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'Improvement the Order of the Age': Historic Advertising, Consumer Choice, and Identity in 19th Century Roxbury, Massachusetts

Janice A. Nosal

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“IMPROVEMENT THE ORDER OF THE AGE”: HISTORIC ADVERTISING,
CONSUMER CHOICE, AND IDENTITY IN 19TH CENTURY ROXBURY,
MASSACHUSETTS

A Thesis Presented

By

JANICE A. NOSAL

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies,
University of Massachusetts Boston,
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

August 2016

Historical Archaeology Program

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ABSTRACT

“IMPROVEMENT THE ORDER OF THE AGE”: HISTORIC ADVERTISING,
CONSUMER CHOICE, AND IDENTITY IN 19TH CENTURY ROXBURY,
MASSACHUSETTS

August 2016

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During the mid-to-late 19th century, Roxbury, Massachusetts experienced a dramatic change from a rural farming area to a vibrant, working-class, and predominantly-immigrant urban community. This new demographic bloomed during America’s industrial age, a time in which hundreds of new mass-produced goods flooded consumer markets. This thesis explores the relationship between working-class consumption patterns and historic advertising in 19th-century Roxbury, Massachusetts. It assesses the significance of advertising within households and the community by comparing advertisements from the *Roxbury Gazette and South End Advertiser* with archaeological material from the Tremont Street and Elmwood Court Housing sites, excavated in the late 1970s, to determine the degree of correlation between the two sources. Separately, the

archaeological and advertising materials highlight different facets of daily life for the residents of this neighborhood. When combined, however, these two distinct data sets provide a more holistic snapshot of household life and consumer choice. Specifically, I examine the relationship between advertisers and consumers and how tangible goods served as a medium of communication for values, social expectations, and individual and group identities.

Ultimately, this study found that there is little direct overlap between the material record from the Southwest Corridor excavations and the historic *Roxbury Gazette* advertisements. The most prevalent types of advertisements from an 1861-1898 *Roxbury Gazette* sample largely did not overlap with the highest artifact type concentrations from the Southwest Corridor excavations. This disconnect may be the result of internal factors, including lack of purchases or extended use lives for certain objects. External factors for disconnect include archaeological deposition patterns, as well as the ways in which the archaeological and advertising data is categorized for analysis. Most importantly, this study emphasizes that the lives of Tremont Street and Elmwood Court's residents cannot be neatly summed up by the materials they discarded. Only through the consideration of material culture, documentary resources, and other historic information can we begin to understand the experiences these individuals endured.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

During the latter half of the 19th century, residents of Roxbury, Massachusetts experienced a significant change as their community transformed from a rural farming area to a dense, suburban neighborhood predominantly populated by immigrant families. This transition resulted in a diverse and dynamic population of working-class individuals who consumed goods differently than in Roxbury's rural period. This thesis uses material and documentary evidence from the Tremont Street and Elmwood Court Housing sites, excavated in 1979 by the Museum of Afro American History, to examine the relationship between working-class consumption patterns and advertising in an era of intense social and ethnic change. When separate, these sources highlight different facets of daily life for residents of this Roxbury neighborhood. Together, they provide comprehensive and holistic snapshots of household life and consumer choice. This project examines advertisements as means of conveying values, morals, and social expectations, which reveals information about how both consumers engaged with products and how producers hoped the products would be received.

Today, Roxbury, Massachusetts is a vibrant and diverse urban neighborhood within the city of Boston, but it has not always been this way. Archaeological investigations from the Southwest Corridor Project reveal copious information about Roxbury's mid-19th-century transition from a rural community to a Boston neighborhood. Additionally, 19th-century advertisements are prevalent in historic periodicals and provide substantial information about how advertisers wanted consumers to behave, but do not reflect the choices consumers actually made. This project is valuable for researchers studying class-based consumption because it critically and reflexively assesses 19th-century urban advertising by engaging with the material culture from working-class archaeological sites. I explore the relationship between advertising and archaeology at the Tremont Street and Elmwood Court Housing sites by comparing advertisements from the *Roxbury Gazette and South End Advertiser*, hereafter referred to as the *Roxbury Gazette*, with archaeological material to determine the degree of overlap between the two sources. Specifically, I consider the advertisement text and images as means of imparting intrinsic values to goods and examine the archaeological remains to determine how these values manifested in the choices consumers made.

Ultimately, this study found that there is little direct correspondence between the material record uncovered during the Southwest Corridor project and the historic advertisements gathered from the *Roxbury Gazette* advertisements. Not a single piano key or sewing machine was found during archaeological excavations, despite these objects' prevalence in the advertisements. This disconnect may be the result of internal factors, including lack of purchases or extended use lives for certain objects. External

factors for disconnect include archaeological deposition patterns, as well as the ways in which the archaeological and advertising data are categorized for analysis. Despite the lack of overlap between the data, the archaeology and advertising associated with the Tremont Street and Elmwood Court sites offer windows into how consumers made choices in their day-to-day lives, and together they provide a more holistic view of consumption patterns. I focus my analysis on the relationship and dialogue between advertisers and consumers, and how tangible goods served as a medium of communication for values, social expectations, and individual and group identity. Numerous archaeological and advertising examples permeate this discussion.

The value of this project is multifaceted. The Southwest Corridor project is an aging and forgotten archaeological treasure waiting to be explored. Often called “orphaned” collections, once the dust is wiped away, these valuable resources allow scholars to rediscover an abundance of information while simultaneously tackling the collections overcrowding head-on by using old collections instead of continually excavating new sites (Kane 2011). On a larger scale, this project has the potential to contribute to the community of Roxbury because it highlights a pivotal period in the city’s history. Considered to be “the heart of Black culture in Boston,” Roxbury is undergoing a renaissance today that mirrors its 19th-century transformation; new businesses, housing areas, and the Roxbury Center for the Arts, Culture, and Trade line the same neighborhoods and streets that the city’s Industrial Age inhabitants traversed (City of Boston 2016). This diverse community has a complex, culturally-rich, and sometimes tense history. After waves of Irish, English, and German immigrants arrived in the city

during the late-19th century, Roxbury became increasingly diverse as a Jewish community formed near Blue Hill Avenue in the early 1900s, followed shortly by a migration from southern cities in 1940s and 1950s which created one of Boston's richest African-American communities (Boston Landmarks Commission 1995). By re-examining the roots from which the neighborhood came, this project contextualizes the challenges Roxbury has faced throughout the past 150 years and contributes to its rich history as a part of Boston.

Previous Scholarship

The Tremont Street and Elmwood Court Housing archaeological sites in Roxbury, Massachusetts (Figure 1) are the focus of this project. Today, Roxbury is a neighborhood within the City of Boston, but was originally a separate farming community from its founding in 1630 until it became part of Boston proper in 1848 (Boston Landmarks Commission 1995). The sites were excavated from 1979 to 1980 by the Museum of African American History (MAAH), known today as the Museum of African American History, in preparation for a Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority (MBTA) construction project. The materials recovered from these sites date to the mid-to-late 19th century and are attributed to working-class occupants living in multi-family dwellings during this time.

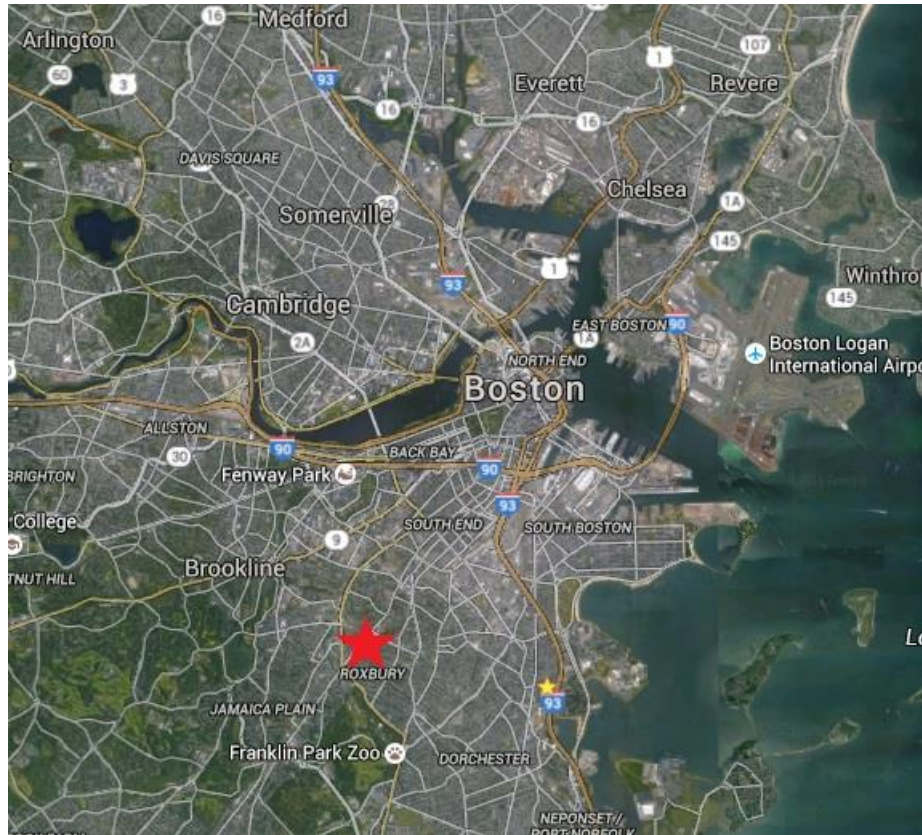


FIGURE 1: Map showing Roxbury’s location within Massachusetts

While many other scholars have addressed different facets of this project, no single study has accomplished all of this project’s goals, nor have they addressed the dynamic relationship between historic advertising and archaeological collections. There is no dearth of scholarship on identity and consumption in the 19th century, but often it takes a narrow approach to material culture. Diana DiZerega Wall’s (1991, 1999) work in mid-19th century New York discusses consumer preferences and the manufacture of idealized domestic spaces through purchases. Specifically, her 1999 piece features an intensive examination of ceramics as indicators of consumer preferences and the construction of identity, and she addresses challenges in working with these types of

materials. Ceramics are a popular choice for investigating consumption; Rotman and Clay's 2008 article about the industrial and social changes in Southern Indiana provides an excellent example of how to use a specific artifact type—historic ceramics—as indicators of these transformations in the archaeological record. Ceramics are not the only means of analyzing consumption, however; while they can often be easily dated and survive well in situ, they are far from the only purchases individuals and families made throughout their lifetimes. My research incorporates historic ceramics, bottle glass, objects of personal adornment, and other material types to provide the most holistic analysis possible of the Tremont Street and Elmwood Court sites.

Other research comes close to my project's underlying arguments, but does not analyze the same demographic or geographic location. Beaudry and Mrozowski's research in the factory city of Lowell, Massachusetts is arguably one of the most relevant and best-known studies of 19th-century urban life. However, Lowell and Roxbury were extraordinarily different living and working environments despite their geographic proximity. Beaudry (1989) examines the impacts of corporate ideology on living conditions for workers in Lowell, which was primarily a mill-laden factory city, while Boston was a rapidly expanding and diverse urban and shipping hub. Mrozowski's *The Archaeology of Class in Urban America* incorporates documentary evidence and traditional archaeological material culture to discuss industrialization and urbanization in New England, specifically within Rhode Island and Massachusetts. Like Mrozowski, I incorporate "a series of intimate portraits...that serve as vehicles for exploring the changing face of class during a period of major transformation in the evolution of

capitalism” (Mrozowski 2006:1). Our projects diverge because Mrozowski’s primarily examines 18th-century New England, while my project focuses on 19th-century Roxbury within Boston as a city. Mrozowski’s demographic differs as well; his data allow him to work at the household level, while the high residential turnover in the Tremont Street and Elmwood Court limits my ability to attribute any specific artifacts to one set of residents.

Roxbury was not the only city undergoing dramatic transformation from the 18th to 19th centuries. Yamin’s (2001) work on the Five Points neighborhood in New York serves as a relevant model for my research because she uses documentary information to reconstruct a demographic and spatial profile of a neighborhood that gained a reputation for its colorful multi-family tenancies. Yamin joins census data, employment records, and historical primary sources with the archaeological record to provide a complete image of life in the Five Points neighborhood, one of New York’s most famed ‘slums.’ Using her framework as a guide, I provide a similarly detailed portrait for the working-class residents of Roxbury, a Boston neighborhood of equally-colorful repute.

Archaeologists are not the only discipline to study advertising and consumption. Historian Lori Loeb’s *Consuming Angels: Advertising and Victorian Women* uses late English Victorian advertisements to examine Victorian cultural ideas and practices. Her study is particularly useful for my research because she identifies three key participants in Victorian advertising relationships: the consumer, the agent, and the product. Loeb acknowledges the challenges of a quantitative advertisement analysis; therefore, “all advertisements used were subjected first to a frequency content analysis that grouped advertisements according to product type, setting, sex roles, age depiction, and marketing

strategies” (Loeb 1994:ix). This categorization is a reasonable model for my analysis of historic advertisements in Roxbury, Massachusetts. However, the data Loeb used ranges from 1880 to 1920, which is approximately forty years later than the Tremont Street and Elmwood Court sites (Loeb 1994). Nevertheless, Loeb’s project provides a starting point for deeper historical advertising studies, and bolsters arguments for the incorporation of archaeology in advertising research.

One of the most influential works for my research is Paul Mullins’ *Archaeology of Consumer Culture* (2011), which explores how ideologies and social structures reflect and shape consumption, which are then reproduced in the material record. My project supports Mullin’s argument that buying and owning things could “confirm, display, accent, mask, and imagine who we are and whom we wish to be,” a particularly poignant truth for the 19th century Roxbury working-class (Mullins 2011:2). Perhaps the most important takeaway from *Archaeology of Consumer Culture* (2011) is Mullins’ caution against oversimplifying status and emulation frameworks when looking at manufacturing, marketing, and purchase of goods; the reasons people purchased or did not purchase certain products throughout history are often significantly more complex than simply having the desire to imitate a certain class or group. Cook, Yamin, and McCarthy (1996) echo these claims, arguing that shopping was a conscious, consumer-centric, and active process. Their work attempts to reconstruct the framework historical archaeologists use when analyzing consumption because

The act of choice, the ‘why’ of consumption, disappears in analyses which focus on what people bought, or, more accurately, threw out. Choice is seen as either

determined by economics or as a small, at best passive, voice, inaudible, submerged in the noisy black box of mass culture (Cook et al. 1996:50).

Cook's argument is particularly relevant for the Tremont Street and Elmwood Court sites, where original occupants made conscious decisions to purchase, use, and discard the archaeological materials recovered. As I delve deeper into the economic and social circumstances of Roxbury's 19th century working-class, I incorporate Mullins, Cook, and other scholar's arguments to unravel the tangled relationships between these consumers and the companies who solicited them.

Analytical Methodology

The bulk of data for this project comes from two distinct collections: archaeological material recovered from the Southwest Corridor excavations, and a sample of printed newspaper advertisements from the historic *Roxbury Gazette and South End Advertiser* dating from 1861 to 1898. A summary of my analytical methods is provided below, and as I discuss each of these collections separately in upcoming chapters, I provide more detailed methodological explanations.

The Tremont Street and Elmwood Court Southwest Corridor sites were selected because their date ranges, collections sizes, and demographic histories complemented one another best out of the entire Southwest Corridor project sites. The Southwest Corridor collection is also significant because it is considered an "orphaned collection." For years after the excavation, the Southwest Corridor material sat in storage at the Museum of Afro-American History. Unfortunately, a combination of poor climate control and deteriorating storage materials left the collections vulnerable to continuous damage.

After the Massachusetts Historic Commission received the collections in the late 1990s, the aging paper records were digitally cataloged and the artifacts were re-bagged and placed in archival-safe storage boxes. Each artifact received a unique barcode to make identification easier. After this rehousing, these sites were prime candidates for reanalysis (Poulson pers. comm. 2015).

Both collections needed to be available digitally for optimal processing and analysis. The Southwest Corridor archaeological materials had been recently re-cataloged and entered into a digital database, which I exported into a basic Excel spreadsheet for easy manipulation of data for statistical purposes. The *Roxbury Gazette* articles were available on microfilm through the Boston Public Library. I scanned and saved selected newspaper issues as PDFs for detailed inventorying and individually cataloged them in an Excel spreadsheet that included the date of publication, the advertiser's name and address, and product category and description. The most challenging aspect of this process was defining product categories that incorporated all advertised goods; an inventory of the entire advertising sample resulted in 46 chosen categories. Upon completion of the advertisement and archaeological databases, I completed basic statistical analyses to determine the concentrations of certain artifact and advertisement types.

Additional Research

To more deeply explore the lives of the former residents of these two sites, I used historic census records from 1880 to compile demographic information of the sites' men, women, and children into a spreadsheet, which I then linked with linked with maps from the 1884

Bromley *Atlas of the City of Boston*, georeferenced in ArcGIS (Figure 2). Overall, this allowed me to complete basic statistical analyses about the neighborhood, including the percentages of immigrant and American-born residents, the number of children attending school, and how these and other social phenomena manifested throughout geographic space. This information frames the discussion of resident experiences in Chapter 2 and provides a clearer demographic view of the residents of Tremont Street and Elmwood Court as individuals and families, an important factor in analyzing consumer choices and the archaeological record.



