

2011

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Recommended Citation

Samford, Patricia (2011) "Being Fashionable on Maryland's Western Shore in the Late Seventeenth Century," *Northeast Historical Archaeology*: Vol. 40 40, Article 4.

<https://doi.org/10.22191/neha/vol40/iss1/4> Available at: <http://orb.binghamton.edu/neha/vol40/iss1/4>

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Being Fashionable on Maryland's Western Shore in the Late Seventeenth Century

Patricia Samford

In the late 17th and early 18th centuries, the Zekiah Swamp was a sparsely settled frontier region on Maryland's Western Shore. Investigations were conducted in 1996 at the site of Westwood Manor, a plantation and general store during the late 17th century. Re-analysis of this assemblage in 2010 suggested that the manor's occupants and their clientele were striving to reconstitute an English material world in the Maryland Colony. Along with a variety of expensive and presentation-quality ceramic and glass vessels, the assemblage included an elaborately decorated ivory walking-stick handle, a silver spoon, and other luxury items. The walking stick and other high-quality merchandise available through the Westwood Manor store are used to discuss archaeological evidence of fashion as a statement of power, wealth, and status in early colonial Maryland.

À la fin du XVIIe et au début du XVIIIe siècle, le marais de Zekiah était une région frontalière peu peuplée, située sur la rive occidentale du Maryland. Des recherches ont été entamées en 1996 sur le site du Westwood Manor, une plantation et un magasin général datant de la fin du XVIIe siècle. En 2010, une nouvelle analyse de cet assemblage a proposé que les occupants de ce manoir et leur clientèle se sont efforcés de reconstituer un monde matériel anglais dans la colonie du Maryland. En plus d'une variété d'objets en céramique et en verre relativement coûteux et servant à la présentation des plats, cet assemblage inclut une poignée de canne en ivoire décorée, une cuillère en argent, et d'autres objets luxueux. Le bâton de marche et les autres items de luxe disponibles dans le magasin du Westwood Manor servent à explorer les preuves archéologiques démontrant le rôle de la mode dans l'affirmation de la puissance, de la richesse et du statut au début de la période coloniale au Maryland.

Introduction

In the late 17th and early 18th centuries, the Zekiah Swamp was a sparsely settled frontier region on Maryland's Western Shore. At this time, the English had been an established presence in Maryland for over 50 years, having founded the colony in 1634. A town—St. Mary's City—was constructed along the St. Mary's River to serve as the seat of government, and Lord Baltimore, the colony's proprietor, encouraged settlement through a series of land grants. Colonists prized arable land along the region's rivers and broad creeks, facilitating the export of tobacco, which had quickly become the colony's economic mainstay (Brugger 1988: 15–16). While the first tracts were granted close to St. Mary's City, the 20-year tobacco boom that began in the 1640s expanded settlement farther into the interior, along the Potomac and Patuxent rivers (Carr 1974; Carr, Menard, and Walsh 1991: 14–15).

Some of the early settlement occurred in the drainage of the Zekiah Swamp, a tributary of the Wicomico River consisting of a braided stream extending 21 mi. through Charles County (Maryland Greenways Commission 2000).

As one of the largest freshwater swamps in the state, with abundant wildlife and marine resources, the Zekiah was home to Maryland's native peoples for thousands of years before European settlement (Wanser 1982). The Zekiah Swamp drainage has been the focus of continuing archaeological and documentary research by St. Mary's College of Maryland, with project goals of understanding early colonial settlement and cultural contact among European, Native American, and African peoples (King, Arnold-Lourie, and Shaffer 2008; King and Strickland 2009; King 2010; Strickland and King 2011). This research has revealed compelling narratives of power struggles between Protestant and Catholic political factions, of unrest among native peoples being crowded out of their lands, and of the challenges of living in a frontier environment.

