open competition between the Grand Trunk Pacific and the Canadian Pacific served as one of

the primary factors facilitating the growth of the city. Both railway companies were interested in constructing trunk lines through the City of Saskatoon. Despite advice from city administration to operate through a “Union” station with converging railway lines, both railway companies decided to remain independent from one another due to the speculative interest of railway shareholders (Figure 2.12). As a result, different railway routes with associated stations and facilities were constructed in and around Saskatoon between the years of 1906 and 1914 (Delainey & Sarjeant 1975:16-21).



Figure 2.12: The Canadian Pacific Railway Station at the junction of 24th Street and Avenue A (Local History Room, Saskatoon Public Library A-1844).

Although the City of Saskatoon was now covered with railway lines running in virtually all directions, the congested streets and traffic delays had resulted in Saskatoon being recognized as the “Hub City” (Delainey & Sarjeant 1975:21). Not only did the railway lines enhance Saskatoon’s access to outlying districts, but they also shifted the focus of growth onto Saskatoon at the expense of neighboring cities such as the Battlefords and Prince Albert. As more and more people passed through Saskatoon via the railway lines, the number of businesses in the commercial and industrial sectors alike increased. By 1914, Saskatoon had established itself as an important urban centre (Figure 2.13), both as a gathering place for prospering entrepreneurs as well as a distributor for retailer and wholesaler services (Delainey & Sarjeant 1975:21-22).



Figure 2.13: 2nd Avenue circa 1913 or 1914 (Local History Room, Saskatoon Public Library LH-764).

The discussion thus far has concerned itself with the developmental trajectory of the Saskatoon area at the turn of the 20th century. However, although totalizing histories can provide us with information pertaining to the milieu in question, it is important to understand that these totalizing histories are comprised of many minor histories; the mundane and forgotten stories of the everyday. The objective of this thesis project is to uncover the stories associated with two archaeological sites situated in the heart of the Nutana area, the Marr Residence located at 326th 11th Street East and the 11th Street Privy site located on the property of 322 11th Street East. In order to achieve this objective, it is necessary to not only understand the social and cultural milieu of the Saskatoon area, but to learn more about the people who resided on the properties at the turn of the 20th century. As such, this discussion will now focus on the various occupants of the Marr Residence and the 11th Street Privy site.

2.6. The Occupants of the Marr Residence and the 11th Street Privy Site

An analysis of land titles, tax assessment rolls and the Henderson's Directories has yielded some information about the various owners and occupants of the properties. Unfortunately, information pertaining to the properties prior to the turn of the century is lacking as the tax assessment rolls only go back to 1906 while the Henderson's Directories only go back to 1904. Nevertheless, the uncovered information pertaining to the various owners and occupants who may have been associated with the material culture recovered from the Marr Residence and the 11th Street Privy Site will be discussed below.

2.6.1 *The Marr Residence (FaNp-5)*

Built in 1884 by Messrs. Hilliard and Hattie for Alex Marr (Kerr 1980:5), the house located at 326 11th Street East exists as one of the oldest standing structures in present day Saskatoon, Saskatchewan. Shortly after construction on the house commenced, the house was requisitioned by Dr. Roddick for use as a field hospital during the 1885 Riel Resistance (Figure 2.14). Presumably, after field hospital operations had moved to Moose Jaw the Marr family

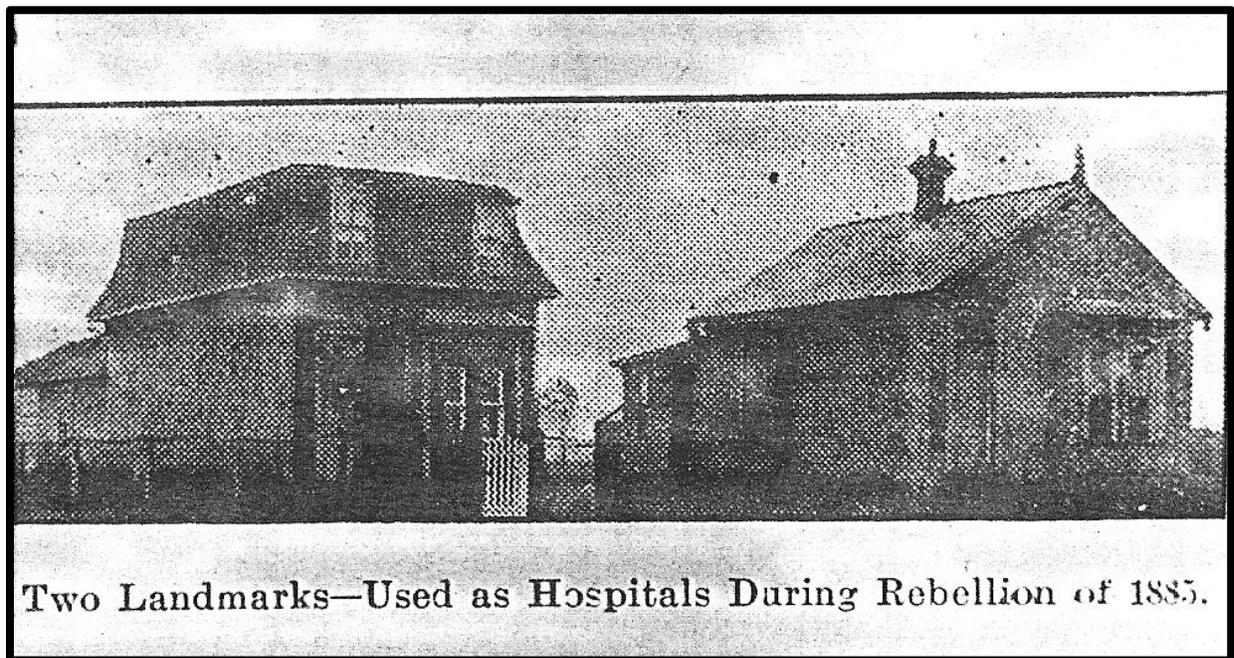


Figure 2.14: The properties of 326th 11th Street East and 322 11th Street East. Date unknown (Local History Room, Saskatoon Public Library PH-88-512).

reoccupied the house (Klimko 1988:121). After its initial occupation by the Marr family, the house was sold, purchased and occupied by a number of individuals (and groups) until it was purchased by the Meewasin Valley Authority in 1981 and officially designated a historic site.

Research conducted by local historians and archaeologists on staff with the Saskatchewan Research Council has uncovered a wealth of information pertaining to the various owners and occupants of the house (Duerkop 1978; Harris 1981; Kerr 1980; Klimko 1981, 1988; Peel 1949). Table 2.1 tabulates the various owners of 326 11th Street East (lot 15) from 1884 up to 1910.

Table 2.1: Table summarizing the various owners of the property of 326 11th Street East.

YEAR	INDIVIDUAL/ORGANIZATION	OCCUPATION
1884	Alex (Sandy) Marr	- Contractor
February 1894	Carl Hush or Kusch or Kush	- Farmer
February 1894	Mrs. Mary Anne Sinclair	- N/A
January 1900	William Henry Sinclair	-Cattle rancher -Partner in the first creamery -Star Phenix promoter -Policeman -Member of Territorial Legislature for district
May 1901	Trustees of the Methodist Church	- N/A
July 1904	E. Howard Dulmage	- N/A
October 1907	James H. Thompson	- Farmer - Real Estate Speculator
July 1910	James H. Thompson	- Farmer - Real Estate Speculator

We know that in conjunction with temperance ideals, real estate speculation served as one of the primary factors encouraging the first settlers to migrate and settle the area. It was these speculations (and these ideals) which lured Winnipeg Contractor Alex Marr to the area and convinced him to move his family to the newly established temperance colony (Klimko 1988). Presumably, the Marr family resided in the house until 1894 when the property was sold to Carl Hush (or Kusch or Kush). Carl Hush, a farmer and one of the original settlers who migrated to the area in 1883, immediately sold the property to Mrs. Mary Anne Sinclair (Duerkop 1978:5).

Although there is no occupation listed for Mrs. Mary Anne Sinclair, her husband, William Henry Sinclair, had numerous occupations and appears to have been quite a prominent

figure in the early history of Nutana. In January of 1900, Mrs. Sinclair passed away and the title was passed to William Henry Sinclair. William Henry Sinclair appears to have continued occupying the house until May of 1901 when the lot was transferred to the Trustees of the Methodist Church (Duerkop 1978:5).

In July of 1904, the Methodist Church sold the property to E. Howard Dulmage, son of tinsmith R.W. Dulmage who was one of the first settlers to come to the colony in 1883 (Duerkop 1978: 5). Dulmage sold the property in October of 1907 to James H. Thompson. Although James H. Thompson's occupation was not listed in the Henderson's Directory except for the one year where he was identified as a farmer (Jeff O'Brien, personal communication 2010), sources seem to suggest that Thompson was a real estate speculator. The 1907 tax assessment rolls show that lots 11 to 15 on 11th Street East all belonged to one 'James H. Thomson' (City of Saskatoon Archives). However, there is contradictory information which suggests that Thompson did not acquire the east half of lot 13 and all of lot 14 from William Tucker until July of 1910 (Duerkop 1978:5). Nevertheless, James H. Thompson's interest in the property for its real estate potential was apparent as early as 1907. Although he may have resided on the property for a brief period of time, as suggested by his listing in the 1911 Henderson's Directory, it appears that he lived somewhere else on the block while pursuing his real estate interests in the area (Duerkop 1978:5).

2.6.2 *The 11th Street Privy Site (FaNp-31)*

The 11th Street Privy site is located in the extreme south west corner of lot 13 and is associated with the house that once existed on the property of 322 11th Street East. Although the exact construction date of the house or the name of the individual whom the house was constructed for is unknown, local historians indicate that the house was constructed prior to the 1885 Riel Resistance (Figure 2.14) and was also one of the houses requisitioned by Dr. Roddick for use as a field hospital (Enns- Kavanagh 2006:1.3).

Although research regarding the owners and occupants of 322 11th Street East failed to yield any information pertaining to the owners and occupants of the property prior to 1896, it did yield information concerning the owners (and presumably occupants) of the property up until the house was demolished for construction of a row house tenement. Table 2.2 tabulates the various owners of 322 11th Street East (lot 15) from 1884 to 1910.

Table 2.2: Table summarizing the various owners of the property of 322 to 324 11th Street East.

YEAR	INDIVIDUAL/ORGANIZATION	OCCUPATION
January 1896	Alex (Sandy) Marr	- Yeoman of Prince Albert - Contractor
June 1903	William R. Tucker	- Indian Agent
October 1907	James H. Thompson	- Farmer - Real Estate Speculator
July 1910	James H. Thompson	- Farmer - Real Estate Speculator

The earliest record relating to 322 11th Street East dates to 1896 when Alex (Sandy) Marr, the same Alex Marr for whom 236 11th Street was built, purchased lot 14 and the eastern half of lot 13 (which 322 11th Street East resides on). It is unknown why Alex Marr sold 326 11th Street East only to purchase the property immediately west of it. Furthermore, it is uncertain whether he actually resided on the property as it is known that he relocated to Prince Albert sometime during the turn of the 20th century (The Marr Residence Board, personal communications, 2010) as suggested by his listing has a “Yeoman of Prince Albert” in 1896 (Duerkop 1978:5). Whether he had moved back to Saskatoon or not, it is known that Alex Marr sold the property in 1903 to William R. Tucker, an Indian agent at Moose Woods west of Dundurn (Duerkop 1978:5).

As previously mentioned, there appears to be a discrepancy in regard to the actual date that lot 14 and the eastern half of lot 13 were sold to James H. Thompson. Nevertheless, we know that James H. Thompson had acquired the property no later than 1910 as indicated by the record of his payment to have the properties connected up to the sewer and water system (Jeff O’Brien personal communications 2010).

Although we can assume that the various owners of 326 and 322 11th Street East resided in the house during the course of their ownership, it is important to note that this may not be the case. Contrasting information gathered from a variety of historical records suggests that by 1907, both 322 and 326 11th Street East became rental properties under the ownership of James H. Thompson. This scenario seems to be given creditability by the subsequent Henderson’s Directory listings which list a variety of people from a variety of professions as residing on the

properties. A review of James H. Thompson's financial records and legal problems seems to substantiate this claim:

In March 1914 the east of 33'4" of lot 15, including the house, was the subject of a writ of execution for \$13,160.41 laid by a Mr. George Moncreiff of Petrolia, Ontario against five firms and individuals including Mr. Thompson. A month later a similar writ was laid against the land Thompson owned to the west along 11th Street, although one of the individuals named was different. Apparently this trouble was resolved, for the Union Bank of Canada granted a \$5,591.43 mortgage in May 1914 at 8% on the east 28' of lot 14 and all of lot 15. Subsequently the bank registered a caveat against the property. Caveats or writs of execution are noted on behalf of the Canadian Credit Men's Trust Association Co. Ltd., the Northern Crown Bank of Saskatoon, Kerr Agencies of Moose Jaw, W.E. Watkins of Craik, and J.D. Ferguson (Duerkop 1978:5).

If this scenario is in fact true, it would make correlating the material culture recovered from the Marr Residence and the 11th Street Privy site with the residents of the individual houses a little more difficult to do. However, when one takes into consideration the fact that the 1906 Health Bylaw banned the "pit-closet" and that both properties were hooked up to the sewer and water system by 1910, it is evident that these privy deposits predate the properties' lifespan as rental properties.

Now that historic specific parameters in regard to the various owners and occupants of the Marr Residence and the 11th Street Privy site during the turn of the 20th century have been established, the discussion will focus on the archaeological features that this thesis project is concerned with - privies. The material culture from the Marr Residence and the 11th Street Privy site were primarily recovered from privy features excavated throughout the years. As such, it is crucial to understand how these privy features collectively fit into the historical backdrop of Saskatoon; in particular, when these privy features were used and with what era in Saskatoon's developmental history they correspond. This section will specifically focus on the historic evolution of privy structures in the Saskatoon area as they relate to health and sanitation standards. For a more complete overview of the archaeology of these privy features, please refer to Chapter 3 (Previous Archaeological Research).

2.7. Privies and the Current Thesis Project

Privies are of particular interest to historical archaeologists for a variety of reasons. The nature of their construction coupled with the nature of their utilization has resulted in a feature that is distinctly private in nature and in content. Although their basic function as depositories for human excrement has remained the same throughout time and space, their location in relationship to the household, their architectural characteristics as well as subsequent contents in the privies have shown tremendous variation (Carnes-McNaughton & Harper 2000). Not only can an archaeological investigation of privy features reveal to us health and sanitation standards of the time (Stottman 2000; Struchtemeyer 2008), but we can infer how individuals constructed the world around them and how they interacted with the people within this world (Peña and Demmon 2000).

2.7.1 Privies in Saskatoon

The first privies in the Saskatoon area consisted of a hole in the ground with a chair placed overtop the hole. Open concept privies such as these were eventually replaced by the “pit-closet”, which served the same function but had the added luxury of being an enclosed structure so as to enhance privacy and shelter from the elements (O’Brien 2010b:16). Although the construction of privies varied, these variations were primarily influenced by personal preference and did not affect the function of the privy. Once the privy hole was full, the user could either dig a new hole and move the structure over or clean out the hole and re-use it.

“Pit-closets” were in wide spread use in the Saskatoon area up until the turn of the 20th century. However, as more and more people began migrating to the Saskatoon area, more “pit-closets” and trash dumps began emerging along the banks of the South Saskatchewan River. Contamination of clean water supplies was imminent and by 1903, unsanitary health conditions within the Saskatoon area had escalated and resulted in yearly predictable epidemics of typhoid, dysentery and infantile diarrhea (Delainey & Sarjeant 1975:13; Delainey et al. 1982:19; O’Brien 2010b:16). It was recognized that there was a desperate need for higher sanitation standards. As a result, plans were laid out for a massive infrastructural overhaul aimed at improving sewer and water services to the residences of the Saskatoon area.

2.7.2 The 1906 Health Bylaw

After the City of Saskatoon was incorporated in May of 1906, the city implemented its massive infrastructure project to improve sanitation standards. Sewer systems, watermains and power stations were built at a rate that would not be matched until the late 1950s and by the end of 1912, the city had installed 54 kilometres of watermains and 53 kilometres of sanitary sewer lines and had constructed a total of 1,232 homes that had modern sewer and water services (O'Brien 2010c:29).

1906 was also the year that the city hired its first municipal health officer who articulated the first Health Bylaw in the City of Saskatoon (O'Brien 2010a:6). Passed in September of 1906 by city council, the Health Bylaw focused its attention on waste disposal issues which had contributed to the outbreak of the epidemics mentioned above. It was mandated that stables and wells had to be constructed at a set distance from one another and that wells were to be periodically tested (O'Brien 2010b:16). In regards to the construction of the city's sewer and water system, the Health Bylaw stated that houses located on serviced streets were required to hook up to the sewer and water system and that no 'unmodern houses' were to be constructed on serviced streets. Furthermore, it was stated that no privies were to be constructed on properties with service connections (O'Brien 2010b:16). However, for one reason or another, many homes still had to rely on the privy. The Health Bylaw had a clause in it which allowed these homes to have privies on their property. However, all privies were to be located in the back of the property (Jeff O'Brien, personal communication 2010) and protocols were established as to how these privies were to be constructed (O'Brien 2010b:16).

By 1915, the City of Saskatoon had taken all of the necessary steps to encourage its residences to hook up to the modern sewer and water system and abandon the privy. However, this transition into modernization was met with resistance and it would be decades later before the privy was completely eliminated within city limits (O'Brien 2010c:29).

Although the 1906 Health Bylaw allowed privies to exist on properties within city limits, the provisions set by the Health Bylaw in regard to the construction of privies are of particular interest for the current thesis project. "Pit-closets", that is, open pit privies enclosed by a surrounding structure, were banned throughout the entire City of Saskatoon in 1906 and were replaced by the "box-closet" (O'Brien 2010b:16). Similar to the "pit-closet", the "box-closet" was also a privy enclosed by a surrounding structure. However, the open pit privy hole was

replaced by a box which would catch the excrement. A small door located at the rear of the privy structure allowed city workers to access the box and clean out its contents (Figure 2.15).



Figure 2.15: The back of a “box-closet” privy in Saskatoon taken from the Saskatoon Health Inspector Report, date unknown. This photograph was brought to the author’s attention by Dr. Margaret Kennedy (City of Saskatoon Archives).

Even though it would be ridiculous to assume that the residences of Saskatoon immediately switched to the “box-closet” in 1906, the Health Bylaw does give the author reason to believe that the terminal date for the “pit-closets” excavated at the Marr Residence and the 11th Street Privy site could not have been much later than 1906. This reasoning was corroborated by a recent examination of the records at the City of Saskatoon Archives which reveals that the property of 326 11th Street East on lot 15 (Figure 2.16), otherwise known as the Marr Residence, was hooked up to the sewer and water system around 1909 (City of Saskatoon Archives). The records also reveal that on June 25 of 1910, a payment was made for three separate connections to the property of 320 11th Street East (City of Saskatoon Archives). 320 11th Street East, of course, was part of the string of properties spanning from 312 to 322 11th Street East which were

knocked down for the row house tenement. Although the 11th Street Privy site is located within the property of 322 11th Street East on lot 13 (Figure 2.16), the house that the 11th Street Privy site was associated with would have been knocked down prior to the construction of the row house tenement. Nevertheless, the 1906 city wide ban of “pit-closets” coupled with historical documentation indicating specific hook-up dates to the sewer and water system provides the author with enough evidence to argue that the “pit-closets” excavated at the Marr Residence could date no later than 1909 while the 11th Street Privy site could date no later than 1910.

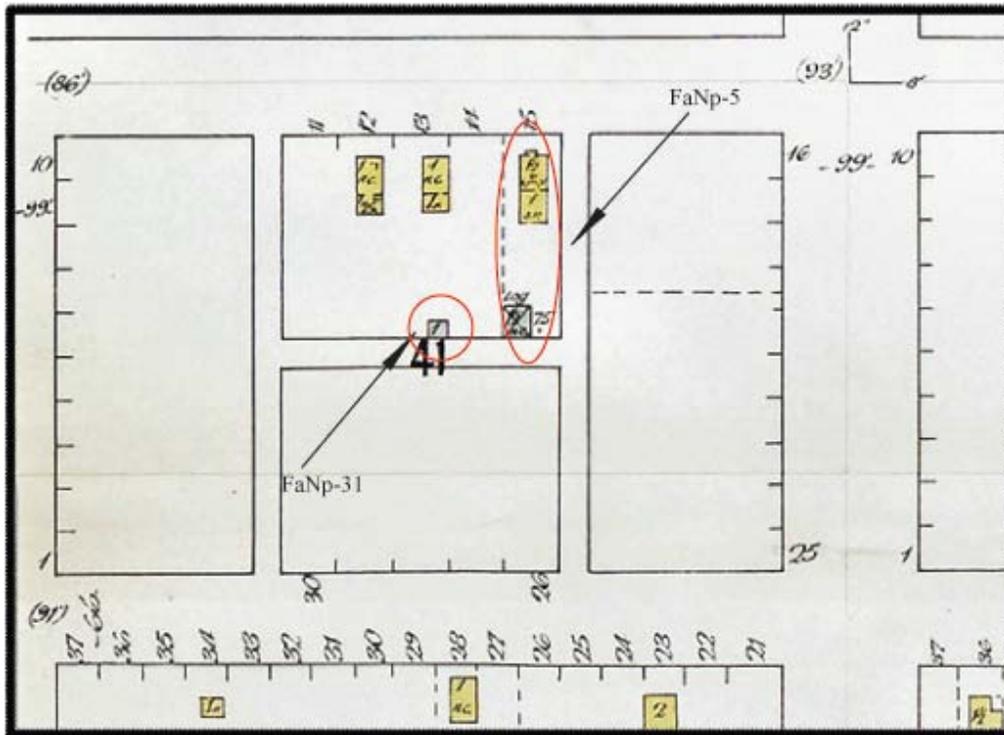


Figure 2.16: 1907 City of Saskatoon Fire Insurance Plan of the 300 Block of 11th Street East. 326 11th Street East is situated on lot 15 while 322 11th Street East is situated on lot 13 (City of Saskatoon Archives)

2.8. Material Waste Disposal Practices at the Turn of the 20th Century

Before this thesis project can progress any further, it is important for us to grasp how people disposed of their garbage in the Saskatoon area at the turn of the 20th century. Prior to the inception of the “box-closet”, people would frequently throw their refuse into an open pit privy hole, resulting in an archaeological assemblage that is distinctively unique and personal in

nature. However, it is important to understand that this particular discard pattern reflects only a partial record of the use of material goods associated with a particular household. Although some of the garbage that people produced found its way down into the privy hole, where did the rest of the garbage go?

It was common practice among residences in the Saskatoon area to simply dump their garbage into the valleys leading down into the South Saskatchewan River (O'Brien 2010a:6). It wasn't until 1901, following the incorporation of the Village of Saskatoon that village council established a designated nuisance ground northeast of the settlement at the corner of present day 4th Avenue and 23rd Street (Delainey 2007:31). In 1903, following the incorporation of the Town of Saskatoon, the decision was made by town council to relocate the nuisance ground onto the southeast quarter of section 29 at present day Victoria Park. However, despite this effort, it appeared that many people still opted to dispose of their garbage in the valleys.

It wasn't until 1906, following the hiring of Saskatoon's first municipal health officer and the establishment of the health bylaw that a municipal nuisance grounds, located at the corner of present day Warman Road and Circle Drive, was designated (Delainey 2007:37; O'Brien 2010a:6). It appears that following the implementation of the 1906 Health Bylaw, the residences of Saskatoon were encouraged to halt disposing of their garbage in the valleys of the South Saskatchewan River.

Although it is difficult to determine where the occupants of the Marr Residence and the 11th Street Privy site discarded their garbage, it is still important for us to recognize that the archaeological assemblages recovered from these two sites represent only a partial discard pattern and hence, a partial representation of differential consumer behaviour. Nevertheless, since privy features are personal in nature, they have the capability to reveal to us aspects of consumer behaviour that are uniquely tied to the individuals and households in question. Chapter 6 (Discussion of the Material Culture) will comment more on the nature of privy deposits in regards to consumer behaviour.

2.9. Summary and Conclusion

The early colony of Saskatoon was meant to appeal to potential settlers with particular morals and values. Advertisements and promotions openly typecast the colony as a place “[w]here they will be forever free from the accursed influence of the liquor traffic” (The Regina

Leader, 21 June 1883). Though anticipation for the temperance colony was high, Saskatoon soon found itself on the brink of economic stagnation due to drought, frost and isolation.

The year 1890 was a pivotal one for the colony. Not only was it the year that an agreement was made between the Temperance Colonization Society and the Qu'Appelle, Long Lake and Saskatchewan Railway to construct a line through the colony of Saskatoon but it marked a new era of influx and growth. However, although the railway prevented the colony of Saskatoon from stagnating, the development resulted in a rift between the settlements on either side of the South Saskatchewan River. What started out as a single colony founded on temperance ideals had grown into two settlements, each with its own image of what Saskatoon should be. Disagreements soon gave way discontent and both settlements soon opted for independence from one another.

By 1905, three independent settlements had been established in the immediate vicinity of each other, with Nutana on the east side of the South Saskatchewan River, Saskatoon on the west side of the river and Riversdale located immediately west of Saskatoon. Then, in 1906, the three settlements amalgamated and were officially incorporated as the City of Saskatoon. The years that followed incorporation were characterized by intense expansion and by 1914, Saskatoon had been established as an important urban centre in the province of Saskatchewan.

The story of Saskatoon lends itself as a candidate for a study of consumerism. Its development history coupled with its spatial, temporal and ideological parameters provides us with an opportunity to explore differential consumer behaviour as it relates to the social and political attitudes of the areas in question. Of particular interest to the scope of the current thesis project are two archaeological sites located in the heart of Nutana: the Marr Residence and the 11th Street Privy site. Not only do both sites have ties to the original temperance colony, but their spatial and temporal parameters coupled with the depositional nature of their material culture makes them ideal candidates for an historical archaeological approach to the study of consumerism. However, before we can archaeologically explore consumerism as it relates to these two sites, we first must become familiar with past archaeological investigations that have occurred at the sites. Chapter 3 (Previous Archaeological Research) will discuss in detail the historical context that initiated the archaeological investigations, the methodology employed and the results of the archaeological investigations.

CHAPTER 3

PREVIOUS ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH

3.1. Archaeology at the Marr Residence and the 11th Street Privy Site

The following is a summary of archaeological research that took place around the vicinity of the Marr Residence as well as excavations conducted at the 11th Street Privy Site. Since a detailed analysis and description of the material culture recovered from these excavations will be provided in Chapter 6 (Analysis of the Material Culture) and Chapter 7 (Discussion of the Material Culture) of this thesis project, this chapter will mainly focus on the archaeological features identified in the course of these investigations in regard to their function and significance. Although the 11th Street Privy Site was excavated by the author for the purpose of the current research project, archaeological investigations at the Marr Residence were conducted by different institutions under different external circumstances. However, since the material assemblages recovered from both sites were produced and deposited in and around the turn of the 20th century, they will be incorporated and included in the current research project.

3.2. 1981 Preliminary Investigations of FaNp-5 by the Saskatchewan Research Council

3.2.1. Background

After acquiring the property in 1981, the Meewasin Valley Authority began conducting historical research on the Marr Residence to attain a firmer grasp on the property's historical significance. Throughout the course of the research, references to secondary structures (i.e. privies, stables, etc) present in the immediate vicinity of the property at various points in time were discovered. Of particular interest to the Meewasin Valley Authority were references pertaining to secondary structures present on the property during its utilization as a field hospital during the Riel Resistance of 1885. For example, Dr. Roddick reflected on his hospital's practice in regard to sanitation standards in a journal entry:

The strictest rules were laid down by General Orders with regard to the immediate removal of all excreta and foul dressings, and privies were constructed at

convenient distances from the building. A man was detailed to apply dry earth frequently, so the discharges were never left uncovered for longer than a few moments; water was abundantly supplied from the river for cleaning purposes, while delicious drinking water was obtained from a spring two miles from the village (MacDermot 1938: 64).

In an 1886 report to the Department of the Interior, Rufus Stephensen, the Inspector of Colonization Companies at the time, wrote the following for Mr. Alex Marr's homestead entry:

Ent'd June '84 – SW and NW 6.37.5. Lives in Saskatoon. Married with family. Is a Mason. Log house partly up. Some 5 to 6 acres in crop 1886. Logs out for stable. Has a frame house in Saskatoon, 18 x 24 with kitchen attached – also log stable. Married wife and 6 girls (Kerr 1980:5).

Although entries such as these confirmed the existence of secondary structures related to the residence's field hospital days, information pertaining to the exact location and dimensions of these structures was missing from the historical record. Recognizing that questions regarding the location and dimensions of these structures could be investigated archaeologically, in 1981 the Meewasin Valley Authority contracted archaeologists with the Environmental Studies Division of the Saskatchewan Research Council to conduct preliminary investigations on the property. The objective of the research was to locate, record and describe all of the archaeological features present in the backyard of the Marr Residence and when possible, identify the original function of these features.

3.2.2. Methodology

To accomplish the objectives set before them, the Saskatchewan Research Council archaeology team, headed by Olga Klimko, devised a trenching system designed to systematically test the entire back yard of the property for features (Figure 3.1). In total, eight 0.5 m wide east-west oriented test trenches were placed across the property, with the first test trench situated close to the backdoor of the residence and subsequent trenches placed at 2 m intervals south of the last. Each trench was further divided up into metre units, with metre 1 starting on the most eastern extent of the trench, metre 2 directly west of metre 1 and so forth. Excavated

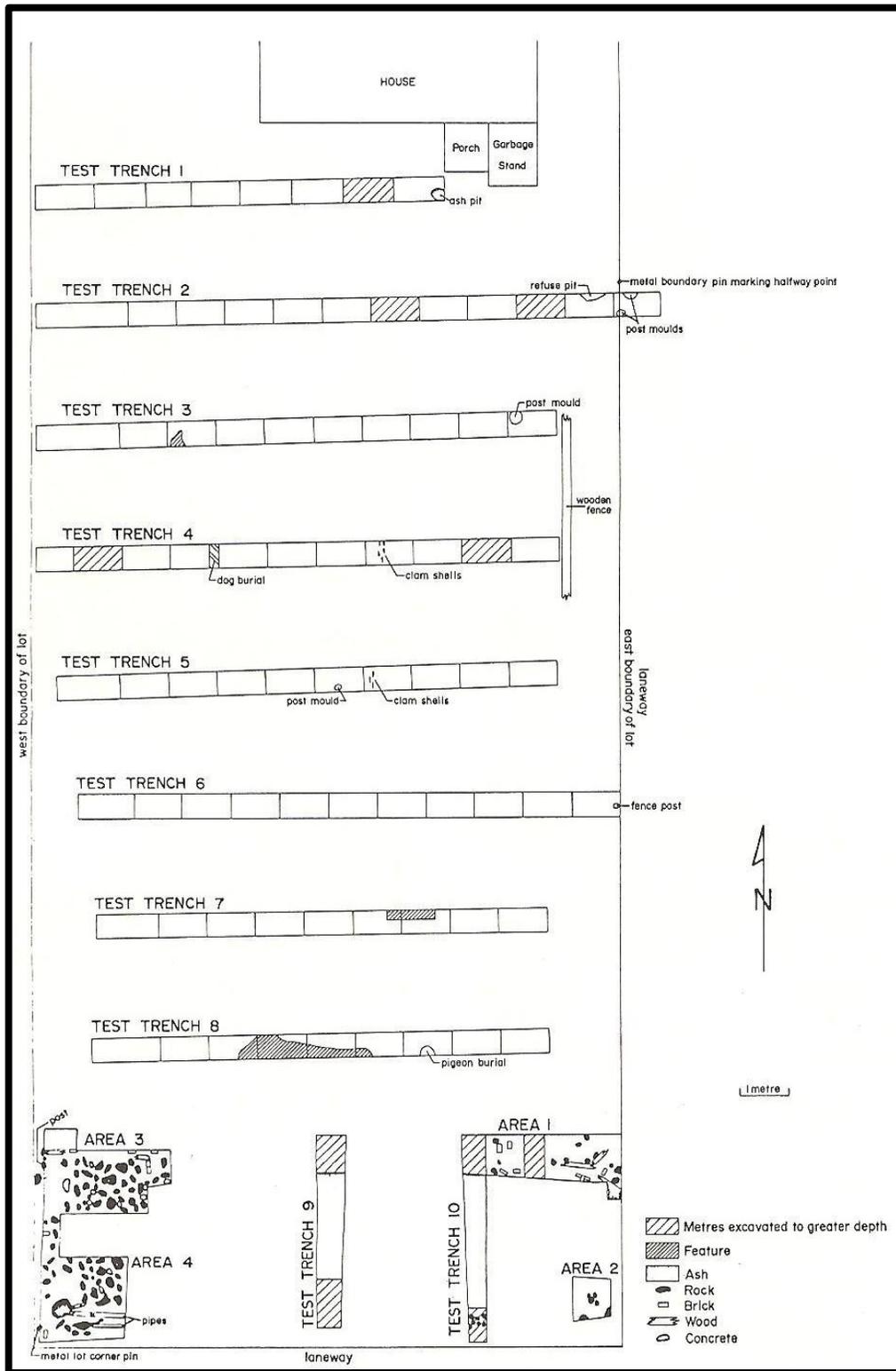


Figure 3.1: FaNp-5 Map Showing Location of Trenches and Areas in 1981 (Klimko 1981:12).

areas at the most western extent of the trenches typically did not comprise a complete metre and hence were added onto the last complete metre. As a result, the most western metre unit of any given trench would be greater than a metre in length, with its length being completely dependent on the area in question.

