

2014

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Recommended Citation

Veit, Richard and Huey, Paul R. (2014) “New Bottles Made with My Crest”: Colonial Bottle Seals from Eastern North America, a Gazetteer and Interpretation," *Northeast Historical Archaeology*: Vol. 43 43, Article 4.
<https://doi.org/10.22191/neha/vol43/iss1/4> Available at: <http://orb.binghamton.edu/neha/vol43/iss1/4>

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“New Bottles Made with My Crest”: Colonial Bottle Seals from Eastern North America, a Gazetteer and Interpretation

Richard Veit and Paul R. Huey

Bottle seals or crests are one of the more intriguing categories of artifacts recovered from historic archaeological sites. These small blobs of glass were applied to the necks or shoulders of bottles. They were embossed with initials, shields, and other insignia. They bear dates, as well as the initials and names of individuals and families, taverns, vineyards, schools, retailers, and military units. Archaeologists seriating blown glass bottles from colonial sites in North America have employed them as important dating tools. They have also been interpreted as status markers. This paper provides a gazetteer of bottles with seals from eastern North America. It also argues that private seals, bottle seals employed by individuals rather than organizations, served as indicators of economic, social, and cultural capital in early America. They provide insights into various aspects of colonial culture, including the creation and maintenance of male identities, membership in elite groups, and knowledge of proper etiquette. Furthermore, the geographic disparities in their distribution serve to highlight the development of distinctive regional cultures. These simple seals provide a window into lifeways in colonial America and the aspirations, behaviors, and connections between the owners of vintages consumed long ago.

Les sceaux et armoiries marquant des bouteilles sont parmi les catégories d'artéfacts les plus intrigantes qu'on puisse mettre au jour sur un site archéologique de la période historique. Ces petites pastilles de verre étaient appliquées sur le col ou l'épaule d'une bouteille. Des initiales, des écussons ou d'autres insignes étaient embossés sur ces pastilles. Elles portent des dates ainsi que les initiales ou les noms d'individus ou de familles, de tavernes, de vignobles, d'écoles, de détaillants ou d'unités militaires. Les archéologues appliquant des méthodes de sériation pour les bouteilles en verre soufflé mis au jour sur des sites coloniaux de l'Amérique du nord considèrent ces artéfacts comme des outils importants pour la datation. Les sceaux et armoiries ont aussi été interprétés comme étant un indicateur de statut social. Cet article présente un répertoire de bouteilles ornées de sceaux provenant de l'est de l'Amérique du nord. Cet article soutient aussi que les sceaux d'origine privée, c'est-à-dire ceux associés à des individus et non à des organismes, constituaient un indicateur de capital économique, social et culturel en Amérique à l'époque. Ces artéfacts donnent un aperçu de multiples aspects de la culture coloniale, incluant l'importance de créer et conserver l'identité masculine, d'adhérer à des groupes fréquentés par l'élite, et de connaître l'étiquette. De plus, la distribution géographique inégale des artéfacts souligne le développement de cultures régionales distinctes. Ces simples sceaux offrent un regard sur les habitudes de vie à l'époque de l'Amérique coloniale. Ils nous permettent aussi d'en connaître davantage sur les aspirations, les comportements et les connections des propriétaires de ces bouteilles consommées il y a de cela très longtemps.

Foreword

In 2008, Dean Wilson, a realtor from Chatham, New Jersey, donated a sizable collection of colonial artifacts to Monmouth University's Department of History and Anthropology, where Richard Veit, one of the coauthors of this article, teaches. Wilson wanted them to serve as a study collection. His father, Bill Wilson, an oil company executive and avocational archaeologist, had collected the artifacts from back-dirt piles during the construction of the World Trade Center. Included in this collection was a carefully reconstructed bottle bearing the seal of Peter Vallete and the date 1732 (FIG. 1). Vallete was identified in Bill

Wilson's notes as a wine merchant of Jamaica and New York. A second bottle seal embossed "I. Henderson 1733" was also present in the Wilson collection (FIG. 2). Mr. Henderson was unidentified.

A few years later, in 2010, architect Bill Pavlovsky asked Veit and his students at Monmouth University to help him analyze a large collection of artifacts that he had unearthed as a young man in Perth Amboy, New Jersey. Pavlovsky, formerly a student of the late Norman Barka at the College of William and Mary, had excavated a rich, late 17th- and early 18th-century site known as the Clark-Watson site. This collection of several



Figure 1. Reconstructed bottle bearing the seal of Peter Vallete, a wine merchant of Jamaica and New York. Found in Lower Manhattan ca. 1972 by Dean Wilson. (Collection of Monmouth University; photo by Richard Veit, 2015.)

thousand artifacts contained a single bottle seal. It bore the mark: GM.

Then, two summers ago, in 2013, Michael Gall and Richard Veit directed Monmouth University's annual field school in historical archaeology. The field school was held at a once-grand Delaware Valley estate in Fieldsboro, New Jersey, known as White Hill Mansion. Here, too, a bottle seal was found. Though fragmentary, it was embossed: ..54, presumably 1754. At that point it seemed that the bottle seals were calling out for attention and study. Just a bit of research revealed that

Paul Huey, inspired by finds at Clermont State Historic Site and beneath State Street in Albany, New York, had already begun a similar project. Paul and I decided to collaborate. This article is the result of our collaboration.

Introduction

Bottle seals or crests are among the more intriguing artifacts recovered from historical archaeological sites. Small blobs of glass, applied to the necks or shoulders of bottles, they were embossed with initials, shields, and other insignia. These seals bear dates, as well as initials and names. Some are private seals for individuals and families. Others were made for commercial operations, such as taverns, spas, and vineyards. Some glassworks even marked their wares. Institutions and organizations, including schools, dispensaries, and religious organizations, employed marked bottles. Archaeologists and collectors have used them as a tool to seriate hand-blown glass bottles (Leeds 1941; Hudson 1961; Noël Hume 1961; Davis 1972; Van den Bossche 2001: 30–31). Indeed, according to Olive Jones, sealed wine bottles were the “earliest English made bottles to be collected and studied in detail” (Jones 2010: 146). Sealed bottles have often been interpreted as status markers (Horna 2005; A. Smith 2007) and are also associated with mannerly behavior (Goodwin 1999: 133–140) and personal identity (White and Beaudry 2009:

218–219). They also indicated ownership and may have served to deter would-be bottle thieves (Buckley 1931: 191). Finally, when employed by vineyards and taverns, they could serve as advertisements (Wicks 1998: 3).

This article provides a preliminary catalog of archaeologically recovered bottle seals from northeastern North America and argues that private bottle seals, the type employed by individuals, served not only as indicators of economic capital, but also as indices of social and cultural capital reflecting membership in elite, often male, groups and knowledge of



Figure 2. Bottle seal of J. Henderson, found in Lower Manhattan ca. 1972 by Dean Wilson. (Collection of Monmouth University; photo by Richard Veit, 2014.)

proper etiquette and behavior. These simple seals provide archaeologists with a window into life in colonial America and the aspirations and behaviors of, and connections between the owners of sealed bottles. The seals also provide insights into the regional cultures that were once present in colonial America.

This paper focuses on bottle seals from the northeastern United States and adjacent portions of Canada (FIG. 3). Published sources and, where possible, cultural resource management (CRM) reports from the states of Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Vermont, Maine, and the Canadian provinces of Labrador and Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Ontario, Prince Edward Island, and Quebec were all examined. A handful of bottle seals from other states, including South Carolina and Michigan, are also noted. Historical archaeologists working throughout the Northeast were queried regarding their finds.

All the resulting information was compiled in a single database for ease of organization (APPENDIX). A total of 651 seals were identified. More certainly exist. Bottles in museum collections, other than those from archaeological assemblages, were generally not included in this spreadsheet, as many lack clear provenience information. Given the large number of seals from Maryland and Virginia, we do not believe that our list of seals is comprehensive; however, we do believe that it is substantial enough to begin drawing broader conclusions about the seals' meanings and uses.

Bottle seals have long been of interest to bottle collectors (Ruggles-Brise 1949; Morgan 1976; Dumbrell 1985; Palmer 1993: 18; Hanrahan 1994; Morcom 2013a, 2013b) and historical archaeologists (Cotter and Hudson 1957; Hudson 1961; Noël Hume 1961, 1969a, 1969b, 1969c; Wicks 1998; Roviello 2001; A. Smith 2007; Biddle 2013). Most

researchers have been content to focus on cataloging and describing the seals, rather than interpreting their distribution and meanings. Although our research is ongoing, and bottle seal data continue to trickle in, it is argued that bottle seals are useful not just for what they can tell about bottle manufacturing chronology and ownership, but particularly for what they reveal about status and sociability, especially among elite men, in colonial America.

History of Bottle Seals

Glass bottles were among the many types of containers used to hold alcoholic beverages during the colonial period. Although bottles became more common over time, in the 17th century glass was expensive, and bottles were rare. Ceramic vessels, as well as wooden containers produced by coopers were much more common. Large earthenware storage jars, the descendants of Greek and Roman amphorae, sometimes called Iberian storage jars because they were produced in Spain and Portugal,

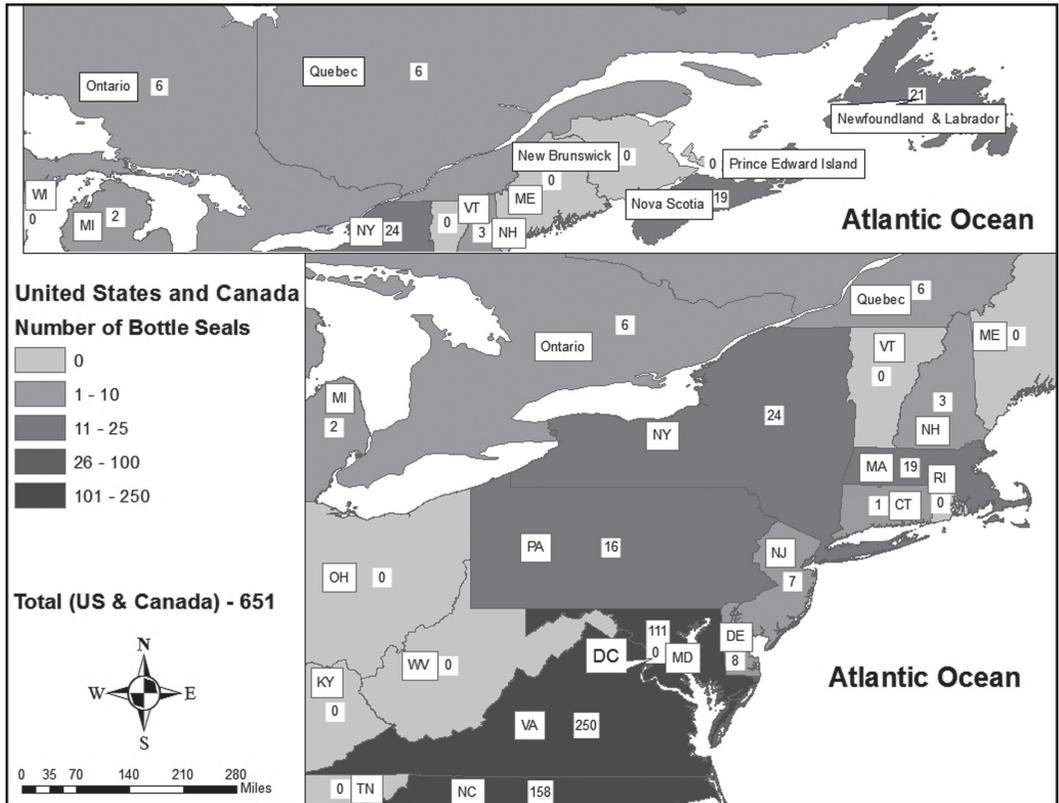


Figure 3. Map showing study area and states/provinces, with the number of bottle seals recovered from each. (Map by Evan Mydlowski, 2015.)

