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Amanda B. Johnson
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Booze At The Brothel:
Alcohol-Related Artifacts and Their Use in Performance
at the 27/29 Endicott Street Brothel

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McLean, Virginia

Bachelor of Arts, Boston University, 2010

A Thesis Presented to the Graduate Faculty
of the College of William and Mary in Candidacy for the Degree of
Masters of Arts

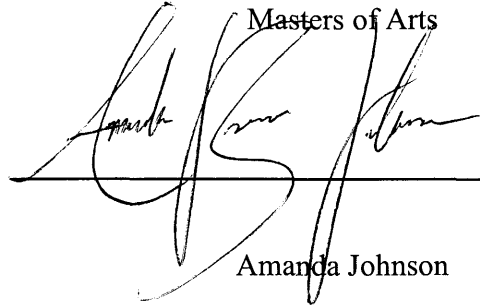
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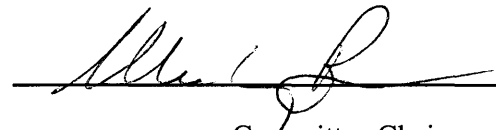
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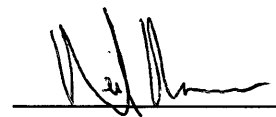
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ABSTRACT PAGE

Recent archaeological analysis of artifacts associated with a nineteenth-century brothel in Boston, Massachusetts are beginning to shed new light on the inner workings of Victorian brothels, including the consumption of alcohol by the male patrons and the women in residence. Alcohol was widely consumed in the Victorian era, but unless consumed as part of a formal dinner, it was often considered part of the male realm. The evidence from the brothel site offers fresh insights into the Victorian presentation and consumption of alcohol for both men and women. The archaeological evidence suggests that owners of middling-brothels pursued highly ritualized practices of alcohol consumption in order to establish the veneer of upper-class respectability and an entertainment environment, while at the same time using alcohol to treat their anxiety in private. Alcohol-related materials suggest that alcohol played an important role in guiding the performance of brothel players and patrons that is more complex than can be gleaned from historical narratives alone.

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Chapter One

27/29 Endicott Street

In the summer of 1993, archaeological excavations were carried out in the North End of Boston, Massachusetts in advance of the Central Artery construction project, also known as the “Big Dig.” The main focus of this phase of the project was the Mill Pond Site, an early eighteenth-century fill-retaining structure constructed to add usable land to the city of Boston (Seasholes 2003:14) [Fig. 1.1]. Just outside the official excavation of the Mill Pond site, archaeologists encountered the 27/29 Endicott Street privy, also known as the Padelford privy, which dated to the nineteenth century. William Padelford was a Boston physician who periodically resided at the property in the mid-nineteenth century. However, the focus of this thesis is on the periods of the mid-to late nineteenth century when the site operated as an active brothel.

The Endicott features post-dated the 1830 cut-off established in the Memorandum of Agreement between the Massachusetts Historical Commission and the other parties involved in the Central Artery/ Third Harbor Tunnel Archaeological Data Recovery Project defining sites eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places and subject to the full scale data recovery. As a result, it could not be excavated as part of the “Big Dig.” The archaeologists therefore excavated the features of the Endicott Street property as a voluntary salvage, and the recovered materials were stored by Timelines, Inc. (now John Milner Associates) at its facility

in Littleton, Massachusetts until their transfer to Boston University's Department of Archaeology in 2011. Work on the collections has been performed on a voluntary basis, as no funds have been available for their study and analysis.



Figure 1.1 Aerial view of original Shawmut Peninsula area of Boston, Massachusetts showing the location of the Mill Pond Site. (Beaudry 2002:261)

In this thesis, I use materials from the 27/29 Endicott Street brothel as a heuristic to address the role of alcohol in a nineteenth-century urban space. This thesis will focus on the role of alcohol consumption in both a private and public

setting, drawing upon social history to determine what activities would have taken place in the front rooms of the brothel and archaeological evidence to determine the details of those activities. Drawing on the work of Erving Goffman, I embrace a dramaturgical approach to the study of alcohol consumption at the Endicott Street brothel. Because alcohol drinking serves as both fantasy enhancer and anxiety reducer, the dramaturgical approach makes it possible to gain an understanding of the duality of the daily lives of the brothel's inhabitants. This study has found that while women portrayed a version of an ideal yet wild and promiscuous woman for their clients, they dealt with their anxiety and stress in the standard way for the majority of Victorian women.

Located in the backlot of the 27/29 Endicott Street property, the main element of the site was Feature 38, a wood-lined nineteenth-century privy that was manually excavated and recorded by stratum. Feature 37, a wooden cistern, was also excavated at the site but fewer artifacts were recovered from it; it was excavated expediently, with the aid of a backhoe, which created only one stratum context for the feature (Stevens 2000:1). Over 6586 artifacts were recovered from the privy and the cistern, although the majority of the artifacts came from the privy. Because of the lack of exact context and the limited number of artifacts recovered from the cistern, the main focus of the excavation and analysis was the privy, which contained numerous types of artifacts, including leather goods, textiles, food remains, glass products, small metal finds, tobacco related artifacts, and ceramics.

Prior to the availability of municipal waste removal, people, especially urban residents, used privies, cisterns, wells, and cellars for waste disposal. Artifacts were deposited into these types of features by two main methods: accidental loss and purposeful dumping. Purposeful dumping of artifacts includes a number of different scenarios, including gradual deposition from breakage and normal use, rapid deposition due to a major household cleaning, and everyday intentional disposal of garbage. Because privies were occasionally cleaned and emptied, the artifacts found in an excavation can be assumed to have accumulated in “a normal pattern of superposition, one layer upon another,” unless only part of the fill is removed (Harris 1989:48). To clean and disinfect the privies, lime would be added on occasion, a process that would not disturb the accretional layers of the privy.

Historic Background

Endicott Street and the neighborhood surrounding it were part of a development project in Boston that began when a portion of the Pond Street Corporation filled a portion of the Mill Pond between 1807 and 1809 (Seasholes 2003). Once the land was “made,” lots were set out for development. The land was originally developed as a neighborhood with homes for “mechanics” or working classes, but much of the neighborhood eventually was occupied by industrial and commercial properties (Seasholes 2003:79). The houses in this neighborhood were multi-storied row-houses that lacked indoor plumbing until the end of the nineteenth century, making outdoor privies or outhouses and cisterns to collect water from roof-

run off a necessary part of the urban landscape (Seasholes 2003). People living in the house either went into the backlot to use the privy or used chamberpots indoors, which would eventually have to be emptied into the privy. The wash water for these properties would have been collected in cisterns and pumped into buckets or pitchers to be brought into the houses.

The amount of documentation from this period of Boston's history is quite large and extremely informative when trying to understand the occupational history of specific sites, including the Endicott Street site. Boston City Directories and Street Lists give the name of the head of the 27/29 Endicott Street property, from 1850 through 1885. The Boston Valuation Lists, originally meant to gather tax information, provide an understanding of the overall value of the household as well more detailed information of individuals residing at the address than the Directories or Street Lists provide. Census records provide not only the name, age and occupation of the property's residents, but also their birthplace and race, allowing for a more complete picture of the brothel's residents. The census records were taken every five years, because of the collection of both the State and Federal records in Boston. There are also many insurance maps from Boston that date to the mid-nineteenth century, including the detailed Sanborn Fire Insurance maps.

Between 1847 and 1880, the property at 27/29 Endicott Street was a tenant property and from 1852 to 1867 it was occupied solely by female tenants, operating as a brothel in the guise of a female boardinghouse (Boston City Records;

Massachusetts 1855 State Census; United States of America Federal 1860 Census; Massachusetts 1865 State Census; United States of America Federal 1870 Census; United States of America Federal 1880 Census; Boston City Valuation Lists 1847-1880). From 1852 until 1866, women are frequently listed as residents of 27/29 Endicott Street, but no occupations are listed for these women [Table 1.1].

Massachusetts State census records indicate that the property was in use as a brothel by 1855, listing the head of household as Miss Adams, who lived in the house with nine other women (Boston Valuation Lists 1847-1880) [Table 1.2]. In 1857, the property transferred to a Mrs. Cowen, who was also the head of a female household; the property at that time seems to have served as a brothel because, from 1852 to 1866, the only occupation of any member of the household listed in the city records is prostitution. In addition, the property was a short two blocks from the heart of Boston's nineteenth-century Red Light district (Stevens 2000:7).

In 1866, a Mrs. Lake is listed as the head of the household, and her occupation is recorded in the Street Blocks/ Boston Directory as prostitution (City of Boston 1865-1867). This is presumed to be the same Mrs. Lake who married Dr. William F. Padelford in 1867; it is possible that Mrs. Lake is also the same person as Mrs. Cowan because of the similarity of first names listed in the city records. Women involved in nineteenth-century prostitution often changed their names throughout their careers. However, there were other occupants during the time the Padelfords

Year of Occupation	House #	Name of Tenant	Occupation of Tenant
1852	27&29	Miss Adams for Joseph Smith	
1853	27&29	Females for Joseph Smith	
1854	27&29	Miss Smith for Joseph Smith	
1855	27	Miss Adams for Joseph Smith	
1856		Addresses not listed	
1857	27	Mrs. Cowen for Joseph Smith	
1857	29	Address not listed	
1858	27&29	Mrs. Cowant for Joseph Smith	
1859	27	Mrs. Cowen for Joseph Smith	
1860-1865	27&29	Mrs. Cowan for Joseph Smith	
1866	27&29	House by Mrs. Lake	Prostitution
1867	27	William W. Gray	Police
1867	29	William F. Padelford	Physician
1868	27	William W. Gray	Police
1868	29	William F. Padelford	Physician
1869	27&29	William F. Padelford	Physician
1870	27	Isaac Segar	Jeweler
1870	29	William F. Padelford	Physician
1871-1875	27&29	William F. Padelford	Physician
1876	27&29	William F. Padelford	Dr.
1877	27	Luther B. Hall	Gent
1877	29	House by Females	
1878	27	Luther B. Hall	Gent
1879	27&29	House by Females	
1880	27&29	Robert W. Emerson	Driver*
1881	27	Robert W. Emerson	Driver
1882	27&29	Robert W. Emerson	
1883	27&29	Robert W. Emerson	Driver

Table 1.1 List of tenants for the 27/29 Endicott Street property, 1852-1883 from the Street Books (revised from Stevens 2000).¹

¹ *In the 1880 Federal Census, Robert W. Emerson is listed as a “barkeep” for 1880, with his wife Minnie Emerson listed as the head of household.

Name	Age	Gender	Birthplace
A. Adams	35	Female	Vermont
Mary Colby	20	Female	Ireland
Margaret	28	Female	Ireland
Elina McMahan	22	Female	Vermont
Catherine	18	Female	New Hampshire
J. Ordinary	19	Female	Maine
Ellen Pinkham	22	Female	New Hampshire
Jane Clark	19	Female	Massachusetts
J. Morton	20	Female	Massachusetts
Eliza Thompson	21	Female	Rhode Island

Table 1.2 List of female tenants residing in the property during the 1855 census (Stevens 2000:6; State 1855 Census, Boston Ward 7).

were in residence, including a policeman, Mr. William Gray, and a jeweler, Mr. Isaac Segar. It is possible, based on the jeweler's name and the demographic of the neighborhood at the time, that Segar and his family could have been Jewish immigrants. Segar and his wife and four children are listed as residents of the 27/29 Endicott Street property for only one year, 1870 (Federal Census 1870; Ward 2). From 1876 until the privy was sealed in 1883, the 27/29 Endicott Street property was mainly used as a house of prostitution, without evidence of "respectable" tenants residing at the property (Stevens 2000:7). In 1880, a Mrs. Minnie Emerson is listed as head of household with her husband listed below her; it is likely that she was the madam during the last few years that the privy was in use, while her husband was the bar keep for the property, according to the 1880 Federal Census (1880 Federal Census; Ward 7). During the intervals between the periods when the property is

known to have functioned as a brothel, it is possible that one side of the property was rented out to working class boarders, while the other could have provided rooms that were available for prostitutes to rent.

Based on the neighborhood and the quality of the artifacts recovered from the privy, the property was probably a low-end parlor house, where the individual working women rented rooms. If the Madam could not fill up the house with prostitutes, she would then rent to anyone else who could pay to rent a room (Mary C. Beaudy, 2010, pers. comm.). This was most likely still the policy when Dr. Padelford lived there with his wife, the former Mrs. Lake. Based on Benes' economic analysis of Padelford's occupation as a homeopathic physician, he would not have earned enough income to support himself and his family, or even enough to keep the household running (Benes 1995). Most likely, his wife would have continued with her various enterprises, renting rooms to both traditional boarders as well as to prostitutes.

Identification and Excavation

Although there are multiple features associated with the 27/29 Endicott Street property, the artifacts I examine here are all from Feature 38, the privy [Fig. 1.2]. The privy appears to have been constructed when the house was built in 1852, when a Miss Adams was listed in the city records as the head of household (Boston City Valuation Lists 1847-1880). Excavations revealed that the privy had two distinct

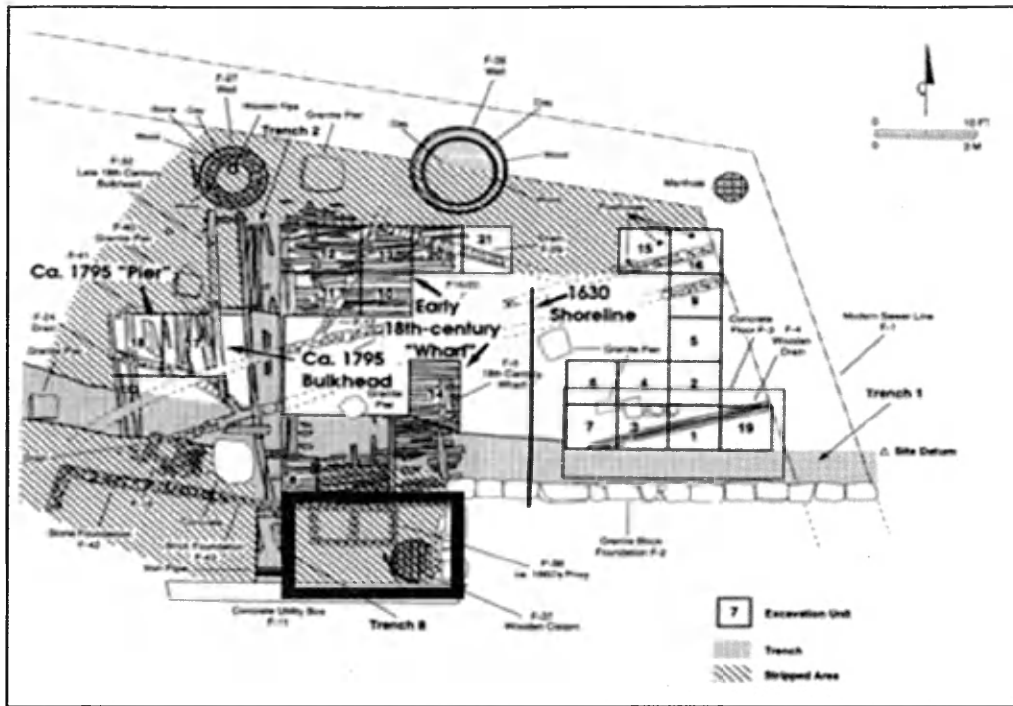


Figure 1.2 Plan of the Mill Pond Site with the 27/29 Endicott Street privy and cistern shown within the heavily outlined box (Beaudry 2002: 262).

chambers, suggesting that it once had two privy seats. The two vaults discovered were given separate stratification designations and assigned Harris Matrix numbers. The west chamber of the privy had two strata, Harris numbers 230 and 233, while the east chamber had three strata, Harris numbers 234, 235, and 236 (Stevens and Ordonez 2005:10; Dudeck 1999) [Table 1.3]. There was little evidence of disturbance to either chamber, though there was lye present. Lye was used in the cleaning and sanitizing of privies in the nineteenth century, which helped keep odors down, but the lye seems to have been added as a regular part of the build-up of the fill layers.

Insurance maps indicate that the privy was sealed in 1883 because it does not appear thereafter.

Harris Number	West Chamber	Harris Number	East Chamber
230	1867-1883	236	1867-1883
-	-	234	1867-1876
233	1850-1860s/1870	235	1850-1860s/1870

Table 1.3 Harris number and corresponding dates from the Padelford privy's two chambers (Dudeck 1999; Stevens 2000:4).