Through shovel and trowel excavation, each metre was dug down to a gold to light brown clay subsoil. A number of these metre units, however, were excavated below the clay subsoil for the purpose of obtaining stratigraphic information. All of the excavated soils were screened thoroughly for artifacts and ecofacts that may have been missed in the initial excavation process.

Although the trenching methodology described above proved sufficient for approximately 80% of the back yard, (i.e. the northern portion of the lot) a different testing agenda had to be employed for the last 20% of the property (i.e. the southern portion of the lot). This differential testing methodology was primarily influenced by the presence of larger and more complex features encountered in the southern portion of the lot. As a result of these features, archaeological testing was focused on uncovering larger block areas as oppose to systematic trenching. In total, four large areas (numbered one to four) along with two north-south oriented trenches were placed in the southern portion of the lot, with Areas 1 and 2 situated in the southeast corner of the property and Areas 3 and 4 situated in the south west corner of the property (Figure 3.1). In terms of dimensions, the parameters of Areas 1 to 4 were defined by the presence, absence and extent of features within the area being tested. The north-south extent of the two test trenches (Trench 9 and Trench 10) were also determined by the nature of the features in question, although their east-west extent maintained a width of 0.5 m.

3.2.3. *Results*

As expected, preliminary investigations of FaNp-5 yielded a wide variety of features pertaining to everyday life at the Marr Residence. Although some of these features are, to all intents and purposes, unidentifiable, most can be correlated to a particular activity and in some cases, correlated to a particular occupational period. Table 3.1 summarizes all of the identifiable features, their associated unit proveniences as well as an interpretation of their function and purpose.

A rich and diverse collection of material culture was recovered from the 1981 preliminary investigations. Although evidence of everyday life at the residence can be observed in virtually

Table 3.1: FaNp- 5 Identifiable Features in 1981.

UNIT PROVENIENCE	FEATURE	INTERPRETATION
Trench 1, Metre 1	Pit	Materials emptied from a wood stove or furnace.
Trench 1, Metre 2	Two Post Moulds (Evidence of Burning)	Post moulds for a porch feature associated with the house.
Trench 2, Metre 1	Two Post Moulds (Evidence of Burning)	Remains of two fences that existed at different times.
Trench 2, Metre 2	Pit	Refuse pit along an old fence on the eastern boundary of the lot.
Trench 2, Metre 6 & 7	Thin Gravel Layer (2cm to 4cm thick)	Represents the remains of a previous driveway.
Trench 3, Metre 1	Post Mould (Evidence of Burning)	Fence.
Trench 3, Metre 8	Rodent Burrow	Rodent Burrow.
Trench 4, Metre 4	Linear Clamshell Feature North-South Orientation	Decorative border for a garden during the 40's and 50's.
Trench 4, Metre 7 & 8	Pit with Canid (dog) Remains	Canid (dog) burial.
Trench 5, Metre 4	Linear Clamshell Feature North-South Orientation	Decorative boarder for a garden during the 40's and 50's.
Trench 5, Metre 4	Post Mould	Fence.
Trench 6, Metre 6	Post Mould	Fence.
Trench 7, Metre 3 & 4	Rectangular Feature	Privy.
Trench 8, Metre 3	Pit with Pigeon Remains	Pigeon burial.
Trench 8, Metre 4, 5, 6 & 7	Feature with Pigeon Remains (Evidence of Burning)	Pigeon Coop belonging to Mr. England.
Test Trench 10	Row of Rocks East-West Orientation	Structural
Test Trench 10	Post Mould	Fence.
Test Trench 10, Area 1 (SW End) Area 2	Ash and Charcoal Layer	Cinder driveway present at the house during the 40's.
Area 1	Brick and Wood Feature	Structural.
Area 1	Pit	Recent refuse pit.
Area 1 Test Pit 2	Rectangular Feature	Privy.
Area 2	Thin Gravel Layer (Approx. 10cm thick)	Driveway.
Area 2	Circular Feature Superimposed on a Rectangular Feature	Privy.
Area 3	Post	Post.
Area 3 Area 4	Rock, Brick, Concrete Feature with Wooden Planks on Exterior	Foundation or border remains. Possibly a Garage from the 40's.
Area 4	Pit	Recent refuse pit.

all sections of the property, the recovery of material culture seemed to be concentrated either in the area immediately behind the back door of the Marr Residence (i.e. Trench 1 and 2) or in the southern portion of the property (i.e. last 10 metres from the southern boundary of the property).

Of particular interest to Klimko was the high concentration of material culture recovered from the various privy features uncovered in the property. In total, three privy features were identified during the preliminary investigation. These features are summarized below.

3.2.3.1. Trench 7, Metre 3 and 4. At approximately 34 cm below surface, the southern extent of a privy feature began to emerge. The feature was rectangular in shape and extended into the north wall of the Trench unit. Although its width was unidentified, the length of the feature measured 1.02 m. Further excavations would be required in order to determine the size, function and temporal span of the privy feature.

3.2.3.2. Area 1, Test Pit 2. A 0.5 m x 1 m test pit was placed at the west end of Area 1. At approximately 30 cm below surface, the northeast corner of another privy feature was encountered. Unfortunately, the west and south walls of the feature extended into the west and south walls. It measured 65 cm in length along the west wall and 30 cm east into the unit. Further excavations would be required in order to determine the size, function and temporal span of the privy feature.

3.2.3.3. Area 2. At approximately 45 cm below surface a dark ash and charcoal deposit was encountered and continued down into the unit for approximately 15 cm. Beneath this deposit the northeast corner of a rectangular feature was identified. It extended 70 cm from the west wall and 65 cm from the south wall. Further excavations would be required in order to determine the size, function and temporal span of the privy feature.

Privy features are highly valued in historical archaeology as they have the potential to yield a rich abundance of material culture. Furthermore, the nature of their function (i.e. waste disposals) as well as their structural integrity (i.e. deep and enclosed) provides historical archaeologists with an archaeological feature with specific spatial and temporal constraints. As

such, it was recommended by Klimko (1981:57) that future archaeological investigations of the site should focus on the last 10 metres of the property in which these privy features are located.

3.3. 1997 Investigation of FaNp-5 by Dr. Margaret Kennedy

3.3.1. Background

In the fall of 1997, a collaborative effort between the Marr Residence Board and Dr. Margaret Kennedy from the University of Saskatchewan made it possible for further archaeological investigations to occur at FaNp-5. Students enrolled in Dr. Margaret Kennedy's 3rd year Historical Archaeology course comprised the majority of the field personnel while volunteers from the Marr Residence Board provided tours to the general public as well as volunteered their time to the dig. The goal of the 1997 field investigations: To uncover, identify and excavate the privy features originally identified by the Saskatchewan Research Council.

Between 1981 and 1997, the southern extent of the property (approximately 7 m) had been converted into a gravel parking lot for visitors (Figure 3.2). Unfortunately, the parking lot was situated directly overtop the study area. As such, the gravel parking lot had to be stripped and cleared before relocation of the features could begin. A bobcat provided by the City of Saskatoon was brought in and used to strip away the top layer of the gravel parking lot. Students then shovel shaved through the remainder of the disturbed soil deposits (Figure 3.3). A fence was erected around the study area and an excavation grid was established.



Figure 3.2: FaNp-5 gravel parking lot in 1997 looking north-west (Photo Courtesy of Dr. Margaret Kennedy).

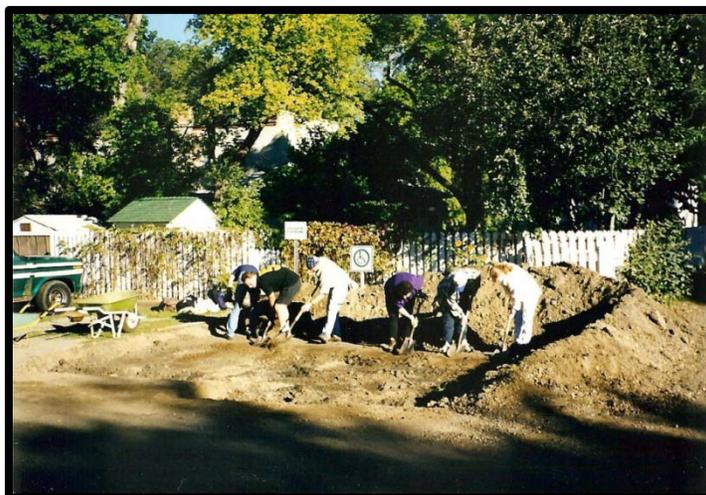


Figure 3.3: FaNp-5 stripping the gravel parking lot in 1997 looking north-west (Photo Courtesy of Dr. Margaret Kennedy).

3.3.2. *Methodology*

In total, ten 1 x 1 m units and two 1 x 0.5 m units were opened in the study area (Figure 3.4) and an arbitrary depth-below-datum (D.B.D) point was established as the surface of the study area had been modified by the removal of the gravel parking lot. A unit's placement within the grid as well as the total depth of excavation was dependent on the nature and extent of archaeological features exposed within the units. Through shovel and trowel, units were excavated down in 5cm arbitrary levels. However, once a feature (i.e. privy) was identified in a particular unit, levels were excavated in 10cm arbitrary increments because of the large amounts of artifacts within. All of the excavated soils were screened thoroughly for artifacts and ecofacts that may have been missed in the initial excavation process.

3.3.3. *Results*

In total, four substantial features were identified during the 1997 investigations (Figure 3.5). Although three of the features (Features 1, 2 and 3) have been identified as privy features, it is important to note that not all of the features (Feature 4) were clearly defined as it was evident that the area had been extensively modified with a succession of privy holes excavated over the years prior to the introduction of modern sewer lines (Dr. Margaret Kennedy, personal communications 2010). Nevertheless, the four substantial features identified are discussed below.

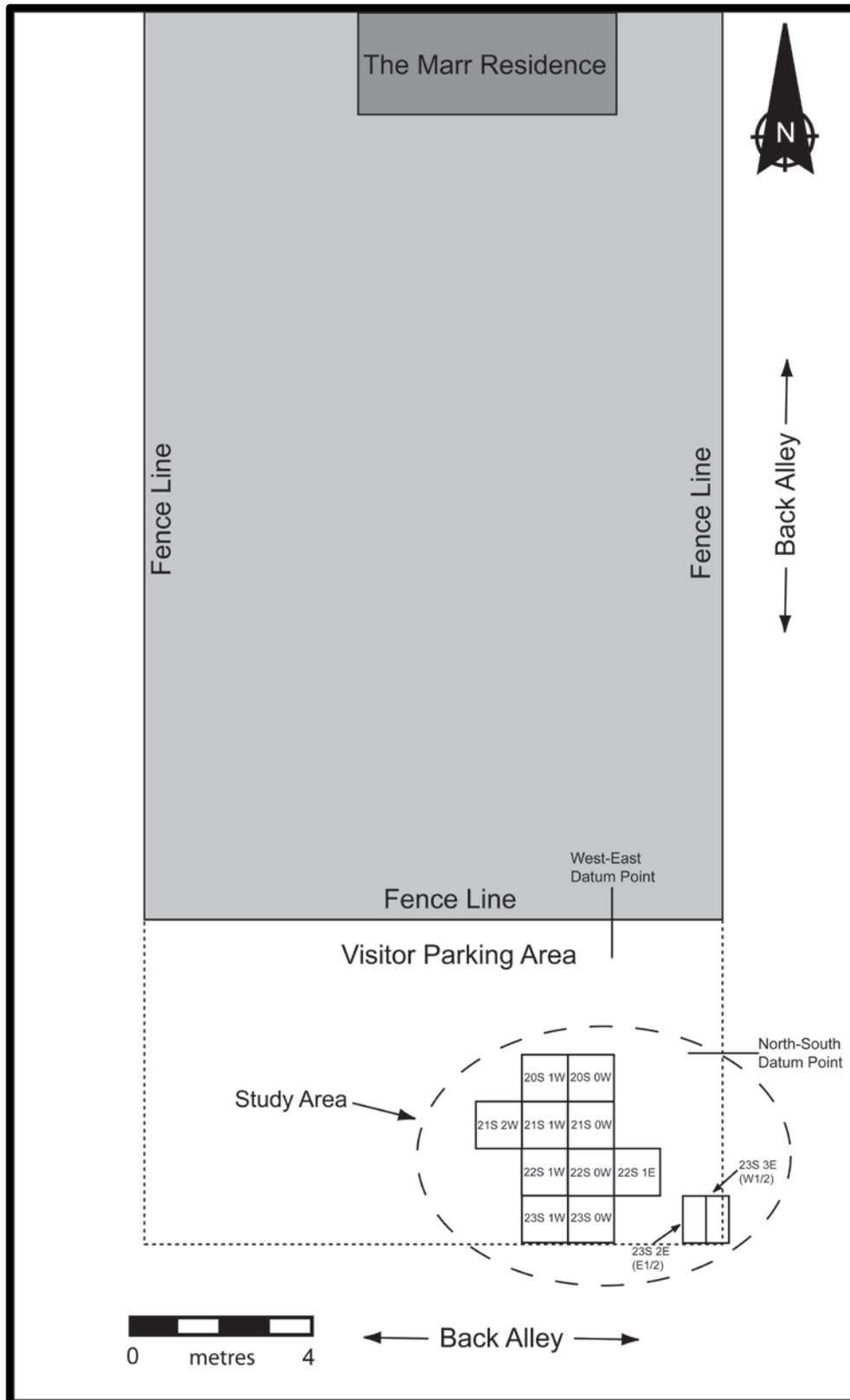


Figure 3.4: FaNp-5 map of study area and unit grid in 1997.

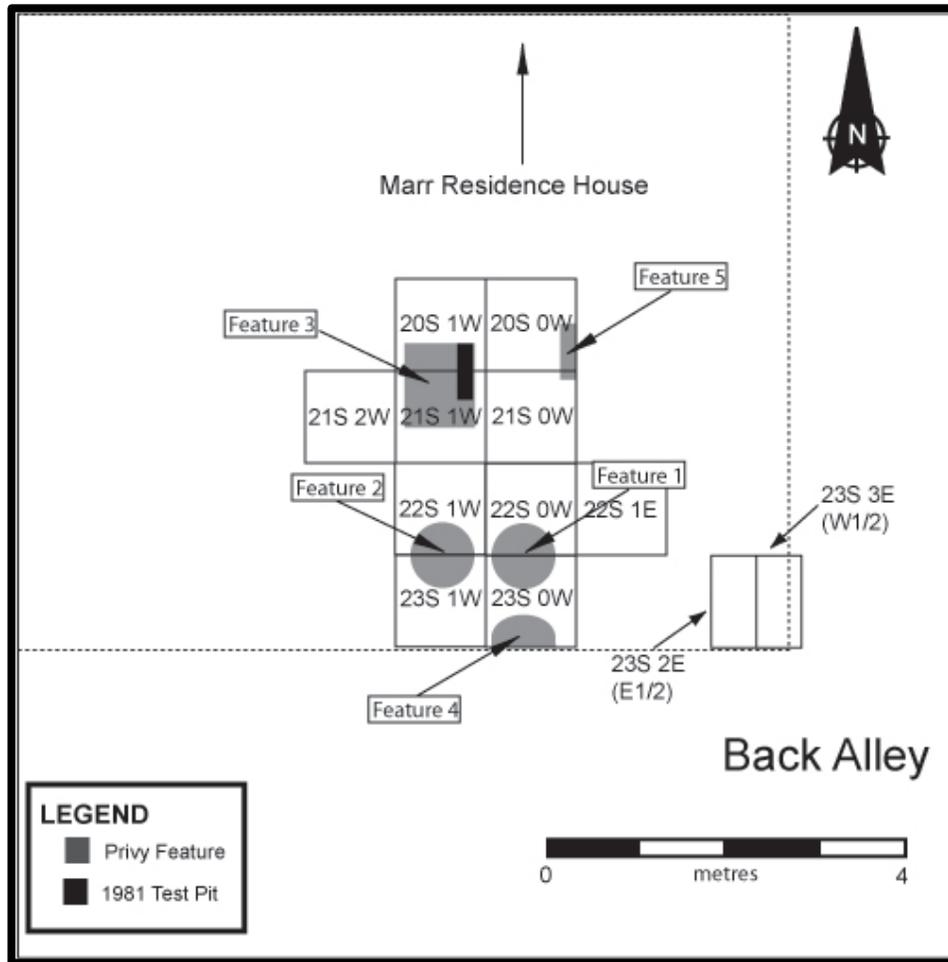


Figure 3.5: FaNp-5 Map of associated features in 1997 unit grid.

3.3.3.1. *Feature 1.* This circular feature was located in the south half of 22S 0W and north half of 23S 0W. The feature was approximately 1.4 m in diameter and was completely excavated, reaching a maximum depth of 75 cm D.B.D.

3.3.3.2. *Feature 2.* This feature was located in the south half of 22S 1W and north half of 23S 1W. Feature 2 abutted Feature 1 on its east side and like Feature 1, was approximately 1.4 m in diameter. It is believed that either one feature post dated the other as in a single privy hole that was moved over to a new privy hole or that the two features represented a two-holer privy (Dr. Margaret Kennedy, personal communication 2010). Feature 2 was completely excavated, reaching a maximum depth of 80 cm D.B.D.

3.3.3.3. *Feature 3.* This feature was a rich privy deposit located in the south half of 20S 1W and north half of 21S 1W and measured .65 m x 1 m. This feature provided the only archaeological evidence by which to link the 1997 excavations with the 1981 preliminary investigations as suggested by a 35 x 80 cm sized test pit situated in the northeast corner of the feature. As indicated in Section 3.1.3.2., a test pit measuring 0.5 m x 1m revealed the northeast corner of a privy feature. As such, it is apparent that the test pit encountered during the 1997 investigation is the test pit placed in Area 1. This feature was excavated in its entirety, reaching a maximum depth of 70 cm D.B.D.

3.3.3.4. *Feature 4.* The northern extent of a circular feature was located in the south half of 23S 0W. Although the stratigraphy was quite complex and difficult to sort out, it appears that at least one feature was exposed in the south quarter of the unit. Dr. Margaret Kennedy suggests that Feature 4 may represent another privy feature. Unfortunately, the feature extended into the south wall and could not be explored further as the southern units were not excavated. The exposed portion of this feature was excavated in its entirety, reaching a maximum dept of 75 cm D.B.D.

3.3.3.5. *Feature 5.* The western boundary of a feature was identified along the eastern extent of the south half of 20S 0W and north half of 21S 0W. Unfortunately, the feature could not be explored further due to the time constraints of the project. However, it is believed that the feature may represent another test pit associated with the 1981 preliminary investigations (Dr. Margaret Kennedy, personal communication 2010).

Although material culture was recovered from all of the units, those with the archaeological features mentioned above yielded the majority of the material culture recovered from the investigation. In total, three privy features, a possible forth privy feature and evidence of Klimko's preliminary investigations were identified throughout the course of the investigation (Figure 3.5). Three privy features were excavated in their entirety.

Collectively, the 1981 preliminary investigations carried out by Olga Klimko and Dr. Margaret Kennedy's 1997 excavation resulted in the accumulation of a large and diverse collection of material culture. However, most of the material culture recovered from the excavations pertains to activities spanning the turn of the 20th century up until the 1950s.

The privy features that were excavated do not appear to have been contemporaneous with one another. However, the recovered assemblage suggests that they were both utilized around the turn of the 20th Century. It is possible that the privy feature identified but not excavated in 1997 or another as of yet identified feature would contain material culture pertaining to the early days of the Marr Residence. Nevertheless, further archaeological investigations would be required to confirm this theory.

3.4. 2006 Investigations of FaNp-31 by Thanh Tam Huynh

3.4.1. Background

In September of 2006, Meridian Developments of Saskatoon proposed the development of various condominiums on the property spanning from 312 to 322 11th Street East (lot 11 through 13). At that time, the property had on it a row tenement building that was constructed in 1911 (Figure 3.6). Since the proposed development would encompass the entire three lots and therefore called for the demolition of the tenement building, Stantec Consulting Ltd. was contracted to conduct a Heritage Resource Impact Assessment (HRIA) on the property prior to development as the likelihood for heritage resources was deemed high. For a detailed account of the assessment conducted by Stantec Consulting Ltd., please refer to Enns-Kavanagh (2006).

Two significant features were discovered in the south-east corner of the property during the assessment; a pit feature and a privy feature. Preliminary results from the pit and privy feature suggest a date ranging between 1891 and 1910 (Enns-Kavanagh 2006: 6.1). Although Stantec Consulting Ltd. felt that further excavation of the pit feature was not warranted at that time, they recommended that the privy feature be excavated in its entirety or avoided by Meridian Development. Meridian Developments chose to avoid the feature by sealing it under a proposed concrete driveway hence, preserving the feature for future archaeological investigations.

However, the privy feature was brought to the author's attention by Dr. Margaret Kennedy from the University of Saskatchewan. Recognizing its potential to shed light on turn of the century urban consumer behaviour and its possible ties to FaNp-5, the author opted to excavate the privy feature before Meridian Developments proceeded with development. Meridian Developments agreed to the proposition and the privy feature was excavated in its entirety in October of 2006.



Figure 3.6: FaNp-31 Property of 312 to 322 11th Street East in 2006 looking north (Photo Courtesy of Thanh Tam Huynh).

3.4.2. *Methodology*

Excavations at FaNp-31 consisted of the excavation of the privy feature as well as a 1m x 1m Test Unit immediately north-west of the privy feature (Figure 3.7). An arbitrary datum point was established and the privy feature was excavated in 10cm levels by trowel once all of the back dirt had been removed by shovel. The Test Unit was excavated in 5cm levels by shovel shaving and all excavated soils from both the Test Unit and the privy feature were screened for artifacts and ecofacts that may have been missed.

3.4.3. *Results*

Excavation at the 11th Street Privy site (FaNp-31) consisted of the complete excavation of the privy feature itself. Although a Test Unit was placed adjacent to the privy feature, this feature failed to yield any pertinent information in regards to the site itself.

3.4.3.1. *Privy Feature.* Before excavations of FaNp-31 could commence, the privy feature identified by Stantec Consulting Ltd. had to be relocated (Figure 3 3.8). Although shovel excavation was used to locate the privy feature, the decision was made to switch to trowel excavation once the privy had been identified. Approximately 102cm of back dirt was removed before the privy feature was exposed. The feature was excavated in its entirety, reaching a maximum depth of 144 cm D.B.D.

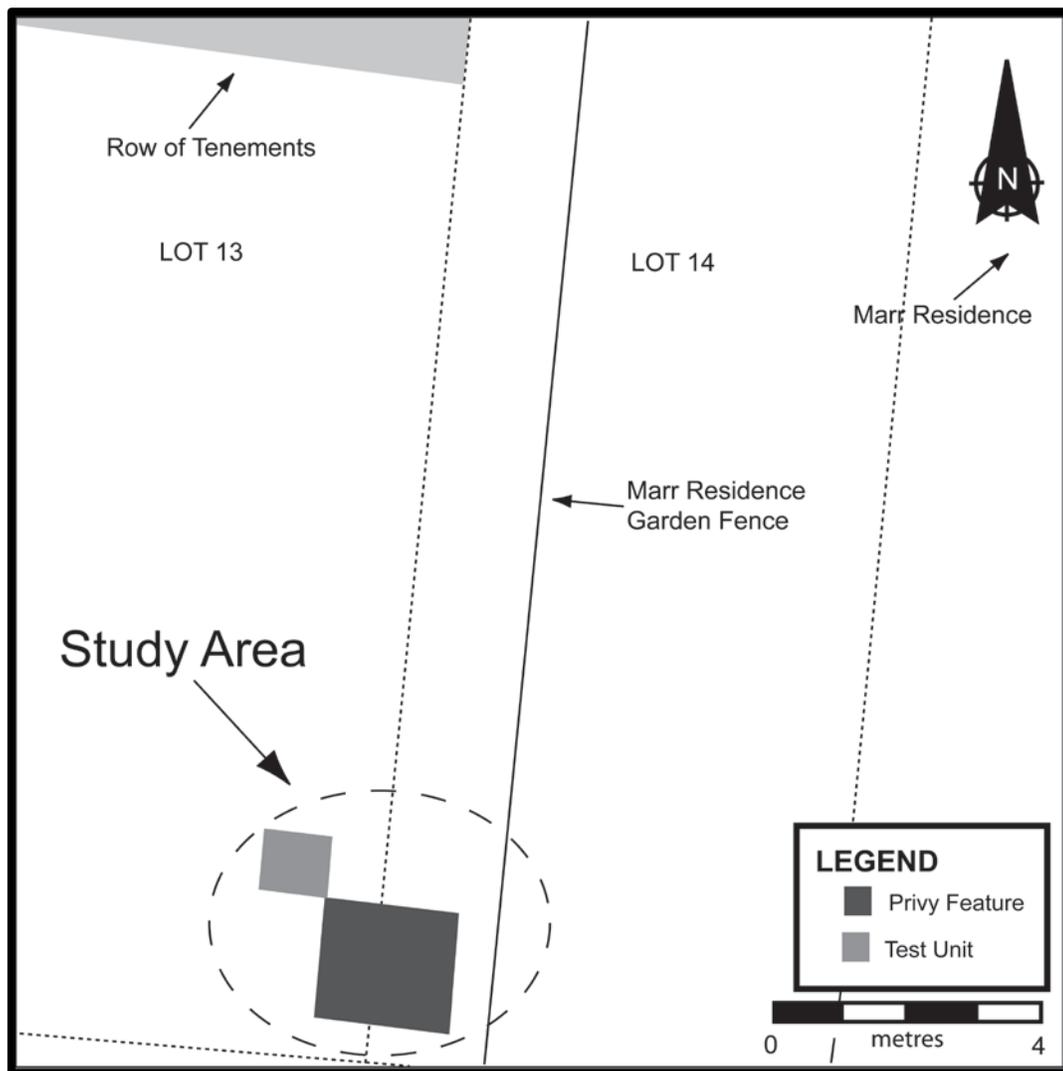


Figure 3.7: FaNp-31 Map of Study Area and Location of Privy and Test Unit in 2006



Figure 3.8: FaNp-31 Privy Feature in 2006 (Looking East) (Photo Courtesy of Thanh Tam Huynh).

Excavations from FaNp-31 suggest that the privy feature was utilized around the turn of the 20th Century. Since cultural material recovered from the privy feature comprised a total depth of 42cm, it is possible that the privy feature was utilized by a single household who may not have resided on the property for a lengthy period of time.

3.4 Summary of Chapter

When the Marr Residence was designated a historic site in 1981, the Meewasin Valley Authority's initial expectation was that preliminary investigations of the property would yield archaeological evidence of the residence's role in the Riel Resistance of 1885, particularly its use as a field hospital and the privy features associated with this utilization. Although these features may have been identified, they were never excavated. However, those features that were

excavated produced archaeological evidence pertaining to another important era in the history of Saskatoon.

Collectively, the material culture recovered from both FaNp-5 and FaNp-31 appear to have been used and deposited during the turn of the 20th century, a period of growth in which the settlement of Saskatoon was experiencing an influx of new people and ideas. Preliminary results based on the investigations conducted by Olga Klimko in 1981, Dr. Margaret Kennedy in 1997 and Thanh Tam Huynh in 2006 suggest that as Saskatoon progressed from a small settlement founded on temperance ideals, the behaviours practised by its inhabitants also changed in accordance to this progression. It is anticipated that a detailed analysis and assessment of the material culture will reveal a clearer and more specific picture of these changes as they relate to consumer behaviour. This expectation will be further explored in succeeding chapters; Chapter 5 (Analysis of the Material Culture) and Chapter 6 (Discussion of the Material Culture).

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION OF CONSUMER BEHAVIOUR

4.1. Consumer Behaviour in Historical Archaeology

The objective of this thesis project is to analyze the archaeological assemblages recovered from the Marr Residence and the 11th Street Privy site under the scope of consumerism. Of particular interest to this project is the inherent meaning of the material culture associated with these two sites as it relates to the social and political attitudes of the areas in question. As such, it is important not only to become familiar with the discipline of consumer behaviour, but with the various ways in which theories and models of consumer behaviour have been incorporated into archaeological inquiries. However, it is important to note that this chapter is not meant to be a detailed overview of the development of consumer behaviour in historical archaeology. Rather, it will specifically focus on those points pertinent to the development of the theoretical and methodological orientation of the current thesis project.

A brief overview of the development and incorporation of consumer behaviour into historical archaeology will also serve to address a concern that this author has in regard to terminology. In the past, the terms “consumer choice” and “consumption” have been used interchangeably and sometimes mistakenly by a wide variety of researchers, resulting in a body of literature which is both convoluted and confusing to those not familiar with archaeological studies of consumer behaviour. It is important to note that “consumer choice” and “consumption” are in fact, different approaches to inquiries in consumer behaviour. As such, a brief overview of these theoretical paradigms will help to put these terms and concepts into perspective

4.2. The Roots of Consumer Behaviour

The roots of an academic interest in consumer behaviour can be traced back to the early 1900s when economists began investigating marketing strategies as it related to the production and packaging of goods (Belk 1995:53). As marketing research progressed through the 1920s and 1930, a growing number of economists began identifying themselves as marketing scholars

(Belk 1995:53). By the 1950s, the formal development of an academic discipline of consumer behaviour had been established throughout departments and colleges of business and commerce (Belk 1995:53).

The progression of an academic interest in consumer behaviour resulted in a wide variety of different research projects exploring different theoretical avenues of consumer behaviour. The initial perceptions of an innate and rational consumer acting independently from socially constructed and market influencing factors (Allen 1949; Ascheim 1955; Lydall 1955) were replaced by psychoanalytical and motivational research exploring the emotional and subconscious desires of the consumer (Dichter 1964; Packard 1957; Newman 1955). By the 1960s, research in consumer behaviour began focusing on the implementation of scientific methodology (Sheth 1971). Borrowing heavily from psychology, researchers began exploring the effects of multivariable manipulation such as avenues of promotion, price changes, and differential packaging of material goods and how the consumer responded to these variations (Belk 1995:54). Although attempts were made to incorporate ideas of culture and social class into the investigations, multivariate research largely ignored cultural and societal factors and conceptualized the consumer as an information processor much like a computer (Belk 1995:54-58).

By the late 1970s and early 1980s a new school of consumer behaviour began to emerge. In contrast to traditional models, researchers now began looking beyond multivariate decision-making processes and positivist assumptions in favour of non-positivist assumptions and considerations of cultural and societal factors influencing consumer behaviour (Belk 1995:58; McCracken 1988:xii). As theories and models of consumer behaviour grew in popularity, so did its acceptance into other disciplines of academic research.

Recognizing that such an approach could be beneficial to their discipline, historic archaeologists began researching and synthesizing consumerist-based approaches applicable to archaeological inquiries. Early attempts to explore consumer behaviour heavily relied on processual archaeological assumptions, emphasizing the importance of quantitative data as primary factors driving consumer behaviour. However, as the study of consumer behaviour in historical archaeology came under the influence of post-processual thought, so did the need to focus on *qualitative* data.

Two major approaches to the study of consumer behaviour in historical archaeology will be briefly discussed in this chapter. The first approach, consumer choice theory, was a very specific approach which argued that a quantitative analysis of patterns in the archaeological data combined with historical data could explain variations in consumer behaviour as reflected in archaeological assemblages. The second approach, commonly referred to as consumption studies, represented a more dynamic approach to consumer behaviour. Calling upon social anthropology and material culture studies, consumption studies viewed material culture not as a passive reflector of social and cultural constraints but rather as an active participant in the process of consumerism.

4.3. Consumer Choice Theory

Spencer-Wood's 1987 edited volume "Consumer Choice in Historical Archaeology" marked the arrival of consumer choice theory in historical archaeology by offering a collection of various research agendas developed within a consumer choice framework. Consumer choice theory, in its simplest form, concerned itself with explaining the selective processes driving consumer behaviour. It attempted to explain why goods of differing quality and price were selected over other goods for acquisition by individuals (or groups) within a market economy. Although the explicit functional characteristics of material goods may be known and apparent, their technological and utilitarian attributes alone cannot explain their selection for acquisition. Hence, it was believed that historical archaeologists could assess these goods in terms of the associated cultural subgroups in question on the basis of how these goods functioned in accordance with the behaviour of the cultural subgroup (Spencer-Wood 1987a:9-10).

The development of consumer choice theory, in essence, reflects an amalgamation of various theoretical models 'borrowed' from other fields of inquiry:

The consumer-choice framework draws theoretically from anthropology, archaeology, economic anthropology, consumer behaviour theory, economic theories of interaction within capitalistic market economies...Economic anthropology considers the many factors involved in differential distribution of goods within the market economy...Economic theory is the source of the supply-demand dynamic used in the consumer-choice framework...Economic geography models are concerned with the spatial distribution of goods along transportation

networks from manufacturers to distributors to consumers (Spencer-Wood 1987a:10).