FIGURE 2: Location and Distribution of Tremont Street Area Residences, 1880.

Chapter 2 details the archaeological excavations at both sites focusing on the Phase III excavation at Tremont Street and gives context to both sites through a

discussion of urbanization and resident experiences in 19th-century Boston. A summary of the archaeological collection extent is included in Chapter 3, including the representative material types and their concentrations. Chapter 4 introduces the advertising sample from the *Roxbury Gazette* and explores the history, growth, and significance of advertising in the 19th century. In Chapter 5, I address the challenges of the archaeological collections and the reasons for using advertising as the primary data set. I highlight the overlap and dissonance with these sources and discuss how these connections reveal substantial information about how Roxbury's 19th century residents related to and engaged with historic advertising.

CHAPTER 2
TREMONT STREET AND ELMWOOD COURT: ARCHAEOLOGICAL
EXCAVATION AND RESIDENT EXPERIENCES

Excavation Summary

The Tremont Street Housing site (SWC-11A) and Elmwood Court Housing and Mill site (SWC-11B), located in Roxbury, MA, were excavated as part of the Southwest Corridor Project in 1979-1980 in an effort to mitigate impacts from a planned Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority (MBTA) construction project. The Museum of Afro American History (MAAH) led the excavations. These sites are representative of Roxbury's significant rural-to-urban transformation during the mid-to-late 19th century, during which an influx of working-class immigrants settled in the area. Multi-family, apartment-style residences and small business comprised the area (Charles and Openo 1987).

The original research team for the project determined that the entire Southwest Corridor project area had high archaeological potential. In order to accommodate time and budget constraints, the team narrowed the project down to 38 sites covering four historic periods and uses: Residential and industrial colonial sites, 19th-century

residential sites, 19th-century industrial sites, and 19th-century transportation and services sites. Within these categories, the entire project was sectioned geographically into four survey testing programs. The Tremont Street Housing site and Elmwood Court site became part of Survey Testing Program C, which included the area between Columbus Avenue and Tremont Street from Roxbury Crossing to Ruggles Street, as well as the southern portion of Jackson Square. The two sites were expected to be highly intact with minimal disturbances (Museum of Afro American History 1984a).

The sites were first tested by hand-dug trenches that were supplemented with a backhoe when deemed necessary. The trenches were excavated in natural stratigraphic levels except in cases of deep fill, in which case arbitrary levels were used to separate upper and lower parts of a level. Artifacts were collected as a sample within backhoe trenches and, when possible, excavators gathered artifacts from sidewalls to ascertain a date for the level. In areas of 20th-century fill and demolition debris, excavators collected a sample of brick, concrete, cement, wood, mortar, charcoal, linoleum, shell, coal, ash, slag, plaster, and slate (Charles and Openo 1987).

Elmwood Court Mill and Housing Area

Elmwood Court was first excavated as part of the Mill Complex (SWC-1B). Excavation at the Elmwood Court Mill and Housing Area revealed two deposits highlighting two distinct phases of site use and occupation. These deposits provide the bulk of my data for the Elmwood Court site. The first was a 19th-century trash deposit associated with Elmwood Place residences, and the second was a stone foundation possibly associated with a late 18th or early 19th-century mill structure. Historic records indicate a mill was

first built in this area in the early 1630s by Richard Dummer, which was later purchased by prominent resident John Pierpont in the mid-1600s. The Pierpont family owned this area until the late 1700s, when it was sold, portioned into smaller parcels, and rented by the Waitt family. The mill was used by different individuals until the mid-1800s when it was replaced by steam power. In 1860, Samuel Little purchased the parcel and constructed a row of wooden retail buildings with residences adjacent to the rear. Excavators hoped that remnants of the mill, 17th-century occupation, or 19th-century occupation could be located (Museum of Afro-American History 1984b).

The excavation began with three test trenches created with a backhoe. Test Trench 1 (TT1) and Test Trench 9 (TT9) crossed the location of the millraces and Stoney Brook, while Test Trench 10 (TT10) transected the Pierpont-Waitt lot and later 19th-century wood framed residences. TT1 and TT9 revealed significant 20th-century disturbances that obliterated evidence of the millraces. A mid-to-late 19th-century trash deposit (designated Feature 1) was discovered and hand-excavated in the eastern portion of TT10. Excluding Feature 1, TT10's eastern portion was determined to be a filled cellar from a mid-19th-century burned structure, but further excavation would have been necessary to determine the building's size and purpose (Museum of Afro-American History 1984b).

Tremont Street Housing Area

Both the Tremont Street and Elmwood Court sites reached Phase II excavation, but only Tremont Street was taken to Phase III because of the site's potential (Museum of Afro-American History 1984a). In the Tremont Street site, two features of domestic debris

were excavated during the third phase of the project in December 1979 to expand upon test trenches dug during Phase II operations. The excavation as a whole concentrated mainly on open areas behind historic structures to locate privies or trash deposits, rather than determine locations of demolished buildings. Phase II excavations at SWC 11-A comprised five test trenches strategically placed to locate any deposits or privies in areas without evidence of 19th-century buildings, as well as across walls of established mid-19th-century buildings. Phase III excavations were completed mainly by hand due to the site’s shallow nature. A total of eight 2x2 meter units focused on two domestic features were excavated during this stage (Table 1) (Charles and Openo 1987).

TABLE 1. Phase II and Phase III Excavation Units

<u>Feature Number</u>	<u>Phase II Location</u>	<u>Phase III Units</u>
1	Trench 3 (TT3)	Six 2 m. units (S1E2, S1E3, N1E2, N1E3, N2E2, N2E3)
2	Trench 4 (TT4)	Two 2 m. units (N2E5, N3E5)

Features 1 and 2

The original researchers from the Museum of Afro American History hoped that these deposits would yield evidence and information about 19th-century urban working-class life and culture, particularly because they had excellent subsurface integrity for comparable urban sites. They argued that the 19th-century urban working class, sometimes called the “silent majority,” was glaringly understudied by historians due to a lack of primary sources, including personal papers, nonfiction accounts, or photographs

(Museum of Afro American History 1984a). MAAH archaeologists believed that archaeology could fill in these important gaps, because “you didn’t have to be rich or literate to throw out your trash” (Charles and Openo 1987:11). The material record offered comparative cross-class data to examine consumption, availability, and style preferences of under-discussed cultural groups.

In Phase III of the Tremont Street excavation, Units N2E5 and N3E5 were excavated to further investigate the trash deposit (Feature 2) located in Test Trench 4 (Figure 3) of Phase II testing, as well as to continue the search for the northern wall of the 19th-century building noted on several 1873 and 1884 atlases. The first two levels of this excavation area were determined to be mid-20th century fill brought in to landscape the area after buildings were demolished; few artifacts were found in these two levels. Approximately 20 centimeters below the surface archaeologists encountered Level 3, a layer of redeposited, low-artifact-density subsoil. Level 4 produced the highest concentration of late-19th-century artifacts, approximately 75% of which was domestic refuse, including whitewares, utilitarian wares, buttons, leather shoe fragments, and other personal items. The remaining portion of the assemblage was comprised of architectural items, including a high volume of metal nails. Excavators determined this feature represented a concentration of street refuse from the late-19th to early-20th centuries. No evidence of the building’s northern wall was found, and weather constraints limited further excavation of this feature (Charles and Openo 1987).

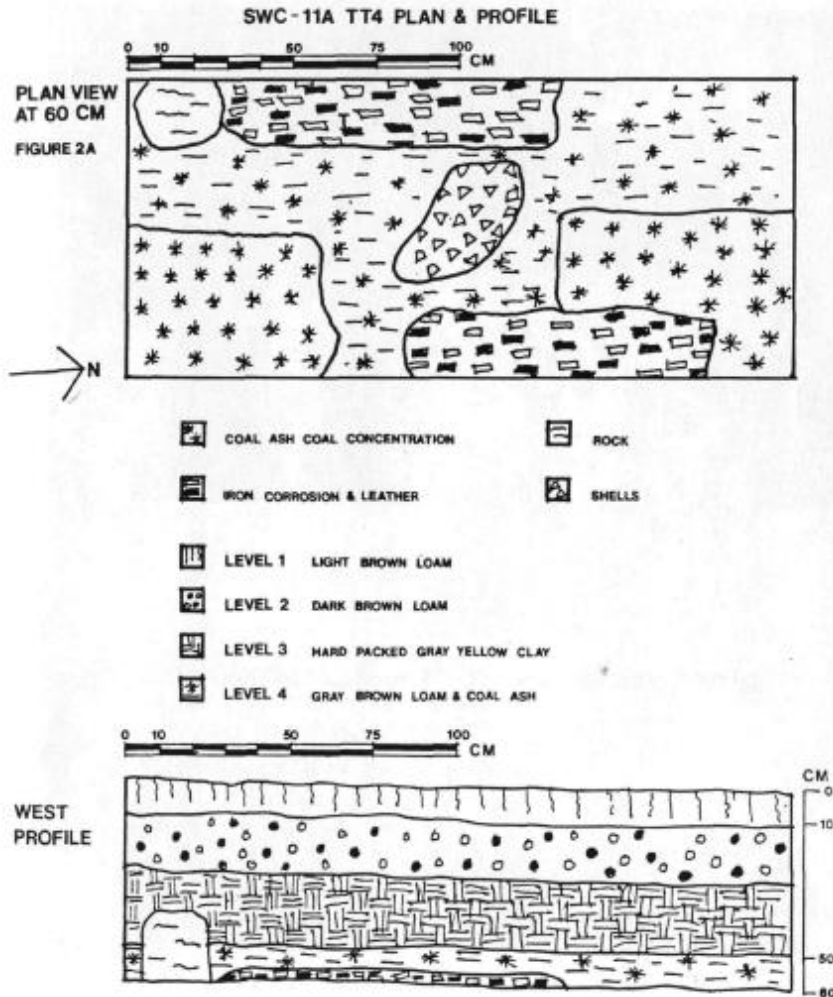


FIGURE 3: Plan and Profile of Tremont Street Test Trench 4 from Charles and Openo Site Report, 1987.

Phase III investigation of Feature 1 began with the opening of six two-meter units (S1E2, S1E3, N1E2, N1E3, N2E2, N2E3) where Test Trench 3 was excavated in Phase II (Figure 4). A puddingstone and mortar foundation wall corresponding with the east wall of the former building was associated with this feature. The stratigraphy within the six two-meter units was relatively homogenous. Levels 1, 2, and 3 were determined to be

redeposited fill used to level and raise the ground surface after the building was demolished in 1968. Most artifacts within these levels date to the early-20th century (Charles and Openo 1987).

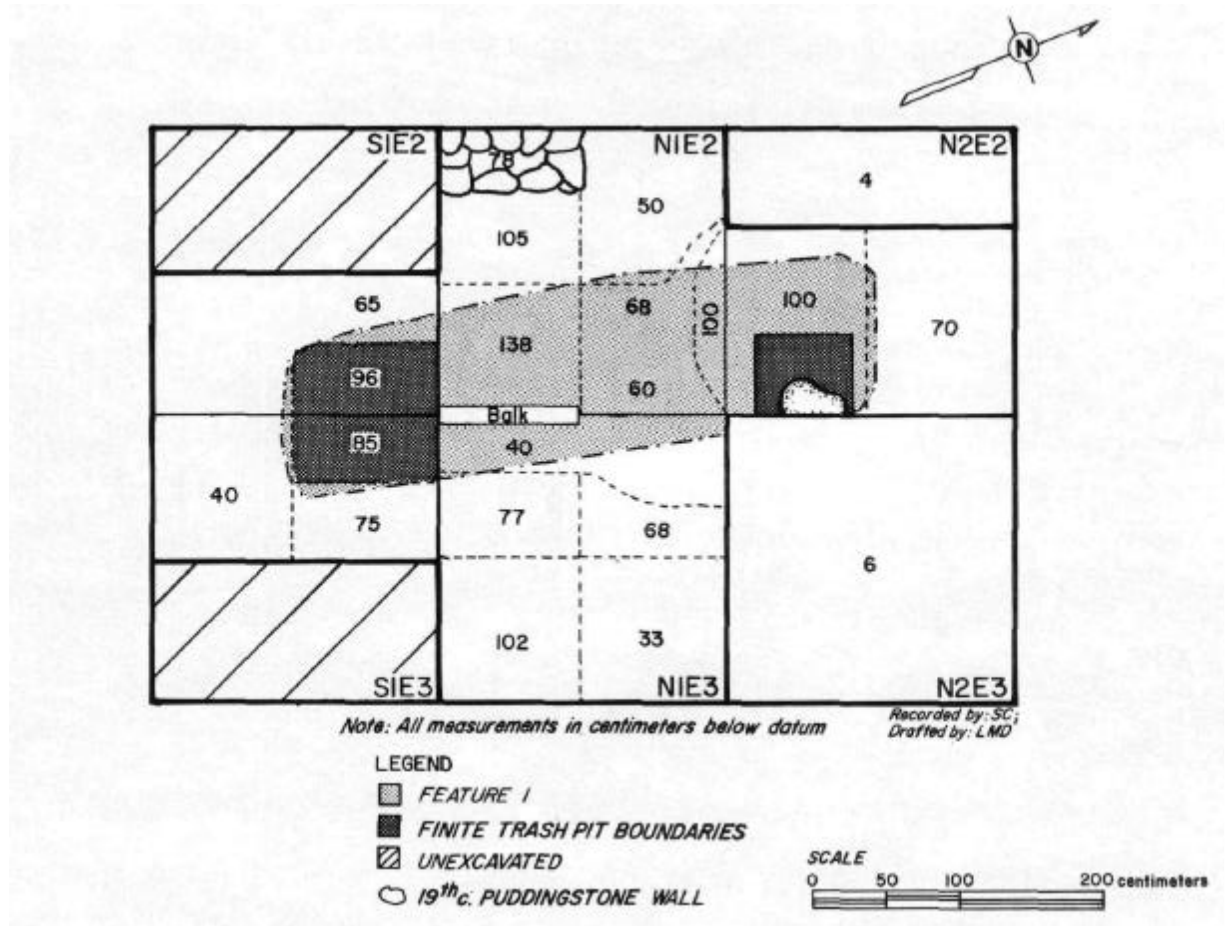


FIGURE 4: Plan View of Tremont Street Feature 1 and Associated Excavation Units from Charles and Openo Site Report, 1987.

Below this, Level 4 appeared between 20 and 30 centimeters below the ground surface. Numerous factors led excavators to determine that this level was the 19th-century ground surface, including high artifact density, late-19th-century domestic refuse, the foundation wall of the building, and the mixed areas of gravel, brick, and mortar present in the level. Excavators unearthed a wide variety of domestic artifacts. Approximately 44% of the level's artifacts were historic ceramics, and nearly 60% of those ceramics were hard whitewares. Bottle glass, personal items, and other artifacts were easily dateable to the 19th century. A faunal component was present in this level as well, including 14 animal bone fragments, 35 shells, and a dense oyster shell middle which was sampled during the excavation. Architectural debris included nails, window glass, brick, and mortar. Level 5 formed a cap over most of the trash deposit, and many of the artifacts encountered in this level corresponded or mended with those from Level 4, including pearlware from John Maddock & Son dating to 1885 (Charles and Openo 1987).

Excavators encountered the edges of the rectangular trash deposit in Level 6A, and a total of six strata defined the feature. It had a total vertical depth of approximately 85 centimeters and began approximately 53 to 60 centimeters below ground surface before terminating at 138 centimeters below ground surface. Artifacts within these six levels frequently cross-mended and, like other adjacent levels, included high concentrations of 19th century domestic and architectural materials. The densest level of artifacts within the feature came from Level 9A. Nearly 80% of this level's artifacts were 19th century domestic trash, with historic ceramics making up approximately 34%.

Unlike other levels, a large animal-based component was found in 9A, including an assemblage of 62 leather shoe fragments with three post-1862 machine-stitched shoes. Just below Level 9A, Level 10A contained a significant assemblage of leather and metal animal harness components. The final level of Feature 1 (Level 11A) included several late eighteenth century ceramics, including one Jackfield earthenware sherd and one tin-glazed earthenware sherd (Charles and Openo 1987).

The project's excavators determine that the six thin strata within the feature were evidence of six discrete deposition events within one occupation period, rather than six separate occupation periods. The major indicator for this trend is the startling cross-mending and correlation between artifacts from all six levels. Diagnostic artifacts within all six levels reveal a TPQ of 1849 for the trash deposit's lowest levels, and absence of 20th century indicate that the trash deposit was sealed before that time (Charles and Openo 1987). See Appendix A for a detailed table of artifact counts and percentages by material type.

In order to contextualize this deposit and the artifacts contained within, however, it is crucial to understand the residents who may have tossed their refuse into it. The men, women, and children living on Tremont Street and Elmwood Court were active components of a changing city that was quite literally growing around them. The following sections discuss 19th-century urban transformation and how these changes impacted those living and working in the city.