were used to hold a wide variety of contents (Smith 2008: 7). Similar earthenware vessels were also produced in Latin America and have been documented in Peru and elsewhere (Smith 2008: 10). In the German states and Great Britain, stoneware vessels, such as the famous *Bartmann Krüge*, were commonly used to hold alcoholic beverages (Smith 2008: 11). Case bottles and round-bottomed glass vessels covered in wicker or leather were also in common use before the early 18th century (Biddle 2013: 119). The invention of thicker-walled glass bottles in the mid-seventeenth century (Jones 1986: 11; Biddle 2013: 12) led to a container revolution that spanned the Atlantic World. These new bottles, first produced in Europe, were soon being blown in American glassworks. However, many of these glassworks were short-lived and their production limited. There were several advantages to these new bottles. The dark green bottles,

colored by iron oxides in the glass sand, did not leak, provided they had good closures. They protected beverages from contamination and degradation, and the dark color of the glass prevented light from oxidizing the vessels' contents (Hancock 2009: 367); moreover, the bottles were relatively thick and durable (Jones 1986: 11). Finally, they could be produced in a bewildering variety of forms. Beside the well-known onion, mallet, short-cylinder, and case bottles there were numerous other styles (Van den Bossche 2001; Jones 2010: 117). However, bottle form is not the focus of this study, bottle seals are.

Glass manufacturing was one of the first industries established in North America. The Jamestown colonists established a short-lived glassworks, and later colonists in New York, Philadelphia, and New England all attempted the manufacture of glass (McKearin and McKearin 1966; McKearin and Wilson 1978: 26–185). However, the Wistar glassworks in Salem County,

New Jersey, begun by German émigré Caspar Wistar in 1739, is generally considered the first successful American glassworks. Wistar appears to have produced bottles with seals, and although none were recovered by Hunter Research in recent excavations at the glassworks site, several are known from museum collections (Pepper 1971; Tvaryanas and Liebeknecht 2014). Other northeastern glassworks also produced bottles with seals, examples of which still survive (Starbuck 1986).

During the century and a half between 1650 and 1800 bottles underwent an evolution from a globular base with a tall shaft to a squat or mallet form, and finally to a more nearly cylindrical, taller form (McKearin and Wilson 1978: 186–189; Hancock 2009: 367). Cylindrical bottles were easier to handle and could be stored on their sides, which helped keep their corks wet and in place. String rims, thin strips of glass below a bottle's lip, lived up to their name and allowed strings or wires to anchor corks in bottles. For domestic storage of wine, bottles were generally preferable to casks. As Anthony Smith has noted: "[O]nce a large cask was opened it allowed the introduction of air, the enemy of all good wines, into the equation" (Smith 2007: 173); moreover, bottles were easy to store and also portable.

The earliest known bottle seals date from the 1630s (Smith 2007: 172); however, marked glass bottles are much older. In fact, the first documented bottle marked with an owner's name dates from the 1st century A.D. (Toulouse 1971: 8). By the 1630s, patents had been secured in England for stamped or marked bottles. John Colnett and his employer Sir Kenelm Digby both claimed the invention (Toulouse 1971: 8). However, it is not clear that the patent was for the type of seal discussed here. According to Noël Hume, "the earliest seals seem to have been made either for gentlemen or for taverns, but by the late seventeenth century all sorts of people had their own sealed bottles and the practice continued into the early nineteenth century" (Noël Hume 1969a: 61). Some researchers have argued that the use of bottle seals expanded beyond the upper class as the 18th century wore on (Horna 2005). Although this is likely true, most bottles were not sealed (Biddle 2013: 120), and very few were dated.

In 1636 an act was passed forbidding the sale of wine by the bottle. According to Roger Dumbrell:

The Act ... led to an immediate increase in the private use of the wine bottle and, what is even more important, it was fundamental in introducing the practice of 'sealing' one's bottles for, with so many bottles arriving at the vintner's for filling, it was an obvious precaution to have them marked (Dumbrell 1985: 19).

Taverns also regularly marked their bottles (Leeds 1941: 44).

Historical records indicate that some households ordered large numbers of bottles, though references to sealed or, as they were then called, "marked" bottles are infrequent (Dumbrell 1985: 19). That they were valued by their owners is clear from historical references. Samuel Pepys, the famous diarist, noted in 1663 that he had been delighted to watch "his newly-made sealed bottles filled with wine, about five or six dozen" (Dumbrell 1985: 20). Indeed, during London's Great Fire, he took pains to bury the bottled wine in his garden and was able to retrieve the bottles intact after the fire (Dumbrell 1985: 20).

Most seals were made for individual men, though some were for married couples, and at least one for a woman is known (Silas Hurry 2015, pers. comm.). In addition to initials, they sometimes bear dates and other symbols. These dates would have been useful for drinkers interested in special vintages. Moreover, sealed and dated bottles may have commemorated important events in the lives of individuals or couples (Smith 2007: 172).

Personal seals seem to have faded from popular use by the end of the 18th century, though some vineyards and bottlers continued to employ bottle seals. These later seals that bear corporate rather than individual monikers are known as commercial seals. They were used for Madeira and other specialty wines, as well as non-alcoholic liquids, including olive oil. Interestingly, the use of paper labels and the employment of bottle seals do not seem to have been mutually exclusive, and bottles with both seals and original paper labels are found in museum collections (FIG. 4). Well into the 19th century the British military continued to use bottle seals on its bottles, including those containing lime juice



Figure 4. A 19th-century Madeira bottle with a glass seal and a paper label, from the collections of Liberty Hall Museum, Kean University, Union, New Jersey. (Photo by Richard Veit, 2014.)

to treat scurvy. Some of these bottles are marked with the broad arrow used to mark the property of the British government. But, generally speaking, by the 19th century bottle seals were becoming uncommon. However, even today, select brands of wine and spirits occasionally employ bottle seals, and one brand of bourbon, Maker's Mark, employs a replica seal as part of its logo.

Seal Production

The manufacture of bottle seals was quite simple. It involved heating a small gather of glass that was then pressed to the bottle and stamped with letters, a date, an image, or a name while still hot and semi-viscous. The stamp or dies so employed were apparently engraved in brass or in some cases made from fired clay (Ashurst 1987: 202; Van den Bossche 2001: 380–381). Indeed, some dies for making seals still survive (Biddle 2013: 121). Noël Hume provides a detailed description, stating that:

single-letter stamps [could be] mounted in a wooden handle in any combination that the purchaser desired. ... The majority of the resulting seals bear only two initials, but on rare occasions three were used to indicate family ownership. ... It was a style in general use in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries but which died out in the eighteenth. (Noël Hume 1969a: 61) (FIG. 5)

Noël Hume also notes that “[t]he use of single-letter matrices suggest a 17th-century date for the bottles’ manufacture” (Noël Hume 1961: 38). Biddle (2013: 120) goes farther and states that separate matrix seals date from the 1650s. Sometimes letters were set in a type case, similar to that employed by printers, a technique that allowed distinctive initialed seals to be produced for different customers (Toulouse 1971: 9; Jennings 2014: 97). In quality the seals range from neatly produced to rather crude, reflecting the skill and attention of the die engravers (FIG. 6).

Previous Studies

Glass bottle seals, as historical artifacts that can sometimes be associated with known individuals, have seen considerable study (Leeds 1941; Ruggles-Brise 1949; Hudson 1961; Noël Hume 1961; Roviello 2001). Most of these



Figure 5. This bottle seal from the Angelica Knoll site in Calvert County shows the initials CP, possibly made for Cosmo Parsons. The seal was stamped with two single dies or matrixes, and represents what is sometimes called a single-letter seal. (Collections of the Maryland Archaeological Conservation Laboratory; photo by Caitlin Schaffer, 2014.)

studies have focused on cataloging individual bottle seals found in particular geographic locales (Leeds 1941; Banks 1997). Indeed, from an archaeological perspective, sealed bottles are very useful for dating contexts and for tracking trade networks. Others researchers have looked at seals as a tool for seriating glass bottle forms (Noël Hume 1969a: 60; Biddle 2013). A few have examined the social factors that influenced bottle seals (Pope 2004; Hancock 2009: 369; White and Beaudry 2009: 218–219).

Research Methods

The present authors have identified 651 bottle seals in archaeological collections (FIG. 3). This was done through a review of published archaeological reports and online sources, as well as through outreach to archaeologists active in the Northeast (APPENDIX). Many states had very few examples. Maine, Vermont, and Rhode Island reported none. Others, such as Virginia with 250, North Carolina with 158, and Maryland with 109, had enormous numbers (TAB. 1). A substantial number of the seals from New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey come from urban areas, such as New York City, Philadelphia, Elizabeth, and Perth Amboy.

Excavations at Ferryland in Newfoundland have also yielded a large number of bottle seals (Wicks 1998). A modest number are known from other sites in Canada (Hanrahan 1994). We suspect that many seals, especially those from Virginia and Maryland, have escaped our inquiries. Nevertheless, the current sample is sufficient to begin interpreting the data.