Collectively, these theoretical constructs provided historical archaeologists with an avenue to identify and trace the distribution of particular material goods over time. By determining the spatial and temporal parameters of a particular market economy (i.e. placement of manufacturers, wholesalers, retailers, etc), it was believed that an analysis of the various factors involved in the acquisition (and deposition) of a particular material object by a particular household was possible. In other words, although it may be difficult (if not impossible) to archaeologically reconstruct past decision-making activities such as shopping, it may be possible to determine the range of choices present (Spencer-Wood 1987a:10).

4.3.1. Class, Status and Ethnicity in Consumer Choice Theory

Central to consumer choice theory is the notion of shared commonalities as they relate to group membership and differential consumer behaviour. The argument was that as members of a specific class, status or cultural subgroup, individuals were subjected to a socialization process which influenced them to a preconception of what types of goods were acceptable or not. As such, advocates of consumer choice theorized that differential consumer behaviour, as reflected in the archaeological record could be explained in terms of group members acting in accordance to shared commonalities and practices.

Consumer choice theorists were particularly interested in the class, status and ethnicity of individuals and households and how they not only influenced the ways in which individuals and households interacted with one another, but how their consumer behaviour reflected their positioning within their individual group. Although there are numerous examples of how consumer choice theorists explored the concept of ethnicity (Baugher and Venables 1987; Clark 1987; DeCunzo 1987; Henry 1987; Orser, Jr 1987; Reitz 1987), this discussion will specifically focus on investigations concerning class and status as it is believed that these affiliations are more pertinent to the scope of the current thesis project.

4.3.2. Socioeconomic Status

In studies of consumer choice, the term socioeconomic status has been used to denote an individual's social and economic worth in regard to the larger society. It indicated the

individual's (or household's) relative placement in the hierarchical structure of a stratified society. Although there are several ways to measure the relative status of an individual (or household), it was believed that the identification of the individual's occupation (or profession) and income served as one of the most objective measures of class and status (Spencer-Wood 1987b:324). It was believed that the identification of an individual's occupation would not only correlate them with a specific level of social and economic 'comfort', but it would also imply a commonality shared amongst all the members of the group in question. For example, it was suggested (Barth and Watson 1967:394; Henry 1987:361; Shephard 1987:165; Spencer-Wood 1987b:324) that these individuals have various cultural attributes in common with one another:

Occupational categories share a level of income, social interaction, leisure time, shared knowledge, and values that form the basis for social classes...a complex variable resulting from a combination of occupational status, income, education, values, group participation, and approved consumer behaviour (Spencer-Wood 1987b:324).

The hypothesis was that an individual's occupational affiliation would not only determine their socioeconomic status, but would also imply a set of shared, acceptable behaviours associated with that particular status (i.e. morals, values, material taste). As a result, consumer choice theorists delineated these social classes into well-defined profiles. For example, Shephard (1987) developed associated class profiles for 'upper', 'middle' and 'lower' status individuals by combining Pirie's (1960:45-48) observation on the behaviour of different social classes with Engel et al.'s (1968:287-295) work on class characteristics. These class profiles are as follows. Upper-class individuals consist of individuals with management-type occupations. These individuals typically live in large homes which are characterized by a rich abundance of material goods. Middle-class individuals consist of those individuals who are generally skilled workers (i.e. executive positions, small business owners, etc). These individuals are the most active consumers in the market economy and are usually concerned with the quality of the product. And finally, lower-class individuals consist of unskilled, manual labour workers who are limited in terms of social mobility. These individuals are impulsive buyers who are usually not concerned with the quality of the product in question. These class profiles stated that individuals are restricted to specific behavioural actions based on their social standings. For example, upper-class households would possess a greater variety and quantity of higher quality goods while

lower-class households would possess a lower variety and quantity of higher quality goods (Shephard 1987:165). The rationale presented here is that due to their high socioeconomic status, upper-class individuals had more avenues (in terms of capital or geographical market connections) to acquire a wider variety of goods. Conversely, lower-class individuals were limited in capital and restricted in range, hence had limited access to a wider variety of goods.

This notion of socioeconomic status provided advocates of consumer choice theory with an avenue to determine the status of a particular household based on archaeological remains recovered from that household. Hence research conducted by consumer choice theorists attempted to explain the household's recovered archaeological assemblage in relation to the household's income (Baugher and Venables 1987; Garrow 1987; Heberling 1987; Henry 1987; Shephard 1987; Spencer-Wood 1987b). Shephard (1987) attempted to correlate his class profiles with three ceramic assemblages recovered from households in 19th Century Alexandria, Virginia. Using the documentary record to determine the socioeconomic status of the households under investigation, Shephard hypothesized that the quality, quantity and variety of ceramic vessels would decrease as the socioeconomic class of a particular household decreased. It was determined that middle-class ceramic assemblages were more abundant in terms of quantity than that of lower-class assemblages. Furthermore, the middle-class ceramic assemblages also appeared to exhibit a greater variety of 'specialized' goods, more 'complete' matched vessel sets, more tableware than storage vessels, and generally were more expensive and contemporaneous with the 'current' trend of ceramic wares.

The results of this study indicate that differences in the composition of household ceramic assemblages are associated with differences in class affiliation of the households. Whether the members of the same class are consciously signalling group membership or are unconsciously conforming to peer-group behavior, an exchange of information as transmitted by household objects seems to be taking place (Shephard 1987: 193).

To further explore a traditional consumer choice approach to consumer behaviour, let us consider Heberling and Spencer-Wood (1987) use of Miller's ceramic indices (1980) to determine the socioeconomic status of 11 19th century households across the United States. The ceramic indices mentioned above refer to Miller's synthesis of a means of measuring the relative costs of ceramic vessels in relation to one another. By comparing the historic costs of particular ceramic

vessels with other contemporary ceramic vessels (i.e. decorated versus undecorated ware), a relative proportion of expensive wares to less expensive wares can be calculated. For this study, Heberling and Spencer-Wood use Miller's ceramic indices to determine the relative cost of the whiteware assemblage recovered from each of the 11 households. By assessing the relative mean of these whiteware assemblages, Heberling and Spencer-Wood believed that it was possible to rank the individual households in accordance with a relative scale of socioeconomic status. This hypothetical scale would then be compared to the documentary record to see the relationship between whiteware ceramic value and socioeconomic status:

Establishing the relationship between whiteware decorative types in archaeological assemblages and socioeconomic status was the primary research objective. Whiteware decorative types were analyzed because they are related to price and therefore to socioeconomic status (Miller 1980: 10-11), considered as the combination of the ability to afford certain decorative types, and the social status symbolized by the decorative types owned by a household (Heberling and Spencer-Wood 1987:57).

Heberling and Spencer-Wood concluded that by scaling ceramic prices through the application of Miller's indices, it was possible to determine a link between whiteware ceramic assemblages and socioeconomic status. However, they stated that the correlation was best seen in the ceramic indices for whiteware cups and saucers, suggesting a "primary status display function for tea and coffeeware, in contrast to the combination of possibly status-related tableware and more utilitarian kitchenware plates and bowls that function in food processing and preparation" (Heberling and Spencer-Wood 1987:57). The implications of this particular research suggested that there was a strong correlation between whiteware ceramic assemblages and the socioeconomic status of a particular household. Hence, Heberling and Spencer-Wood concluded that it was possible to determine a household's socioeconomic status in the absence of historical documentation by analyzing the price scale of the associated whiteware ceramic assemblage.

4.3.3. General Problems to Consider

Although research conducted within the consumer choice framework has shown that the socioeconomic status of a particular household does impose certain limitations as to what goods are attainable or not, alone they fall short in explaining differential consumer behaviour within

hierarchical class structures. Studies that have explicitly attempted to deduce the socioeconomic status of a particular household based on their archaeological assemblages were not recognizing the diverse range of variables and factors influencing differential consumer behaviour. Gibb (1996) argued that treating the presence or absence of particular items of material culture in a specific site as indicators of socioeconomic status was based on an idealized assumption that failed to account for individual variability and chance acquisition:

[A] decorative prunt from a German-made roemer (an ornate, and presumably expensive, drinking glass) may be submitted as evidence of the high status of a seventeenth-century site's occupants. Does possession of such a piece indicate high status, and if so, how much higher would the status of the occupants have been had the remains of a second roemer been found? Does the roemer reflect the status of the household, the household head, or the head of the household's nuclear family? More important, what is high status? (Gibb 1996: 19).

There have been several studies conducted which reveal the explicit dangers of equating high quality goods with high socioeconomic status. Of particular interest to this discussion is a study conducted at an upstate New York farmstead site (the Keith Site). In this study, O'Donovan and Wurst (2001/2002) demonstrated that the abundant presence of high quality ceramic vessels could not be used as an indicator of a high status household. By appealing to historical documentation as consumer choice theorists would have, O'Donovan and Wurst determined that the residents of the household, the Pittsleys, were of low socioeconomic standing:

The 1865 New York census shows the Pittsleys living in a frame dwelling valued at \$200 dollars. In 1865 the Town of Coventry contained 322 frame dwellings with an average value of \$532...Thus the Pittsley's home was less than half of the average value, again, indicative of a lower class standing (O'Donovan and Wurst 2001/2002:76).

Typical assumptions made by consumer choice theorists would have us believe that this lower-class household would be associated with a lower variety, quality and quantity of goods. However, the ceramic assemblage recovered from the site exhibited a greater variety and quantity of higher quality goods. Although the site was only occupied for a maximum duration of about

20 years, 191 ceramic vessels were recovered from archaeological excavations conducted at the site. Of these 191 ceramic vessels, approximately 68% were comprised of tableware and teaware. Collectively, these vessels were highly diverse in terms of colour and decorative motifs.

Researchers operating under a consumer choice framework would explain the Keith's assemblage in terms of emulation, a desire to transcend the confines of their lower-class existence. However, although the presence of tableware and teaware vessels would seem to validate this explanation, O'Donovan and Wurst argued that this assemblage is best explained in terms of second-hand goods:

Purchasing used or discarded ceramics would presumably be much cheaper than new vessels. While we can never be sure where they purchased these goods, household auctions, either for reasons of foreclosure, settling estates, or because a family was migrating, were common activities in rural areas. Box lots of odd ceramics could probably have been acquired relatively cheaply, especially if they did not represent the newest fashion in dishware (O'Donovan and Wurst 2001/2002: 81).

When compared to other middle and higher-class households dating to the same time period, the tableware and teaware present in the Keith assemblage were lower in terms of relative cost. Coupled with the diversity exhibited by the assemblage's decorative attributes, it would seem plausible that these goods were in fact obtained through second-hand means. To argue that the Pittsleys were attempting to emulate the upper-classes by purchasing higher quality goods of status display (i.e. tableware and teaware) is a lofty assumption at best, especially when one takes into account the diverse nature of the abundant ceramic assemblage coupled with the Pittsley's low socioeconomic standing. Conversely, if any one of the patterns or ware types would have been present in the Keith assemblage in a higher quantity when compared to the rest of the assemblage, then an argument based on emulation would be more feasible.

O'Donovan and Wurst's study on the Keith Site provides us with a good example of the inherent limitations of a consumer choice-based explanation. The argument presented here is that although the socioeconomic status and ethnicity of a particular household may impose certain restraints onto the range of acquirable material goods, archaeologists must not consider these as the only factors at play.

Although the discussion thus far has largely concerned itself with emphasizing the perceived benefits and limitations inherent in consumer choice theory, it should be noted that the consumer choice framework itself was inherently flawed. For example, the nature of the archaeological deposit itself represents a biased discard pattern employed by the individuals in question:

Archaeological samples are most representative of goods with short use-lives, such as dietary fauna, that are usually unselectively discarded together in a dump. Archaeological samples of goods with relatively long use-lives, such as ceramics and glass, usually are more biased by socioeconomic and individual differences in frequency of use, breakage, loss, and discard of each artifact type (Spencer-Wood 1987a:13).

As cheaper quality goods are 'easier' to acquire and hence more susceptible to daily use and breakage when compared to higher quality goods, it is expected that cheaper quality goods would exhibit little selectivity in terms of discard bias whereas higher quality goods would exhibit a greater degree of selectivity in terms of discard bias (Spencer-Wood 1987a:14). When this discard bias is coupled with the bias of archaeological recovery, preservation and destruction, it should be clear that the surviving archaeological record only represents a partial record of household consumer behaviour.

The nature of the historical record also poses a problem that historical archaeologists must overcome. In the context of socioeconomic status, the documentary data pertaining to individuals of lower socioeconomic status are often more incomplete and vague when compared to the documentary data pertaining to individuals of higher socioeconomic status (Spencer-Wood 1987a:14). Furthermore, when recording the socioeconomic status of a particular household, the documentary record oftentimes only takes into consideration the income of the head of the household.

4.4. Consumption Studies

With roots in the early motivation research frameworks of the 1950s and 1960s, consumption studies countered traditional economic assumptions of innate, rational information-

processing consumers in favour of the symbolic meanings that consumers and marketers create and find in material goods and services (Belk 1995; 59). Consumption involves the idea that the material goods that we acquire not only define and reflect our lifestyles, but convey to others our perceptions of who we are (Belk 1995; Hirschman 1986; Holman 1981; McCracken 1988; Miller 1987, 1995b):

A further conception of the relationship between consumption and the self is that certain goods may come to be seen as extensions of the self. These things extend our grasp, our abilities or our ego. They provide a sense of mastery of the environment, others and the self. They are expressive and aid feelings of identify, continuity and even immortality. And they often provide us with a sense of past-both individual and shared with others. Such things may become a part of self through appropriating and controlling them, creating or buying them, knowing them, becoming habituated to or contaminated by them, or by literally incorporating them into the self. Collections, companion animals, money, other people, gifts and body parts may all be part of the extended self, as well as musical instruments, homes, vehicles, clothing, photographs, souvenirs, jewellery, furniture, and a variety of other important objects we own (Belk 1995: 66).

As new non-positivist-oriented studies of consumer behaviour were developed, so was the willingness to accept and embrace concepts and ideas from other disciplines into its own. Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood's 1978 publication *The World of Goods* (1996) was an important contribution to the study in consumption as it not only introduced the discipline of consumer behaviour to anthropological thought, but it opened the discipline of anthropology to studies of consumer behaviour.

The World of Goods (1996) helped anthropologists bridge the conceptual gap that had prevented them from considering and exploring the intricacies of their own culture and society. As the discipline of anthropology moved its inquiries closer to the modern world, so did its willingness to adopt and acknowledge consumption and modern consumer behaviour studies as viable avenues of anthropological research as illustrated by Appadurai's *The Social Life of Things* (1986) and McCracken's *Culture and Consumption* (1988).

Consumption is best conceptualized not as a rigid model for consumer behaviour but as a model for the creation, maintenance and survival of our society (McCracken 1988) which in turn, shapes and defines the culture of the moment (Appadurai 1990:295-297; Douglas & Isherwood 1996:37). In our daily lives we have become accustomed to the material world around us.

Unfortunately, our familiarity with the 'mundane' has rendered us incapable of recognizing the communicatory undertones embedded in the material world itself (Graves-Brown 2000). Furthermore, this familiarity has affected our ability to identify and understand the relationship between culture and consumption and how we are dependent on this relationship for our survival.

[C]onsumption goods are most definitely not mere messages; they constitute the very system itself. Take them out of human intercourse and you have dismantled the whole thing. In being offered, accepted, or refused, they either reinforce or undermine existing boundaries. The goods are both the hardware and the software, so to speak, of an information system whose principle concern is to monitor its own performance (Douglas & Isherwood 1996: 49).

When anthropologists first began exploring modern material goods in the context of consumer behaviour and consumption, they had to redefine and argue how an anthropological approach to consumption would benefit studies of consumer behaviour. Traditional definitions of consumption as the need of people to satisfy physical, mental and competitive needs were soon replaced by ideas of consumption as not just being the result or objective of physical or monetary work (Douglas & Isherwood 1996:viii). Rather, consumption was conceptualized as the social processes in which new products and ideas are invested with meaning, realized and appropriated by the consumer. It is crucial to acknowledge the ability of consumption to facilitate the creation of meaning and attach it to a particular product or idea since, without this mechanism, the modern world as we know it today would slowly become undone and inevitably would collapse on itself (McCracken 1988:xi).

Consumption studies the importance of realization through relationships. What we do, who we are and who we are capable of becoming arises from the relational properties inherent in human social life and the conveyance of meaning between the mental and the material (Thomas 2005:17). Culture is no longer viewed as a conceptualized blanket governing and restricting the physical and symbolic malleability of material culture. Rather, material culture is propelled to the forefront, recognized in its essential role in shaping our daily lives (Graves-Brown 2000:1). The concern here is not what kind of material world we live in, but rather how we live in the material world and how we make sense of it in accordance with the meaningful schemes of our own device (Sahlins 1976:viii). By endowing the material culture with this sense of dynamism,

we force a re-consideration and a re-evaluation of the material objects. How is an insentient material object capable of contributing to the realization and recognition of the world around us?

4.4.1. *Consumption and the Study of Material Culture*

Prior to the post-processual movement of the late 1980s, archaeologists had placed primary concern onto determining the form and function of artifacts as it was argued that these characteristics reflected the behavioural characteristics of the people who produced the objects. For studies of consumer behaviour, the implication was that particular objects of material culture would only appeal to particular groups of people based on shared characteristics and commonality as exemplified by earlier studies in consumer choice. However, by arguing that the acquisition of particular material objects was based on commonalities shared between the acquirer of the object and the manufacturer of the object, historical archaeologists were reducing consumption down to being determined by the nature of the object and the consumer to the process by which the object was acquired (Miller 1987:189).

Miller's 1987 publication *Material Culture and Mass Consumption* was one of the first archaeologically oriented works which argued against a reductionist approach to consumer behaviour. Building on the works of Douglas and Isherwood (1996), Miller (1987), argued that in order to study modern consumer behaviour, archaeologists must first understand the distinction between consumer and producer and how consumption works to invest particular objects with meaning:

As consumers, we confront these abstractions of money and the state most fully at the moment of obtaining goods. In the process of shopping, we have to immerse ourselves in this vast alienated world of products completely distanced from the world of production. We cannot while shopping relate a packet of potato chips to the factory where it is made, in terms of either the people working there or the machines. At the moment of purchase, or allocation, the object is merely the property of capital or of the state from which we receive it. The individual may feel either estranged from this world of the shopping centre or public institution, or else excited by its scale and potential. Either way, the situation is radically transformed upon obtaining the good in question (Miller 1987:190).

Although material objects may have been produced with a particular utilitarian function in mind, the process by which the object leaves the factory, is acquired by a distributor, and sold to a

consumer changes the contextual condition of the object. Despite modern processes of advertising and marketing which create the demand that a particular good should be contextualized in a particular way, the manner in which objects are transformed is dependent on their incorporation by a particular individual or social group (Miller 1987:190-191). For example, Preston (2000:35) invites us to consider the tradition of the slide guitar: a performance technique made popular by African American Blues guitarists who changed the intonation of the produced notes by eliminating the distinct sound quality produced by the guitar string when it is pressed against the fretboard. In an attempt to mimic sound qualities produced by other string instruments such as the vichitra veena, guitarists began laying a variety of smooth objects over the fretboard and with the fretting hand, sliding the object across the strings. Even though musicians can now purchase specially made cylinders of either glass or steel, virtually any object which exhibits a hard surface had been and continues to be utilized as a slide. These include glass bottle necks, complete bottles and cups, ceramic fragments, cigarette lighters, smoking pipes, metal hardware and a variety of utensils such as spoons, forks and knives. Here we see an example of the many functional capabilities of material goods, an instance in time where objects are utilized in a manner outside of their original functional purpose:

The functional view gives little emphasis to individual creativity and intentionality. Individual human beings become little more than the means to achieve the needs of society. The social system is organised into subsystems and roles which people fill. The roles and social categories function in relation to each other to allow the efficient equilibrium of the whole system. In fact, however, individuals are not simply instruments in some orchestrated game...Adequate explanations of social systems and social change must involve the individual's assessments and aims. This is not a question of identifying individuals...but of introducing the individual into social theory (Hodder 1992: 98).

The argument presented here is that in order to fully understand material culture, we must first recognize that the consumers' capability to reinvent and recontextualize a material object is dependent on the cultural and social milieu of which the consumer and the material object is part of (Douglas & Isherwood 1996:43; McCracken 1988:135; Miller 1987:191; Thomas 2005:17). Consumption prevents us from reducing material culture to a set of predetermined conditions applicable to all cultures at all times (Miller 1987:191). By stressing the role of material culture in cultural relationships, we endow material culture with a new sense of dynamism. No longer is

material culture a passive indicator of cultural production. Rather, it is now recognized as one of the fundamental mechanisms driving the creation and maintenance of culture through its interaction with people (Hodder 1986:6).

In recent years, archaeological studies of consumption have gained precedence in studies of consumer behaviour. This is not to say that archaeologists have in past instances concerned themselves primarily with the empirical and observable qualities of the material culture, for there are countless examples of past studies which have attempted to investigate the communicative or symbolic qualities of a particular artifact. Rather, the statement being made here is that archaeologists had tended to investigate artifacts in accordance with a distinction based on the functional versus symbolic dichotomy. Archaeologists have been quick to identify an artifact as either being purely functional in use or deeply symbolic in display. “By examining material culture under the rubrics of empiricism, we divorce the concept of meaning from the material culture itself hence, reducing the artifact down to an object or thing devoid of any real meaning or concept” (Nash 2000:112-113). The acceptance of consumption into archaeological inquiries of consumer behaviour has not only given historical archaeologists a means to consider material culture beyond a strict level of subsistence and competition (Douglas & Isherwood 1996), but it has also allowed archaeologists to analyze the relationship between culture and material culture. In other words, although culture may never be reducible to a material object, it should be envisioned as being actively engaged in a dynamic relationship with the object (Miller 1987:11).

4.5. Moving Towards an Archaeology of Consumerism

Commonly defined as the collective organization of innovations and ideas facilitating the mass production, distribution and consumption of material goods, consumerism provides people with an endless array of products and ideas that are always changing in terms of their utilitarian and symbolic functions (Majewski & Schiffer 2001; Miller 1987, 1994, 1995a, 1995b; Schiffer 1991). As such, any archaeological study of consumerism must seek to examine the differences and similarities of consumer societies at different points in time in regards to their developmental history (Majewski & Schiffer 2001:27). However, the question here is not why historical archaeologists should study consumerism, rather, how historical archaeologists should approach consumerism.

As previously mentioned, an archaeological investigation of consumerism does not align with any specific theoretical and methodological paradigm or scheme (Majewski & Schiffer 2001). However, despite this lack of theoretical and methodological cohesiveness, historical archaeologists still have a lot to offer towards the study of consumerism. Studies conducted by other disciplines under the name of consumerism have been so in name only (Majewski & Schiffer 2001:28). In these studies, the material culture analyzed is often limited to historical documentations, texts, questionnaires and secondary literary resources with little or no attention paid to the actual individual producing, distributing and consuming these goods (Schiffer & Miller 1999:5-6). Conversely, archaeology is defined by its specific attention towards the analysis and interpretation of material culture. As such, the discipline is more than able to contribute to a study of consumerism and, at the very least, suggest how the analysis of material culture can be empirically grounded (Majewski & Schiffer 2001:28).

4.5.1. Theoretical and Methodological Commitments

Similar to other avenues of archaeological interest, an investigation of consumerism also requires a set of fundamental ideas which historical archaeologists must take into consideration. This is not to say that historical archaeologists must abide with certain theoretical and methodological concepts, rather, they must acknowledge that certain parameters must be defined and established before they plan and carry out their research. In regard to an archaeological investigation of consumerism, Majewski & Schiffer (2001:28-29) suggest that considerations of the following concerns are necessary:

- 1 A concern for a hands-on approach to the analysis of artifacts and artifact types. In particular, recording their formal, spatial, quantitative and relational properties.
- 2 A concern for understanding the operating principles of technologies, artifacts and artifact types and using this information to explain variability.
- 3 A concern for describing and explaining the temporal and spatial parameters of artifacts and artifact types in regards to events and processes such as manufacture and use.
- 4 A concern for describing and explaining the people involved in the events and processes making up the life history of artifacts or artifact types.

- 5 A concern for describing and explaining the diverse utilitarian and symbolic functions of artifacts and artifact types.
- 6 A concern for a diachronic and cross-cultural comparative perspective.

It goes without saying that archaeological discourse requires close attention be paid to the basic characteristics of artifacts and artifact types. After all, if we don't determine the why, where, when and by whom an artifact was manufactured, how can we infer any information pertaining to the life history and behavioural processes attached to the artifact? The considerations proposed by Majewski & Schiffer (2001) illustrate not only the importance of recognizing the various parameters attached to artifacts and artifact types, but also stress the importance of contextual factors in regards to analysis and perspective. However, although the ideas proposed above do allude to the importance of asking historical particularistic questions, the author feels that these questions are important enough that they should be considered in addition to the commitments mentioned above. After all, Majewski and Schiffer themselves state that “[a] consumerist archaeology also countenances, and gains strength from, asking both historical (particularistic) and scientific (general) questions” (Majewski & Schiffer 2001:28). With that said, the author proposes that the following commitments should also be taken into consideration in regards to an archaeological investigation of consumerism:

- 1 A concern for describing and explaining the historical development of the consumer society under investigation.
- 2 A concern for understanding the various peoples, organizations and groups involved in the historical development of the consumer society under investigation.

Since archaeological investigations of consumerism are site specific and, hence, restricted in terms of spatial and temporal parameters, it is necessary to not only describe and explain the broader historical context of the society under investigation, but important to understand the people involved in the development of the consumer society and how material culture plays into the grand scheme of consumerism.

4.6. Consumerism and the Current Thesis Project

What kinds of activities were the occupants of the Marr Residence and the 11th Street Privy site engaging in as suggested by the archaeological assemblages? Can the material culture recovered from the privy features reveal to us information pertaining to the household's perception of itself as well as the world around them? Can we identify specific and popular trends in the material culture? And finally, did the expansion of Saskatoon at the turn of the 20th century strengthen particular behaviours or did it result in the emergence of a completely new pattern of consumerism? Before we can answer these questions it is necessary to further define the scope of this thesis project. In particular, the spatial and temporal context of the thesis project.

4.6.1. Spatial and Temporal Context

In order to answer the questions mentioned above, material culture recovered from two archaeological sites will be analyzed: the Marr Residence, located on the property of 326 11th Street East and the 11th Street Privy site, located on the property spanning from 312 to 322 11th Street East. Not only are both sites located on the southeast side of the South Saskatchewan River, but they have ties with the former Temperance Colony of Nutana, which remained independent of Saskatoon until 1906 (Figure 2.11).

Preliminary results of the material culture recovered from the 11th Street Privy site suggest that it relates to depositional activities occurring between the years of 1891 and 1910 (Enns-Kavanagh 2006:6.1). Although the Marr Residence assemblage contains material culture dating up till the 1950s, the majority of the artifacts recovered also date to the turn of the century. Collectively, both sites provide us with a unique opportunity to explore (differential) patterns of consumer behaviour of settlers residing in the Nutana area.

The spatial and temporal parameters of the Marr Residence and the 11th Street Privy site make them ideal for such a study of consumerism. Not only are both sites situated within the heart of the former Temperance Colony but they are also directly adjacent to one another. Historical research, archival data and analysis of the material culture suggest that although the privy features may not have been contemporaneous with one another, they were all utilized in and around the turn of the 20th century.

4.7. Summary of Chapter

Although the degree of mutuality between material and culture has been the subject of debate since archaeology's inception, the relationship itself was never a question. Rather, the concern was the degree and extent to which the material culture reflected the cultural system as a whole. As historic archaeologists became increasingly interested in studies of consumer behaviour, various theories and models were proposed, all aimed at explaining consumer behaviour as it was portrayed in archaeological assemblages.

In consumer choice theory, membership in a specific class implied a set of shared, acceptable behaviours pertaining to that particular class. It was believed that material goods served as communicative devices for class membership, serving to reflect class commonality in terms of morals, values and taste (Shephard 1987: 167). Although consumer choice theory proved useful in the sense that it was able to connect archaeological assemblages to particular classes, its weakness laid in its inability to treat the individual as a rational consumer and its portrayal of material culture as a passive indicator of social and cultural constraints. It was under these concerns that some archaeologists began advocating for the adoption of a more dynamic model of consumer behaviour, one that would be applicable to archaeological investigations.

Consumption studies allowed archaeologists to take their theoretical inquiries one step further, to move beyond traditional typological considerations of an artifact's physicality (i.e. form and function) into a consideration of how these artifacts were understood by the people who used and appropriated them. They have allowed archaeologists to comprehend and recognize that these artifacts not only speak of a forgotten social system, but they also reveal to us how these people conceptualized the world around them, "to the reality that for most peoples in the past only truly existed in the immaterial, not merely the material world" (Miller 2005:212-213). By appealing to models of consumption, the artifact becomes more than a passive representation of cultural processes; rather the artifact itself becomes reflective of the mutual relationship existing between people and things (Graves-Brown 2000:4).

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS OF THE MATERIAL CULTURE

5.1. The Material Culture

In total, 14,278 artifacts have been recovered from the Marr Residence and 312 artifacts have been recovered from the 11th Street Privy Site. Archaeological investigations coupled with historical and archival research suggest that the recovered material culture relates to urban lifeways in the Saskatoon area at the turn of the 20th century. However, in order to appreciate how this material culture ties into the story of consumerism in Saskatoon, it is necessary to devise a classification scheme which can facilitate the analysis and interpretation of the data presented. This chapter will focus on the analysis of the material culture recovered from the sites mentioned above in accordance with the classification scheme proposed in Table 5.1.

5.2. The Classification Scheme

The classification scheme used for the current thesis project (Table 5.1) was devised based on the work of Sprague (1981) which was part of a larger movement in historical archaeology where it was argued that schemes based on material type and technology alone impeded the archaeologist's ability to understand past peoples and cultures (Sprague 1981:251-252). Sprague argued that archaeologists must consider not only the function of the artifact in question, but the artifact's relation to other artifacts as well as the context in which it was found (Sprague 1981:252). Using artifacts recovered from 19th and 20th century historic archaeological sites, Sprague's scheme aimed to classify these artifacts into categories that reflected the function of the artifacts as intended by the people who used them, thus allowing an emic-based approach to archaeological analysis and interpretation.

Sprague's classification scheme categorized artifacts in accordance with eight primary activity groups (1981:255-258): "Personal Items", "Domestic Items", "Architecture", "Personal and Domestic Transportation", "Commerce and Industry", "Group Services", "Group Ritual" and "Unknown". Within each of these primary activity groupings existed numerous secondary sub-activities moving from the individual out into the wider world. For example, under

Sprague's "Personal Items" category would be secondary sub-activity groupings such as "Clothing", "Footwear", "Adornment", "Body Ritual and Grooming", "Medicinal and Health", "Birth Control Devices", "Indulgence" and so forth.

It is important to note however that Sprague himself recognized that his classificatory scheme was by no means "definitive or exclusive but simply as one approach that has worked" (Sprague 1981:255). Furthermore, Sprague also recognized that his classificatory scheme may not work for others and invited "widespread use, modification, and critique of this middle ground classification" (Sprague 1981:259). Despite the peculiarity of some of Sprague's primary activity and secondary sub-activity groupings, his attempt to formulate a classification scheme which aimed to focus the scope of analysis onto the specific use of the artifact has served as a fundamental building block for historic archaeological analysis and interpretation.

Enns-Kavanagh (2002:170-174) also devised a classification scheme based on the work of Sprague (1981) for the purpose of her research. Of particular interest to this thesis project was Enns-Kavanagh's decision to expand on some of Sprague's primary activity groupings such as the "Domestic" category which included secondary sub-activities of "Furnishings", "Housewares and Appliances" and "Cleaning and Maintenance". Arguing that the word "domestic" implies a location and not activities specifically carried out by female household figures (with whom they have been traditionally associated), Enns-Kavanagh (2002:173) decided to extract these activities and treat them as primary activities termed "Food Preparation & Consumption", "Household Furnishings" and "Household Maintenance". It also appears that Enns-Kavanagh expanded on Sprague's "Personal Items" category as suggested by the presence of primary activities such as "Health and Healing", "Children and Childrearing" and "Social, Recreational and Indulgence".

Another focus of interest to Enns-Kavanagh's functional categories was her decision to replace Sprague's "Unknown" category with three separate categories: "Unclassified", "Unidentified" and "Unidentifiable". "Unclassified" refers to those artifacts which are identifiable but whose primary activity group is unknown. "Unidentified" is applied to those artifacts which are not identifiable by the researcher but may become identifiable through further research while "Unidentifiable" refers to those artifacts that are either too fragmented or damaged as to allow identification beyond material type (Enns-Kavanagh 2002).

A distinction should be made in regard to those artifacts that are unidentified or unidentifiable as the author finds the use of these distinctions as primary activity categories

misleading. Functional categories are formulated based on the premise that artifacts will be classified in accordance to their function or use. As such, any primary activity category which hopes to delineate this distinction must clearly state whether an artifact's function or use is classifiable or not. Enns-Kavanagh (2002) had the right idea when she proposed her "Unclassified" primary activity category. However, her two subsequent primary activity categories, "Unidentified" and "Unidentifiable", shifted the focus from determining an artifact's functional category to a concern of whether the artifact was physically identifiable or not. This is not to say that this concern is a pointless or fruitless endeavor. The author fully agrees with Enns-Kavanagh (2002) that any historic archaeological database should indicate those artifacts which may become identifiable through further or future research. However, since the author will be formulating his interpretations and results from an already defined database, it would be meaningless to include a primary activity category which only included those artifacts that may become identifiable. As such, the author opted to use only Enns-Kavanagh's (2002) "Unclassified" category but adapted it to also include those artifacts which may become identifiable. Conversely, artifacts which were deemed unidentifiable were classified under the primary activity category of "Unclassifiable".