A Changing City: 19th Century Urban Life

Exploding Urbanization and 19th-Century Transformation: Roxbury and Beyond

During the late-19th and early-20th centuries, America experienced a shift from a society oriented towards agrarian production and the local market to one of mass consumption, ready-made goods, and widespread distribution. This was due in part to the nation's corresponding population explosion and rapid urbanization: America's population tripled between 1850 and 1900, industrial laborers increased from 2.75 million to 8 million between 1880 and 1910, and from 1859 to 1919 the national experienced a fivefold increase in manufactured goods (Bronner 1989). Cities swelled with an influx of new residents, who took advantage of increasingly-accessible transportation options including railroads and horse-drawn omnibuses (Rothschild and Wall 2014). Between 1820 and 1920, the percentage of urban-dwelling Americans increased from 7% to nearly 50% (Rothschild and Wall 2014:17).

Long before this explosion, however, Roxbury, Massachusetts was a small rural farming enclave near the growing city of Boston. First settled by colonists in 1630, Roxbury was originally an independent entity connected to Boston by a narrow strip of land—for many colonists, passing through Roxbury was the only way into Boston proper. The first network of roads included Washington, Dudley, Centre, Roxbury, and Warren Streets, all of which are major thoroughfares throughout the city today. Roxbury was primarily an agricultural community known particularly for its fruit trees, including the prized Roxbury Russet apple (Boston Landmarks Commission 1995).

While it retained its rustic character for the first few decades after the American Revolution, it quickly became a popular location for families looking to settle outside of the city (Boston Landmarks Commission 1995; Museum of Afro American History 1984a). Three major antebellum events aided Roxbury's industrialization and expansion. In 1821, the Boston and Roxbury Mill Dam Corporation opened a dam across Back Bay in hopes of generating industrial power. The project failed which hastened both the filling of Back Bay and Roxbury's development. In 1832, the Tremont Street extension opened as the second toll-free route out of Boston. Tremont Street crossed through Roxbury Street, which increased access to Boston markets for residents of (what was then called) Pierpont Village. Finally, in 1835 the Boston and Providence Railroad line opened, creating a commercially-robust area known as Roxbury Crossing where Tremont Street, Roxbury Street, and Stoney Brook converged (Figure 5) (Museum of Afro American History 1984a).

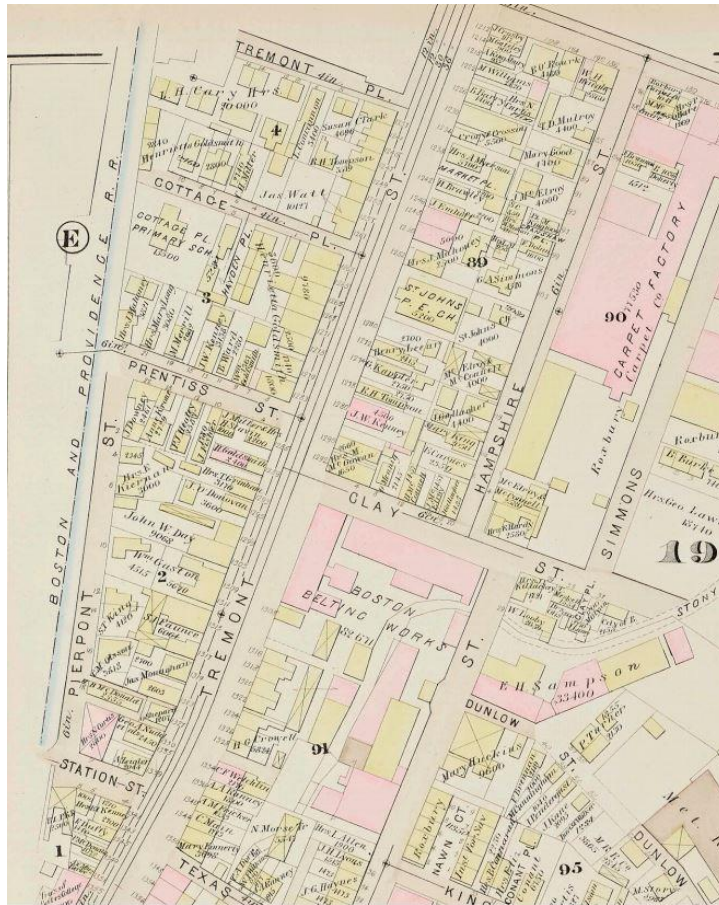


FIGURE 5: Roxbury Crossing Area, 1884 G.M. Bromley Map, Plate F.

By the mid-19th century, Roxbury was developing into two distinct areas; while the northeastern portion became increasingly urban and adopted a city charter in 1848, residents of West Roxbury resisted this growth and seceded from the city to remain a rural farming community. The expanding northeastern portion of Roxbury attracted new residents, the majority of whom were recent immigrants seeking employment. New businesses and vendors opened to accommodate the diverse and rapidly-growing population (Museum of Afro American History 1984a).

Boston was not the only city experiencing tremendous growth during this time, and often this change was not universally welcomed. In Philadelphia, 19th-century historian John Fanning marveled at his city's visibly changing facade, describing it as "a city building on top of the former!" (Upton 2008:19). In New Haven, Connecticut, Yale University president Timothy Dwight interpreted the city's growth as an influx of endless energy "spread[ing] through all classes and... everywhere visible" (Upton 2008:19). Still, others were quicker to comment on the noise and uncleanliness of urban life, particularly in the early 19th century. A fetid bouquet often overwhelmed urbanites' senses; air pollution from industrial smoke, waste stewing in privies and streets, and spoiling food from markets were just a sample of smells that permeated city streets. An equally diverse soundscape accompanied urban life, ranging from the metallic grind of expanding industry to the shouting of vendors selling products and carts rolling through busy streets (Upton 2008). A similarly noisy, bustling environment likely surrounded the residents of Tremont Street and Elmwood Court as Roxbury expanded around them.

The Construction of Identity in Urban Spaces

Social and spatial orders were closely connected in 19th-century cities, particularly in Boston. During this time, "identities were rooted in location: people knew who they were by where they lived, where they worked, where they spent time" (Deutsch 1994: 202).

This is particularly prevalent within three demographic groups: women, immigrants, and the working-class. These three groups, present in high numbers within the Tremont Street and Elmwood Court neighborhood, can be challenging to see in historical and

archaeological records. Marginalized demographics are often considered “not worthy of notice” by dominant social, economic, and political groups (Scott 1994:3).

Until recently, the voices of working-class women were often muted or misrepresented in comparison to their middle-class counterparts. An interdisciplinary approach to these underrepresented demographics that incorporates both the archaeological material record and primary historical documents better illuminates their lives at a personal, tactile, and tangible level. The residents of Tremont Street and Elmwood Court certainly did not always fall into each of these categories; for example, working-class native-born women lived alongside recent male immigrants (United States Federal Census 1880). However, collectively, the occupants of these apartments faced biases solely because of where they lived, and would have been obligated to navigate challenging social and economic situations in order to thrive in the rapidly-changing Boston area.

Resident Experiences

Living on Tremont Street and Elmwood Court

The small section of Tremont Street, between Cottage Place and Terry Street (c. 1873) and nearby Elmwood Court was a site of transience in the mid-to-late 19th century; wood-framed houses and shops appear and disappear as one scans through decades of local maps, while census records reveal the demographic changes throughout time in these spaces. To better understand the individuals living there, I created a database of demographic information for the neighborhood using information recorded in the 1880 United States Census and the 1884 Bromley Atlas of the City of Boston. In total, 38

Statistical analysis of the 1880 U.S. Federal Census indicates high concentrations of first and second-generation immigrants throughout this neighborhood, the majority of whom were of Irish descent. Other nationalities were present in smaller numbers, including German, English, and Canadian immigrants (United States Federal Census 1880). Research for the original site report indicated that most residents were tenants, not homeowners, and the majority of Tremont Street-area residents also worked in Roxbury (Charles and Openo 1987). Women comprised a slight majority of the neighborhood: in 1880, women made up 51.62% of the individuals living in the selected Tremont Street area, while 48.2% of Elmwood Court residents were female. In terms of census numbers, this shows women and men were equally represented in the neighborhood; they may not have had the same employment or social opportunities, but they were just as physically present as men.

While it is possible to determine specific residents for a portion of the structures represented on historic maps, the census records indicate frequent movement of individuals and families, as well as dense occupation of many of the buildings. This poses challenges for archaeologists because it limits the likelihood of drawing concrete correlations between specific artifacts and possible owners. However, there are ways to circumvent this difficulty. Voss (2008) suggests recentering, or a shift in perspective and scope away from the household. Many historical archaeologists study 19th and 20th century sites at the household level. Archaeologists define a household as “a group of individuals who share a common residence... [which] are normally bound together by kinship and economic relations” (LeeDecker 1994:348). To many archaeologists, the

household is the most significant level of study because was the space in which collective and individual identities form and change (Voss 2008). This approach, however, works best for middle-class, European-American households; many of the residents of Tremont Street and Elmwood Court did not meet these criteria. Although the household is often an ideal level of analysis, the neighborhood level is equally significant (LeeDecker 1994). By looking at this site type at the community level, rather than the level of household or individual, it is possible to “smooth out’ irregularities in refuse-disposal patterns related to individual preferences or household events,” which could include births, deaths, and changes in economic status or employment (Voss 2008:41).

To provide better context of the material collection from these sites, however, it is helpful to have an idea of some of the individuals who lived and worked in this neighborhood block. The houses and families provided fell within the broader Tremont Street neighborhood and were located in close proximity to the archaeological excavation areas. While they may not be the specific owners of any objects recovered archaeologically, they represent commonalities shared by many of the families. The 1880 U.S. Census offers an intimate look at the families living in this neighborhood. That year, 1245 Tremont Street was home to John and Bridget Brannan, their three young children, and James’ elderly father, Michael Brannan. Both Irish immigrants, John worked as a saloonkeeper, while Bridget kept house. Their eldest child, six-year-old John Jr., attended school. Down the street at 1239 Tremont Place, John and Mary Bradley lived with their six children, ranging in age from six months to fourteen years. John, an Irish immigrant, worked in a carpet factory, while Mary, a Massachusetts

native, kept house. All children old enough to attend school did so (United States Federal Census 1880).

Around the corner at 4 ½ Tremont Place, John and Annie Hall, both English immigrants, lived with their four children. John also worked in a carpet factory, while Annie kept house. Their son John J. Hall, age eighteen, worked as an apprentice to an upholsterer, while his younger siblings attended school. Finally, the Concannon family, the only family to appear in prior census records for the neighborhood, lived at 6 Tremont Place. Lawrence, age seventy at this time, was infirm and did not work, while his wife Ellen kept house. Both Lawrence and Ellen were Irish immigrants and had three grown children, two of whom lived with them. Their son Frank, age twenty, worked in a provision store, while daughter Margaret worked as a dressmaker and daughter Mary was listed as “living in family,” likely working as a servant or housekeeper (United States Federal Census 1880).

While the specific occupations and family sizes varied from house to house, the individuals and families living in the Tremont Street and Elmwood Court areas shared commonalities that allow us to consider the neighborhood as a unit for study. Families worked a variety of jobs to support their household, which often contained elder generations as well as young children. Boarders were not uncommon, and many families note one or two additional people living in their dwelling likely to help with household expenses (United States Federal Census 1880). It is from these crowded and busy living spaces from which the archaeological collection recovered during the Southwest Corridor project came.

CHAPTER 3

ARCHAEOLOGICAL COLLECTION

The Tremont Street and Elmwood Court Housing Sites collectively contain 5624 artifacts representing historic ceramics, glass, ceramic smoking pipes, brick, metal objects, synthetics, stone, minerals, leather, flora, and faunal remains. The Tremont Street site alone contains 4734 artifacts distributed into 2411 lots (or identification numbers), while Elmwood Court comprises 890 artifacts represented within 425 lots. My analysis of the artifacts from these two sites uses all artifacts cumulatively, rather than distinguishing them by site because Tremont Street and Elmwood Court were very similar in date and demographic.

The following chapter provides a breakdown of each major artifact type and its representation within the archaeological collections in both statistical and functional frameworks. I first describe each material type and the varieties present within the collection and then categorize these materials by their possible use by the original owners. This approach lends insight into what actions, activities, and events may have

taken place within the apartments within Tremont Street and Elmwood Court and allows for a more holistic study of these working-class families' lifestyles.

Archaeological Material Types

Ceramics

Ceramics comprise the highest percentage of artifacts at both sites: Tremont Street contains 1722 ceramic artifacts totaling 36.38% of the collection, while 45.51% (405 objects) of Elmwood Court's collection are ceramic. This class of artifacts reveals copious information about family dining and lifestyles, and is a "durable, common, nuanced, and responsive artifact of the culturally informed choices they, in turn, shaped" (Hodge 2010:227). These artifacts served a variety of functions within the home; to better understand them, I first offer an overview of the types of ceramics recovered from archaeological excavations at the two sites. Body types include redware, yellow ware, factory-decorated and undecorated whiteware, pearlware, creamware, ironstone, Rockingham-type, stoneware, ball clay tobacco pipes and marbles, one tin-glazed sherd, white refined earthenware, and decorated and undecorated porcelain. Vessel forms vary depending on the material type, and many ceramic sherds recovered were too small to identify the original vessel form. Tablewares are the most common overall functional ware type at both sites.

Redware vessels include milk pans and flower pots (Figure 7), while ironstone plates, bowls, saucers, lids, and cups are present amongst numerous indeterminate hollow vessel sherds. Several factory-made and slipped pearlware bowls were recovered at Tremont Street, and pearlware saucers and soup plates was found at Elmwood Court.

Porcelain vessel fragments, including saucer and hollowware sherds, were recovered along with porcelain prosser buttons used for clothing.



Left: FIGURE 7: Redware milk pan, Elmwood Court lot # 6203 and 6204; Right: FIGURE 8: Rockingham vessel lid, Elmwood Court lot #6306.

The tablewares, utilitarian vessels, and miscellaneous ceramic objects recovered at Tremont Street and Elmwood Court played functional roles within the homes from which they came. The variety of ware types reflect the diversity in purpose and use, including food and beverage storage, preparation, and serving, as well as personal hygiene, leisure, and adornment.

Substantial portions of ceramics from both sites reflect household food and beverage interactions, including meal preparation and serving. Whiteware plate, cup, saucer, casserole dish, and pitcher sherds were identified, which suggests that families living in Tremont Street and Elmwood Court had access to a range of tablewares for different meals and social gatherings. Although undecorated whitewares comprised the bulk of tablewares recovered, other ceramic types played a part in cooking and dining. Glazed redware sherds from Tremont Street indicate the presence of mixing bowls and

milk pans for food preparation within homes, while decorated and undecorated yellowware bowl, plate, and mug sherds were also recovered. Porcelain cup sherds suggest that families served and drank tea within their homes. Figure 8 is a Rockingham vessel lid sherd recovered from test trench 10 at Elmwood Court (lot #6306).

Rockingham wares are easily identified by their distinctive mottled brown glaze and frequent embossing or reliefs within the vessel's paste. This piece, which dates from the mid-19th to early-20th centuries, likely served as a cover for a pitcher or teapot within a family's kitchen. By the end of the 19th century, these forms were the most widely available Rockingham vessels; however, Rockingham pie plates, spittoons, coffee pots, inkwells, doorknobs, and other functional and decorative forms could also be purchased (Jefferson Patterson Park and Museum 2015).

Ceramics also served purposes outside of the kitchen, including personal care and hygiene. The partial vessel in Figure 9 is a lead-glazed coarse earthenware pot likely originally used for rouge, a type of women's makeup. This object would have been kept among other family toiletries and cosmetics and offers an indicator that Tremont Street's female residents may have participated in beautification and self-care processes inside the home.

Ceramics also provided an outlet for amusement and socialization. Clay smoking pipes and pipe stems were recovered at both sites, providing evidence that tobacco use as a leisure activity was common within and around these homes. However, adults were not the only family members socializing by using ceramics. A clay marble found at Tremont Street may have belonged to one of the dozens of children who lived and played in the

Tremont Street homes. Several porcelain figurine fragments were recovered at both sites, indicating residents owned decorative statuary and children may have owned and played with porcelain dolls or figurines. A comprehensive analysis of these porcelain artifacts is included in Chapter 5.



FIGURE 9: Tremont Street lot# 8103.

Glass

Both the Tremont Street and Elmwood Court sites contained vessel, bottle, and flat glass. Glass bottles and bottle fragments recovered from the excavations indicate that families participated in alcohol consumption, as well as the consumption of patent medicines and cleaning products within the home. Machine-made bottle glass comprises the majority of bottle glass and totals 12.27% of the sites' collections. Original site report researchers identified a minimum of 105 discrete bottles at Tremont Street. Several of the bottle glass fragments from the sites were marked or embossed which reveals important information about the types of products the vessels contained, as well as where they were produced. Tremont Street lot #7819, an intact blown-in-mold pharmaceutical bottle, bears the label "HOUSEHOLD PANACEA" and was produced by Curtis & Brown of New York.

Original researchers determined this bottle dates approximately to 1870s (Charles and Openo 1987). These are only a sample of many pharmaceutical bottle fragments recovered from the sites, indicating that patent medicines were prevalent in 19th-century homes to treat a variety of ailments. Household chemicals were also identified through bottle glass fragments, including one aqua fragment embossed with “[BL]UEING.” This bottle likely contained a laundry bluing agent, which would have been purchased and used within homes by those responsible for cleaning and caretaking.