While archaeologists have investigated the material culture recovered from the Endicott Street site for insight into the daily lives of residents, there has been no discussion about the alcohol-related materials recovered from the site nor any investigation into the role alcohol played among the prostitutes who lived and worked there. This thesis will focus on the artifacts relating to the consumption of alcohol, which include 21 patent-medicine bottles, 54 storage and distribution bottles, including wine bottles and glass flasks, and 61 artifacts relating to the serving and consumption of alcohol. A total of 136 alcohol related artifacts. An analysis of the alcohol-related artifacts is important for understanding the 27/29 Endicott Street property because the consumption of alcohol, along with the previously studies hygienic practices and daily routines evident at the brothel, played an integral role in the daily life of the brothel's inhabitants and created a unique identity for those women within the sub-culture of prostitution (Rosen 1982; Mary C. Beaudry, 2010, pers. comm.).

Chapter 2

Victorian Prostitution

During the rise of urban life in the mid-19th century, thousands of young men and women moved from their rural homes into the cities with hopes of grandeur and wealth. The majority of the women settling in the city were unskilled and often uneducated, coming from the surrounding rural areas throughout New England and from the large waves of immigrants from Europe. Yet, jobs for under-skilled and uneducated young women were fewer than the demand for them, and those jobs that were available, like factory jobs, did not always offer financial security (Deutsch 2000). So, many young women turned to prostitution in order to secure some form of financial stability. Unlike the reformers accounts of the devastating Victorian sex trade, the reality was that prostitution was neither an automatic death sentence nor a permanent occupation for the women who turned to it. During the Victorian era, the majority of prostitutes were twenty-five years old or younger (Meil Hobson 1987). The young age suggests that girls turned to prostitution for temporary financial security and left when offered a better opportunity, like marriage.

In the mid-1880s, women needed to earn at least \$8.00 a week to “maintain decent morals,” although the majority of the working women in Boston at that time made less than \$7.00 (Deutsch 2000:79). The small amount that the young, unskilled women earned each week in mills and factories was not enough to support themselves without moving into a crowded boarding house in low-rent neighborhoods (Deutsch

2000). If a job fell through or she got sick, an unmarried woman would often not be able to pay her rent or buy necessities, forcing her to seek alternative sources of income. This lack of funds would have been a major motivator for young wage-earning girls to pursue prostitution.

In Boston, in the latter half of the 19th century, there was a defined hierarchy of jobs available to young, unmarried women based on country of birth, ethnicity, and education status. The highest paying and most sought after jobs were in the newly opened department stores. These jobs were hard to come by and were normally held by young, American-born girls with some primary education (Deutsch 2000).

Domestic help was another popular way for young women to gain stable employment and financial security; most of the domestic help were young unmarried Irish girls (Deutsch 2000). Young women who could not find employment as a sales clerk or as a domestic servant turned to the factory and mill jobs for work. These jobs were less desired because of the incredibly low wages and dangerous working conditions. It is from these ranks of young working women that the majority of Boston's prostitutes came from in the late 19th century (Deutsch 2000). There are also many accounts of young women who turned to prostitution intermittently, when money became tight or when a job fell through.

Because of the financial reasons directly linked to prostitution in Victorian Boston, it is important to understand that these girls were not turning to prostitution because they were morally depraved or because they necessarily had a wild

temperament. It was simply their only way to survive in an urban context where unstable and dangerous factory and millwork served as the primary occupational opportunities for so many young women. The women were not necessarily attempting to empower themselves through sexual encounters or rebelling from the Victorian image of an ideal woman. Nor were the majority of women who turned to prostitution necessarily hoping to gain permanent financial independence. Most were merely trying to earn enough to support themselves (Deutsch 2000). Prostitution was often considered a short-term occupation in the Victorian Era, and the vast majority of prostitutes “practiced the trade occasionally,” most likely when they were in between jobs or needed to supplement their normal salary, and left the business as soon as they were able (Meil Hobson 1987:109). Different factors were involved in determining how long a girl was involved in prostitution, including her age, when she started, if she had an arrest record for prostitution, and her chance for other employment or marriage (Meil Hobson 1987:109). It appears to be the case that as soon as a better opportunity arose, most often in the form of a marriage proposal, the young women would leave prostitution behind and return to the more traditional roles for Victorian women (Deutsch 2000). The popularized image of prostitutes as fallen, depraved women was more an invention of Victorian reformers than reality.

Although prostitution was not a new problem for Boston during the mid-19th century, it was one that was quickly growing. It was commonly believed by the elites and middle-class, and supported by Federal officials, that the large spike in the

number of prostitutes within Boston was a direct result of the “increasing numbers of unattached young women and men living and working” in Boston (Deutsch 2000:57). Reformers, often middle-class and elite women, saw the women’s interests shift from domestic work to factory or shop work as going against the Victorian family values, dangerous to their moral safety and a major contributing factor to the increase in prostitution in cities (Deutsch 2000). Reformers often blamed the girls work and boarding house environment for their moral corruption, but, in reality it was not what position a working-class girl held or the boardinghouse environment she lived in that forced many turn to prostitution as a means of support; it resulted from a combination of all the factors mentioned above.

In the Victorian era, many middle-class and elite reformers came to see lower-class boardinghouse as the “seedbeds of prostitution,” even though investigations of the era show that there were a number of respectable boardinghouses that were wrongly assumed to be involved in prostitution (Deutsch 2000:69). That is not to say that all boardinghouses were necessarily respectable. Many of Boston’s houses of prostitution used the guise of a boarding house to escape detection. In the mid-19th century, these types of brothels were mainly located in the North End of Boston; during the late-19th and early-20th century, the majority of these brothels were low-end parlor houses located in both Boston’s North and South Ends (Deutsch 2000). These were the areas of Boston that were ethnically diverse and were considered working-class neighborhoods, where many factory girls lived.

A traditional reform approach in the 19th century was to institutionalize women and girls who were considered to be wild by society's standards. In Boston young women who were considered to be at risk of moral depravity or were known to be prostitutes were taken to reform institutes like the Magdalene Laundries, which routinely treated the young women as slave labor instead of focusing on reform them (Meil Hobson 1987). This mistreatment of the young women who found themselves in hard situations led to an obvious distain among the madams and sex workers for mainstream culture and many of the social values of the time. The harsh attempts of the Victorian, middle-class reformers to remove prostitution from cities by closing brothels and sending prostitutes to reform institutes or jail, led many prostitutes to view reformers' efforts not as possible aid, but as the "[destruction] of their means of support (Rosen 1982:102). With the negative association of the middle class with the reformers, there was a divide between the upper-classes women that prostitutes were emulating within brothels and the middle-class women that the prostitutes continuously mocked. The stigma and brutality that young women involved in the 19th-century sex trade faced from both male and female reformers led those to develop their own subculture and values (Rosen 1982).

Like professions in a large urban center, there was a fairly extensive hierarchy within the ranks of Boston's sex workers in the 19th century. Streetwalkers occupied the lowest level in the prostitution hierarchy. They were often referred to as "painted women wrecks" (Deutsch 2000:100). Streetwalkers worked low-rent sections of the

city late at night, waiting “for a chance to ply their trade unseen by the law” to the men coming off of the streetcars (Deutsch 2000:100). These women were desperate for money and lacked the protection of a madam that the brothels offered. After a series of raids on Boston brothels in the early 1850s, upwards of five thousand women were evicted from brothels and boarding houses and forced onto the streets, increasing the amount of “nightbirds” in the city (Deutsch 2000:84). This series of raids was carried out in order to shut down illegal bars, but they resulted in thousands of young girls rendered homeless in a few short days; because of this catastrophic effect, city officials did not undertake a city-wide prostitution raid again during the 19th century (Deutsch 2000).

Within the world of the Victorian brothel, there was a special hierarchy for urban houses of prostitution based on size, location, and cleanliness. The lowliest of the brothels were cribs, small cramped rooms close to street level that normally held no more than a bed and a few necessities; women vied for the attention of possible customers by standing and posing in doorways or windows (Meil Hobson 1987, Deutsch 2000). Basement brothels were a slight step up from cribs, often set up in squalid, cramped basements. The women who plied their trade in these brothels were often diseased and suffered from addiction to drugs or alcohol. Often the women working in these brothels were not considered to be native-born Americans, either because of their race or because they were newly arrived immigrants (Meil Hobson 1987). The men who frequented such establishments were considered “rowdies and

thieves” - poor men who led dangerous lives and did not care that the women were “dirty” (Meil Hobson 1987:108). The mortality rates in cribs and basement brothels is estimated to be the highest among houses of prostitution; yet, these types of brothels were not considered to be the most numerous type in Boston (Meil Hobson 1987).

Low-end parlor houses are believed to have been the most common types of brothel within Boston in the latter half of the 19th century. During the brothel and bar raids in the early 1850s, the majority of the five thousand women expelled from the Boston’s brothels were prostitutes who worked and resided in these lower-end parlor houses or middling brothels. These types of brothels were considered a significant step up from the squalid the basement brothels and were often set slightly apart from the red-light districts (Abbott 2007; Rosen 1982). The women of these brothels, often referred to as “butterflies,” paid a rent to the madam, though normally a low one, and kept a room in the brothel (Abbott 2007:25). Low-end parlor houses occupied the middle of the hierarchy. Although they entertained a higher-class clientele than the basement brothels, it was more likely to be working-class and lower-middle class “johns” who paid for their services (Abbott 2007:10). These clients were often offered a variety of alcoholic beverages and meals, as well as other forms of entertainment, including gambling; often these houses of prostitution would also have an illegal bar to serve their clients, which is what prompted the 1850s raids (Deutsch 2000; Meil Hobson 1987) [Fig. 2.1]. The overall environment of the low-end parlor house was superior to basement brothels, although clients still faced dangers at these



Figure 2.1 19th-century illustration by Buel, entitled “How two dashing [Members of Congress] represented their constituents” with champagne glass and bottle highlighted in boxes(O’Brien 2005:50)

lower-end parlor houses, where many of the girls would “[roll] their clients” by drugging them, either with morphine or a knockout powder, and rob them while they were passed out (Abbott 2007:12). That is not to say that all low-end parlor houses were necessarily disreputable, but that these types of situations were more likely to occur at this sort of establishment than at a high-end one. These low-end parlor houses sometimes operated as more legitimate boardinghouses, with the girls listed simply as “female boarders” (Abbott 2007:7). During this period, it was not unusual to find other types of boarders in these houses, even some people who would be considered respectable members of the community. When that was the case, it most likely indicates that the madam could not fill her rooms with prostitutes and so she rented to whoever would pay for the room, which is what seems to have occurred at

during Mary Lake's time as madam at the 27/29 Endicott Street property. During the Victorian period, the most distinguished and, ironically, respectable houses of prostitution were the rarest type of brothel (Abbott 2007). These were the high-class brothels and, typically, a city would only have a few of these establishments. The high-class brothels were more tightly controlled and the madam typically established a strict set of house rules that had to be followed by the girls in order for them to remain in the house; in return, the madam was able to offer the women in her employment more protection than what madams in lower-end establishments could provide (Meil Hobson 1987). These houses were reputed to be "clean [places] with clean girls" that offered a wide variety of food and alternative entrainment (Abbott 2007:xxii; Meil Hobson). Most often, the girls in these establishments were considered by the clients to be "native" girls: girls who were born in the United States, spoke without an accent, were white and, occasionally, well educated (Meil Hobson 1978:108). High-end houses were characterized by "lavish displays of luxury, a sense of decorum, and high prices" that ensured a high quality of clientele (Meil Hobson 1987:107-108). It is important to remember that the brothels were not only in the business of sex, but were providing a specific type of experience for a paying clientele; alcohol and other entertainment devices would have been present at all middling and high-end brothel sites.

Although there is not an exact "brothel" pattern in a Southian sense, there are markers within the archaeological record that can indicate the presence of the sex

trade at an archaeological site. Because of nature of prostitution and the “unique lifestyle of the brothel residents”, an abundance of certain types of artifact categories can determine if there was a brothel on a particular site (Costello 2000:160). These artifacts categories include alcohol bottles, grooming and healthcare items, serving dishes and formal place settings, stemware and barware, items of personal adornment, and items associated with leisure activities or vices (Costello 2000; Seifert 2000). The recovery of multiple matched tabled settings and coordinating drink ware offers insight into the non-sexual activities occurring at the brothel, while an abundance of grooming and healthcare artifacts are directly related to the women’s need to attract clients and stay healthy. The amounts of certain types of brothel related artifacts can also offer insight into where brothel belonged in the hierarchy; cut-crystal and expensive tableware would be indicative of a high-end parlor house, while a lack serving ware, along with a overall smaller assemblage, would be indicative of a crib (Costello 2000).

Victorian reform literature often used the tragic tale of the fallen woman as a cautionary tale for the young women seeking work in the urban centers along the East Coast, including Boston. The literature reported that the majority of women in the high-end levels of the sex trade suffered a drastic loss of status that would lead to their ultimate demise, a tale either greatly exaggerated or mostly fabricated by the Victorian reformers. Because the average age of prostitutes was twenty-five years old or younger, this tale of such a drastic social fall does not seem feasible within such a

short duration of time (Meil Hobson 1987). That is not to imply that there was no downward movement in a woman's status when she turned to prostitution, although it would have been more prevalent among women who turned to alcohol and drugs and women who became diseased (Meil Hobson 1987). The popularized image of "polished courtesans sinking to the gutters of prostitution," however, was mainly a literary device employed by Victorian authors and not strictly based on actual observations (Meil Hobson 1987:108). More likely, high-end, polished courtesans saved their profits and were able to acquire enough wealth to leave the business before experiencing downfall; only a small percentage of prostitutes became madams, which was where the majority of wealth in prostitution could be accumulated.

The brothel provided a type of surrogate family for the young women in residence, on a grander scale it can be considered to have emerged as a brothel sub-culture (Rosen 1982). Typically, the girls in an establishment would get ready for their nights together, helping each other lace up their corsets and set their hair, an intricate process for that often allowed for a bonding time among the women (Rosen 1982). They would also take that time to relieve occupational anxieties that arose from prostitution, often through alcohol and other types of drugs. This "backstage" consumption of alcohol and other drugs could have occurred during the daily preparations, between customers, or at the end of the night and could have been a social or private action, depending of the environment (Meil Hobson 1987). One thing, however, is certain: the "backstage" consumption would not have crossed into

the “front stage” of the brothel, especially in a middling or high-class establishment.

Later on in this thesis, I will focus on differentiation between the alcohol consumption in the “front stage” and “backstage” at the 27/29 Endicott Street property, based on historical documents and artifacts analysis.

Chapter 3

Method and Theory

The 27/29 Endicott Street property housed a low-end parlor house during the Victorian period in Boston that catered to the middle-classes. This was a space where women lived and worked in close proximity to each other; therefore it was both a domestic and non-domestic space and requires a different theoretical approach than other domestic sites or labor sites. To date, brothels have been studied by both social historians and anthropologists, drawing upon theories of feminism, agency, and power in order gain an understanding of who these women were, why they became prostitutes, and what happened to them. In addition to these theories, I propose that a dramaturgical approach, as well as current research in alcohol studies, can add insight to the dynamics of 19th-century prostitution. Drawing heavily from the socio-cultural ideas of anthropologist/sociologist Erving Goffman and Victor Turner, this paper uses dramaturgical language and the ideas of everyday performances as the main theoretical approach when examining the 27/29 Endicott Street brothel. This thesis treats the brothel as a microcosm, examining the social structure within the household and how the women navigated the “front stage” with their patrons and found some privacy “backstage”, based on information on the structure of a brothel gathered from social history and the archaeological evidence recovered from the household garbage. Because of the polarity of a prostitutes’ behavior while working and during private times, it is possible to denote areas within the brothel as public front rooms and

private back rooms. This distinction can be carried further into the ideas of a “front stage” and “backstage” existing within a brothel. The public rooms of the “front stage” consists of the rooms where the women could entertain their clients before or after engaging in sexual activity, while the brothel’s “backstage” was made up of the women’s rooms when they were not engaged in work. The women and the madam would have remained vigilant to ensure that events in the “backstage” did not spill out and ruin the performances occurring in the “front stage”. Similar dramaturgical approaches have been used to analysis the role of geishas within Japan’s royal court during the Meiji era and illustrate the importance of performance within certain contexts (Anderson 1987; Dalby 1992). Additionally, this thesis will use modern anthropological ideas concerning the consumption alcohol to gain a better understanding of how alcohol consumption changed from front stage social customs to a backstage escape.