The general scheme proposed by Sprague (1981) as well as the ideas proposed by Enns-Kavanagh (2002) were adopted by the author and incorporated into the functional classification scheme utilized for the current thesis project (Table 5.1). However, some modifications have been made to the primary activity and secondary sub-activity groups originally proposed by both Sprague (1981) and Enns-Kavanagh (2002). These changes were made by the author to make the classification scheme more pertinent to the current thesis project and to narrow the scope of analysis down to the range of activities and behaviours that one would expect to see in a transitional rural to urban setting.

With this functional classification system in mind (Table 5.1), the discussion will now shift its focus to the analysis of the material culture. Both the Marr Residence and the 11th Street Privy site will be analyzed separately in accordance with the functional classification system mentioned above. Interpretations and discussions concerning the analysis will be covered in Chapter 6 (Discussion of the Material Culture).

Table 5.1: Functional Classification of Material Culture: Activity and Sub-Activity.

<u>Personal</u>	<u>Architectural</u>
Personal Items	Building Material
Adornments	Window Material
Clothing Fasteners	Hardware
Clothing Textiles	
Footwear	<u>Transportation</u>
Luggage	Animal Powered
	Machine Powered
	Railway
<u>Health & Hygiene</u>	<u>Hunting & Defence</u>
Toiletries	Arms
Medication	Ammunition
Grooming	
<u>Food Preparation & Use</u>	<u>Fishing & Trapping</u>
Condiments/Food Additives	Fishing
Utensils	Trapping
Cooking Ware	
Servingware	
Tableware	<u>Unclassified</u>
Food Storage – Single Use	Unclassified Ceramic
Food Storage – Multiple Use	Unclassified Ceramic Container
	Unclassified Fabric
<u>Social, Recreational & Indulgence</u>	Unclassified Glass
Smoking	Unclassified Glass Container
Alcohol	Unclassified Leather
Music	Unclassified Metal
Sports	Unclassified Metal Container
Games	Unclassified Metal Fastener
Photography	Unclassified Organic
Art	Unclassified Other
Teaware	Unclassified Plastic
Toys	Unclassified Rubber
<u>Education & Communications</u>	<u>Unclassifiable</u>
Reading	Unclassifiable Ceramic
Writing	Unclassifiable Ceramic Container
Telecommunications	Unclassifiable Fabric
	Unclassifiable Glass
<u>Household Furnishings</u>	Unclassifiable Glass Container
Decoration	Unclassifiable Leather
Furniture	Unclassifiable Metal
	Unclassifiable Metal Container
	Unclassifiable Metal Fastener
<u>Household Maintenance</u>	Unclassifiable Organic
Laundry	Unclassifiable Other
Sewing	Unclassifiable Plastic
Cleaning	Unclassifiable Rubber
Lighting/Heating	
Gardening	

5.3 The Marr Residence (FaNp-5)

As previously mentioned, two instances of archaeological investigations have been conducted at the Marr Residence thus far. Although artifacts were recovered from virtually all areas of the property, it is important to note that cultural processes (i.e. land alterations and disturbances by occupants over the decades) may have disturbed and shifted some of the artifacts from their original context. As such, it is difficult to say with certainty where some of these artifacts were originally deposited although it is quite possible that they may have originated from the uppermost layers of refuse and privy deposits.

Another dilemma to consider in regard to the Marr Residence assemblage concerns the nature of the investigation and the types of questions and concerns being addressed by the original researchers. As such, the database that resulted from either investigation differs in terms of the attributes being addressed and the classification of the artifacts. In an attempt to make the database more consistent, the decision was made to re-catalogue both the 1981 and the 1997 assemblages in accordance with the database devised by the author for the 11th Street Privy site assemblage. In total, 14,278 artifacts resulting from the 1981 and 1997 Marr Residence excavations were reanalyzed. Unfortunately, some of the artifacts that were originally recovered had either been lost or stolen throughout the years. Although the author was still able to enter some of these artifacts into the database due to the information entered in the original catalogue, most of these items remain unaccounted for.

Only those artifacts that were excavated from the privy features will be considered for the purpose of this analysis. By specifically focusing on the privy deposits alone, the author is provided with a sample that is more tightly controlled both spatially and temporally. Artifacts were recovered from various areas across the property. As such, an inclusion of these artifacts in the current analysis would only serve to skew the data as some of these artifacts pertain to activities beyond the temporal scope with which this project is concerned. Out of the 14,278 artifacts recovered, only 4874 artifacts are known to be directly associated with privy features; hence, they are known to pertain to activities carried out within the temporal scope of the current thesis project.

Three privy features were identified in the course of the 1981 preliminary investigations: one in Trench 7, Metre 3 and 4, the other in Area 1 and Test Pit 2 and the last in Area 2. Three

privy features were identified during the 1997 investigation. Feature 1 was situated in the southern half of 22S 0W and the northern half of 23S 0W. Feature 2 was situated in the southern half 22S 1W and the northern half of 23S 1W and Feature 3 was situated in the southern half of 20S 1W and the northern half of 21S 1W. Although there is evidence to suggest that the feature identified in Area 1 and Test Pit 2 during the 1981 preliminary investigation is Feature 3 as identified during the 1997 excavation, it is difficult to say with certainty that the other privies excavated in 1997 were those originally identified in 1981. As such, each privy identified from each year will be analyzed separately. Not only will this approach prevent the data from being skewed, it will also make comparison with the 11th Street Privy site assemblage more accessible.

5.3.1 1981 Project: Trench 7, Metre 3 & 4

The southern extent of a rectangular privy feature was uncovered in these units, yielding a total of 136 artifacts. Six primary activity groups and 15 secondary sub activity groups were represented in the recovered assemblage (Table 5.2). Since the feature was only partially excavated, further investigations would be required to not only acquire a more complete material sample but to confirm the specific temporal boundaries associated with this feature. Nevertheless, this feature represents a sample of turn-of-the-century consumer behaviour and most likely reflects the terminal stages of the feature's lifespan as excavations only skimmed the uppermost layers of the deposit.

5.3.2 1981 Project: Area 1, Test Pit 2

The northeast corner of a rectangular feature was uncovered in Area 1, Test Pit 2, yielding a total of 562 artifacts. Ten primary activity groups and 29 secondary sub-activity groups were represented in the recovered assemblage (Table 5.3). There is evidence to suggest that the northeast corner identified by the 1981 preliminary investigations is the northeast corner of Feature 3 which was excavated in 1997. Nevertheless, the 1981 assemblage will be analyzed separately as there is no information pertaining to the vertical provenience of the artifacts recovered. Unfortunately, when these artifacts were originally catalogued, the horizontal provenience (i.e. artifacts found inside and outside the test pits) was discarded. As a result, the author was forced to lump all of these artifacts together into a single analysis.

5.3.3 1981 Project: Area 2

The northeast corner of a rectangular feature with a circular ash feature superimposed over it was uncovered in Area 2, yielding a total of 631 artifacts. This circular feature consisted of a heavy concentration of ash and is most likely a later ash or refuse pit. Since the features extended into the west and south walls of Area 2, further excavations would be required to acquire a more complete material sample. Nevertheless, this feature provides us with a good sample of turn of the century consumer behaviour, with 12 primary activity groups and 29 secondary sub-activity groups represented in the recovered assemblage (Table 5.4).

5.3.4 1997 Project: Feature 1

This privy feature was discovered in the south half of 22S 0W and in the north half of 23S 0W, yielding a total of 864 artifacts. A possible privy feature (Feature 4) was also discovered in the southern portion of 23S0W which extended into the south wall of the unit. Unfortunately, when these artifacts were originally catalogued, the horizontal provenience (i.e. artifacts found in the northern portion of the unit versus those found in the southern portion of the unit) was discarded. As a result, the author was forced to lump all of these artifacts together into a single analysis. Nine primary activity groups and 20 secondary sub-activity groups were represented in the recovered assemblage (Table 5.5).

5.3.5 1997 Project: Feature 2

This privy feature was located immediately west of Feature 1, situated in the south half of 22S 1W and in the north half of 23S 1W. A total of 984 artifacts was recovered from Feature 2 and encompassed eight primary activity groups and 27 secondary sub-activity groups (Table 5.6).

5.3.6 1997 Project: Feature 3

This privy feature is situated in the south half of 20S 1W and in the north half of 21S 1W and yielded a total of 1697 artifacts. As mentioned earlier, archaeological evidence suggests that the northeast corner of Feature 3 was originally identified by Klimko during the 1981 preliminary investigations (Area 1, Test Pit 2). Eight primary activity groups and 29 secondary sub-activity groups are represented in this assemblage (Table 5.7).

5.3.7 Area 1, Test Pit 2 (1981) and Feature 3 (1997) Combined

As previously mentioned, there is evidence to suggest that the privy feature identified in Area 1, Test Pit 2 in 1981 is the same feature (i.e. Feature 3) excavated by Kennedy in 1997. Combined, this feature yielded a total of 2259 artifacts, representing a total of 11 primary activity groups and 39 secondary sub-activity groups (Table 5.8).

5.4 The 11th Street Privy Site (FaNp-31)

Similar to the assemblage recovered from the Marr Residence, years of subsequent land developments had disturbed the uppermost layers of archaeological features identified at the 11th Street Privy site. Excavations conducted at the 11th Street site involved the complete exposure of a single privy feature as well as digging a test unit adjacent to the privy feature. In total, 312 artifacts were recovered from the 2006 salvage excavation. Of these 312 artifacts, only 222 artifacts are known to be directly associated with the privy feature itself. Nine primary activity groups and 28 secondary sub-activity groups are represented in the assemblage. A breakdown of these 222 artifacts as they relate to the functional classification scheme mentioned above can be viewed below (Table 5.9).

5.5 The Functional Classification of the Marr Residence (FaNp-5) and the 11th Street Privy Site (FaNp-31)

The remainder of the chapter will explicitly focus on the analysis of the material culture recovered from the Marr Residence and the 11th Street Privy site privy features in accordance with the functional classification scheme proposed in Table 5.1. However, it is important to note that the archaeological assemblage recovered from the privy features represents only a partial sample of turn-of-the-century urban consumer behaviour as other items would have conceivably been deposited elsewhere as discussed in section 2.7. of Chapter 2 (Saskatoon at the Turn of the 20th Century).

A detailed breakdown of the number and types of artifacts recovered from the privy assemblages is presented in Appendix A.

Table 5.2: Functional Category and Artifact Count for FaNp-5 Trench 7, Metre 3 and 4 (n = 136)

Activity Group	Sub Activity Group	Quantity	Percentage of Sub Activity in Assemblage	Percentage of Group in Total Assemblage
Personal n = 3	Personal Items	0	0.00%	2.21%
	Addornments	0	0.00%	
	Clothing Fasteners	3	2.21%	
	Clothing Textiles	0	0.00%	
	Footwear	0	0.00%	
	Luggage	0	0.00%	
Health & Hygiene n = 0	Toiletries	0	0.00%	0.00%
	Medication	0	0.00%	
	Grooming	0	0.00%	
Food Preparation & Use n = 3	Condiments/Food Additives	0	0.00%	2.21%
	Utensils	0	0.00%	
	Cooking Ware	0	0.00%	
	Servingware	0	0.00%	
	Tableware	2	1.47%	
	Food Storage – Single Use	0	0.00%	
	Food Storage – Multiple Use	1	0.74%	
Social, Recreational & Indulgence n = 0	Smoking	0	0.00%	0.00%
	Alcohol	0	0.00%	
	Music	0	0.00%	
	Sports	0	0.00%	
	Games	0	0.00%	
	Photography	0	0.00%	
	Art	0	0.00%	
	Teaware	0	0.00%	
	Toys	0	0.00%	
	Education & Communications n = 0	Reading	0	
Writing		0	0.00%	
Telecommunications		0	0.00%	
Household Furnishings n = 0	Decoration	0	0.00%	0.00%
	Furniture	0	0.00%	
Household Maintenance n = 0	Laundry	0	0.00%	0.00%
	Sewing	0	0.00%	
	Cleaning	0	0.00%	
	Lighting/Heating	0	0.00%	
	Gardening	0	0.00%	
Architectural n = 67	Building Material	3	2.21%	49.26%
	Window Material	21	15.44%	
	Hardware	43	31.62%	
Transportation n = 0	Animal Powered	0	0.00%	0.00%
	Machine Powered	0	0.00%	
	Railway	0	0.00%	
Hunting & Defence n = 1	Arms	0	0.00%	0.74%
	Ammunition	1	0.74%	
Fishing & Trapping n = 0	Fishing	0	0.00%	0.00%
	Trapping	0	0.00%	
Unclassified n = 14	Unclassified Ceramic	10	7.35%	10.29%
	Unclassified Ceramic Container	0	0.00%	
	Unclassified Fabric	0	0.00%	
	Unclassified Glass	3	2.21%	
	Unclassified Glass Container	1	0.74%	
	Unclassified Leather	0	0.00%	
	Unclassified Metal	0	0.00%	
	Unclassified Metal Container	0	0.00%	
	Unclassified Metal Fastener	0	0.00%	
	Unclassified Organic	0	0.00%	
	Unclassified Other	0	0.00%	
	Unclassified Plastic	0	0.00%	
	Unclassified Rubber	0	0.00%	
Unclassifiable n = 48	Unclassifiable Ceramic	12	8.82%	35.29%
	Unclassifiable Ceramic Container	0	0.00%	
	Unclassifiable Fabric	0	0.00%	
	Unclassifiable Glass	24	17.65%	
	Unclassifiable Glass Container	6	4.41%	
	Unclassifiable Leather	0	0.00%	
	Unclassifiable Metal	4	2.94%	
	Unclassifiable Metal Container	0	0.00%	
	Unclassifiable Metal Fastener	0	0.00%	
	Unclassifiable Organic	2	1.47%	
	Unclassifiable Other	0	0.00%	
	Unclassifiable Plastic	0	0.00%	
	Unclassifiable Rubber	0	0.00%	

Table 5.3: Functional Category and Artifact Count for FaNp-5 Area 1 and Test Pit 2 (n = 562)

Activity Group	Sub Activity Group	Quantity	Percentage of Sub Activity in Assemblage	Percentage of Group in Total Assemblage		
Personal n = 6	Personal Items	0	0.00%	1.07%		
	Addornments	0	0.00%			
	Clothing Fasteners	6	1.07%			
	Clothing Textiles	0	0.00%			
	Footwear	0	0.00%			
	Luggage	0	0.00%			
Health & Hygiene n = 1	Toiletries	0	0.00%	0.18%		
	Medication	1	0.18%			
	Grooming	0	0.00%			
Food Preparation & Use n = 14	Condiments/Food Additives	0	0.00%	2.49%		
	Utensils	0	0.00%			
	Cooking Ware	0	0.00%			
	Servingware	0	0.00%			
	Tableware	3	0.53%			
	Food Storage – Single Use	6	1.07%			
	Food Storage – Multiple Use	5	0.89%			
Social, Recreational & Indulgence n = 6	Smoking	0	0.00%	1.07%		
	Alcohol	1	0.18%			
	Music	0	0.00%			
	Sports	0	0.00%			
	Games	0	0.00%			
	Photography	0	0.00%			
	Art	1	0.18%			
	Teaware	4	0.71%			
	Toys	0	0.00%			
	Education & Communications n = 0	Reading	0		0.00%	0.00%
Writing		0	0.00%			
Telecommunications		0	0.00%			
Household Furnishings n = 1	Decoration	1	0.18%	0.18%		
	Furniture	0	0.00%			
Household Maintenance n = 4	Laundry	2	0.36%	0.71%		
	Sewing	0	0.00%			
	Cleaning	0	0.00%			
	Lighting/Heating	1	0.18%			
	Gardening	1	0.18%			
Architectural n = 319	Building Material	5	0.89%	56.76%		
	Window Material	134	23.84%			
	Hardware	180	32.03%			
Transportation n = 0	Animal Powered	0	0.00%	0.00%		
	Machine Powered	0	0.00%			
	Railway	0	0.00%			
Hunting & Defence n = 0	Arms	0	0.00%	0.00%		
	Ammunition	0	0.00%			
Fishing & Trapping n = 1	Fishing	1	0.18%	0.18%		
	Trapping	0	0.00%			
Unclassified n = 59	Unclassified Ceramic	18	3.20%	10.50%		
	Unclassified Ceramic Container	0	0.00%			
	Unclassified Fabric	0	0.00%			
	Unclassified Glass	33	5.87%			
	Unclassified Glass Container	1	0.18%			
	Unclassified Leather	0	0.00%			
	Unclassified Metal	5	0.89%			
	Unclassified Metal Container	0	0.00%			
	Unclassified Metal Fastener	0	0.00%			
	Unclassified Organic	0	0.00%			
	Unclassified Other	0	0.00%			
	Unclassified Plastic	1	0.18%			
	Unclassified Rubber	1	0.18%			
	Unclassifiable n = 151	Unclassifiable Ceramic	10		1.78%	26.87%
		Unclassifiable Ceramic Container	0		0.00%	
Unclassifiable Fabric		0	0.00%			
Unclassifiable Glass		118	21.00%			
Unclassifiable Glass Container		1	0.18%			
Unclassifiable Leather		0	0.00%			
Unclassifiable Metal		10	1.78%			
Unclassifiable Metal Container		0	0.00%			
Unclassifiable Metal Fastener		0	0.00%			
Unclassifiable Organic		9	1.60%			
Unclassifiable Other		2	0.36%			
Unclassifiable Plastic		1	0.18%			
Unclassifiable Rubber		0	0.00%			

Table 5.4: Functional Category and Artifact Count for FaNp-5 Area 2 (n = 631)

Activity Group	Sub Activity Group	Quantity	Percentage of Sub Activity in Assemblage	Percentage of Group in Total Assemblage
Personal n = 2	Personal Items	0	0.00%	0.32%
	Addornments	0	0.00%	
	Clothing Fasteners	1	0.16%	
	Clothing Textiles	1	0.16%	
	Footwear	0	0.00%	
	Luggage	0	0.00%	
Health & Hygiene n = 3	Toiletries	0	0.00%	0.48%
	Medication	3	0.48%	
	Grooming	0	0.00%	
Food Preparation & Use n = 54	Condiments/Food Additives	0	0.00%	8.56%
	Utensils	3	0.48%	
	Cooking Ware	1	0.16%	
	Servingware	12	1.90%	
	Tableware	25	3.96%	
	Food Storage – Single Use	0	0.00%	
	Food Storage – Multiple Use	13	2.06%	
Social, Recreational & Indulgence n = 11	Smoking	0	0.00%	1.74%
	Alcohol	0	0.00%	
	Music	0	0.00%	
	Sports	0	0.00%	
	Games	0	0.00%	
	Photography	0	0.00%	
	Art	0	0.00%	
	Teaware	9	1.43%	
	Toys	2	0.32%	
		0	0.00%	
Education & Communications n = 4	Reading	4	0.63%	0.63%
	Writing	0	0.00%	
	Telecommunications	0	0.00%	
Household Furnishings n = 8	Decoration	7	1.11%	1.27%
	Furniture	1	0.16%	
Household Maintenance n = 43	Laundry	0	0.00%	6.81%
	Sewing	0	0.00%	
	Cleaning	0	0.00%	
	Lighting/Heating	43	6.81%	
	Gardening	0	0.00%	
Architectural n = 170	Building Material	3	0.48%	26.94%
	Window Material	22	3.49%	
	Hardware	145	22.98%	
Transportation n = 1	Animal Powered	0	0.00%	0.16%
	Machine Powered	1	0.16%	
	Railway	0	0.00%	
Hunting & Defence n = 1	Arms	0	0.00%	0.16%
	Ammunition	1	0.16%	
Fishing & Trapping n = 0	Fishing	0	0.00%	0.00%
	Trapping	0	0.00%	
Unclassified n = 71	Unclassified Ceramic	37	5.86%	11.25%
	Unclassified Ceramic Container	0	0.00%	
	Unclassified Fabric	0	0.00%	
	Unclassified Glass	19	3.01%	
	Unclassified Glass Container	8	1.27%	
	Unclassified Leather	0	0.00%	
	Unclassified Metal	4	0.63%	
	Unclassified Metal Container	0	0.00%	
	Unclassified Metal Fastener	0	0.00%	
	Unclassified Organic	0	0.00%	
	Unclassified Other	0	0.00%	
	Unclassified Plastic	3	0.48%	
	Unclassified Rubber	0	0.00%	
Unclassifiable n = 263	Unclassifiable Ceramic	41	6.50%	41.67%
	Unclassifiable Ceramic Container	0	0.00%	
	Unclassifiable Fabric	0	0.00%	
	Unclassifiable Glass	138	21.87%	
	Unclassifiable Glass Container	8	1.27%	
	Unclassifiable Leather	0	0.00%	
	Unclassifiable Metal	75	11.89%	
	Unclassifiable Metal Container	0	0.00%	
	Unclassifiable Metal Fastener	0	0.00%	
	Unclassifiable Organic	1	0.16%	
	Unclassifiable Other	0	0.00%	
	Unclassifiable Plastic	0	0.00%	
	Unclassifiable Rubber	0	0.00%	

Table 5.5: Functional Category and Artifact Count for FaNp-5 Feature 1 (n = 864)

Activity Group	Sub Activity Group	Quantity	Percentage of Sub Activity in Assemblage	Percentage of Group in Total Assemblage
Personal n = 9	Personal Items	0	0.00%	1.04%
	Addornments	0	0.00%	
	Clothing Fasteners	9	1.04%	
	Clothing Textiles	0	0.00%	
	Footwear	0	0.00%	
	Luggage	0	0.00%	
Health & Hygiene n = 11	Toiletries	0	0.00%	1.27%
	Medication	11	1.27%	
	Grooming	0	0.00%	
Food Preparation & Use n = 23	Condiments/Food Additives	0	0.00%	2.66%
	Utensils	0	0.00%	
	Cooking Ware	0	0.00%	
	Servingware	1	0.12%	
	Tableware	11	1.27%	
	Food Storage – Single Use	1	0.12%	
	Food Storage – Multiple Use	10	1.16%	
Social, Recreational & Indulgence n = 2	Smoking	1	0.12%	0.23%
	Alcohol	1	0.12%	
	Music	0	0.00%	
	Sports	0	0.00%	
	Games	0	0.00%	
	Photography	0	0.00%	
	Art	0	0.00%	
	Teaware	0	0.00%	
	Toys	0	0.00%	
Education & Communications n = 1	Reading	0	0.00%	0.12%
	Writing	1	0.12%	
	Telecommunications	0	0.00%	
Household Furnishings n = 0	Decoration	0	0.00%	0.00%
	Furniture	0	0.00%	
Household Maintenance n = 1	Laundry	0	0.00%	0.12%
	Sewing	0	0.00%	
	Cleaning	0	0.00%	
	Lighting/Heating	1	0.12%	
	Gardening	0	0.00%	
Architectural n = 420	Building Material	0	0.00%	48.61%
	Window Material	206	23.84%	
	Hardware	214	24.77%	
Transportation n = 0	Animal Powered	0	0.00%	0.00%
	Machine Powered	0	0.00%	
	Railway	0	0.00%	
Hunting & Defence n = 0	Arms	0	0.00%	0.00%
	Ammunition	0	0.00%	
Fishing & Trapping n = 0	Fishing	0	0.00%	0.00%
	Trapping	0	0.00%	
Unclassified n = 48	Unclassified Ceramic	35	4.05%	5.56%
	Unclassified Ceramic Container	0	0.00%	
	Unclassified Fabric	0	0.00%	
	Unclassified Glass	7	0.81%	
	Unclassified Glass Container	5	0.58%	
	Unclassified Leather	0	0.00%	
	Unclassified Metal	0	0.00%	
	Unclassified Metal Container	0	0.00%	
	Unclassified Metal Fastener	1	0.12%	
	Unclassified Organic	0	0.00%	
	Unclassified Other	0	0.00%	
	Unclassified Plastic	0	0.00%	
	Unclassified Rubber	0	0.00%	
Unclassifiable n = 349	Unclassifiable Ceramic	61	7.06%	40.39%
	Unclassifiable Ceramic Container	0	0.00%	
	Unclassifiable Fabric	0	0.00%	
	Unclassifiable Glass	265	30.67%	
	Unclassifiable Glass Container	1	0.12%	
	Unclassifiable Leather	0	0.00%	
	Unclassifiable Metal	22	2.55%	
	Unclassifiable Metal Container	0	0.00%	
	Unclassifiable Metal Fastener	0	0.00%	
	Unclassifiable Organic	0	0.00%	
	Unclassifiable Other	0	0.00%	
	Unclassifiable Plastic	0	0.00%	
	Unclassifiable Rubber	0	0.00%	

Table 5.6: Functional Category and Artifact Count for FaNp-5 Feature 2 (n = 984)

Activity Group	Sub Activity Group	Quantity	Percentage of Sub Activity in Assemblage	Percentage of Group in Total Assemblage
Personal n = 13	Personal Items	1	0.10%	1.32%
	Addornments	0	0.00%	
	Clothing Fasteners	11	1.12%	
	Clothing Textiles	1	0.10%	
	Footwear	0	0.00%	
	Luggage	0	0.00%	
Health & Hygiene n = 2	Toiletries	0	0.00%	0.20%
	Medication	1	0.10%	
	Grooming	1	0.10%	
Food Preparation & Use n = 30	Condiments/Food Additives	1	0.10%	3.05%
	Utensils	0	0.00%	
	Cooking Ware	0	0.00%	
	Servingware	0	0.00%	
	Tableware	19	1.93%	
	Food Storage – Single Use	1	0.10%	
	Food Storage – Multiple Use	9	0.91%	
Social, Recreational & Indulgence n = 6	Smoking	0	0.00%	0.61%
	Alcohol	0	0.00%	
	Music	0	0.00%	
	Sports	0	0.00%	
	Games	2	0.20%	
	Photography	0	0.00%	
	Art	0	0.00%	
	Teaware	4	0.41%	
	Toys	0	0.00%	
	Education & Communications n = 2	Reading	2	
Writing		0	0.00%	
Telecommunications		0	0.00%	
Household Furnishings n = 0	Decoration	0	0.00%	0.00%
	Furniture	0	0.00%	
Household Maintenance n = 0	Laundry	0	0.00%	0.00%
	Sewing	0	0.00%	
	Cleaning	0	0.00%	
	Lighting/Heating	0	0.00%	
	Gardening	0	0.00%	
Architectural n = 509	Building Material	8	0.81%	51.73%
	Window Material	215	21.85%	
	Hardware	286	29.07%	
Transportation n = 0	Animal Powered	0	0.00%	0.00%
	Machine Powered	0	0.00%	
	Railway	0	0.00%	
Hunting & Defence n = 0	Arms	0	0.00%	0.00%
	Ammunition	0	0.00%	
Fishing & Trapping n = 0	Fishing	0	0.00%	0.00%
	Trapping	0	0.00%	
Unclassified n = 73	Unclassified Ceramic	27	2.74%	7.42%
	Unclassified Ceramic Container	0	0.00%	
	Unclassified Fabric	0	0.00%	
	Unclassified Glass	23	2.34%	
	Unclassified Glass Container	18	1.83%	
	Unclassified Leather	0	0.00%	
	Unclassified Metal	5	0.51%	
	Unclassified Metal Container	0	0.00%	
	Unclassified Metal Fastener	0	0.00%	
	Unclassified Organic	0	0.00%	
	Unclassified Other	0	0.00%	
	Unclassified Plastic	0	0.00%	
	Unclassified Rubber	0	0.00%	
Unclassifiable n = 349	Unclassifiable Ceramic	40	4.07%	35.47%
	Unclassifiable Ceramic Container	0	0.00%	
	Unclassifiable Fabric	0	0.00%	
	Unclassifiable Glass	217	22.05%	
	Unclassifiable Glass Container	6	0.61%	
	Unclassifiable Leather	1	0.10%	
	Unclassifiable Metal	79	8.03%	
	Unclassifiable Metal Container	0	0.00%	
	Unclassifiable Metal Fastener	0	0.00%	
	Unclassifiable Organic	1	0.10%	
	Unclassifiable Other	3	0.30%	
	Unclassifiable Plastic	2	0.20%	
	Unclassifiable Rubber	0	0.00%	

Table 5.7: Functional Category and Artifact Count for FaNp-5 Feature 3 (n = 1697)

Activity Group	Sub Activity Group	Quantity	Percentage of Sub Activity in Assemblage	Percentage of Activity in Assemblage
Personal n = 8	Personal Items	0	0.00%	0.47%
	Addornments	2	0.12%	
	Clothing Fasteners	4	0.24%	
	Clothing Textiles	2	0.12%	
	Footwear	0	0.00%	
	Luggage	0	0.00%	
Health & Hygiene n = 16	Toiletries	0	0.00%	0.94%
	Medication	15	0.88%	
	Grooming	1	0.06%	
Food Preparation & Use n = 23	Condiments/Food Additives	0	0.00%	1.36%
	Utensils	0	0.00%	
	Cooking Ware	0	0.00%	
	Servingware	14	0.82%	
	Tableware	4	0.24%	
	Food Storage – Single Use	1	0.06%	
	Food Storage – Multiple Use	4	0.24%	
Social, Recreational & Indulgence n = 4	Smoking	0	0.00%	0.24%
	Alcohol	1	0.06%	
	Music	0	0.00%	
	Sports	0	0.00%	
	Games	0	0.00%	
	Photography	0	0.00%	
	Art	0	0.00%	
	Teaware	0	0.00%	
	Toys	3	0.18%	
Education & Communications n = 10	Reading	1	0.06%	0.59%
	Writing	9	0.53%	
	Telecommunications	0	0.00%	
Household Furnishings n = 0	Decoration	0	0.00%	0.00%
	Furniture	0	0.00%	
Household Maintenance n = 0	Laundry	0	0.00%	0.00%
	Sewing	0	0.00%	
	Cleaning	0	0.00%	
	Lighting/Heating	0	0.00%	
	Gardening	0	0.00%	
Architectural n = 790	Building Material	7	0.41%	46.55%
	Window Material	415	24.45%	
	Hardware	368	21.69%	
Transportation n = 0	Animal Powered	0	0.00%	0.00%
	Machine Powered	0	0.00%	
	Railway	0	0.00%	
Hunting & Defence n = 0	Arms	0	0.00%	0.00%
	Ammunition	0	0.00%	
Fishing & Trapping n = 0	Fishing	0	0.00%	0.00%
	Trapping	0	0.00%	
Unclassified n = 185	Unclassified Ceramic	18	1.06%	10.90%
	Unclassified Ceramic Container	0	0.00%	
	Unclassified Fabric	0	0.00%	
	Unclassified Glass	66	3.89%	
	Unclassified Glass Container	97	5.72%	
	Unclassified Leather	1	0.06%	
	Unclassified Metal	1	0.06%	
	Unclassified Metal Container	0	0.00%	
	Unclassified Metal Fastener	0	0.00%	
	Unclassified Organic	0	0.00%	
	Unclassified Other	1	0.06%	
	Unclassified Plastic	1	0.06%	
Unclassified Rubber	0	0.00%		
Unclassifiable n = 661	Unclassifiable Ceramic	25	1.47%	38.95%
	Unclassifiable Ceramic Container	0	0.00%	
	Unclassifiable Fabric	0	0.00%	
	Unclassifiable Glass	482	28.40%	
	Unclassifiable Glass Container	20	1.18%	
	Unclassifiable Leather	0	0.00%	
	Unclassifiable Metal	9	0.53%	
	Unclassifiable Metal Container	122	7.19%	
	Unclassifiable Metal Fastener	0	0.00%	
	Unclassifiable Organic	0	0.00%	
	Unclassifiable Other	3	0.18%	
	Unclassifiable Plastic	0	0.00%	
	Unclassifiable Rubber	0	0.00%	

Table 5.8: Functional Category and Artifact Count for FaNp-5 Area 1 and Test Pit 2 (1981) and Feature 3 (1997) Combined (n = 2259)