Alcohol bottles, flat glass, and tableware represented the bulk of the remaining glass samples. A mixture of amber, green, and clear beer, liquor, and wine bottle fragments, including two bottle necks with champagne finishes, were recovered at both sites, suggesting that alcohol consumption occurred on the premises.

Excavators recovered molded and pressed glass tableware, like the possible decanter or vase fragment in Figure 10, as well as unadorned tumblers and stemware including wine glasses. These would have graced a family’s table for meals and gatherings, either for everyday use or reserved for special occasion depending on the object’s designated purpose. The stemware may have been used for the alcohol from the glass bottles recovered.

Glass served architectural and utilitarian functions within the home. The overwhelming majority of flat glass recovered at the two sites is plate window glass dating to post-1850, which would have been part of the late-19th-centuries buildings on the two sites.



FIGURE 10: Faceted glass tableware fragment, possibly a decanter or vase, Elmwood Court lot# 6466.

Faunal and Floral Remains

Faunal and floral remains of foodstuffs and dietary choices are a common source of consumption data for historical archaeologists (LeeDecker 1994). However, due to the two sites' small faunal assemblages, as well as the minute percentage of advertisements for meat and fish in the *Roxbury Gazette* sample as a comparison, a detailed analysis of faunal remains falls outside the scope of this project. Oysters made up the majority of the 33 shell fragments recovered from the late 19th-century trash deposit at Elmwood Court, accompanied by 139 mammal bones. Two animal bones were recovered from the Tremont Street excavation along with 180 shell fragments. Further analysis of specific species present in the sample could yield information about dietary choices and resource availability in 19th-century Boston.

Floral materials recovered at the two sites include wood, charcoal, and natural fibers. Excavators took samples of these materials throughout the project, but recovered a significant concentration of fire byproducts in Feature 1 at Tremont Street (Charles and Openo 1987). These materials can indicate areas where either cooking occurred, or, more likely, where cooking or fuel byproducts were discarded.

Leather

Leather artifacts comprise approximately 7.5% of the archaeological collection. 59 leather shoe fragments were recovered at Tremont Street and one fragment was recovered at Elmwood Court, which collectively represent 1.07% of the overall collection. The large number of shoe fragments at Tremont Street suggest that numerous residents lived on the property and discarded part or all of the shoes as they were outgrown or worn out. A minimum of three discrete shoes have been identified, including a child's shoe. The sample is not large enough to confirm the presence of a shoe repair side business on the property. A cumulative 353 leather strapping fragments including buckle-tongue holes, adjustment holes, and strap loops comprise nearly the entire remainder of the leather sample, and would have been used for animal harnesses and other miscellaneous equipment (Charles and Openo 1987).

Synthetics and Composites

Composite artifacts recovered from both sites include a wood and metal cutlery handle and leather and metal jewelry or watch strap, both shown in Figure 11. The unadorned leather strap and simple buckle may have been part of a men's wristwatch, and the cutlery handle may have been one knife, fork, or spoon in a family's tableware set.

Synthetic objects include recent utilitarian 20th-century artifacts, such as a plastic-handled screwdriver, linoleum, and plastic-coated wire. However, objects of adornment were also present in the synthetic sample. A decorative plastic hair comb in Figure 11 and Goodyear vulcanized rubber clothing buttons from the mid-1800s would have been part of a family's day-to-day grooming and dress. The hair comb allowed a woman to keep her hair styled and neat, while the unembellished buttons could have been fastened to a variety of outerwear garments.



FIGURE 11: Left, wood and metal cutlery handle, Tremont Street lot# 8942. Center, leather and metal jewelry/watch strap, Tremont Street lot# 9175. Right, plastic hair comb, Tremont Street lot #7941.

Metal, Mineral, and Stone

Metal artifacts from the Tremont Street and Elmwood Court sites are a mix of architectural and utilitarian objects. Miscellaneous architectural artifacts include wrought iron L-braces, nails, screws, aluminum window hardware, cast iron door hardware, metal pipes and pipe fittings, wires, and a gas valve. These objects would have been functional components of the 19th and early 20th-century structures on the property. Utilitarian or decorative copper alloy objects include objects used for clothing including buttons and buckles, as well as coins and a decorative scabbard for a ceremonial sword. This sword

was likely used in a fraternal organization, possibly a Masonic Knights Templar; however, the original owner and exact date of this object is difficult to ascertain because the sword was recovered in mixed fill from the first level of Elmwood Court's Test Trench 9. Non-architectural ferrous metal objects include buckles, buttons, and a bottle stopper. Minerals and stone comprise a small fraction of the archaeological collection. Slate and marble used for architectural purposes were found at both sites, while fuels and fuel byproducts such as coal, clinker, and slag were also found.

Functional Analysis

Despite the variety in materials present in the Tremont Street and Elmwood Court archaeological assemblages, the artifacts therein represent several broad functional categories important in 19th-century daily life. Architectural elements, such as stone and window glass, formed the structures in which Tremont Street and Elmwood Court families lived, ate, and socialized. Food preparation and serving vessels, comprised mainly of ceramic and glass, allowed these families to enjoy meals while expressing personality and style preference through an assortment of tableware designs. Buttons, buckles, hair combs, and other objects of personal adornment created avenues for personal expression in clothing and hairstyle, while personal care and hygiene items, like patent medicines and cosmetics, afforded opportunities for family health and wellness. Homes became places of leisure and recreation through toys like marbles and porcelain figurines, as well as through the practice of smoking tobacco as a social activity. However, many of these objects may not have factored into family life in these ways if not for advertising, which encouraged consumption of a range of goods and services. In

Chapter 4, I discuss the history of advertising, the importance of print advertising in the 19th century, and how advertising offers a comparative and complementary lens through which the Tremont Street and Elmwood Court sites can be studied.

CHAPTER 4

HISTORICAL ADVERTISING

Why Advertising Matters: An Anthropological and Historical Perspective

It is often easy to retrospectively appreciate the historical importance of a cultural phenomenon, but even 19th-century writers recognized the significance advertising would have for future scholars. An 1897 *Harper's Weekly* article argued that advertisements provided a “true mirror of life, a sort of fossil history from which the future chronicler...might fully and graphically rewrite the history of our time” (Harper’s Weekly 1897). This statement could certainly be hard to prove, especially when considering some of the exaggerated claims we see in advertising today. Nevertheless, Pollay emphasizes that the history of advertising must be thoroughly studied as it is “one of the keys to the understanding of the evolution of our complex urban society” (Pollay 1978:63). Despite the range of changes through which advertising has gone in the past two centuries, the core purpose has remained the same: to influence an audience to behave in a certain way through the purchase of a good or service, the attendance of an event, or a myriad of other actions.

Many have argued that the field of anthropology benefits from the examination of advertising. In 1949, advertising mogul James Webb Young argued that “any anthropologist who attempted to describe our culture with advertising left out, would, I suggest, be as nearsighted as one who left out the story of the Mayas” (Young 1949). For historical archaeologists specifically, advertisements provide an additional layer of context for the materials recovered in excavation. These objects did not magically appear in homes, but were purchased, given as gifts, or otherwise acquired by the individuals and families who lived in the area and were selected from a large range of available goods.

History of Advertising

Although it did not become popular until the late eighteenth century, advertising has been an integral piece of the United States’ marketplace expansion (Tremblay 2004a). 19th-century advertising provides a lens through which researchers can examine the collective consumer consciousness of a target audience; the advertisements newspaper subscribers flipped through contributed to a ideas of socially-acceptable and popular products. To better understand the analytical potential of 19th-century advertising, particularly the *Roxbury Gazette* advertisements, it is important to have a brief history of print advertising in the United States. Many 18th-century advertisements promoted available domestic or imported goods. To increase the appeal of the often mundane goods being advertised, newspapers like the *Pennsylvania Gazette* used persuasive language, illustrations, and headlines (Pope 2003:2). These techniques did not change significantly through the early to mid-19th century, even though the market of available goods increased exponentially

(Pope 2003). Print advertisers frequently promoted products in small, aesthetically bland advertisements relegated to the back pages of newspapers and periodicals. Patent medicines were often the only exception to this trend; flashy advertisements promised fantastic yet unrealistic outcomes (Pope 2003:2).

Late 19th-century advertisements were frequently product-centric; they included large illustrations of a product or invited consumers to write and request a sample. The product was, in many ways, the main selling point. By the early 20th century, advertisers shifted their focus more universally to the social implications a product carried for purchasers. They hoped to step away from the less-reputable patent medicine “hucksters and assorted swindlers” towards a more professional appearance (Pope 2003:3).

Conspicuous Consumption

At its most basic, consumption is defined as “the use of resources to satisfy current needs and wants” (Bannock et al. 1992:86). These resources usually fall into one of three categories: products, services, or ideas (Henry 1991). These products, services, and ideas can be utilitarian or ostentatious, the latter of which could indicate conspicuous consumption. The idea of conspicuous consumption traces back to Thorstein Veblen, a prominent American economist and sociologist who first coined the term in his 1899 monograph, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*. Although his explanation is lengthy, Veblen’s conspicuous consumption can be best summarized through a few key concepts.

On a basic level, it is the “specialized consumption of goods as an evidence of pecuniary strength” (Veblen 1899:33). In the 19th century, the consumption of valuable goods offered a “means of reputability to the gentleman of leisure” through the careful

cultivation of an aesthetic and the knowledge of how to use these products (Veblen 1899: 36). The ability to procure and consume these excellent and expensive goods becomes honorific, which conversely indicates that the failure or inability to do so conveys inferiority. Through conspicuous consumption, goods are purchased not for their practicality but as “status symbols’ and to ‘keep up with the Joneses’” (Bannock et al. 1992:83).

In *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, Veblen argues that materialism is driven by status competition dating back to earliest humankind; historically, humans buy things to demonstrate social status (Mullins 2011). The connection between humanity and materiality is innate and transcends class structures: Daniel Miller (2005:2) argues that “humanity is viewed as the product of its capacity to transform the material world in production, in the mirror of which we create ourselves.” By this logic, however, humanity can be segmented or categorized through the ways in which the material world is used and altered by production, creating social classes and groups. These consumption habits form a social and economic hierarchy comprised of an upper leisure class supported by middle and lower-class consumers. Veblen argues that the leisure class “stands at the head of the social structure in point of reputability,” which coerces the lower classes to emulate the higher strata as a means of projecting respectability and (often exaggerated) pecuniary strength (Veblen 1899:40). His approach operated from the top-down; rather than interpreting consumption as a multivalent and complex social ritual, he believed it was solely a status-striving practice instigated by a “parasitic” leisure class (Lears 1989:74).

Veblen argued that the periodical or newspaper was a far-reaching educational tool for social and cultural indoctrination benefitting the business class. Its primary purpose was as a means of disseminating advertisements, which were the primary source of revenue for the publisher. The editor first “gauge[d] the sentiments of his readers” then told them what they should believe, ensuring that advertisements and editorial material shared similar underlying themes (Veblen 1904:385). The newspaper was a way to promote cultural ideals and morals while bolstering revenue for publishers and advertisers (Veblen 1904).

Veblen’s theories developed over time and are still commonly incorporated into contemporary scholarship. He moved away from producer-centric studies and towards investigation of consumption as economic and social behavior, and rationalized why lower-status groups would adhere to dominant cultural standards even if they were not beneficial. His rationale deviated from his contemporaries’ popular ideals that consumption was driven by rationality and product uses (Mullins 2011). Nevertheless, some refer to his legacy as a “mixed blessing” because his top-down, single track focus on the leisure class does not necessarily fully explain the behaviors of the middle and lower classes (Lears 1989:74).

Many disciplines within the social sciences have re-examined consumption at a global level within the past thirty years, but Daniel Miller (1995) argues that this attention is long overdue. Furthermore, contemporary scholars disagree about the mechanics of consumer demand; some argue for top-down processes, while others like Mullins argue that such an approach undermines consumer agency (Mullins 2011). Even

in modern advertising and shopping, Miller argues that the aggregate of small decisions made by household consumers, such as picking one brand over another, form the basis of competitive markets and the nature of demand (Miller 1995). The endless consumption of newly available and novel goods that drives this modern phenomenon continues the trend seen in historical consumption.

Advertisers manipulate experiences and seize ideologies to make goods desirable to certain consumers while simultaneously disenfranchising others along racial or class-based lines. Advertising—and the resulting material consumption—are the end results of the intersectionality of facets of identity, including race, gender, and class. Consumption can be a tool to “instrumentally display social status, evoke ethnicity or exhibit gender” as well as a way to collectively or individually create identity (Mullins 2011:2).

Furthermore, other scholars criticize Veblenesque interpretations of consumption by arguing that it is not a simple matter of social emulation of the wealthy, but rather a collective response from many factors. In some cases, imitation does not yield distinction; some social groups reject objects associated with the group above them and draw attention instead to their own qualities. In the late-19th century, prices of goods like carved furniture and wallpaper plummeted, making them accessible to middle and working-class consumers, rather than an item of the elite. These items allowed consumers of varying economic classes to create the aesthetic they desired, instead of one dictated by spending power. Payment plans became more common during this time, which offered instant gratification and allowed expensive goods like sewing machines and pianos to end up in working-class hands (Loeb 1994).

Development and Cultural Significance of 19th-Century Advertising

Advertising transformed throughout the 19th-century in tandem with increasing mass-production of consumer goods. The 19th-century market may have been more diverse—and sometimes exotic—than we assume. Consumers faced a seemingly-perpetual struggle to balance individualism with fitting into society (Lears 1989). Print media editors recognized and manipulated this tension. They created advertisements charged with magical language and orientalism to appeal to the Victorian fascination with the other and the East (Lears 1994).

During the 1830s, a majority of consumer goods were described by “an aura of sensuous mystery” (Lears 1989:77). Within twenty years, fashion equaled exoticism: shawls were not just shawls, but Turkish shawls, while cloaks were also affixed with an exotic point of origin. As the 19th century gave way to the 20th century, advertisements shifted away from encouraging desire and sensualism and towards a management framework that allowed these characteristics within a broader, controlled setting. Increased organization of the marketplace yielded increased control over imagery, text, and ideas presented in advertisements. However, the endless struggle to express oneself while not falling into the realm of eccentricity did not fade. Sensuality and exoticism persisted, but were “increasingly clothed in the sterile idiom of clinical frankness.” (Lears 1994:10).

Pope (2003) argues that regardless of time period, advertisements are frequently distorted cultural indicators. Late Victorian advertisements were not reflections of reality, but rather a depiction of fantasy and idealized life (Loeb 1994; Pope 2003). During the

last quarter of the 19th century, advertisements emphasized ease, convenience, and leisure that only the right products could create. Furniture companies promise ease, simplicity, and convenience in furnishing any home, and decorators and repair companies offered services that meant that the homeowner had to spend little time decorating or attending to home needs (Loeb 1994).

Women were often responsible for furnishing a comfortable, safe environment for their families, which sometimes meant having to find sources of supplemental income. While some families chose to take in boarders, other women worked as merchants in a range of businesses. Women were listed as proprietors of businesses in newspaper advertisements, which became an increasingly effective means for businesses to connect with potential customers (Tremblay 2004b).

Selected Data

The size of the advertising sample from *The Roxbury Gazette* could have easily become unmanageable, because it was a weekly newspaper published from 1861 to 1905 and intermittently through the first half of the 20th century. To keep the scale of the project manageable, one *Roxbury Gazette* issue was selected every three years from 1861 to 1898 — thirteen in total—to best fit the date ranges of the two archaeological sites. Each issue selected came from the month of May to minimize seasonal fluctuations in advertisements.

All advertisements from the newspaper sample were considered when creating an inventory, but ultimately certain advertisements were excluded for a number of reasons. Illegible advertisements and advertisements for services, events, accommodations, real

estate, insurance, schools, and other items were not included in the statistical analysis because they would leave minimal trace in the archaeological record, and therefore fall outside of the scope of this project. A detailed chart of excluded advertisements from each newspaper issue is included in Appendix B, as is a sample of advertisements within each category (Appendix C, Appendix D). Each selected advertisement was individually entered into a database, retaining the date of publication, company name and address, broad product category, and transcription of the advertisement’s text. Advertisements with imagery or elaborate typography were noted. Overall, 797 advertisements from thirteen issues of the Roxbury Gazette form the basis of the advertising data. The ten most prevalent advertising categories are represented in Table 2.

TABLE 2. Percentages of Advertising Categories within Sample

1. Upholstery/Furniture (9.66%)	6. Household Utilities (4.39%)
2. Medicine (8.53%)	7. Alcohol (4.27%)
3. Clothing/Textiles (8.16%)	8. Stoves/Furnaces (3.51%)
4. Pianos (6.40%)	9. Transportation (3.39%)
5. Millinery Goods (5.14%)	10. Gardening/Lawn (3.14%)

One of the biggest challenges was determining a way to consistently sort each advertisement into a category for statistical analysis. Initially, I anticipated the advertisements could be sorted into ten or twelve broad categories, but it quickly became apparent that the breadth of goods offered, including upholstery and furniture, spectacles, and produce, would yield dozens of categories—46, to be exact.