Settlement along the west bank of the Wicomico began by the late 1640s and accelerated in the 1660s and 1670s with the granting of a number of large land tracts (King, Arnold-Lourie, and Shaffer 2008: 13; Flick 2010). The first courthouse for Charles County, established 1658, was constructed along

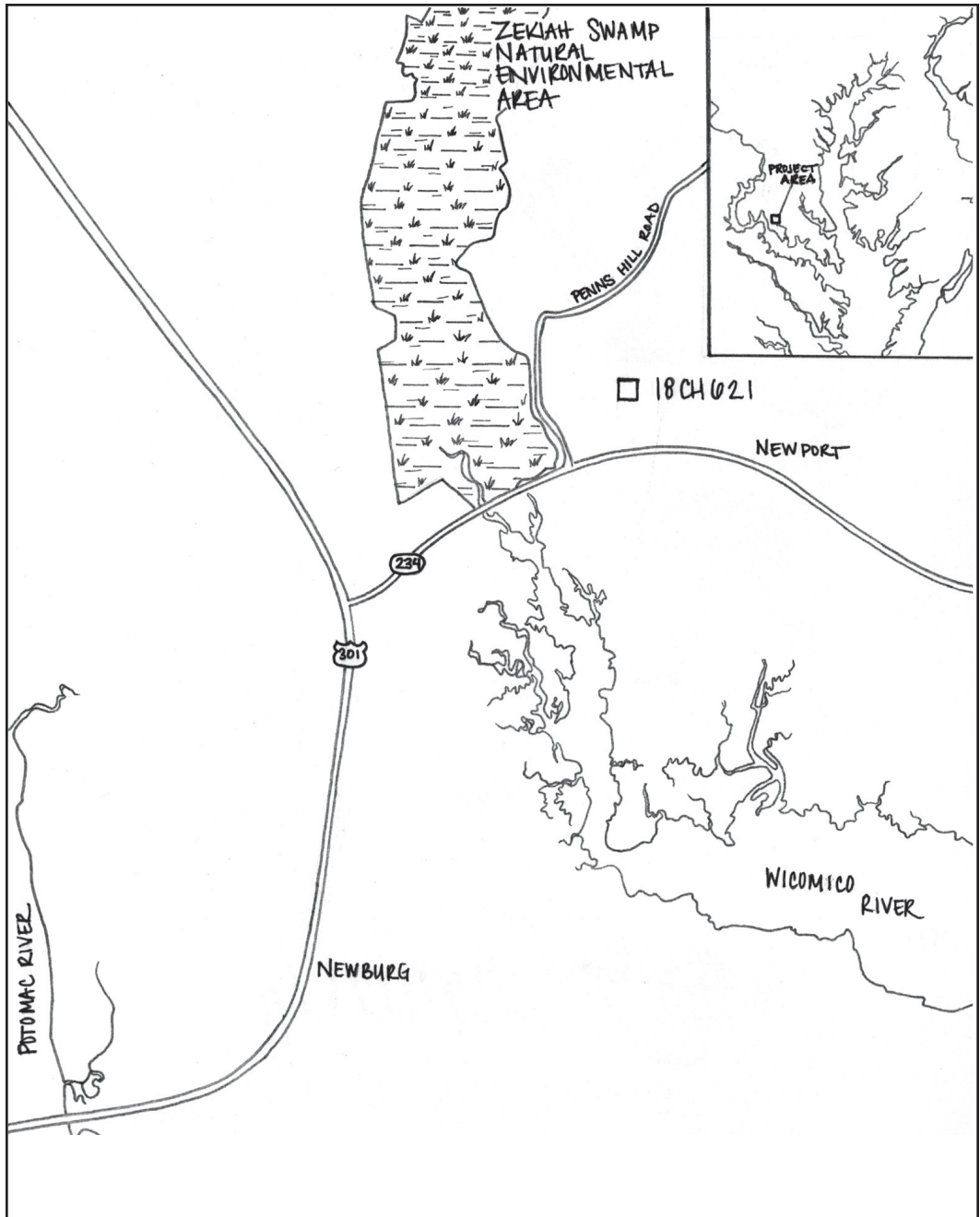


Figure 1. Map of the Chesapeake region showing the location of the Westwood Manor Site (18CH621). (Drawing by Alexandra Glass, Jefferson Patterson Park and Museum.)