As stated above, the study of 19th-century prostitution and brothels has mainly been undertaken by social historians and anthropologists. Archaeologists have also generated a large amount of literature on the subject. In the American West, Julia Castello, Kelly Dixon, Jan MacKell, Michael Meyer, and Catherine Spude have focused on the presence of women in western saloons (Costello 2000; Dixon 2005, MacKell 2004, Meyer et al. 2005, Spude 2005). They have argued that in the West, the “line between brothel and saloon [was] often blurred” (Dixon 2005:126). Because of this, the focus of many western studies on prostitution tend to focus on the sex

trade's male clientele, instead of the daily experiences of the female prostitutes.

Dixon (2005), for example, explores the role of women in Western saloons and noted the particular importance of women in frontier culture. She argues that evidence of women in lower-end saloons most likely represents one of the most common vices in frontier communities, however, she does not explore the drinking patterns of those women within the frontier culture. In her studies of a 19th-century Californian parlor house, Castello (2000) investigates the daily lives of people involved in prostitution, from pimps and johns to the prostitutes themselves, by combining archaeological data from the brothel with twentieth-century transcribed interviews with people involved in the sex trade. Castello's creation of a prostitution "script" and her use of performance based dramaturgical approach allows her to bring a humanizing aspect to her broader assertion that "archaeological patterns of sexuality" do exist and can be identified through the "material culture of prostitution" (Castello 2000:162,160). Although these studies provide insight into the possible interactions between prostitutes and their johns as well as how clients would have experienced the brothel environment, they lack information on the women's behavior within the brothel, especially their drinking behaviors.

On the East Coast, Donna Seifert and Rebecca Yamin have investigated brothel sites in Washington, D.C. and New York City, respectively. Seifert emphasis, for example, has been more focused on comparing brothel sites to lower-middle-class and working class neighborhoods, without much detailed analysis or interpretation of

the meaning of the artifacts within the context of a brothel. Yamin has dealt with issues of lower-income neighborhoods and their social complexities, examining the relationship of brothels to their surrounding neighborhoods. She has also looked into the health and hygiene practices associated with basement brothels during the 19th century. While studies have expanded our understanding of the presence of women in brothel contexts and their role in larger societal issues, they have overlooked the importance of alcohol drinking, sociability, and anxiety among prostitutes as well as the issues of power and performance within the brothel.

Social history has a more diversified interest in this field during the 19th century. Although there are plenty of authors who are drawn, like anthropologists, to the tales of wild women in the West, there are many historians who have looked at prostitution, as well as the role of women in general, in the early industrial cities of the East. Karen Abbott, Sarah Deutsch, Stephen Longstreet, Barbara Meil Hobson and Ruth Rosen focus on urban prostitution during the Victorian era in both East Coast and Mid-Western industrial cities (Abbott 2007, Deutsch 2000, Longstreet 1970, Meil Hobson 1990, Rosen 1982). In these works, the main goal is to place the reader within the world of 19th century prostitution. These authors not only address the issues of Victorian sexuality, but examine the unique role of women within this community. It is from these social histories that the dichotomy between the more “wild”, independent women of the Western frontier communities and the desperate need for financial stability within the harsh, urban centers of the East becomes clear.

While previous archaeological studies have provided insight into the role of prostitution in the United States during the 19th century, they have overlooked the role of female consumption of alcohol and both the formal sociability and the anxiety that accompany alcohol use. Using alcohol as a prism, this thesis examines the duality of sociability and anxiety that structured the lives of female prostitutes in middling brothels in Boston in the late-19th century, in order to gain a better understand of the behavior of women within a brothel environment. To examine the behavior of women through the lens of alcohol consumption, I will be drawing upon materiality of mass produced goods, dramaturgical theory, and current research on alcohol studies for my thesis. The dramaturgical approach, the main theoretical approach used in this paper, can enhance the study of Victorian prostitution by drawing from archaeological data and social history to offer a new perspective on the relation of power and performance within the sex trade.

The methods of artifact analysis employed in this thesis draw heavily from the theories of materialism, more specifically materialism that occurs in a society where mass produced goods take on social meanings. Materialism, taken from a cultural history approach, is able to offer good insight into the inhabitants of a brothel. Material culture seeks to find details about the everyday lives of the people who purchased the items (Beaudry et al. 1991). Material culture studies attempt to the “symbolic aspects of culture with the archaeologist's necessary focus on things material and particular” in a way that “attends to both the materiality of the data...as

well as to the ideological roles” (Beaudry et. al 1991:152). This is an especially useful theory when dealing with a late-19th century urban site. With the Industrial Revolution came the rise of mass produced, inexpensive goods that were readily available for purchase. These mass manufactured goods, combined with the Victorians’ extensive material consumption, are often recovered during archaeological excavations, because of their disposability. Embossing, distinct maker’s marks, and places of origin were also commonly found on goods throughout this period, allowing many of the different items to be traced back to their manufactures and/or distributors (Smith 2008). This ability to trace the item from where it was purchased to where it was deposited allows archaeologists to gain understanding of the possible consumers and begin to surmise why certain items were purchased. Therefore, deposits from late 19th century urban sites, especially privies, cisterns, and wells, lend themselves to a materialist theoretical approach. Material culture studies are also useful for “decoding” past peoples based on “interpretations of visible symbols encoded primarily” through material possessions (Beaudry et. al 1991:155). Through this type of interpretation, material culture studies allow archaeologists to gain an understanding of the brothel’s inhabitants through the things they owned, used, and threw away.

This paper borrows heavily from social-cultural anthropology and examines the 27/29 Endicott Street brothel through a Goffman-esque perspective. The idea of the frontstage and backstage perspectives fit well within the brothel format and will

help gain a deeper understanding of the women's everyday lives, both public and private. Alcohol provides the lens for this discussion. In *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, Goffman employs dramaturgical theory to explain everyday interactions between people. Dramaturgy is a sociological perspective that states that a person's projection of self is essentially a character one displays during a specific instance or situation (Ritzer 2007). It is the idea that all human actions are dependent on the time, place, and audience present at the moment of interaction and that all people are playing different roles depending on the situation. According to Goffman, a performance is "all activity which occurs throughout any one occasion when a given set of individuals are in one another's continued presence" and that a part or routine is "the pre-established pattern of action which is unfolded during a performance and which may be presented or played through on other occasions" (Goffman 1959:6, 8). Although Goffman believes that all people are constantly playing different parts within complex performances, this idea is even more pronounced and visible within the context of a brothel.

Victor Turner expands on Goffman's dramaturgical approach in their studies of society and culture. Turner expands on Goffman's dramaturgical idea through his study of the "social drama"-an "eruption from the level surface of ongoing social life, with its interactions, transactions, reciprocities, its customs making for regular, orderly sequences of behavior"- which is a variation of Goffman's description of performances (Turner 1986:39; Turner 1985: 196). In his edited volume, *The*

Anthropology of Experience, Turner looks at the experience of an audience member, instead of the performer, in order to gain a better understanding of the experience of a performance. Turner states that aesthetics, such as a woman's appearance can "constitute a fulfillment that reaches the depths of the experiencer's being" (Turner 1986:38). Turner's emphasis on performance and aesthetics is germane to the Endicott Site. In the case of a brothel, a madam would attempt to create the ideal setting, through the use of aesthetics, in order to help her clients lose themselves in the fantasy she created.

Victorian brothels catered to their customers' needs and wants, ensuring that the patrons were kept happy, saw what they wanted to see, and had an ideal experience. In order for this to occur, the madam and prostitutes put on extravagant daily performances. The patrons saw the front room or frontstage, where food and drink were served, entertainments like gambling were provided, and where the women appear to be care free (Deutsch 2000; Abbot 2007). This was not reality, but an elaborate performance to provide the patrons with what they wanted. It was most often aided by an elaborate front- the "part of the individual's performance which regularly functions in a general and fixed fashion to define the situation for those who observe the performance"- which would have included multiple sets of china table settings, wine goblets, tumblers, cutlery, room decor and furniture (Goffman 1959:22; Turner 1986). The women of the brothel would add to the overall performance with their carefully planned and arranged personal fronts, "where other items of expressive

equipment that are employed by individuals are perceived to be very natural, including size, appearance, race, sex, speech patterns” (Goffman 1959: 24). This personal front would be how the women presented themselves to their clients, how they dressed, wore their hair, and the way in which they groomed themselves. In the case of the women of the 27/29 Endicott Street property, previous analysis illustrates that the women were extremely concerned with their personal hygiene and most likely presented themselves as clean, unpainted women, which was in keeping with the ideas of how the ideal Victorian woman should look (Johnson 2010). While involved in the performance in the front room or region, the women were supposed to be a variation of the ideal Victorian woman, exactly what their patrons wanted them to be, but the activities and interactions found backstage were less than ideal.

The brothel’s backstage was a different world. Goffman’s backstage was a place, being by nature determined by the location of the front region, where the impressions presented in the front region were directly contradicted; its purpose was often for preparation, the formulation of illusions, rehearsing, or as a place for relaxation (Goffman 1959). It was in the backstage region that the women readied themselves for clients and traded fashion and hygiene ideas, but it was also where they dealt with the pressures of lower class urban living, the lack of legitimate work, and the anxieties that resulted from prostitution. This was where they were able to let go of their elaborate performances from the front room; although since people are always performing when interacting with others according to Goffman, the women would not

drop their acts entirely. The backstage would have been a place to where the women could complete their daily toilette routines and care for their health and hygiene, while also allowing some privacy for them to cope with the pressures of their daily lives. It would be in this setting that the women of the brothel would turn to alcohol to relieve those anxieties.

The focus of this thesis is on the consumption of **alcohol** at the 27/29 Endicott Street brothel, so it is necessary to first look at theory within alcohol studies. Alcohol studies is a broad term for a multidisciplinary approach to a broad topic; research within this field addresses social, political, economic, and epidemiological impact of alcohol (Smith 2008). Alcohol was integral to the development of world trade and has played important roles throughout global history. Drinking patterns “distinguish social boundaries, reinforce group identities, and circumscribe the parameters of masculinity and femininity” throughout history (Smith 2008:3). Although anthropologists have not been heavily involved in the field of alcohol studies until recently, a few anthropologists contributed to the early development of the field. One of the first anthropologists to address issues of alcohol use was Donald Horton, whose work focused on attempting to explain what factors influenced levels of alcohol consumption in different societies (Smith 2008). He argued that increased alcohol consumption was directly correlated to increased anxiety within a society; the more anxious or stressed a person or group of people was, the more likely they were to drink in excess (Smith 2008). And although Horton was examining drinking patterns

in hunter-gather societies, his work has been used for a multitude of studies. One of the central parts of Horton's argument is that "an unpredictable existence leads to anxieties that are ameliorated by regular bouts of excessive drinking" (Smith 2008:4). In the context of the brothel, where the women's day to day lives held a great deal of uncertainty and unpredictability, it is easy to see how this theoretical proposition could be applied.

This thesis addresses social, political, and economic issues concerning the consumption of alcohol within the brothel setting by drawing upon archaeological evidence and social history. Alcohol studies has been an important sub-discipline within history and is often most closely associated with social histories. This is most likely because of the personal and cultural implications and associations that allow historians to reconstruct part of the "lives and collective experiences of ordinary people" (Barrows and Room 1991:2-3). It is this personal aspect and association that people have with alcohol that make it an important lens through which to view the everyday lives of the prostitutes within the 27/29 Endicott Street brothel, in both their front room roles and their backstage personas.

Chapter 4

Social Consumption vs. Drinking Alone

The types of alcohol served and the manner in which they were consumed were important considerations in Victorian-era entertaining. These were also important factors in determining the atmosphere and mood of the “front stage” of a brothel. Alcohol was an integral part of the brothel sub-culture, both in the “front stage” and the “backstage” performances (Spude 2005). In the brothel’s front stage, women played the starring role, whether chosen by themselves or by the madam. More often than not, women took on the role of an ideal Victorian woman, albeit a more promiscuous version of the mainstream ideal. Within this role, the women of the brothel were expected to entertain their clients not only in the privacy of the bedroom, but also in the public front parlors rooms and dining rooms. These prostitutes were expected to be the gracious Victorian hostesses, well versed in the ritual of dining and the art of entertaining (Abbott 2007). And alcohol always played a large part in all of these front stage performances. The backstage was a different story; a site of alcoholic haze meant to dull the pains and anxieties of the profession.

Brothel patrons would walk in through the brothel’s front door, be whisked into the parlor room by either the madam or a household servant, depending on the brothel’s status, and be plied with drink (Abbott 2007; MacKell 2004; Rosen 1982). In the majority of 19th-century brothels, no matter their socio-economic status, alcohol was readily available for sale for waiting patrons and was considered an

integral part of the overall experience. In some instances, the customary trade of sex for cash “could not [have been] conducted without alcohol” (Spude 2005:90). In the public sphere of the brothel, young women played the role assigned to them by the madam, one of “good times” mixed with aspects of Victorian luxury (Spude 2005:90). The front stage performance required women to play the ideal Victorian hostess with a wild side, and they plied the men with drinks to create a jovial atmosphere.

In the mid-to-late 19th century, temperance advocates began to condemn alcohol use among young men and women. Temperance reformers believed that “having a drink” was “the latch-key to everything vicious” and so dangerous a temptation for young men that the reformers deemed that alcohol ought to be avoided at all costs (Anon. 1889: 54). It was believed that alcohol consumption on any level left people beasts without any commonsense, turning some event or situation that might seem despicable while sober into “good fun to him whose brain is somewhat fuddled by alcoholic fumes” (Anon. 1889: 56). The temperance movement was small in the early 19th century, but quickly gained strength in Boston by the 1850s. Women’s temperance groups attempted to stop their husbands, brothers and sons from drinking as well (Murdock 1998). The vivacious atmosphere in the brothel, carefully created by the madam, offered a place where men could drink freely and escape the watchful eyes of an increasingly abstemious society.

The archaeological assemblage associated with alcohol from the 27/29 Endicott Street privy includes some 136 artifacts. These artifacts can first be divided by understanding where they were consumed. The majority of the artifacts, 115, are associated with front stage consumption, while 21 artifacts are associated with backstage consumption. Of those 115 items, 54 artifacts fall under the sub-category of alcohol storage and distribution and 61 artifacts fall under the sub-category of alcohol service, sometimes referred to as barware. The 54 artifacts listed under alcohol storage and distribution include corks, stoneware containers, glass liquor flasks, glass wine and beer bottles, and glass mineral water bottles. In the sub-category of alcohol service, all 61 artifacts fall into two groups: glass tumblers for liquor or mixed drinks and glass goblets for wine and cordials [Fig.4.1]. These 115 artifacts offer an insight into the role of alcohol within the more public or performance sphere of the brothel and can help suggest the type of atmosphere within the “front stage” that the alcohol consumption would have helped shape.

Because alcohol played such a significant role in 19th-century brothels, the types of alcohol that were consumed on the property can offer insight into the type of clientele a brothel entertained and the type of atmosphere the madam hoped to achieve. Everything in the public entertaining rooms of the brothel, often the parlors and dining rooms, would have been carefully selected by the madam, so it is logical to infer that she would have selected the types of alcohol served in her establishment (Abbott 2007). A madam of a middling to high class brothel would have also kept a

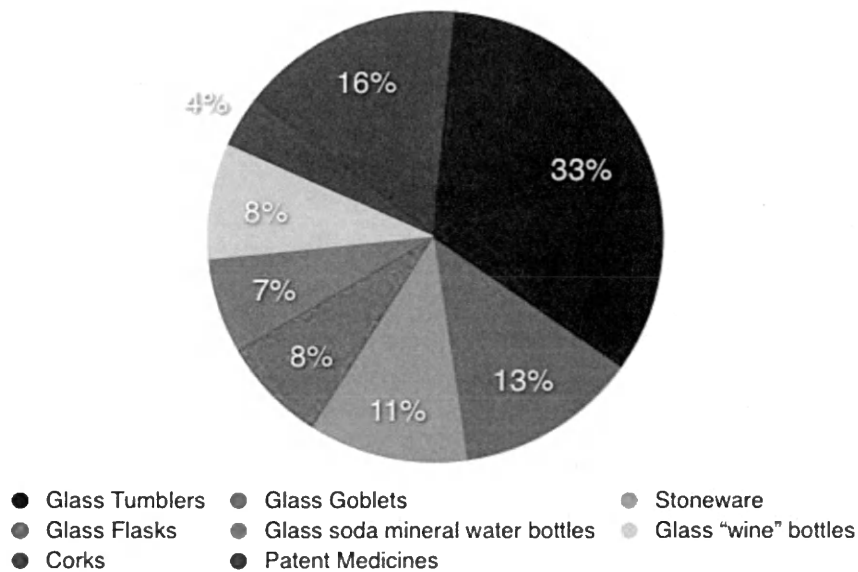


Figure 4.1: A chart of the alcohol related artifacts from the 27/29 Endicott Street privy.

fully stocked bar from which to serve the patrons and served wine and/or ale with dinner. At the 27/29 Endicott Street, it appears that champagne, wine, ale/beer, and liquor- most likely brandy, gin, whiskey and rum- were consumed within the residence, based on the types of glass and stoneware bottles recovered from both chambers of the privy. There are only 37 alcohol bottle, however, which is less than seventy-five percent of the artifacts relating to alcohol storage and distribution and only thirty-three percent of the artifacts related to the public consumption of alcohol within the 27/29 Endicott Street brothel.