After comparing the specific advertising categories and the archaeological material, I found little direct overlap between the types of goods in each data set. I then resorted the advertising data into two categories: durable goods and consumer goods. This sorting method produced higher correspondence between the two collections, which I discuss in detail in the following chapter. It is useful to know which advertisement categories were most or least common in the *Roxbury Gazette* sample, but the data truly becomes significant when compared with the archaeological material from the Tremont Street and Elmwood Court excavations. In the following chapter, these discrete sources of historical information combine, revealing the methods with which advertisers connected with consumers and exploring the gaps that exist between the two data sets.

CHAPTER 5

INTERPRETATION AND ANALYSIS

From 18th and 19th century print to modern digital media, advertising was and continues to be an integral part of consumer culture. As a contemporary consumer, it is easy to decide if an advertisement is effective with just one glance; if the advertisement's imagery, message, or hypothetical benefits compels the viewer to purchase it, then the advertiser was successful. It is more challenging, however, to ascertain the efficacy of advertisements of the past. Without a *Consumer Reports* to skim through for sales statistics, scholars of advertising's past have to look for clues in less obvious places, including archaeological collections. The purpose of this study is to examine the relationship between working-class consumption patterns and advertising in an era of intense change, focusing on the techniques advertisers employed to connect with their audiences and what the advertisements and products may have signified to the consumer. My research explores how advertising and archaeology provide two different lenses to examine 19th-century consumption, household life, and identity.

In order to do this, I have compared a sample of advertisements from the *Roxbury Gazette* with archaeological materials from Roxbury's Tremont Street and Elmwood Court neighborhoods to determine degree of correspondence and analyze what the relationship means: Is there a way to determine if consumers purchased advertised goods? What did these purchases say about the consumer? To best accomplish this, I first delve into deeper discussion of the project's two data sources and specifically highlight the importance of illustration within advertisements. I then note specific points of consonance and dissonance between the advertising data and the archaeological collection, and discuss how the methodology for categorizing and sorting this data affects the degree of correspondence between them. Within this discussion, I touch on the tactics advertisers used to attract customers, and what the products may have symbolized.

Ultimately, this project emphasizes that 19th-century consumer choice—and daily life overall—was the result of so much more than what archaeologists are able to recover from the ground. Purchases could have been the result of established routines, and statistics show that some of the most commonly-found archaeological materials, like ceramics, would have fallen far below food and consumable necessities when families categorically allocated their spending money (Mullens 2011). Furthermore, some purchases may not appear anywhere in the archaeological record, but could have been extraordinarily significant for the family; clothing and décor were avenues for personal expression and style, while huge purchases like pianos and sewing machines were likely important investments handed down to other family members or friends.

Archaeological Collection

There is much more than meets the eye behind any archaeological site. To better understand the importance of Tremont Street and Elmwood Court sites, we must first consider the sites' potential, as well as their limitations. Although this is an archaeological study, the archaeological material culture actually forms the project's secondary data source. This is due to several constraints. First, the scope of the Tremont Street and Elmwood Court sites limited the size of the archaeological collection. Excavations at Elmwood Court ceased after Phase II, while Tremont Street reached Phase III excavation because of its research potential; however, due to time constraints from impending construction and adverse weather conditions, excavators noted that the project had to be cut short (Charles and Openo 1987). Tremont Street and Elmwood Court cumulatively contain 5624 artifacts, and while trash deposits were uncovered from both sites, none of these deposits were as dense or diagnostic as a privy or large midden. Comparatively, Yamin's Five Points project included several large features, including a "substantial stone-lined privy," cistern, and several wood-lined privies (Yamin 2001:10). Yamin was able to trace specific residents to certain features, which allowed her to draw substantial conclusions about the residents' experiences in a changing urban environment. These strong, personal connections could not be formed with Tremont Street and Elmwood Court families, due mainly to the rapid tenant turnover and lack of personal primary source material (e.g. diaries, letters).

Similarly, Diana diZerega Wall (1991) used two contemporaneous ceramic assemblages from two mid-19th-century sites in New York City to compare domestic

experiences from one upper-middle-class family and one lower-middle-class family. This type of comparative study would not be possible with the collections from the Southwest Corridor excavations, as most of the 19th-century domestic archaeological sites excavated were from relatively similar working-class domestic environments.

Furthermore, there are very few intact or diagnostic artifacts within the Tremont Street and Elmwood Court collections. Few of the intact glass bottles reveal detailed information about the vessel's original contents. The unembossed blue machine-made bottle (Figure 12) from Elmwood Court likely originally bore a paper label describing its contents; unfortunately, since this label does not survive today, we are left to guess what the tincture, medication, or beverage may have been.



FIGURE 12. Embossed blue glass bottle from Elmwood Court (Lot #6435).

This is not to say, however, that the Tremont Street and Elmwood Court collections are without research value. Though they may be small, they contain a range of material types and the trash deposits uncovered offer information about consumer preferences in the mid-to-late 19th century. Figure 13 features a sampling of artifacts

from the two archaeological collections; from bottle glass to leather shoe fragments and vulcanized rubber buttons, these small fragments of 19th-century life shed light on activities that could have taken place inside and around the multi-family neighborhood homes.

The shoe fragment (TS 7953) is particularly interesting. It is just one of 60 similar leather shoe fragments recovered which formed a minimum of three post-1862 machine-stitched shoes. Technological advancements in the mid-to-late 19th century made shoe production easier and faster and increased the availability of mass-produced footwear for consumers. Three shoes are not enough to prove that shoemaking was happening in these homes, but the mixed scraps could suggest that residents were repairing or replacing parts of the shoes as they wore out. Regardless of the extent of any cobbler side-shops happening within homes, the worn fragments of a children's shoe remind young ones grew up in the Tremont Street homes. Parents would have had to replace outgrown garments and shoes, perhaps seeking out bargains in the *Roxbury Gazette* to do so.

Figure 13 also features two vulcanized rubber buttons (TS-7928). First patented in 1851, these stamped buttons would have adorned men's or women's clothing from the mid-19th through early-20th centuries (Marcel 1994). Rubber buttons were mass-produced and durable, offering consumers sturdy utilitarian fasteners for garments. These buttons are one of the few remaining surviving clothing and adornment artifacts from the Tremont Street and Elmwood Court sites and provide insight into clothing preferences, as these buttons gained increasing popularity during the mid-1850s (Marcel 1994).



FIGURE 13. Artifacts from Tremont Street (TS) and Elmwood Court (EC). Clockwise from top left: Two vulcanized rubber Goodyear buttons, colorless glass bottle base, leather shoe fragment with eyelets, redware vessel base sherd, copper alloy buckle, and red clay tobacco pipe bowl.

Historic Advertising

Advertising as Primary Data

Most archaeological projects use historic documentary data to contextualize and support archaeological data; this project, however, prioritized historic newspaper advertisements from the *Roxbury Gazette* as the primary data source for several reasons. First, as discussed earlier in the Previous Scholarship section, there have not been many archaeological studies that thoroughly incorporate historic advertisements as a complementary data source, or vice versa. That is not to say that archaeologists have not yet recognized the importance of interdisciplinary work; in the 1970s, John Solomon Otto argued that archaeologists should use historical documentation in combination with

material assemblage patterns to best interpret status and class within a site (Mullins 2011). Christina Hodge (2010:218) argues for interdisciplinary study, stating that “recovered artifacts and discovered texts should be evaluated in tandem” so that they “coalesce into a multidimensional...view of a historical subject.” Her research on 18th-century life in Newport, Rhode Island incorporates regional and local newspapers, but does not specifically focus on advertising. Rebecca Yamin’s (2001) Five Points project utilized documentary sources such as census records and employment data, but she does not include contemporaneous newspaper advertisements among these resources. Mullins’ *Archaeology of Consumer Culture* (2011) is a valuable resource for examining consumer choice through an archaeological lens, but Mullins’ only offers brief discussion of numerous archaeological collections, rather than offering one site in detail as a case study. Loeb’s *Consuming Angels* dissects Victorian-era advertisements through the lens of consumer choice, but her research did not include archaeological material. This project overcomes the limitations of these previous studies by thoroughly integrating archaeological collections into historic advertising and showing the physical connections between these two seemingly-distinct resources.

Furthermore, the *Roxbury Gazette* advertisements form the primary data source because of the large pool of available material. Unlike the Tremont Street and Elmwood Court archaeological material, the *Roxbury Gazette* advertisements had to be selectively sampled because there were 44 years of available issues from 1861 to 1905, the newspaper’s first major publication period. Each issue contained dozens—or more often hundreds—of advertisements, which would have made the scale of this project

unmanageable. Even choosing to limit data collection to one May issue every three years from 1861 to 1898 resulted in 797 usable advertisements. With such an abundance of available data, it is easy to see why advertising creates a solid base for this project.

The *Roxbury Gazette* was not only a local, neighborhood-focused newspaper in its editorial content; most advertisers published in the newspaper were physically located within Boston, and a large number contained street addresses within Roxbury or the “Boston Highlands” neighborhood, as Roxbury was sometimes called. This meant that advertisers were marketing their products to a community of readers who likely passed by these business in their day-to-day life. This tangible connection between the newspaper advertisements and brick-and-mortar establishments would have been visible to consumers and contributed to their overall consumption experiences.

Classes of Advertisements

Previously, in Chapter 4, I briefly acknowledged the types of advertisements selected for the project and noted several exclusions. In the following section, I provide greater detail on how I constructed a digital inventory of *Roxbury Gazette* advertisements and the trial and error that impacted the final result.

As I examined the advertising data from 1861 to 1905, the categories into which I sorted advertisements morphed and changed. I first sorted the advertisements into 46 narrow categories based on the products’ materials, intended purpose, and targeted audience, including non-alcoholic beverages, household utilities, and toys. This sorting method produced the five most common advertisement types within the collection:

upholstery/furniture (9.66%), medicine (8.53%), clothing and textiles (8.16%), pianos (6.4%), and millinery goods (5.14%).

These percentages may seem very low overall, considering that the largest category of upholstery/furniture represents just under ten percent of the collection. Still, even though it is only a small percentage of the data, the 77 upholstery and furniture advertisements provide valuable information about the types of goods available, the qualities that advertisers thought would appeal to consumers, and the rhetoric around how homes were to be furnished. The illustrated advertisements in Figure 14 make up two of the 77 upholstery advertisements. On the left, C. Nowell's patented elliptic bed promises to be the "most comfortable, durable noiseless and cheapest spring bed in the market" (*Roxbury Gazette* May 4, 1876). The advertiser's slogan—"Bed for the Times!"—makes the bed seem trendy, modern, and stylish. In this single advertisement, consumers could have felt like they were getting the best of both worlds--a comfortable, in-style product that was also durable and cheap. The simple slatted sprung frame is similar to popular mass-produced slatted beds sold today, suggesting that this may have been a successful design. While it is impossible to interview a potential buyer of C. Nowell's elliptic spring bed, it is easy to assume that the product was intended to appeal to the budget-conscious, quality-minded consumer.

On the right, the advertisement from the Wilson Adjustable Chair Manufacturing Company boasts "luxurious adjustable easy chairs, with thirty different changes of position...[and] a very desirable invalid self-propelling chair adjustable to any convenience for the comfort of the body" (*Roxbury Gazette* May 1, 1879). This company

appeals to two distinct customer needs within the advertisement; first, there is the individual seeking a luxurious and aesthetically-pleasing chair, much like the upholstered one illustrated. On a different note, the second seating option—the “very desirable invalid self-propelling chair”—draws in those with comfort and ease-of-use in the forefront of their demands. The potential buyer could be an elderly or infirm individual, or the child of an aging relative hoping to make their home surroundings more comfortable.



FIGURE 14. Two illustrated advertisements from the *Roxbury Gazette*. Left, May 4, 1876. Right, May 1, 1879.

Wilson’s Adjustable Chair highlights one of the most challenging facets of this project and working with historic advertisements in general. This product may have seemed like a necessity to some and a luxury to others; the difference between these attributes is often a matter of perspective. When I initiated this project, I attempted to

classify each advertisement as either an essential or a luxury good. This quickly posed a greater challenge than anticipated; to individuals operating on a very slim household budget, items like adjustable upholstered chairs and modern slatted bed springs may have been considered a luxury, or at the very least furnishings that would have required carefully saving away income over time.

To address this and other challenges posed by narrow examination of advertisements, I re-categorized the advertising data into two categories: durable goods and consumable goods. Consumables are short-term products meant for immediate use after purchase, while durable goods are intended to last for a longer term, usually defined as three or more years. Larger and more expensive objects, like pianos and sewing machines, fall into the durable goods category, and likely were considered investments by the average *Roxbury Gazette* subscriber. A piano or sewing machine would have been a pricey purchase, and could have been passed on to others as an heirloom, or in the case of a sewing machine, could have been an investment repaired for decades to ensure continued use.

Even though items like dresses and shoes would have been considered durable goods, the length of time they were used in a household would have been dependent on daily life and family needs. In an era of rapid industrialization during which the consumer market would have been inundated with new, mass-produced goods, when does a dress become irreparable in favor of a newly purchased one? Would it have been easier (or more acceptable) to buy a new pair of machine-made shoes for a child who wore a hole in a pair, or would the cobbler have found another customer? These questions emphasize

an important overlap between anthropology and economics: “the act of purchase cannot be understood in isolation” (Mullins 2011:6). In the following section, we examine the internal and external factors that influence a consumer’s purchases, from group identity and individual personality to advertising language and aesthetics.

Making the Sale: Visual Marketing Techniques

In the mid-to-late 19th century, the pages of the *Roxbury Gazette* were jam-packed with short stories, local and national news, editorials, and of course advertisements. Trying to navigate the visual cacophony on each page may have been challenging or overwhelming for readers, and may have frustrated advertisers as well. Ultimately, an advertiser needs a product to be seen and for their sales pitch to be read in order to entice the consumer into making a purchase, and one of the best ways to draw in potential customers was through visual marketing.

Newspapers became one of the most popular ways for businesses to advertise during the late-19th century. This increasing importance mirrored a transformation in aesthetics; “once-staid newspapers laid out in uniform, graphically plain columns began to transform at midcentury, when papers...introduced dense visuals” (Mullins 2011:165). These visuals may have imitated other dramatic illustrated advertisements and chromolithographs plastered on billboards and building exteriors (Mullins 2011).

The illustrations within the *Roxbury Gazette* took multiple forms, several of which are included in Figure 15.



FIGURE 15. Illustrated or typographical advertisements from the *Roxbury Gazette*
A. May 7, 1898 Broadway Hat Store
B. May 4, 1882 Felton’s furnaces and ventilators
C. May 7, 1885 Guy Brothers dinner sets
D. May 7, 1898 Columbia bicycles

Each of these advertisers selected illustrations that they felt best represented their product. The Broadway Hat Store included a portrait of a dapper gentleman with one of their “up-to-date styles” atop his head; most customers would know what a hat looks like, but the Broadway Hat Store was able to show a specific item from their inventory in a way that makes it appealing to a potential male customer. It is an extra touch to draw the customer’s eye to the advertisement. Felton’s Furnaces, however, may have had a more challenging time describing their product in words alone because of its complex mechanical nature, so including two illustrations of shiny, clean products helps the consumer understand what type of home appliance they could purchase. Advertisement C from Guy Brothers is the simplest of the first three advertisements, but within its

brevity the consumer can see one of many “new shapes and decorations” of dinner sets available at 33 Bedford Street in Boston.

Advertisement D from the Pope Manufacturing Company is different from the others because it does not contain an illustration as much as stylization. A stippled border offsets it from the rest of the column, and the product logo is boldly displayed in a script-style font. The Pope Manufacturing Company was based in Hartford, Connecticut (as the advertisement indicates), and notes that potential buyers can obtain a catalogue by mail or at a Columbia bicycle dealer. The catalogue likely contained detailed illustrations and descriptions of a full range of bicycles that the company could not fit into one advertisement. By using stylized typography, the company drew the viewer’s attention, and then offered a mail-order catalog to see more detailed images of the products.

Overall, 156 of 797 total advertisements--approximately 20%-- feature illustrations or enlarged stylized texts and graphics. With this in mind, larger questions emerge: How are illustration distributed throughout the data? Are illustrations mostly associated with one class of goods (e.g. pianos) or are they ubiquitous? To answer these questions, I determined the number of illustrated advertisements within each product category and then calculated the percentages of these illustrated advertisements within the product category. Not surprisingly, some of these results were misleading. Accessibility goods, other musical instruments (excluding pianos), and typewriters all had 100% illustrated advertisements, but because each category only had one advertisement, this is not as statistically significant as it would be if 10 advertisements were present and all were illustrated. Table 4 includes the 10 highest concentrations of

advertisements per category, excluding the three just mentioned. I previously included an illustrated advertisement from Felton’s Furnaces and Ventilators; this chart indicates that Felton’s was not terribly unique in its advertising techniques, as exactly one-half of stove and furnace advertisements were illustrated. Pianos were also an illustration-dense category, with just over half of all advertisements containing illustrations or graphics. In subsequent sections, I discuss the importance of piano advertisements in more depth. What this chart shows, however, is that illustrations were relatively well-dispersed throughout product categories, but there were only four categories that broke into double-digits: pianos, stoves/furnaces, household utilities, and medicine. With the number of advertisements in each of these categories relatively high, it is likely that advertisers included illustrated marketing as a way to make their product stand out from others.

