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Cover Page Footnote

A version of this article was presented in October 2002 at the annual meeting of the Council for Northeast Historical Archaeology in Wilmington, Delaware. The fieldwork on which this article is based was undertaken jointly through the Warner House Association and Stniwbery Banke Museum. I am indebted to both organizations for their fine work and I am grateful to each for providing access to the -collections analyzed here. I thank Martha Pinello and Rick Morris for their efforts in conducting the excavations at the Warner House. I am grateful to Bob Barth, Sally Stradzins, and Richard Candee of the Warner House Association for their timely assistance. I thank the capable staff and volunteers at Strawberry Banke, particularly Martha Pinello and Sandra Dechard, for their support of this project. Thanks also to Mary C. Beaudry, Clemency C. Coggins, Richard Candee, Ricardo J. Elia, and Linda Welters for their comments on an earlier version of this research. I am also grateful to Winterthur Museum, Garden, and Library for their support during my term as a McNeil Dissertation Fellow. I appreciate the helpful and constructive comments of Rick Morris, and two anonymous reviewers. Many thanks to David Landon for his advice and encouragement in the preparation of this article.

What the Warners Wore: An Archaeological Investigation of Visual Appearance

Carolyn L. White

Clothing fasteners, jewelry, and several fragmentary accessories were recovered in 18th-century contexts during excavations at the Warner House in Portsmouth, New Hampshire. These artifacts provide insight into the clothing and accessories worn by members of the three households that resided in the Warner House during the 18th and early-19th centuries. The visual appearance of the residents communicates information about gender and class affiliations on an individual basis and also places the individuals as members of larger gender and class groupings.

Des attaches à vêtements, des bijoux, ainsi que plusieurs accessoires fragmentaires ont été mis au jour dans des contextes du XVIII^e siècle lors de fouilles archéologiques à Portsmouth au New Hampshire. Ces artefacts fournissent un aperçu des vêtements et accessoires portés par les membres de trois maisonnées ayant vécu à la maison Warner durant les XVIII^e et début XIX^e siècles. L'apparence visuelle des résidents nous renseigne à propos des sexes et des appartenances à une classe sur une base individuelle. Elle situe aussi les individus dans de plus grands groupes quant au sexe et à la classe.

Introduction

"What were they wearing?" is not typically among the research questions posed in the course of archaeological investigations. Acute awareness of physical appearance was as much a part of daily life in the past as it is today. Eighteenth and 19th-century Americans were highly sensitive to the role that clothing, hairstyles, and one's overall visage had in transmitting social and symbolic meanings to others, meanings that conveyed multi-faceted ideas about themselves as people in terms of class, gender, and other aspects of social distinction. First-person accounts of daily life in 18th-century America pay close attention to the clothes of others, describing the offense of clothing deemed out of sync with one's station. For example, Madam Knight describes an encounter with an innkeeper trying to impress her lodger in her diary of her travels through 18th-century New England: She "putts on two or three Rings... and returning, sett herself just before me...that I might see her Ornaments, perhaps to gain the more respect" (Knight 1920: 5-6). Such observations are but one channel of information that attest to the powerful role of external appearance through dress as a means of expressing one's affiliations.

Scholars of 18th-century material culture see objects such as ceramics and furniture as material expressions of personal deportment, language, movement, grace, and other charac-

teristics of genteel people (see Sweeney 1994: 6-10). Clothing, perhaps more than any other class of material culture, was allied closely with the actions of gentility as they were manifested through the body. As Bushman states, "the principle of respect for rank required readers [of courtesy manuals] to clothe...themselves in the style most suitable to their positions in society" (Bushman 1994: 41). The shift in the availability of and use of material culture over the course of the 18th century in a consumer revolution is well-documented (Carson, Hoffman, and Albright 1994). The residents of the Warner House would have been expected to dress in a tasteful manner that matched their station and status, though as the century progressed, the goods used to portray one's rank were more widely available.

Anthropologists and costume historians have outlined the ways that clothing and other elements of dress function as language through which individuals express culturally held ideas (see Barthes 1983; Craik 1994; Crane 2000; Davis 1992; Entwistle 2000; Hendrickson 1995; Lurie 2000; McCracken 1988; Rubenstein 1995; Wobst 1977). There is widespread agreement among scholars of the power of clothing to communicate rigid and fixed ideas, but these ideas are also subtle, shifting, uncodified, and highly sensitive to time and place to a degree that makes temporally distant interpretation formidable. Clothing communicates

silently, which permits a non-linear reading of its elements, a reading that takes in all aspects of appearance at once and allows the transmission of ideas that are elusory and might never be uttered aloud (McCracken 1988: 65; Baumgarten 2002: 56). Concomitantly, the obscurity of the ideas may hide their meanings from outside observers, or even from the participants in the exchange, further complicating present-day interpretation.

Despite the complexity of the endeavor, by overlooking the material remains of physical appearance in the archaeological record, archaeologists miss the opportunity to obtain the information that is imbued in a person's culturally constructed appearance. Artifacts of personal adornment are the recoverable remains of physical appearance and their examination permits insight into the clothing, jewelry, hairstyles, and accessories of the residents of a site. In this article, I identify and present the artifacts of personal adornment from the Warner House in Portsmouth, New Hampshire. I also examine the ways that these artifacts can be used to understand the construction and presentation of class and gender identities. I use the artifacts to begin to visualize the site inhabitants and comprehend the ways the physical appearance of the Warner House residents served to represent and constitute individual identity and group affiliations in daily life.

Site History

Extolled as one of the historic treasures of Portsmouth, the Warner House is commonly called forth as an example of the display of wealth and status common in 18th-century Portsmouth (FIG. 1). Built between 1716 and 1718 by John Drew for Archibald Macpheadris, the Warner House was the home of several generations of prominent Portsmouth families and in-residence enslaved Africans (TAB. 1). Three major occupational episodes occurred between the completion of the house in the early 18th century and 1814, the closing date for this study. The first, the Macpheadris household, was the initial occupancy of the house. A ship master and merchant, Macpheadris was a prominent

Portsmouth citizen. He served on the Council of the Province of New Hampshire, and, among other commercial endeavors, was involved in land speculation and the early New Hampshire timber industry (Wendell 1950: 12–14). Macpheadris married Sarah Wentworth, daughter of Lieutenant Governor John Wentworth, in 1718. They had three children: Mary, Gilbert, and Sarah (who died as an infant). Macpheadris also held four enslaved Africans: Prince, Quamino, Nero, and a girl whose name is not known (Sammons and Cunningham 1998: 41). Archibald Macpheadris's brother and sister-in-law, John and Helena Macpheadris, and their three children resided in the house with the Macpheadris family before 1723 (Murphy 1995: 10). Macpheadris died on February 6, 1729, and willed a third of his estate to his wife (inventoried and valued at £6330), and, of the remaining two thirds, bequeathed one third to his daughter and two thirds to his son. After Macpheadris's death, Sarah Wentworth resided in the house until she remarried after 1737. In 1742 daughter Mary Macpheadris married John Osborn and moved out of the house to Boston, concluding the first occupational period.

Although Macpheadris left a will and his estate was inventoried following his death, there is no documentary evidence attesting to the importance of style and appearance as it relates to clothing and fashion for Macpheadris and his family. These documents describe his material possessions in the most general terms, listing his houses, land, stable,

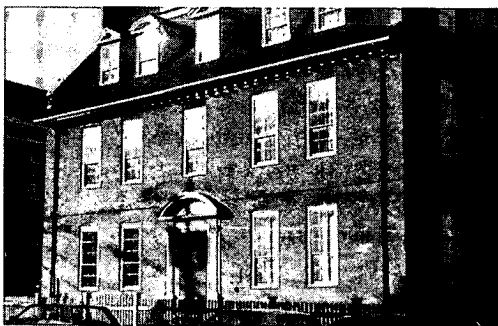


Figure 1. The Warner House, Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

Table 1. Residents of the Warner House.

<i>Years of Residency</i>	<i>Occupant</i>	<i>Occupation</i>
Macpheadris Household		
ca. 1716–1718–1729	Archibald Macpheadris Sarah Wentworth Macpheadris Gilbert and Mary Macpheadris (children)	Ship captain, merchant
?–1723	John Macpheadris, Helena Macpheadris, and three children Prince, Quamino, Nero, and unknown girl (enslaved Africans)*	
1729–ca. 1737	Sarah Wentworth Macpheadris	
1729–ca. 1742	Mary Macpheadris	
Wentworth Household		
1742–1759	Benning Wentworth Abigail Wentworth Three children	Governor
Warner Household		
1760–1776	Jonathan Warner Mary Macpheadris Osborn Warner Sarah "Polly" Warner	Merchant
1760–1770	Cato, Frank, Peter, John Jack (enslaved Africans)*	
1776–1781	Jonathan Warner Samuel Warner family members? Elizabeth Warner?	Merchant
1781–1794	Jonathan Warner Elizabeth Pitts Warner Elisabeth Pitts Margaret Pitts Elizabeth Warner?	Merchant
1794–1810	Jonathan Warner Elizabeth Pitts Warner Elisabeth Pitts Margaret Pitts Elizabeth Sherburne John N. Sherburne	Merchant
1810–1814	Jonathan Warner Elizabeth Sherburne John N. Sherburne	

* Dates of residence for enslaved Africans are not known.

furniture, horses, plate, and three enslaved Africans. Indeed, the itemized bill from John Drew describing the elements of the house provides the best evidence for Macpheadris's concern with status and fashion. The bill describes the broad variety of high-style interior details within the house to include plastering, paneling, and built-in furniture; the size and style of the structure further attests to Macpheadris's interest in defining his status through material possessions (Drew 1716; Candee 1992: 41).

The second household occupied the Warner House beginning in 1742 when Benning Wentworth, the governor of New Hampshire, and Sarah Wentworth

Macpheadris's brother leased the house. The house served as the governor's mansion. Wentworth resided in the house with his wife Abigail and their three children until 1759. Though Wentworth complained about the cost of the maintenance and price of the rent of the house, there is little evidence about the daily activities within the house, including the kinds of clothing worn by the inhabitants.

The third household, the Warner household, moved into the house in 1760 following the marriage of Mary Macpheadris Osborn, daughter of Archibald Macpheadris, to Jonathan Warner. Jonathan Warner is the person for whom the house is named today (FIG. 2). When he married Mary Macpheadris



Figure 2. Portrait of Colonel Jonathan Warner by Joseph Blackburn, 1761. Warner is attired in an elaborate suit of clothes consisting of matching coat, waistcoat, and breeches embellished with embroidered buttons and large buttonholes. He carries a tricornered hat and wears a shirt with lace cuffs and a fashionable powdered wig. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, General Funds, 1883, 83.29, oil on canvas, 127 × 102.23 cm [50 × 40 1/4 in.], image © 2003 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston).