Activity Group	Sub Activity Group	Quantity	Percentage of Sub Activity in Assemblage	Percentage of Group in Total Assemblage
Personal n = 14	Personal Items	0	0.00%	0.62%
	Addornments	2	0.09%	
	Clothing Fasteners	10	0.44%	
	Clothing Textiles	2	0.09%	
	Footwear	0	0.00%	
	Luggage	0	0.00%	
Health & Hygiene n = 17	Toiletries	0	0.00%	0.75%
	Medication	16	0.71%	
	Grooming	1	0.04%	
Food Preparation & Use n = 37	Condiments/Food Additives	0	0.00%	1.64%
	Utensils	0	0.00%	
	Cooking Ware	0	0.00%	
	Servingware	14	0.62%	
	Tableware	7	0.31%	
	Food Storage – Single Use	7	0.31%	
	Food Storage – Multiple Use	9	0.40%	
Social, Recreational & Indulgence n = 11	Smoking	0	0.00%	0.49%
	Alcohol	3	0.13%	
	Music	0	0.00%	
	Sports	0	0.00%	
	Games	0	0.00%	
	Photography	0	0.00%	
	Art	1	0.04%	
	Teaware	4	0.18%	
	Toys	3	0.13%	
Education & Communications n = 10	Reading	1	0.04%	0.44%
	Writing	9	0.40%	
	Telecommunications	0	0.00%	
Household Furnishings n = 1	Decoration	1	0.04%	0.04%
	Furniture	0	0.00%	
Household Maintenance n = 4	Laundry	2	0.09%	0.18%
	Sewing	0	0.00%	
	Cleaning	0	0.00%	
	Lighting/Heating	1	0.04%	
	Gardening	1	0.04%	
Architectural n = 1109	Building Material	12	0.53%	49.10%
	Window Material	549	24.30%	
	Hardware	548	24.26%	
Transportation n = 0	Animal Powered	0	0.00%	0.00%
	Machine Powered	0	0.00%	
	Railway	0	0.00%	
Hunting & Defence n = 0	Arms	0	0.00%	0.00%
	Ammunition	0	0.00%	
Fishing & Trapping n = 1	Fishing	1	0.04%	0.04%
	Trapping	0	0.00%	
Unclassified n = 244	Unclassified Ceramic	36	1.59%	10.80%
	Unclassified Ceramic Container	0	0.00%	
	Unclassified Fabric	0	0.00%	
	Unclassified Glass	99	4.38%	
	Unclassified Glass Container	98	4.34%	
	Unclassified Leather	1	0.04%	
	Unclassified Metal	6	0.27%	
	Unclassified Metal Container	0	0.00%	
	Unclassified Metal Fastener	0	0.00%	
	Unclassified Organic	0	0.00%	
	Unclassified Other	1	0.04%	
	Unclassified Plastic	2	0.09%	
	Unclassified Rubber	1	0.04%	
Unclassifiable n = 811	Unclassifiable Ceramic	35	1.55%	35.90%
	Unclassifiable Ceramic Container	0	0.00%	
	Unclassifiable Fabric	0	0.00%	
	Unclassifiable Glass	600	26.56%	
	Unclassifiable Glass Container	20	0.89%	
	Unclassifiable Leather	0	0.00%	
	Unclassifiable Metal	19	0.84%	
	Unclassifiable Metal Container	122	5.40%	
	Unclassifiable Metal Fastener	0	0.00%	
	Unclassifiable Organic	9	0.40%	
	Unclassifiable Other	5	0.22%	
	Unclassifiable Plastic	1	0.04%	
	Unclassifiable Rubber	0	0.00%	

Table 5.9: Functional Category and Artifact Count for FaNp-31 11th Street Privy (n = 222)

Activity Group	Sub Activity Group	Quantity	Percentage of Sub Activity in Assemblage	Percentage of Group in Total Assemblage
Personal n = 13	Personal Items	0	0.00%	5.86%
	Addornments	0	0.00%	
	Clothing Fasteners	12	5.41%	
	Clothing Textiles	1	0.45%	
	Footwear	0	0.00%	
	Luggage	0	0.00%	
Health & Hygiene n = 5	Toiletries	0	0.00%	2.25%
	Medication	4	1.80%	
	Grooming	1	0.45%	
Food Preparation & Use n = 44	Condiments/Food Additives	0	0.00%	19.82%
	Utensils	2	0.90%	
	Cooking Ware	0	0.00%	
	Servingware	0	0.00%	
	Tableware	8	3.60%	
	Food Storage – Single Use	30	13.51%	
	Food Storage – Multiple Use	4	1.80%	
Social, Recreational & Indulgence n = 15	Smoking	10	4.50%	6.76%
	Alcohol	4	1.80%	
	Music	0	0.00%	
	Sports	0	0.00%	
	Games	0	0.00%	
	Photography	0	0.00%	
	Art	0	0.00%	
	Teaware	0	0.00%	
	Toys	1	0.45%	
Education & Communications n = 1	Reading	0	0.00%	0.45%
	Writing	1	0.45%	
	Telecommunications	0	0.00%	
Household Furnishings n = 0	Decoration	0	0.00%	0.00%
	Furniture	0	0.00%	
Household Maintenance n = 0	Laundry	0	0.00%	0.00%
	Sewing	0	0.00%	
	Cleaning	0	0.00%	
	Lighting/Heating	0	0.00%	
	Gardening	0	0.00%	
Architectural n = 51	Building Material	6	2.70%	22.97%
	Window Material	5	2.25%	
	Hardware	40	18.02%	
Transportation n = 0	Animal Powered	0	0.00%	0.00%
	Machine Powered	0	0.00%	
	Railway	0	0.00%	
Hunting & Defence n = 2	Arms	0	0.00%	0.90%
	Ammunition	2	0.90%	
Fishing & Trapping n = 0	Fishing	0	0.00%	0.00%
	Trapping	0	0.00%	
Unclassified n = 36	Unclassified Ceramic	11	4.95%	16.22%
	Unclassified Ceramic Container	0	0.00%	
	Unclassified Fabric	0	0.00%	
	Unclassified Glass	3	1.35%	
	Unclassified Glass Container	14	6.31%	
	Unclassified Leather	0	0.00%	
	Unclassified Metal	5	2.25%	
	Unclassified Metal Container	2	0.90%	
	Unclassified Metal Fastener	0	0.00%	
	Unclassified Organic	0	0.00%	
	Unclassified Other	1	0.45%	
	Unclassified Plastic	0	0.00%	
	Unclassified Rubber	0	0.00%	
Unclassifiable n = 55	Unclassifiable Ceramic	5	2.25%	24.77%
	Unclassifiable Ceramic Container	0	0.00%	
	Unclassifiable Fabric	0	0.00%	
	Unclassifiable Glass	38	17.12%	
	Unclassifiable Glass Container	1	0.45%	
	Unclassifiable Leather	5	2.25%	
	Unclassifiable Metal	2	0.90%	
	Unclassifiable Metal Container	4	1.80%	
	Unclassifiable Metal Fastener	0	0.00%	
	Unclassifiable Organic	0	0.00%	
	Unclassifiable Other	0	0.00%	
	Unclassifiable Plastic	0	0.00%	
	Unclassifiable Rubber	0	0.00%	

5.5.1 Personal

Table 5.10: Frequencies of artifacts in “Personal” primary activity

Secondary Sub-Activity Groups	17 M3 & 4 (FaNp-5)	Area 2 (FaNp-5)	Feature 1 (FaNp-5)	Feature 2 (FaNp-5)	Area 1, TP2 Feature 3 (FaNp-5)	11th ST. Privy (FaNp-31)	Quantity (Total)		Percentage of Representation	
							FaNp-5	FaNp-31	FaNp-5	FaNp-31
Personal Items	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	2.13%	0.00%
Addornments	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	4.26%	0.00%
Clothing Fasteners	3	1	9	11	16	12	40	12	85.11%	92.31%
Clothing Textiles	0	1	0	1	2	1	4	1	8.51%	7.69%
Footwear	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%
Luggage	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%
TOTAL	3	2	9	13	20	13	47	13	100.00%	100.00%

“Clothing Fasteners” such as buttons, pins and clasps were recovered from the privy features and contributed immensely to the quantitative total of the primary activity group (Table 5.10). Out of these fasteners, buttons were the most common, were recovered from all of the privy features and came in a variety of material types and forms. Unfortunately, a majority of the buttons were plain and lacked any identifiable marks with the exception of a metal button inscribed with the words “ENGLISH MAKE” (Figure 5.1). These buttons most likely ended up in the privies by accident while the user was removing their clothing prior to using the privy. Although other secondary sub-activity groups were also represented in the various privy assemblages, these items were sparse and don’t offer us much in terms of analysis.



Figure 5.1: Cat # 7918 (FaNp-5 Area 2): Metal clasp button inscribed with “ENGLISH MAKE” (Photo by author).

5.5.2 Health & Hygiene

Table 5.11: Frequencies of artifacts in “Health & Hygiene” primary activity

Secondary Sub-Activity Groups	T7 M3 & 4 (FaNp-5)	Area 2 (FaNp-5)	Feature 1 (FaNp-5)	Feature 2 (FaNp-5)	Area 1, TP2 Feature 3 (FaNp-5)	11th ST. Privy (FaNp-31)	Quantity (Total)		Percentage of Representation	
							FaNp-5	FaNp-31	FaNp-5	FaNp-31
Toiletries	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%
Medication	0	3	11	1	16	4	31	4	93.94%	80.00%
Grooming	0	0	0	1	1	1	2	1	6.06%	20.00%
TOTAL	0	3	11	2	17	5	33	5	100.00%	100.00%

From our discussion in Chapter 2 (Saskatoon at the Turn of the 20th Century), it should be evident that prior to the implementation of the 1906 Health Bylaw, the sanitation standards in the Saskatoon area were less than adequate. In particular, this is indicated by the predictable yearly epidemics of typhoid, dysentery and infantile diarrhea (Delainey & Sarjeant 1975:13; Delainey et al. 1982:19; O’Brien 2010b:16). As such, we should expect to see some initiative by people to take care and deal with ailments in the form of home medicinal supplies. Of course, the irony here is that a majority of these ailments were caused by the lack of an organized municipal waste program and thus the use of handier waste disposal sites such as the backyard privy.

Patent medicine bottles dominated this primary activity group across all of the privy features (Table 5.11). Although a majority of these bottles lacked any patent marks or labels which would have indicated the original contents of the bottle (Figure 5.2), some of these bottles exhibited marks that were embossed directly onto the bottles. In total, 3 different patent marks were identified from bottles recovered from the privy features. The first bottle recovered from FaNp-5, Area 2 (Figure 5.3) was labelled “DOUGLAS EGYPTIAN LINIMENT” by “DOUGLAS & CO” of Napanee, Ontario Canada which was used as a “speedy remedy for burns, sprains, felons, blood poisoning, soft corns, warts, scald feet...inflammation and muscular rheumatism” (Brown 1930:2). The second bottle which was bottle recovered from FaNp-5, Feature 1 (Figure 5.4) was embossed “DR. S. N. THOMAS ECLECTRIC OIL” by “NORTHROP & LYMAN CO. LIMITED” of Toronto, Ontario and was widely used as a popular cure-all at the turn of the 20th century (Figure 5.5). The third bottle which was recovered from FaNp-5, Feature 3 (Figure 5.6) consisted of an “OXYGENIZED PURE COD LIVER OIL” produced by “DR T. A. SLOCUM LIMITED” of Toronto, Ontario and was used to improve the body’s appetite, digestion and overall immune capabilities (Figure 5.7).



Figure 5.2: Cat # 14271-14273 (FaNp-5 Feature 3): Bottles with hand applied finishes on display at the Marr Residence (Photo by author).



Figure 5.3: Cat # 7772 (FaNp-5 Area 2): “DOUGLAS EGYPTIAN LINIMENT DOUGLAS & CO NAPANEE ONT CAN” (Photo by author).



Figure 5.4: Cat # 13605 -13612 (FaNp-5 Feature 1): Melted “DR. S. N. THOMAS ECLECTRIC OIL” bottle by “NORTHROP & LYMAN CO. LIMITED” (Photo by author).

Dr. Thomas' Eclectic Oil!

What it has Done.
What it will Do.

IT WILL POSITIVELY CURE

Toothache	in 5 Minutes
Earache	" 2 "
Backache	" 2 Hours
Lameness	" 2 Days
Coughs	" 20 Minutes
Hoarseness	" 1 Hour
Colds	" 24 Hours
Sore Throat	" 12 "
Deafness	" 2 Days
Pain of Burn	" 5 Minutes
" Scald	" 5 "

Croup it will cease in 5 minutes, and positively cure any case when used at the outset.
Remember that Dr. Thomas' Eclectic Oil is only 50 cents per bottle, and one bottle will go farther than half a dozen of an ordinary medicine.

Figure 5.5: DR. S. N. THOMAS ECLECTRIC OIL” Trade Card. Date unknown (Image Courtesy of antique-bottles.net).



Figure 5.6: Cat # 10438 – 10448 (FaNp-5 Feature 3) Bottle with patent marking: "OXYGENIZED PURE COD LIVER OIL" (Photo by author).



Figure 5.7: DR T. A, SLOCUM LIMITED” ad. Date unknown. Although this particular ad may not pertain to the bottle recovered in Feature 3, it does provide us with an idea as to the uses of Cod liver oil. (Image Courtesy of antiquemedicines.com).

5.5.3 Food Preparation & Use

Table 5.12: Frequencies of artifacts in “Food Preparation & Use” primary activity

Secondary Sub-Activity Groups	T7 M3 & 4 (FaNp-5)	Area 2 (FaNp-5)	Feature 1 (FaNp-5)	Feature 2 (FaNp-5)	Area 1, TP2 Feature 3 (FaNp-5)	11th ST. Privy (FaNp-31)	Quantity (Total)		Percentage of Representation	
							FaNp-5	FaNp-31	FaNp-5	FaNp-31
Condiments/Food Additives	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0.68%	0.00%
Utensils	0	3	0	0	0	2	3	2	2.04%	4.55%
Cooking Ware	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0.68%	0.00%
Servingware	0	12	1	0	14	0	27	0	18.37%	0.00%
Tableware	2	25	11	19	7	8	64	8	43.54%	18.18%
Food Storage-Single Use	0	0	1	1	7	30	9	30	6.12%	68.18%
Food Storage-Multiple Use	1	13	10	9	9	4	42	4	28.57%	9.09%
TOTAL	3	54	23	30	37	44	147	44	100.00%	100.00%

The “Food Preparation & Use” primary activity exhibits the most diversity in regard to variations exhibited on particular artifact classes such as ceramic vessels (Table 5.12). Ceramic vessels (or more accurately, fragments) are often recovered in high quantities from historic archaeological sites due to their pivotal role in the household (i.e. preparation and serving of meals) as well as their overall durability. Furthermore, an analysis of differences in terms of ware types and aesthetic characteristics has the potential to reveal to us information more pertinent to how these individuals may have conceptualized and appropriated these vessels in a manner beyond their basic utilitarian functions. Higher levels of interpretations in regard to these variations will be discussed in Chapter 6 (Discussion of the Material Culture).

In total, 11 maker’s marks were identified on vessels recovered from across the privy features: with three from Area 2 (Figures 5.10, 5.11, 5.12), one from Feature 1 (Figure 5.13), two from Feature 2 (Figures 5.14, 5.15) and three from Area 1, Test pit 2 and Feature 3 (Figures 5.9, 5.16, 5.18) from FaNp-5. The remaining two maker’s marks were recovered from the 11th Street Privy (Figures 5.19, 5.21) from FaNp-31. The following is a brief summary of the maker’s represented in the assemblages.

A single vitrified white earthenware plate exhibiting an underglaze transfer print wheat design recovered from FaNp-5 in Area 1, Test Pit 2 (Figure 5.8, 5.9) consisted of the only vessel representing “Ridgway” potteries. “Ridgway” potteries were first established at Shelton, Hanley and Stoke-on-Trent in 1792 by brothers Job and George Ridgway. Primarily focusing their attention on the production of fine earthenware vessels, the Ridgways were a well known and respected family of potters. In 1814 Job’s two sons John and William Ridgeway continued on with the family business. However, by 1830, the two brothers went their separate ways (Birks



Figure 5.8: Cat # 7116 (FaNp-5 Area 1, Test Pit 2): Front of vitrified white earthenware plate with maker's mark: "Sunblest by Ridgway EST. 1792 Staffordshire Made in England" (Photo by author).



Figure 5.9: Cat # 7116 (FaNp-5 Area 1, Test Pit 2): Back of vitrified white earthenware plate with maker's mark: "Sunblest by Ridgway EST. 1792 Staffordshire Made in England" (Photo by author).



Figure 5.10: Cat # 7821 (FaNp-5 Area 2): Partial maker's mark: "...POTTER C..." (Photo by author).



Figure 5.11: Cat # 7863 (FaNp-5 Area 2): Partial maker's mark exhibiting lion and crest motif (Photo by author).



Figure 5.12: Cat # 7873 (FaNp-5 Area 2): Partial maker's mark: "IM...IRONSTON..." (Photo by author).



Figure 5.13: Cat # 12845 (FaNp-5 Feature 1): Porcelain plate with partial maker's mark (Photo by author)

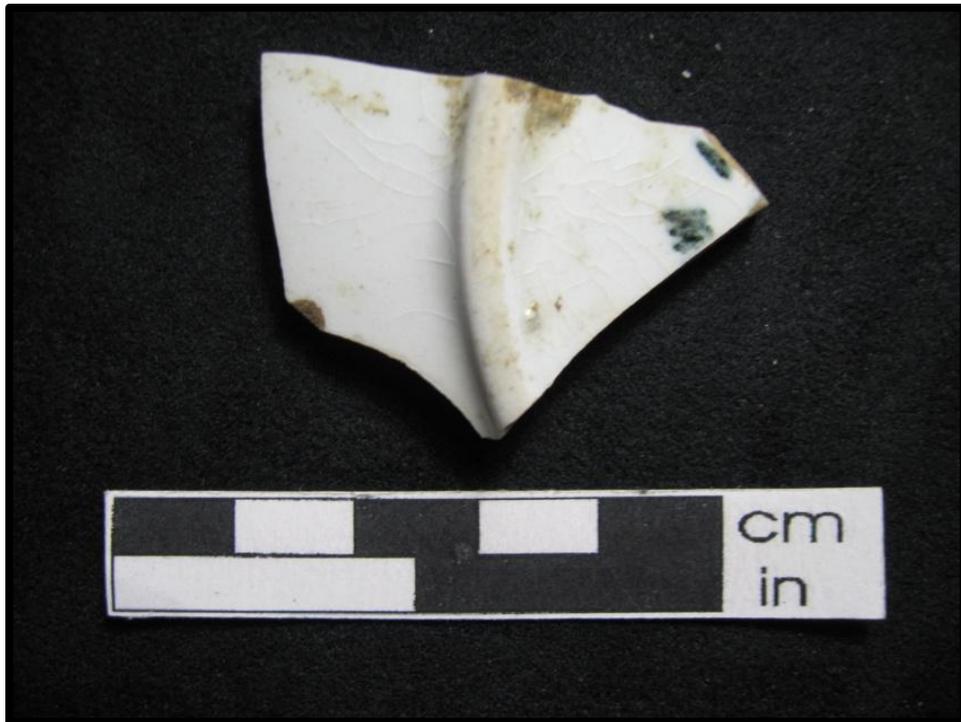


Figure 5.14: Cat # 11271 (FaNp-5 Feature 2): Vitrified white earthenware plate with partial maker's mark: "...W" or "M..." (Photo by author).



Figure 5.15: Cat # 11532 (FaNp-5 Feature 2): Vitrified white earthenware plate with partial maker's mark: "ENGLAND" (Photo by author).



Figure 5.16: Cat # 10169 – 10179 (FaNp-5 Feature 3): Large serving bowl or tureen with maker's mark: "SEMI-PORCELAIN JOHNSON BROS ENGLAND" (Photo by author).



Figure 5.17: Cat # 14274-14276 (FaNp-5 Feature 3): White earthenware polychrome underglaze transfer print set with floral design (Photo by author)



Figure 5.18: Cat # 14274 (FaNp-5 Feature 3): White earthenware plate with maker's mark: "DANE COLONIAL POTTERY STOKE ENGLAND" (Photo by author).



Figure 5.19: Cat # 214 (FaNp-31 11th Street Privy): Back of white granite ware saucer with maker's mark: "IRON...J. & G. MEA...HANLEY...ENGLAND" (Photo by author).



Figure 5.20: Cat # 214 (FaNp-31 11th Street Privy): Front of white granite ware saucer with moulded floral design (Photo by author).



Figure 5.21: Cat # 150-154 (FaNp-31 11th Street Privy): White earthenware saucer with maker's mark: "THOMAS FURNIVAL & SONS ENGLAND" (Photo by author).

2010). Although numerous patent markings concerning the Ridgway name can be easily tracked down, tracing the exact date of the mark shown in Figure 6.2 has proved unsuccessful. However, there are clues which may be able to reveal the manufacturing date of this particular pattern. During the 1800s, vessels were stamped with marks that indicated which family members were in charge of the Ridgway name such as “RIDGWAY AND SONS”, “J & W RIDGWAY”, “J & W R” and “JWR”. However, vessels that were produced from the 1900s on typically exhibited marks that were less indicative of family affiliations and placed more emphasis on the Ridgway name as a trademark such as “Ridgeway of Staffordshire”, “Ridgway” and “RIDGWAY POTTERIES LTD” (Birks 2010). As such, this particular vessel was most likely produced sometime after the turn of the century.

Three ceramic fragments exhibiting partial maker’s marks (Figure 5.10, Figure 5.11, Figure 5.12) were recovered from FaNp-5 in Area 2. Even though an attempt to identify the partial mark exhibited in Figure 5.10 proved unsuccessful, the mark exhibited in Figure 5.11 was easily identified. Although the royal arms motif was widely used among Staffordshire potters, this particular image belongs to a mark used by “ARTHUR J. WILKINSON LTD.” from 1896 onwards at the Royal Staffordshire Pottery in Burslem (Birks 2010; Kovel & Kovel 1986:12). Unfortunately, the nature of fragmentation has obscured additional characteristics of the mark which could indicate the vessel’s exact date of manufacture. In regard to the third maker’s mark represented, in Figure 5.12, it is difficult to say with certainty which pottery this particular mark represents. It is assumed that the fragmented mark which reads “IM...IRONSTO...” reads “IMPERIAL IRONSTONE”. Therefore, it is believed that this mark most likely pertains to a patent used by “COCKSON & SEDDON” between 1875 and 1877 at the Globe Pottery in Cobridge, (Birks 2010).

A single plain porcelain gilded rim plate with a partial maker’s mark impressed on the base of the vessel (Figure 5.13) recovered from FaNp-5 in Feature 1 represents the only occurrence of this mark in all of the privy assemblages. This mark is comprised of two elements. The first consists of a transfer print stamped on the central base of the vessel. Unfortunately, the way in which the vessel was broken has resulted in only the partial remains of the mark. The second element of the maker’s mark consists of an impressed “T” and “H” placed on both sides of a miniature figurine. Unfortunately, an attempt to identify this particular mark proved unsuccessful.

Two partial maker's marks were identified on two ceramic fragments recovered from FaNp-5 in Feature 2. The first consists of a plain vitrified white earthenware plate with a partial maker's mark on the base that either reads "...W" or "M..." (Figure 5.14). The second maker's mark reads "ENGLAND" and is stamped on the base of a vitrified white earthenware plate decorated with an underglaze transfer print floral design (Figure 5.15). This maker's mark also appears to have an impressed crest above the "G". An attempt to identify the maker's of these marks proved unsuccessful.

A large servingware vessel, as well as several fragments of a large serving bowl or tureen, exhibited a "SEMI-PORCELAIN JOHNSON BROS ENGLAND" maker's mark and were all recovered from FaNp-5 in Feature 3. However, the maker's mark exhibited on the fragments relating to the large serving bowl or tureen was followed by a second element which consisted of a stamp that read "'R4-No 1311.86" which was likely a registration mark. "JOHNSON BROS" was founded in 1883 by four brothers, Henry, Robert, Alfred and Fred Johnson in Hanley. Known for the production of durable earthenware or white granite wares, "JOHNSON BROS" exists today as one of the largest producers of earthenwares in the world. During the late 1800s, "JOHNSON BROS" patent marks typically exhibited a royal arms motif with a lion on one side and a unicorn on the other side. As such, it is believed that this particular mark pertains to vessels manufactured closer to the turn of the 20th century (Birks 2010).

A plate part of a white earthenware polychrome underglaze transfer print set (Figure 5.17) which is now on display at the Marr Residence, exhibited a maker's mark that reads "DANE COLONIAL POTTERY STOKE ENGLAND" (Figure 5.18). Between 1890 and 1925 this particular mark was used by "F. WINKLE & CO" of Stoke-on-Trent.

Two makers are represented in the 11th Street privy feature recoveries at FaNp-31. The first mark was identified on a moulded white granite ware saucer with a maker's mark that read "IRON...J. & G. MEA...HANLEY...ENGLAND" (Figures 5.19, 5.20). In full, this mark would read "IRONSTONE CHINA J & G MEAKIN HANLEY ENGLAND". Established in 1851 in Hanley by James and George Meakin, "J & G MEAKIN" was known for its production of relatively inexpensive export wares and domestic tablewares for Western markets prior to 1945 (Birks 2010). The mark exhibited on this particular vessel was used after 1890 (Kovel & Kovel 1986:11).

The second maker was observed on a white earthenware saucer stamped with a maker’s mark that read “THOMAS FURNIVAL & SONS ENGLAND” (Figure 5.21). Established in 1851 in Cobridge, “THOMAS FURNIVAL & SONS” was known for its production of white granite wares and vitrified white earthenwares for western markets (Birks 2010). Early vessels produced by the company were stamped with a mark that simply read “FURNIVAL”. Later marks for the company included full printed names and marks such as “T. FURNIVAL & SONS” and “FURNIVALS LTD”. The mark exhibited on this particular vessel was used by the firm between the years of 1878 and 1890 (Birks 2010).

Artifacts relating to the secondary sub-activities of “Food Storage – Single Use” and “Food Storage – Multiple Use” were also recovered in high quantities from the various privy features, with items relating to canned foods being placed in the “Food Storage – Single Use” activity and crockery and re-sealable items such as jars being placed in the “Food Storage – Multiple Use” category. Although the presence of artifacts in these activity groups suggests a concern for preserving and maintaining a constant food supply, there is no indication as to the original contents of the canned items due to a lack of identifiable marks.

5.5.4 Social, Recreational & Indulgence

Table 5.13: Frequencies of artifacts in “Social, Recreational & Indulgence” primary activity

Secondary Sub-Activity Groups	T7 M3 & 4 (FaNp-5)	Area 2 (FaNp-5)	Feature 1 (FaNp-5)	Feature 2 (FaNp-5)	Area 1, TP2 Feature 3 (FaNp-5)	11th ST. Privy (FaNp-31)	Quantity (Total)		Percentage of Representation	
							FaNp-5	FaNp-31	FaNp-5	FaNp-31
Smoking	0	0	1	0	0	10	1	10	3.44%	66.67%
Alcohol	0	0	1	0	2	4	3	4	10.34%	26.67%
Music	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%
Sports	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%
Games	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	6.90%	0.00%
Photography	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%
Art	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	3.44%	0.00%
Teaware	0	9	0	4	4	0	17	0	58.62%	0.00%
Toys	0	2	0	0	3	1	5	1	17.24%	6.67%
TOTAL	0	11	2	6	10	15	29	15	100.00%	100.00%

Despite the fact that items relating to the “Social, Recreational & Indulgence” primary activity group were relatively few (Table 5.13), their presence alone serves as an indicator of very specific and interesting behaviours associated with both the Marr Residence and the 11th Street Privy site. This difference is more apparent when one takes into consideration the size differences of each of the individual privy features.

Ten fragments of clay smoking pipes representing a minimum of three complete pipes were recovered from the 11th Street privy in contrast to the one fragment recovered from the Marr Residence privies (Feature 1). Although the pipe fragment recovered from the Marr Residence did not exhibit any marks, two fragments recovered from the 11th Street privy exhibited partial marks representing a single maker (Figures 5.22, 5.23).

W.White, or William White and Sons based out of Glasgow, Scotland were one of the largest and best known producers of clay pipes during the 19th century. Pipes produced by William White and Sons were frequently stamped on the stem with a number followed by the name of the manufacturer (i.e. W.White). It was believed that the number was indicative of the model or style (Humphrey 1969:18). These clay pipes were quite popular during the early to mid 19th century. However, their popularity declined through the latter half of the 19th century as indicated by Fleming (1923:242) who stated that in 1867, 700 models of W.White clay pipes were in existence in contrast to the 10 models produced by W.White by 1900.

A total of eight artifacts pertaining to the secondary sub-activity of alcohol were recovered from both the Marr Residence and the 11th Street Privy site. However, it is important to note that items recovered from the Marr privies (i.e. Feature 1, Area 1, Test Pit 2 and Feature 3) were highly fragmented and primarily consisted of partial brandy and wine finishes and bases. Conversely, items recovered from the 11th Street privy primarily consisted of complete wine bottles. The implication of items related to “Smoking” and “Alcohol” in the privy features will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6 (Discussion of the Material Culture).

Ceramic fragments relating to “Teaware” were only found in the Marr privies and as with other ceramic fragments discussed in the “Food Preparation & Use” section, these fragments also exhibited a wide variety of decoration and styles (Figures 5.24, 5.25). The implication of these items will also be discussed in the succeeding chapter.

There is evidence to suggest that children and concepts of play are also represented in some of the Marr privies (Area 2, Area 1, Test Pit 2 and Feature 3) as well as the 11th Street privy. These items and concepts will also be discussed in fuller detail in the succeeding chapter.



Figure 5.22: Cat # 162 (FaNp-31 11th Street Privy): Clay pipe stem fragment: "209...W.WHITE..." (Photo by author).



Figure 5.23: Cat # 162 (FaNp-31 11th Street Privy): Clay pipe stem fragment: "...ASGOW" (Photo by author).



Figure 5.24: Cat # 7117 (FaNp-5 Area 1, Test Pit 2): Porcelain saucer with polychrome underglaze transfer print floral design (Photo by author).



Figure 5.25: Cat # 7118 - 7120 (FaNp-5 Area 1, Test Pit 2): Porcelain saucer with polychrome underglaze and overglaze painted floral design (Photo by author).

5.5.5 Education & Communications

Table 5.14: Frequencies of artifacts in “Education & Communication” primary activity

Secondary Sub-Activity Groups	T7 M3 & 4 (FaNp-5)	Area 2 (FaNp-5)	Feature 1 (FaNp-5)	Feature 2 (FaNp-5)	Area 1, TP2 Feature 3 (FaNp-5)	11th ST. Privy (FaNp-31)	Quantity (Total)		Percentage of Representation	
							FaNp-5	FaNp-31	FaNp-5	FaNp-31
Reading	0	4	0	2	1	0	7	0	41.18%	0.00%
Writing	0	0	1	0	9	1	10	1	58.82%	100.00%
Telecommunications	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%
TOTAL	0	4	1	2	10	1	17	1	100.00%	100.00%

Items relating to this primary activity consisted of writing implements such as pencil fragments, ink bottles, a chalk board fragment and newspaper fragments (Table 5.14). Although some of the newspaper fragments were illegible, four fragments recovered from FaNp-5 in Area 2 exhibited legible writing. Although it is difficult to say with certainty if these fragments are part of the same column or section, one fragment appears to belong to an advertisement as suggested by the bolded word “...work...” and a partial sentence which reads “...ing 2½ lb. grey work...ompletely machine-...size 11. Stock...”.



Figure 5.26: Cat # 7914-7916 (FaNp-5 Area 2): Newspaper fragments (Photo by author).

5.5.6 Household Furnishings

Table 5.15: Frequencies of artifacts in “Household Furnishings” primary activity

Secondary Sub-Activity Groups	T7 M3 & 4 (FaNp-5)	Area 2 (FaNp-5)	Feature 1 (FaNp-5)	Feature 2 (FaNp-5)	Area 1, TP2 Feature 3 (FaNp-5)	11th ST. Privy (FaNp-31)	Quantity (Total)		Percentage of Representation	
							FaNp-5	FaNp-31	FaNp-5	FaNp-31
Decoration	0	7	0	0	1	0	8	0	88.89%	0.00%
Furniture	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	11.11%	0.00%
TOTAL	0	8	0	0	1	0	9	0	100.00%	0.00%

Although the “Household Furnishings” group is not represented very well in any of the privy features, some items were found to be associated with this primary activity. These items primarily consisted of fragments of a glass vase. A lone bed spring as well as a broken knob was also found to belong to this group (Table 5.15).

It should be of no surprise that secondary-sub activities such as “Decoration” and “Furniture” are not very well represented in these privy features as these items were presumably more durable than items such as ceramic plates and children’s toys. On the chance that these items did break, other means of disposal were likely used. However, since the Saskatoon area lacked a proper nuisance ground for quite some time, it is assumed that larger waste such as old furniture found its way down the valley edge of the South Saskatchewan River or perhaps were even burned in controlled fire pits or burning barrels as was standard practice at the time.

5.5.7 Household Maintenance

Table 5.16: Frequencies of artifacts in “Household Maintenance” primary activity

Secondary Sub-Activity Groups	T7 M3 & 4 (FaNp-5)	Area 2 (FaNp-5)	Feature 1 (FaNp-5)	Feature 2 (FaNp-5)	Area 1, TP2 Feature 3 (FaNp-5)	11th ST. Privy (FaNp-31)	Quantity (Total)		Percentage of Representation	
							FaNp-5	FaNp-31	FaNp-5	FaNp-31
Laundry	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	4.17%	0.00%
Sewing	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%
Cleaning	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%
Lighting/Heating	0	43	1	0	1	0	45	0	93.75%	0.00%
Gardening	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	2.08%	0.00%
TOTAL	0	43	1	0	4	0	48	0	100.00%	0.00%

A majority of the items relating to “Household Furnishings” consisted of broken lamp and chimney glass fragments related to “Lighting/Heating” (Table 5.16). Other items recovered included clothespin fragments as well as a partial terra cotta flower pot.