This seemingly low number of bottles recovered from the privy can be explained by a common practice for bars and taverns in the 19th and early twentieth century: getting weekly or daily deliveries of alcohol from a bottle-men, sometimes

referred to as potmen (Bennett 1924). This was especially popular in urban areas, where a household or a small bar could have beer, ale, and cider delivered from a local brewery. During the week, potmen would make their deliveries in the evening, around dinner time, carrying “wooden frames divided longitudinally into two compartments in which bottles of ale, porter and stout” were placed (Bennett 1924:43). The potmen would trade full wooden container with the full bottles for one containing empty bottles; this allowed the breweries to then clean and refill the bottles, in order to keep their costs low (Bennett 1924). Soda and mineral water was also delivered in this manner. Barmen could also sell the empty liquor bottles to bottle-men, who would come to the bars and taverns and take the bottles away. This allowed the bar to earn a larger profit and to avoid filling up a privy or other trash receptacle too quickly. And because most middling and high-class brothels also operated as illegitimate bars, it is likely that instead of simply depositing all of the alcohol bottles in the privy, many of madams would have also sold their empty liquor bottles to a bottle-man, who would have picked them up from the property. This was a typical occurrence at bars and saloons during the mid-to-late 19th century and would account for the relatively few glass alcohol bottles recovered from the 27/29 Endicott Street privy. This hypothesis is further supported by data from the 1880 Federal Census, which states that Robert Emerson, the husband of the head of household, “keeps bar” (1880 Federal Census: Ward 7).

Alcohol Vessels- Stoneware

Stoneware vessels were common storage vessels from the sixteenth century through 19th centuries. Defined by its durable and sturdy nature, stoneware is a wheel-thrown ceramic that was first discovered and manufactured in Germany's Rhineland during the fifteenth century (Henrion 2008; Noël Hume 1969). The first American stoneware was produced around 1775 in potteries along the East Coast, with good clay being shipped from New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania and the Ohio Valley (Skerry and Hood 2009; Rhodes 1959). Potteries would fire the stoneware in bottle kilns, at temperatures in excess of 1280°C (Rhodes 1959). Salt-glaze was the most popular form of glaze for stoneware and was created by adding common salt into the kiln during the firing process (Hicks and Beaudry 2006; Noël Hume 1969). The salt would create a hard, uniform glaze over the bottles as well as a stippled texture on the exterior of the vessels; most American salt-glazed stonewares range in color from a light gray to a golden yellow (Beaudry 2006; Henrion 2008). Because of they were made of sturdy ceramic and rendered less porous than other ceramics by the salt-glaze, salt-glazed stonewares were often used to ship and store alcohol, most often ale or beer, although their contents were by no means limited to those two beverages.

Ale

Prior to the pasteurization of beer in 1873, beer spoiled quickly after it was brewed and therefore had a very short shelf life (Switzer 1974). Because of the

inability for beer to keep for very long, to survive heat or cold, or to be shipped any long distance, the drink was not consumed in large quantities within the United States until the late 19th century (Switzer 1974). Ale, however, was a popular and common drink; higher in alcohol content than beer and containing its characteristic “undecomposed sugar content”, ale did not spoil as quickly as beer and was not as sensitive to temperature or shipping (Switzer 1974: 9). These heartier characteristics meant that ale was easier to ship, purchase, and store, which made it a popular drink during the 19th century.

The salt-glazed stoneware from the 27/29 Endicott Street property includes bottles and jugs, both of which could have easily contained ale to be consumed within the brothel. The MNV for the stoneware vessels is twelve vessels, although three of those are fragments of three different vessels, most likely mugs. Eight of the twelve stoneware vessels in this assemblage are either bottles or jugs that once held liquids, most likely ale (Fig. 4.2). There are four stoneware bottles, three complete and one that has been mended and is roughly half complete. Of these four bottles, two have maker’s marks stamped into the body of the bottles. The first is the smallest of the four bottles is stamped with a “POWELL/BRISTOL” mark on the base of the body. The maker’s stamp suggests that the bottle was manufactured in England by the William Powell & Sons pottery, which produced a wide range of bottles throughout the 19th century (Powell and Price 2011). Unlike the other three bottles, this vessel is two-toned, with a warm amber color on the upper-half and a oatmeal-cream color

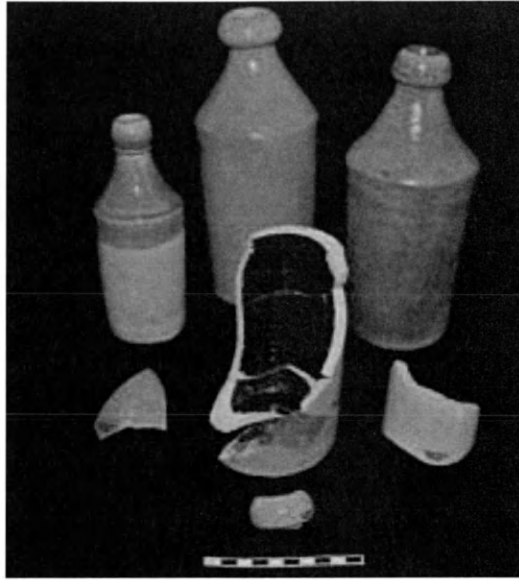


Figure 4.2: Photograph of stoneware bottles and sherds recovered from the 27/29 Endicott Street privy.

on the bottom-half; it is glazed not with salt, but with a thick, clear glaze. The appearance in color and glaze is known as a Bristol glaze (Noël Hume 2001). The size, color and shape of this bottle suggests that it originally contained a very specific drink: ginger beer. There is also a large stoneware fragment from the assemblage that looks to have been a large portion of the body of a ginger beer bottle, based on its shape, diameter, and color.

Ginger beer was a popular non-alcoholic drink during the 19th century and normally sold in easily distinguished stoneware bottles. These bottles were first produced in Bristol, England in 1835 and continued to be produced throughout the 19th century, in both England and the United States (Henrion 2008). It is possible that the bottle was manufactured in Bristol and shipped to a ginger beer distributor in the United States to be filled and sold. Ginger beer was a popular non-alcoholic drink

similar to root beer and could have been drunk by itself by anyone within the household. It was also used as a mixer for cocktails, most often combined with rum, which could have been served at the brothel's bar. The presence of at least two ginger bear bottles at the brothel suggests that it could have been used for both non-alcoholic purposes by the household's inhabitants, including the young boy George Lake, as well as for purchase by the clientele in cocktail form.

The other two complete stoneware bottles are both large, American gray salt-glazed bottles, probably made by local potteries. The larger of the two bottles is oatmeal-cream in color with an Albany-dark brown- slip interior and lacks any maker's mark or stamp. The other bottle a mix of both brown and gray colors, with most of the brown occurring on the bottle's body, and an albany slip interior. Where the body joins the shoulder of the bottle, there is a marker's mark stamped into the clay, which reads "RICE & SIMONS". Both of these bottles are the size, shape and style that would have most commonly held ale. The partially complete salt-glazed stoneware bottle appears to be similar to the two complete bottles; it has a cream-colored exterior and an Albany-slip interior and appears to have been roughly the same size as the other two bottles.

Salt-glazed stoneware, as stated earlier, was considered to be one of the best type of vessels to store ale and other types of alcohol in. Because the process of salt-glazing rendered the stoneware less porous than other types of ceramic, it was considered ideal for storing liquids. The less porous nature of the salt-glaze

stoneware, along with its ability to keep its contents cooler than most other ceramics, made the ceramic a popular choice when it came to storing ale (Hernion 2008; Switzer 1974). The three salt-glazed stoneware bottles would have each held about a quart of ale and were most likely refilled or replaced on a regular basis. If the household was consuming a large amount of ale, it is likely that the madam would have had full bottles delivered to the property by a local brewing company, which would retrieve the empty bottles, much like a milk delivery.

The 27/29 Endicott Street assemblage also contained the fragments of two different storage jugs. Both are American gray salt-glazed stoneware; one fragment is a thick, sturdy handle to a jug, while the other is a portion of a jug's base, with a gray exterior and a New York- dark blackish-brown- slip. These fragments do not appear to belong to the same vessel, based on their difference in color and in consistency of the fabric. They do, however, look to be from similarly sized jugs and were most likely held between one gallon and two gallons. These types of jugs could have any form of liquid that needed to be dispensed either frequently or in large quantities. During the 19th century, these types of jugs most commonly would have held water, but they were by no means limited to water. In a setting where alcohol was consumed in large quantities, like a saloon or brothel, these jugs could have easily held beer, ale, wine or cider. Those four types of alcohol would have needed more storage space than hard liquors and it would have stored well in the large stoneware vessels.

The one main anomaly in the assemblage recovered from 27/29 Endicott Street privy is a sherd of an unglazed stoneware bottle. The exterior side of the fragment has a reddish hue to the clay, whereas the fabric is more of a grayish color; this shift in color could have occurred when the bottle was originally fired (Rhodes 1959). There is a partial seal incised into the clay, with the letters "...LTER..." appearing in a circle around a smaller circle, which contains the image of a lion rampant, with a crown on its head and dashes around its body. By using this seal, it was possible to identify the type of bottle the sherd came from and what its original contents might have been. The sherd appears to be from a bottle of "Amsterdam Ale", which was bottled in distinctive "wheel-turned, brown to reddish-brown unglazed stoneware" that had a cylindrical body shape and "smoothly curved shoulders" (Switzer 1974:13). The sherd recovered from the privy was from the top of the body, where it would have met the bottle's shoulder, and fits the description of the Amsterdam Ale bottle of both the seal placement and the shoulder shape. This sherd of a bottle is unique not only because it is unglazed, but because it is the evidence for the presence of imported ale at the 27/29 Endicott Street property. The stoneware bottle was manufactured and filled in Amsterdam, then shipped across the Atlantic to the United States, which would have resulted in a much higher price than domestically brewed ales. This imported ale suggests that the madam was using all types of alcohol, not just wine or champagne, to create a sense of luxury and indulgence within the "front stage" and to elevate the status of her brothel.

Alcohol Vessels- Glass

Wine and Beer

The most numerous type of alcohol storage and distribution container recovered from 27/29 Endicott privy was the wine bottle. This is a broad category that uses “wine bottle” as a “generic term to describe the dark green glass bottles with circular cross sections” which were popular beginning in the mid-sixteenth century (Jones and Sullivan 1985:73). In the 19th century, certain variations on the traditional wine bottle shape and color occurred, making the term inappropriate for some bottles of the period; a 19th century wine bottle should have “a two-part finish, an indented base, a roughly cylindrical body, a rounded well-defined shoulder, and a neck one-quarter to one third of the total body height, and be dark green in [color]” (Jones and Sullivan 1985:73). Although there are thirteen dark green glass bottles (Fig. 4.3) in the assemblage with cylindrical bodies and indented bases, only six of those thirteen can be classified as “wine” bottles have shoulders and necks and can thereby be classified by the 19th century definition. After a close examination of all the bottles that fall under the broad heading of “wine/beer/liquor” glass bottles, there are eleven dark green glass “wine” bottles, which break down into further subcategories of champagne bottles and wine/ale bottles; there is also one dark green case bottle which would have held gin, two dark-olive green liquor bottles that would have held either Bourbon whiskey or rum, and one amber malt whiskey bottle, which will be discussed in the next section of this chapter.

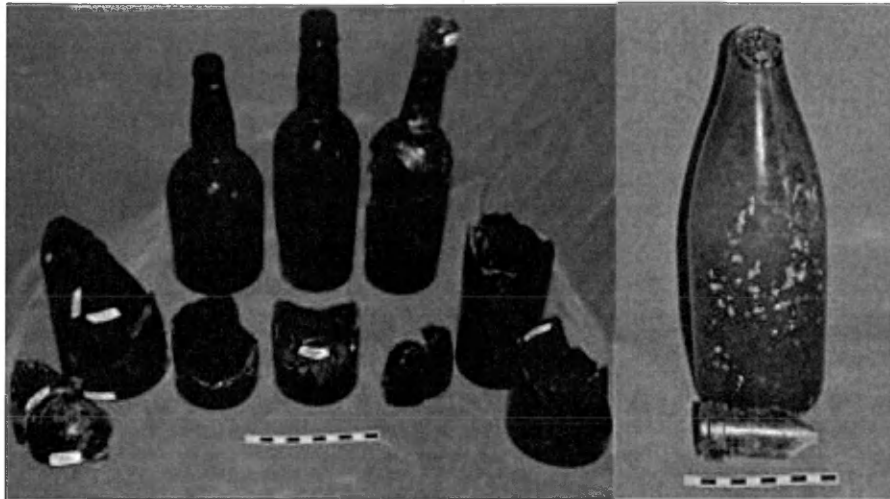


Figure 4.3: Photographs of the glass “wine” bottles (left) and one of the champagne bottles (right) from the 27/29 Endicott Street privy.

Although there are eleven bottles that technically are classified as “wine” bottle types, there are only two bottles recovered from the privy that undoubtedly held wine. The first is a free-blown, traditional black metal glass wine bottle, with a generous push up to allow the wine dregs to settle towards the bottom of the bottle. Although the bottle is incomplete, an analysis of the surviving base and part of the body shows that the bottle was a free-blown, not formed in a mold. The other wine bottle is also incomplete, with only the majority of the body recovered from the privy. Based on the color and thickness of the glass and the size and shape of the body, however, the incomplete bottle was determined to be a wine bottle and originally would have held wine.

During the Victorian era, wine was traditionally served with meals, especially during formal dinner parties. There were not only extensive rules on in Victorian society on what wine should be served during a dinner, but also on the acceptable

methods of serving the wine (Lynes 1957). Because of the ritualistic nature of formal dining, it was important for a hostess to pair the proper wine with each course and to ensure that there were at least two types of wine served at each formal dinner (Lynes 1957; Kasson 1990). In order to be considered an ideal hostess by the male patrons, a madam would have had to understand the fundamentals of formal dining and done her best to provide some semblance of an ideal Victorian formal dinner. It is likely that the small amount of wine bottles recovered from the 27/29 Endicott Street privy does not mean that little wine was consumed on the premises, but that suggests the madam purchased enough wine to need it delivered by a potman, who would remove the empty bottles when full ones were delivered.

Although technically a type of wine, champagne has enough social value and meaning to merit its own classification. Based on the two champagne bottles in the assemblage, it is evident that champagne was served at the 27/29 Endicott Street brothel (Fig. 4.3). There were also two champagne corks recovered from the privy, which is further evidence of the consumption of champagne within the brothel. According to historical sources, champagne was considered to be one of the most popular drinks for public consumption at Victorian brothels, because of its association with wealth and prestige, as well as being an appropriate type of drink for women to consume. In a description of a London brothel known as “Kate Hamilton’s”, a contemporary of the 27/29 Endicott Street property, champagne was abundant and appeared to be the drink of choice among the men and working girls (Shaw 1908).

The presence of the luxurious drink and its abundant consumption gave the brothel an air of “vivacity” that freed the male patrons from the woes of the daily lives and enticed them to return to the establishment (Shaw 1908). That is not to imply that champagne was the only alcoholic beverage consumed at brothels, but it would have been more abundant at middling to high-end establishments.