Clark's Run in 1674 and remained the seat of county government until 1727 (King, Arnold-Lourie, and Shaffer 2008). Maryland governor Charles Calvert, who became the

third Lord Baltimore, chose the Zekiah Swamp as the location for his summer home and relocated the Piscataway and other Native American groups to his



Figure 2. The house at Westwood Manor may have looked very similar to this late 17th-century illustration of the Charles County Courthouse. Maryland State Archives.

manor during a period of unrest around 1680 (King and Strickland 2009; Flick et al. 2012). Although an attempt in the 1680s to establish a town along the lower reaches of the Wicomico was less successful than hoped, a number of community institutions—public roads, houses of worship, mills, general stores, and a courthouse—had developed in the Zekiah by the end of 17th century (King 2010a: 21–22; Strickland and King 2011), creating a landscape of interconnected people, plantations, and community services.

The House at Westwood Manor (18CH621)

The discovery of one of these plantations (18CH621) in the mid-1990s followed by a recent analysis of its associated artifact assemblage has allowed a look into the social aspirations of the gentry in this region. At the end of the 17th century, wealthy inhabitants of the Zekiah Swamp were living elite lifestyles in which their social and economic standing was readily visible through their homes and furnishings, as well as their clothing and accessories. Awareness of fashion trends gleaned from England and Europe was put to work along the borders of Maryland's Colony in the late 17th century and used by the social

elite as a means to signal its authority and status. This research uses archaeological and documentary data from a late 17th-century site on Maryland's Western Shore, focusing on one particular artifact from the site—a walking stick—to examine how material culture functioned symbolically.

In 1996, the Southern Maryland Regional Center at Jefferson Patterson Park and Museum received a call from a homeowner about a colonial site discovered during modern house construction near Allen's Fresh Run at the head of the Wicomico River (FIG. 1). A field visit by Regional Center staff Julia King and Edward Chaney confirmed what appeared to have been an earthfast structure underlain by a 16 × 20 ft. tile-floored cellar (Chaney 1996). The archaeological and documentary record suggests the house at Westwood Manor (18CH621) was an elite residence, replete with a porch tower, two brick end chimneys, plastered walls, and glazed windows (King 2010) (FIG. 2).

Deed research reveals that this site was part of a 1,600 ac. tract patented by Dr. Thomas Gerard in 1651 (King 2010: 3). This tract, called Westwood Manor, appears on the 1670 Augustine Hermann map of Maryland and Virginia (Hermann 1673). Gerard proved himself to be one of the colony's most-successful land developers, owning over 10,000 ac. of land (Carr, Menard, and Walsh 1991: 5). The house that is the subject of this research was constructed in the late 1670s by Dr. Gerard's son, Thomas Gerard the Younger. Within two years of the younger Gerard's death in 1686, his widow Anne married planter and innkeeper John Bayne (King 2010a: 7–8). The couple resided at Westwood until their deaths; John in 1701 and Anne the following year. Thomas Gerard's nephew gained control of the house, which remained occupied until around 1715 and was then apparently abandoned and forgotten until its rediscovery over 250 years later (King 2010a).

Following the site's initial discovery, the landowners continued, over the next few years, to collect and record artifacts that surfaced through gardening and other ground-disturbing activities. In 2009, Julia King made arrangements with the property owners to have students enrolled in her



Figure 3. This Höhrware jug bears a molded image of British monarch King William III. (Photograph by Julia A. King, St. Mary's College of Maryland.)

Archaeology Practicum class at St. Mary's College of Maryland catalog and analyze the artifact assemblage. The results of their analysis (King 2010a) have provided invaluable context for this research.

The site's artifact collection, recovered from the structure's cellar and a probable trash pit, was quite large and included a full range of material culture associated with Chesapeake domestic sites of the late 17th century. Detailed analysis of the tobacco pipes, wine-bottle glass, and Rhenish stoneware of the site indicates that the assemblage was associated with the 1682 to 1701 occupation of the site by the Bayne household (Bauer and Torres 2010; Franck and Byers; Tolbert and Warrenfeltz 2010).