5.5.8 Architectural

Table 5.17: Frequencies of artifacts in “Architectural” primary activity

Secondary Sub-Activity Groups	T7 M3 & 4 (FaNp-5)	Area 2 (FaNp-5)	Feature 1 (FaNp-5)	Feature 2 (FaNp-5)	Area 1, TP2 Feature 3 (FaNp-5)	11th St. Privy (FaNp-31)	Quantity (Total)		Percentage of Representation	
							FaNp-5	FaNp-31	FaNp-5	FaNp-31
Building Material	3	3	0	8	12	6	26	6	1.14%	11.76%
Window Material	21	22	206	215	549	5	1013	5	44.53%	9.80%
Hardware	43	145	214	286	548	40	1236	40	54.33%	78.43%
TOTAL	67	170	420	509	1109	51	2275	51	100.00%	100.00%

A majority of the items relating to “Architectural” consisted of fragmented window glass as well as hardware such as finishing nails, machine cut nails, wire nails, roofing nails, and screws (Table 5.17). Other items such as tile, linoleum, clinker and chinking fragments, tool fragments (i.e. screwdriver) and miscellaneous hardware’s such as door hinges were also recovered from the various privy assemblages.

5.5.9 Transportation

Table 5.18: Frequencies of artifacts in “Transportation” primary activity

Secondary Sub-Activity Groups	T7 M3 & 4 (FaNp-5)	Area 2 (FaNp-5)	Feature 1 (FaNp-5)	Feature 2 (FaNp-5)	Area 1, TP2 Feature 3 (FaNp-5)	11th St. Privy (FaNp-31)	Quantity (Total)		Percentage of Representation	
							FaNp-5	FaNp-31	FaNp-5	FaNp-31
Animal Powered	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%
Machine Powered	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	100.00%	0.00%
Railway	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%
TOTAL	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0.00%	0.00%

A single chrome strip from an automobile comprises of the only item comprising the “Transportation” primary activity (Table 5.18). However, it is important to note one should not expect to see a high concentration of “Transportation” items in turn-of-the-century privy features as these items did not break down as easily and even if they did, would have most likely been abandoned on the property or elsewhere. Also, it is important to keep in mind that although Saskatoon was initially established as a rural community, the rapid expansion and growth of Saskatoon following the establishment of the railway would have changed this environment quite rapidly including the use of other differing modes of public transportation.

5.5.10 Hunting & Defence

Table 5.19: Frequencies of artifacts in “Hunting & Defence” primary activity

Secondary Sub-Activity Groups	T7 M3 & 4 (FaNp-5)	Area 2 (FaNp-5)	Feature 1 (FaNp-5)	Feature 2 (FaNp-5)	Area 1, TP2 Feature 3 (FaNp-5)	11th St. Privy (FaNp-31)	Quantity (Total)		Percentage of Representation	
							FaNp-5	FaNp-31	FaNp-5	FaNp-31
Arms	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%
Ammunition	1	1	0	0	0	2	2	2	100.00%	100.00%
TOTAL	1	1	0	0	0	2	2	2	100.00%	100.00%

Two complete .22 gauge brass rimfire cartridge cases manufactured by “Dominion Cartridge Co.” in Montreal, Canada were the only artifacts comprising the “Hunting & Defence” primary activity (Table 5.19). These items were most likely the result of pasttime activities such as a hunting expedition. At least one occupant of the Marr Residence, William Henry Sinclair, is known to have been an avid hunter (Duerkop 1978:5).

5.5.11 Fishing & Trapping

Table 5.20: Frequencies of artifacts in “Fishing & Trapping” primary activity

Secondary Sub-Activity Groups	T7 M3 & 4 (FaNp-5)	Area 2 (FaNp-5)	Feature 1 (FaNp-5)	Feature 2 (FaNp-5)	Area 1, TP2 Feature 3 (FaNp-5)	11th St. Privy (FaNp-31)	Quantity (Total)		Percentage of Representation	
							FaNp-5	FaNp-31	FaNp-5	FaNp-31
Fishing	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	100.00%	0.00%
Trapping	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%
TOTAL	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	100.00%	0.00%

A single fishing hook was found to relate to the “Fishing & Trapping” activity group (Table 5.20). Similar to the “Hunting & Defence” activity group, this primary activity most likely pertained to a leisure activity. However, from our discussion in Chapter 2 (Saskatoon at the Turn of the 20th Century), we know that fishing in the portion of the South Saskatchewan River immediately adjacent to the settlements post 1890 probably was not the smartest idea and could probably explain the lack of artifacts pertaining to “Fishing”.

5.5.10 Unclassified

Table 5.21: Frequencies of artifacts in “Unclassified” primary activity

Secondary Sub-Activity Groups	T7 M3 & 4 (FaNp-5)	Area 2 (FaNp-5)	Feature 1 (FaNp-5)	Feature 2 (FaNp-5)	Area 1, TP2 Feature 3 (FaNp-5)	11th ST. Privy (FaNp-31)	Quantity (Total)		Percentage of Representation	
							FaNp-5	FaNp-31	FaNp-5	FaNp-31
Unclassified Ceramic	10	37	35	27	36	11	145	11	32.22%	30.56%
Unclassified Ceramic Container	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%
Unclassified Fabric	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%
Unclassified Glass	3	19	7	23	99	3	151	3	33.56%	8.33%
Unclassified Glass Container	1	8	5	18	98	14	130	14	28.89%	38.89%
Unclassified Leather	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0.22%	0.00%
Unclassified Metal	0	4	0	5	6	5	15	5	3.33%	13.89%
Unclassified Metal Container	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	0.00%	5.55%
Unclassified Metal Fastener	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0.22%	0.00%
Unclassified Organic	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%
Unclassified Other	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0.22%	2.78%
Unclassified Plastic	0	3	0	0	2	0	5	0	1.11%	0.00%
Unclassified Rubber	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0.22%	0.00%
TOTAL	14	71	48	73	244	36	450	36	100.00%	100.00%

As expected with any historic archaeological analysis, there are artifacts which could not be accurately identified in accordance with the functional classification scheme proposed in Table 5.1. As such these artifacts were deemed as “Unclassified” and placed in secondary-sub activity groups defined by material types (Table 5.21). Items that could lend themselves towards a better understanding of turn of the century urban consumer behaviour include a variety of ceramic fragments exhibiting partial and identifiable designs as well as moulded and pressed glass fragments and containers exhibiting a wide variety of moulded and pressed designs. The nature of the artifacts’ breakage patterning has hindered the author’s ability to identify these artifacts. However, future research may potentially yield new information as to the original form and function of these artifacts.

5.5.11 Unclassifiable

Table 5.22: Frequencies of artifacts in “Unclassifiable” primary activity

Secondary Sub-Activity Groups	T7 M3 & 4 (FaNp-5)	Area 2 (FaNp-5)	Feature 1 (FaNp-5)	Feature 2 (FaNp-5)	Area 1, TP2 Feature 3 (FaNp-5)	11th ST. Privy (FaNp-31)	Quantity (Total)		Percentage of Representation	
							FaNp-5	FaNp-31	FaNp-5	FaNp-31
Unclassifiable Ceramic	12	41	61	40	35	5	189	5	10.38%	9.09%
Unclassifiable Ceramic Container	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%
Unclassifiable Fabric	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%
Unclassifiable Glass	24	138	265	217	600	38	1244	38	68.31%	69.09%
Unclassifiable Glass Container	6	8	1	6	21	1	42	1	2.31%	1.82%
Unclassifiable Leather	0	0	0	1	0	5	1	5	0.05%	9.09%
Unclassifiable Metal	4	75	22	79	19	2	199	2	10.93%	3.64%
Unclassifiable Metal Container	0	0	0	0	122	4	122	4	6.70%	7.27%
Unclassifiable Metal Fastener	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%
Unclassifiable Organic	2	1	0	1	9	0	13	0	0.71%	0.00%
Unclassifiable Other	0	0	0	3	5	0	8	0	0.44%	0.00%
Unclassifiable Plastic	0	0	0	2	1	0	3	0	0.16%	0.00%
Unclassifiable Rubber	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	0.00%
TOTAL	48	263	349	349	812	55	1821	55	100.00%	100.00%

Similar to “Unclassified” artifacts, those which were deemed as “Unclassifiable” were also placed in secondary sub-activity groups defined by material types (Table 5.22). These items would not lend themselves to a better understanding of turn of the century urban consumer behaviour and will not benefit from further research due to the nature of their breakage as well as their state of preservation.

5.6 Discussion

Although one should always take into account the inherent time lag in material culture recovered from archaeological assemblages (Adams 2003), an analysis of these goods in terms of production and manufacturer marks can still reveal to us not only where these goods originated, but the range of goods available for acquisition during the occupational span of the site under investigation. In the case of the present study, all of the identifiable maker’s marks were used by potters located in the Staffordshire district of England from 1875 up until the turn of the 20th century, with terminal dates ranging from as early as 1877 to as late as 1925. When the dates for these maker’s marks are compared with one another, an overlap of dates extending from 1890 into the turn of the 20th century seems to be most prevalent. In particular, the assemblages recovered from the Marr privies date to the turn of the century and the 11th Street Privy assemblage dates to the 1890s. However, as stated above, these dates do not necessarily reflect the occupational span of the privy features. Rather, they reflect the dates at which these particular goods were manufactured and available for acquisition.

Several of the glass and bottle fragments provide us with additional information in regards to the production and manufacturing of particular goods. Twelve bottle fragments with hand applied finishes were recovered from FaNp-5 in Feature 3 while nine fragments were recovered from FaNp-31. This method of bottle manufacturing was common between the early years of the 19th century up until the 1910s and consisted of an additional application of glass at the end of the bottle neck where the blowpipe was removed. This blob of hot glass was then shaped using a hand held finishing tool. The resulting applied finish would be characterised by a rough and noticeable seam at the point where the additional glass blob was applied to the bottleneck (Lindsey 2010). Three fragments of bases exhibiting a mark commonly referred to as an “Owen’s Suction Scar” were recovered from Area 2, Feature 1 and Feature 3 with none

represented in the 11th Street privy assemblage. These marks are commonly found on the bases of bottles produced by the Owens Automatic Bottle Machine circa 1905 to the mid or late 1920s and are created when a mechanical blade cuts the glass being drawn up into the mould, resulting in a feathered circular or oval seam at the base of the bottle (Lindsey 2010).

From the analysis presented above, it appears that most of the privies (i.e. FaNp-5 Area 2, Feature 1, Feature 3) were or remained in active use up until at least 1905. Conversely, the FaNp-5 Feature 3 and FaNp-31 11th Street privies seem to be the only ones that have items that were either acquired or deposited prior to the turn of the 20th century. However, when one takes into account the various maker's marks identified through the privy features, it does appear that the 11th Street privy was used during the 1890s in opposition to the Marr privies, which appear to have been used following the turn of the 20th century. The only oddity here is Feature 3, which contains artifacts that were produced prior to and following the turn of the century. This uniqueness can be explained in a number of ways. First off, it is quite possible that Feature 3 was in constant use prior to and following the turn of the 20th century as the feature is quite large and contains the highest abundance of artifacts out of all of the privy features. Another scenario could be that older artifacts (i.e. hand applied finish bottles) were curated items and were deposited in the privy after being damaged or were left behind by past occupants and deposited in the privy by newer occupants cleaning up the property. However, it is important to note that there was a long transition period extending into the 1910s where hand applied finished bottles existed alongside bottles produced by automatic bottle machines. Whatever the case may be in regards to the earlier artifacts, it is clear that Feature 3 was in active use following the turn of the 20th century.

5.7 Summary and Conclusion

A wide variety of artifacts was recovered from privy features identified in both the Marr Residence and the 11th Street Privy site. However, as indicated in Chapter 2 (Saskatoon at the Turn of the 20th Century), it is important to always keep in mind that the privy assemblages only represent a partial sample of turn of the century urban consumer behaviour. Although small and fragile discarded items such as ceramic vessels and alcohol bottles may have made their way down the privy hole and out of harm's way, other larger and conceivably more durable items

may have continued to be used by the household or deposited elsewhere. Nevertheless, these privy assemblages provide us with an excellent opportunity to gain insight into activities and behaviours that are more intimately related to the individual's personal tastes, whereas items such as servingware and tableware vessels can reveal to us how a particular household perceived of the idea of family meals. Other items such as children's toys can reveal to us particular attitudes on childrearing. Of course, the question here is why did these occupants or households decide to acquire these particular goods when other similar goods were available? The succeeding chapter will attempt to delineate the presence of particular artifacts and artifact classes as they relate to turn of the century urban consumer behaviour.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION OF THE MATERIAL CULTURE

6.1 A Consideration of the Functional Categories

The purpose of the previous chapter was to analyze the archaeological assemblage from each privy feature in accordance with the primary activity and secondary sub-activity groupings proposed in Table 5.1. Not only does this method of analysis provide us with a potential for understanding the behaviours associated with the privies, but it also reveals to us which activity classes are most represented in the individual assemblages. However, it is important to note that the artifacts represented in the privy assemblages do not necessarily reflect the entire range of activities occurring in the Saskatoon area at the turn of the 20th century.

There are several interesting points that are observable in Table 6.1 in regard to turn of the century consumer behaviour. Although there is some deviation as to which activities are represented or not represented, those activities that are more distant from the individual (i.e. Household Furnishings, Household Maintenance, Transportation, Hunting & Defence, Fishing & Trapping) are infrequently represented in the assemblages. Conversely, activities that are more intimately tied to the individual and the home (i.e. Food Preparation & Use, Personal, Social, Recreational & Indulgence) frequently comprise those activities that are best represented in the assemblages. Two activity groupings (i.e. Health & Hygiene, Education & Communications) are consistently represented in the assemblages but not represented very well while three activity groups (i.e. Architectural, Unclassifiable, Unclassified) are consistently those that are represented the most in each of the individual assemblages. However, it is important to note that the high ranking of these three activity groups are the result of inherent physical characteristics of the artifacts themselves (i.e. fragmentation).

Based on the functional analysis, it is possible that individuals residing on the properties studied here placed attention on activities that conveyed the household's public persona to the outside world; that is, activities that communicated to the public world the household's perceived image of its public self. Although the abundance of items associated with the primary functional activities "Food Preparation & Use" and "Social, Recreational and Indulgence" could be explained in terms of the high breakage rate of fragile items such as glass and ceramic vessels,

Table 6.1 Ranking of Activities Represented in Each Privy Feature

Rank	T7, M3 & 4 n = 136	Area 1, TP 2 n = 562	Area 2 n = 631	Feature 1 n = 864	Feature 2 n = 984	Feature 3 n = 1697	11th Street n = 222
1	Architectural	Architectural	Unclassifiable	Architectural	Architectural	Architectural	Unclassifiable
2	Unclassifiable	Unclassifiable	Architectural	Unclassifiable	Unclassifiable	Unclassifiable	Architectural
3	Unclassified	Unclassified	Unclassified	Unclassified	Unclassified	Unclassified	Food Preparation & Use
4	Personal	Food Preparation & Use	Food Preparation & Use	Food Preparation & Use	Food Preparation & Use	Food Preparation & Use	Unclassified
5	Food Preparation & Use	Personal	Household Maintenance	Health & Hygiene	Personal	Health & Hygiene	Social,Recreational & Indulgence
6	Hunting & Defence	Social,Recreational & Indulgence	Social,Recreational & Indulgence	Personal	Social,Recreational & Indulgence	Education & Communications	Personal
7	Health & Hygiene Not Represented	Household Maintenance	Household Furnishings	Social,Recreational & Indulgence	Health & Hygiene	Personal	Health & Hygiene
8	Social,Recreational & Indulgence Not Represented	Health & Hygiene	Education & Communications	Education & Communications	Education & Communications	Social,Recreational & Indulgence	Hunting & Defence
9	Education & Communications Not Represented	Household Furnishings	Health & Hygiene	Household Maintenance	Household Furnishings Not Represented	Household Furnishings Not Represented	Education & Communications
10	Household Furnishings Not Represented	Fishing & Trapping	Personal	Household Furnishings Not Represented	Household Maintenance Not Represented	Household Maintenance Not Represented	Household Furnishings Not Represented
11	Household Maintenance Not Represented	Education & Communications Not Represented	Transportation	Transportation Not Represented	Transportation Not Represented	Transportation Not Represented	Household Maintenance Not Represented
12	Transportation Not Represented	Transportation Not Represented	Hunting & Defence	Hunting & Defence Not Represented	Hunting & Defence Not Represented	Hunting & Defence Not Represented	Transportation Not Represented
13	Fishing & Trapping Not Represented	Hunting & Defence Not Represented	Fishing & Trapping Not Represented	Fishing & Trapping Not Represented	Fishing & Trapping Not Represented	Fishing & Trapping Not Represented	Fishing & Trapping Not Represented

they could also reflect a concern to maintain and repeat certain behaviours. These primary functional activities take precedence over other primary functional activities such as “Personal” and “Health & Hygiene”. Although the ranking of the “Health & Hygiene” primary activity could be explained in terms of the high fragmentation rate of glass bottles which could result in a majority of these items being deemed by the author as “Unclassified” or “Unclassifiable”, the lack of items represented in the primary activity “Personal” should be considered in regard to other means of household refuse disposal or even continued use and curation beyond the individual’s stay on the property.

It also appears that there was a tendency among these individuals to acquire specific material goods pertaining to particular activities; in especially, goods that demonstrated the

individual's personal taste in terms of preferred items of material culture. This tendency is most apparent in the functional activities of "Food Preparation & Use" and "Social, Recreational & Indulgence". Not only are these functional activities among the best represented in each of the individual privy features, but the diversity inherent in each material and functional class provides us with a unique opportunity to explore differential consumer behaviour as it relates to the maintenance and reproduction of specific behavioural characteristics.

With this information in mind, the remainder of this chapter will take the analysis one step further by focusing on specific consumer behavioural trends associated with each of the individual assemblages. Whereas the previous chapter concerned itself with all of the artifacts and artifact types associated with each of the individual assemblages, this chapter will only place attention on those artifacts and artifact types that can lend themselves to a higher level of interpretation and discussion and explain how trends exhibited in these artifacts and artifact classes may be explained in terms of consumer behaviour.

Unfortunately, the lack of an established relationship between the occupants of the household and the privy assemblages prevents us from delineating specific consumer behavioural attitudes practiced by each of the occupants. However, this lack of correlation in regard to individuals, households and privy assemblages forces us to embrace a more holistic approach to interpretation and let the artifacts speak for themselves. By conceptualizing artifacts and artifact types as individual, intentional and communicative acts articulated and interpreted by socially motivated actors (Cook et al 1996:52), we enable ourselves to ascertain a more complete understanding of the role of material goods and how they played into the story of the Saskatoon area at the turn of the 20th century. The following is a discussion of some of the possible manifestations of these particular behaviours within the material culture recovered from the Marr Residence and the 11th Street Privy site.

6.2 The Marr Residence (FaNp-5)

Throughout the years, five privy features have been identified and excavated. Although it is difficult to determine not only the exact temporal span of each individual privy feature, it is difficult to correlate which privy feature is associated with which occupant of the property at any particular point in time. Furthermore, even though it is possible that some of the privy features

identified and excavated on the property were contemporaneous with one another, it is likely that these privy features represent more than one individual or household that occupied the property. Although this may appear detrimental to the objective of the current thesis project, this scenario may prove to be more beneficial to an exploration of consumer behaviour because it forces the analysis and discussion to seek out generalities and observable trends exhibited in the material culture.

6.2.1 Matching Ceramic Sets: Instruments of Continuity?

What may initially appear to be scattered fragments of seemingly unrelated ceramic vessels may in fact reflect a larger trend in turn of the century consumer behaviour. This is not to say that the various occupants of the site were all acquiring the exact same array of material goods as one another. Indeed there is a wide variety of ceramic vessels of variable quality adorned with an assortment of decorative styles and motifs recovered throughout the site. Rather, the statement being made here is that it appears there is a tendency among the various occupants to acquire ceramic vessels exhibiting specific traits; in particular, those adorned with floral and naturalistic designs.

A wide variety of ceramic types exhibiting floral and naturalistic designs have been recovered from each of the individual privy features (Figures 5.8, 5.17, 5.24, 5.25, 6.1, 6.2, 6.3, 6.4, 6.5, 6.6). Not only are these ceramic vessels of differing wares and qualities, but the method in which the design was applied to the vessel ranges from underglaze transfer prints to overglaze painted (Table 6.1). Out of all of the ceramic artifacts recovered from the Marr Residence, 29.25% were found to exhibit the characteristics mentioned above. However, it is important to note that the quantitative total of particular ceramic types represented in historic archaeological assemblages should always be considered in relation to the unpredictable nature of ceramic fragmentations, the bias in archaeological preservation and the fact that subsequent land disturbances have shifted artifacts around and out of context. Nevertheless, what is known is the fact that these floral and naturalistic designs can be found on any ceramic ware type from any of the privy features (with the exception of FaNp-5 Area 2 and Trench 7, metres 3 & 4 which are only partial samples of the pertaining privy assemblage). Although a majority of these artifacts were highly fragmented which prevented the author from making a positive identification of the vessel type or the functional affiliation, the fact that ceramics exhibiting these particular

Table 6.2: Quantity of Floral and Naturalistic Decorative Styles for FaNp-5 by Unit

Ware Type & Method of Decoration For Floral and Naturalistic Motifs	T7 M3 & 4	Area 2	Feature 1	Feature 2	Area 1, TP2 Feature 3	Quantity (Total)	Percentage of Total in Relation To Ceramics Present in Privy Assemblages (total/441)
White Earthenware							
Underglaze Transfer Print	0	23	23	14	9	69	15.65%
Overglaze Transfer Print	0	2	0	0	1	3	0.68%
V. White Earthenware							
Underglaze Transfer Print	3	9	3	8	13	36	8.16%
Overglaze Transfer Print	0	0	1	0	0	1	0.23%
Moulded	0	0	0	0	1	1	0.23%
Porcelain							
Underglaze Transfer Print	0	0	0	3	1	4	0.91%
Overglaze Transfer Print	0	0	1	0	1	2	0.45%
Underglaze Painted	0	0	0	0	3	3	0.68%
Overglaze Painted	0	0	1	7	0	8	1.81%
Gilded	0	0	0	1	0	1	0.23%
Moulded	0	0	0	1	0	1	0.23%
TOTAL	3	34	29	34	29	129	29.25%

decorative themes were recovered from multiple privy features throughout the site suggests, at the very least, a preference for a particular ceramic decorative style or motif that is shared among various occupants of the residence.

We must consider two possible scenarios as to how the occupant or households may have used the privy features. The first scenario considers each of the Marr privy features as successive structures used by a single occupant or household. In this context, the prevalence of ceramic vessels with similar floral and naturalistic motifs (Figures 6.3, 6.4, 6.5, 6.6) in different privy features could be explained in terms of breakage throughout the lifecycle of the household. As ceramic vessels broke as a result of wear and tear and everyday use, they would have been disposed of down the privy hole. As one privy hole was eventually filled, another one would be opened up and also used as a discard area for household refuse. Whether these households were replacing these broken vessels with other vessels adorned with floral and naturalistic motifs is unknown. However, what is known is the fact that these occupants or households had in their possession a variety of ceramic vessels decorated with floral and naturalistic motifs.

The second scenario that will be discussed considers the possibility of renters taking up residence on the property. Although it is known who owned the property at the turn of the 20th century (Table 2.1), it is not known whether these owners occupied the property or if they were taking in boarders. It is important to consider the possibility of this scenario as it does change the relationship between the occupants of the household and the individual privy features as well as the significance of these particular ceramic ware and vessel types. Since the turnover rate of renters is quite high, it is assumed that multiple individuals may have been using the same privy.

It is unlikely that these individuals would have brought these vessels with them; however, the presence of multiple ceramic sets in the privy features seem to suggest a discard behaviour akin to processes of site abandonment (which will be discussed at the end of this section). If this is the case, it would imply that renters had acquired these particular ceramic vessels while staying at the property, only to abandon them in the privy hole. Although it is quite possible that floral and naturalistic ceramic vessels were simply more accessible, the presence of plain ceramics with colour or gilded bands along the rims indicates to us that other, and presumably cheaper options were readily available.

It is suggested here that motifs exhibited on ceramic vessels recovered from each of the individual privy assemblages may have been used as an “object-code” used by the occupants to establish a sense of continuity in the face of economic change (McCracken 1988:131; Sahlin 1976:178).

Goods establish an opportunity for a community to express and contemplate cultural meaning in a medium other than language, and to do so in a way that positively aids both the reform and the preservation of this meaning. Goods, as Sahlin’s “object-code”, allow meaning to be made visible and they allow for its use as an agent of change and continuity. It is in these capacities that goods serve as a means by which the continual change of developed Western societies is both encouraged and endured (McCracken 1988:131).

Consumerist societies are characterized by their willingness to submit and embrace change (Douglas and Isherwood 1996:69; Majewski & Schiffer 2001:27; McCracken 1988:131; Miller 1987:185; Robbins 1999:12). From our discussion in Chapter 2 (Saskatoon at the Turn of the 20th Century), we know that Saskatoon was engaged in a process of economic growth by the turn of the 20th century. With this growth came not only a huge influx of new people and ideas but also a wide variety of material goods. Although change and progress was felt across the entire Saskatoon area, it especially impacted those residing in Nutana, in particular, those with ties to the early days of the settlement of Nutana. As outlined in Table 2.1, we know that all of the occupants of the Marr Residence at the turn of the 20th century (with the exception of James H. Thompson) had ties to the first settlers of the region. Although it is difficult to say with certainty whether these individuals abided by the ideals set forth by the Temperance Colonization Society

or not, what is known is that the settlement's geographical landscape, with its carefully planned countryside layout, drew people to the area and enticed them to stay.

Initially, the presence of floral and naturalistic designs on ceramic vessels may have served as the household's extension of this naturalistic utopia as physical, concrete items of public display. However, as the Saskatoon area grew and progressed into the 20th century, these floral and naturalistic designs may have served as a means by which these individuals stabilized the progressively chaotic world around them as reminders of times less hectic. However, it is recognized that this suggestion does require further archaeological research in order to corroborate its possible validity. An archaeological investigation of similar households in Riversdale and Saskatoon during this time frame coupled with further investigations of historic archaeological sites in the Nutana area would provide researchers with enough evidence to either corroborate or refute this suggestion. Unfortunately, since comparative samples currently do not exist, the author presents this particular discussion as a possible explanation for the prevalence of ceramic vessels exhibiting floral and naturalistic motifs.

In the context of this argument, the variability of ceramic ware types and modes of decoration may be explained in terms of differential access which of course, cannot be thoroughly investigated due to a lack of correlation between individuals, households and privies. However, there is evidence to suggest that the individuals and households associated with these privy features may have enjoyed a similar level of 'socioeconomic comfort' as suggested by the similar ranges of artifacts represented in each of the individual assemblages such as similar ceramic ware types and vessel types. Further evidence is provided by the presence of white earthenware and vitrified white earthenware fragments exhibiting a blue underglaze transfer print floral design (Figures 6.1, 6.2) and vitrified white earthenware fragments exhibiting a brown underglaze transfer print geometric and floral design (Figures 6.3, 6.4) which has been recovered from almost every one of the privy assemblages (Table 6.3). Not only does this example support this idea of commonality shared among the various occupants, but it also suggests a concern among the occupants to engage in behaviours relating to the custom of family meals (Cook et al 1996:57; Wall 1991).

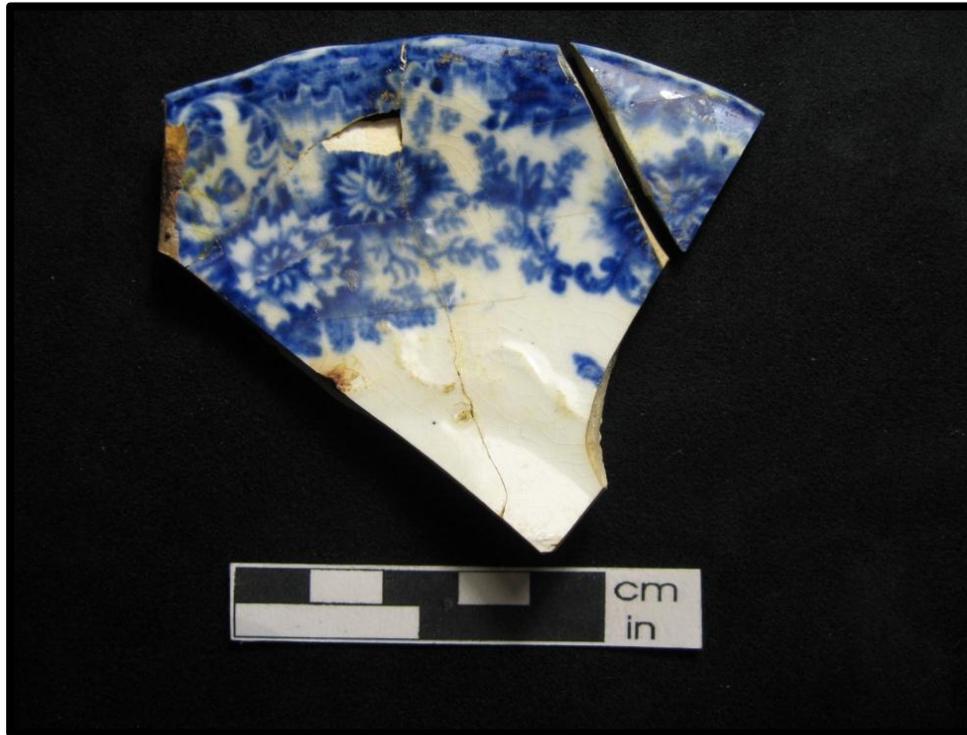


Figure 6.1: Cat # 7831-7834 (FaNp-5 Area 2): White earthenware fragment with blue underglaze transfer print floral design (Photo by author).



Figure 6.2: Cat # 7822-7830 (FaNp-5 Area 2): Vitrified white earthenware hollowware vessel with blue underglaze transfer print floral design (Photo by author).



Figure 6.3: Cat # 7814-7816 (FaNp-5 Area 2): Vitrified white earthenware fragment with brown underglaze transfer print geometric and floral design (Photo by author).



Figure 6.4: Cat # 11118 (FaNp-5 Feature 3): Vitrified white earthenware fragment with brown underglaze transfer print geometric and floral design (Photo by author).

Table 6.3: Quantity of Blue Underglaze Transfer Print Floral Design and Brown Underglaze Transfer Print Geometric and Floral Decorative Styles for FaNp-5 by Unit

Decorative Style	T7, M3 & 4	Area 2	Feature 1	Feature 2	Area 1, TP2 Feature 3	Quantity (Total)	Percentage of Total In Relation To Ceramics Present in Privy Assemblages (total/441)
Blue Underglaze Transfer Print Floral Design	3	22	16	10	17	68	15.42%
Brown Underglaze Transfer Print Geometric Floral Design	0	9	1	3	1	14	3.17%
TOTAL	3	31	17	13	18	82	18.59%

Although only one complete tableware set has been identified thus far (Figure 5.17), it is suggested that sets comprised of vessels exhibiting a blue underglaze transfer print floral design (Figures 6.1, 6.2), vessels exhibiting a brown underglaze transfer print geometric and floral design (Figures 6.3, 6.4) and vessels exhibiting a polychrome underglaze transfer print floral design (Figures 6.5, 6.6) still lie fragmented in the Marr Residence archaeological dataset. An attempt was made by the author to refit similar ceramic fragments. Although several fragments were refitted, they failed to yield an indication in regard to the number of vessels represented in the Marr Residence assemblage. Despite this uncertainty in regard to the actual number of servingware and tableware sets represented in the Marr Residence assemblage, the presence of at least one matching set serves as a public record of meaning used to communicate particular principles of the household to outside members.

[G]oods are something more than a mere diacritic of culture. They do more than merely exhibit it. They are indeed very much like an advertisement. They seek not only to describe but also to persuade. When culture appears in objects, it seeks to make itself appear inevitable, as the only sensible terms in which anyone can constitute their world. Culture uses objects to convince (McCracken 1988:132).

Cook et al (1996:57) and Wall (1991:78) suggest that matching ceramic sets should be conceptualized as reflections of similar or differing attitudes in regards to the serving of meals. Although it is acknowledged that differential economic worth and access does play a role in the presence of particular types of ceramic vessels in historic archaeological sites, both Cook et al (1996:57) and Wall (1991) argue that differential ceramic assemblages should not be interpreted



Figure 6.5: Cat # 11543 & 11557-11558 (FaNp-5 Feature 2): 2 vitrified white earthenware cups with polychrome underglaze transfer print floral design (Photo by author).



Figure 6.6: Cat # 14278 (FaNp-5 Feature 3): Vitrified white earthenware sugar bowl with polychrome underglaze transfer print floral design (Photo by author).

as simple reflections of the item's cost in regard to the individual's capability to acquire it. Rather, they should be interpreted as expressions of different attitudes of "differing socially-motivated actions that were in essence different rituals" (Cook et al 1996:57). It is believed that the presence of matching sets in the Marr Residence assemblage also reflected this notion of "socially motivated actions" which were intended to be the "focus of family life" (Wall 1991:78). In other words, matching sets in the Marr Residence assemblage adorned with similar floral and naturalistic patterns may have been used to place emphasis on the constant and familiar tradition of family meals (Clark 1986:42; Wall 1991:78). This action may have been the occupants' or household's way of not only maintaining and stabilizing the world around them through regular and familiar traditions, but as a means to communicate the presence of these ideals to the public world in the midst of Saskatoon's progression into "modernity".