This seeming preference for champagne, as seen in the documentary sources, could be the result of Victorian social values. The most likely reason is that it was chosen because it was considered a luxury item, consumed by the wealthy or for special, celebratory occasions. In Victorian foodways, champagne was often associated with an elaborate evening meal, served both with a first, often oysters on the half-shell, and chilled after the main entrees (Kasson 1990; Jackson 2005). In a formal dining setting, drinking champagne was considered a virtuous act when accompanied by the appropriate food because of the ritual structure of Victorian dinners were deemed “central to the maintenance of social order” (Kasson 1990:197). Consuming champagne during a formal meal was often considered the epitome of extravagance and hospitality in the formal Victorian dining ritual (Kasson 1990; Lynes 1957; Murdock 1998). During the Victorian era, champagne was also considered to be one of the few expectable drinks for women to consume in public, which could have added to its appeal within houses of prostitution (Jackson 2005). Although the prostitutes within the brothels may not have been aspiring towards middle-class values during their time in residence, they likely had to perform the part

of their customer's ideal Victorian woman to some extent for their patrons. The male patrons were looking for a version of the ideal woman within the brothel, and so the alcohol a woman could drink while performing in the "front stage" was somewhat limited. This would make champagne one of the preferred drinks for prostitutes entertaining middle or upper-class clientele.

The remaining seven "wine" bottles in the assemblage are small, black metal glass bottles that would have originally held ale or beer. Six of these seven bottles date to after 1873, when beer began to be pasteurized, so they could have easily held either beer or ale (Switzer 1974). Two of the seven ale/beer bottles are complete, the rest range from eighty percent complete to fifteen percent complete. It has been suggested that "darker-hued glass bottles were used to hold beer and ale while glass bottles of a lighter hue were used to hold wine" (Smith 2008:19). This difference in the color or transparency of the glass bottles could have been because of the more fragile nature of early American beer, which would have required a dark, cool environment for it to keep well. These seven bottles also closely resemble modern beer bottles, suggesting that they once held beer or ale. One bottle, vessel 454, has a rounder body and more bulbous neck than the other beer/ale bottles, and closely resembles mid-19th century porter bottles (McKearin and Wilson 1978). Because of its distinctive shape, this vessel probably originally contained porter, a heavier type of beer. This is the only evidence of porter at the site, but suggests that the madam may have purchased a selection of different beers from a local brewery.

Although wine was the preferred drink of choice for a formal meal, ale/beer could have been served to lower-class clientele to make the meal more affordable. If that was the case, it would have been served in a similar way to wine, but would not have been paired specifically with different food courses (Kasson 1990; Lynes 1957). It is more likely, however, that ale and beer would have mostly been served in the parlor or bar room. There it could have also been a less expensive option for lower-middle-class clientele or simply a non-hard liquor option for all patrons.

Liquor

The second largest category of artifacts relating to alcohol storage and distribution are the liquor bottles, more specifically the glass flasks. A flask is defined as a container that was “originally designed as a traveling bottle, in section it has two flattened sides and approaches an oval” and have a wide “variety of shapes and decorations” (Jones and Sullivan 1985:73). In the 27/29 Endicott Street privy assemblage, ten glass flask were recovered, including seven “figured flasks” which are decorative, embossed flasks; they can also be referred to as “historical”, “pictorial”, or “decorative” flasks (Lindsey 2011). There are four decorative motifs among the embossed flasks recovered from the 27/29 Endicott Street privy: eagle, masonic images, cornucopia, and presidential or historical representations (Fig. 4.4). These were popular motifs in the mid-to-late 19th century, but the details of the embossing and the style of the images allows the exact glassmaker or glass company that made each flask to be identified.

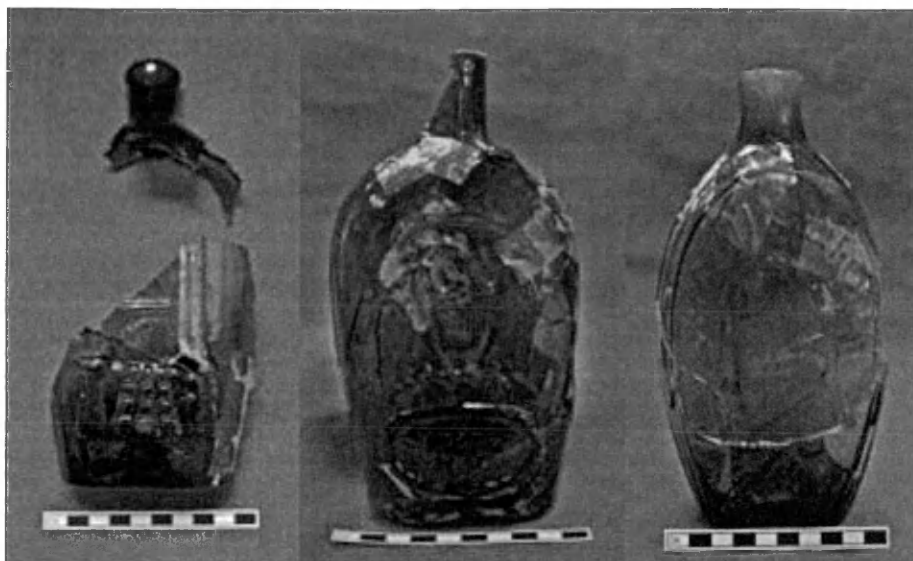


Figure 4.4: Photographs of three types of flasks recovered from the 277/29 Endicott Street Privy. The flasks shown are a Masonic flask (left), an Eagle flask (center), and a Washington flask (right).

Of the seven embossed, and thus identifiable, glass flasks from the 27/29 Endicott Street site, three were made by the Stoddard Glassworks, three were made by Keene Glassworks, and one was made by Willington Glass Company. Both Stoddard Glassworks and Keene Glassworks were located in New Hampshire and both companies were known for the flasks they produced. Keene's New Hampshire Glass Factory formed in 1814 and produced its first glass, window glass, in 1815 (New Hampshire Glass Makers Exhibit 2010:10). By 1817, the Keene Factory had switched owners and was advertising that they now offered "a complete assortment of glass bottles" for sale (New Hampshire Glass Makers Exhibit 2010:11). The company is well known for their decanters, inkwells, and flasks, especially their Masonic flasks, that were offered in a wide variety of colors, including many shades of green, blue and amber (New Hampshire Glass Makers Exhibit 2010:12). The company

closed its factory in 1853, although it had been downsizing since the late 1840s (New Hampshire Glass Makers Exhibit 2010: 11). Keene glass was marketed on a large scale, with shipments of bottles going as far as South America; the majority of their products, however, stayed in the New England and New York areas (New Hampshire Glass Makers Exhibit 2010:12). When the decline of the Keene Glass Factory began in the 1840s, one of the company's glass makers, Joseph Foster, opened the Stoddard Glassworks (New Hampshire Glass Makers Exhibit 2010:16). Stoddard, like Keene, was known for its bottle glass, including its flasks, which were shipped all over New England and New York; the majority of Stoddard bottles were "dark in color, with amber and green being the most common hues" (New Hampshire Glass Makers Exhibit 2010:16). The Stoddard Glassworks, also known as The Granite Glass Company, eventually grew to include five different factories, which produced mostly bottle glass, including small medicine bottles, patent medicine bottles, and glass flasks (New Hampshire Glass Makers Exhibit 2010:16-17). Stoddard's most well-known flask motif is their American Flag flask, although they also produced numerous double-eagle- a patriotic eagle on both sides of the flask-which remained popular throughout the 1850s and 1860s. The last Stoddard glassworks, the South Stoddard Glass Manufacturing Company, closed in 1873 (New Hampshire Glass Makers Exhibit 2010:18).

There are six flasks recovered from the 27/29 Endicott privy that can be attributed to either the Keene New Hampshire Glass Factory or on of the Stoddard

Glassworks, also located in New Hampshire. The flasks produced by the Keene factory are the most diverse in decorative motif; all three Keene flasks are figured flask with different Keene designs. The first is their most well-known and recognizable flask, the a dark-olive green Masonic flask with columns, bricks, and the All-Seeing Eye on one side of the flask and an eagle clutching three arrows with the “KEENE” stamp underneath it on the other. Masonic images were some of the most popular designs for flasks in the mid-19th century and typically date from 1815 through the end of the Civil War (Lindsey 2011). The second is a dark-olive green flask with a cornucopia on one side and an urn on the other; this was a popular motif in the mid-19th century, though not as widely produced as the Masonic flasks. The cornucopia motif was used to decorate glass flasks from 1820 through the 1850s and symbolized the young United States’ “good prospects and was a favorite motif in arts and crafts through the first half of the 19th century” (Lindsey 2011). The third Keene flasks recovered from the privy is a presidential flask, light-olive green in color and featuring the name “WASHINGTON” with a bust of George Washington under the name on one side, and the name “JACKSON” with a military bust of Andrew Jackson on the other side of the flask. This flask was first produced for Andrew Jackson’s inauguration but continued to be produced through the 1840s (New Hampshire Glass Makers Exhibit 2010:23). Two of the three Keene flasks, the Masonic flask and the Washington/Jackson flask, have an overtly patriotic meaning behind their designs. During the mid-19th century, these patriot themes were extremely popular, because of

their memorialization of important historic people or events in United States history (New Hampshire Glass Makers Exhibit 2010:23). These historical flasks were a “distinctly American mode of expression”, and often featured great men who had helped shape the political, economic, and social history of the United States (McKearin 1941). These flasks “reflected the democratic trends of the times” and were made for the “common man” who took pride in the historic actions of uncommon leaders (McKearin 1941). These flasks represented a shift in political interest and power, from a time when historic glass was produced for individuals of prominence and power to a more tangible item for those with more limited resources (McKearin 1941). All three of the Keene manufactured flasks are pint flasks and would have most likely held whiskey or rum.

The three flasks attributed to the Stoddard Glassworks are also figured flasks, though they lack the range in design that the Keene flasks exhibit. All three of the Stoddard glass flasks are light-olive green double eagle flask. As stated above, double-eagle flasks have a patriotic eagle on both sides of the flask; above the eagle is a blank banner and clutched in its talons are three arrows. One of the three flasks has “GRANITE/GLASS CO” embossed in an oval below the eagle on one side and “STODDARD/N.H.” on the other side. The use of the name Granite Glass Company on the flasks dates this flask between 1850 and 1862. The other two flasks both exhibit the same embossed design, with the blank banner above the eagle and the three arrows clutched in its talons; they also have ovals below the eagle on both sides,

but the oval does not contain and embossed name or location of manufacture. The American eagle is one of the most popular embossed images on 19th-century flasks and the image is often embossed on both sides of the flask (Lindsey 2011). Double-eagle flasks date from 1815 until the 1870s, although the more elaborately decorated ones tend to date to the earlier half of the 19th century, from 1815 until the 1840s, whereas the “stiff and simplistic eagles” tend to date between the 1850s and 1870s (Lindsey 2011). Although the full eagle image is only visible on two of the three double-eagle flasks, all three appear to be more pinched, stiff, and simplistic in design, placing all three flasks manufacturing date in the second half of the 19th century. Two of the flasks are pint flasks while one is a half-pint flask and all would have held popular liquors, most likely either rum or whiskey.

The seventh embossed glass flask was also manufactured in New England, but not in New Hampshire, like the others. Instead, the final embossed flask was produced by the Willington Glass Company in Willington, Connecticut. It is a historic flask with an eagle motif, however it is not a double-eagle flask. The design on this flask is considered to be a “quite artistic version” of the eagle image, much more artistic than the eagle images on the Stoddard flasks (Lindsey 2011). The Willington Glass Company was founded in 1815 and was known for the bottle glass, including flasks, which it produced until its close in 1872 (McKearin and Wilson 1978). During the 1850s and 1860s, the company manufactured this type of eagle flask, with the word “LIBERTY” embossed above the artistic eagle on one side, and

“WILLINGTON/ GLASS CO/ WILLINGTON/ CONN” embossed on the other side (McKearin and Wilson 1978). The flask recovered from the 27/29 Endicott Street privy was roughly fifty percent complete and although the embossing was not completely intact, it was enough to identify the flask. One side of the flask reads “...ILLINGTON/ GLASS CO/...VILLINGTON/ CONN”, missing only the two “W” from Willington, while the other side has the complete eagle clutching a laurel wreath with the letters “LIB...” above it, the beginning of “LIBERTY”. Like the three Stoddard eagle flasks, this flask was meant to invoke a sense of American pride and patriotism. It is a pint flask and would have held either whiskey, rum, or gin, like the other figured flasks.

The three remaining flasks that were recovered from the 27/29 Endicott Street appear to have all been unembossed union case flasks, although only one is a complete flask. These types of flasks gained popularity after the American Civil War, having been first manufactured around 1859 and continued production through the beginning of the twentieth century (Lindsey 2011). Of the three union case flasks, two are light-olive green half-pint flasks, while the third is an amber colored pint flask. Like the other seven flasks recovered from the privy, these three flasks would have held a type hard liquor, possibly gin, whiskey, or rum. There are no distinguishing marks on these three artifacts.

During the mid-to-late-19th century, figured or historical flasks were popular because of their ability to make American history tangible for the middle to lower

classes, a feat which had not been possible through consumer products before these types of flasks. The designers and manufacturers of these types of flasks tried to create reminders of important American events and people, from presidents and war-heros to national achievements; all of the scenes were meant to inspire patriotism in those who bought them (McKearin and Wilson 1978). As for the consumers who purchased these historic flasks, the flasks most likely invoked the intended patriotic emotions, as well as the “fierce political emotions” which were “so easily roused in every true born American” (McKearin and Wilson 1978: 440). These flasks were most commonly purchased by American-born men who wanted to emphasize their Americanness during a time of an influx immigrants, of threat of war, and of the rapid changes of the Industrial Revolution (McKearin and Wilson 1978). These flasks highly gendered items specifically made for and marketed to middle and working-class male consumers.

The presence of the historic flasks in the assemblage from the 27/29 Endicott Street privy supports the theory, gleaned from both the Federal Census and Boston City records, that the brothel was full of New England born women who catered to native-born men and gradually shifted towards an establishment run by immigrant women for a more diverse clientele. The historic flasks all date to the earlier period of the brothel’s history, when the majority of the working girls and patrons would have been American-born, suggesting that the madam was purchasing the flasks in order to cater to the men’s sense of patriotism. These embossed flasks all had highly popular

patriotic themes and could have been given to the residents for personal or sentimental reasons by their patrons, another way these highly masculine artifacts could have been deposited at the brothel. The other possible explanation for their presence in the assemblage is that they could have belong to the male residents of the 27 Endicott Street property when it was rented out to more respectable lodgers. This is the least likely scenario, however, because historic flasks were at the end of their popularity and geared towards American-born men, of which there were only two in the household. Of these three possible explanations of how the flasks were deposited in the brothel's privy, the first is the most probable, with the madam purchasing the historic flasks meant for her male patrons, one example of how the brothel environment allowed the women to bend or alter the rigid Victorian gender roles.



Figure 4.5: Photograph of three of the four liquor bottles recovered from the 27/29 Endicott Street privy.

Apart from the glass flasks, four other liquor bottles were recovered from the 27/29 Endicott privy (Fig. 4.5). The first was a case bottle, a container defined as a bottle with a “square cross section, widening from base to shoulder, with a short neck and indented base, and usually in dark green glass” (Jones and Sullivan 1985:72). The bottle received its name because it was “designed to fit easily into a compartmented crate, box, or case” (Jones and Sullivan 1985:72). Sometimes referred to as a “gin case bottles”, these types of bottles were originally designed to hold gin, although they “undoubtedly contained various types of liquor” during their period of use (Lindsey 2011). Although popular in Europe around the mid-seventeenth century, the gin case bottle did not become readily available in the United States until the mid-19th century, steadily gaining popularity throughout the latter part of the century (Lindsey 2011). As stated above, the content of these bottles was not solely gin, but within the United States, they were most likely held gin when purchased. It is unlikely that this type of bottle would have been used for rum or whiskey, which was typically sold in flasks or cylindrical bottles during this period, so the presence of this bottle within the 27/29 Endicott Street privy suggests that gin was available for purchase and consumption within the brothel (Munsey 1970).