Osborn, Warner was 34 years old, a widower, and one of Portsmouth's wealthiest and most prominent citizens. He was a merchant and a shipper by occupation, and was also a Royal Councilor of the Province in 1767, a Justice of the Peace, and an invitee to the welcoming committee for George Washington's 1789 Portsmouth visit (Wendell 1950; Murphy 1995). Warner had a daughter by his first marriage to Mary Nelson, Mary "Polly" Warner, who is a known resident between 1760 and 1769, at which time she married Samuel Sherburne. It is likely that Polly resided in the house with her husband until her death in childbirth in 1770 (Murphy 1995: 17).

At least four enslaved African-Americans are known from the Warner occupancy: Cato, Frank, Peter, and John Jack. Several details of

their lives are known. Cato and Peter signed a petition in 1779 to end slavery. Peter's marriage to Dinah Pearn was recorded on July 6, 1786. John Jack married a free woman and moved to Greenland, New Hampshire, in 1792 (Sammons and Cunningham 1998: 41–42). These individuals are thought to have resided in the kitchen ell, which was removed from the property around 1820 (FIG. 3).

The Warner household is marked by the presence of additional extended family members in the house, and one can imagine a very lively household. After Jonathan Warner's brother Samuel died in 1771, the Warners took in his children (Wendell 1966: 14). In 1776 Mary Macpheadris Osborn Warner died, and five years later Jonathan Warner married Elizabeth Pitts of Boston. They were married for almost 20 years before Elizabeth Pitts Warner's death in 1810. Pitts's nieces, Elisabeth Pitts and Margaret Pitts, resided in the house with the couple at least until the 1790s, and possibly until 1810 (Murphy 1995). Jonathan Warner's niece, Elizabeth Warner Sherburne, and her son, John Nathaniel Sherburne, also lived in the house in the late-18th century. Elizabeth Warner Sherburne probably moved into the house sometime after her husband, Nathaniel Sherburne, died at sea in 1794. Jonathan Warner died in 1814, and Elizabeth Warner Sherburne and her children, as well as other relatives, resided in the house through the 19th century.

Jonathan Warner's estate inventory provides tremendous detail about the furnishings and material culture used by the Warner household and the rooms in which they were used, but is of limited utility in regard to the clothing and accessories worn by the Warner family and servants. Several items of interest do appear, two watches—a jewelled gold watch valued at \$40.00 and an "old silver watch" valued at \$8.00. Identified in a wardrobe, the "wearing apparel" of Warner was valued at \$20.00. It is notable, however that the napkins and tablecloths housed in the same wardrobe were valued at \$141.07, far more than the clothes. Perhaps most revealing is the presence of looking glasses in many of the rooms. Nine looking glasses are listed, perhaps underlining the importance of appearance within the household.

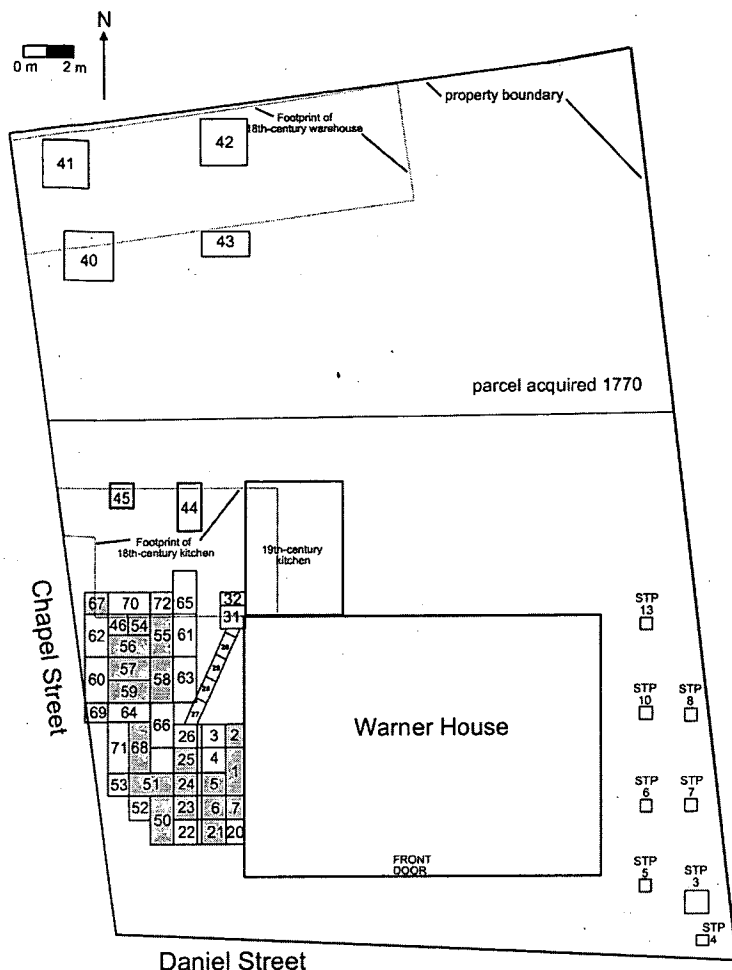


Figure 3. Map of Warner House excavations (drawing by Carolyn L. White after original field drawing by Rick Morris).

Warner was remembered as clinging to mid-18th-century fashion in the late-18th and early-19th centuries. He was described as

one of the last of the cocked hats. As in a vision of early childhood he is still before us... That broad-backed, long-skirted brown coat, those small clothes and silk stockings, those silver buckles, and that cane—we see them still (Brewster 1859-1869: 139).

Today, the Warner House association, which preserves and maintains the Warner House as a museum, has a variety of garments worn by Warner family members. A scarlet coat, Polly Warner's christening gown, as well as several

waistcoats and shoes are among the collected family objects (Fagan Affleck 1999). These rare, preserved garments are fashionable 18th-century examples and attest to the wealth of the individuals who wore the clothes, as they are made of fine silks and woolsens.

Visual evidence, in the form of portraits of a number of members of the Warner household, further attests to the modish appearance of the Warner family. Jonathan Warner commissioned portraits of himself (FIG. 2), his wife, his daughter, his brothers, and his mother-in-law by Joseph Blackburn. These portraits portray the individuals in fashionable clothing made of rich and expensive textiles, adorned with stylish accessories. While it is impossible to know whether these were specific clothes and accessories owned by the sitters (Miles 1987), the portraits convey prestigious people garbed in up-to-date style,

reflecting, if not the personal garments owned by the sitter, the style and image they wished to project.

Excavations

Excavations were conducted at the Warner House in 1995, 1996, and 1997, followed by substantial salvage excavations undertaken in 1998 (FIG. 3). The first season of excavations consisted of preliminary testing to assess the archaeological potential of the site (Clancey and Leeke 1993). Following this assessment, Martha Pinello served as Principal Investigator and Rick Morris served as Project Archaeologist in a joint archaeological program with the Warner House Association and Strawberry Banke Museum.

Three areas surrounding the house have been investigated: the west yard, the east yard, and the north yard. In 1995, the archaeological program investigated the area around the bulkhead in the west yard, excavating seven units (Morris 1995). In 1996 a series of 17 shovel test pits were excavated in the eastern yard of the Warner House over a five-week span. In 1997 a two-week field school sponsored by Strawberry Banke Museum was conducted at the Warner House. Seven units were excavated ranging in size from 1 × 1 m to 2 × 2 m. The focus of these excavations was the yard in the northwest corner of the Warner property and the area just off the northwest corner of the house. The excavations identified an 18th-century warehouse and the footprint of an attached 18th-century kitchen (Morris 1997).

In 1998 volunteers and Strawberry Banke staff conducted salvage excavations at the Warner House just before the western yard was graded to address an ongoing drainage problem. The entire area to be impacted was excavated, and a total of 23 units were troweled and shoveled to 20 to 30 cm below the surface, the expected depth of the grading (Sally Stradzins, pers. comm., 1998). Though these excavations were conducted rapidly in anticipation of the impending grading, the strata were sifted through 1/4 inch mesh, all artifacts were collected, and field notes were kept.

The personal adornment assemblage discussed here was recovered in the excavations conducted by the field schools in the salvage excavations. The shaded areas in Figure 3 indicate units where artifacts of personal adornment were recovered.

The Warner House Assemblage

Personal adornment is a term for a large class of material culture that includes clothing fasteners, jewelry, hair accessories, and miscellaneous accessories (TAB. 2). The personal adornment assemblage from the Warner House contains a range of forms and few artifacts of any one type. The broad spectrum of forms and overall heterogeneity of the collection is typical of 18th-century personal adornment assemblages (Bedell and Scharfenberger 2000; White 2002, 2003a). Yet, the high quality of many of the artifacts and the relatively large number of artifacts recovered on the site distinguish the assemblage from many other Portsmouth examples (see White 2002). The assemblage represents some of the ways that the Warner residents dressed, allowing the visual appearance of the site residents to come partially into view. Further, examining personal adornment artifacts reveals some of the ways that individuals presented themselves through clothing and permits examination of how the presentation marked people as members of groups, particularly in terms of class and gender (White 2002). Overall, the assemblage provides insight to the kinds of choices the Warner House residents made as individuals as they clothed themselves and wore accessories to suit and emphasize their status, which, of course, simultaneously suggested their membership in broader groupings.

The assemblage consists of thirty-six artifacts divided into clothing fasteners, jewelry, and miscellaneous accessories (no hair accessories were identified): twelve buckles, twenty buttons, one bead, one fan guard, one watch seal, and one watch case cover. The catalog

Table 2. Categories of personal adornment artifacts.

<i>Clothing fasteners</i>	<i>Jewelry</i>	<i>Hair accessories</i>	<i>Miscellaneous accessories</i>
Aglets	Beads	Combs	Chains
Buckles	Bracelets	Bodkins	Cosmetic tools
Buttons	Brooches	Hair ornaments	Fans
Fasteners	Clasps	Wig curlers	Metallic textiles
Hooks and eyes	Earrings		Spurs
	Gems and stones		Waist-hung appendages
	Miniatures		Watches
	Necklaces		Watch chains
	Pendants		Watch keys
	Rings		Watch seals

numbers, descriptions, proveniences, and dimensions of each artifact are summarized in Table 3.