The seals show an interesting date distribution. Although bottles with seals were present from the early 17th century to the 19th century, the earliest seal with an engraved date that we recorded is for John Custis and is dated 1695. The latest dated example from the study area is from 1798. Sealed bottles have, however, come out of much earlier contexts, especially in Virginia and Maryland, and, of course, marked bottles continued to be used well past the 18th century. In the period after the American Revolution, personal seals, bearing the names or monograms of individuals, became less common and were replaced by seals associated with vineyards and bottlers.

Who Used Sealed Bottles?

Although the primary focus of this study is on bottle seals employed by individuals and the insights those seals can provide into the creation and maintenance of identities, especially male identities, in early America and the broader Atlantic World, it is worth remembering that bottle seals served many purposes. Some were commercial seals, employed by taverns as a mark of ownership to show that the wine had been paid for (Banks 1997). Like modern bottles with a refundable deposit or the milk bottles of the postwar period, they were meant to be returned. But some were not. For instance, an early London tavern bottle was unearthed in Virginia (Noël Hume 1969c: 61).

In some cases bottles were owned by businesses other than taverns, for instance, those from mineral springs, such as Pymont Spa waters (Noël Hume 1961, 1969c; Jones 2010: 141). Some marked bottles, including Pouhon

Spa bottles, were flattened and ovoid in form (Van den Bossche 2001: 187). Vineyards also used seals to indicate and market their products, and organizations, such as colleges, infirmaries (Jones 2010: 117), and the military, marked their bottles, presumably because they were considered property of the group. The latter might be considered institutional bottles. Most served secular purposes, but some seals, such as the “L+I” above “D” or “Laus Jesus Deo” seal from the chapel site at St. Mary’s City served a sacred purpose.

Private sealed bottles, the type made for and used by individuals, were employed within a particular social stratum of colonial society. Individuals who purchased bottles were planters, merchants, tavern owners, governors, occasionally religious figures, and, in Newfoundland especially, ship owners. In writing about seals from Fairfield Plantation in Virginia, Anthony Smith (2007: 172) noted that:

[o]f the wine bottle seals that can be attributed to individuals, not one is identifiable as a working-class person, a middling planter, or an individual woman, although wives were occasionally included on their husband’s seals. All identifiable seals were attributed to one class of person: wealthy, influential planters and merchants operating in the elite social and economic spheres.

It is also noteworthy that some of the bottle seals resemble the marks used to identify wares consigned to certain Virginia planters by their London factors.

Most individuals are represented by only a single seal found at a site, but some have dozens or more, presumably reflecting well-stocked wine cellars with personalized bottles. A particularly rich site was Maren Duvall’s Maryland plantation (Doepkins 1991). Writing



Figure 6. Edward Cathrall bottle seal recovered from the National Constitution Center site in Philadelphia. This seal is a fine example of a well-made bottle seal. It dates from 1750. (Courtesy of the National Park Service; photo by Jed Levin, 2014.)

about the seals from the site, David Hancock (2009: 370) notes that:

[m]ost commonly, a seal denoted ownership by a gentleman, merchant, or innkeeper, as it did for Maren Duvall, whose Maryland plantation’s excavation revealed some thirty-two seals, fourteen of which bore his initials, four more than those of the planter who married his widow, eight more than those of his neighbors, and seven more than those of area merchants.

Seals also highlight trade and social networks. Some seals are associated with noteworthy individuals or have been found in curious contexts leading to more in-depth discussions. For instance, Ivor Noël Hume has written about a defaced bottle seal found in excavations at the home of John Custis in Williamsburg, Virginia. He attributes this to the vindictive personality of Mr. Custis’s daughter-in-law, Martha, who later married George Washington (Noël Hume 1996: 30). Noël Hume argues that Martha scratched out the initials of her despised former father-in-law,

Table 1. Bottle Seals by State and Province

Location	Number of seals
Connecticut	1
Delaware	8
Maryland	111
Massachusetts	19
Michigan	2
New Hampshire	3
New Jersey	7
New York	24
North Carolina	158
Pennsylvania	16
Virginia	250
Newfoundland and Labrador	21
Nova Scotia	19
Ontario	6
Quebec	6
Total	651

Note: Only states and provinces with seals are listed.

a form of what the Romans called *damnatio memoriae*, or damnation of memory, erasing someone's name as if the person had never existed.

Dayton Staats, an avocational archaeologist in New Jersey, unearthed an early sealed bottle at the contact period Miller Field site near the Delaware Water Gap. This bottle is noteworthy because it bears the seal of the Plumsted family (Staats 1987). Clement Plumsted was an East Jersey proprietor who also served as mayor of Philadelphia. Other marked bottles have been recovered from colonial period Native American sites in the Northeast. One even bears an image of a small distilling apparatus, a less-than-subtle statement regarding its contents (Kent 1993: 226) (FIG. 7).

Another fascinating marked bottle, this one from New York City, bears the armorial seal of Benjamin Fletcher, who was the royal governor of New York from 1692 to 1697. Fletcher was recalled to England on suspicion of colluding with pirates, and several years later a number of influential men of the city

petitioned to have his coat of arms removed from his pew at Trinity Church and in the fort because he was not entitled to bear arms, being of "low birth" (Bennett 1909: 203) (FIG. 8). Regardless of the questions related to his parentage and his association with questionable characters, he seems to have been wealthy enough to afford bottles bearing his seal.

It is not uncommon for bottles to bear the marks of merchants, vintners, and vineyards. A particularly good illustration of the breadth of the Atlantic economy in the late 18th century is a bottle seal from the Constantia vineyard in South Africa, still in operation today, recovered from the shipwreck of the *Severn* off Lewes, Delaware (Griffith and Fithian 2014: 180) (FIG. 9). Other intriguing finds from Delaware include distinctive cylindrical bottles marked: GR. These held "rob," a lemon-juice extract used as an antiscorbutic in the Royal Navy (FIG. 10). They were recovered from the shipwreck of the *DeBraak*, ca. 1798. The "GR" denotes government ownership, and these bottles would have been issued as a part of the vessel's medical stores, used by the surgeon and surgeon's mates (Charles Fithian 2012, pers. comm.). The *DeBraak* also yielded wine bottles marked: Marine Mess, perhaps a



Figure 7. Distilling apparatus on a bottle seal recovered from the Strickler site (36La3). (Photo courtesy of the William Penn Museum, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.)



Figure 8. A bottle seal from the South Ferry site in Manhattan bearing Governor Benjamin Fletcher's seal. Fletcher was a controversial governor of New York, who may have consorted with pirates. (Photo courtesy of Meta Janowitz.)

reflection of the fact that the marines generally messed or dined separately from the sailors (Charles Fithian 2012, pers. comm.). Similarly, dispensaries and hospitals had their own marked bottles that showed the ownership of the corporate entity (George 1965: 50–53; Dumbrell 1985: 321).

Interpretations

So, what do these monogrammed bottles mean? Clearly, they are useful dating tools providing absolute dates for the contexts from which they are recovered. However, it should be noted that wines, especially fine vintages, were often aged, so a bottle may not have been opened until years after it was sealed. Bottles were also reused repeatedly, so the date on a seal reflects when the bottle was made, not when it was deposited (Jones 2010: 115).

Seals also served to establish ownership—who owned a particular bottle. They may also have provided a measure of security, since one presumably knew the volume of one's own bottles, and the seals may have served as a disincentive for theft and resale (Hancock 2009: 371). They also reflect literacy and identity (Cook 1995). At the same time, they indicate the owner's socioeconomic status. As Hancock notes: "[S]eals signaled the owner's means to buy the labels and bottles, and might imply that he or she had a supplier, cellar, or bins" (Hancock 2009: 370). Historical references indicate that a dozen unmarked bottles cost 3s. 6d. in 1671, while a dozen marked bottles cost 5s. (Ruggles-Brise 1949: 27). Although costs varied, sealed bottles were, unsurprisingly, always more expensive than bottles without



Figure 9. CONSTANTIA WYN, the seal of the Constantia vineyards in South Africa, recovered off Lewes, Delaware, from the ship *Severn*. (Courtesy of Dan Griffith and the Delaware Division of Historical and Cultural Affairs; drawing by Sharyn Murray.)

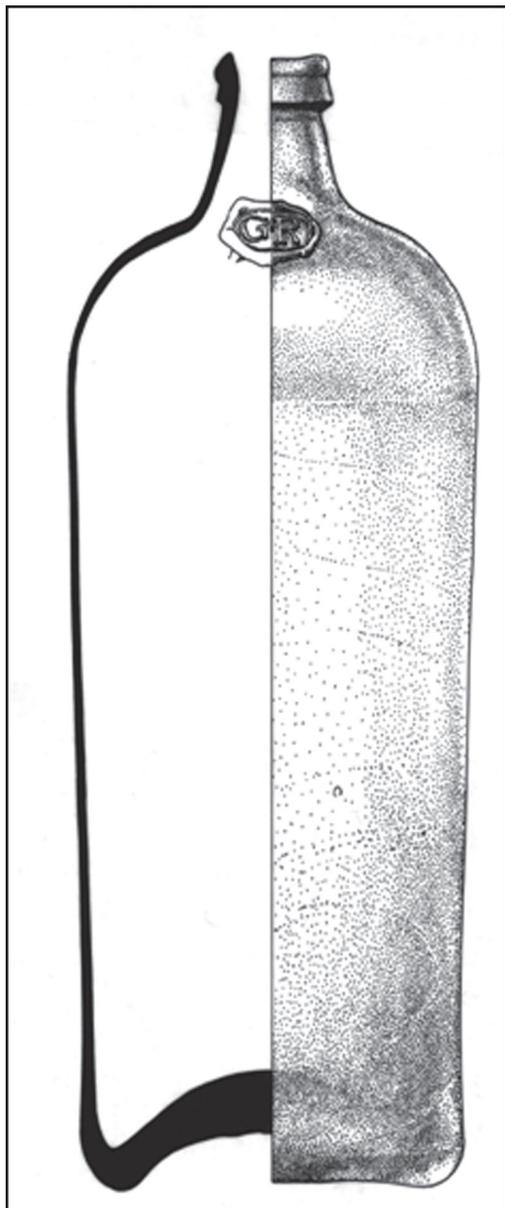


Figure 10. A GR seal recovered from the shipwreck of HMS DeBraak near Cape Henelopen, Delaware. (Courtesy of Dan Griffith and the Delaware Division of Historical and Cultural Affairs; drawing by Sharyn Murray.)

seals (Wicks 1999). Their increased cost marked them as status goods. Moreover, importing them from distant glass factories through ship captains and factors may have made acquisition challenging.