TABLE 3: Illustrated Advertisement Percentages by Category

<u>Product Category</u>	<u>Number of Illustrated Ads</u>	<u>Number of Ads/Category</u>	<u>Percentage of Category</u>
1. Spectacles	3	5	60.00
2. Pianos	26	51	50.98
3. Business Needs	2	4	50.00
4. Stoves/Furnaces	14	28	50.00
5. Kitchen Appliances	4	10	40.00
6. Department Store	1	3	33.33
7. Household Utilities	11	35	31.43
8. Hair Care	4	13	30.77
9. Soap/Laundry	6	20	30.00
10. Medicine	19	68	27.94

The number of advertisements per newspaper issue changed over time. From 1885 to 1898, the percentage of illustrated advertisements per issue remained above 20%. The May 1, 1891 issue had the highest concentration of advertisements (28.89%), and the May 5, 1894 issue came in a close second with 28%. Within the newspaper issues studied, there were an average of 12 illustrated advertisements per issue. The majority of the sample--9 of the 13 issues-- came within +/-3 advertisements of this average. If the number of illustrated advertisements remained relatively consistent from issue to issue, what accounts for the change in concentration? Barring an outlier (the May 7, 1898 issue), the number of advertisements per issue in the latter half of the *Roxbury Gazette* issues hovered between 25 and 56. This is a contrast with the earlier half of the issues (1864-1879), which contained between 65 and 84 advertisements per issue. Several of the later newspapers were shorter, but as a whole, many of the later issues contained significantly higher numbers of advertisements for services, rather than tangible products. The 1894 issue was particularly noticeable, with only 25 advertisements for products and goods within its pages.

The newspaper data reveals consistency in companies that chose to advertise in the *Roxbury Gazette*. Multiple advertisers reappeared from one issue to the next over a span of years--or decades. Approximately 30 advertisers appeared 3 or more times within the data; the approximation is a result of several companies or partnerships changing names from year to year, making it difficult to ascertain whether or not it is exactly the same advertiser.

Although the companies who chose to advertise throughout the years remained relatively consistent, the individual companies endured changes that become visible from one year to the next. One common trend with the repeat advertisers in my data is changing of location. Advertisers that appear 4 or 5 times frequently had different addresses from year to year, even though often it would be different numbers on the same street. For example, A.J. Keaton, dealer in gas fixtures, appeared 5 times between 1873 and 1898, during the course of which he changed his address on Washington Street at least 3 different times. B.W. Felton (of Felton's Furnaces in the illustration above) also moved frequently; his advertisements appeared 6 times between 1873 and 1898, and each advertisement featured a different address on Washington Street or Warren Street. It is possible that the numbering of buildings changed throughout the years while the buildings themselves remained the same.

These location changes sometimes corresponded with visual changes in advertisements. Woodward & Brown, dealers in pianos, appeared 6 times between 1870 and 1885. Each advertisement listed a different building address, 5 of which were on Washington Street in Boston. Their first 3 advertisements featured small illustrations of pianos, but by 1879, the company's advertisements contained only text. It's impossible to be certain why this change occurred, but it could be due to the increasing popularity of their products (or of pianos in general); if customers know what a piano is and what it looks like, it might be more effective for the advertiser to give a detailed description in words of why their product is different and worth purchasing. In the next section we take

a closer look at the techniques--both written and implied--that advertisers used to entice and engage with potential customers.

Making the Sale: Advertising and Identity

The ultimate goal for *Roxbury Gazette* advertisers was to make a sale. We have explored some of the strategies advertisers employed to accomplish this goal, including illustrated marketing and continued advertising over a period of years. But to truly establish a product's long-term success, advertisers needed to make personal and lasting connections with the consumer. For many, consumption is a means of self-expression. Historical archaeologists disagree about the social and political meanings and implications of individual and group consumption. Some (such as LouAnn Wurst and Randall McGuire) argue that the individual has little autonomy in consumer choices; rather, consumption is an act of integration within a larger, often oppressive system. These scholars go so far as to argue that consumers may even "buy into their own oppression," particularly if they are in lower socioeconomic brackets (Mullins 2011:108). On the opposite end of the spectrum, scholars such as Lauren Cook, Rebecca Yamin, and John McCarthy interpret consumption as a localized, individualized process often involving conscious subversion of dominant ideologies (Mullins 2011).

Perhaps both of these approaches are applicable; consumers likely purchased goods to 'fit in' as much as they took shopping as an opportunity for individualized expression. For the residents of Tremont Street and Elmwood Court, skimming the pages of the *Roxbury Gazette* would have been a way to explore these identities. Each hair balm that guaranteed luxurious glossy ringlets or patent medicine that promised "health and

strength to the frame” was an opportunity for self-improvement (Figure 16). Want a home that stands out from the neighbors? Visit Chas. G. Brewster’s Natural History Store at 16 Tremont Street, where you could shop from abundance of “fine singing German canaries...goldfish, globes, and tusks” (Chas. G. Brewster, *Roxbury Gazette* May 12, 1864). Perhaps you have an eye for fashion but are on a budget; best to visit the South End Clothing Store, where one could find quality used custom clothing starting at just \$3 for a suit (South End Clothing Store, *Roxbury Gazette* May 7, 1898).



FIGURE 16. Left: Kingsley’s Iron and Mandrake, *Roxbury Gazette* May 4, 1882; Right: Chas. G. Brewster, *Roxbury Gazette* May 12, 1864.

Despite these opportunities for expression, consumer choices frequently were a means of reinforcing group identities. The following sections explore the ways in which advertising and consumption helped *Roxbury Gazette* customers connect with their peers and abide by socially-prescribed roles within their families and community.

Family and Gender Roles

Many of the families of Tremont Street and Elmwood Court included non-nuclear members like grandparents, in-laws, and caregivers. With this many people occupying what was likely a very small living space, it was imperative that the home and family were well cared for by women, a demographic socially designated as “creators of peace and light and virtue” (Deutsch 1994:206). Women were primarily responsible for maintaining a safe and morally-upstanding environment—“a sanctuary of beauty and nature”—in which children could be properly raised (Brighton 2001:22). However, for working-class women, this sanctuary image may have been financially challenging for a family to negotiate. Unlike their many of their middle-class counterparts who could afford a life of relative leisure, 19th-century working-class women would have had to help make ends meet to support their families, whether through working from their homes producing marketable goods, or by working outside the home in a business or in a domestic capacity (Wall 1999). While the 1880 census does not specifically note any cottage industries that women may have undertaken from their homes, historic advertisements from the *Roxbury Gazette* offer hints into what may have happened. An advertisement for Engley and Rice sewing machines in 1870 offers first-class sewing machines for ladies which could be paid for through work done in the home (*Roxbury Gazette* May 12, 1870). This repayment work may have been supplemented by mending or other sewing work to support a family financially.

Statistically, the majority of adult women (over the age of 16) from Tremont Street and Elmwood Court were involved in domestic work. The 1880 Census lists

“keeping house” as the occupation for 60 out of a total of 100 adult women in the Tremont Street area and 94 out of 148 women from Elmwood Court—a cumulative 62% between the two sites. Similarly, other adult women were listed as domestics, servants, caregivers, or proprietors of a boarding house; cumulatively, these additional job descriptions include a total of 31 additional women from the two sites, bringing the total percentage of involved women to 75% (United States Federal Census 1880).

As part of this domestic responsibility, shopping and supplying the household frequently became a woman’s burden. In the late 19th and early 20th century, women became the primary shoppers for the majority of households and were considered the “primary mechanism directing their families’ adherence to domestic ideologies” (Mullins 2011:147). If children were to be well-behaved members of the household, they first had to be healthy; women felt increased responsibility for caring for the health of their households through the use of patent medicines (Mullins 2011). Bridgman’s Laxatif-Infanta (Figure 17) was a means for “wise mothers and nurses” to tend to ailing children. The advertiser makes the intended audience quite clear, stating “Mothers: This English Vegetable compound excels everything in its purity and excellence....it contains no narcotics and is a most reliable remedy” (Bridgman’s Laxatif-Infana, *Roxbury Gazette* May 1, 1891).



FIGURE 17. Bridgman’s Laxatif-Infanta, *Roxbury Gazette* May 1, 1891.



FIGURE 18. Four pink transfer-printed pearlware base sherds from a children’s mug, Tremont Street lot# 7232.

Once the children were well, they could contribute to the household and community. If they behaved well and worked hard, they may have been rewarded with a gift (Batkin 1991). The miniature pink transfer-printed pearlware mug (Figure 18) is stamped “MAGIC LANTERN” on one side and “BOW AND ARROW” on the reverse, which may be scenes from a children’s story yet to be identified (Charles and Openo 1987). 19th century children’s mugs came in a diverse array of designs and were intended for

different purposes. Early 19th-century children's mugs sometimes featured a simple name and inscription, while others were labeled as gifts to or from an individual. It was common to find later 19th-century mugs featuring children's stories, poems, and games, while others included words of wisdom and maxims to encourage proper behavior (Batkin 1991; McClinton 1987). Collectors of 19th-century children's china note that "the overwhelming impression gained...was one of moral and educational fervor" (Batkin 1991:15). Sometimes these were explicit through limericks and cautionary poems, while others simply portrayed a scene from a story that served as a reminder for good behavior.

Although it may seem like a frivolous purchase for a family on a budget, knickknacks like this mug would have been accessible for many *Roxbury Gazette* subscribers. From 1840s onward, British manufacturers improved transfer printing, which meant that "for the first time, 'trifles' for children would have been within the reach of all but the poorest households" (Batkin 1991:15). Advertisers would not have described these trinkets to attract a family striving for social emulation of an aristocracy, but instead emphasized that these little luxuries were within reach for all (Loeb 1994).

The two examples above are perfect representations of how archaeological and advertising data offer two distinct lenses to understand household activities, aspirations, and lifestyles. The Tremont Street and Elmwood Court excavations weren't fortuitous enough to produce an empty bottle of Bridgman's Laxatif-Infanta, nor did numerous issues of the *Roxbury Gazette* reveal any advertisements for pink pearlware children's mugs. For every instance of perfect consonance--when artifacts and advertisements

align--there are numerous near-misses and dozens of glaring gaps. In the following section, I review the singular major overlap between the two bodies of data: bottle glass.

Alcohol and Medicine: Where Archaeology and Advertising Meet

The most significant potential correlation between the two manifests through medicine in the advertising collection and glass in the archaeological materials. Bottle glass—both liquor/wine and pharmaceutical— represents 978 of the 1,737 total glass fragments, or 56.3% of the glass sample. Therefore, bottle glass makes up 17.4% of the archaeological collection. This may not seem like a startling number, but bottle glass would actually come in second in Table 4 if it was considered separately from other glass (followed by fauna, other glass, and then metal). In the advertising data, glass is best represented in the medicine category. Thus, if Table 4 were rearranged, glass would come in second in both categories.

TABLE 4: Most Prevalent Material Categories in Advertising and Archaeological Data

<u>Advertising</u>	<u>Archaeological Collection</u>
1. Upholstery (9.66%)	1. Ceramics (37.82%)
2. Medicine (8.53%)	2. Glass (30.89%)
3. Clothing/Textiles (8.16%)	3. Fauna (13.92%)
4. Pianos (6.40%)	4. Metal (12.84%)
5. Millinery Goods (5.14%)	5. Synthetic (1.55%)

*Total extent of advertising data=797 advertisements
 Total extent of archaeological collection=5624 artifacts
 Mineral and stone counts affected by sampling processes during excavation.*

This overlap is significant and reveals that residents of Tremont Street and Elmwood Court were purchasing alcohol or patent medicines, though perhaps not in the vast quantities stereotypically associated with the 19th-century urban working-class. Original excavators recovered a minimum of 105 discrete bottles at Tremont Street, only 2 of which may have been definitively used for alcohol. Advertisements for both medicine and alcohol were common in the *Roxbury Gazette* and beyond. Patent medicine companies were often wildly successful because of customers' "fascination with these goods' seemingly-magical properties" (Lears 1994:43). Frustrated with the lack of reliable medical professionals and lured by an inexpensive cure, customers soon turned patent medicine companies into the "earliest and most successful national advertisers" (Lears 1994:43). In the *Roxbury Gazette*, many of the patent medicine advertisements were relegated to the last one to two pages of the newspaper; this could be based on the price of the advertisement location, the content of the advertisement, or simply the way the newspaper sorted them. They promised incredible cures for a range of ailments, often claiming to treat half a dozen seemingly-unrelated illnesses with one concoction (Figure 19).



FIGURE 19: Advertisements promising miraculous cures through patent medicines. Left: Segment of Dr. Kennedy’s page-long advertisement, May 4, 1888. Right: Mrs. N. Bailey’s Cascarilla Compound, May 2, 1867.

Alcohol advertisements made up approximately 4% of the collection; of the 34 advertisements, only two contained illustrations in the form of stylized logos. Most alcohol advertisements were simple, straightforward, and direct. They frequently described the range of products available, as in P.E. Rock and Co.’s advertisement (Figure 20), where a full range of wines, liquors, and cigars were available. Ludwig Ostermeyer also promised a large selection of beverages, asserting that “when you buy my goods you get the best” (Ludwig Ostermeyer, *Roxbury Gazette* May 7, 1898). For these advertisements, selection and quality reappear frequent as the most desirable traits.

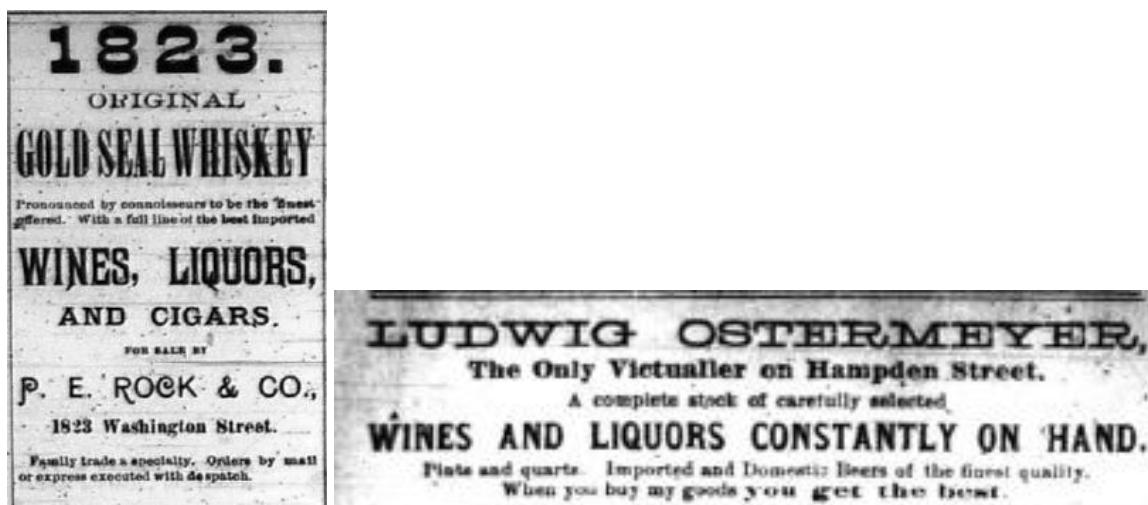


FIGURE 20: Left: P.E. Rock & Co., *Roxbury Gazette* May 1, 1891. Right: Ludwig Ostermeyer, May 7, 1898.

When examining the archaeological collection, it is challenging to determine a bottle's original contents. Intense fracturing leaves many glass vessels in tiny pieces, and more importantly, it is almost impossible to find an intact paper label still adhered to any of the bottles, like the one shown below, left. The *Roxbury Gazette* advertisement for North's Pure Pepsin and Rheumatic Cure (Figure 21) provides insight into what these labels may have looked like. This side-by-side comparison is the closest connection between these two sources of data: a pharmaceutical bottle, its contents consumed over a century ago, discarded, perhaps originally containing a pepsin to cure a stomach ache for a child. However, there are few such fortunate coincidences in these collections. In the next section, I explore the gaps between the *Roxbury Gazette* and the archaeological materials uncovered from the homes where it was once delivered.



FIGURE 21: Right: Machine-made pharmaceutical bottle, Tremont Street lot# 7861. Left: Chas. H. North & Co, *Roxbury Gazette* May 4, 1888.

Dissonance Between Collections

When advertising and archaeological data are broken down into narrow categories, there is little direct overlap between the Tremont Street and Elmwood Court archaeological collections and advertisements from the *Roxbury Gazette*. The archaeological collections were dense with ceramics, glass, and often unidentifiable metal fragments, while the largest categories of advertising were upholstery, medicines, clothing, and pianos. I classify the reasons for this disconnect into two types: internal factors and external factors.