Clothing Fasteners

Clothing fasteners can be a direct reflection of the kinds of clothing worn by individuals, and commonly comprise the largest grouping of personal adornment artifacts recovered on domestic sites. Sometimes fasteners can be used to identify the specific item of clothing on which the fastener was used, which, in turn, reflects the gender of the wearer. Clothing fasteners also played a major decorative role in dress during the late-17th to early-19th centuries. They were a focal point for clothing embellishment, and as such were sensitive markers of the socioeconomic status of the people who wore them.

Buckles

In the 18th century, most shoes were fastened with buckles (shoes were occasionally fastened with lacings, and laces eventually replaced buckles in the 19th century), and the shoe buckle was for all intents and purposes, a required element to hold shoes firmly on one's foot (FIG. 4 illustrates the different parts of a buckle). Shoe buckles are the most common type of buckle, though buckles were used to fasten all manner of clothing—breeches, stocks (a form of neckerchief usually made of white linen), gloves, hats, swords, collars, and girdles—in the 17th, 18th, and early-19th centuries. Since buckles were removable elements

of dress, many were crafted with great care and expense, and were treated as jewelry as much as a functional fastener. The most expensive and precious metals were employed, as were the least expensive. In this sense, a person's social position was reflected in the material of one's buckle (Evans 1970: 163), and buckles can be viewed as indices of class and status in the archaeological record. For example, George Washington ordered supplies from England in 1759 for the enslaved Africans at Mount Vernon and along with the buttons, textiles, and "coarse thread hose fit for negro servants" ordered "coarse shoes and knee buckles" (McClellan 1977: 244). These buckles were made of inexpensive materials and thus thought appropriate for slaves.

Buckles were made specifically for men, women, and children, and were sold as such. The *New Hampshire Gazette* of November 15, 1757, advertised "fine stone buckles for the ladies," and the Parrish, Potts, Shields, and Company purchased "Childrens' buckles" in October 1793. It is difficult, if not nearly impossible, to make such distinctions with artifactual buckles. Some types of buckles, such as knee and stock buckles, can be securely associated with men, as they are particular to male garb, but shoe buckles, the most common sort of buckle, are largely indistinguishable by gender. Both men and women wore ornate and plain buckles in large and small sizes, and children's buckles are difficult to separate from the normal range of variation in size seen in buckles.

As important items of dress, buckles are highly visible in the documentary record. They are carefully rendered in portraits (FIG. 5), listed in detail in economic transactions, described in personal diaries, and advertised regularly in newspapers as desirable and fashionable goods. For example, Abner Sanger recorded in his diary seeing "a remarkable pair of nice-worked silver buckles" on April 16, 1777, worn by someone from Kingston, New Hampshire (Stabler 1986: 140). These buckles made an impression on him that merited recording, and his observation illustrates the visual impact of this item of personal adornment.

Buckles were important in the sense that they were functional dress accessories as well

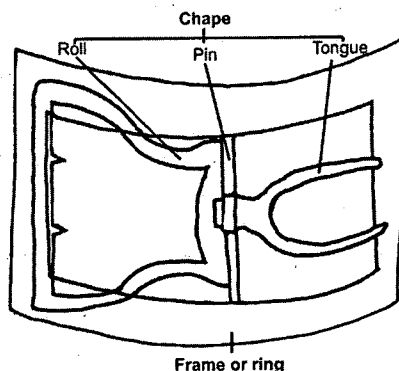


Figure 4. Diagram of buckle parts.

Table 3. Catalog numbers, descriptions, proveniences, dimensions, and TPQs for the Warner House personal adornment artifact assemblage.

<i>Catalog #</i>	<i>Object</i>	<i>Material</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Unit</i>	<i>Stratum</i>	<i>Level</i>	<i>Dimensions</i>	<i>TPQ</i>
27RK81.7	bead	glass	pink standard glass bead	Unit 1	St. 4	L. 8	D = 3 mm	18th century
27RK81.73	shoe buckle chape roll	iron	anchor-shape	STP 12	St. 3	L. 2	L = 50 mm, W = 20 mm (at pin)	18th century
27RK81.469	shoe buckle frame	pewter	undecorated; slight flare in center	Unit 51	St. 5	L. 6	L = 40 mm, D = 10 mm	18th century
27RK81.146	shoe buckle frame	silver	molded and chased with three notches to receive the chape tongue	Unit 21	St. 3	L. 4	L = 40 mm, W = 29 mm	1670
27RK81.21	shoe buckleframe	copper alloy	Artois-style buckle with three raised bands	Unit 2	St. 2	L. 6	L = 41 mm, W = 70 mm, D = 8 mm	1760
27RK81.182	shoe buckle chape roll	iron	cooking-pot shaped	Unit 23	St. 4	L. 7	W = 30 mm	1760
27RK81.478.1	shoe buckle frame	copper alloy	rosette at side and scrolling in corners; burned	Unit 54	St. 2	L. 2	L = 37 mm, W = 25 mm, D = 7 mm	1779
27RK81.478.2	shoe buckle chape roll	iron	cooking-pot shaped	Unit 54	St. 2	L. 2	L = 38 mm, W = 35 mm	1779
27RK81.482.1	shoe buckle frame	copper alloy	openwork with twisted rope design, rosette, and scrolling motifs	Unit 56	St. 2	L. 2	L = 19 mm, W = 38 mm, D = 9 mm	1780
27RK81.482.2	shoe buckle frame	iron	undecorated	Unit 56	St. 2	L. 2	L = 39 mm, W = 27 mm, D = 3 mm	1780
27RK81.488.1	shoe buckle frame	copper alloy	opposing raised crescents, beading, punched hole	Unit 58	St. 2		L = 44 mm, W = 22 mm, D = 9 mm	1780
27RK81.488.2	shoe buckle frame	copper alloy	undecorated, beveled edges	Unit 58	St. 2		L = 42 mm, W = 20 mm, D = 6 mm	1780
27RK81.491	shoe buckle frame	copper alloy	openwork with intertwining ribbon motifs, pastes(?); burned	Unit 59	St. 2		L = 46 mm, W = 15 mm, D = 11 mm	1780
27RK81.57	coat button	pewter	plain; cast shank, drilled	Unit 6	St. 3	L. 6	D = 22 mm	18th century
27RK81.61	coat button	"hard white" pewter	plain; cone shank and iron eye	Unit 7	St. 1	L. 3	D = 23 mm	18th century
27RK81.167	waistcoat button	copper alloy	plain; cone-shaped shank and eye cast with button	Unit 25	St. 2	L. 2	D = 15 mm	18th century
27RK81.448	waistcoat button	pewter	molded treelike design	Unit 50	St. 2	L.3	D = 14 mm	18th century
27RK81.47	waistcoat button	copper alloy	stamped-metal buttoncover with woven basket pattern and foliate motifs	Unit 6	St. 2	L. 2	D = 17 mm	18th century

Table 3. Continued.

<i>Catalog #</i>	<i>Object</i>	<i>Material</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Unit</i>	<i>Stratum</i>	<i>Level</i>	<i>Dimensions</i>	<i>TPQ</i>
27RK81.146	coat button	pewter	stippled surface	Unit 21	St. 3	L. 4	D = 25 mm	1670
27RK81.159.1	waistcoat button	copper alloy	plain stamped-metal cover, gilding	Unit 23	St. 4	L. 6	D = 16 mm	1680
27RK81.159.2	waistcoat button	pewter	two-piece cast with eye	Unit 23	St. 4	L. 6	D = 17 mm	1680
27RK81.479	waistcoat, sleeve, or trouser button	copper alloy	undecorated	Unit 55	St. 1	L. 1	D = 14 mm	1720
27RK81.19	sleeve, trouser, or neckwear button	copper alloy	stamped with plain face and "DOUBLE GILT" and foliate backmark	Unit 2	St. 2	L. 4	D = 13 mm	1760
27RK81.143	waistcoat button	copper alloy, bone	three-part, stamped-metal covered button with openwork design and beaded border	Unit 21	St. 2	L. 2	D = 17 mm	1760
27RK81.237	coat button	copper alloy	stamped-metal cover with wovenbasket pattern, gilding	Unit 5	St. 3/4		D = 25 mm	1780
27RK81.477	coat button	pewter	plain; cone-shaped shank	Unit 54	St. 1	L. 1	D = 20 mm	1780
27RK81.478.1	coat button	pewter	plain; wire shank	Unit 54	St. 2	L. 2	D = 18 mm	1780
27RK81.480	coat button	copper alloy	stamped-metal cover with oak leaf design and floral center	Unit 55	St. 2	L. 2	D = 25 mm	1780
27RK81.483	coat button	copper alloy	stamped radial design; gilding	Unit 57	St. 1		D = 34 mm	1780
27RK81.478.2	waistcoat button	pewter	stamped border	Unit 54	St. 2	L. 2	D = 14 mm	1780
27RK81.488	waistcoat button	copper alloy	undecorated; tinned; alpha shank	Unit 58	St. 2		D = 17 mm	1780
27RK81.163	coat button	copper alloy	stamped-metal cover with stamped rose; gilding	Unit 24	St. 3	L. 3	D = 22 mm	1784
27RK81.520	coat button	copper alloy	stamped-metal cover; gilding	Unit 68	St. 5		D = 22 mm	1784
27RK81.517	fan guard	bone	small carved notches on either side	Unit 67	St. 2		L = 21 mm, W = 7 mm, D = 2 mm	1780
27RK81.480	watch seal	copper alloy, stone	carved stone seal with anchor design; openwork mount; gilded	Unit 55	St. 2	L. 2	L = 20 mm, W = 16 mm, H = 29 mm	1780
27RK81.157	watch case cover	copper alloy	front surface decorated with raised band, interior with molded floral border and center	Unit 23	St. 2	L. 3	D = 30 mm	1670

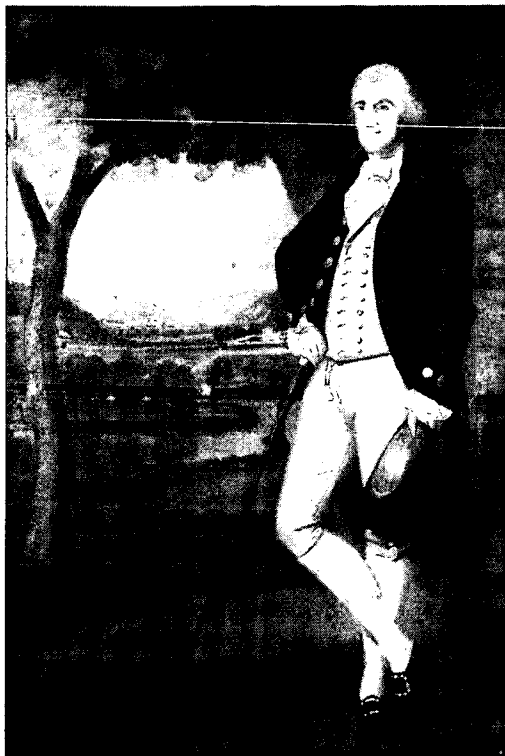


Figure 5. Portrait of Daniel Boardman by Ralph Earl, 1789. Note Boardman's shoe and knee buckles, coat, waistcoat, and breeches buttons, and watch chain, watch key, and other trinkets. (Gift of Mrs. W. Murray Crane, photograph © Board of Trustees, National Gallery of Art, Washington.)

as items of status that were charged with information. Buckle use crossed all gender, class, age, and ethnicity lines and were valued accessories within all of these groups. They were available in a broad range of sizes, forms, and materials to suit the fashion and fancy of an individual, and closely followed trends in fashion. The variation in style, form, and material allowed buckles to signify the position of a person within a socially-constructed group.