Deposition or abandonment of complete ceramic vessels or sets into the privy features reveals to us aspects of consumer behaviour that are tied to the life history of the artifacts themselves. Wheeler (2000) suggests that abandonment behaviour (i.e. large concentrations of complete vessels in privy assemblages) may be indicative of the terminal stages of a household's lifecycle or rather, a change in the property's ownership or inhabitants. However, as indicated earlier, since we cannot determine with certainty which occupant or household was using these privies, we have to consider two possible scenarios and the implications that these scenarios have on the privy assemblages.

As Wheeler stated (2000:11), disposal options for small urban households prior to the advent of municipal trash removal systems would have been limited. As such, it was up to the household to take advantage of opportunities closer to home to dispose of their unwanted material goods. In this instance, privy holes would have served as opportune places to dispose of such material goods. In the case that these privy features were used by multiple renters who had taken up residence on the property, the suggestion made by Wheeler in regard to abandonment behaviour would be one good explanation as it accounts for the presence of similar and multiple ceramic vessels and sets present in the privy assemblages. In the case that these privies were successively used by a single occupant or household, the author proposes another scenario which could also explain the wide variety of ceramic vessels and sets present in the privy assemblages. It is suggested here that in this context, presence of complete ceramic vessels or sets in the privy assemblages may not be a reflection of the terminal stages of a household's lifecycle. Rather, it

may be a reflection of the terminal stages of the ceramic vessel's or set's lifecycle. As the occupants of the household acquired new goods or as opportunities arose, they may have simply decided to rid of their old goods by abandoning them in the privy hole. Whether this was a strategy employed by the occupants or the household to keep up with the latest fashion trends or whether it was the result of a desire to acquire a larger and more visually complete set is unknown. However, what is known is the fact that at least one complete tableware set along with numerous partial sets exhibiting similar floral and naturalistic motifs are represented in the Marr Residence privy assemblages. Furthermore, the fact that these complete and partial sets were in most cases found in direct association with one another gives credibility to the suggestions proposed above. Of course, it is difficult to say with certainty what sort of behaviours may have led the individual or the household to dispose of these vessels and sets in the privy hole.

6.2.2 Japanese-Style Aesthetic Decorations on Ceramics: The Japan Idea?

The discussion presented above focused on the significance of similar floral and naturalistic designs on a wide variety of ceramic vessels and suggested that these designs were used as the occupant's or household's mean of stabilizing and maintaining the world around them as public displays of particular attitudes and behaviours. This section will focus on the significance of another group of ceramic designs and suggests that these decorations may be indicative of a larger trend in ceramic aesthetics.

With roots traceable back to the opening up of Japan to western markets in the 1850s (Hosley 1990; Majewski & Schiffer 2001:37; Spencer 1973), the "Japan Idea" was part of a larger reactionary movement against Victorian eclecticism in European aesthetic decorations (Aslin 1969:13; Hosley 1990; Kurland et al 1993; Majewski & Schiffer 2001:36-44; Spencer 1973). As a result, aesthetic exhibiting Japanese or Japanesque motifs were applied on a variety of ceramic ware and vessel types in the latter half of the 19th century. However, the movement was short lived and by the 1890s, Japanese motifs on ceramics began to falter in popularity in most European and American markets (Majewski & Schiffer 2001:39)

Although the movement was in essence, a short lived "late nineteenth-century fad" (Majewski & Schiffer 2001:44), there is evidence to suggest that the "Japan Idea" may have reached the Saskatoon area as suggested by the presence of various ceramic fragments exhibiting a wide variety of Japanese or Japanesque motifs (Figures 6.7, 6.8, 6.9, 6.10, 6.11). Not only do



Figure 6.7: Cat # 7123 (FaNp-5 Area 1, Test Pit 2): Porcelain fragment exhibiting an overglaze hand painted cherry blossom design (Photo by author).



Figure 6.8: Cat # 7122 (FaNp-5 Area 1, Test Pit 2): Porcelain fragment exhibiting a partial maker's mark: "JAPAN" (Photo by author).



Figure 6.9: Cat # 14270 (FaNp-5 Feature 3): Porcelain bowl exhibiting an overglaze hand painted Japanese design. Complete maker's mark exhibiting Japanese characters (Photo by author).



Figure 6.10: Cat # 11642 (FaNp-5 Feature 2): Vitrified white earthenware fragment exhibiting an underglaze hand painted cherry blossom and Japanese designs (Photo by author).



Figure 6.11: Cat # 11275 (Feature 2): Porcelain bowl with monochrome underglaze transfer print oriental design (Photo by author).

these ceramic fragments range from porcelain to white earthenware, but the designs exhibited on the vessels and the manner in which these designs were applied show variability from motifs that are more ‘traditional’ (Figure 6.9) to those that are more ‘Europeanized’ (Figure 6.10). At least six different vessels recovered from a minimum of three privy features at FaNp-5 (Area 1, Test Pit 2, Feature 1, Feature 2) are represented.

The lack of commonality among these particular ceramic vessels might reflect less of a concern for matching sets and more of a concern with displaying the “Japan Idea” in the household. Similar to our discussion on the presence of floral and naturalistic motifs on individual, partial and complete sets of ceramic vessels, the visual display of particular items of material culture in the household conveys a specific message to those outside of the household - in this case, the household’s awareness of current and popular trends in material culture. The acquisition of these single and seemingly unrelated Japanese and Japanesque vessels may have been a means by which the occupants of the Marr Residence asserted their affiliation with this cultural movement. Although the acquisition of these particular vessels would have been relatively easy, especially when one takes into account the growth of Saskatoon during this time

period as well as the advent of mail order catalogues, the presence of varying ware types in specific privy assemblages may be a reflection of differential access to particular types of goods. Majewski & Schiffer (2001:44) note that at the height of the movement, Japanese and Japanesque motifs “appeared on ceramics of all levels of quality and cost” in an attempt to spread access to items exemplifying the “Japan Idea” to all classes of individuals and households. It is suggested here that the differential presence of ware types exhibiting these motifs may have been a reflection of specific occupant’s and household’s ability to access goods of differing quality. Nevertheless, whether this is a result of differential access or not, what is known is that some of the occupants of the Marr Residence were involved with a short lived infatuation with the “Japan Idea”.

6.2.3 *Children’s Material Culture: Reproducing Consumer Behaviour?*

This section will focus on a very specific trend in consumer behaviour, one that not only focused on a particular age group, but that completely redefined what it meant to be a child in ‘modern’ societies after the 19th century.

The concept of childhood is, in essence, socially constructed. Prior to the 19th century, children’s roles in ‘modern’ capitalistic societies were ones that supplemented the family’s income through manual labour. However, in the latter half of the 19th century, social movements pressed for reformation which made child labour illegal (Robbins 1999:23). Not only did this movement create a new demographic of consumers, but also a malleable social group that could be taught to reproduce certain behaviours and attitudes:

Social reproduction is a complex phenomena. It entails the biological procreation of new humans, the socialization of these individuals and the reproduction of social relationships. This occurs both intergenerationally, with the raising of children, and intragenerationally, as individual social relationships change with age. The process takes place within a dynamic, constantly changing cultural, social, and material context. People never simply replicate what has gone before but must constantly reinvent and modify their social relationships to reproduce them (Wurst and McGuire 1999:195).

With the advent of the new consumers came a demographic which could be taught behaviours deemed fit by not only their parents, but the consumer society as well. Material culture pertaining to the social construction of childhood reflects more than a mere concept of play. These items were used by adult figures to teach the child appropriate attitudes and behaviours which may be reproduced at later stages in the child's life (Robbins 1999:23; Wurst and McGuire 1999:195)

Evidence of childhood can be found across the Marr Residence assemblage such as fragments of toy cars and gaming pieces such as jacks and marbles. However, what is particularly interesting is the presence of parian doll fragments (Figures 6.12, 6.13, 6.14, 6.15). Although two of these fragments were recovered from Feature 3 (Figures 6.12, 6.15), the provenience for the other two fragments (Figures 6.13, 6.14) is unknown. However, the fragments represented in Figure 6.12 and Figure 6.13 appear to be part of the same piece (although the two fragments do not fit directly). It is suggested here that these parian doll fragments reflect a larger trend in turn of the century consumer behaviour aimed at rearing girls towards particular etiquettes and activities. In a study concerning the American commercialization of dolls and girlhood during the period 1830 to 1930, Formanek-Brunell (1993:20), pointed out that elaborately dressed dolls were used by adults to predispose girls to engage and partake in social behaviours typically practiced by those in high society. In this context, activities such as the childhood past time of dolls' tea parties served as a means to teach girls proper manners and etiquettes as they pertain to adult activities of socialization.

Two artifacts recovered from archaeological excavations, a miniature porcelain saucer (Figure 6.16) and a tea cup (Figure 6.17), may serve as additional evidence that something very similar was occurring on the property. Although these artifacts were not recovered in direct association with the parian doll fragments, their presence alone corroborates a concern for such activities and concerns for social reproduction. Whereas the parian dolls may reflect a means to convey to children the concept of girlhood, the miniature teaware may have served as a means to cultivate certain perceptions of socialization which may then be reproduced later on in life in the form of the acquisition of particular types of teaware.



Figure 6.12: Cat # 9626 (FaNp-5 Feature 3): Partial parian doll forehead and eyebrow fragment (Photo by author).



Figure 6.13: Cat # 14267 (FaNp-5 Unknown): Partial parian doll forehead and eyebrow fragment (Photo by author).



Figure 6.14: Cat # 14268 (FaNp-5 Unknown): Partial parian doll nose, cheek and mouth fragment (Photo by author).



Figure 6.15: Cat # 9628 (FaNp-5 Feature 3): Partial porcelain doll hand fragment (Photo by author).



Figure 6.16: Cat # 132 (FaNp-5 T1 M2): Miniature porcelain saucer (Photo by author).



Figure 6.17: Cat # 57 (FaNp-31 11th Street): Miniature porcelain tea cup (Photo by author).

6.3 The 11th Street Privy Site (FaNp-31)

Similar to the Marr Residence, the 11th Street Privy site also can reveal to us how these occupants may have viewed themselves in regard to the larger society of which they were part. Although the presence of certain artifacts such as the miniature tea cup mentioned above (Figure 5.31) suggests that some of the consumer trends exhibited in the Marr Residence assemblages were embraced by the occupants of the 11th Street Privy site, it is difficult to say with certainty that these occupants were conceptualizing and appropriating material goods in the same manner as those in the Marr Residence. It is important to note, however, that this may be the result of the relatively small assemblage of the 11th Street Privy site in comparison to the relatively large assemblage of the Marr Residence. Nevertheless, some suggestions can still be made in regard to how the occupants of the 11th Street Privy site may have used the material culture to not only convey a particular message to the public world, but to conceal particular behaviours deemed not appropriate to their subgroup.

6.3.1 *Plain and Undecorated Ceramics: Maintenance of Naturalistic Ideals?*

Similar to the suggestion that the Marr Residence occupants appropriated floral and naturalistic designs on ceramic vessels as an “object code” for continuity, it is suggested here that the prevalence of plainly decorated and undecorated white earthenware, vitrified white earthenware, white granite ware and porcelain vessels in the privy assemblage (Table 6.4, Table 6.5) may have also served as a reflection of the occupant’s desire to maintain and preserve certain ideals. Whether this differential articulation in ceramic decorative styles or a lack thereof is a result of personal preferences or differential consumer access is unknown. However, for the sake of argument, the author suggests another possibility as to why the occupants of the 11th Street Privy site chose to acquire plain and undecorated ceramics.

As mentioned in Chapter 2 (Saskatoon at the Turn of the 20th Century), between the years 1896 and 1903 the property on which the 11th Street Privy site is located was owned by Alex Marr who in turn sold it to William R. Tucker (Table 2.2). The analysis of the artifacts suggests that the 11th Street Privy assemblage relates to activities corresponding to the time period in which the house was under the ownership of Alex Marr. Whether or not Alex Marr occupied the property during the duration of his ownership is unknown as there is reason to believe he may

have taken up residence in Prince Albert for, at the very least, a brief period in time (The Marr Residence Board, personal communications, 2010). Unfortunately, this uncertainty in regard to who may have resided on the property during the years in which the 11th Street privy was in use does hinder the current discussion's ability to properly interpret the inherent meanings of these plain and undecorated ceramic ware types. However, contextual evidence in the form of Nutana's perception of itself in relation to the newly established settlement of Saskatoon during the 1890s may provide us with a general understanding of the community's social and cultural environment.

As indicated in Chapter 2 (Saskatoon at the Turn of the 20th Century), the settlement of Nutana during the 1890s and into the early 20th century was generally more reserved and modest in terms of behaviour in contrast to its counterparts on the opposite side of the river. The historic literature of early Saskatoon is full of stories of the community banding together to shut down and kick out entrepreneurs attempting to open liquor establishments in the community (Delainey & Sarjeant 1975: 8-9). Although it is clear that not all of the residences of the Nutana area may have abided to the ideals that the community attempted to uphold, what is clear is that the atmosphere of the settlement of Nutana during the late 19th century and early 20th century was generally a conservative one.

Table 6.4: Quantity of Ceramic Ware Types and Decorative Styles for FaNp-31

Method of Decoration	Rockingham Ware	White Earthenware	V. White Earthenware	White Granite	Porcelain	Quantity (Total)	Percentage of Total in Relation To Ceramics Present in Privy Assemblages (total/25)
Underglaze Transfer Print	0	1	0	0	0	1	4.00%
Overglaze Transfer Print	0	0	0	0	4	4	16.00%
Gilded	0	0	2	0	0	2	8.00%
Moulded	0	0	1	1	1	3	12.00%
Scalloped	0	0	0	0	1	1	4.00%
Coloured Glaze	3	0	0	0	1	4	16.00%
Plain (Glazed)	0	7	0	0	3	10	40.00%
TOTAL	3	8	3	1	10	25	100.00%

Table 6.5: Quantity of Plain and Undecorated Vessels for FaNp-31

Method of Decoration	Rockingham Ware	White Earthenware	V. White Earthenware	White Granite	Porcelain	Quantity (Total)	Percentage of Total in Relation To Ceramics Present in Privy Assemblages (total/25)
Gilded	0	0	2	0	0	2	8.00%
Moulded	0	0	1	1	1	3	12.00%
Scalloped	0	0	0	0	1	1	4.00%
Coloured Glaze	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%
Plain (Glazed)	0	7	0	0	3	10	40.00%
TOTAL	0	7	3	1	5	16	64.00%

Given Alex Marr’s affiliation with the very early days of Nutana as well as the Temperance Colonization Society (Duerkop 1978:5), there is a possibility that he may have rented out the property to someone who was also part of the same social group – perhaps a family member or friend. Since the community of Nutana during this time period was reserved in its public mannerism, renting the property out to someone who did not abide or respect these particular reservations could have reflected poorly on Alex Marr’s character. As such, it would have been in his best interest to allow a like-minded individual to reside on his property while he was away.

Providing that the above scenario holds true, it is suggested here that the presence of plain and undecorated ware types may have served as a means for the occupants to keep the pure and naturalistic ideals of Nutana out of harm’s ways (i.e. threat of change such as entrepreneurial ventures challenging community ideals) into a cultural universe that was always in reach. In other words, these vessels may have served as a visual statement for the occupant’s willingness to abide with the ideals of the community, publicly displayed in and around the household for all to see. This strategy is referred to as the “displaced meaning” strategy.

When [the meaning of material goods] are transported to a distant cultural domain, ideals are made to seem practicable realities. What is otherwise unsubstantiated and potentially improbable in the present world is now validated, somehow “proven,” by its existence in another, distant one. With ideals displaced, the gap between the real and the ideal can be put down to particular, local difficulties. It reflects contingent rather than necessary circumstances. The strategy of displaced meaning contends with the discrepancy between the real and the ideal by the clever expedient of removing the ideal from the fray (McCracken 1988:106).

Despite the fact that the presence of the Temperance Colonization Society was very short-lived, what is known is that the parent faith of the Temperance Colonization Society, the Methodist denomination, had a very strong presence in the Nutana area at the turn of the 20th century (Archer 1948; Duerkop 2000; Delainey et al 1982; Delainey and Sarjeant 1975). In this context, devoted members of the Methodist faith may have conceptualized the early days of the ‘temperance’ colony as a “golden age” (McCracken 1988:106; Nisbet 1969:51), a period in time in which the plain and pure ideals dominated both the real and ideal realms of social life. As such, these plain and undecorated ceramic vessels may reflect a refusal of the occupants to attribute the failure of these ideals to the ideals themselves. By displacing these ideals into a different cultural realm such as ceramic vessels, the occupants created a strategy that not only allowed them to safe guard these ideals from the threat of change, but into a realm that was easily accessible to the occupants.

6.3.2 Liquor Bottles and Clay Pipes: Evidence of Deviant Behaviour?

Providing that the social and cultural context suggested above is true (i.e. presence of Methodist faith), the presence of liquor bottles (Figure 6.18) and clay pipes (Figure 6.19) in the privy feature may support the suggestion presented by revealing a behaviour that was meant to be kept private. Prior to the rise of the Temperance movement in the mid 19th century, alcohol and tobacco were widely used not only as a means of addressing medicinal concerns, but as a means of socializing and interacting with other people (Reckner and Brighton 1999). However, it was argued (and still continues to be argued) that alcohol and tobacco use was corrupting the social fabric of society (Larkin 1988; Reckner and Brighton 1999; Rorabaugh 1979; Tice 1992). As such, movements such as the Temperance movement in the Americas aimed at eliminating the negative influences of alcohol and tobacco by demanding moderation (Armstrong and Armstrong 1991:41-43; Tice 1992: 16) and, in some cases, complete abstinence (Gilkeson 1986:30-35).

As mentioned above, the presence of the Temperance movement in the Saskatoon area was very short lived. However, the parent denomination of the Temperance Colonization Society, the Methodist faith, continued to have a strong presence in the Nutana area long after the disappearance of the Temperance Colonization Society and, like the movement that it supported,



Figure 6.18: Cat # 213 (11th Street): Complete wine bottle with a hand applied finish (Photo by author).



Figure 6.19: Cat # 157-161 (11th Street): Various fragments of clay pipes. (Photo by author).

the Methodist Faith had reservations in regard to the use of alcohol and tobacco.

It is suggested here that the presence of liquor bottles (Figure 6.18) and clay pipes (Figures 5.22, 5.23, 6.19) may reflect a particular occupant's struggle to not only portray particular ideals to the public world, but their struggle to abide with or comprehend these ideals. Whether these ideals were related to the temperance presence or the individual's affiliation with the Methodist faith is unknown. However, what is likely is that the disposal of these items in the privy feature is indicative of a very specific behaviour which was meant to be kept private in nature by shielding the occupant from public scrutiny. Presumably, this was to protect the occupant's image. In total, four wine bottles and three clay pipes are represented in the privy assemblage. Although these numbers may appear insignificant, it is important to keep in mind that the ratio of alcohol and smoking items in relation to the entire 11th Street Privy site assemblage (6.31% of the entire assemblage) overshadows that of the much larger Marr Residence assemblage (0.01% of the entire assemblage). Furthermore, the relative completeness of the alcohol and clay pipes recovered from the privy feature suggests that these items were deposited into the privy feature immediately or shortly after they were used.

6.4 Summary and Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to consider some select categories of material culture recovered from the Marr Residence and the 11th Street Privy site as carriers of meaning in the context of consumer behaviour. Five examples demonstrating scenarios of different behaviours were suggested by the author as possible explanations for the presence of particular artifact and artifact classes in the FaNp-5 and FaNp-31 privy assemblages. Historical particularistic questions and facts were presented along side archaeological evidence and analysis for the purpose of delineating the various trends of differential consumer behaviour exhibited in the artifacts and artifact classes discussed above. This approach to archaeological discussion and interpretation has revealed to us not only the historical factors responsible for the movement of various trends in material culture, but also some of the strategies employed by individuals to appropriate and incorporate the material culture into their own universe.

CHAPTER 7

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

7.1 Summary

Like any good story worth reading, the story of Saskatoon is one that is wrought with tales of staggering highs and lows. As envisioned by the Temperance Colonization Society, the establishment of Saskatoon in 1884 was supposed to mark a new era in which people would be free from the “accursed” influences of alcohol and the troubles that came with it. Everything about the colony, from its location along the banks of the South Saskatchewan River to its grid layout and wide open streets was meant to convey this pure, naturalist vision untouched by the corruptions of big city lifestyles. Anticipation for the colony was high. However, years of isolation, limited mobility and transportation, unrest from the Riel Resistance as well as drought and frost had taken its toll on the colony and by 1890, the colony was teetering on stagnation.

An agreement between the Temperance Colonization Society and the Qu’Appelle, Long Lake and Saskatchewan Railway in 1890 saved the colony from what appeared to be an inevitable collapse. This agreement marked the beginning of a new era of expansion and progress for the colony of Saskatoon. Tensions grew and by 1905 what started out as a single colony founded on temperance ideals had split into two separate colonies, with Nutana on the southeast side of the South Saskatchewan River and Saskatoon on the northwest side of the South Saskatchewan River. A third settlement, Riversdale, had also established itself immediately west of Saskatoon. By 1906, the three settlements were officially incorporated as the City of Saskatoon.

Historical accounts for the early history of Saskatoon such as the one presented above can be gathered from a wide a variety of local sources such as Archer (1948) Duerkop (2000) Delainey et al (1982) and Delainey and Sarjeant (1975). Unfortunately, accounts concerning the minor and mundane histories of the people who lived in these eras are few and far between. This is not to say that there is a lack of concern to reveal these stories. Rather, there have been few opportunities to allow researchers to reveal and tell these forgotten stories of the everyday and how they fit into the greater history of the area in question.

The discipline of historical archaeology has the unique capability to not only contribute to this history, but to uncover these obscured stories about everyday people. Not only can an archaeological investigation of historical sites reveal to us the range of goods available to people, but can provide us with a unique glimpse into how these people may have conceptualized the world around them, as well as their place within this world. Archaeological investigations conducted at the Marr Residence (FaNp-5) and the 11th Street Privy site (FaNp-31) currently comprise the only excavated privy features in the entire city and hold rich potential for shedding light on urban consumer behaviour in the Saskatoon area at the turn of the 20th century.

A minimum of six privy features were identified and analyzed for the purpose of the current thesis project. In order to facilitate a comparative approach, privy features identified throughout the years were individually analyzed. By keeping the analysis of the privy features separate from one another, it was possible to not only consider the privy features independently, but to investigate how each of the individual privy features compared to one another in regard to the number of artifacts represented in the primary activity and secondary sub-activity groupings proposed in Table 5.1.

Archaeological assemblages recovered from the privies of the Marr Residence and the 11th Street Privy site were analyzed under the scope of consumer behaviour. Throughout the years, there have been various approaches to the study of consumer behaviour in historical archaeology. Earlier attempts at exploring consumer behaviour heavily relied on positivist assumptions and argued that a quantitative analysis of patterns in the archaeological data combined with historical data could explain variations in consumer behaviour as reflected in archaeological assemblages. Although these earlier studies played an important role in the acceptance of consumer behaviour into historic archaeological inquiries, approaches used by consumer choice theorists were too specific and explicitly assumed that material goods were acquired by rational consumers acting in accordance to their prescribed class and status. By distancing the individual from the act and process of acquisition, historical archaeologists following the consumer choice framework negated the individual's ability to exercise choice in the context of 'shopping' (Cook et al 1996: 50). As such, other historical archaeologists began embracing an alternative approach to consumer behaviour, one that treated material culture not as a passive reflector of social and cultural constraints but rather as an active participant in the process of consumerism.

This second approach, commonly referred to as consumption studies, provides historical archaeologists with a unique opportunity to explore the role of archaeological artifacts as they relate to differential consumer behaviour and the process of consumerism. Here, artifacts are not viewed as simple reflections of cost and acquisition. Rather, they are conceptualized as objects that were invested with particular meanings by particular individuals. Analysis and discussions undertaken for the current thesis project revealed to us some of the ways in which material goods could be used for purposes beyond their perceived or utilitarian purposes, such as the use of specific ceramic types as visual statements placed on display for all to see, or the role of children's toys both as instruments of social reproduction as well as tools fostering future choices in consumer behaviour.

Archaeological evidence recovered from the Marr Residence and the 11th Street Privy site also revealed to us other trends in consumer behaviour that were either encouraged or discouraged by the larger society of which they were a part. In the case of the Marr Residence, ceramic ware types exhibiting Japanese or Japanesque motifs suggest to us that the occupants of the Marr Residence may have been trying to keep up with larger movements in aesthetics and decorations - in this case, an aesthetic movement commonly referred to as the "Japan Idea" which was widely popular in the latter half of the 19th century. This possible correlation is important as not only does it connect the Saskatoon area to larger, global trends in consumer behaviour, but also adds a more personal element to the acquisition of particular ceramic vessels in regard to personal tastes and preferences. The presence of complete liquor bottles and clay smoking pipes in the 11th Street Privy site gives us yet another glimpse into consumer behaviours that were, in this case, discouraged by the larger society of which it was a part. This particular consumer behaviour was done in the privacy of one's own home, out of the scrutiny of the surrounding community.

Further archaeological and historical research is required if one is to further explore the interpretations presented in this thesis project. However, given the historical context of the study area as discussed in Chapter 2 (Saskatoon at the Turn of the 20th Century) coupled with the spatial and temporal boundaries of the Marr Residence and the 11th Street Privy site and assemblages as discussed in Chapter 3 (Previous Archaeological Research) and Chapter 5 (Analysis of the Material Culture), the author is confident that the interpretations presented in Chapter 6 (Discussion of the Material Culture), at the very least, provide us with a unique

glimpse into the various ways that archaeological artifacts can reveal to us past decision-making processes and the ways in which these decisions play into the larger totalizing history of the area in question

7.2 Avenues for Future Research

It is recognized that the interpretations of the material culture recovered from the Marr Residence and the 11th Street Privy site (Figure 7.1) as presented in Chapter 6 (Discussion of the Material Culture) have been based on a limited archaeological sample dating to the turn of the 20th century. As such, it is recommended here that in order to either corroborate or refute these suggestions, future archaeological research must consider historical archaeological sites and assemblages which are located in the adjacent communities of turn of the century Riversdale and Saskatoon. By acquiring a comparative sample from each of these areas, future research may be able to determine with certainty whether or not the individual histories of these settlements (i.e. Nutana, Riversdale, Saskatoon) did in fact, influence the collective attitudes of individuals residing in these areas and the degree to which this attitude is reflected in the archaeological assemblages.



Figure 7.1: The properties of 326th 11th Street East and 322 11th Street East as of August 2010 (Photo Courtesy of Thanh Tam Huynh).

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APPENDIX A
ARTIFACT SUMMARY

THE MARR RESIDENCE (FaNp-5)
TRENCH 7, METRE 3 & 4

Personal (n = 3)

Three artifacts representing 2.21% of the total assemblage were found to belong to the “Personal” activity group. All 3 artifacts belong to the secondary sub-activity of “Clothing Fasteners”.

Clothing Fasteners (n = 3)

Three types of fasteners were recovered from the feature mentioned above. Although two of the fasteners don’t offer us much in terms of interpretive value, the third, a hook from a garter belt suggests a female presence and most likely relates to female lingerie.

Food Preparation & Use (n = 3)

Three artifacts representing 2.21% of the total assemblage were found to belong to the “Food Preparation and Use” activity group. Two secondary sub-activity groups are represented in this assemblage: “Tableware” and “Food Storage – Multiple Use”.

Tableware (n = 2)

Two plate fragments comprise the “Tableware” assemblage for the entire feature, a plain white earthenware base fragment and a rim fragment of a porcelain soup plate.

Food Storage – Multiple Use (n = 1)

A partial external threaded rim fragment from a glass canning or storage jar was the only artifact recovered that belongs to this secondary sub-activity.

Architectural (n = 67)

Sixty-seven artifacts representing 49.26% of the total assemblage were found to belong to “Architectural” activities. All three secondary sub-activity groups under the primary “Architectural” activity group are represented in the assemblage.

Building Material (n = 3)

This sub-activity group is entirely comprised of clinker and plaster fragments.

Window Material (n = 21)

This sub-activity group is completely comprised of window glass.

Hardware (n = 43)

Out of the 67 artifacts in the “Architectural” activity group, 43 of these belong to “Hardware” and are comprised of an assortment of metal fasteners such as machine cut nails, wire cut nails, finishing nails, roofing nails, screws and staples.

Hunting & Defence (n = 1)

Only one artifact representing 0.74% of the total assemblage was found to belong to the “Hunting and Defence” activity group.

Ammunition (n = 1)

A single .22 gauge brass rimfire cartridge case comprises the “Hunting and Defence” activity group. This cartridge case was manufactured by “Dominion Cartridge Co.” in Montreal, Canada.

Unclassified (n = 14)

Fourteen artifacts representing 10.29% of the total assemblage were deemed as “Unclassified” by the author.

Unclassified Ceramic (n = 10)

Although some of these ceramic fragments exhibit attributes that are theoretically identifiable, a lack of clarity in terms of their form, function and decorative motifs inhibits the

author's ability to confidently classify these artifacts in accordance to the associated primary activity and secondary sub-activity groupings proposed in Table 5.1. As such, these artifacts were deemed as "Unclassified" and placed in the secondary-sub activity group of "Unclassified Ceramic". Ten "Unclassified Ceramic" fragments were recovered from the feature mentioned above. One of the ceramic fragments may have a partial maker's mark stamped near the rim of a scalloped flatware fragment. However, bleeding of the transfer print has obscured the identification of this particular mark although the letters "...AND" are faintly visible at the bottom of the mark and most likely represent the word "ENGLAND".

Unclassified Glass (n = 3)

Glass artifacts that were deemed as "Unclassified Glass" consist of glass shards that exhibit characteristics that are theoretically identifiable but could not be classified in accordance to the associated primary activity and secondary sub-activity groupings proposed in Table 5.1. Three "Unclassified Glass" fragments were recovered.

Unclassified Glass Container (n = 1)

Glass artifacts that were deemed as "Unclassified Glass Container" consist of glass shards that were clearly from bottles or containers but the function of the glass bottle or container could not be determined with certainty. One "Unclassified Glass Container" fragment was recovered.

Unclassifiable (n = 48)

Forty-eight artifacts representing 35.29% of the total assemblage were deemed as "Unclassifiable" by the author.

Unclassifiable Ceramic (n = 12)

Out of the 48 artifacts labelled as "Unclassifiable" 12 are ceramic fragments.

Unclassifiable Glass (n = 24)

Out of the 48 artifacts labelled as "Unclassifiable", 24 are glass fragments.

Unclassifiable Glass Container (n = 6)

Out of the 48 artifacts labelled as “Unclassifiable”, six are glass container fragments.

Unclassifiable Metal (n = 4)

Out of the 48 artifacts labelled as “Unclassifiable”, four are metal fragments.

Unclassifiable Organic (n = 2)

Out of the 48 artifacts labelled as “Unclassifiable”, two are organic fragments.

THE MARR RESIDENCE (FaNp-5)

AREA 1, TEST PIT 2

Personal (n = 6)

Six artifacts representing 1.07% of the total assemblage were found to belong to the “Personal” activity group. All six artifacts belong to the secondary sub-activity of “Clothing Fasteners”.

Clothing Fasteners (n = 6)

Three types of fasteners were recovered from the feature mentioned above: One safety pin, a partial eyelet, one wood button, one porcelain button and two metal buttons. One of the metal buttons exhibited on it a partial marking which read “...VEI...”.

Health & Hygiene (n = 1)

Only one artifact representing 0.18% of the total assemblage was found to belong to the “Health & Hygiene” activity group.

Medication (n = 1)

A partial colourless bitters bottle with a prescription rim finish was the only artifact belonging to “Medication” sub-activity group. Unfortunately, there is no indication as to what type of medication the bottle contained.

Food Preparation & Use (n = 14)

Fourteen artifacts representing 2.49% of the total assemblage were found to belong to the “Food Preparation and Use” activity group. Three secondary-sub activity groups are represented in this assemblage: “Tableware”, “Food Storage – Single Use” and “Food Storage – Multiple Use”.

Tableware (n = 3)

Three ceramic artifacts comprise the “Tableware” assemblage for the entire feature. Of particular interest is a complete vitrified white earthenware plate with a polychrome underglaze transfer print wheat themed design. The Makers Mark on the back of the plate reads "Sunblest by Ridgway EST. 1792 Staffordshire Made in England" (Figure 5.8, Figure 5.9).

Food Storage – Single Use (n = 6)

This sub-activity group consists of six artifacts, including a partial tin can fragment, a partial glass lid for a storage container and fragments from a “Crush” brand soda bottle.

Food Storage – Multiple Use (n = 5)

Five artifacts belonging to the “Food Storage – Multiple Use” sub-activity group were recovered, including four fragments of ceramic stoneware vessels and a partial external threaded rim fragment from a glass canning or storage jar.

Social, Recreational & Indulgence (n = 6)

Six artifacts representing 1.07% of the total assemblage were found to belong to the “Social, Recreational & Indulgence” activity group. Three secondary sub-activity groups are represented in this assemblage: “Alcohol”, “Art” and “Teaware”.

Alcohol (n = 1)

Only one artifact, a partial brandy or wine bottle rim fragment, was found to belong to this secondary sub-activity.

Art (n = 1)

Only one artifact, a plastic scotch tape dispenser, was found to belong to this secondary sub-activity.