The assemblage combined with data from the probate inventory completed after Bayne's death established his position as a member of the elite planter class

(Maryland Prerogative Court [MPC] 1703). At the time of his death, Bayne owned nearly 2,500 ac. of land, well above the 200 ac. that were the median holding in St. Mary's County in 1700 (Carr, Menard, and Walsh 1991: 35). His labor force consisted of 24 enslaved laborers and 13 indentured servants, spread out over five separate quarters; his household furnishings, livestock, and labor were valued at £969. His real and personal estate placed Bayne economically within the top tier of the population in Southern Maryland.¹

Visitors to Bayne's home, seated on turkey-work chairs and offered punch from painted bowls or wine in delicately molded stemware, surely could not help but be impressed with the genteel furnishings designed to showcase his education, taste, and wealth: a large looking glass, pictures of King William III and Queen Mary II in gilt frames, chests of drawers, fashionable cane chairs covered in green fabric, a variety of books, silver tankards, tumblers

and spoons, and a pedestal-footed vase manufactured for displaying tulips whose bulbs had to be imported from Holland (King 2010b: 86). In a world where most planters lived in one-or two-room houses without architectural embellishments, Bayne's home and its contents would have seemed very grand indeed.

But Bayne's furnishings spoke of more than his wealth and leisure pursuits, hinting at his political and religious alliances as well. Bayne was a burgess in the Maryland Assembly and a member of the Church of England (Warner 2010). A number of the Rhenish stoneware vessels from the site were molded with the initials of William III, the British monarch who ruled between 1689 and 1702. Particularly striking was a magnificent

1. See Robert Cole's *World: Agriculture and Society in Early Maryland* by Lois Carr, Russell Menard and Lorena Walsh (1991: 21–28) for a discussion of economic and social stratification in Charles County in the 1660s and 1670s.



Figure 4. The ivory and silver piquework walking stick handle from Westwood Manor. (Photograph by Julia A. King, St. Mary's College of Maryland.)

Höhrware jug that bears a likeness of the king (FIG. 3). This jug no doubt served as a display piece in one of the public rooms of his home and was a complement to the framed likenesses of William and Mary. Bayne, a Protestant, seems to have taken pains to affirm his loyalty to the Protestant monarch and the Church of England. His declaration took place at a time when the king had supported the overthrow of the Catholic Calvert family's government in Maryland, establishing the Church of England as the official tax-supported church in the colony (King, Arnold-Lourie, and Shaffer 2008;

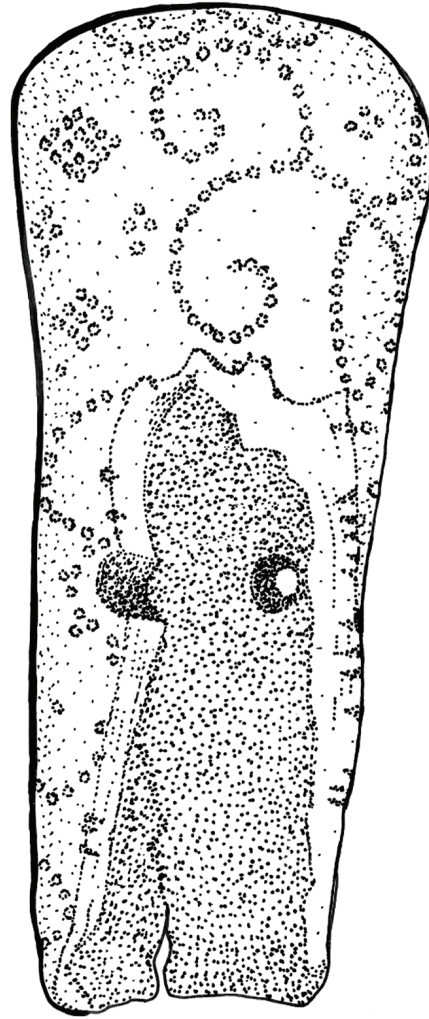


Figure 5. Illustration of walking stick handle from Westwood Manor. (Drawn by Carol Mackie Morris, St. Mary's College of Maryland.)

Tolbert and Warrenfeltz 2010). Non-Catholic leaders from Charles County were instrumental in this 1689 overthrow (Brugger 1988: 39), although whether Bayne was involved is unknown. It is known that the Council of Maryland met at Westwood Manor in late June of 1694, and these William III objects would have been powerful statements of Bayne's alliances to his fellow burgesses, particularly as they hoisted tankards of ale bearing the king's monogram (King 2010b: 85).