Twelve buckles were identified in the Warner House excavations, all of which are shoe buckles. Nine of the buckles are shoe buckle frames, and three are shoe buckle chapes (FIGS. 6-9). The shoe buckles predominantly are fashionable examples, ornate forms of expensive materials that would have been prominent indices of wealth and class when worn. It is also notable that mixed in with the



Figure 6. Silver shoe buckle frame from the Macphaedris household (27RK81.146).

fancy shoe buckles are several plain buckles. All of the buckles were recovered in the west yard, save one, which was recovered in the east yard.

A single buckle was recovered in a context dating to the Macphaedris household. This buckle is an intricately molded and chased silver shoe buckle (27RK81.146; FIG. 6). The frame is decorated with foliate and scrolled designs, chased lines, and notches cut into the frame. These notches and lines are found on shoe buckles throughout the 18th century, but the combination of these motifs with the foliate and scrolled designs are in keeping with early-18th century buckle designs (see Whitehead 1996). Three small niches are carved on the frame to receive the tongue spikes. This is a small shoe buckle and would have been a very fashionable and recognizably expensive buckle when it was worn.

Nine of the shoe buckle fragments were recovered in contexts linked to the Warner household. A large copper-alloy shoe buckle

decorated with three thin raised bands, and thin bands along its edges was recovered adjacent to the house (27RK81.21; FIG. 7A). Recovered in a context with a TPQ of 1760, this buckle is an Artois-style buckle. Named for the Comte d'Artois, the French ambassador to England, later Charles X (Swann 1981: 14), Artois buckles were oblong, rectangular, or shuttle-shaped, and curved over the foot as this one does. Again, the form of this buckle is very fashionable for the period.

A molded copper-alloy shoe buckle frame with a rosette at the side and scrolling at the rounded corners was recovered in a context with a TPQ of 1780 (27RK81.478.1; FIG. 7B). The buckle is also molded with light transverse grooves on the main ground of the frame. This buckle would have been tinned or plated. Its original size cannot be discerned because it lacks a pin terminal and only one corner is extant. The molded rosettes and scrolls are a common decorative motif on shoe buckles from the 1740s to the 1770s (Whitehead 1996: 103; Cunningham and Cunningham 1972: 229)

and are comparable to fashions in furniture of the period (see Sweeney 1994: 28–30).

Two buckle frame fragments were recovered from one context with a TPQ of 1780, and exhibit notable contrasting levels of quality. The first is a very fashionable buckle. It is a molded, copper-alloy, openwork shoe buckle with twisted rope designs, a rosette over the pin terminal, and scrolling motifs (27RK81.482.1; FIG. 7C). Only a small portion of this buckle remains, but the original width of the buckle would have been 66 mm. The large size, the rounded corners, and the openwork design were very fashionable elements from the 1770s to 1790s (Hughes and Hughes 1972: 4) and are indicative of the increased interest in surface decoration on shoe buckles toward the end of the 18th century (Whitehead 1996: 103). The second frame fragment is an iron shoe buckle fragment (27RK81.482.2; FIG. 7D). Though it is in poor condition, the pin terminals allow it to be recognized as a buckle. This is a medium-size buckle, and it is a very plain and functional shoe buckle. It is an excellent,



Figure 7. Buckles from the Warner household. A. Artois-style shoe buckle frame (27RK81.21); B. Molded shoe buckle frame (27RK81.478.1); C. Molded openwork shoe buckle frame (27RK81.482.1); D. Iron shoe buckle frame (27RK81.482.2).

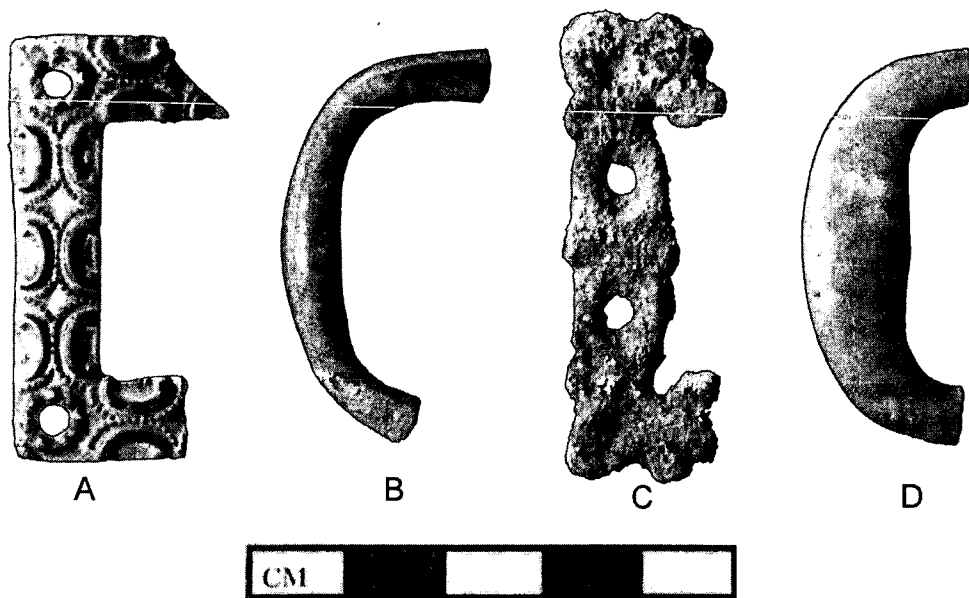


Figure 8. Buckles from the Warner household. A. Shoe buckle frame with molded designs (27RK81.488.1); B. Plain shoe buckle frame (27RK81.488.2); C. Burned molded openwork shoe buckle frame (27RK81.491); D. Plain shoe buckle frame (27RK81.469).

rare example of what was likely the most inexpensive sort of buckle available.

Two buckle fragments were recovered in a second context with a TPQ of 1780. The first is a copper-alloy shoe buckle frame fragment (27RK81.488.1; FIG. 8A). This buckle has unusual surface decoration with opposing raised crescents and beading, and at the corners possesses punched holes surrounded by small raised squares that are either decorative elements or mounts for pastes. Since the pin terminals are not present on this fragment, it is not possible to determine the size of the buckle. The second buckle fragment is a plain, copper-alloy, oval shoe buckle with beveled inner and outer edges (27RK81.488.2; FIG. 8B). The pin terminals are missing on this fragment as well. The simple form, base metal, and lack of decoration suggests that this may have been worn by a working class individual or an enslaved person, though it is impossible to make that connection with any certitude as plain buckles could be worn by people in all ranks of society. Although plain buckles were commonly used for children's shoes, the size of this buckle suggests adult use.

A buckle frame fragment was recovered in another 1780 context (27RK81.491; FIG. 8C). The buckle has been burned, obscuring the openwork decoration of intertwining ribbon motifs. This buckle may have been set with pastes. The pin terminals are not present on the fragment, so the original dimensions are not known. Openwork designs, pastes, and large dimensions were very fashionable in the late-18th century, and this buckle was a stylish element of dress.

The final buckle is an undecorated pewter buckle frame with a slight flare in the center of the frame's side (27RK81.469; FIG. 8D). The buckle was recovered in association with 18th-century materials, but is not linked with a particular household. This is a standard form for early to mid-18th-century shoe buckles, and may have been worn by a laborer or enslaved person, although, again, this is only a tentative supposition.

Three buckle chapes were recovered at the Warner House. One is not associated with a particular household, two are associated with the Warner household. The first, an iron buckle chape, was identified in the east yard (27RK81.73; FIG. 9A). Its form, called an anchor

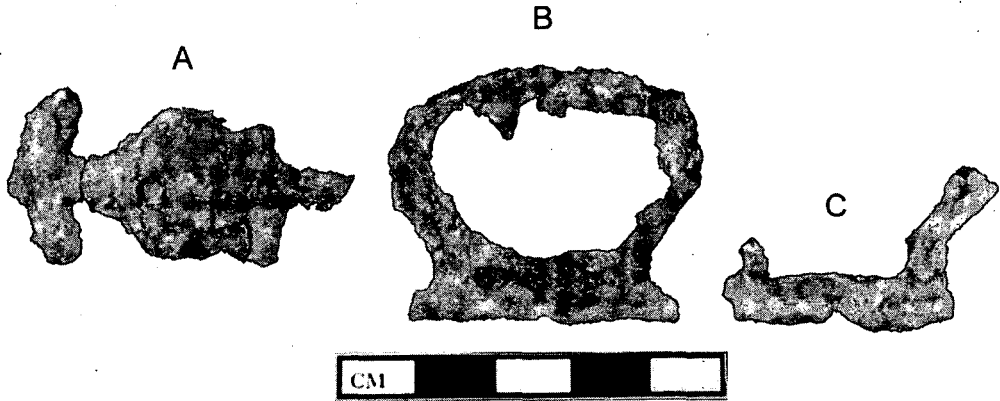


Figure 9. Buckle chapes from the Warner household. A. Shoe buckle anchor chape (27RK81.73); B. "Cooking-pot"-shaped shoe buckle chape (27RK81.478.2); C. "Cooking-pot"-shaped shoe buckle chape (27RK81.182).

chape, dates to the early-18th century (ca. 1720) (Whitehead 1996: 97). The roll is solid cast iron with a solid chape that terminates in an anchor-shaped roll. The tongue is attached at the other side of the hinge. The chape would have been part of a small shoe buckle.