To date, most interpretations of bottle seals have employed, explicitly or implicitly, the ideas of the great sociologist Thorstein Veblen (1899), building on the idea that monogrammed bottles were items of conspicuous consumption. Indeed, one of the first articles to touch on the topic noted that “as a rule, only the wealthy and influential planters had seals stamped on their wine bottles” (Cotter and Hudson 1957). The present authors concur that the bottles were symbols of wealth; however, it is further argued that they functioned on several different levels. Pierre Bourdieu’s *The Forms of Capital* (1986) provides a useful model for understanding these artifacts. Bourdieu distinguishes between three types of capital: economic capital: cash, assets; social capital: group membership, relationships, and networks of support; and cultural capital: forms of knowledge, skills, education, and advantages that give a person a higher status in society. These distinctions are important. Marked bottles represented an expenditure of economic capital. At the same time, they served as social capital, functioning as symbols of group membership among elites in the burgeoning Atlantic economy. The bottles circulated among individuals with positions, influence, and, sometimes, wealth. The initials and names they bear are almost always those of men. A bottle with a seal indicated that not just the wine, but its owner, was special (Hancock 2009: 370). Indeed, there is some evidence that marked bottles were gifted from one individual to another (Breen 2006: 193), much like the today’s obligatory bottle of wine brought to a host by a visitor.

Casey Horna’s (2005) argument that the bottles represent a transatlantic cultural pattern is also correct. The bottles and their contents reflected a shared form of cultural capital. Drinking wine imported from England, or Madeira, or South Africa from fine crystal glasses helped bind together individuals, and at the same time indicated a shared set of attitudes and knowledge regarding a particular commodity and its proper consumption (Hancock 2009). Indeed, Constantia wine bottles with seals (FIG. 9) have been found in South Africa, the Netherlands, and Delaware. The wine is believed to have been shipped from South Africa to the Netherlands, bottled there, and redistributed (Ranjith Jayasena 2014, pers. comm.).

Much like the tea ceremony in colonial America, for men consuming particular types of alcoholic beverages was a way of marking status and shaping a public identity in the Atlantic World. Chesapeake planters and their London factors were active participants in this behavior (Isaac 1982). Indeed, in many ways, convivial consumption of alcoholic beverages was a critical aspect of masculinity in the 18th-century Atlantic World, much as participation in the refined tea ceremony was a way for women to establish their public personas and an emblem of refinement (Roth 1988; Bushman 1993; Carr and Walsh 1994; Carson 1994; Pogue 2001). Both bottles for men and teapots for women were part of larger constellations of material culture associated with imbibing alcohol and tea. The bottles served as a form of symbolic communication or display (Pogue 2001: 48) that was directed toward one's peers and perhaps even more importantly toward oneself (Gibb 1996), as individuals actively worked to develop their identities through consumption (FIG. 11). Indeed, bottles might be shown to guests in the cellar, placed on tables as "revealed props," or displayed on a sideboard (Hancock 2009: 371) (FIG. 12). They linked drinkers to English traditions and also to their peers and trading partners in other parts of the Atlantic World. To date, only one bottle seal for a woman is known. That seal is for Martha

Dansey (d. 1724), a wealthy resident of the Cremona Estate in St. Mary's County, Maryland (Jennings 2014: 97). Bottle seals seem to have been largely a male prerogative.

However, the question of the highly uneven distribution of sealed bottles in early America remains. When the geographic distribution of the bottles is examined it appears that the vast majority were excavated in Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina. At least 19 are known from Newfoundland (Wicks 1998). In contrast, they are uncommon in much of New England. Moreover, most of the seals recovered from Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York have been unearthed in urban contexts, and a handful have been recovered from contact period Native American sites. What does this reflect? One possibility is that the distribution of sealed bottles reflects different population densities during the colonial period. Virginia was much larger than some of the northern colonies, such as New Jersey, and was more densely populated. A review of colonial population statistics, using 1720 as a baseline and comparing Virginia and New Jersey, shows that Virginia had 87,000 inhabitants, while New Jersey had 29,000 (World Almanac 2000). Even ignoring the fact that roughly one-third of Virginia's inhabitants and approximately 10% of New Jersey's inhabitants were enslaved, one might expect three times as many marked bottles



Figure 11. Sea captains carousing in Surinam, a painting showing a group of convivial and intoxicated New England merchants trading in South America. Painting by John Greenwood, ca. 1755. (Courtesy of the St. Louis Museum of Art.)

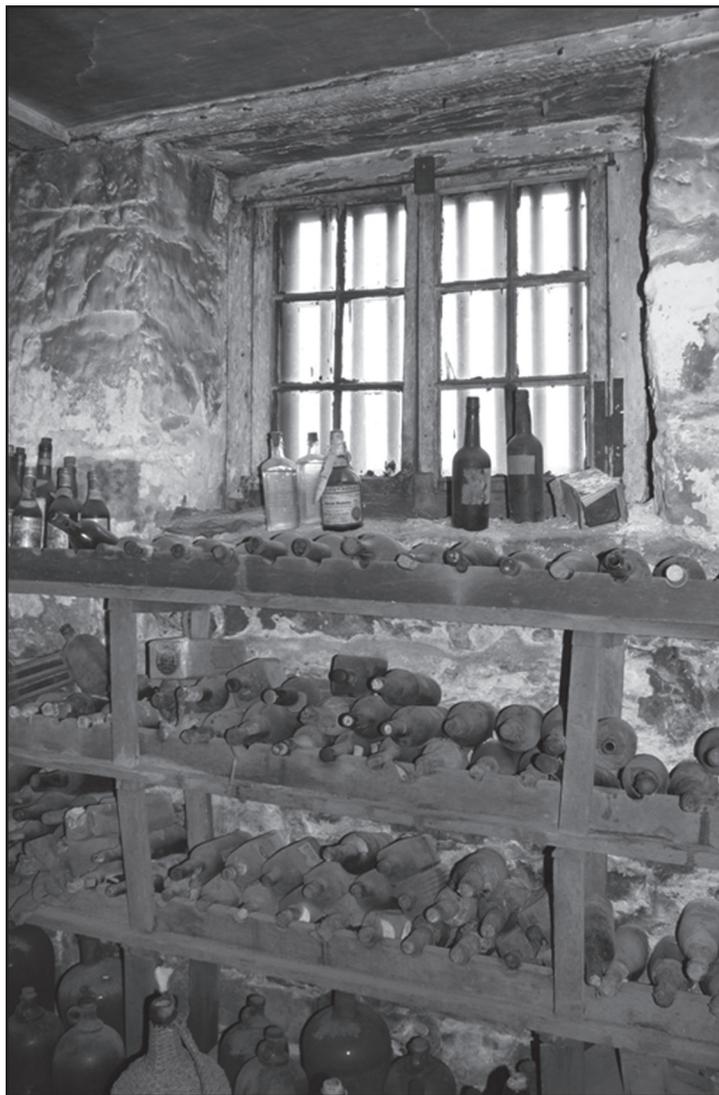


Figure 12. The Kean family's wine cellar, Liberty Hall Museum, Kean University, Union, New Jersey. Sealed up and forgotten during Prohibition, it was rediscovered in the late 1990s when Liberty Hall Museum opened. It contains an assortment of 19th- and 20th-century bottles. (Photo by Richard Veit, 2012.)

from Virginia as from New Jersey. In actuality the ratio is closer to 20 to 1. So, demographics alone do not seem to answer the question. New Jersey and also Pennsylvania and Delaware were in an area with many small and middling farms and fewer large estates. If bottle seals are the marker of the highest elites in pre-Revolutionary America, one would expect fewer of them in the northern Middle Atlantic region compared to the Chesapeake.

This pattern is borne out by the material culture.

Another possibility, although harder to quantify, is that this differential distribution reflects modern, not historical, cultural behaviors. Certain states have seen more intensive and extensive archaeological study than others. For instance, Virginia has extraordinary historical sites such as Jamestown and Williamsburg that have seen extensive archaeological study for decades. This has certainly affected the number of seals documented as coming from this region.

There are other factors beside population and the extent of archaeological study that should be considered. One possibility is that marked bottles relate to connoisseurship. The English have a long history of wine consumption, going back to the Roman period. Marked bottles provided discriminating consumers with useful information in a compact form. The seals told the consumer how old the vintage was and sometimes helped advertise where it came from. Biddle has noted that the large number of marked and dated bottles from Oxford in Great Britain may indicate connoisseurship of wine or oenology (Biddle 2013: 140). Another possibility

is that the frequencies of marked bottles relate to foodways, or in this case "beverage-ways." Perhaps the wealthy planters of Virginia preferred drinks different from the stolid burghers of New York. Historical evidence supports this premise. Historian David Freeman Hawke notes that there were both regional and class differences in what people drank. He writes: "The well-to-do drank imported wines and French brandies. ... [while

the] Dutch, soon after settling in, produced a hardy brew from wheat" (Hawke 1988: 79–80). Indeed, beer consumption was common in Dutch-settled areas (Rose 2009: 39–56). Rum consumption was widespread and troublesome, so much so that one wit noted it "does more mischief to people's industry than anything except gin and the Pope" (Hawke 1988: 80). Hard cider was very popular in the northern colonies, and New Jersey was especially well known for its cider production (Schmidt 1973: 46; Wacker and Clemens 1995: 251). It seems to have been less common in the South. Foodways, like other practices in colonial America, reflect the presence of regional cultures, which are made visible through material culture with limited geographic distributions, e.g., pattern-brick houses in southwestern New Jersey, New England-style grave markers, colonoware, Philadelphia redware, and Chesapeake tobacco pipes.

The relative lack of marked bottles in New England and the northern Middle Atlantic colonies (New York, New Jersey, and Delaware) may reflect different drinking practices in these areas. As Philip Fithian, an educated New Jerseyan who served as a tutor in the family of Robert Carter III at Nominy Hall in Virginia wrote to friends at home: "[T]heir manner of living, their eating, drinking, diversions, exercise &c., are in many ways different from anything you may have been accustomed to" (Farish 1957: 220).

Despite these regional differences, it is clear that marked private bottles were transatlantic phenomena, with meanings that were clear to imbibers in Europe, Africa, and North America. They reflect the growth of a world capitalist system. They were used primarily by men of a particular status: planters, politicians, lawyers, merchants, and successful tradesmen. However, the abundance of bottle seals in the Chesapeake region, and particularly Virginia, also speaks to the local material dialects of the Atlantic World.