Just as John Bayne's household furnishings provide important evidence of his allegiance

and status to guests, equally important in conveying information was his personal appearance. Clothing is about much more than just providing protection, concealment, and comfort to the human form. Clothing serves as an important means of display and representation of individual identity and is a highly personal means of providing that information to the world at large. One object from the excavation provided particularly important insights into the manner in which Bayne constructed his public image.

Walking Sticks

Included in the trash-pit assemblage was a decorated ivory walking-stick handle. The bell-shaped knob was inlaid with hollow silver pins in an elaborate design of overlapping C-scrolls and flowers (FIGS. 4 AND 5). This decorative technique, known as “piqué” or “piqué-work,” was extremely fashionable between the mid-17th century and the early decades of the 18th century (De Vecchi 1994: 23). Surviving dated canes range between 1667 and 1717 (Snyder 1993: 4; Klever 1996: 82), although most seem to cluster in the 1670s to 1690s period. These canes are generally around 3 ft. in length with shafts of exotic foreign woods, like Malaysian rattan, often joined to the knob with a silver collar (FIG. 6).

The Westwood Manor cane included an eyelet hole through which a cord was passed for hanging the cane from the wrist (Snyder 1993: 11). Piquéwork walking sticks were made in France and England; the use of silver rather than gold pins indicates that the Westwood example was of English manufacture (Kadri 2011). Probate inventories of Maryland merchants during this period do not list walking sticks; John Bayne acquired this object either during a trip to England or through a special order with an agent.

In addition to being a beautiful and unusual archaeological find, what does this ivory handle reveal about the culture of the late 17th-century Zekiah frontier? To answer this question, it is necessary to explore the meaning of walking sticks within the larger context of social behavior in the British colonial world. Before the turn of the 15th century, walking sticks served either a purely functional purpose as an aid to



Figure 6. This complete walking stick has an ivory and silver handle, a silver collar, and a Malaysian rattan shaft (Samford 2011).

walking or as a symbol of authority (De Vecchi 1994: 13–15). The transformation of canes into elegant fashion accessories and statements of power and status began in Europe and continued over the next several hundred years. During the reign of Henry VIII in the first half of the 16th century, the English aristocracy carried elaborate walking sticks crafted of rare imported woods and precious metals. This tradition continued into the next century; London diarist Samuel Pepys, chief secretary to the Admiralty under Kings Charles II and James II, was given “a Japan cane, with a silver head” in 1667 (Pepys 1667a). The term “Japan” was used to describe what was most likely a lacquered wooden cane made in imitation of Asian lacquer work. The French aristocracy, too, viewed walking sticks as a necessary accessory during the 17th-century reign of Louis XIV (Snyder 2004: 49).

Such was the symbolic power these objects came to evoke over time that the authorities in some British towns and cities felt compelled to regulate their use. By the beginning of the 18th century, individuals wishing to carry walking sticks were required to purchase a license to do so. This requirement seemed to function in some regard as a luxury tax, since carrying other fashionable accessories, such as snuff-boxes and perfumed handkerchiefs, also required licenses. The public was empowered with the authority to take away the sticks of any user who flailed them about or hung them from a button (Lester, Oerke, and Westermann 1940: 394) suggesting that walking sticks or, at the very least, the behavior of their owners while carrying them was often a source of conflict in public situations. Pepys recorded a 1667 altercation between a playwright and an actor in which one hit the other over the head with a cane in response to being slapped in the face with a glove (Pepys 1667b).

So, did owning a walking stick in late 17th-century Maryland have the same status connotations as in England and Europe? Undoubtedly, road and travel conditions in the Zekiah at the time necessitated the aid of a sturdy walking stick as a planter traveled about his land to survey crops and the laboring workers who tended them. But it is unlikely that an elaborately decorated walking stick would have been used to traverse



Figure 7. A late 17th-century portrait, *Portrait of a Seventeenth Century Gentleman*, by Thomas Smith shows clothing popular in this period. (Photograph by Jeanne Rejaunier.)

muddy roads or ford the numerous streams that bisect the Zekiah landscape. A gentleman of Bayne's standing likely would have done much of his terrestrial travel on horseback, negating most of the need for a functional walking stick. This stick would have been much more at home used as a prop in the social setting of a parlor or a tavern or wielded as its owner made an appearance at the local court or in front of the assembly.