Two buckle chapes are "cooking-pot"-shaped chapes. This form was first used in 1720 and continued to be used through the rest of the 18th century (Whitehead 1996: 103). The first is an iron shoe buckle chape roll with two tongues (27RK81.478.2; FIG. 9B). This was recovered in a context with a TPQ of 1780. The second chape is part of an iron cooking-pot-shaped chape roll, though the top portion is missing and only the base of the chape and the hinge remain (27RK81.182; FIG. 9C). This was recovered in a context with a TPQ of 1760.

The Warner House buckles are all shoe buckles. Shoe buckles had a primary function as closure mechanisms and were essential elements of shoes in the 18th century, but they were a focal point of elaboration and decoration despite their practical use. Shoe buckles were integral to the overall appearance of the individuals who wore them, and were important in the sense that they were both functional dress accessories and items of status. As a sub-assembly, the shoe buckles display a striking variety in form, which reflects the wide spectrum of styles and designs available for purchase in the 18th century. Moreover, the variety of form in the fanciest buckles suggests an interest in appearance and attentiveness to

fashion by the Warner households as the assemblage reflects current styles of the times. Further, the buckles are evidence of the ways that the wearers used such objects to manifest and reinforce their "gentle," elite status. In particular, the Macpheadris buckle is very fashionable, as buckles of this sort became more and more common in the mid- to late-18th century, before going out of style.

The three plain and inexpensive buckles lie in strong contrast to the more elaborate ones. These buckles allow one to visualize more mundane kinds of dress worn by, perhaps, the laborers or enslaved people in the household, though this kind of assertion is qualified at best. The high-style and the inexpensive buckles were important accessories in the presentation of the Macpheadris and Warner household residents as both prominent Portsmouth citizens and members of the disadvantaged classes, respectively, through the form, material, size, and decoration of the buckles.

Buttons

In 1659 Samuel Pepys noted the kind of buttons attached to two new articles of clothing. He wrote on July 1, 1659, "This morning came home my fine camlett coat, with gold buttons...which cost me much money," and on July 5, "This morning my brother Tom brought me my Jackanapes coat with silver buttons" (Pepys 1983). Pepys

observed buttons as important accessories to clothing, as most people would in the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries. Buttons were more than functional fasteners, they were a primary way of embellishing a garment, and were important and prominent elements of dress (FIG. 5).

In the 17th and 18th centuries, buttons adorned clothing worn primarily by men; until the 19th century women's clothing, excepting riding habits and jumps, was fastened primarily by lacings, pins, or hooks and eyes. Buttons were worn on coats, waistcoats, breeches, stocks, cloaks, neckwear, sleeves, and handkerchiefs (Cunnington and Cunnington 1955: 167; 1972). The size and form of buttons sometimes corresponds to the garments on which they were worn, particularly in the differentiation between coat and waistcoat buttons, worn in vast numbers (Cunnington and Cunnington 1972: 47; Baumgarten 2002: 98). Buttons, then, point toward the kinds of clothing that site inhabitants wore and to masculine visual appearance.

Buttons were purchased separately from the textiles used to make a garment, and the consumer had a wide range of choice of style and expense when buying buttons—the weight of such choices were familiar to the 18th-century consumer (see Bushman 1994: 245 for further explication of this idea and of the burgeoning choices faced by the 18th-century consumer). Like textiles, which served to most vividly assert ideas about the wearer, buttons were imported from England, and were available in a variety of forms in shops and directly from importers (Baumgarten 2002: 76–105). Hence there is a strong connection between the artifact, personal choice, and the way that a person presented him or herself and the construction of individual identity. Buttons were visible markers of rank in themselves and as an integral part of garments that demarcated status boundaries.

The Warner House excavations yielded twenty buttons. These are all metal buttons, and were worn on an assortment of garments, though primarily on coats and waistcoats. Four of the buttons are from the Macphedris household, eleven are from the Warner household, and five were recovered in contexts that

cannot be securely associated with a particular period. All of the buttons were recovered in the west yard.

Coat Buttons

One of the garments suggested by the Warner personal adornment assemblage is the coat. Coats were the outer component of the three-piece suit, which survives in an evolved form today in men's business and formal dress. Coats could be vividly decorated and the most elaborate were made in bright colors with exquisite finely detailed and brilliant embroidery (see numerous examples in Baumgarten 2002). This surface decoration was intended to visibly indicate the wealth and status of the man wearing the suit (Baumgarten 1986: 61). In the early-18th century, a man's coat might have nine or ten buttons (and up to 19 or 20 in the earliest part of the century) on the front, three to five on each pocket flap, two to five on the cuffs, and several more at the top and bottom of the back pleats (Baumgarten 1986, 1999, 2002; Ginsburg 1977: 464; FIG. 5). Not all of these were necessarily functional and, in fact, many fancy coats had false buttonholes, so the corresponding buttons were solely decorative. Size is the main means of identifying coat buttons; they are large in size (ranging from 18 to 35+ mm; see Hinks 1995). The most notable stylistic development in coat buttons was an overall increase in their size that correlated with that of many dress accessories in the 1760s through 1780s. All manner of materials were used to make coat buttons.

Ten coat buttons were recovered at the Warner House. A single pewter coat button was recovered in a context dating to the Macphedris household (TPQ = 1670). The front and back surface of the button is stippled, but it is difficult to know whether this appearance was intended or is the result of a problem during manufacture (27RK81.146; FIG. 10A). This is a plain coat button, which may have been gilded or tinned. Pewter shanks broke easily, and this one is missing (see FIG. 11 for common 18th-century button shank forms).

Seven coat buttons are associated with the Warner household. Five buttons were identified in contexts with TPQs of 1780, associated

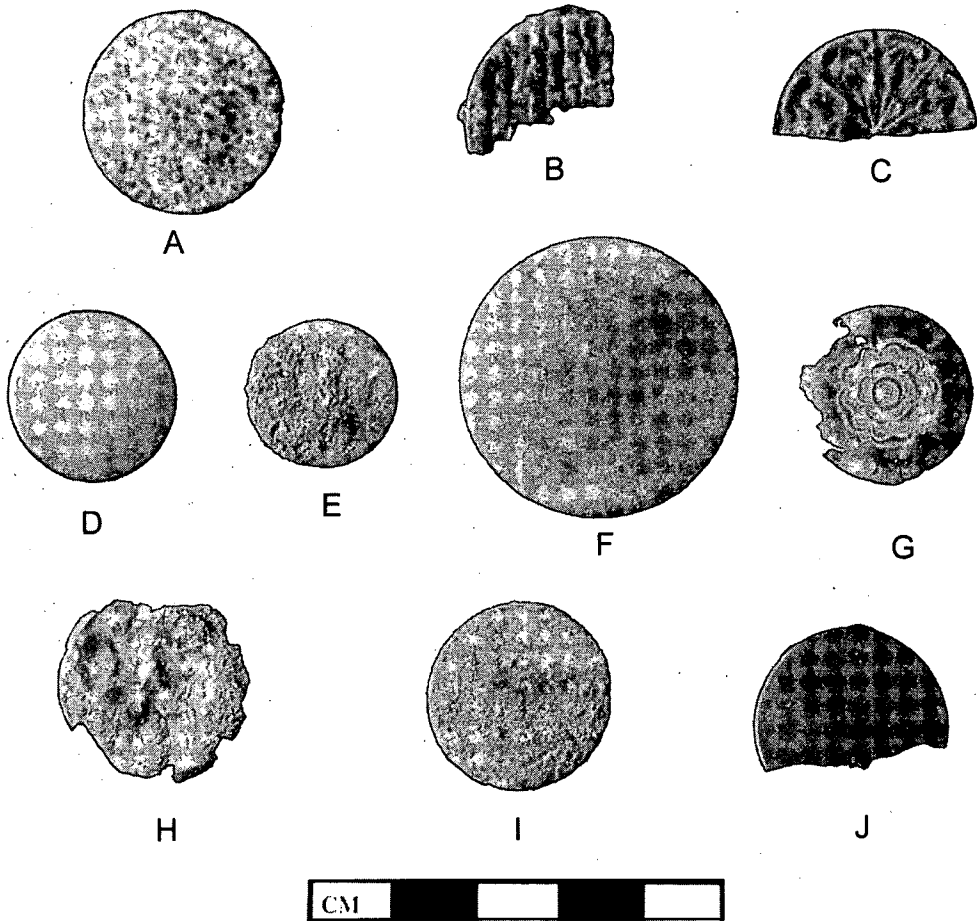


Figure 10. Coat buttons from the Warner House. Button A is associated with the Macpheadris household; buttons B–H are associated with the Warner household; buttons I and J are not associated with a particular household. A. Plain pewter coat button (27RK81.146); B. Stamped-metal coat button cover (27RK81.237); C. Stamped-metal coat button cover (27RK81.480); D. Plain pewter coat button (27RK81.477); E. Plain pewter coat button (27RK81.478.1); F. Large brass coat button with stamped design (27RK81.483); G. Stamped-metal coat button cover (27RK81.163); H. Stamped-metal coat button cover (27RK81.520); I. Plain pewter coat button (27RK81.57); J. “Hard white” pewter coat button (27RK81.61).

with yard refuse that contained domestic trash. The first is a stamped-metal coat button fragment, consisting of a copper-alloy cover with a woven basket pattern (27RK81.237; FIG. 10B). Some of the gilding remains on the face of the button. The stamped cover would be crimped over a bone button mold—the form is common beginning in the 18th century and continuing to the early-19th century (Albert and Kent 1949: 29; Hughes and Lester 1981: 177). The pattern mimics an embroidered

button, as was common for buttons of this form (Hughes and Lester 1981: 177). A second stamped-metal coat button cover with an oak leaf design and floral center was recovered (27RK81.480; FIG. 10C). This button would have been gilded or tinned, though none remains. The third coat button is a pewter button with a cone-shaped shank (27RK81.477; FIGS. 10D, 11D). This is a fine example of a plain mid-18th century coat button. A fourth button is made of pewter and has a flat face

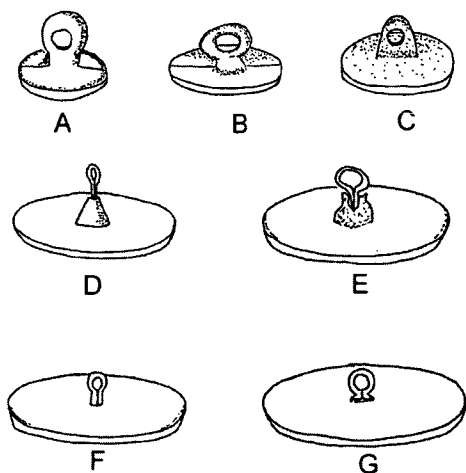


Figure 11. Metal button shank forms. A, B, C. Shanks cast with button and drilled; D. Cone-shaped shank; E. Wire eye set in metal; F. Brazed "alpha" shank; G. Brazed "omega" shank.

and slightly domed back (27RK81.478.1; FIG. 10E). The wire eye is still attached. The fifth is a very large brass coat button (27RK81.483; FIG. 10F). Some gilding remains on the back and a lightly stamped radial design decorates the surface. The alpha shank is present but is flattened against the back of the button. This is an excellent example of the large coat buttons that were very fashionable in the last quarter of the 18th century and worn into the early-19th century (Hughes and Lester 1981: 178). This coat button was a focal point on the body of the wearer, and would have been noticed because of its size and fashionability, establishing the wearer as stylish in accordance with the rest of his clothing.