Peter Pope's work on Newfoundland fisheries of the 17th century complements this regional perspective. His interpretation of the popularity of wine builds upon "ancient humoral theories regarding the four elements: earth, water, air, and fire, and the four primary properties, cold, moisture, dryness, and heat" (Pope 2004: 397). Red wines and tobacco were associated with dryness and heat, very

desirable qualities in cold, wet Newfoundland. Serendipitously, in Newfoundland the cod fishery and the economy of the wine trade meshed. One result seems to have been that relatively well-paid fishing crews were able to afford wine, which was widely employed as a social lubricant. Even there, the bottle seals recovered from archaeological contexts in Newfoundland are primarily associated with harbor masters, merchants, and ship captains.

At the same time, bottles provide an indication of personal networks in colonial America. For instance, in Maryland, William Deacon's bottle seals were found at the John Hicks site, the Van Sweringen site, Baker's Fancy, and Rosecroft Point, all in St. Mary's City, but also farther afield, including Point Lookout (10 mi. south) and, most surprisingly, the Jesuit manor of Newtown some 20 mi. north (Roviello 2001; Silas Hurry 2014, pers. comm.). The wealthy planters, landowners, and politicians with whom these bottle seals are associated valued hospitality. They entertained regularly. Marked bottles were part of a suite of material items, from large Georgian houses to lavish meals, all of which "reflected the quality of the man." As Kathleen Brown has written of Virginia:

The honor of the elite male host ... depended to some measure on the liberality of his hospitality and appearance of order in his household. His duties as host complemented his public roles as politician and neighbor, much as the architecture of his home mimicked that of public places such as churches and courthouses. (K. Brown 1996: 268)

In the houses of these wealthy planters, guests drank to the monarch's health with wine, "drams" of liquor, or "strong water." In less well-to-do households, rum brandy, or punch might suffice to provide an atmosphere of conviviality. ... Poorer men and women might provide their guests with water only. (K. Brown 1996: 273)

In urban centers up and down the Atlantic seaboard similar scenes of conviviality played out, but they were overshadowed by the practices and the scale of the Virginia gentry. There it appears social distinctions were more profound and the theater of rank more visible than in the middle colonies and New England. This is not to say that there were no very wealthy individuals in New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, and New England. There were, and they were participants in many of the same rituals as their Chesapeake

cousins. In fact, many of the individuals for whom wine bottles survive from the Middle Atlantic region and New England were society's leading lights. However, they seem to have been fewer in number, and many resided in urban locales.

Pope (2004: 401) cites the 17th-century burlesque, *Wine, Beere, Ale, and Tobacco Contending for Superiority*, in which wine represents a gentleman, beer a citizen, ale a countryman, and water a parson. The implications are clear. Different drinks allowed communities to rank drinkers, while at the same time allowing drinkers to act as connoisseurs. Perhaps in a world where the quality of drinks varied, the additional imprimatur of a personally devised seal helped reaffirm the social distinctions so important to the colonial gentry.

The American Revolution, and what has been called the age of the homespun (Ulrich 2009) led to massive changes in consumption patterns. Some of the luxury goods of the pre-Revolutionary years were eschewed; including, it seems, personalized bottle seals. At the same time attitudes toward alcohol consumption began to change. New religious groups, such as the Methodists and Shakers, advocated

temperance. In New England and among Quakers, there had long been concern that drink led to dissolution (Fisher 1989), and during the 18th century the unrestrained consumption of gin was seen as emblematic of moral decay, especially among the poor (Lender and Martin 1987: 7) (FIG. 13). Moralists advocated a reduction in the consumption of alcohol and increasingly associated uninhibited imbibing with the working classes (Rorabaugh 1979).

The late 18th century also saw an explosion of mass-produced consumer goods and the growth of an American glass-manufacturing industry. Bottles with personal seals, filled in England or on the Continent and shipped to wealthy planters, faded away as new democratic ideals took hold, temperance gained power, and standardized glass vessels increasingly became the norm. Trademarked bottles became common in the 19th century (Hancock 2009: 371). Consumption patterns had changed. However, issues of identity, gender, sociability, and class still shape Americans' consumption of spirits, and historical bottle seals, inscribed artifacts associated with interesting individuals from the past, continue to pique the curiosity of archaeologists and collectors.

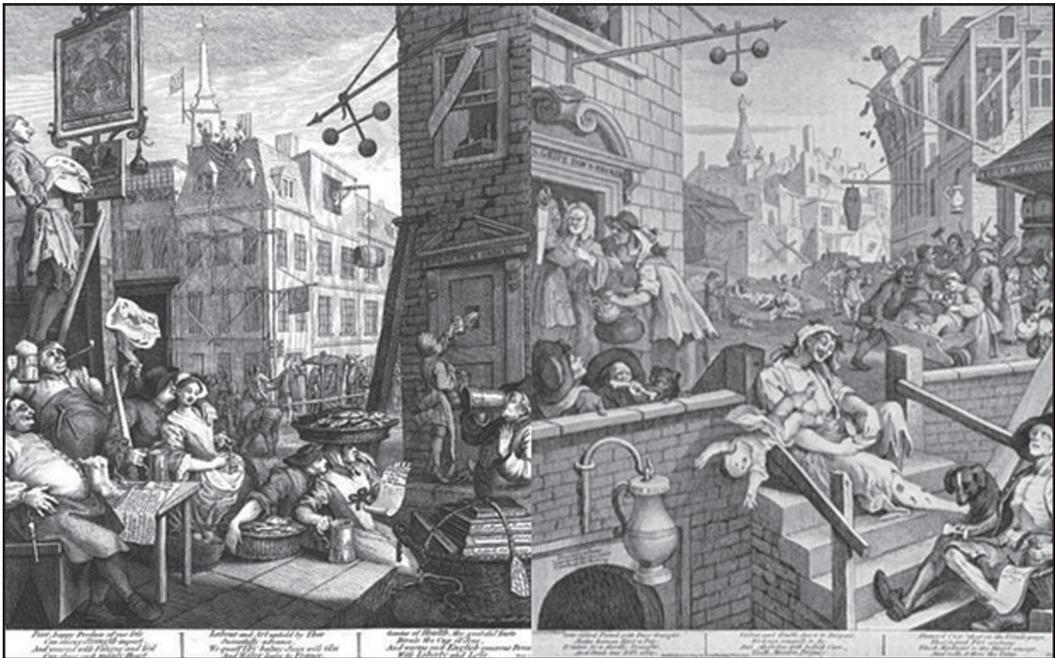


Figure 13. *Beer Street and Gin Lane*, by William Hogarth, ca. 1751. These two prints, designed to be viewed side by side, illustrate the benefits of drinking beer vs. the evils of gin consumption.

Acknowledgments

This project has been very much a group effort. We would particularly like to thank Sue Maguire and two anonymous reviewers for their thoughtful comments and suggestions. Evan Mydlowski, a graduate student at Monmouth University, proved himself to be a very able cartographer. He prepared the map showing the distribution of bottle seals. We appreciate his assistance. Numerous individuals hunted down old sources, retrieved long-forgotten CRM reports, searched through museum cases, and generally rattled various archaeological cages in the hopes of shaking free a few more bottle seals. We owe a special debt of gratitude to Mary Beaudry, Nicholas Bellantoni, David Bernstein, Eleanor Breen, David Burton, Ed Chaney, Lauren Cook, Dennis Curry, Diane Dallal, Joe Diamond, Dena Doroszenko, Nicole Estey, Lynn Evans, Chuck Fithian, Michael Gall, Barry Gaulton, Liza Gijanto, Jack Goudsward, Dan Griffith, Paul Hanrahan, Thane Harpole, Tabitha Hilliard, Silas Hurry, Steven Israel, Ranjith Jayasena, Janet Johnson, Mara Kaktins, Muriel Kirkpatrick, Greg Lattanzi, Bill Liebeknecht, George Meyers, Debbie Miller, Stephen Mills, Mark Nonestied, David Orr, Bill Pavlovsky, Jennifer Poulson, David Starbuck, Faye Stocum, Blair Temple, Allen Vegotsky, Esther White, and Dean Wilson, all of whom shared information about bottle seals. A special thanks to Rachael Goldberg, collections manager, and Bill Schroh, director of operations, both at Liberty Hall Museum, who provided access to the Kean family's incredible historical wine cellar.

Afterword

Individuals aware of other bottle seals are encouraged to contact the authors of this article, Richard Veit (rveit@monmouth.edu) and Paul Huey (Paul.Huey@parks.ny.gov), and to submit their bottle seals to Culture Embossed, an online database of wine bottle seals: <<http://cova-inc.org/wineseals/index.html>>.

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Appendix: Bottle Seal Gazetteer (Table by the authors, 2013.)

State	Site	Seal	Date	No.	Owner	Occupation	Reference
NH	Temple Glassworks	"AIR N. 1"	undated	1	unknown	unknown	Morcom ND
NH	Temple Glassworks	"ROB.T HEWES, MANU...1781"	1781	1	Robert Hewes	Glassworks owner	Starbuck 1986:54
NH	Temple Glassworks	"...PLE"	undated	1	unknown	unknown	Starbuck 1986:54
NEW HAMPSHIRE TOTAL				3			
MA	Boston	"K.A. Leveat"	undated	1	Knight Leverett	Silversmith	P.C. Paul Huey 2011
MA	Boston, Big Dig	"Malescot"	undated	1	unknown	unknown	P.C. Jennifer Poulson, 12/6/2012
MA	Boston, Big Dig	"John Carnes"	undated	2	John Carnes	Pewterer	P.C. Paul Huey 2011
MA	Boston, Royall House	"Honorable Isaac Royale Pectore Puro"	undated	1	unknown	unknown	P.C. Paul Huey 2011
MA	Cambridge, Harvard U.	Illegible	undated	1	unknown	unknown	Delano 1992, P.C. C. Hodge 2012
MA	Cambridge, Harvard U.	Illegible	undated	1	unknown	unknown	Delano 1992, P.C. C. Hodge 2012
MA	Cambridge, Harvard U.	"N&G"	undated	1	unknown	unknown	Delano 1992, P.C. C. Hodge 2012
MA	Cambridge, Harvard U.	"HDE"	undated	1	unknown	unknown	Delano 1992, P.C. C. Hodge 2012
MA	Germantown Glassworks	"THW 1750"	1750	1	Isaac Winslow	Glassworks owner	Morcom ND
MA	Germantown Glassworks	"I Mascarene 1748"	1748	4	John Mascarene	Wine merchant	Morcom ND
MA	Germantown Glassworks	"IQ"	undated	1	John Quincy	Colonel	Morcom, ND
MA	Germantown Glassworks	"Thomas Hutchinson, Esq. 1755"	1755	1	Thomas Hutchinson	unknown	Morcom ND