Internal Factors

Internal factors are those which were controlled by the consumer. The consumer could have chosen *not* to purchase the advertised products, or she could have purchased a product which was not disposed of with other domestic refuse. This argument, however, is difficult to prove. Advertisers wanted potential customers to think that a product was

popular, because that would mean that it met other customers' expectations. Many advertisements feature testimonials lauding the product's merits, or describe products as popular, famous, or well-received. It is difficult to verify whether these testimonials, like those from the Ayer's Sarsaparilla advertisement (Figure 22), are from real customers. However authentic the satisfied customers' claims are, the wide geographic spread of testimonials makes it likely that Ayer's Sarsaparilla was popular and well-distributed.

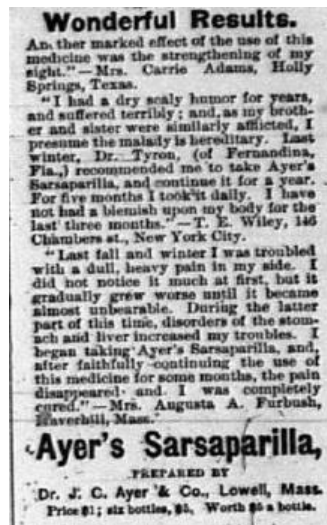


FIGURE 22: Ayers Sarsaparilla, *Roxbury Gazette* May 4, 1888.

Similarly, numerous advertisements for footwear appear in the *Roxbury Gazette*, while remnants of leather shoes like those in Figure 23 were recovered archaeologically from Tremont Street and Elmwood Court. It is impossible to ascertain the maker or manufacturer of the archaeological remains, but it does indicate that residents purchased footwear from one or more sources.



FIGURE 23: Left: Crowe's Patent Seamless Shoes, *Roxbury Gazette* May 1, 1879. Right: Partial heel and arch of leather shoe, Tremont Street lot# 7972.

External Factors

External factors are those over for which the consumer was not responsible. First, it is possible that original excavators did not recover objects because of excavation time limitations or environmental degradation of fragile materials within the soil over time. For example, clothing and textiles represent 8.16% of the advertising data, but are almost nonexistent in the archaeological record because they do not survive well in New England's acidic soils. Clothing was an important reflection of an individual's occupation, socioeconomic status, and personal preference (LeeDecker 1994). While some fragments of these historical wardrobes persist archaeologically through buttons and beads, the fragile materials which comprised the straw hats, blouses, and gentlemen's wear advertised in the *Roxbury Gazette* have been lost to time.

Certain items may not have been recovered archaeologically because they were not disposed of at the same time as the bulk of the collection. Residents may have passed items of value to others, or they may not have discarded them at a later time. The point at which goods were discarded depended on the family's personal and financial

circumstances. Lower-income households were not only often conservative consumers, but frequently also recycled or reused durable goods. The difference in use life may reflect “the degree to which a household practiced curative behavior or exhibited a willingness to replace certain durable items” (LeeDecker 1994:351). Modern consumers consider many items to be disposable that the Tremont Street and Elmwood Court residents may have repurposed several times over. As Figure 24 demonstrates, having hats and bonnets refreshed at a bleachery or milliner was socially-acceptable and common practice. This would have extended the use life of the hat by months or even years. For more robust materials, this extended use life could alter its archaeological presence through a later deposition date, or could result in it missing from the archaeological record entirely.

The second external factor is how the data are sorted. Categorizing archaeological and advertising data into two broader groups—durable goods and consumable goods—revealed that although the specific objects in each data set are not exactly the same, two-thirds of both collections were durable goods. Appendix E demonstrates a categorical breakdown of durable and consumable objects in the archaeological assemblage, and Appendix F provides a similar breakdown for the advertising data. This similar ratio of durable to consumable goods suggests that consumers and advertisers shared an overall view of consumers’ budgets and priorities, even though the specifics may be very different.

The archaeological absence of advertised goods is not the only source of disconnect between the data; there is also an imbalance of luxury and utilitarian goods in

these two data sets. *Roxbury Gazette* advertisements feature luxury items at a much higher concentration than the archaeological collection, which consist primarily of utilitarian items. In the following section, I discuss the differences between these categories of goods and the importance that luxury goods may have had for the families living on Tremont Street and Elmwood Court.

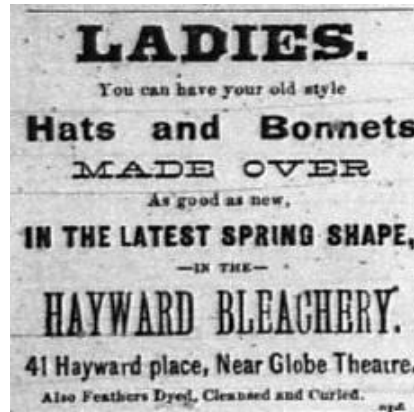


FIGURE 24: Hayward Bleachery, *Roxbury Gazette* May 4, 1888.

Luxury Items versus Utilitarian Goods

In the study of economics, a luxury good is one whose “consumption increases an amount larger than an increase in income” (Experimental Economics Center 2006). These items would not be consumed below a certain income level, but once that income level is reached, consumption of this item is higher than the boost in income. Luxury items signified that an individual or family not only had the means to purchase items outside of the minimum necessities, but also had the free time to enjoy objects of leisure or convenience. There are two major categories of luxury goods in the *Roxbury Gazette*: ‘larger luxuries’ or investment pieces like pianos and sewing machines, and ‘little luxuries’ like jewelry, fine housewares, or perfume.

The *Roxbury Gazette* sampling for this project contained 51 piano advertisements totaling 6.4% of the collection, making it the 4th most common advertising category. A variety of styles were offered from multiple dealers and manufacturers, including pianofortes, grand pianos, upright pianos, and organs (Figure 25). Many dealers offered liberal credit for payment plans or substantial discounts if paid for in cash. Customers would have had the choice of new or used pianos, and many dealers noted that older pianos could be traded in, much like a used car today.

The 24 sewing machine advertisements in the *Roxbury Gazette* represent just over 3% of the collection and included brands still seen today, such as Singer and Remington. Other lesser-known brands include Parker, Wheeler & Wilson's, Leavitt, Blanchard Self-Threading Needle, and White. This percentage is quite small compared with a sample of English Victorian magazine advertisements analyzed by Lori Anne Loeb, who concluded that sewing machines made up approximately 80% her sample of domestic advertisements from 1860 to 1880. This variation in frequency can likely be attributed to Loeb's classification of domestic advertisements, which would have excluded many of the categories of advertisements in this project and thus increased the concentration. Sewing machines would have been a costly investment for many families, but they were considered important because they freed the women in a household from the monotony of daily chores. Having a sewing machine reduced the time and frustration a woman would have to spend time on domestic chores, increasing her leisure and family time (Loeb 1994).

Considering the relatively popularity of these two advertisement types in the *Roxbury Gazette*, it is possible that the archaeological collection would reflect equally high concentrations of pianos and sewing machines (or components of these objects). However, not one artifact from the Tremont Street and Elmwood Court sites could be positively identified as a piano or sewing machine part. This clearly highlights the disconnect between these two data sets; an abundance of advertisements for a product does not indicate a large archaeological footprint, and vice versa. Both of these items would have been investment objects for a working-class family, and it is likely that if they were purchased and subsequently broke, they would not have been discarded in the same way as a broken dinner plate. Several advertisements for pianos and sewing machines offer repairs for these goods, indicating that a family might have been able to keep the object functional for many years past its initial purchase. If the object continued to function, it may have been passed to a friend or family member as an heirloom.



FIGURE 25: Left: Leavitt Sewing Machine, *Roxbury Gazette* May 2, 1867. Right: Three piano advertisements in a row, *Roxbury Gazette* May 4, 1876.

Sometimes a family would not have to invest exorbitant sums of money in order to enjoy the trappings of luxury--or at least, to give the appearance of a lavish lifestyle. Jewelry, clocks, fine housewares, and personal care items--‘little luxuries’--could provide touches of luxury for a purchaser, either for their personal enjoyment or for the enjoyment of others. Inexpensive versions of traditionally costly items allowed poor and working-class consumers to maintain an outward appearance of gentility that conformed to Victorian ideals (Mullins 2011). In Figure 26, vendors emphasize repair and low prices as ways to draw in working-class customers. Pear & Brother Silversmiths & Jewellers [sic] indicate twice that they can repair jewelry and silver-plated tableware, while Arlington, Drowne & Co.’s “Great One Dollar Sale” offers watches, dress patterns, tea sets, and thousands of dollars’ worth of goods for only one dollar, making these objects within the reach of more customers. Clifford, Perfumer, notes that he cuts out the middleman when selling perfumes and allows customers to try samples, which keeps prices low and purchasers satisfied.



FIGURE 26: Left to right: Pear & Brother Silversmiths & Jewellers; Arlington, Drowne & Co. Jewelry Sale (both *Roxbury Gazette* May 2, 1867); Clifford, Perfumer, May 1, 1873.

The mending in the first advertisement is particularly significant when considering the imbalances between the archaeological and advertising data in this project. If silver ice buckets and jewelry could be repaired, it could affect how these items appear (or do not appear) archaeologically. These items, like the pianos and sewing machines mentioned above, could have been items of importance for families and may have been passed down as heirlooms from one generation to the next. Although it is impossible to ascertain whether families actually purchased silver ice buckets and pianos from the data in this study, the presence of these objects in local newspapers indicates that such luxury items were part of a collective consumer consciousness. Working-class families would have been exposed to these items, and may have worked to purchase them or sought affordable imitations to decorate their homes.

Upon skimming through any given issue of the *Roxbury Gazette*, it becomes apparent that many advertisements feature luxury goods. Advertisers need to promote these products so aggressively for several reasons. First, advertisers would have faced stiff competition for family resources. In the years leading up to the Civil War, huge wealth inequalities grew between elite Bostonians and their working-class neighbors. Antebellum Americans spent roughly half of their family income on food, a quarter on clothing, and only five percent for “mass produced trifles as well as more momentous purchases like medical care” (Mullins 2011:78). This trend continued in post-war years. A Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics and Labor study revealed that postbellum working-class Massachusetts families spent between 51-65% of their income on food and often needed younger family members, including children under fifteen, to supplement the

head of household's income (Mullins 2011). In order to make every penny count, working-class families would have sought out the best possible value for their staple purchases. Any extra income would likely have been carefully allotted to non-essentials in the same way.

Both luxury and daily essential advertisers had to convince customers to deviate from established routines and shopping habits. Although refrigeration was increasingly popular during the mid-to-late 19th century, many residents of Tremont Street and Elmwood Court may not have had access to this technology, and as a result likely shopped for perishable goods multiple times a week. They would have known where to shop for the best quality and value, and unfortunately for advertisers, "food consumption can be exceptionally resistant to even the most eloquent advertising discourses, and many consumers' food choices are fueled by deeply rooted foodways preferences that resist market determinism" (Mullins 2011:72). The two advertisements in Figure 27 are typical grocery advertisements from the later issues of the *Roxbury Gazette*. The Old Stand advertisement to the right asks readers why they would go downtown for their groceries when everything they need was available right in their neighborhood. This hints at changes in markets and consumer behavior in Boston and suggests that Roxbury residents may have taken advantage of increasing public transportation option in the city to access stores downtown.



FIGURE 27: Market Advertisements, May 7, 1898.

Presence of Ceramics in Archaeological and Advertising Collections

An additional disconnect between the archaeological and advertising data manifests in the lack of ceramic and crockery advertisements in the *Roxbury Gazette*. Only 2% of the advertisements--just 16 in total--were for establishments selling crockery and tablewares. Ceramics are often one of the most prevalent material types in 19th-century archaeological sites; in the Tremont Street and Elmwood Court sites, ceramics made up just under 38% of the total artifacts.

If ceramics make up such a significant portion of the archaeological collection, why are they relatively absent from the *Roxbury Gazette*? For many, ceramics were a medium-term investment. They were not quite a consumable in the way that fish or eggs are, but when broken they were discarded with regular household waste unlike silver-plated tablewares that could be mended. Ceramics were ubiquitous; every home would have needed at least the basics to cook and serve meals, and fortunately the marketplace was inundated with options for ceramics and glassware so that “dominant codes and the material trappings of affluence were especially accessible to a wide range of middling

and even poor consumers” (Mullins 2001:93). Customers could purchase porcelain, ironstone, and stoneware vessels of all types for a price that fit their budget. While the vessel quality may have reflected the price paid, a family could often afford to dress their table with their preferred aesthetic.

Final Thoughts: A Cherub for the Mantle

A glance around a 19th century parlor space would have revealed a wealth of information about the personality and identity of the home’s inhabitants. Miniatures and figurines have been understudied archaeologically because they are found in small numbers and are often seen as whimsical and decorative rather than useful or meaningful (Mills 2010). These objects were decorative, but they were not *only* purchased for this reason: they were a means of creating and adhering to social aesthetics appropriate for the purchaser (Mullins 2012). In less serious terms, these trinkets were meaningful for the purchaser because they allowed self-expression in a socially-acceptable way.



FIGURE 28: Porcelain cherub figurine, Tremont Street Lot #7230.

The cherub figurine (Figure 28) measures approximately 2.5 centimeters wide, 2 centimeters front-to back, and is approximately 4 centimeters tall in its present (headless and footless) state. This statuette has a shiny feldspathic glaze with traces of overglaze gilded decoration and possible light pink underglaze decoration on the neck and legs. The figurine is clothed in a toga or robe, and appears to be raising the garment in the front with both hands. Because the figurine is missing any identifying makers' marks or identifying features, it is impossible to determine the precise date of manufacture for this object. However, this absence does not alter the figurine's importance. All 19th century consumers were expected to purchase these dolls, figurines, and other 'bric-a-brac'; contemporary observers noted that the objects were "always to be found in the room of the poorest and humblest...and are eagerly bought and carefully displayed, and always on view" (*The Builder* 1870:402-403, quoted in Mullins and Jeffries 2012:750). Despite this, it would be unwise to assume that all-working class homes bought the same things and shared the same values. Each piece purchased had distinct value for the owner as a means of expressing personality and individuality (Mayne and Murray 2001; Orser 2004).

Even today, it is possible to imagine what the purchaser of this statuette may have felt when she picked it up off a store shelf and turned it over in her hands. The original site report humorously described this object as "an overglaze hand-painted statue of a partially nude male cherub holding up his toga to expose himself" (Charles and Openo 1987). When the original owner stood in that store, considering whether or not to bring the little cherub home to place on a table or mantle, she may have smiled just as I did.

This shared connection is part of what makes the Tremont Street and Elmwood Court sites--and archaeology as a field--so important, but it is often the first thing that archaeologists forget once the shovels and trowels have been put away and artifact processing and data-crunching begin. For although the 1,904 ceramic sherds recovered at both sites are indeed important, they are not truly significant unless archaeologists consider what they may have meant to the original owner. Geertz argues that this is one of the hardest parts of archaeology and anthropology; we must sort out the social contexts and structures of significance in which people lived, despite the fact that many of these structures were “superimposed upon or knotted into one another” (Geertz 1973:10).

The cherub statuette and similar decorative knickknacks would have been “little luxuries for many families. Even if larger, more expensive items like pianos and sewing machines were out of financial reach, families could have indulged in smaller non-essential purchases to add touches of decadence and personality to their homes. Historic newspapers and archaeological material offer different yet complementary lenses through which consumer choice, identity, and personality can be studied. The archaeological record offers tangible indicators of what people purchased, discarded, and incorporated into their day-to-day lives, while historic newspaper advertisements show the plethora of market options available to consumers and contribute to an understanding of the community’s consumer consciousness. Only through a holistic approach, where both of these sources are considered, can archaeologists begin to understand the site’s story.