Three of the non-flask liquor bottles most likely contained whiskey; one is a “malt whiskey cylinder”, which is the bottle most closely associated with malt whiskey, a “distilled fermented malted barley or distilled beer similar to brandy being

distilled wine” (Lindsey 2011). Although the bottle from the 27/29 Endicott Street is missing the majority of its neck and its lip, the body and shoulder of the bottle appears to fit the malt whiskey cylindrical bottle description perfectly. This type of bottle was popular during the late-19th century, first manufactured around 1880 (Lindsey 2011). This late production date of the style of bottle suggests that this bottle would have been deposited during the last few years that the privy was in use. As mentioned previously in this thesis, the head of household’s husband, Robert Emerson, is listed as a barkeep in the federal census, therefore may have known had about the new packaging before it gained nation-wide popularity (1880 Federal Census). Like the gin case bottle, the presence of this malt whiskey bottle suggests that malt whiskey was available at the brothel’s bar.

There are two other liquor bottles in the collection, one completely mended and one partial bottle. Both liquor bottles are more generic bottles, made of black metal glass and formed in a three-piece mold. They are made in the classic liquor bottle form, which most often contained American or Bourbon whiskey (Switzer 1974).

At this time in American history, wine and beer/ale were commonly drunk with meals, with champagne added to the list in wealthy households. Hard liquor, however, was drunk on its own, most often by men in clubs or bars, although it was viewed as a working class drink by many Victorian reformers. The most popular hard liquors in the United States during this period were brandy, rum, gin, and whiskey

(Murdock 1998). Brandy was often consumed by the male attendants of a diner after the formal meal had ended , although it was also incorporated into newly emerging cocktail recipes in the mid-late 19th century(Kasson 1990; Francatelli 1861; Murdock 1998). Whiskey consumption in the “front stage”, public performance would most likely have most often been limited to the men in the group if it was consumed neat; as a mixed drink it could have been drunk by either men or women, although it was still considered a man’s drink (Murdock 1998). Rum followed a pattern similar to that of whiskey, while gin was often considered more neutral liquor, because of the frequency that it had been used (and abused) by both genders (Smith 2005).

Mineral Water

Bottled waters have been popular throughout history, although the popularization of carbonated waters did not begin until the early 19th century (Lindsey 2011). Soda and mineral water bottles are often listed together, as “soda water” bottles or as “soda mineral water bottles”, which suggests the close nature of the bottles and the drinks they contained (Lindsey 2011; Smith 2008:80). The soda mineral water bottles is described as having to be made out of “relatively heavy/thick glass in order to withstand the rigors of repeated bottling and handling...as well as the gaseous pressures of the product itself” (Lindsey 2011). Because both soda and mineral water was carbonated, both “had to be contained in round bottles since round bottles are inherently stronger than other shapes” (Lindsey 2011).

Man-made, bottled soda and mineral waters had only been readily available since 1840, because of advancements in bottling technologies in New York City (von Mechow 2011). Prior to that, most of the mineral water had been only available from natural springs and had been full of impurities but lacking in taste, while soda waters had to be made fresh and served before going flat (Smith 2007). The improvements in the carbonation process and bottling technology around 1840 meant that soda and mineral water could be bottled and stored for long periods of time and flavors could be added to improve the taste, leading to the popularization of the drink almost overnight (Smith 2007).

The 27/29 Endicott Street excavation unearthed nine soda mineral water bottles, eight from Feature 38, the privy, and one that was recovered from the initial clean back and therefore has no provenience (Fig. 4.6). Of the nine soda mineral water bottles, eight of the nine are embossed; although the bottles vary in color, the overall shape and style of the bottles is similar. Of the embossed bottles, seven were manufactured and filled in the city of Boston; the other embossed bottle was manufactured in New York. There is one unembossed soda mineral water bottle in the collection; because it is unmarked, it is impossible to say exactly where it was produced, but because of the number of soda and mineral water distributors in Boston, it was most likely made within the city. All of the nine soda mineral water bottles are half-pint bottles and would have cost around seven dollars in the mid-19th



Figure 4.6: Photograph of the nine glass soda/mineral water bottles from the 27/29 Endicott Street privy.

century. Although there are only nine mineral water bottles, the category represents almost twenty percent of the artifacts relating to alcohol storage and distribution.

Two of the bottles are black metal glass mineral water bottles with “LUKE BEARD/HOWARD S^T/ BOSTON” embossed on one side of the bottle and “☆/THIS BOTTLE/ IS NEVER SOLD” on the other. Luke Beard was a local soda and mineral water producer in Boston during the mid-19th century, located in the Howard Atheneum Building on Howard Street in Boston (Boston City Directory 1850). The company not only produced and sold “French Mineral and Soda Waters” but they also offered “draft and bottled cider, ale and potter” for sale from their Boston location [Fig. 4.7] (Boston City Directory 1850:43). In addition to the two earlier Luke Beard soda mineral water bottles, two bottles with “F&B/ Boston” embossed on

one side and “BEARD’S/ MINERAL WATER” embossed on the other were also recovered from the privy. The Beard family was known to have bottled soda and mineral waters by under their own name and with other partners throughout the 1840s, 1850s, and 1860s. The Luke Beard partnered with Moses Fairbanks in the 1854 and produced soda and mineral water under the name Fairbanks and Beard (F&B), although the production and sale of the waters remained at the same location on Howard Street in Boston (Fairbanks 1887; Boston City Directory 1861). Luke Beard and Moses Fairbanks appear to have remained in partnership through the 1860s, possible into the early part of the 1870s (Massachusetts Register 1868; Fairbanks 1887).

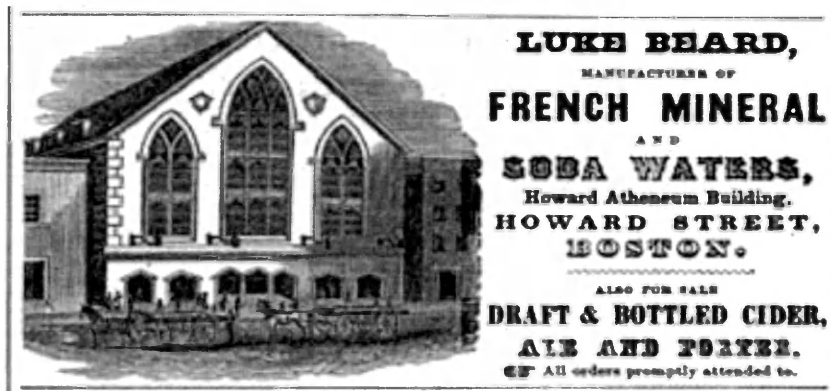


Fig. 4.7: Advertisement for “Luke Beard” Mineral and Soda Water (Boston City Directory 1850: 43).

Three of the nine soda mineral water bottles were also from Boston based companies that were in business during throughout the mid-to-late 19th century. One is cobalt blue with embossing that reads “J.P. PLUMMER/ BOSTON/ BOTTLE NOT SOLD”. Produced in Boston between 1845 and 1860, the ... J.P. Plummer was a

brewer in the city, selling cider, ale and porter, as well as soda and mineral water (Boston City Directory 1851). By 1871, Plummer had stopped producing soda and mineral waters and was known mostly for the beers he brewed (Boston Almanac 1871). The second is a black metal glass bottle with “E. M.^CINTIRE/ MINERAL WATER” embossed on one side and the word” PATENT” on the other. Produced by Edmund McIntire, who was listed as a manufacturer of mineral waters in Boston in the 1844 City Directory (Boston City Directory 1844). Although little is known about this company, it appears that McIntire was only producing mineral waters in Boston for one year, making this bottle the earliest manufactured in the assemblage and most likely refilled either with soda/mineral water or some other contents until it was deposited in the privy (von Mechow 2011). The final soda mineral water bottle from Boston is a aqua colored bottled with “ROBINSON WILSON & LEGALLEE/ 102/ SUDBURY S^T./ BOSTON” embossed on the front of the bottle. The company operated in Boston in the 1850s through the early 1870s, with William Robinson listed a bottler of mineral water and head of the company in 1871; this bottle was manufactured and sold between 1864 and 1866 (Boston City Directory 1871; von Mechow 2011).

The only embossed soda mineral water bottle not manufactured or filled in Boston is a black metal glass bottle, slightly larger than the rest of the artifacts in the category, with “CLARKE & C^O./ NEW YORK” embossed on the front of the bottle. It was manufactured and sold between 1847 and 1866 by the Congress Water

Company located in Saratoga New York (Fike 1987; Lindsey 2011). The waters sold by the Congress Water Company came from two natural springs in Saratoga, New York, making the original contents of this bottle the only naturally produced mineral water of the category (Fike 1987). It was most likely originally purchased for its health qualities, as many natural mineral waters were marketed as health tonics in the mid-19th century. The mineral waters from the Saratoga springs were among the most popular healing springs during the Victorian era, which would have made the purchase of this specific mineral water much more expensive than the others in the collection (Lindsey 2011).

Because of the high cost of the heavy glass bottles necessary for bottling the carbonated soda and mineral waters, it would have been more cost efficient for a person in Boston to purchase soda/mineral water from a local bottler. Clarke and Company bottle is the one outlier with in the embossed soda mineral bottles and suggests that it may have been purchased more for its advertised “spa” qualities than for common drinking purposed; although once empty of its original contents, it was most likely refilled with locally produced mineral or soda water (Fike 1987: 243). Purchasing locally produced mineral or soda waters would have also allowed the bottles to be refilled easily and quickly. Multiple refills of each bottle could account for the low number of soda mineral water bottles recovered from the 27/29 Endicott Street privy, if not all of the bottles were not being sold to a bottle man. In the advertisement for Luke Beard’s mineral and soda waters from the 1851 *Boston City*

Directory, the words “All orders promptly attended to” suggests that some sort of delivery system was a common practice in 19th century Boston (Boston City Directory 1851). The madam, therefore, could have had the soda and mineral waters delivered to the house by the different companies every week or every couple of days, similar to the milk deliveries. If this was the case, the empty bottles would have been picked up by the company to be cleaned and refilled when full bottles were delivered. The different companies present in the assemblage could be a result of the madam switching companies and having a few left over bottles from the previous company that were never retrieved.

In the past, archaeologists have directly linked the presence of soda mineral water bottles at a site with the 19th-century “temperance ideals” and the “rejection of alcoholic beverages” (Smith 2008:80). That explanation, however, does not explain the presence of the mineral water bottles at a brothel site. Based on the importance of alcohol in the brothel’s sub-culture and the presence of alcohol bottle at the 27/29 Endicott Street property, the theory that soda mineral water bottles do not reflect an adoption of temperance ideals within the brothel. When the temperance explanation is removed, there are two plausible reasons for the relatively large number of soda recovered from the 27/29 Endicott Street property, in relation to the total alcohol storage and distribution assemblage. One is that mineral water was served with some of the more expensive or formal dinners available at the brothel. In the Victorian era, water goblets were included as part of a formal dinner table setting

and would probably have been filled with mineral water (Jackson 2005). Because the art properly setting a table was highly regarded in the Victorian era and the madam's goal would have been to create the ideal setting for her customers, it is highly probable that any formal dinner served at the 27/29 Endicott Street parlor house would have included the water goblet, and thus mineral water with the dinner, along side of the wine. Although this is a highly probable explanation for the presence of mineral water bottles among the artifact assemblage, it is not the only one.

During the mid-19th century and throughout the Victorian era, cocktails were steadily gaining popularity in the United States. And, after examining many American Victorian cocktail recipes, it appears that soda water or mineral water were often important components in the various cocktails. In one contemporary cookbook, written by Chef Charles Elmé Francatelli and published in 1861, ten of his seventeen "American Drink" recipes called for soda water or mineral water (Francatelli 1861). Because there was most likely an illegal bar in the 27/29 Endicott Street brothel, it is probable that it would have been serving cocktails, like those listed in Francatelli's *The Cook's Guide and Housekeeper's and Butler's Assistant*. One popular cocktail listed among the American drink recipes is the "Floster", which is made by combining "a gill of pale sherry, half a gill of noyeau, six peach leaves, three slices of a lemon, an ounce of sugar, a bottle of iced soda-water, and a piece of ice" (Francatelli 1861: 433). Other Victorian recipes call for "chilled mineral water" or sometimes "soda-mineral water", often combined with a variety of ingredients,

including “ice, sugar, lemon, and [other] drinks”; it appears that mineral and soda water was considered fairly interchangeable during this period (Dickens, Jr. 1883). Based on the large number of tumblers recovered from the site, discussed later in this chapter, as well as the variety of liquor bottles, it is highly likely that the madam offered cocktails for purchase at the bar with the 27/29 Endicott Street property.

Glass Tableware- Drinking Vessels

The Victorian era was a time of rampant materialism that was evident in all aspects of public life, especially when it came to entertaining within the household. Everyday Victorian meals of the wealthy consisted of multiple courses with specific dishes and drink-ware for each course or dish. (Jackson 2005). Formal meals required specific and increasingly elaborated silverware, ceramic, and glasswares with the Victorian phenomenon of ritualized dining, while entertaining required specialized barware for different types of drinks, including wine goblets, cordial glasses, champagne flutes, and a variety of tumblers for ales, liquors, and mixed drinks (Doyle 1995; Jackson 2005). Yet, there has been a lack of in-depth analysis of Victorian glass tablewares recovered from 19th century sites within the United States until recently, despite the increase in their production and popularization among the burgeoning Victorian middle-class (Doyle 1995). This is because glass tablewares normally have no distinguishing marks to determine manufacturer or date (Doyle 1995). An analysis of glass tableware, however, allows for a deeper understanding of

consumption patterns and foodways of a household and therefore useful for understanding an archaeological site.

During the 19th century, glass became a more easily acquired material among the lower classes, which prompted the middle and upper classes to make distinctions between expensive and inexpensive glass work. The best, and thus most “moral”, glass work would have been cut crystal, which was full of lead and traditionally hand cut. This type would have been found among the wealthy Victorians. Pressed glass was a step down from hand-cut glass, and would have been more common among the middling households; simple mold produced glass would have been used by the working classes. Because of the class distinction associated with different production methods, what type of glass appeared on a table was seen as a status marker by most Victorians (Doyle 1995). The majority of the glass recovered from the 27/29 Endicott Street privy was pressed glass, a higher quality of glass than one would expect to find in a working class neighborhood, but in line with the property's use as a brothel.

Tumblers

An essential component of a Victorian barware collection, tumblers are traditionally simple drinking vessels. By definition, tumblers “generally have a flat or shallow concave base, a plain rim, and a circular horizontal cross section”; when viewed vertically, a tumbler can be “cylindrical, tapered, flared, or barrel-shaped” (Jones and Sullivan 1985:143). Tumblers are one of the most recognizable and common drinking vessels on historical sites in North America, especially on 19th

century sites (Dixon 2005; Jones and Sullivan 1985). Many tumblers found on lower socio-economic sites were originally sold as commercial containers that had been repurposed as drinking vessels; because of this, the tumbler shape was the table glass form most often used for commercial containers (Jones and Sullivan 1985). Matching sets of tumblers that were not originally used as commercial containers are most often associated with upper-middle class or wealth households, however, the 27/29 Endicott Street seems to be an exception to this theory.

The tumblers from the 27/29 Endicott Street property are the largest artifact category relating to alcohol consumption. From the privy and the cistern, 44 pressed glass tumblers were recovered, which included three six-sided, two seven-sided, 22 eight-sided, and three nine-sided paneled tumblers as well as six round tumblers; the number of sides of eight of the tumblers could not be identified (Fig. 4.8). In a previous analysis by Thomas Doyle in his 1995 Master's thesis for the University of Massachusetts at Boston, the tumblers were directly linked to the period of the Padelford occupation, between 1867 and 1876; Doyle wrote that the large amount of "paneled bar tumblers" could be explained by the use of those tumblers in Dr. Padelford's "non-tradition" medical practice, to serve non-traditional medicines to his patients (Doyle 1995: 102-103). His analysis, however, did not take into account the fact that the property housed a brothel for presumably all thirty-one years of the privy's use, nor did he attribute the tumblers to the bar that would have been associated with the brothel; Doyle did not address the presence of the brothel at the

27/29 Endicott Street property at all in his thesis. Because of this oversight of historical information, the tumblers recovered from the 27/29 Endicott Street site are prime for reinterpretation within the broader context of the role of alcohol at the brothel.



Figure 4.8: Photograph of the glass tumblers from the 27/29 Endicott Street privy.