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Appendix: Bottle Seal Gazetteer. (continued)

State	Site	Seal	Date	No.	Owner	Occupation	Reference
MA	Salem	"Philip English"	undated	1	Philip English	unknown	Moran, Zimmer, Yentsch 1982
MA	Salem	"T ...ean 1772"	1772	1	Capt. Thomas Dean	Merchant	Moran, Zimmer, Yentsch 1982
MA	Salem, House of Seven Cables	"... 1715"	1715	1	unknown	unknown	Goodwin 1994:18
MASSACHUSETTS TOTAL				19			
CT	North Brantford, Goodsell House	"MG"	undated	1	Mary Goodsell	Wealthy landowner	P.C. Paul Huey 2011
CONNECTICUT TOTAL				1			
NY	Barclays Bank Site, Manhattan	Unknown	Undated	1	unknown	unknown	P.C. Jack Goudswaard 2012
NY	Broad Financial Center, Manhattan	"Archibald Kennedy"	undated	1	Archibald Kennedy	Collector of the port	Greenhouse 1985
NY	Broad Financial Center, Manhattan	"Gulian VerPlank"	Undated	1	Gulian VerPlank	Prominent family	P.C. Joe Diamond 2014
NY	City hall Park, Manhattan	"Evert Byvank Jr. 17..."	17??	1	Evert Byvank Jr.	unknown	P.C. PaulHuey 2011
NY	Clermont State Historic Site	"Hen. Beekman 1752"	1752	1	Henry Beekman	unknown	P.C. PaulHuey 2011
NY	Clermont	Robert" Livingston"	undated	1	Robert Livingston	Lawyer	P.C. PaulHuey 2011
NY	Fishkill, NY	"Van Wyck"	undated	1	unknown	unknown	P.C. PaulHuey 2011
NY	Fishkill, NY	"Cornelius Van Wyck 1738"	1738	5	Cornelius Van Wyck	Surveyor	P.C. J. Diamond 2014
NY	Kingston	"Jan Eltinge 1754"	1754	1	Jan Eltinge	Prominent family	P.C. Huey 2011
NY	Old Mastick, William Lloyd House	William Lloyd	undated	1	William Lloyd	Prominent tory	P.C. George Myers 2012

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Appendix: Bottle Seal Gazetteer. (continued)

State	Site	Seal	Date	No.	Owner	Occupation	Reference
NY	Philipsburg Manor, Tarrytown	"AP"	undated	1	Adolphe Philipse	Prominent merchant	P.C. PaulHuey 2011
NY	Philipsburg Manor, Tarrytown	"ALP"	undated	1	Adolphe Philipse	Prominent merchant	P.C. PaulHuey 2011
NY	Schuyler Flatts, Albany	"PS"	undated	1	Philip or Pieter Schuyler	Prominent family	P.C. PaulHuey 2011
NY	South Ferry, Manhattan	[Shield of Benjamin Fletcher]	c. 1692-1697	1	Benjamin Fletcher	Governor of New York	P.C. Meta Janowitz 2012
NY	South Street Seaport, Manhattan	"16.. A. Schuyler"	1600s	1	Arent Schuyler	Merchant	P.C. PaulHuey 2011
NY	South Street Seaport, Manhattan	"A. Schuyler"	undated	1	Arent Schuyler?	Merchant	P.C. PaulHuey 2011
NY	South Street Seaport, Manhattan	"Henry Cuyler Junr. 1750"	1750	1	Henry Cuyler, Jr.	Merchant	P.C. PaulHuey 2011
NY	South Street Seaport, Manhattan	"Peter Vallete / 1732"	1732	1	Peter Vallete	Wine merchant	P.C. Richard Veit 2012
NY	Sutling House, Fort Edward	[Armorial crest, crowned]	undated	1	unknown	unknown	Starbuck 2010:58
NY	Water Street, Manhattan	"James Henderson / 1733"	1733	1	James Henderson	Resident of Pearl Street	P.C. Richard Veit 2012
NEW YORK TOTAL				24			
NJ	Clark-Watson Site, Perth Amboy	"GM"	undated	1	unknown	unknown	P.C. Richard Veit 2012
NJ	Belcher-Ogden Mansion, Elizabeth	"William Peartree Smith"	c. 1723-1801	1	William Peartree Smith	Mayor of Elizabeth, NJ	P.C. Richard Veit 2012
NJ	Hardenbrook/Duyckink / Van Ranst Property 28Mi89	"JH"	undated	1	unknown	unknown	Janowitz 2008:75
NJ	Hardenbrook/Duyckink / Van Ranst Property 28Mi89	"TVS 1765"	1765	1	unknown	unknown	Janowitz 2008:75

Appendix: Bottle Seal Gazetteer. (continued)

State	Site	Seal	Date	No.	Owner	Occupation	Reference
NJ	Lambert/Douglas House, Trenton 28Me73	"Geo. McCall 1734"	1734	1	unknown	Trenton, NJ	Hunter Research 2011
NJ	Miller Field, Warren County 28Wa16	[Seal of Clement Plumsted]	c. 1660-1675	1	Clement Plumsted	Mayor of Philadelphia	Staats 1987
NJ	White Hill Mansion, Fieldsboro 28Bu738	"...54"	1752	1	unknown	unknown	P.C. Richard Veit 2012
NEW JERSEY TOTAL				7			
PA	Almshouse, Philadelphia 36Ph130	"T. Graeme 1724"	1724	5	unknown	unknown	P.C. Muriel Kirkpatrick 2012
PA	I-95 Expressway	"S. Lewis, Haverford, Pennsylvania"	undated	1	S. Lewis	unknown	Morcom ND
PA	Conoy Cemetery 36La40	"IB"	c. 1718-1743	1	unknown	unknown	Kent 1993:226
PA	NCC, Philadelphia	"Benj. Cathrall"	undated	1	Benjamin Cathrall	unknown	P.C. Deborah Miller 2012
PA	NCC, Philadelphia	"Edwd. Cathrall 1750"	1750	1	Edward Cathrall	unknown	P.C. Deborah Miller 2012
PA	NCC, Philadelphia	"ET Cathrall 1770"	1770	1	Edward Cathrall	unknown	P.C. Deborah Miller 2012
PA	NCC, Philadelphia	"IL"	undated	1	IL	unknown	P.C. Deborah Miller 2012
PA	NCC, Philadelphia	"T. Ritchie"	undated	1	T. Ritchie	unknown	P.C. Deborah Miller 2012
PA	Pennsbury Manor	[Dragon] (36-Bu-19)	undated	1	unknown	unknown	P.C. Janet Johnson 2012
PA	Pennsbury Manor	"Trelowarren"	undated	1	Estate in Cornwall, UK	unknown	P.C. Janet Johnson 2012
PA	Philadelphia	"Edward Roberts 1715"	1715	1	Justice of the Peace	unknown	Cotter, Robert, and Parrington 1992:220.
PA	Strickler Site	[Distillery "BM"] (36-La-3)	c. 1640-1660	1	unknown	unknown	Kent 1993:226
PENNSYLVANIA TOTAL				16			

Appendix: Bottle Seal Gazetteer. (continued)

State	Site	Seal	Date	No.	Owner	Occupation	Reference
DE	HMS Debraak	"Marine Mess"	c. 1798	2+	HMS Debraak	unknown	P.C. Chuck Fithian, 2012
DE	HMS Debraak	"GR"	c. 1798	2+	HMS Debraak	unknown	P.C. Chuck Fithian, 2012
DE	Severn, Lewes	"CON STANTIA WYN"	c. 1774	2+	Ship Severn	unknown	P.C. Faye Stocum 2012
DE	Strickland Site, Kent County	"NIM 1707"	1707	1	Isaac Norris	unknown	Catts, Custer, Jamisen, Scholl, and Iplenski 1995:60
DE	Hawthorne Site, New Castle Co.	"George Remer 1754"	1754	1	George Remer	unknown	P.C. Paul Huey 2011
DELAWARE TOTAL				8			
MD	Homestead Site or Friendship House, Charles County 18CH104	"WD"	undated	1	Warren or William Dent	unknown	Roviello 2001
MD	Field Locus #8 or the Young Property, Prince Frederick, Calvert C. 18CV344	"BH XX"	undated	2	Benjamin Hanse	unknown	Roviello 2001
MD	Field Locus #8 or the Young Property, Prince Frederick, Calvert C. 18CV344	"IR 1771"	undated	1	unknown	unknown	Roviello 2001
MD	Angelica Knoll Site, Calvert County 18CV60	"CP"	undated	5	Cosmo Parsons	unknown	Elder 1991
MD	Angelica Knoll Site, Calvert County 18CV60	"N"	undated	1	unknown	unknown	Elder 1991
MD	Angelica Knoll Site, Calvert County 18CV60	"RI"	undated	1	unknown	unknown	Elder 1991
MD	Angelica Knoll Site, Calvert County 18CV60	"CP"	undated	1	Cosmo Parsons	unknown	Elder 1991
MD	Antenna Field, St. Inigoes, St. Mary's County 19ST386	"PP" [two trees]	undated	1	unknown	unknown	King and Pogue 1985

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Appendix: Bottle Seal Gazetteer. (continued)

State	Site	Seal	Date	No.	Owner	Occupation	Reference
MD	Belair Mansion, Prince Georges Co. 18PR135	"B. Ogle"	undated	1	Benjamin Olge	unknown	P.C. James Gibbs 2012
MD	Bennett's Point 18QU28	[Richard Bennett's crest]	undated	1	Richard Bennett	unknown	http://www.jefpat.org/NEHWeb/18QU28-%20Bennett's%20Point%20Finding%20Aid.aspx
MD	Bennett's Point 18QU28	"RB"	undated	4	Richard Bennett	unknown	http://www.jefpat.org/NEHWeb/18QU28-%20Bennett's%20Point%20Finding%20Aid.aspx
MD	Burle Site, Lost Towns Project 18AN826	"AFG"	undated	1	Alfred Francis Galloway	unknown	P.C. James Gibb 2012
MD	Burle Site, Lost Towns Project 18AN826	"TC"	undated	1	unknown	unknown	P.C. James Gibb 2012
MD	Calvert House, Annapolis 18 AP 28	"SPBCCRH 1769"	undated	1	unknown	unknown	Yentsch 1994:268
MD	Chapel Site. St. Mary's Co. 185T1-103	"LI+D"	undated	1	Praise Lord Jesus	unknown	Roviello 2001
MD	18CV7 Charlie's Gift or Preston Cliffs	[Horse or dog with a crown]	undated	1	unknown	unknown	Hornum et al. 2001
MD	Chew (Samuel) Mansion, Anne Arundel County 18AN1372	"S. Chew"	undated	1	Samuel Chew	unknown	Luckenbach, Kille, and Sharpe 2013:11
MD	Cremona Estate, St. Mary's County 185T871	"M. Dansey"	undated	1	Martha Dansey	unknown	Jennings 2014:98-99
MD	Eltonhead Manor, St. Mary's Co. 185T704	"AB, D, 4"	undated	1	unknown	unknown	Roviello 2001
MD	Homewood's Lot 18AN871	"TH"	c. 1731-1763	2	Thomas Homewood	unknown	TDAR ID: 6075
MD	John Hicks Site, St. Mary's Co. 185T1-22	"JH 1723"	1723	1	John Hicks	Merchant, county sheriff	Roviello 2001