Two coat buttons were recovered in contexts with a TPQ of 1784. Both are fragments of stamped-metal covered buttons. One is a button cover with a stamped rose design and gilding on the surface (27RK81.163; FIG. 10G). The second is a plain stamped button cover with much of the gilding remaining on the surface, though the button is now crushed (27RK81.520; FIG. 10H).

Finally, two coat buttons were recovered in 18th-century contexts, but cannot be associated with one household with certainty. One is a plain pewter coat button with a shank that was cast with the button and drilled (27RK81.57; FIG. 10I). This is an early-18th-cen-

tury button type, and was likely worn by a member of either the Macphedris or Wentworth household. The other button is a plain "hard white" pewter button with a cone-shank and iron eye from an 18th-century context. This form dates to the late-18th century, and was likely worn during the Warner occupation of the house (27RK81.61; FIG. 10J; Hughes and Lester 1981: 205; Peacock 1978: 29). In the late 18th century the pewter used to make buttons was reformulated and contained a higher percentage of tin than in the early 18th century. These buttons were described as "hard white" by buttonmakers to divorce the association between cheap pewter buttons and the working class (Hughes and Lester 1981: 205). This is a very shiny plain coat button, which would have been fashionable in the late 18th century. The move to the plain, shiny coat buttons corresponds with a restraint exhibited in many decorative arts in the 1760s and 1770s where against the tide of increased availability of elaborate goods, wealthy individuals sought restrained and "neat and plain" items (see Sweeney 1994: 48-49).

Waistcoat Buttons

Buttons were prominently displayed on waistcoats, which men wore with coats beginning in the late-17th century (FIG. 5). Like coats, waistcoats could be made with colorful textiles and brocaded or embellished with delicate or resplendent embroidery (see Baumgarten 2002: 3 for three examples). Buttons were an important component of this ornamentation. Waistcoat buttons are described by name in account books and advertisements, and are also called "Jack" buttons, jacket buttons, and "breasts buttons." For example, Stephen Deblois advertised "coat and breast buttons" in the September 30, 1757, issue of the *New Hampshire Gazette*, and Joseph Whipple advertised "wire waistcoat buttons" in his advertisement of August 31, 1759, in the same newspaper.

Waistcoat or jacket buttons are smaller than coat buttons, and generally coordinated with coat buttons either by complement or contrast. These identifying characteristics do the archaeologist no good, since it is impossible to make these comparisons among arti-

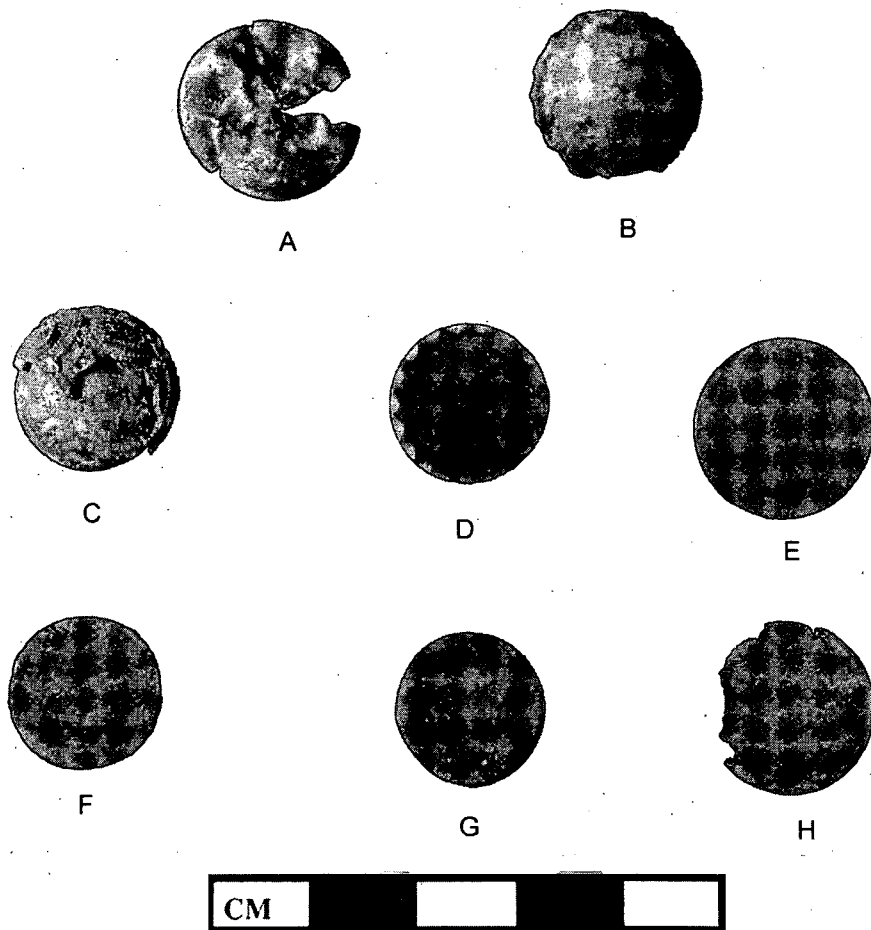


Figure 12. Waistcoat buttons from the Warner House. Buttons A and B relate to the Macphaedris household; buttons C–E are associated with the Warner household; buttons F–H are not associated with a particular household. A. Stamped-metal waistcoat button cover (27RK81.159.1); B. Cast pewter waistcoat button (27RK81.159.2); C. Complete stamped-metal covered waistcoat button with bone core (27RK81.143); D. High-grade pewter waistcoat button (27RK81.478.2); E. Tinned copper-alloy waistcoat button (27RK81.488); F. Plain copper-alloy waistcoat button (27RK81.167); G. Pewter waistcoat button with molded treelike pattern (27RK81.448); H. Stamped-metal waistcoat button cover (27RK81.47).

factual specimens. Size, then, is the main diagnostic characteristic of waistcoat buttons, which measure 14.5 to 19.5 mm (Hinks 1995).

Eight waistcoat buttons were recovered at the Warner House. Two of these were identified in contexts relating to the Macphaedris household in a layer with a TPQ of 1680. The first is the cover fragment of a stamped-metal waistcoat button (27RK81.159.1; FIG. 12A). The button was undecorated, save for the gilding

that remains on its surface. This was a fashionable button. The second button is a two-part, cast pewter waistcoat button (27RK81.159.2; FIG. 12B) with a plain domed face. The eye was cast as part of the back, as was typical of early-18th century pewter buttons. Plain, undecorated waistcoat buttons with shiny surfaces were common in the 18th century.

Three waistcoat buttons were identified in layers relating to the Warner household. The

first is a complete stamped-metal covered button with a bone core recovered in a context with a TPQ of 1760 (27RK81.143; FIG. 12C). This button is unusual in that it is made in three parts, in contrast to the more typical two. It consists of a four-hole bone mold (the core portion of such buttons), over which is a gilded, thin, stamped-brass sheet, over which is an elaborate copper-alloy cover. The cover has an intricate openwork design and a beaded border. A catgut or wire loop would be threaded through the holes and tied in the front of the mold before the button was assembled. These loops crossed in the back of the button and were used as the shank to attach the button to the garment. The second button is a high-grade pewter waistcoat button with a stamped border (27RK81.478.2; FIG. 12D). It has a cone-shaped shank—though the eye is missing. This is a typical fancy waistcoat button. The decoration is restrained, but the presence of the decoration is in itself noteworthy. This button was found in a context with a TPQ of 1780. The third button is a copper-alloy waistcoat button with the tinned surface remaining on the entire surface of the button (27RK81.488; FIG. 12E) with an alpha shank. This is a common type of waistcoat button and was also recovered in a context with a TPQ of 1780.

Three waistcoat buttons were recovered at the Warner House in 18th-century contexts, but cannot be connected with a particular household. The first is a copper-alloy waistcoat button with a cone-shaped shank and an eye that was cast with the button body (27RK81.167; FIG. 12F). This button was tinned, which was a common finish for copper-alloy buttons (Hughes and Lester 1981: 178; Noël Hume 1969: 90). The second is a pewter waistcoat button with an unusual crude molded treelike pattern on the face, which would have been imparted in the button mold (27RK81.448; FIG. 12G). This was a very inexpensive button, and very likely was made locally, rather than imported from England as were most of the buttons worn in 18th-century New England. The crude design is intriguing, as it is a button of such poor quality and the

design is so shoddily rendered. The third is a stamped-metal button cover (27RK81.47; FIG. 12H). It has a woven basket pattern in a center circle surrounded by foliate motifs. This would have been plated or gilded, though none of the surface treatment remains.

Miscellaneous Buttons

Two buttons recovered at the Warner House are not easily identified by function, and could have been used to fasten any number of garments. The first, a small copper-alloy button without surface decoration (27RK81.479; FIG. 13A) is a waistcoat, sleeve, neckwear, or breeches button. It probably was tinned or plated though no surface treatment remains. This button was found in a context dating to the Macphaedris household with a TPQ of 1720. The second button is a stamped brass button with a plain face, recovered in a context with a TPQ of 1780 (27RK81.19; FIG. 13B). This button also may be a waistcoat, sleeve, neckwear, or breeches button. The button is backmarked "double gilt" with a foliate design. The backmark indicates that it is a gilt button, and some of the gilding remains on the back surface. Buttonmakers used phrases such as "DOUBLE GILT," "extra fine," and "best treble orange" to describe the kind of gilding applied to the button. This particular phrase indicates the number of times

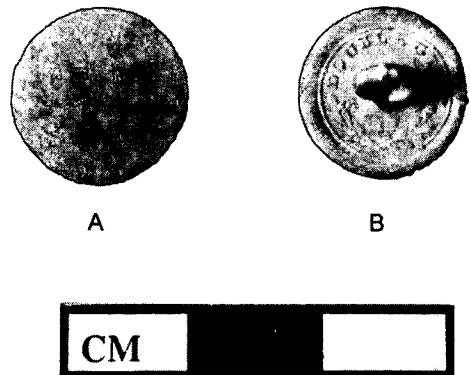


Figure 13. Miscellaneous buttons from the Warner House. A. Waistcoat, sleeve, neckwear or breeches button associated with the Macphaedris household (27RK81.479); B. Stamped brass waistcoat, sleeve, neckwear, or breeches button with backmark (27RK81.19).

the button was dipped in the gilt solution (Albert and Kent 1949: 10). The kind of plating was used to describe and advertise various kinds of buttons in retail transactions and in advertisements. For example, Benjamin Goldthwait advertised "double gilt and common mettal buttons" in the February 3, 1764, *New Hampshire Gazette*. Gilt buttons such as this were fashionable in the late-18th and early-19th centuries. This button is associated with the Warner household.