Of the 44 tumblers, 35 are pressed glass tumblers, manufactured using the mid-19th century technology that “revolutionized the glass industry” and allowed for the production of relatively inexpensive but attractive glass tablewares (Doyle 1995). Despite the availability of increasingly elaborate pressed glass patterns, all of the 27/29 Endicott Street tumblers belong to one of three simple pressed glass patterns: Ashburton, paneled or plain. Although the wealthy families looked down on pressed

glass, favoring the more expensive cut-glass, etiquette pamphlets geared towards the upper-middle class acknowledged that pressed glass was acceptable only when cut glass could not be afforded (Williams 1996). The use of pressed glass instead of cut glass is not unusual for a middling brothel, although it does offer some insight into type of clientele the brothel attracted. According to the Victorian moral reformers, the difference between cut and pressed glass reflected the social hierarchies of the time; because the 27/29 Endicott Street brothel used pressed glass tumblers, among other glass tablewares, their clientele were most likely lower-middle class to middle-class men, with a few possible exceptions (Doyle 1995).

The tumblers were found at four times the frequency than any of the other glass tablewares recovered from the 27/29 Endicott Street site (Doyle 1995). This large gap between the number of tumblers and the next largest glass tableware category, pressed goblets, suggests that alcoholic drinks were more commonly drunk out of the tumblers, hence the household's need need for so many tumblers. If that theory is followed further, the large number of tumblers suggests that hard liquor, cocktails, and beer-all commonly drunk out of tumblers in the Victorian era- were consumed at a higher level than wine or cordials; because there were no champagne flutes were recovered from the privy or cistern and it is known that champagne was consumed on site, it is likely that the drink was poured into both tumblers and goblets, depending on what was available at the time.

If most of the drinks consumed at the brothel were served, and thus drunk, out of tumblers, it could account for the unusually high number of the site's discarded tumblers. With the importance of alcohol with the brothel sub-culture, drinks would have been consumed at a high rate, with patrons and, perhaps, the working women becoming quite intoxicated. Because many people of differing states of intoxication would have been handling the tumblers, breakage, and thus disposal, of these glasses would have occurred at a higher level than the other glasswares recovered from the 27/29 Endicott Street site.

Goblets

Like tumblers, goblets were considered an necessary table item for any formal dinner. Unlike tumblers, however, goblets have a more defined purpose, usually holding either water, wine, or cordials. For classification purposes, goblets fall under the category of stemware, which is a "general term used for vessels consisting of a foot, a stem, and a bowl" (Jones and Sullivan 1985:138). Sometimes referred to as a "Rummer-goblet", goblets are characterized by their "capacious ovoid, conical, or bucket shaped bowl", which is "higher and wider than the stem-foot portion of the vessel" (Jones and Sullivan 1985:142). Based on the bowl shape, rim diameter, and foot size, it can be possible to identify what type of liquid the goblet was originally intended to hold.

In contrast to the tumbler collection, the number of goblets recovered from the 27/29 Endicott Street appears to be neither unusual nor surprising, although the goblet

collection is larger than the “wine” bottles recovered from the site. Seventeen goblets were recovered from the 27/29 Endicott Street privy; all seventeen are pressed glass goblets (Fig. 4.9). There is more diversity among the goblet patterns than the tumblers, which is to be expected considering that the goblets would have been involved in the Victorian dining ritual, whereas the tumblers were considered more barware than tableware (Dixon 2005). Among the seventeen goblets, there are seven different, identifiable pressed patterns, all of which were popular throughout the Victorian period. Five of the goblets are in the “Ashburton” pattern and is therefore the most represented pattern in the assemblage. The second most frequent pattern is the “Waffle and Thumbprint” pattern, with four goblets exhibiting this Victorian pattern. The other patterns in the collection include one “Stedman” goblet, one “Cross-Hatched” goblet, three “ribbed” goblets, one “Starburst” pattern, and “fluted panel” goblet, and one small, undecorated cordial goblet.

Of the seven glass decorative patterns among the goblets, some are much more elaborate than others. The “Waffle and Thumbprint” is one of the more complex pressed patterns in the assemblage, combining the raised “waffle” design and depressed circles, or “thumbprints”. The simplest of the patterns among the goblets from the 27/29 Endicott Street property are “fluted panel” goblets. Different levels of complexity among the pressed glass patterns could be for aesthetic purposes; the madam could have been choosing patterns that would work with the different formal ceramic place settings (Dudek 1999). With the rampant consumerism that arose



Figure 4.9: Photograph of the glass goblets from the 27/29 Endicott Street privy.

during the Victorian era, it would have been important for the madam to have her different place settings complement each other in order to maintain the appearance of the perfect Victorian hostess. What is important with the goblet collection is not the number of individual goblets, but the evidence that not one, but at least three patterns were collected as sets. As pressed glass became more available for anyone to purchase in the mid-19th century, a higher status was given to matching sets. This is because to the Victorian mind-set, “sets of objects have a higher value than single objects”; therefore, matching sets of goblets would have helped the brothel’s prestige increase among its clients (Douglas and Isherwood 1979:118).

The use of goblets strongly suggests that the madam was serving formal dinners to customers, which would have included multiple courses and adhered to the Victorian ritualization of dining. As discussed earlier, the Victorian dining ritual was an essential aspect of an upper or middle-class household and served as a social and moral barrier between the upper and lower classes. The goblets recovered from the privy would have once been used to set a formal table within the brothel, according to Victorian etiquette, and would have contained wine or mineral water, depending on the diner (Kasson 1990). Because goblets were an integral part of the Victorian tablescape, they can be classified as table ware, whereas the tumblers, which are not traditionally part of the table scape, may be considered barware. By creating her own version of the ideal Victorian dining experience, the madam was creating a specific mood and ambiance in the “front stage” of the brothel. The goblets, along with the ceramic table settings and the food and alcohol served during the diner, were deliberately chosen by the madam to invoke a version of the Victorian dining experience that simultaneously conformed to and broke the social rules of dining.

Drinking Alone-Covert Consumption

The public rooms and performances were not the only places or situations in which alcohol was consumed in the brothel; the young women employed at the brothel often drank alone once finished with assignments. This type of consumption would have been out of sight of the madam and the patrons, but most likely not unknown to the madam or other residents of the household. Clandestine drinking was

a common occurrence among Victorian women, although the alcohol was often disguised because drinking was considered unwomanly (Lender and Martin 1982; Murdock 1998). The women working and residing within the brothel would have used private alcohol consumption to relieve stress and anxiety directly related to their occupation.

The alcohol consumed in private was a completely different substance than was served and drunk in a brothel's front rooms. While the women drank readily recognizable beverages, like champagne, ale, and even hard liquors, with patrons in the "front stage" during their performances, the alcohol consumed "backstage" was typically found in a less obvious form: patent medicines (Lender and Martin 1982; Murdock 1998). In the 19th century, the term patent medicine referred to over-the-counter remedies for different ailments, from coughs to consumption, that allowed people to self-medicate (Brighton 2009; Lindsey 2011). When coupled with women's drinking patterns, patent medicines take on an identity of an "alcoholic beverage" and were one of the most popular types chosen for consumption (Murdock 1998:53). It is well documented, however, that many of the patent medicines were purchased more for their alcohol content than their healing powers and that it was mainly women who took part in the secondary use of these medicines (Murdock 1998).

During the late Victorian era, women attempted to hide their drinking issues through covert means because of the negative social implications for a woman who drank (Harrison 1971; Lender and Martin 1982; Murdock 1998). Women who were

found to have drinking problems were seen by society as diseased women and so were normally sent to “female asylums” for treatment (Murdock 1998:48). Upper class women often relabeled their problems in order to keep their secret, often labeling it nerves or headaches, so that they would have a reason to consume patent medicines (Murdock 1998). While alcohol consumption was generally considered a vile habit for Victorian women, opium use was seen as a slightly more acceptable vice (Murdock 1998). It was generally thought that American women of all ages and classes were more inclined to opium than alcohol use, for it had a calming effect which was considered a ladylike quality (Murdock 1998). Because many patent medicines contained both opiates and alcohol, they would have been the ideal choice for a woman of the Victorian era because of their ability to disguise a woman’s drinking and drug consumption, at least for a time.

The assemblage from the 27/29 Endicott Street property contains 37 embossed patent medicine bottles in total, with 21 considered to be related to alcohol consumption (Fig 4.10). Those 21 bottles can be broken down into seven categories: apothecary remedies, cough medicines, cure-alls, Jamaica ginger, pain relievers, syrups and snuff. The different companies among those categories are B.O. & G.C. Wilson, Botanic Druggists of Boston; J.B Woodward & Co Apothecary of Boston; F.M. Wetherbee Apothecary of Boston; Stebbin’s Druggist of Boston; Madam Porter’s Cough Balsam, Vegetable Pulmonary Balsam, a cough syrup from the Comstock Medicine Company; Christie’s Magnetic Fluid, a cure-all; Dr. Tobias’

Venetian Liniment, a cure-all; Sanford's Jamaica Ginger; Radway's Ready Relief, a pain killer; Davis Vegetable Pain Killer; Dr. H Swayne's Compound Syrup of Wild Cherry, syrup; Schenk's Pulmonic Syrup, a syrup; Mrs. Winslow's Soothing Syrup, a syrup; and Doctor Marshall's Snuff. By studying the specific products, which are evident from the embossing on the bottles, it is possible to tell what ingredients the women of the brothel were most interested in when purchasing their patent medicines.



Figure 4.10: Photograph of the glass patent medicine bottles assemblage recovered from the 27/29 Endicott Street privy (left) and a closeup of the Sanford's Jamaica Ginger bottle (right).

Ingredients

Although there are many different ingredients used in patent medicines, depending on the brands, there is a fairly standard list of compounds and ingredients

that can be found throughout of the patent medicines found in the 27/29 Endicott Street assemblage. Some of the most common ingredients found in 19th-century patent medicines include narcotics like opium, morphine, laudanum and cocaine as well as hard alcohol, most often a type of grain alcohol. Today the majority of these ingredients are considered dangerous narcotics and known to be extremely addictive. Yet, during the 19th-century they could easily be obtained at apothecaries and drug shops or any place where patent medicines were sold. Although there are many similarities in the types of ingredients used in the seven categories of patent medicines associate with alcohol consumption from the 27/29 Endicott Street site, there are some differences, making it necessary to list the ingredients typically found in each category.

The first of the seven categories of patent medicine bottles recovered from the 27/29 Endicott Street privy has the hardest ingredients to identify. Apothecary bottles, unlike the rest of the bottles in the analysis, could have contained a large amount of a single compound or a specialty mixture from the apothecary where it was purchased (Johnson 2008). Although the exact ingredients cannot be surmised, there were a number traditional ingredients that were sold at most apothecary and druggist shops. Those ingredients include, but are not limited to: alcohols, including whiskey and bourbon, essential oils, spices, and herbs, linseed oil and turpentine used for their abortive properties, narcotics, and other powders and liquids (Johnson 2008). B.O. & G.C. Wilson Apothecary advertised a stock of “Choice Liquors of all Kinds for

Medicinal Purposes”, including whiskey and bourbon, in the Boston City Directory (Boston City Directory 1868, roll 10). This wide assortment of ingredients does not allow for a in depth study of the ingredients, but based off apothecary advertisements from the 19th century, it is likely that the bottles contained a mixture of hard liquor and narcotics.

Cough syrups from this period were popular patent medicines because of the high concentration of their main ingredients. The ingredients most commonly found in cough syrups were alcohol and linseed oil (Johnson 2008). Because of the extremely high alcohol content of most cough syrups, including those recovered from the 27/29 Endicott Street privy, they could have easily been purchased for backstage consumption. The other main ingredient, linseed oil, however, suggests another possible purpose for the compound. Linseed oil was one of the most common compounds used in attempted abortions, so it is possible the cough syrups could have been used in homemade abortion mixtures by the women at the brothel (Crellin 1994). Yet, a large amount of linseed oil necessary to cause an abortion, larger than the amount found in the cough syrups recovered from the privy (Crellin 1994). In the case of the 27/29 Endicott Street brothel, it is possible, although unlikely, that the cough syrup would have been solely bought as an abortive; instead, it was probably purchased and consumed for its alcohol content with the linseed oil considered an added benefit.

Jamaica Ginger (Fig. 4.10) was an extremely popular patent medicine for alcohol consumption during the 19th century (Johnson 2008). The two ingredient main ingredients -brandy and ginger- were listed right on the bottle. Because of these two ingredients, the the compound was sometimes used as bitters for mixing cocktails (Francatelli 1861). This is one of the only artifacts recovered from the 27/29 Endicott privy that could have crossed the boundary from “backstage” to “front stage”. But because only one bottle was recovered, it is less likely to have been used as a common bitters within the “front stage”. The brandy and ginger in the compound, however, are not the most important or dangerous ingredients in the mixture. During the mid-19th-century, tri-o-tolyl phosphate was added to the mix, along with spices, to improve the taste of the product. And while it did improve the taste, tri-o-tolyl phosphate proved to be a poison that left a heavy consumer either paralyzed or dead (Baum 2003). The negative effects, however, were not fully noticed and understood until the turn of the twentieth century and so did not diminish the popularity of the drink in the Victorian era.

Pain relievers and syrups were the most similar types of compounds, often advertised to help alleviate similar symptoms. Because of their similar intended use, pain relievers and syrups compounds contained similar ingredients, with a only few deviations. The most common ingredients in pain relievers were opium, morphine, laudanum, cocaine, and heroin, which were often combined with a strong grain alcohol (Odell 2005). Syrups had similar basic ingredients, although specific

ingredients differed depending on the type of syrup, whether vegetable extracts or essence of wild cherry. Morphine and laudanum were the two most commonly used narcotics in syrups during the 19th-century and, like pain relievers, were often mixed with a type of grain alcohol (Johnson 2008). Due to the addictive nature of these ingredients, pain relievers and syrups were often purchased strictly for their alcohol and drug content.

Although they claimed to be able to cure almost any disease, from asthma to consumption, the ingredients in most cure-alls were very similar to those of pain relievers or syrups; their main job was to numb the pain of the symptoms, not cure the illness. In addition to the opium derivatives, cure-alls also included spirits of ammonia, tinct of capsicum, camphor, alcohol, and cocaine (Covey 1905). These medicines would have also proved addictive, due to the high amounts of cocaine in many brands, including Dr. Tobias' Venetian Liniment.

Snuff was often used when drinking, although not a liquid compound and therefore not directly related to alcohol consumption. It was commonly known to contain powdered cocaine and other narcotics in the 19th-century. Certain brands, including Doctor Marshall's Snuff, also contained tobacco, laudanum, peppermint essence, spirits of camphor, witch hazel extract, and acetanilide (Shors and Stanelle 2007). These ingredients did seem to work in some way as a decongestant, offering a small amount of relief from catarrh, or the common cold, although they were most likely used for their drug contents. Because of the high concentration of narcotics

within snuff, the prostitutes would have taken snuff while drinking in the backstage of the brothel in order to escape their work environment and to relieve the stress and anxiety that was directly related to that environment (Murdock 1998; Rosen 1982).

The goal of this chapter was to describe the alcohol consumption that took place within the 27/29 Endicott Street property, in both the “front stage” and “backstage” of the brothel. By juxtaposing the madam’s control of the complex social performance within the “front stage” with the prostitutes treatment for their anxiety within the “backstage”, it is possible to gain an understanding what the women drank and why. These reasons will be addressed in more depth in Chapter 5.

Chapter 5

Analysis and Conclusion

It has been argued by archaeologists focusing on brothel studies that the customary trade of sex for cash “could not [have been] conducted without alcohol” (Spude 2005:90). This assertion is supported by both personal accounts in the documentary record and the archaeological material recovered from known brothel sites (MacKell 2004). The majority of the archaeological studies, however, focus on the socialization of drinking within a male context, without taking into account the role of women within these settings. Alcohol provides a lens for understanding the inner workings of Victorian brothels, including the complex socialization within the brothels’ public rooms and the attempt to eliminate anxiety within the private sphere.

Analysis

As stated previously, everything involved in the “front stage” performance of the brothel would have been selected by the madam to help create an atmosphere of high-class entertainment. Alcohol selection and service would have been an integral aspect to achieve that atmosphere, making the “front stage” alcohol consumption a top concern for any madam. The types of alcoholic drinks were offered and how they were served at the establishment were central to the frivolous environment of the brothel, because of their ability to circumvent the rigid Victorian gender roles and their importance within brothel sub-culture.