As such, walking sticks can be viewed as an extension of or accessory to an individual's clothing, and the Westwood Manor stick would indeed have been an impressive accessory: the polished white of the ivory knob set with flashing silver pins would have provided a striking contrast to the deep-orange patina of the Malaysian rattan shaft. These walking sticks often were ornamented further with a decorated silver collar that masked the join between the knob and the shaft. Although Bayne's walking stick did not bear a date, the artifact assemblage's date range of 1688 to 1701 indicates that he

acquired it during the period when piquéwork sticks were very much in style in England and France. This fashion accessory, used in combination with stylish clothing in expensive fabrics, wigs, and jewelry, would have confirmed John Bayne as a gentleman to anyone who saw him.

Unfortunately, Bayne's inventory does not list any clothing or clothing accessories; he was traveling in England when he died, and most of his clothing would have been with him there. Thus, an educated guess must be made about his appearance based on the fashion of the time. During the reign of William III (1689–1702), the stylish English gentleman wore coats fitted at the waist with full, flaring skirts and huge cuffs over a slightly shorter waistcoat and close-fitting breeches (Bradfield 1987: 109). A late 17th-century portrait by Thomas Smith depicts a gentleman in what was surely his finest attire: a coat fitting the style popular in the William III period—the garment is lined with chartreuse silk, and both the coat and the waistcoat underneath are adorned with silver buttons (FIG. 7). The signs of his rank and wealth are quite obvious: a gold pin holds his fashionable neck cloth (known as a cravat) in place, and at its base is what appears to be a watch or medal bearing a star-shaped insignia. In his gold-ring-adorned left hand are a pair of leather gloves; his right hand rests on a silver-headed walking stick. It is not too difficult to imagine John Bayne attired in a similar fashion as he entertained guests in his home, visited fellow planters, or hosted the Maryland Assembly.

While paintings are compelling visual references, probate inventories also provide a great resource for comparative data. These court-ordered documents “preserve in some measure a record of how Anglo-Americans perceived and valued artifacts ... [helping] lead us to an understanding of the communicative and symbolic value of artifacts” (Beaudry 1978: 20). Late 17th- and early 18th-century Maryland probate inventories reveal that walking sticks, while not common, were a part of the repertoire of elite planters' possessions. An examination of 200 probate inventories from St. Mary's, Charles, and Calvert counties, dating between 1658 and 1720, revealed 30 individuals owning walking

sticks at the time of their deaths. Five of these individuals owned sticks that were described as having silver heads. Not surprisingly, these men's estates were valued among the wealthiest in the region and included that of Governor Lionel Copley, Major Thomas Beale, Calvert County physician John Pearce, Thomas Watts, and mariner and planter Paul Simpson (Maryland Prerogative Court [MPC] 1658, 1679, 1693, 1713, 1717). John Notley of nearby St. Clements Manor had a painted walking stick with a pewter head—definitely less elegant and costly than the silver-headed sticks, but still considered worthy of a more-detailed description than the generic walking sticks of carpenter Daniel Clocker, constable Thomas Bassett, or Major John Low, among others (MPC 1675, 1676c, 1682, 1701). Only one other individual, Francis Knott, Sr., whose estate was probated in 1705, was described as having an ivory-headed walking stick valued at 6 s. (MPC 1705). Most of the walking sticks in the sampled inventories were valued between 2 and 5 s., with silver-headed canes between 10 s. and £3 sterling.

How would an individual go about acquiring a walking stick in the late 17th-century Maryland Colony? General stores existed, not only in the largest nearby town, St. Mary's City, but also in the Zekiah Swamp drainage. In fact, London merchant John Pryor may have operated a store on Westwood Manor in the early 1680s (King 2010). Generally, these merchants catered to middle-class consumers since the elite classes tended to order directly through their agents in England (Samford 2001). The inventory of merchant Robert Slye—the wealthiest man in Maryland at the time of his death in 1671—listed fashionable accessories such as ivory combs, silk and gimp (i.e., thread) buttons, and women's leather gloves in a variety of colors, but no walking sticks appeared among the store goods (MPC 1671). At other mercantile establishments in St. Mary's County, customers could choose among gold and silver gimp buttons, gimp lace, ribbons, silk stockings, and fringed gloves (MPC 1673, 1676b).