The buttons, like the buckles, point to specific items of clothing worn by members of the Macphedris and Warner households. Since buttons were worn almost exclusively on men's clothing (as noted above, they could be worn on women's riding habits and cloaks), they offer a male-centered image of the kinds of clothing worn. The buttons were worn on coats and waistcoats, as well as on other items of clothing that are more difficult to identify with certainty. Buttons were integral to the form of the garment and important elements of a fashionable appearance—they were worn as fasteners and as decorative embellishments.

Collectively, the buttons exhibit great variety in terms of form and style. The sub-assemblage contains both plain buttons as well as buttons with surface decoration, indicating the range of buttons available for purchase in Portsmouth. Parallel to the buckles, the buttons describe the kinds of clothing worn by elites as well as people of low socioeconomic means. The large coat button (FIG. 10F), the stamped covered buttons (FIGS. 10B, 10C, 10G, 10H, 12C), and the "hard-white," high-grade pewter buttons (FIGS. 10J, 12D) would have been fashionable elements of dress. When worn with matching buttons on a garment these would have been prominent symbols of the wearer's affluence. In contrast, there are many plain buttons that may have been worn by economically-disadvantaged household members, namely enslaved people and laborers. These less lustrous buttons would not have been striking accessories to dress, but rather would have served an almost exclusively functional purpose. Although it is not possible to associate a particular button with a

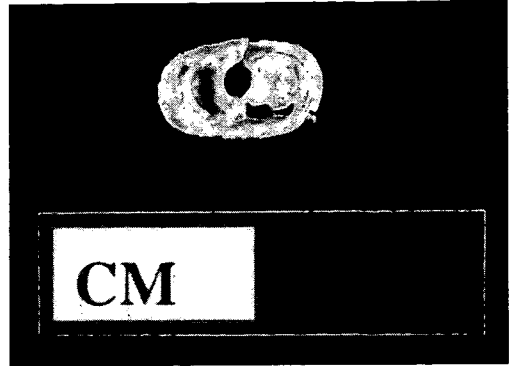


Figure 14. Pink standard glass bead (27RK81.7).

person of low socioeconomic status with certainty, the clothing artifacts allow elements of dress of both elite and non-elite residents to become perceptible. The buttons recovered at the Warner House were important constituents of the construction of personal appearance through their form, material, size, and the placement and use on particular items of clothing.

Jewelry: Bead

In the 18th and early-19th centuries, men, women, and children wore jewelry; of all general categories of adornment, jewelry is easiest to assign to a male or female wearer, although overlap does exist to complicate the task. Children's jewelry can also sometimes be distinguished from adult jewelry by its diminutive size or by examples that were worn especially by children (such as coral necklaces worn to ward off illness), but seemingly straightforward attributions should be made cautiously. Jewelry is a relatively rare find on archaeological sites, and examples tend to be of inexpensive materials and small fragments of larger pieces (White 2003b). It is often impossible to connect a small fragment of jewelry to its larger whole with unqualified confidence, though one can imagine the possibilities from a range of objects. Another difficulty faced is that some jewelry fragments—such as links, clasps, chains, and beads—can be part of many different jewelry forms.

One artifact recovered at the Warner House falls into the category of jewelry. This artifact

is a small pink standard glass bead (27RK81.7; FIG. 14) recovered in the west yard in a layer relating to the Warner household. The term "standard" serves to distinguish between beads of larger size and "seed" beads (White 2002: 318). Beads are common archaeological finds, but the customary means for classifying them is by form rather than function (see Karklins 1985; Kidd and Kidd 1970). This bead was likely strung on a piece of jewelry, as a necklace or as part of an earring, or possibly sewn onto a garment or accessory, though any association is provisional.

Miscellaneous Accessories

The final category of artifacts of personal adornment—miscellaneous accessories—includes items that are carried by a person, worn attached to the body, and also can include miscellaneous items that do not fall neatly into the categories discussed above. Several accessories were recovered at the Warner House in the west yard.

Fans

Fans come in two types: fixed fans and folding fans. Fixed fans have a solid mount (or

leaf) fixed to a handle, and folding fans are comprised of hinged sticks and a flexible mount (FIG. 15). A fan guard fragment from a folding fan was identified at the Warner House in a context relating to the Warner household with a TPQ of 1780 (27RK81.517; FIG. 16). This is a small, bone fan guard fragment with two carved notches on either side. The thickness of the stick suggests that it is a fan guard—the fan stick that supports the fan when used and protects it when closed.

Fans were very popular in the 18th century, and were important fashion accessories for daily use and for particular occasions. Special fans for religious services, marriage, and mourning periods were common, as were whimsical fans with amorous scenes and fans with moralistic messages (Baumgarten 2002: 144; 1986: 44). They were available in a wide range of materials. Bone was commonly used for fan sticks, advertised in newspapers as a fashionable material alongside wood, bamboo, ivory, ebony, mother-of-pearl, and tortoise-shell. For example, Nathaniel Barrell advertised "cut bamboo and bone fans" in the *New Hampshire Gazette* (January 4, 1765). Fan sticks could be plain, engraved, pierced, or carved, and the small notches on this artifact may have been decorative. Fan sticks were an important

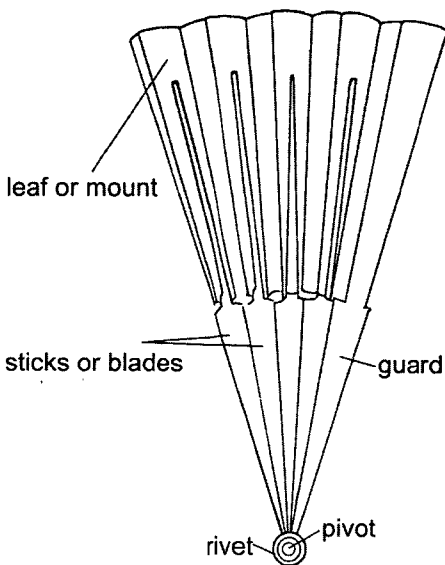


Figure 15. Diagram of folding fan parts.



Figure 16. Bone fan guard fragment (27RK81.517).

part of the display of the fan, and the quality and amount of embellishment of the fan stick would affect the value of the fan (both monetary and in terms of social display).

The retail market provided fan mounts in a broad array of forms, decorations, and styles. For example, an advertisement in the *Pennsylvania Journal* (August 4, 1773) touted "a new assortment of Fan-Mounts, of beautiful paintings, and of various coloured grounds, some curiously sprigged and bordered with silver, and a few cut." It is not possible to determine what kind of mount the Warner fan had, but one can envision the guard attached to a mount with a painted scene, a lace mount, or, if a mourning fan, a simple black covering.

Fans were markers of class membership as well as indices of female identity—they were used exclusively by women. Fan retailers advertised repair services, as fans were expensive items and would be repaired when portions broke. The fan is a strong marker of gender and class because of its association with femininity, gentility, and manners. The portrait of Mrs. Samuel Chandler by Winthrop Chandler, painted ca. 1780, shows a woman dressed in her finest clothing, surrounded by books—emblems of wealth and knowledge—holding a fan with plain bone or ivory sticks and a painted mount (FIG. 17). The fan is slightly open to expose the decoration of the mount and the sticks are visible. The fan was a means of silent expression, with various flicks and flutters carrying assorted messages, and fans therefore have associations with romantic interest and female sexuality (Steele 2002: 12–17). The fan was testimony to a woman's status and gender; these were objects associated with women and their use expressed a woman's affiliation with manners, civility, and a mastery of the language of the fan. The women from the Warner household would have projected these notions through the use of this fan.

Watch Accessories

Watches were worn with accessories such as watch chains (or fobs), watch keys, and watch seals. Watches and their accessories could be sold as individual items, but were often purchased en suite. An advertisement in



Figure 17. Portrait of Mrs. Samuel Chandler by Winthrop Chandler, ca. 1780. Mrs. Chandler wears an assortment of jewelry and accessories along with her lace shawl, mitts, and cap and fashionable coiffure: a fan with a painted leaf, a coral bead necklace, simple gold wire earrings with coral beads, and a ring set with a stone. (Gift of Edgar William and Bernice Chrysler Garbisch, photograph © Board of Trustees, National Gallery of Art, Washington.)

the *New Hampshire Gazette* (April 1, 1757) described an assortment of watches stolen from John Nelson's shop:

One of [the watches] was old fashion'd and large..., and had a Minute Hand, but instead of an Hour Hand, had the Sun and Planets, which alternately shew'd the Hour, and had a green String, and brass Key. Another was also old fashion'd, and large...but was very rusty, had a stiff Leather String, and an Iron Key. The other was small, and new fashion'd, with a white China Face, had a Ribbon (the Colour uncertain) instead of a Chain, with a Silver Seal, and a brass Key.

This advertisement indicates the variety of materials that could be used for watches and their accessories, ranging from inexpensive to expensive. It also reveals the close association between watches, their chain (or string), and the seals and keys that were worn with the watch.

Watches were prominent dress accessories worn by men and women, and watches were

worn on the body as an important marker of gender, worn by either sex in a different manner. Men carried watches in the fob pocket of the breeches waistband (FIG. 5). The watch chain dangled outside the pocket, and seals, watch keys, and other trinkets were suspended and visible on the exterior of the breeches (Cunnington and Cunnington 1972). Women also wore watches as visible accessories. Watches were worn as part of the assemblage of trinkets worn on chatelaines (clasps or hooks attached at a woman's waist; see Cummins and Taunton 1994 for an extensive discussion). Women also wore watches attached to chains around the neck, which were also linked to the belt (Cunnington and Cunnington 1972: 179; Scarisbrick 1994: 364).