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Appendix: Bottle Seal Gazetteer. (continued)

State	Site	Seal	Date	No.	Owner	Occupation	Reference
MD	John Hicks Site, St. Mary's Co. 18ST1-22	"John Hicks 1723"	1723	5	John Hicks	unknown	Roviello 2001
MD	John Hicks Site, St. Mary's Co. 18ST1-22	"Wm Deacon 1724"	1724	2	William Deacon	unknown	Roviello 2001
MD	John Hicks Site, St. Mary's Co. 18ST1-22	"Wm Deacon 1741"	1741	1	William Deacon	unknown	Roviello 2001
MD	John Hicks Site, St. Mary's Co. 18ST1-22	"JB"	undated	1	Poss. John Baker	Tavern keeper	Roviello 2001
MD	Hampton Farmhouse 18BA317	Unknown	undated	1	unknown	unknown	MHT Phase II and III arch. Database
MD	Harrison's Westwood Lodge, Charles County 18CH621	"JB"	undated	1	unknown	unknown	Archaeology Practicum Class, St. Mary's College, MD, 2010
MD	Horn Point 18DO58	Unknown	undated	1	unknown	unknown	MHT Phase II and III arch. Database
MD	Kings Reach Quarter 18CV84	"WC"	undated	1	William Chapline	Planter	MHT Phase II and III arch. Database
MD	King's Reach Quarter 18CV83	Illegible	c. 1690- 1710	1	unknown	unknown	MHT Phase II and III arch. Database
MD	Leonard Calvert House, St. Mary's Co. 18ST1-13	"JB"	undated	2	John Baker	Tavern keeper	Roviello 2001
MD	Londontown, plowzone	[Shield]	undated	1	unknown	unknown	P.C. James Gibb 2012
MD	Lost Towns Project 18AN827	"CC" [Bird]	undated	1	Charles Carroll	Prominent planter	P.C. James Gibb 2012
MD	Margaret Brent Area Hicks-Mackall 18ST1-110	"IA 1767"	1767	2	James Adderton	unknown	P.C. Silas Hurry, 2012
MD	Margaret Brent Area Hicks-Mackall 18ST1-110	"IN 1767"	1767	1	unknown	unknown	P.C. Silas Hurry, 2012

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Appendix: Bottle Seal Gazetteer. (continued)

State	Site	Seal	Date	No.	Owner	Occupation	Reference
MD	Margaret Brent Area Hicks-Mackall 18ST1-110	"BSA"	undated	1	unknown	unknown	P.C. Silas Hurrey, 2012
MD	Mattapan House Site 18ST390	Illegible	undated	1	unknown	unknown	TDAR ID 6068
MD	Newtown Site, St. Mary's Co. 18ST16	"Wm. Deacon"	undated	1+	William Deacon	unknown	Roviello 2001
MD	Ocean Hall 18ST171	Illegible	undated	1	unknown	unknown	MHT Phase II and III arch. Database
MD	Old Baltimore, Aberdeen Proving Ground, Harford C. 18HA30	Not recorded	undated	1	unknown	unknown	MHT Phase II and III arch. Database
MD	Oxon Hill, Prince George's County 18PR175	"TA"	pre-1767	3	Thomas Addison	unknown	McCarthy 2010
MD	Oxon Hill, Prince George's County 18PR175	"NR"	undated	1	Nathaniel Rosier	unknown	McCarthy 2010
MD	Point Lookout, St. Mary's Co.	"Wm. Deacon 1741"	undated	1	William Deacon	unknown	Roviello 2001
MD	Roberts Site, Calvert Co. 18CV350	"IS"	undated	1	James Skinner	unknown	Gibbs 2005:37
MD	Rosecroft Point, St. Mary's Co. 18ST1-61	"Wm. Deacon 1741"	1741	2	William Deacon	unknown	Roviello 2001
MD	Rosecroft Point, St. Mary's Co. 18ST1-61	"Wm. Deacon"	undated	2	William Deacon	unknown	Roviello 2001
MD	Mareen Duvall's Middle Plantation 18AN46	"MD"	undated	14	Mareen Duval	Planter-merchant	Doepkins 1991: 142-143
MD	Mareen Duvall's Middle Plantation 18AN46	"RS" within heart	undated	1	Richard Snowden	Planter, owner of ironworks	Doepkins 1991: 142-143
MD	Mareen Duvall's Middle Plantation 18AN46	"John Welch"	undated	5	John Welch	Prominent planter	Doepkins 1991: 142-143
MD	Mareen Duvall's Middle Plantation 18AN46	"HR"	undated	4	Henry Ridgley	Political figure	Doepkins 1991: 142-143
MD	Mareen Duvall's Middle Plantation 18AN46	"TL"	undated	1	Thomas Linthicum	Owned iron mine	Doepkins 1991: 142-143

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Appendix: Bottle Seal Gazetteer. (continued)

State	Site	Seal	Date	No.	Owner	Occupation	Reference
MD	Mareen Duvall's Middle Plantation 18AN46	"OW"	undated	2	Ortho Holland Williams	Planter	Doepkins 1991: 142-143
MD	Mareen Duvall's Middle Plantation 18AN46	"WW"	undated	1	William Worthington	Mercant	Doepkins 1991: 142-143
MD	Mareen Duvall's Middle Plantation 18AN46	"HM"	undated	7	Henry Maynard	English Merchant	Doepkins 1991: 142-143
MD	Mareen Duvall's Middle Plantation 18AN46	"XX"	undated	1	unknown	unknown	Doepkins 1991: 142-143
MD	St. John's Site, St. Mary's Co. 18ST1-23	"TB" [stag]	undated	1	Poss. tavern seal	unknown	Roviello 2001
MD	Van Sweringen Site, St. Mary's Co. 18ST1-19	"W. Deacon 1741"	1741	1	William Deacon	unknown	P.C. Paul Huey 2011
MD	Van Sweringen Site, St. Mary's Co. 18ST1-19	"HI"	undated	3	unknown	unknown	Roviello 2001
MD	Van Sweringen Site, St. Mary's Co. 18ST1-19	"John Young 1723"	1723	1	John Young	unknown	Roviello 2001
MD	West St. Mary's Manor 18ST1-23	"John Morris 1741"	1741	1	John Morris	unknown	Roviello 2001
MD	West St. Mary's Manor, St. Mary's Co. (18ST171)	"WC"	undated	1	William Chapline	unknown	Roviello 2001
MARYLAND TOTAL				111			
VA	Arlington, Northampton Co.	"IC"	1670-1690	1	John Custis	unknown	Luccetti 1999
VA	Arlington, Northampton Co.	"IC 1713"	1713	3	John Custis	unknown	Straube 1999
VA	City Point, Virginia	"PT 1742"	1742	1	unknown	unknown	P.C. David Orr 2012

Appendix: Bottle Seal Gazetteer. (continued)

State	Site	Seal	Date	No.	Owner	Occupation	Reference
VA	Corotoman	"Robert Carter"	pre=1729	1	Robert Carter	unknown	Hudgins 1979
VA	Corotoman	"Robt. Carter 1713"	1713	2	Robert Carter	unknown	Hudgins 1979
VA	Fairfield	"LB" Kindergarten variety	Late 17th c.	2	Lewis Burwell II	unknown	Smith 2007:173
VA	Fairfield	"LB" Plain seal	Late 17th-early 18th c.	4	Lewis Burwell II	unknown	Smith 2007:173
VA	Fairfield	"LB 1710"	1710	11	Lewis Burwell II	unknown	Smith 2007:174
VA	Fairfield	"NB 1715"	1715	6	Nathaniel Burwell	unknown	Smith 2007:174-175
VA	Fairfield	"Robert Carter"	c. 1721-1732	1	Robert Carter	unknown	Smith 2007:175
VA	Fairfield	"Robt. Carter 1713"	1713	1	Robert Carter	unknown	Smith 2007:175
VA	Fairfield	"IHB 1704"	1704	1	unknown	unknown	Smith 2007:176
VA	Fairfield	incomplete	undated	1	unknown	unknown	Smith 2007:177
VA	Fairfield	"B" incomplete	undated	1	unknown	unknown	Smith 2007:177
VA	Ferry Farm	[Crown above a shield]	undated	1	unknown	unknown	P.C. Tabitha Hilliard 2012
VA	Ferry Farm	[Horse and crown]	undated	1	unknown	unknown	P.C. Tabitha Hilliard 2012
VA	Ferry Farm	"AJ/bin"	undated	1	unknown	unknown	P.C. Tabitha Hilliard 2012
VA	Flowerdew Hundred	[Crowned head] "S.H."	c. 1650-1710	1	unknown	unknown	Deetz 1993:60-62
VA	Flowerdew Hundred	"John Hood 1751"	1751	1	John Hood	unknown	Deetz 1993:59
VA	Flowerdew Hundred	[Mitre Inn, London and initials of William Proctor]	c. 1650-1710	1	unknown	unknown	Deetz 1993:60-61
VA	Jamestown	[Armorial seal with crest, shield of arms with arrows and a chevron, five stars]	undated	2	unknown	unknown	Hudson 1961:89

Appendix: Bottle Seal Gazetteer. (continued)