By the second half of the 18th century, walking sticks seemed to have become more common among planters in Virginia and Maryland; the Gunston Hall Plantation Probate Inventory Database yielded 35

inventories of wealthy individuals taken between 1740 and 1774 of which 17 listed walking sticks as a part of the estate's possessions (Gunston Hall 2012). This sample suggests that a greater number of individuals had the means, desire, or ability to acquire these objects. Unlike the previous century, gold-headed canes begin to appear in the inventories; the 1775 inventory of wealthy Maryland planter Thomas Addison showed that he owned a gold-headed cane, and two other planters owned gold canes (MPC 1775). The use of more costly precious metals may have been designed to elevate the status of the owners above that of the larger populace who could now afford walking sticks, albeit those with only silver or brass heads. Other fashionable accessories, such as watches and jewelry, had become more common as well. The increasing appearance of these goods was tied in part to greater access to imported and manufactured goods as a consumer society emerged.

Clothing and Accessories as Symbols of Status

Walking sticks formed just one component of the larger picture of themselves Maryland elites presented to their fellow citizens in the late 17th century. Clothing formed the primary canvas, so to speak, upon which accessories such as hats, wigs, jewelry, walking sticks, snuffboxes, and the like were displayed. Since there is no evidence of clothing from Bayne's inventory, the limited evidence in the probate inventories of his gentry contemporaries forms a basis for extrapolation. The standard attire for gentlemen consisted of a linen shirt, breeches, waistcoat, coat, stockings, and a cravat (Calvert 1994: 261). Since the garment types were standardized, the cut of the garment, along with the fabrics, buttons, ribbons, lace, and ruffles were what served to distinguish an individual from his fellow planters. Planter John Notley was listed as owning a "silck Crevat with silver lace" valued at 10 lb. of tobacco (MPC 1675). Merchant Michael Rochford's "Camlett coate and Breeches ... silks Wastcoate ... Stockings and garters," valued at 1,000 lb. of tobacco in 1678, were described as "all very fashionable" (MPC 1678). Completing the array of stylish clothing

was a silk waistcoat, 4 fine Holland shirts, 15 pairs of hose, crystal coat buttons, 10 yd. of silk and silver ribbon, and 4 gold rings. Rochford, who had arrived from Ireland four or five years before his death in 1678, had clearly chosen his wardrobe to impress. St. Mary's City innkeeper John Baker owned two pair of summer breeches made from high quality Holland linen, as well as a striped dimity (fine-ribbed cotton) waistcoat, and a laced cravat and laced ruffles for either his sleeves or shirtfront (MPC 1687). William Lowry's silk breeches were worn with a camlet coat lined with a blue fabric and set off with lace ruffles (MPC 1699).

Other trappings that framed primary clothing items—head and foot coverings—were important as status indicators as well but do not appear with frequency or detail in Maryland inventories. Wigs became fashionable for men at the British royal court in the 1660s (Condra 2008) after they were introduced from France by Charles II. They began to be popular in the American colonies at the beginning of the 18th century and remained a status item not available to most levels of society there until the mid-18th century (Calvert 1994: 263; Colonial Williamsburg Foundation 2011). Wigs were unusual in the early Maryland probates, only appearing in three of the sampled inventories. Governor Lionel Copley owned three wigs—each in a different style—at his death in 1693 (MPC 1693). One was a periwig—which has been described as "a fat mass of curls falling over the shoulders and down the back ... large, heavy, and expensive ... requiring more than ten heads of human hair" (Condra 2008).

These wigs gave rise to the term "bigwig," a less-than-endearing appellation that emerged to refer to the rich and powerful. The earliest wig was a periwig seen in the 1669 estate inventory of George Blackistone (MPC 1669). St. Mary's County innkeeper James Harper owned two "campaigne" wigs—a shorter, close-fitting style of wig just beginning to become fashionable at the time of his death in 1690s (MPC 1696). But, overall, it appears that wearing wigs was not customary in 17th-century Maryland, even among the gentry, although wigs were later to become one of the most-formal manifestations of the new social order (Calvert 1994: 263).