Teaware (n = 4)

Four artifacts were found to belong to this secondary sub-activity. The first consists of a base fragment of a porcelain saucer exhibiting a polychrome underglaze transfer print floral themed design which is also gilded (Figure 5.24). The other three fragments are rim fragments belonging to one porcelain saucer which exhibits a polychrome painted floral design that is both underglaze and overglaze (Figure 5.25).

Household Furnishings (n = 1)

Only one artifact representing 0.18% of the total assemblage was found to belong to the “Household Furnishings” activity group.

Decoration (n = 1)

A ceramic knob fragment comprises the only artifact representing the “Decoration” sub activity group.

Household Maintenance (n = 4)

Four artifacts representing 0.71% of the total assemblage were found to belong to the “Household Maintenance” activity group. Three secondary sub-activity groups are represented in this assemblage: “Laundry”, “Lighting/Heating” and “Gardening”.

Laundry (n = 2)

Two partial clothespin fragments comprise the “Laundry” assemblage for the entire feature.

Lighting/Heating (n = 1)

A single light bulb fragment comprises the “Lighting/Heating” assemblage for the entire feature.

Gardening (n = 1)

A single terra cotta fragment comprises the “Gardening” assemblage for the entire feature.

Architectural (n = 319)

Three hundred and nineteen artifacts representing 56.76% of the total assemblage were found to belong to “Architectural” activities. All three secondary sub-activity groups under the primary “Architectural” activity group are represented in the assemblage.

Building Material (n = 5)

This sub-activity group is entirely comprised of clinker and tile fragments.

Window Material (n = 134)

This sub-activity group is completely comprised of window glass.

Hardware (n = 180)

Out of 319 artifacts in the “Architectural” activity group, 180 of these belong to “Hardware” and are comprised of an assortment of metal fasteners such as machine cut nails, wire cut nails, finishing nails, roofing nails, screws and staples.

Fishing & Trapping (n = 1)

Only one artifact representing 0.18% of the total assemblage was found to belong to the “Fishing” activity group.

Fishing (n = 1)

A metal fishing hook comprises the only artifact representing the “Fishing” sub-activity group.

Unclassified (n =59)

Fifty-nine artifacts representing 10.50% of the total assemblage were deemed as “Unclassified” by the author.

Unclassified Ceramic (n = 18)

Eighteen “Unclassified Ceramic” fragments were recovered from the feature mentioned above.

Unclassified Glass (n = 33)

Thirty-three “Unclassified Glass” fragments were recovered.

Unclassified Glass Container (n = 1)

One “Unclassified Glass Container” fragment was recovered.

Unclassified Metal (n = 5)

Five “Unclassified Metal” fragments were recovered.

Unclassified Plastic (n = 1)

One “Unclassified Plastic” fragment was recovered.

Unclassified Rubber (n = 1)

One “Unclassified Rubber” fragment was recovered.

Unclassifiable (n = 151)

One hundred and fifty-one artifacts representing 26.87% of the total assemblage were deemed as “Unclassifiable” by the author.

Unclassifiable Ceramic (n = 10)

Out of the 151 artifacts labelled as “Unclassifiable”, 10 are ceramic fragments.

Unclassifiable Glass (n = 118)

Out of the 151 artifacts labelled as “Unclassifiable”, 118 are glass fragments.

Unclassifiable Glass Container (n = 1)

Out of the 151 artifacts labelled as “Unclassifiable”, only one is a glass container fragment.

Unclassifiable Metal (n = 10)

Out of the 151 artifacts labelled as “Unclassifiable”, 10 are metal fragments.

Unclassifiable Organic (n =9)

Out of the 151 artifacts labelled as “Unclassifiable”, nine are organic fragments.

Unclassifiable Other (n = 2)

Out of the 151 artifacts labelled as “Unclassifiable”, two fragments are labelled as “Unclassifiable Other”.

Unclassifiable Plastic (n =1)

Out of the 151 artifacts labelled as “Unclassifiable” only one is a plastic fragment.

THE MARR RESIDENCE (FaNp-5)

AREA 2

Personal (n =2)

Two artifacts representing 0.32% of the total assemblage were found to belong to the “Personal” activity group. Two secondary sub-activity groups are represented: “Clothing Fasteners” and “Clothing Textile”.

Clothing Fasteners (n = 1)

A single metal button comprises this sub activity group. “ENGLISH MAKE” is inscribed along the circumference of the button surrounding a “M” (Figure 5.1)

Clothing Textiles (n = 1)

A single cloth fragment comprises this secondary sub-activity group.

Health & Hygiene (n = 3)

Three artifact representing 0.48% of the total assemblage were found to belong to the “Health & Hygiene” activity group.

Medication (n = 3)

Three bottles were found to belong to this sub activity group. Out of the three, only one exhibits a patent marking which reads “DOUGLAS EGYPTIAN LINIMENT DOUGLAS & CO NAPANEE ONT CAN” (Figure 5.3).

Food Preparation & Use (n =54)

Fifty-four artifacts representing 8.56% of the total assemblage were found to belong to the “Food Preparation and Use” activity group. Five out of the seven secondary-sub activity groups are represented in this assemblage: “Utensils”, “Cooking Ware”, “Servingware” “Tableware” and “Food Storage – Multiple Use”.

Utensils (n = 3)

Three metal spoon fragments comprise this secondary sub-activity group.

Cooking Ware (n = 1)

A single fragment from a measuring cup comprises this secondary sub-activity group.

Servingware (n = 12)

Twelve ceramic fragments comprise the “Servingware” assemblage. Eleven of these fragments belong to a single large vitrified white earthenware white serving bowl with a moulded handle.

Tableware (n = 25)

Twenty-five ceramic artifacts comprise the “Tableware” assemblage for the entire feature. At least three manufacturers are represented in this particular assemblage. The first consists of a partial marking that reads “...POTTER C...” (Figure 5.10), the second consists of a partial lion and crest mark (Figure 5.11) while the third consists of a partial marking which reads “IM...IRONSTO...” (Figure 5.12).

Food Storage – Multiple Use (n = 13)

This sub-activity group is comprised of 13 artifacts which consist of six stoneware fragments and seven large mouth external threaded rim fragment from a glass canning or storage jar.

Social, Recreational & Indulgence (n = 11)

Eleven artifacts representing 1.74% of the total assemblage were found to belong to the “Social, Recreational & Indulgence” activity group. Two secondary sub-activity groups are represented in this assemblage: “Teaware” and “Toys”.

Teaware (n = 9)

Nine ceramic fragments belonging to a single creamer sugar bowl were found to belong to the “Teaware” activity group. This vessel exhibits a blue floral underglaze transfer print design with a moulded relief along the rim.

Toys (n = 2)

Two plastic fragments from a miniature toy wheel comprise this secondary sub-activity group. The wheel most likely belonged to either a toy car or carriage.

Education & Communication (n = 4)

Four artifacts representing 0.63% of the total assemblage were found to belong to the “Education & Communication” activity group. Only one sub activity group is represented in this assemblage.

Reading (n=4)

Four partial newspaper fragments represent this secondary sub activity group (Figure 5.26).

Household Furnishings (n = 8)

Eight artifacts representing 1.27% of the total assemblage were found to belong to the “Household Furnishings” activity group. Both sub-activity groups were represented in this assemblage.

Decoration (n = 7)

Seven glass fragments from a jade coloured vase vessel were found to represent this sub-activity group. The vessel exhibits a floral like moulded design on its exterior.

Furniture (n = 1)

A single bed spring comprises this secondary sub-activity group.

Household Maintenance (n = 43)

Forty-three artifacts representing 6.81% of the total assemblage were found to belong to the “Household Maintenance” activity group. Only one secondary sub-activity groups is represented in the assemblage.

Lighting/Heating

Forty three fragments of lamp chimney glass were found to represent this secondary sub-activity group.

Architectural (n = 170)

One hundred and seventy artifacts representing 26.94% of the total assemblage were found to belong to “Architectural” activities. All three secondary sub-activity groups under the primary “Architectural” activity group are represented in the assemblage.

Building Material (n = 3)

This sub-activity group is entirely comprised of clinker and chinking fragments.

Window Material (n = 22)

This sub-activity group is completely comprised of window glass.

Hardware (n = 145)

Out of the 170 artifacts in the “Architectural” activity group, 145 of these belong to “Hardware” and is comprised of an assortment of metal fasteners such as wire cut nails, finishing nails, roofing nails, tacks screws and washers.

Transportation (n = 1)

Only one artifact representing 0.16% of the total assemblage was found to belong to the “Transportation” activity group.

Machine Powered (n = 1)

A chrome strip from an automobile was the only artifact recovered that belonged to this secondary-sub activity.

Hunting & Defence (n = 1)

A single artifact representing 0.16% of the total assemblage was found to belong to the “Hunting and Defence” activity group.

Ammunition (n = 1)

A single .22 gauge brass rimfire cartridge case comprises the “Hunting and Defence” activity group. This cartridge case was manufactured by “Dominion Cartridge Co.” in Montreal, Canada.

Unclassified (n = 71)

Seventy-one artifacts representing 11.25% of the total assemblage were deemed as “Unclassified” by the author.

Unclassified Ceramic (n = 37)

Thirty-seven “Unclassified Ceramic” fragments were recovered from the feature mentioned above.

Unclassified Glass (n = 19)

Nineteen “Unclassified Glass” fragments were recovered.

Unclassified Glass Container (n = 8)

Eight “Unclassified Glass Container” fragment was recovered.

Unclassified Metal (n = 4)

Four “Unclassified Metal” fragments were recovered.

Unclassified Plastic (n = 3)

Three “Unclassified Plastic” fragments were recovered.

Unclassifiable (n = 263)

Two hundred and sixty-three artifacts representing 41.67% of the total assemblage were deemed as “Unclassifiable” by the author.

Unclassifiable Ceramic (n =41)

Out of the 263 artifacts labelled as “Unclassifiable”, 41 are ceramic fragments.

Unclassifiable Glass (n = 138)

Out of the 263 artifacts labelled as “Unclassifiable”, 138 are glass fragments.

Unclassifiable Glass Container (n = 8)

Out of the 263 artifacts labelled as “Unclassifiable”, eight are glass container fragments.

Unclassifiable Metal

Out of the 263 artifacts labelled as “Unclassifiable”, 75 are metal fragments.

Unclassifiable Organic

Out of the 263 artifacts labelled as “Unclassifiable”, only one is an organic fragment.

THE MARR RESIDENCE (FaNp-5)

FEATURE 1

Personal (n = 9)

Nine artifacts representing 1.04% of the total assemblage were found to belong to the “Personal” activity group. All nine artifacts belong to the secondary sub-activity of “Clothing Fasteners”.

Clothing Fasteners (n = 9)

Fasteners that were recovered from the feature mentioned above include eyelet fragments, safety pins, buttons and a suspender clasp.

Health & Hygiene (n = 11)

Eleven artifact representing 1.27% of the total assemblage was found to belong to the “Health & Hygiene” activity group. All 11 artifacts belong to the secondary sub-activity of “Medication”.

Medication (n = 11)

Out of the 11 artifacts represented in this sub activity group, eight of these belong to a single medicinal bottle (Figure 5.4). Although the bottle has been drastically damaged due to heating, it exhibits a partially identifiable patent that reads “ECLECT...” on its front panel and “EXTE...” on its side panel. Other letterings are observable on various parts of the bottle. It is believed that this bottle was an “ELECTRIC OIL” bottle.

Food Preparation & Use (n = 23)

Twenty-three artifacts representing 2.66% of the total assemblage were found to belong to the “Food Preparation and Use” activity group. Four secondary sub-activity groups are represented in this assemblage: “Servingware”, “Tableware”, “Food Storage – Single Use” and “Food Storage – Multiple Use”.

Servingware (n = 1)

Only one ceramic fragment, a scalloped rim fragment from a large white earthenware serving vessel comprises the “Servingware” assemblage for the entire feature.

Tableware (n = 11)

Eleven ceramic fragments comprise the “Tableware” assemblage for the entire feature. Of particular interest is a plain porcelain gilded rim plate with a makers mark impressed on the base of the vessel (Figure 5.13).

Food Storage – Single Use (n = 1)

This sub-activity group consists of a single tin can fragment.

Food Storage – Multiple Use (n = 10)

Ten artifacts belonging to the “Food Storage – Multiple Use” sub- activity group were recovered, including nine fragments of a ceramic stoneware vessels and a partial fragment of a glass lid.

Social, Recreational & Indulgence (n = 2)

Two artifacts representing 0.23% of the total assemblage were found to belong to the “Social, Recreational & Indulgence” activity group. Two secondary sub-activity groups are represented in this assemblage: “Smoking” and “Alcohol”.

Smoking (n = 1)

Only one artifact, a partial clay smoking pipe fragment, was found to belong to this secondary sub-activity.

Alcohol (n = 1)

Only one artifact, a partial glass wine stopper, was found to belong to this secondary sub-activity.

Education & Communication (n = 1)

One artifact representing 0.12% of the total assemblage was found to belong to the “Education & Communication” activity group.

Writing (n = 1)

One artifact, a partial slate chalk board fragment, was found to belong to this secondary sub-activity.

Household Maintenance (n = 1)

One artifact representing 0.12% of the total assemblage was found to belong to the “Education & Communication” activity group.

Lighting/Heating (n = 1)

One artifact, a partial lamp chimney fragment, was found to belong to this secondary sub-activity.

Architectural (n = 420)

Four hundred and twenty artifacts representing 48.61% of the total assemblage were found to belong to “Architectural” activities. Two out of the three secondary sub-activity groups under the primary “Architectural” activity group were represented in the assemblage.

Window Material (n = 206)

This sub-activity group is completely comprised of window glass.

Hardware (n = 214)

Out of the 420 artifacts in the “Architectural” activity group, 214 of these belong to “Hardware” and are comprised of an assortment of metal fasteners such as wire cut nails, spikes and screws.

Unclassified (n =48)

Forty eight artifacts representing 5.56% of the total assemblage were deemed as “Unclassified” by the author.

Unclassified Ceramic (n = 35)

Thirty-five “Unclassified Ceramic” fragments were recovered from the feature mentioned above.

Unclassified Glass (n = 7)

Seven “Unclassified Glass” fragments were recovered.

Unclassified Glass Container (n = 5)

Five “Unclassified Glass Container” fragments were recovered.

Unclassified Metal Fastener (n = 1)

One “Unclassified Metal Fastener” fragment was recovered.

Unclassifiable (n = 349)

Three hundred and forty- nine artifacts representing 40.39% of the total assemblage were deemed as “Unclassifiable” by the author.

Unclassifiable Ceramic (n = 61)

Out of the 349 artifacts labelled as “Unclassifiable”, 61 are ceramic fragments.

Unclassifiable Glass (n = 265)

Out of the 349 artifacts labelled as “Unclassifiable”, 265 are glass fragments.

Unclassifiable Glass Container (n = 1)

Out of the 349 artifacts labelled as “Unclassifiable”, only one is a glass container fragment.

Unclassifiable Metal (n = 22)

Out of the 349 artifacts labelled as “Unclassifiable”, 22 are metal fragments.

THE MARR RESIDENCE (FaNp-5)
FEATURE 2

Personal (n = 13)

Thirteen artifacts representing 1.32% of the total assemblage were found to belong to the “Personal” activity group. Three out of the six secondary-sub activity groups are represented in this assemblage.

Personal Items (n = 1)

Only one of the artifacts, a 1908 Canadian penny, was found to belong to this secondary-sub activity group.

Clothing Fasteners (n = 11)

Eleven fasteners were recovered from the feature mentioned above including an eyelet, a safety pin and numerous buttons.

Clothing Textiles (n = 1)

Only one of the artifacts, a partial cloth fragment, was found to belong to this secondary sub-activity group.

Health & Hygiene (n = 2)

Two artifact representing 0.20% of the total assemblage was found to belong to the “Health & Hygiene” activity group.

Medication (n = 1)

A partial colourless bottle with a prescription hand applied rim finish comprises the only artifact belonging to “Medication” sub activity group. Unfortunately, there is no indication as to what type of medication the bottle contained.

Grooming (n = 1)

A partial plastic comb comprises the only artifact belonging to this secondary sub-activity.

Food Preparation & Use (n = 30)

Thirty artifacts representing 3.05% of the total assemblage were found to belong to the “Food Preparation and Use” activity group. Four secondary sub-activity groups are represented in this assemblage: “Condiments/Food Additives”, “Tableware”, “Food Storage – Single Use” and “Food Storage – Multiple Use”.

Condiments/Food Additives (n = 1)

Only one of the artifacts, a metal cap from a spice shaker, was found to belong to this secondary sub-activity group.

Tableware (n = 19)

Nineteen ceramic artifacts comprise the “Tableware” assemblage for the entire feature. Two maker’s marks are represented in this assemblage. The first consists of a plain vitrified white earthenware plate with a partial maker’s mark on the base that either reads “...W” or “M...” (Figure 5.14). The second maker’s mark reads “ENGLAND” and is stamped on the base of a vitrified white earthenware plate decorated with an underglaze transfer print floral design (Figure 5.15).

Food Storage – Single Use (n = 1)

This sub-activity group consists of a single tin can fragment.

Food Storage – Multiple Use (n = 9)

Nine artifacts belonging to the “Food Storage – Multiple Use” sub-activity group were recovered, including eight fragments of ceramic stoneware vessels and a partial external threaded rim fragment from a glass canning or storage jar.

Social, Recreational & Indulgence (n = 6)

Six artifacts representing 0.61% of the total assemblage were found to belong to the “Social, Recreational & Indulgence” activity group. Two secondary sub-activity groups are represented in this assemblage: “Games” and “Teaware”.

Games (n = 2)

Two artifacts, a glass marble and a leather ball, were found to belong to this secondary sub-activity.

Teaware (n = 4)

Four artifacts were found to belong to this secondary sub-activity. Of particular interest is a porcelain bowl rim fragment which exhibits a blue oriental themed underglaze transfer print design (Figure 6.12).

Education & Communication (n = 2)

Two artifacts representing 0.20% of the total assemblage were found to belong to the “Education & Communication” activity group.

Reading (n = 2)

Two fragments of a newspaper were found to belong to this secondary sub-activity. Unfortunately, the information on the newspaper was not legible.

Architectural (n = 509)

Five hundred and nine artifacts representing 51.73% of the total assemblage were found to belong to “Architectural” activities. All three secondary sub-activity groups under the primary “Architectural” activity group are represented in the assemblage.

Building Material (n = 8)

This sub-activity group is entirely comprised of linoleum fragments.

Window Material (n = 215)

This sub-activity group is completely comprised of window glass.

Hardware (n = 286)

Out of the 509 artifacts in the “Architectural” activity group, 286 of these belong to “Hardware” and comprise an assortment of metal fasteners such as machine cut nails, wire cut nails, screws, staples and tacks.

Unclassified (n = 73)

Seventy-three artifacts representing 7.42% of the total assemblage were deemed as “Unclassified” by the author.

Unclassified Ceramic (n = 27)

Twenty-seven “Unclassified Ceramic” fragments were recovered from the feature mentioned above.

Unclassified Glass (n = 23)

Twenty-three “Unclassified Glass” fragments were recovered.

Unclassified Glass Container (n = 18)

Eighteen “Unclassified Glass Container” fragments were recovered.

Unclassified Metal (n = 5)

Five “Unclassified Metal” fragments were recovered.

Unclassifiable (n = 349)

Three hundred and forty-nine artifacts representing 35.47% of the total assemblage were deemed as “Unclassifiable” by the author.

Unclassifiable Ceramic (n = 40)

Out of the 349 artifacts labelled as “Unclassifiable”, 40 are ceramic fragments.

Unclassifiable Glass (n = 217)

Out of the 349 artifacts labelled as “Unclassifiable”, 217 are glass fragments.

Unclassifiable Glass Container (n = 6)

Out of the 349 artifacts labelled as “Unclassifiable”, six are glass container fragments.

Unclassifiable Leather (n = 1)

Out of the 349 artifacts labelled as “Unclassifiable”, only one is a leather fragment.

Unclassifiable Metal (n = 79)

Out of the 349 artifacts labelled as “Unclassifiable”, 79 are metal fragments.

Unclassifiable Organic (n = 1)

Out of the 349 artifacts labelled as “Unclassifiable”, only one is an organic fragment.

Unclassifiable Other (n = 3)

Out of the 349 artifacts labelled as “Unclassifiable”, three fragments are labelled as “Unclassifiable Other”.

Unclassifiable Plastic (n = 2)

Out of the 349 artifacts labelled as “Unclassifiable” two are plastic fragments.

THE MARR RESIDENCE (FaNp-5)

FEATURE 3

Personal (n = 8)

Eight artifacts representing 0.47% of the total assemblage were found to belong to the “Personal” activity group. Three secondary sub-activity groups are represented in the assemblage: “Adornments”, “Clothing Fasteners” and “Clothing Textiles”.

Adornments (n = 2)

Two glass beads comprise the only artifacts representing the “Adornments” sub-activity group.

Clothing Fasteners (n = 4)

Fasteners that were recovered from the feature mentioned above comprised of two glass buttons, a metal button and a suspender clasp.

Clothing Textile (n = 2)

Two cloth fragments comprise the only artifacts representing the “Clothing Textile” sub-activity group.

Health & Hygiene (n = 16)

Sixteen artifacts representing 0.94 % of the total assemblage was found to belong to the “Health & Hygiene” activity group. Two secondary sub-activity groups are represented in the assemblage.

Medication (n = 15)

Fifteen artifacts were found to belong to the “Medication” sub-activity group. Out of these 15 artifacts, 11 of these fragments belong to a single, machine applied finish bottle (Figure 5.6). The front panel of the bottle reads "OXYGENIZED PURE COD LIVER OIL". Both side panels also exhibit writing with one reading "SLOCU...S" and the other "TORONTO ONT.”.

Three complete bottles were also recovered from the feature mentioned above (Figure 5.2). All three bottles exhibit hand applied rim finishes in contrast to the "OXYGENIZED PURE COD LIVER OIL" bottle and the other partial rim fragment which both exhibited machine made finishes.

Grooming (n = 1)

A partial plastic comb comprises the only artifact belonging to this secondary sub-activity.

Food Preparation & Use (n = 23)

Twenty-three artifacts representing 1.36% of the total assemblage were found to belong to the “Food Preparation and Use” activity group. Four secondary sub-activity groups are

represented in this assemblage: “Servingware”, “Tableware”, “Food Storage – Single Use” and “Food Storage – Multiple Use”.

Servingware (n = 14)

Fourteen ceramic fragments comprise the “Servingware” assemblage. Eleven of these fragments belong to a single large white earthenware serving bowl or tureen. The vessel is stamped with a maker’s mark that reads “SEMI-PORCELAIN JOHNSON BROS ENGLAND” (Figure 5.16).

Two vessels which are now on display at the Marr Residence were also found to belong to this particular assemblage. The first consists of a large white earthenware servingware vessel which also exhibits the same “SEMI-PORCELAIN JOHNSON BROS ENGLAND” mark mentioned above. The second consists of a complete vitrified white earthenware sugar bowl decorated with a polychrome underglaze transfer print floral design (Figure 6.6).

Tableware (n = 4)

Four ceramic artifacts comprise the “Tableware” assemblage for the entire feature. Three of these vessels are part of the same white earthenware set which is now on display at the Marr Residence (Figure 5.17). A maker’s mark that reads "DANE COLONIAL POTTERY STOKE ENGLAND" is present on the base of the plate (Figure 5.18).

Food Storage – Single Use (n = 1)

Only one artifact, a partial tin can fragment, was found to belong to this secondary sub-activity.

Food Storage – Multiple Use (n = 4)

Four artifacts belonging to the “Food Storage – Multiple Use” sub-activity group were recovered, including three partial external threaded rim fragments from a glass canning or storage jar and a single bottle with a capseat finish and a basal marking of “123” which is believed to be a milk bottle.

Social, Recreational & Indulgence (n = 4)

Four artifacts representing 0.24% of the total assemblage were found to belong to the “Social, Recreational & Indulgence” activity group. Two secondary sub-activity groups are represented in this assemblage: “Alcohol” and “Toys”.

Alcohol (n = 1)

One artifact, a partial base of a brandy or wine bottle was found to belong to this secondary sub-activity group.

Toys (n = 3)

Three artifacts, two porcelain doll or figurine fragments and a metal wheel from a toy car or carriage, were found to belong to this secondary sub-activity.

Education & Communication (n = 10)

Ten artifacts representing 0.59% of the total assemblage were found to belong to the “Household Furnishings” activity group. Two secondary sub-activity groups are represented in this assemblage: “Reading” and “Writing”.

Reading (n = 1)

Only one artifact, a partial newspaper fragment, was found to belong to this secondary sub activity. Unfortunately, the information on the newspaper was not legible.

Writing (n = 9)

Nine artifacts were found to belong to this secondary sub-activity. Out of the nine, eight belonged to ink bottles. One of the fragments exhibits a partial patent that reads "...NDERWOOD'S INKS" which is believed to have read “UNDERWOOD’S INKS” in full.

Architectural (n = 790)

Seven hundred and ninety artifacts representing 46.55% of the total assemblage were found to belong to “Architectural” activities. All three secondary sub-activity groups under the primary “Architectural” activity group are represented in the assemblage.

Building Material (n = 7)

This sub-activity group is entirely comprised of brick and linoleum fragments.

Window Material (n = 415)

This sub-activity group is completely comprised of window glass.

Hardware (n = 368)

Out of the 790 artifacts in the “Architectural” activity group, 368 of these belong to “Hardware” and is comprised of an assortment of metal fasteners such as machine cut nails, wire cut nails, finishing nails, screws, bolts and nuts.

Unclassified (n = 185)

One hundred and eighty five artifacts representing 10.90% of the total assemblage were deemed as “Unclassified” by the author.

Unclassified Ceramic (n = 18)

Eighteen “Unclassified Ceramic” fragments were recovered from the feature mentioned above.

Unclassified Glass (n = 66)

Sixty-six “Unclassified Glass” fragments were recovered.

Unclassified Glass Container (n = 97)

Ninety-seven “Unclassified Glass Container” fragments were recovered.

Unclassified Leather (n = 1)

One “Unclassified Leather” fragment was recovered.

Unclassified Metal (n = 1)

One “Unclassified Metal” fragment was recovered.

Unclassified Other (n = 1)

One “Unclassified Other” fragment was recovered.

Unclassified Plastic (n = 1)

One “Unclassified Plastic” fragment was recovered.

Unclassifiable (n =661)

Six hundred and sixty-one artifacts representing 38.89% of the total assemblage were deemed as “Unclassifiable” by the author.

Unclassifiable Ceramic (n = 25)

Out of the 661 artifacts labelled as “Unclassifiable”, 25 are ceramic fragments.

Unclassifiable Glass (n = 482)

Out of the 661 artifacts labelled as “Unclassifiable”, 482 are glass fragments.

Unclassifiable Glass Container (n = 20)

Out of the 661 artifacts labelled as “Unclassifiable”, 20 are glass container fragments.

Unclassifiable Metal (n = 9)

Out of the 661 artifacts labelled as “Unclassifiable”, 9 are metal fragments.

Unclassifiable Metal Container (n =122)

Out of the 661 artifacts labelled as “Unclassifiable”, 122 are metal container fragments.

Unclassifiable Other (n = 3)

Out of the 660 artifacts labelled as “Unclassifiable”, 3 fragments are labelled as “Unclassifiable Other”.

11TH STREET PRIVY (FaNp-31)

Personal (n = 13)

Thirteen artifacts representing 5.86% of the total assemblage were found to belong to the “Personal” activity group. Two sub-activity groups are represented in the assemblage: “Clothing Fasteners” and “Clothing Textiles”.

Clothing Fasteners (n = 12)

Twelve clothing fasteners were recovered including glass, metal, porcelain and shell buttons and a single metal buckle.

Clothing Textiles (n = 1)

A single cloth fragment comprises the only artifact representing the “Clothing Textile” sub activity group.

Health & Hygiene (n = 5)

Five artifact representing 2.25% of the total assemblage were found to belong to the “Health & Hygiene” sub activity group. Two sub-activity groups are represented in the assemblage: “Medication” and “Grooming”.

Medication (n = 4)

Four artifacts were found to belong to the “Medication” sub-activity group. Two of these were miniature bottles with hand applied prescription rim finishes (Figure 5.23). The other 2 artifacts were partial neck fragments that exhibited hand applied oil rim finishes (Figure 5.24).

Grooming (n = 1)

A complete perfume or cologne bottle comprises the only artifact representing the “Grooming” sub-activity group.

Food Preparation & Use (n = 44)

Forty-four artifacts representing 19.82% of the total assemblage were found to belong to the “Food Preparation and Use” activity group. Four secondary sub-activity groups are represented in this assemblage: “Utensils”, “Tableware”, “Food Storage – Single Use” and “Food Storage – Multiple Use”.

Utensils (n = 2)

A metal spoon and a handle fragment from either a spoon or a fork comprise this sub-activity group.

Tableware (n = 8)

Eight ceramic artifacts comprise the “Tableware” assemblage for the entire feature. Two identifiable makers are represented in this particular assemblage. The first was identified on a complete white earthenware saucer stamped with a maker’s mark that read “THOMAS FURNIVAL & SONS ENGLAND” (Figure 5.21). The second identifiable mark was identified on a moulded white granite ware saucer as “IRON...J. & G. MEA...HANLEY...ENGLAND” (Figure 5.19, Figure 5.20).

Food Storage – Single Use (n = 30)

This sub-activity group consists of 30 partial tin can fragments.

Food Storage – Multiple Use (n = 4)

Four artifacts belonging to the “Food Storage – Multiple Use” sub activity group were recovered, including 2 fragments of ceramic stoneware vessels and 2 partial external threaded rim fragments from a glass canning or storage jar.

Social, Recreational & Indulgence (n = 15)

Fifteen artifacts representing 6.76% of the total assemblage were found to belong to the “Social, Recreational & Indulgence” activity group. Three secondary sub-activity groups are represented in this assemblage: “Smoking”, “Alcohol” and Toys”.

Smoking (n = 10)

Ten clay pipe fragments were found to belong to this secondary sub activity (Figure 5.22, Figure 5.23, Figure 6.20)

Alcohol (n = 4)

Four artifacts were found to belong to this secondary sub activity. Out of the four artifacts recovered, two were complete dark olive green wine bottles with hand applied finishes. The other two artifacts were fragments from a colourless wine bottle base with a kick-up basal profile.

Toys (n = 1)

Only 1 artifact, a miniature porcelain tea cup (Figure 5.31), was found to belong to this secondary sub-activity.

Education & Communication (n = 1)

Only one artifact representing 0.45% of the total assemblage was found to belong to the “Education & Communications” activity group.

Writing (n = 1)

Only one artifact, a wood pencil fragment, was found to belong to this secondary sub-activity.

Architectural (n = 51)

Fifty-one artifacts representing 22.97% of the total assemblage were found to belong to “Architectural” activities. All three secondary sub-activity groups under the primary “Architectural” activity group are represented in the assemblage.

Building Material (n = 6)

This sub-activity group is entirely comprised of tile, plastic siding and brick fragments.

Window Material (n = 5)

This sub-activity group is completely comprised of window glass.

Hardware (n = 40)

Out of the 51 artifacts in the “Architectural” activity group, 40 of these belong to “Hardware” and is comprised of an assortment of metal fasteners such as machine cut nails, wire cut nails, staples and washers.

Hunting & Defence (n = 2)

2 artifacts representing 0.90% of the total assemblage were found to belong to the “Hunting and Defence” activity group.

Ammunition (n = 1)

A single brass centre fire cartridge case comprises the “Hunting and Defence” activity group. This cartridge case had a partial identifiable head stamp that read “...ELEY RR6 LONDON”.

Unclassified (n = 36)

Thirty-six artifacts representing 16.22% of the total assemblage were deemed as “Unclassified” by the author.

Unclassified Ceramic (n = 11)

Eleven “Unclassified Ceramic” fragments were recovered from the feature mentioned above.

Unclassified Glass (n = 3)

Three “Unclassified Glass” fragments were recovered.

Unclassified Glass Container (n = 14)

Fourteen “Unclassified Glass Container” fragments were recovered.

Unclassified Metal (n = 5)

Five “Unclassified Metal” fragments were recovered.

Unclassified Metal Container (n = 2)

Two “Unclassified Glass Container” fragments were recovered.

Unclassified Other (n = 1)

One “Unclassified Other” fragment was recovered.

Unclassifiable (n = 55)

Fifty-five artifacts representing 24.77% of the total assemblage were deemed as “Unclassifiable” by the author.

Unclassifiable Ceramic (n = 5)

Out of the 55 artifacts labelled as “Unclassifiable”, five are ceramic fragments.

Unclassifiable Glass (n = 38)

Out of the 55 artifacts labelled as “Unclassifiable”, 38 are glass fragments.

Unclassifiable Glass Container (n = 1)

Out of the 55 artifacts labelled as “Unclassifiable”, only one is a glass container fragment.

Unclassifiable Leather (n = 5)

Out of the 55 artifacts labelled as “Unclassifiable”, five are leather fragments.

Unclassifiable Metal (n = 2)

Out of the 55 artifacts labelled as “Unclassifiable”, two are metal fragments.

Unclassifiable Metal Container (n = 4)

Out of the 55 artifacts labelled as “Unclassifiable”, four are metal container fragments.