APPENDIX A

ARTIFACT COUNTS AND PERCENTAGES BY MATERIAL TYPE

Material Type	Tremont Street (Percentage)*	Elmwood Court (Percentage)
Ceramic	36.38	45.51
Composite	0.3	0.22
Fauna	12.84	19.66
Flora	0.25	4.72
Glass	33.14	18.88
Metal	13.81	7.64
Mineral	1.52	1.12
Stone	0.17	0.45
Synthetic	1.5	1.8

<i>Material</i>	<i># Tremont St.</i>	<i>% Tremont St.</i>	<i># Elmwood Court</i>	<i>% Elmwood Court</i>	<i>Overall Percentage of Collection</i>
Ceramic	1722	36.38	405	45.51	37.82
<i>Tile</i>	5	0.11	1	0.11	0.11
<i>Pipe</i>	173	3.65	7	0.79	3.20
<i>Brick</i>	26	0.55	11	1.24	0.66
<i>Coarse Earthenware</i>	110	2.32	55	6.18	2.93
<i>Creamware</i>	4	0.08	100	11.24	1.85
<i>Ironstone</i>	932	19.69	27	3.03	17.05
<i>Marbles</i>	1	0.02	0	0.00	0.02
<i>Pearlware</i>	52	1.10	44	4.94	1.71

<i>Rockingham</i>	105	2.22	1	0.11	1.88
<i>Refined</i>	10	0.21	0	0.00	0.18
<i>Whiteware</i>	9	0.19	122	13.71	2.33
<i>Yellowware</i>	46	0.97	9	1.01	0.98
<i>Porcelain</i>	185	3.91	23	2.58	3.70
<i>Stoneware</i>	63	1.33	4	0.45	1.19
<i>Tin Glazed</i>	1	0.02	1	0.11	0.04
Composite	14	0.30	2	0.22	0.28
<i>Button</i>	2	0.04	0	0.00	0.04
<i>Cutlery Handle</i>	1	0.02	0	0.00	0.02
<i>Buckle</i>	3	0.06	0	0.00	0.05
<i>Strapping</i>	2	0.04	0	0.00	0.04
<i>Wire</i>	1	0.02	0	0.00	0.02
<i>Shoe</i>	0	0.00	1	0.11	0.02
<i>Unidentified</i>	5	0.11	1	0.11	0.11
Fauna	608	12.84	175	19.66	13.92
<i>Bone</i>	2	0.04	139	15.62	2.51
<i>Bone button</i>	2	0.04	1	0.11	0.05
<i>Hair</i>	4	0.08	0	0.00	0.07
<i>Leather shoe</i>	59	1.25	1	0.11	1.07
<i>Leather strapping</i>	353	7.46	0	0.00	6.28
<i>Unidentified leather</i>	5	0.11	0	0.00	0.09
<i>Shell button</i>	180	3.80	0	0.00	3.20
<i>Shell</i>	3	0.06	33	3.71	0.64
<i>Tooth</i>	0	0.00	1	0.11	0.02
Flora	12	0.25	42	4.72	0.96
<i>Wood</i>	1	0.02	4	0.45	0.09
<i>Charcoal</i>	11	0.23	38	4.27	0.87
<i>Fiber</i>	4	0.08	0	0.00	0.07
Glass	1569	33.14	168	18.88	30.89

<i>Blown/molded bottle</i>	7	0.15	0	0.00	0.12
<i>Blown/molded vessel/tableware</i>	1	0.02	0	0.00	0.02
<i>Embossed bottle</i>	8	0.17	0	0.00	0.14
<i>Free-blown bottle</i>	3	0.06	0	0.00	0.05
<i>Machine made bottle</i>	678	14.32	12	1.35	12.27
<i>Machine made unidentified</i>	7	0.15	1	0.11	0.14
<i>Machine made button</i>	0	0.00	1	0.11	0.02
<i>Machine made lampshade</i>	3	0.06	0	0.00	0.05
<i>Machine made vessel/tableware</i>	65	1.37	12	1.35	1.37
<i>Machine made marble</i>	2	0.04	0	0.00	0.04
<i>Machine made window/flat</i>	426	9.00	33	3.71	8.16
<i>Mold blown bottle</i>	140	2.96	10	1.12	2.67
<i>Mold blown vessel/tableware</i>	18	0.38	0	0.00	0.32
<i>Mold/pressed vessel/tableware</i>	36	0.76	2	0.22	0.68
<i>Mold/pressed bottle</i>	0	0.00	1	0.11	0.02
<i>Molded vessel/tableware</i>	28	0.59	0	0.00	0.50
<i>Plate</i>	5	0.11	0	0.00	0.09
<i>Pressed vessel/tableware</i>	41	0.87	8	0.90	0.87
<i>Pressed flat</i>	13	0.27	0	0.00	0.23
<i>Pressed bottle</i>	0	0.00	3	0.34	0.05
<i>Slag</i>	1	0.02	0	0.00	0.02
<i>Unassigned bottle</i>	70	1.48	46	5.17	2.06
<i>Unassigned vessel/tableware</i>	5	0.11	37	4.16	0.75

<i>Unassigned unidentified</i>	3	0.06	2	0.22	0.09
<i>Unassigned flat</i>	9	0.19	0	0.00	0.16
Metal	654	13.81	68	7.64	12.84
<i>Aluminum</i>	3	0.06	0	0.00	0.05
<i>Copper alloy button</i>	2	0.04	0	0.00	0.04
<i>Copper alloy coin</i>	2	0.04	1	0.11	0.05
<i>Copper alloy buckle</i>	1	0.02	0	0.00	0.02
<i>Copper alloy scabbard</i>	0	0.00	2	0.22	0.04
<i>Copper alloy wire</i>	0	0.00	1	0.11	0.02
<i>Copper alloy miscellaneous</i>	13	0.27	0	0.00	0.23
<i>Ferrous utilitarian/misc.</i>	600	12.67	62	6.97	11.77
<i>Ferrous bottle stopper</i>	1	0.02	0	0.00	0.02
<i>Ferrous buckle</i>	6	0.13	0	0.00	0.11
<i>Ferrous button</i>	2	0.04	0	0.00	0.04
<i>Ferrous slag</i>	13	0.27	0	0.00	0.23
<i>Lead</i>	4	0.08	2	0.22	0.11
<i>Steel nail</i>	1	0.02	0	0.00	0.02
<i>White metal button</i>	1	0.02	0	0.00	0.02
<i>White metal misc.</i>	5	0.11	0	0.00	0.09
Mineral	72	1.52	10	1.12	1.46
<i>Coal/clinker</i>	38	0.80	6	0.67	0.78
<i>Other/misc.</i>	34	0.72	4	0.45	0.68
Stone	8	0.17	4	0.45	0.21
<i>Slate</i>	6	0.13	3	0.34	0.16
<i>Marble</i>	2	0.04	1	0.11	0.05
Synthetic	71	1.50	16	1.80	1.55
<i>Plastic</i>	57	1.20	10	1.12	1.19

<i>Asbestos</i>	1	0.02	0	0.00	0.02
<i>Rubber</i>	6	0.13	3	0.34	0.16
<i>Tar</i>	1	0.02	0	0.00	0.02
<i>Tar paper</i>	4	0.08	0	0.00	0.07
<i>Styrofoam</i>	2	0.04	0	0.00	0.04
<i>Linoleum</i>	0	0.00	2	0.22	0.04
<i>Other</i>	0	0.00	1	0.11	0.02

APPENDIX B

EXCLUDED ADVERTISEMENTS FROM *ROXBURY GAZETTE* SAMPLE

Date of Publication	Volume and Number	Excluded Advertisements
1 May 1861	Vol. 1 No. 1	Canker cure (illegible), painter, gent's dressing room (illegible), events (orchestra, opera house, painting show, garden), gun and locksmith, piano teacher, military books, houses for sale, family mourning store, merchant tailor, insurance agency
12 May 1864	Vol. 4 No. 3	Real estate, stock brokers, dining saloons, photographer, bank, doctor's office, tailor, Boston Commercial College, Boston Mercantile Academy, private dressmaker, merchant tailor, plumber, gardener and florist, dentist, surgeon dentist, brushes, medical/dental supplier, dining room, hack/boarding/livery stable, attorneys, hotel
2 May 1867	Vol. 7 No. 2	Doctor's office, photographer, attorney, hair cutter, insurance, ladies' hair dressing salon, florist, printing ink manufacturers, gravestone and monuments, ventilation company, dentist, astrologers, medical doctor treating intemperance
12 May 1870	Vol. 10 No. 3	Insurance, restaurants/dining rooms, private circulating library, dental surgeon, doctor/bone setter, photographer, merchant tailor, undertaker, tuner and toner, flowers, riding academy, blacksmith, book agents, model homes, fruit farm for sale, Iowa acres for sale, medical cream without address, mustache elixir, patent instructions, several mail-order products, tailor and ladies' habit maker, book of animal husbandry, novels, self-help and marriage guides, dentist who uses anesthesia
1 May 1873	Vol. 13 No. 6	Illegible ad for piano, merchant tailor, dining saloon, carpenter and stair builder, florist, plasterer, real estate, insurance, caterer, watch repair, clothing cleaning, tailor, photographer, physician/surgeon, mail-order cowpox virus, dentist, plumber, auctioneer, caterer, architect, illegible stove sale

14 May 1876	Vol. 16 No. 1	Ice cream saloon, optician, photography, dining parlors, real estate, auctioneer, dining rooms, medical home, sign painter, piano teacher, bank, circulating library, tailor, greenhouse to rent, bone setter/doctor, granite monuments, florists, furnishing undertaker, undertaker, long-distance employment, advertising course, books, printing services, mail-order medications, psychomancy/"soul-charming"
1 May 1879	Vol. 18 No. 5	Hotel, dining room/saloon, furnishing undertaker, plumber, marble/granite monumental works, auctioneer, real estate, insurance, circulating library, billiard parlor, dentistry, public events/exhibitions, Boston Almanac, distance employment, books and guides, stocks in mining company, magazine
4 May 1882	Vol. 20 No. 6	Printsellers, furnishing undertaker, auction sale, picture framer, real estate, insurance, herb doctor, carpet cleaning, lead manufacturing company, two mail-order tonics, back ache plasters (mail-order)
7 May 1885	Vol. 23 No. 7	Circulating library, optician, celluloid application, practical optician, Universal Benefit Association, apartment house, doctor, auctioneer and appraiser, coffee parlor, lunch and restaurant, foot doctor, plumber, merchant tailor, printing, carpet cleaner, flagging stone, drain pipe, ladies' tailor, mail-order doctor(?), train line, oyster house, Roxbury Gazette printing, dentist, house painters, mail-order medicine, mail-order employment
4 May 1888	Vol. 26 No. 5	Hotel, doctor, dentist, funeral home, undertaker, cough syrup without specific manufacturer, auction sale of building lots, real estate, Cyclorama Battle of Bunker Hill attraction, coal substitute without company name, plumbers/gas fitters, South End photograph gallery, restaurant (Temple House), physician, employment bureau, custom tailors, photographer, draper/tailor, ladies' tailor, merchant tailor, botanical medical institute, circulating library, hair balsam without legible company, mail-order catarrh medicine, mail-order memory course
1 May 1891	Vol. 29 No. 9	Hotel, attorney, custom tailor, real estate, mortgages, nondescript medicine, multiple undertakers, wanted advertisement for salesmen, piano teacher, farm for sale, cigars without store information, florist, insurance broker, funeral directors, painters, restaurant/saloon, builder, horseshoeing, circulating library

5 May 1894	Vol. 32 No. 10	[Note: Dramatic increase in services over goods in this issue.] Employment office (seeking help from girls), insurance broker, gold mining company shares, dentist, hotel, house and sign painter, photographer, ad for the Roxbury Gazette, Fitchburg Railroad, patent office, attorney, wood engraving, photographer (with coupon), architect, undertakers, funeral director, carpet cleaning, horse stables, roofing repair
7 May 1898	Vol. 38 No. 19	Real estate, express transportation, restaurant, dentist, justice of the peace, movers, roofers, insurance, photographer, furniture storage, furniture mover, bowling, plumber, horseshoer, metal and bicycle repair, restaurant, undertaker, monumental artworks, dancing school, cafes, paper hanger

APPENDIX C

ADVERTISING CATEGORIES AND OVERALL STATISTICAL BREAKDOWN

Product Type	Total Count	Overall Percentage of Collection
Accessibility Goods	1	0.13
Accessories	20	2.51
Alcohol	34	4.27
Baking/Pastry	12	1.51
Beauty	7	0.88
Boots and Shoes	20	2.51
Business Needs	4	0.50
Carpet	14	1.76
Cleaning Supplies	1	0.13
Clothing/Textiles	65	8.16
Coffee/Tea	3	0.38
Crockery	16	2.01
Decoration	10	1.25
Department Store	3	0.38
Domestic Animals	2	0.25
Druggist	5	0.63
Fish	6	0.75
Fuel	19	2.38
Furnishing Goods	23	2.89
Furs	1	0.13
Gardening/Lawn	25	3.14
Grocery	23	2.89
Hair Care	13	1.63
Household Utilities	35	4.39

Jewelry and Watches	19	2.38
Kitchen Appliances	10	1.25
Livestock/Farming	10	1.25
Medicine	68	8.53
Millinery Goods	41	5.14
Non-Alcoholic Beverage	8	1.00
Other Musical Instruments	1	0.13
Paints	4	0.50
Paper Goods	13	1.63
Pianos	51	6.40
Produce/Meat	12	1.51
Scrap Metal	1	0.13
Sewing Machines	24	3.01
Soap/Laundry	20	2.51
Spectacles	5	0.63
Stoves/Furnaces	28	3.51
Tobacco	9	1.13
Tools	5	0.63
Toys	1	0.13
Transportation	27	3.39
Typewriters	1	0.13
Upholstery/Furniture	77	9.66

APPENDIX D

EXAMPLES OF ADVERTISEMENTS WITHIN EACH CATEGORY

Accessibility Goods	Earphone for the deaf
Accessories	Umbrellas, canes, perfume, gloves, corsets, hoop skirts, shawls, buttons, small wares
Alcohol	Beer, wines, ales, liquor
Baking/Pastry	Wedding cakes, caterers, bakeries
Beauty	Balms, enamels, pills, facial soap
Boots and Shoes	Childrens' and adults' boots and shoes, gaiters, slippers, rubbers, bicycle shoes
Carpet	Straw matting, English Tapestry, Woodstock, Axminsters, Wilions, three-plys, wool, domestic and imported
Cleaning Supplies	Stove polish (Silver Moon brand)
Clothing/Textiles	Skirts, capes, gentlemen's wear, shirts, dresses
Coffee/Tea	Red Dragon tea, coffee,
Crockery	Glass, China, Parian, Britannia wares, Jappaned, dinner sets, tin and wooden wares, tea sets, bar glassware
Decoration	Paper hangings, artwork, weather vanes, picture frames, window shades and curtains
Druggist	Drugs, chemicals, patent medicines, toilet articles, pharmacist
Fish	Fresh, salt, and smoked fish, oysters, lobster, clams
Fuel	Coal, wood, bark, hay
Furnishing Goods	Stores with assorted furniture and decorative goods; parlor suits, house paper, pictures

Furs	Ladies' furs
Gardening/Lawn	Fruit trees, vegetables, ornamental plants, lawn fertilizers, flower seeds, garden vases and chairs
Grocery	Butter, flour, sugar, canned foods, ice cream, provisions
Hair Care	Hair restorers, dyes, wig makers, ladies' hair styles
Household Utilities	Sub-carpet cloth, marble works, coppersmiths, mousetraps, wire window and door screens, ice, ventilators, clothes wringers, iron bedsteads
Jewelry/Watches	Watches, clocks, silver and gold jewelry, diamonds
Kitchen Appliances	Broilers, refrigerators, coffee roasters, coffee and tea pots
Livestock/Farming	Manure, riding saddles and bridles, team harnesses
Medicine	Tonics, bitters, liniments, nervines, pulques, rheumaticcures, kidney and lung treatments, pepsin, balms, cough and croup syrup
Millinery Goods	Silk hats, straw hats, men's hats, children's hats, bonnets
Non-Alcoholic Beverage	Milk, ginger ale, Poland Spring water, Medical well water, mineral water
Paints	Linseed oil, Kalsomine, paste paints, assorted oils
Paper Goods	Circulating libraries, magazines, business cards, wedding envelopes, book stores, Boston Almanac, school supplies, stationery
Pianos	Pianofortes, grand and upright pianos (new and second hand), organs
Produce/Meat	Fruit, vegetables, beef, pork, mutton, veal, poultry
Scrap Metal	Junk, iron, old metal
Sewing Machines	Singer, Aetna, Weed, Parker, Wheeler & Wilson's, Blanchard Self-Threading Needle, Remington, White
Soap/Laundry	Indexical soaps, Chalcidean/Anti-rotting cleanser, starch, bleach,

	laundry service
Spectacles	Oculists, periscopic spectacles
Stoves/Furnaces	Cooking ranges, kerosene stoves, gas stoves and burners, furnaces, office stoves, coal stoves, hot water heater
Tobacco	Cigarettes, smoking tobacco, cigars, chewing tobacco, smoker's articles
Tools	Joiner's tools, hardware, steel files
Toys	New stock of toys
Transportation	Carriages, sleighs, bicycles
Typewriters	Smith Premier typewriter
Upholstery/Furniture	Upholstery, bedding, chairs, parlor bedsteads, mattresses, sofas (new and second hand)

APPENDIX E

DURABLE AND CONSUMABLE GOODS IN ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA

Durable Goods	Consumable Goods
Ceramics	Composite Goods
Glass (Vessels/Tableware, Lampshades, Marbles, Buttons)	Fauna
Metals (Buttons, Buckles, Coins, Nails, etc.)	Flora
Minerals and Stone	Glass (Bottle)
Synthetics	Slag/Fuel

APPENDIX F

DURABLE AND CONSUMABLE GOODS IN ADVERTISING DATA

Durable Goods	Consumable Goods
Accessibility Goods	Alcohol
Accessories	Baking/Pastry
Boots and Shoes	Beauty
Carpet	Cleaning Supplies
Clothing/Textiles	Coffee/Tea
Crockery	Decorations
Department Stores	Druggists
Domestic Animals	Fish
Furnishing Goods	Fuel
Furs	Gardening/Lawn
Household Utilities	Grocery
Jewelry and Watches	Hair Care
Kitchen Appliances	Livestock
Livestock/Farming Equipment	Medicine
Millinery Goods	Non-Alcoholic Beverages
Musical Instruments	Paper Goods
Paints	Produce/Meat
Pianos	Soap/Laundry
Scrap Metal	Tobacco
Sewing Machines	
Spectacles	

Stoves/Furnaces	
Tools	
Transportation	
Typewriters	
Upholstery/Furniture	

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