Status footwear is more difficult to identify from inventories of this period since most footwear is described simply as men's or women's shoes. A type of boot known as a French fall seemed to have been particularly favored by gentry planters in the 1660s and 1670s; many men owned several pairs, while attorney Thomas Dent's inventory listed an astonishing 13 pairs (MPC 1676a). These boots, so named for the perceived extravagance of the French, had excessively wide tops, using far more leather than necessary for an adequate boot (Rivers-Cofield 2010). Many aspects of French fashion, including this boot style, were adopted by Charles II (1630–1685) and brought back to England in 1660 after the Restoration.

While some accessories to embellish clothing—such as gold and silver gimp buttons, gimp lace, and fringed gloves—could be purchased at local stores, expensive fabrics had to be ordered from England as a special purchase (MPC 1676b). Stores generally stocked only coarser fabrics used for household needs and for constructing laborers' clothing. Maryland gentry viewed England as a cultural touchstone and depended on agents there to keep them abreast of and supplied with the latest fashions in clothing styles, fabrics, and accessories.

Conclusions

Bayne's occupation at Westwood Manor spanned a critical period in Maryland's history. The proprietary government headed by the Catholic Calvert family had just been replaced by a Protestant-led government, and the fluid social structure that characterized the third quarter of the 17th century had begun to solidify into a society characterized by greater social and economic inequality (Carr, Menard, and Walsh 1991). Documentary and archaeological research demonstrate that Chesapeake planters were purchasing household furnishings and goods that brought them comfort and status by the end of the 17th century (Pogue 1997; King and Chaney 2004; Levy, Coombs, and Muraca 2005), well ahead of the consumer revolution of the second quarter of the 18th century discussed by Carr and Walsh (1994). Middling planters owned the same types of furnishings as their wealthier counterparts, but the wealthy lived in houses

that were larger and more-substantially constructed and appointed (King and Chaney 2004). Research by Lois Carr, Lorena Walsh, and Dennis Pogue has shown that for most of the second half of the 17th century the gentry did not have markedly different material possessions from ordinary planters; they just had greater quantities of the same items (Carr and Walsh 1994; Pogue 1997: 264). This situation had changed by the end of the century, as men like John Bayne and his gentry contemporaries sought to distinguish themselves and the changing class structure through their personal possessions. Although part of a frontier society, Bayne and his contemporaries were eager to demonstrate that they were men with knowledge and access to the larger world. Bayne's walking stick, an unusual sight in late 17th-century Maryland, would have set Bayne apart from the crowd, one of an array of material possessions that he used to assert his position in the new class and political structure of the Maryland Colony.

Acknowledgements

The author would like to thank the following individuals and institutions for their assistance with the preparation of this article: Dr. Julia King at St. Mary's College of Maryland and the students enrolled in her Archaeology Practicum Class were the moving force behind this project and this article came about as a result of their work. Edward Chaney, Sharon Raftery and Sara Rivers-Cofield, all at the MAC Lab, provided comments, wisdom, and technical support. Alexandra Glass at the MAC Lab prepared the site map. Jefferson Patterson Park and Museum volunteer Dallas Bolen looked at 18th-century inventories for references to walking sticks. Silas Hurry at Historic St. Mary's City allowed me to use Lois Carr's transcriptions of St. Mary's and Calvert County inventories. Carol Mackie Morris of St. Mary's College of Maryland graciously allowed me to use an illustration of the cane handle that she prepared for an archaeological illustration class. My thanks to James R. Tarrant for letting me use the transcription of the John and Ann Bayne inventory in the preparation of this article, to Jeanne Rejaunier for use of the image of the Thomas Smith painting, to the Maryland State Archives for use of the image of the Charles County Courthouse, and to Sandra and Phillip Harrison for allowing access to the collection.

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Author Information

Patricia Samford is the Director of the Maryland Archaeological Conservation Laboratory at Jefferson Patterson Park and Museum, which is a part of the Maryland Historical Trust. She also teaches at St. Mary's College of Maryland.

Patricia Samford
 Maryland Archaeological Conservation
 Laboratory
 Jefferson Patterson Park and Museum
 10515 Mackall Road
 St. Leonard, Maryland 20685