The importance of the role of alcohol within the brothel sub-culture meant that alcohol was always readily available for purchase by the male patrons, especially in the front rooms where it was considered a central part of the festive performance. The alcohol related artifacts associated with the public rooms provides insight into how the madam was running the “front stage” of her establishment, the formal socialization that occurred within those rooms, and how alcohol was used in the brothel’s complex social rituals. As gleaned from contemporary accounts of Victorian brothels, it is most likely that there were two distinctive parts of the “front stage”: the formal dining room and the entertaining parlor or bar room (Langdon 1941; Lynes 1957). The types of alcohol served in each room could have been the same, but the way in which they were served allowed the madam to control the atmosphere of both rooms. Unlike the rest of the brothel, the formal dining appears to have held with the many of the rigid Victorian social rituals, including a multi-course formal dinner with accompanying drinks for each course. During this highly ritualized dinner, the patron and young woman would have used one of the many formal place settings that was recovered from the privy (Dudek 1999) to eat a meal that would have consisted of meat, fish, fresh produce and more. And throughout the meal, wine would have been the most common drink paired with the different courses, although beer and ale could have been paired with some courses if requested by the clients. Champagne most likely would have either begun the meal or finished it. In the formal dinning setting, the serving glasses would have had to work with the formal place settings, suggesting

that the stemware goblets used most frequently in during formal meals. The many different formal place settings (Dudek 1999) could shed insight into the different patterns among the goblets.

Unlike the alcohol associated with the highly ritualized dinner served in the dining room, the alcohol served in the parlor or bar room would have been a break from the rigid social rules of Victorian society. In the traditional Victorian household, the parlor was both the public receiving room and the family's gathering place, intended to display both the family's wealth and adherence to important social values (Langon 1941). In the brothel, it would have also been the public receiving room, but that is where the similarities end. The parlor room in the brothel would have been the main place for alcohol consumption among the male patrons and would have either contained a small bar from which to order or someone to bring the drinks into the room from an outside bar. Because of the status of the 27/29 Endicott Street property as a low-end parlor house, it is likely that the bar would have been located in the parlor itself. By serving cocktails and other drinks, the brothel's parlor room diverged from a typical Victorian parlor room, where morality was on display and where cocktails were not offered before a dinner until the turn of the twentieth century (Langdon 1941; Lynes 1957).

Instead of expressing Victorian values through decor and sanctioned activities, the brothel's parlor would have been a room of extravagance. According to contemporaneous sources, champagne would have flowed freely in the parlor, with

the madam dispensing “carte blanche” to a few select patrons (Jackson 2005). Other alcohol, including gin, whiskey, brandy, and rum, would have also been served in the brothel’s main public room. It was in this room that the madam’s performance would have been the strongest, for not only was she responsible for the types of alcohol available to the male clientele but also how those drinks were served. It is even possible to assume, based on contemporary documents, that the madam also controlled who drank what within the parlor room. She would have not only controlled what the young women drank while in the “front stage” performance to ensure the proper performance, but also what the male patrons drank, to some extent, to maintain her position of power. The madam’s role also reversed the traditional Victorian gender roles, allowing her to have control over the men, which was would have been most pronounced in the “front stage” of the parlor.

While the madam controlled the alcohol consumption within the “front stage” of the brothel, she had little to no control of the private consumption that took place backstage, after the performances had finished and the women were left alone. The alcohol related artifacts associated with the “backstage”, namely the patent medicine bottles, private consumption of alcohol can provide insight into the private lives of the women who worked and resided at the 27/29 Endicott Street brothel. In the case of the patent medicines, the combination of large amounts of alcohol with a variety of strong narcotics became a popular concoction for people trying to escape the anxieties of

everyday life. The power of the temperance movement in New England discouraged many women from drinking traditional alcoholic beverages, forcing them to turn to the more clandestine approach to alcohol consumption (Lender and Martin:1982; Murdock 1998). Although there were a few ways women could disguise their drinking, the most popular and readily available was through the purchase and consumption of patent medicines (Lender and Martin:1982; Murdock 1998).

In a brothel setting, the young women consumed traditional alcoholic beverages during the “front stage” performance, but may not have been allowed to drink openly when in between clients (Abbott 2007; MacKell 2004). That explanation would account for the patent medicines recovered from the brothel. If the prostitutes were not able to bring traditional alcohol bottles into the brothel’s “backstage” without jeopardizing their place within the brothel, it would make sense that they would turn to patent medicines, as many other women did during the late- 19th century (MacKell 2004). Alcohol would have been considered necessary by most women involved in the sex trade, because of the anxieties associated with that life style. The amount of alcohol consumed in private, however, would have been based on the type of brothel a woman worked in and the amount of time she had spent in the sex trade. Women in the higher status brothels would have been less likely than women in low class brothels, like basement brothels, to consume high amounts of alcohol and drugs (Abbott 2007; MacKell 2004; Rosen 1982). That is not to say that women in higher status brothels did not use patent medicines to escape the everyday

anxieties associated with prostitution, but perhaps had less of a need than those in lower establishments.

During the time period, it was generally thought that American women, of all ages and social classes, were more inclined to opium than alcohol abuse (Murdock 1998). The reasoning behind this belief was the effects of both substances; while alcohol often made drinkers loud and rowdy, opium tended to make its consumers calm and placid, which is why it was considered “more ‘genteel” (Murdock 1998:49). Patent medicines often contained both of these substances as main ingredients, thus combining the two most common addictions in the Victorian era. Although the patent medicines had both drugs and alcohol, it is possible that the women of the brothel, as well as others, chose these tonics to relieve their anxieties because of the opiates they contained. Perhaps the women considered patent medicines more suitable for their private consumption than traditional alcohol because the feminine qualities associated with opiates, while straight alcohol was considered masculine (Murdock 1998). The consumption of drugs were also considered more of a “solitary and private” activity for women, suitable for the backstage, which contrasted with the “public [and social] nature of drinking” in the Victorian era (Murdock 1998:49). For these reasons, it is not surprising that the women of the 27/29 Endicott Street property would have chosen to consume patent medicines in the privacy of the brothel’s backstage in order to relieve them of the stress and anxiety of their daily lives.

Like patent medicines, snuff often contained a number of different narcotics, including opium, which would have made it a popular choice among female consumers. Unlike patent medicines, however, taking snuff was not considered appropriate for women, because it had to be snorted, instead of drunk. Therefore, its consumption would have been relegated to private or semi-private settings, often in conjunction with alcohol consumption. Most likely, some of the young women in residence would have also taken snuff while drinking in the brothel's "backstage" as a way to further relieve their stress and anxiety.

Patent medicine can be considered to be a gendered item in the case of the 27/29 Endicott Street property in the context of the brothel for two reasons. First, women of all classes, including the upper and middle-classes that the prostitutes emulated in their front stage performance, were known to use patent medicines as a way to drink alcohol in an increasingly "dry" female society (Lender and Martin 1982; Murdock 1998:52). The second reason is because of the high amounts of opiates, and other drugs, that these substances contained. Victorian women had such a strong preference for "opiates over alcohol" that the drug itself "maybe considered gendered", allowing items containing opiates to also become engendered (Murdock 1998:49). The backstage of the brothel was not simply a physical division, it is also a gendered division, for it describes a region where the women were no longer "performing" for their clients. Thus, the backstage, as a female realm, is the logical place for these women to seek out privacy and consume patent medicines and snuff,

high in alcohol and narcotics, in order to release themselves from their stress and anxiety.

The prostitutes residing at the 27/29 Endicott Street brothel would have most likely consumed a relatively moderate amount of alcohol in private, based on the middling status of the low-end parlor house and the amount of patent medicine bottles that would have contained alcohol recovered from the privy (MacKell 2004). The use of alcohol in the backstage was a coping mechanism for the women who had been forced to turn to prostitution to support themselves. Although they had different specific reasons for turning to alcohol and drugs than many of upperclass women whose use of patent medicines has been well recorded, the women of the 27/29 Endicott Street brothel, in general, turned to patent medicines to relieve their anxieties as a way to maintain Victorian gender roles. It could be that the women strove to maintain those strict gender rules in the backstage region because their performance in the front stage forced them to bend or break so many of the Victorian gender rules.

Conclusion

In this thesis, the role of alcohol within the social setting of a middling 19th-century urban brothel was investigated through an archaeological analysis grounded in social history. The 136 artifacts can be split up into the categories of alcohol containers, glass drink ware, and patent medicine bottles and have been categorized as either belonging to alcohol consumption within the public, front stage or the private, backstage events occurring within the 27/29 Endicott Street brothel. These

materials, along with the analysis of historical documents and social history, are used to address the public and private role of the consumption alcohol in a 19th-century urban space. Through performance theory, it is possible to distinguish the central role of alcohol within the brothel's fantasy, while current alcohol studies, including anxiety theory, illustrates how private alcohol consumption is also being used to relieve everyday stress.

There have been many archaeological analyses of brothels in the last twenty years, although the majority of the sites analyzed have been located in the American West, specifically frontier sites. This leaves a lacunae in our understanding of the social dynamics of brothels in the industrial urban cities of the East. Archaeologists focusing on brothel sites in the American West have provided exceptional insight concerning the role of women in the frontier regions and the unique establishments associated with westward expansion, yet more research on other aspects of 19th-century prostitution would broaden academic understanding of the subject. Further research would provide more information on the reasons women turned to it, how long they stayed in the sex trade, and how different regions viewed the prostitution. When looking at the work available on 19th-century prostitution, a split in interest between social history and archaeology emerges. The vast majority of archaeological studies, as stated above, focus on frontier prostitution, with the exception of the Pratzellis' investigation of cribs in Sacramento, Yamin's work in on basement brothels in New York's Five Points, and Seifert's preliminary work on a high-end

brothel in Washington, D.C. Most social histories focus on prostitution of industrial cities, situated mostly in the East, including Boston, Chicago, New York, and New Orleans. This study combines both archaeology and social history, breaking down this unintentional dichotomy of interest between social historians and historical archaeologists, in order to better add to the historical narrative of urban, 19th-century prostitutions. In this thesis, I have attempted to blend social history with archaeological evidence to gain a better understanding of the lives of the women who inhabited this Boston brothel.

This thesis examines the consumption of alcohol in two distinct social settings: the front, public parlor room and the backstage of the solitary bedroom. Artifacts were not recovered from different rooms of the site, as the two features excavated at the site were the privy and cistern in the backlot. Even though the artifacts were not recovered from physical front stage or backstage areas of the house, it is possible to infer where the artifacts would have been used and/or placed in the house based on Victorian documents, like manner books, and social history. Because entertaining guests during the Victorian era was so complex, many manner books and hostessing manuals were written to help hostesses serve a more ideal dinner, including the *New Cyclopaedia of Domestic Economy*, published in 1873, and the *Practical Cooking and Dinner Giving*, published in 1876 (Murdock 1998). These books include instructions on how to decorate specific domestic settings (e.g., parlor and living rooms, bedrooms, dining rooms, etc.), what place settings to use, what

topics are appropriate for conversation, and what to food and drink to serve in both the parlor and the dining rooms. These documents allow archaeologists to associate specific items, like pressed glass goblets and alcohol bottles, with the specific rooms where they would have been used and/or stored. And although this site was, as has been argued above, a “low-end parlor house”, the archaeological evidence suggests that the madam was seeking to offer clients an idealized experience, which would have required her to follow many aspects associated with formal Victorian dining. With such detailed knowledge of what items were used in the public rooms of a Victorian household and what would have been kept out of public view, it is possible to place the artifacts from this assemblage associated with Victorian dining and entertaining confidently in the brothel’s front stage and taboo items, like patent medicines, into the backstage.

In the study of the consumption of alcohol, it is not only important to explore the items consumed, but the spatial relationships between people and things and the social dynamics involved in consumer choice. This thesis not only looks at what was being consumed in general by the household, but puts that alcohol into the context of a brothel, focusing on the different social settings in which alcohol was consumed and what prompted the consumption in each setting. The social dynamics behind the consumption of alcohol differ drastically between the front and back stage areas, and by determining the dynamics of each setting, it is possible to gain a much better insight into the daily lives of the brothel’s inhabitants.

Public consumption of alcohol within the front rooms of the brothel occurred primarily in two rooms, the dining room and the parlor room. From social history and first-hand accounts, we know that clients were brought into the parlor for drinks prior and social entertainments before and/or after their assignations (Rosen 1982:94-97). This front room was an important part of the madam's business, allowing her to improve her profit margins through the sale of alcohol and food to her clientele (Rosen 1982). Based on the archaeological data and historical documentation speaking to issues of service associated with specific vessel types or contents of specific bottles, it appears that the madam offered a selection of alcoholic beverages that included: wine, beer/ale, whiskey, gin, and brandy. The more unusual aspect of the brothel's alcohol data was not what was offered, but how it was served. It appears, based on the alcohol bottles, bottles associated with non-alcoholic beverages and the large amount of barware, that the 27/29 Endicott Street property not only provided the traditional options of wine, beer/ale, and possibly cider, but also served a relatively modern type of drink-cocktails. By offering cocktails, the madam could be trying to appease her customers' possible desire for hard liquors without serving it outright; "hard liquor was generally not allowed in brothels because of its [dangerous] intoxicating nature" (Yamin 2005: 10). It could also be an attempt to create a more elite environment by offering these new and fairly exotic types of drinks (Murdock 1998). There is also evidence, however, that certain aspects of the front room were meant to mimic traditional Victorian ideals, including the importance of ritualized

dinning. When combined with Dudeck's ceramic analysis, the glass tablewares offer insight about the dining experience within the 27/29 Endicott Street brothel. The presence of the pressed glass goblets suggests that the table was- at least partially- properly set, according to the elite Victorian standards, and suggest that the madam, the young women and the clients were adhering, in some ways, to the formal dining rules central to entertaining throughout the Victorian era.

The juxtaposition of the parlor room and the dining room within the front stage demonstrates how the brothel both adheres and rejects the Victorian ideals, including those concurring the role of women and the rooms within the house. From the perceived semi-adherence to the ritual of Victorian formal dining, it is possible to surmise that the brothel's clientele was looking a fantastical experience with a version of the ideal Victorian women. Because entertaining through formal diners was so central within the middle-to-upper class woman's life, it is plausible that that hospitality aspect would have been incorporated within the brothel. Within the artifacts attributed to the parlor, however, it is possible to identify a clear break from Victorian social norms. The parlor room in most Victorian homes was a place for to gather during the day and display their good morals through their art and decor, which was not function of the parlor room within a brothel (Langdon 1941:214-216; Lynes 1957:138-139). By using the parlor as a main public entertaining room, serving copious amounts of alcohol to a gender-mixed group of people, and the ideal "quiet, calm continuity" of culture typically displayed in the parlor, the 27/29 brothel's parlor

room bent and broke most of the Victorian rules concerning entertaining within the parlor (Lynes 1957:139). This contrast of simultaneous adherence to and breakage of the Victorian rules of entertaining suggest that while the women themselves may not have been necessarily aspiring to be an ideal Victorian upper-class woman, the clients desire for some aspects of that ideal allowed to walk the line between propriety and immorality.

The private consumption of alcohol can be traced in the backstage of the brothel through the analysis of patent medicine bottles. Most likely consumed in the bedrooms of the brothel between clients or when a woman was not working, the consumption of patent medicines fits clearly into the category of a private act and, therefore, is part of the brothel's backstage. As seen the Chapter 5, patent medicines were commonly used by Victorian women from the middle and upper classes to relieve "anxiety". Based on archaeological evidence and social history, we know that women in the brothels were using the patent medicines for the same reasons; this is not a large leap as they were already emulating a fantasied Victorian woman, to some extent, in the front stage. Patent medicines allowed the young women to consume alcohol when needed without broadcasting their consumption habits to the entire establishment. Only those involved in the backstage would be close enough to witness some but, most likely, not all of the of the alcohol consumed through patent medicines. The patent medicine bottles recovered from the 27/29 Endicott Street

property represent both local and non-local variations of many of the common types of patent medicines that were bought for their alcohol content.

The goal of this thesis was not to simply perform an artifact analysis to see how much alcohol and what types of alcohol were consumed at the 27/29 Endicott Street, but to identify the social issues and implications affiliated with that consumption. By examining the different types of alcohol available at the brothel, where and why it was most likely consumed, and the social implications of those answers, it is possible to get a better understanding of the daily lives of the women residing within the 27/29 Endicott Street brothel: the expectations of their clientele, their performance of balancing Victorian ideals within the context of prostitution, and their attempt of suppressing the anxieties that arose from both their job and economic uncertainty. This is also not simply a thesis about the sex trade in 19th-century Boston, but a study of women who have been “excluded from most tradition histories, mentioned only in the footnotes” of other people’s stories (Rosen 1982:xv).

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