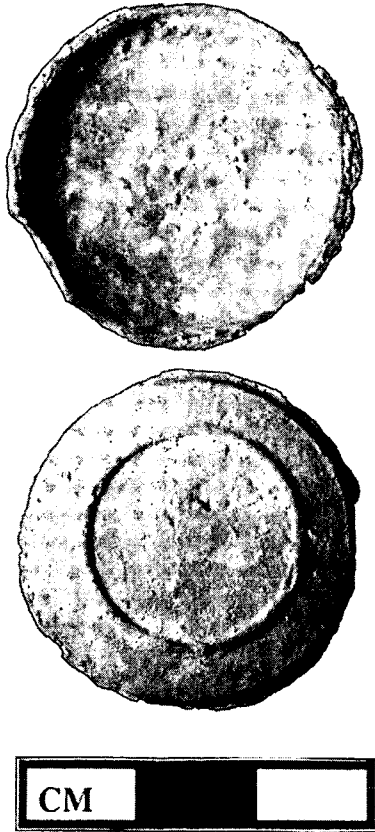


Figure 18. Top, Interior of watch case cover (27RK81.157). Bottom, Exterior of watch case cover (27RK81.157).

Watches were worn as timekeepers, but were also items of display. Watches were often imbued with sentimental meaning, given as tokens of love and esteem as well as rewards of merit and achievement (Thomas 1787). Watches were also important symbols of education and refinement, with economic and administrative uses and associations, and wearing a watch was a cue as to the status of a person. Watches and their accessories were available in a wide variety of materials, and the type of material and the level of elaboration of all of the accompanying trinkets were indicators of class. The variation of materials and accessories allowed the watch to function as an expression of individual character, while marking a person's gender and class affiliation.

Two watch accessories were recovered in the excavations. The first is a watch case cover made of copper alloy that would have been plated or gilded (27RK81.157; FIG. 18). The front surface is decorated with a raised band and the interior with a raised floral border and center. This artifact is associated with the Macpheadris household. It would have been worn on a watch fob or a waist-hung appendage or chatelaine, depending on whether it was worn by a man or a woman.

A late-18th-century context relating to the Warner household contained a watch seal, made of gilded copper alloy (27RK81.480; FIGS. 19, 20). It is set with a seal that is engraved, somewhat crudely, with an anchor. The seal has an openwork mount with a loop used to suspend the seal from a watch chain. The seal would have been worn with a watch and, perhaps, other accessories, such as a watch key and decorative trinkets. Though this seal is comparatively conservative, it would nonetheless confer status on the wearer. Although women could wear seals on their own watch chains, such items are more typically associated with men, and the maritime motif further suggests a masculine association for this seal.

Assemblage Analysis

The artifacts of personal adornment from the Warner House exhibit broad variety in the classes of artifacts represented and in the forms they take within the artifact types. The

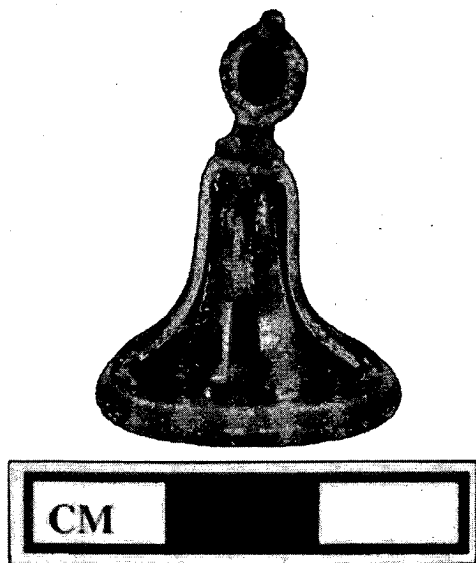


Figure 19. Watch seal with openwork mount (27RK81.480).

assemblage includes clothing fasteners, jewelry, and miscellaneous accessories. Within these categories, the clothing fasteners are the most numerous, and buttons far outnumber the other kinds of artifacts in the assemblage. The bead, fan guard, watch case cover, and watch seal are the only artifacts of their type represented in the assemblage, and are unusual elements of dress in the sense that these objects were not average components of everyday dress. The buckles and buttons exhibit wide variation within the group and reflect both high-style and common types of clothing fasteners. The clothing and accouterments worn by the Warner House residents are visible through an analysis of this category of material culture, and, further, the individual choices made on the household level are visible in the variety and range of forms from which an individual could choose to construct their appearance.

The most essential thing that the assemblage conveys is, most simply, some of the items the Warner House residents wore. The button subassemblage reveals a variety of garments to include coats and waistcoats—typical male garb—as well as breeches, shirts (via two possible sleeve buttons: FIG. 13), and neckwear. The subassemblage of shoe buckles of course, suggests shoes, but more importantly points to



Figure 20. Engraved surface of watch seal with anchor and chain (27RK81.480).

the foot as a focal point of fashion. While the precise form of the individual garments cannot be identified, the presence of these artifacts serves as an account of the variety of clothes worn by the Warner residents throughout the occupation of the house. The assemblage also points to the accessories that were carried by the Warner residents: fans and watches and their associated trinkets. In addition, the single bead points to further embellishment, either in the form of a necklace or bracelet or as an adornment on an accessory or article of clothing.

The range of material and forms exhibited by the assemblage, particularly by the buckles and buttons, reveals the Warner House residents to be well-dressed and in step with fashions of the period. Some of the artifacts are very fashionable examples of their type, such as the Artois shoe buckle (FIG. 7A), the large coat button with stamped design (FIG. 10F), and the silver shoe buckle (FIG. 6). These dress accessories were chosen for their fashionability, and their archaeological contexts suggest that they were worn at the height of these particular fashions, not decades after the fact. Further, the presence of the watch accessories (FIGS. 18–20) and fan guard (FIG. 16) attest to a concern with dress accessories and attention to the outward manifestation of fashion.

The assemblage strongly points to the ways in which members of the elite class used clothing to reinforce and convey their elite status. The artifacts consist mainly of moderate to expensive items that would have communicated socioeconomic status when worn. These items were part of a fashioned external appearance constructed through individual apparel that communicated rank through its expense and fashionability. Through these artifacts we can see, with specificity, the visual construction of this elite status.

The assemblage also contains a variety of less expensive and common items that were worn by the site inhabitants. There are several artifacts in the assemblage that are plain and ordinary elements of dress. The plain shoe buckles (FIGS. 7D, 8B, 8D) and plain pewter buttons (FIGS. 10A, 10E, 10I, 12F, 13A) are common examples of their type. Another example, the molded pewter waistcoat button with a molded treelike pattern (FIG. 12G), reflects the use of embellishment on poor-quality articles of clothing. Though crudely decorated, it represents an attempt to apply elaboration to what was probably a plain waistcoat made of inexpensive fabric. It shows the way in which someone of low rank could actively manipulate their clothing, making it slightly more fashionable than it would be with standard plain pewter buttons. These ordinary artifacts present an interpretive conundrum as they may have been worn by enslaved Africans in residence at the site, laborers in residence or visiting the house for any number of purposes, or by the wealthy inhabitants, as they too owned everyday clothing that was informal and unelaborated (Baumgarten 2002: 108).

The personal adornment artifacts reflect the construction of gender identities, as some of the items can be associated with men and

women, based on the kinds of clothing that the artifacts suggest. Further, some of the artifacts were part of fashionable and stylish attire that also communicated ideas about femininity and masculinity as they were culturally constructed in this era. The buttons and watch seal are markers of masculine identity and reflect the visual appearance of male household members. The fan guard is a marker of feminine identity and is an element of dress that served to reinforce particular notions of femininity through visual appearance.

The Warner and Macpheadris assemblages exhibit more similarity than difference. The only striking difference between the assemblages is the raw numbers (TAB. 4). The Macpheadris assemblage totals six artifacts; the Warner assemblage totals twenty-two artifacts. No personal adornment artifacts were recovered in contexts relating to the Wentworth household. Eight artifacts could not be connected with a particular household. In comparing the two households, each assemblage reflects stylish dress of the early-18th century and of the late-18th century, respectively. Each subassemblage contains both high-style as well as common kinds of items of personal adornment, and reflects a consistency in the level of attention devoted to personal appearance over time.

Wearable goods, like other classes of consumer items such as furniture, architecture, and ceramics, increased in availability in the 18th century, and were used as a tool to manipulate personal appearance and to present an outward appearance of gentility and privilege. At the same time, the increased availability of these goods made this exterior construction more accessible to all, having the effect of blurring class distinctions and threatening the status of wealthy families (Sweeney 1994: 28). The Warner House artifacts reflect

Table 4. Distribution of artifacts of personal adornment according to household.

Household	Clothing fasteners		Miscellaneous accessories			Total
	Buckles	Buttons	Jewelry (bead)	Fan	Watch accessories	
Macpheadris	1	4	-	-	1	6
Wentworth	-	-	-	-	-	0
Warner	9	11	-	1	1	22
Unidentified household (18th century)	2	5	1	-	-	8
Total	12	20	1	1	2	36

the consumer revolution in two important ways. First, in terms of sheer numbers, there were far more artifacts relating to the later occupational episodes recovered at the site, reflecting—at least in part—the increasing numbers of available consumer goods in the later portion of the 18th century. Second, the kind and quality of materials further reflect the mounting availability of wearable consumer goods. There was a broad assortment of buttons and buckles imported in ever-growing quantities over the course of the 18th century, in assorted forms and materials (see White 2002). In addition, the development of the American button industry contributed to the plethora of button forms on the market in the late-18th century (White 2002: 244–245). The materials recovered in the Warner and Macpheadris occupations are parallel in that they both comprise fancy, high-style goods, yet the visual effect and connotations of these objects would have been significantly different on account of the variety and availability of these goods in these different portions of the 18th century. The Macpheadris materials, while fewer, would have had greater weight in terms of the messages they carried. For example, the silver shoe buckle (27RK81.146; FIG. 6) may have been unparalleled in the community, reinforcing and contributing to the image of the wearer as an elite and powerful person. The Warner assemblage carries similar meanings, but the impact of the individual items would have been less powerful, and would have worked together with manifold elements of one's physical mien.

The assemblage of personal adornment artifacts aids the visualization of the site inhabitants. By examining the clothes and accessories worn and carried by the Warner House residents, the physical manifestation of the individuals that resided in this active household begins to come into focus. The visual appearance of an individual communicated a host of information about class and status as well as ideas about gender. Visual appearance, constructed both consciously and unconsciously by members of a household, is accessible through these scarce and informative artifacts.

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