State	Site	Seal	Date	No.	Owner	Occupation	Reference
VA	Jamestown	[Armorial seal, shield of arms with crest over helm, shield bearing an eable with outstretched wings]	undated	1	unknown	unknown	Hudson 1961:89
VA	Jamestown	[Armorial seal, lion rampant]	undated	1	unknown	unknown	Hudson 1961:89
VA	Jamestown	[Armorial seal, dragon or fabulous beast]	undated	1	unknown	unknown	Hudson 1961:89
VA	Jamestown	[Coat of arms, a lion rampant]	undated	1	unknown	unknown	Ruggles-Brise 1949:166
VA	Jamestown	[Coat of arms, an eagle displayed]	undated	1	unknown	unknown	Ruggles-Brise 1949:166
VA	Jamestown	[Coat of arms, pat of a brid head]	undated	1	unknown	unknown	Ruggles-Brise 1949:166
VA	Jamestown	[Coat of arms--three arrows pointing downwards and a chevron with five mullets]	undated	1	unknown	unknown	Ruggles-Brise 1949:166
VA	Jamestown	"4AA"	undated	1	unknown	unknown	Hudson 1961:87
VA	Jamestown	"AR"	undated	1	unknown	unknown	Ruggles-Brise 1949:167
VA	Jamestown	"AR 1745"	1745	1	unknown	unknown	Ruggles-Brise 1949:167
VA	Jamestown	"AW"	undated	3	AW	unknown	Hudson 1961:87
VA	Jamestown	"B. 1710"	1710	1	unknown	unknown	Ruggles-Brise 1949:167
VA	Jamestown	"EG"	c. 1680-1690	1	unknown	unknown	Ruggles-Brise 1949:164
VA	Jamestown	"EH" and a bell	c. 1660-1680	1	unknown	unknown	Ruggles-Brise 1949:164
VA	Jamestown	"FD"	undated	1	unknown	unknown	Ruggles-Brise 1949:167
VA	Jamestown	"FN"	c. 1690	1	Francis Nicholson	unknown	historijamestowne.org 12/1/2011
VA	Jamestown	"FN" with a mullet	1660-1728	1	Sir Francis Nicholson	unknown	Ruggles-Brise 1949:164

Appendix: Bottle Seal Gazetteer. (*continued*)

State	Site	Seal	Date	No.	Owner	Occupation	Reference
VA	Jamestown	"FPXX"	1675-1700	1	unknown	unknown	Hudson 1961:87
VA	Jamestown	"FR...PH"	undated	1	unknown	unknown	Hudson 1961:83
VA	Jamestown	"G.W."	undated	1	unknown	unknown	Ruggles-Brise 1949:166
VA	Jamestown	"GL" with and without a mullet	undated	3	George Lee	unknown	Ruggles-Brise 1949:164
VA	Jamestown	"HEL"	undated	1	unknown	unknown	Ruggles-Brise 1949:164
VA	Jamestown	"Henry Ames-The King's Bognio"	c. 1685-1686	1	unknown	unknown	Hudson 1961:83
VA	Jamestown	"HG"	c. 1675-1700	22	Henry Gawler	unknown	Ruggles-Brise 1949:164
VA	Jamestown	"HH" and two mullets	c. 1675-1700	30	Henry Hartwell	unknown	Ruggles-Brise 1949:164
VA	Jamestown	"IB"	c. 1685+	5	James Blair	unknown	Hudson 1961:83
VA	Jamestown	"IR"	c. 1650-1665	1	unknown	unknown	Ruggles-Brise 1949:165
VA	Jamestown	"ISB"	c. 1660-1690	2	unknown	unknown	Hudson 1961:87
VA	Jamestown	"JBA"	undated	1	unknown	unknown	Hudson 1961:87
VA	Jamestown	"John Hammond 1752"	undated	1	John Hammond	unknown	Ruggles-Brise 1949:164
VA	Jamestown	"LB"	undated	1	Lewis Burwell	unknown	Cotter and Hudson 1957
VA	Jamestown	"Leoville Medoc" and a mullet (French)	undated	1	unknown	unknown	Ruggles-Brise 1949:166
VA	Jamestown	"R.W."	undated	1	unknown	unknown	Ruggles-Brise 1949:166
VA	Jamestown	"RAMMTSEA II"	undated	1	unknown	unknown	Hudson 1961:85
VA	Jamestown	"RE"	undated	1	unknown	unknown	Ruggles-Brise 1949:164
VA	Jamestown	"RM"	c. 1650-1675	1	unknown	unknown	Hudson 1961:84
VA	Jamestown	"RW"	c. 1650-1655	1	Ralph Wormeley	unknown	Hudson 1961:87
VA	Jamestown	"SB"	undated	1	unknown	unknown	Ruggles-Brise 1949:167

Appendix: Bottle Seal Gazetteer. (continued)

State	Site	Seal	Date	No.	Owner	Occupation	Reference
VA	Jamestown	"TR"	undated	1	Possibly Thomas Rably	unknown	Ruggles-Brise 1949:166
VA	Jamestown	"TURNER AT T" and a bunch of grapes	c. 1660-1685	1	Turner at the Vine	unknown	Ruggles-Brise 1949:166
VA	Jamestown	"WB"	undated	1	William Berkeley, William Brown or William Briscoe	unknown	Hudson 1961:83
VA	Jamestown	"XX"	c. 1675-1700	10	Possible merchants seal	unknown	Hudson 1961:87
VA	Kingsmill Plantation	"B"	undated	1	Lewis Burwell	unknown	Kelso 1984:173
VA	Kingsmill Plantation	"Jho Greenhow, Wmsburg 1770"	undated	1	John Greenhow	unknown	Kelso 1984:173
VA	Littleton Mansion at Utopia	"JB"	undated	1	James Bray II	unknown	Kelso 1984:170
VA	Littleton Mansion at Utopia	"TB"	undated	1	Thomas Bray	unknown	Kelso 1984:170
VA	Marlborough	"TCM"	undated	7	John and Catherine Mercer	Plantation owners	Watkins 1968:148
VA	Marlborough	"TCM 1737"	1737	2	John and Catherine Mercer	Plantation owners	Watkins 1968:147
VA	Montpelier	"JAMES MADISON"	undated	12	James Madison	President of the US	P.C. Aryel Rigano 2014
VA	Montpelier	Undecipherable	undated	2	unknown	unknown	P.C. Aryel Rigano 2014
VA	Montpelier	"(d)is"	undated	1	unknown	unknown	P.C. Aryel Rigano 2014
VA	Montpelier	"IM"	undated	1	unknown	unknown	P.C. Aryel Rigano 2014
VA	Mount Vernon	"John Posey"	c. 1750-1760	1	John Posey	unknown	Breen 2006:194
VA	Mount Vernon	[Fairfax family coat of arms]	undated	1	unknown Fairfax	unknown	Breen 2006:194

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Appendix: Bottle Seal Gazetteer. (continued)

State	Site	Seal	Date	No.	Owner	Occupation	Reference
VA	Nominy Plantation	"IOI 1696"	1696	1	Poss. member of Hardidge family	unknown	Hudson and Mitchell 1974:41
VA	Tutter's Neck	"FJ or FJ"	pre-1702	6	Frederick Jones	Chief Justice of NC	Noël Hume 1966
VA	Tutter's Neck	"H. Turner at the Vine"	undated	1	unknown	unknown	Noël Hume 1966
VA	Tutter's Neck	"Thomas Rabby"	undated	1	Thomas Rabby	unknown	Noël Hume 1961:38-39
VA	Williamsburg	"B. Powell"	undated	2	Benjamin Powell	unknown	Brown et al. 1990: Plate 60
VA	Williamsburg	"B.I.K"	undated	1	unknown	unknown	Ruggles-Brise 1949:171
VA	Williamsburg	"B.K."	undated	3	unknown	unknown	Ruggles-Brise 1949:171
VA	Williamsburg	"BH"	undated	1	Benjamin Harrison	unknown	Ruggles-Brise 1949:169
VA	Williamsburg	"CB"	undated	2	Carter Braxton	unknown	Noël Hume 1971: plate 23
VA	Williamsburg	"C.H."	undated	1	unknown	unknown	Ruggles-Brise 1949:171
VA	Williamsburg	"Custis"	undated	14	John Custis	unknown	Ruggles-Brise 1949:169
VA	Williamsburg	"E.C."	undated	1	Edward Charleton	unknown	Ruggles-Brise 1949:168
VA	Williamsburg	"F.T."	undated	1	Francis Tyler	unknown	Ruggles-Brise 1949:170
VA	Williamsburg	"FN"	undated	5	Sir Francis Nicholson	unknown	Ruggles-Brise 1949:169
VA	Williamsburg	"G. Wythe 1768"	1768	1	George Wythe	unknown	Ruggles-Brise 1949:170
VA	Williamsburg	"H. W. 1767"	1767	1	Hugh Waller	unknown	Ruggles-Brise 1949:170
VA	Williamsburg	I. Taylor	undated	1	John Taylor	unknown	Ruggles-Brise 1949:170
VA	Williamsburg	I. Tazewell 1768	1768	1	John Tazewell	unknown	Ruggles-Brise 1949:170
VA	Williamsburg	"TD"	1753-1756	1	John Doncastle	unknown	Noël Hume 1970: Plate 23
VA	Williamsburg	"I. Greenhow Wmsbgh 1767"	1767	3	John Greenhow	unknown	Noël Hume 1970: Plate 8
VA	Williamsburg	"Jno. Greenhow Wmsburg 1770"	1770	1	John Greenhow	unknown	Ruggles-Brise 1949:169

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Appendix: Bottle Seal Gazetteer. (continued)

State	Site	Seal	Date	No.	Owner	Occupation	Reference
VA	Williamsburg	"J. P. 1766"	1766	1	John Prentis	unknown	Ruggles-Brise 1949:169
VA	Williamsburg	"John Blair"	undated	1	John Blair	unknown	Ruggles-Brise 1949:168
VA	Williamsburg	"LB"	undated	1	Lewis Burwell	unknown	Pittman 2003
VA	Williamsburg	"Prentis"	undated	1	Robert Prentis and Company	unknown	Ruggles-Brise 1949:170
VA	Tutter's Neck	"Richard Burbydye 1701"	1701	1	Richard Burbydye	unknown	NoëlHume 1961:39
VA	Williamsburg	"S. Cobbs"	undated	1	Samuel Cobbs	Merchant	Ruggles-Brise 1949:168
VA	Shield Tavern, Williamsburg	"Th. Dan. 1739"	1739	1	Thomas Dansi	unknown	Brown et al. 1990
VA	Williamsburg	"Thos. Hornby"	undated	1	Thomas Hornsby	unknown	Ruggles-Brise 1949:169
VA	Williamsburg	"T. Jones"	c. 1769	1	Thomas Jones	unknown	NoëlHume 1970:Plate 13
VA	Williamsburg	TMG	1720-1730	1	unknown	unknown	Ruggles-Brise 1949:169
VA	Williamsburg	"WA"	undated	1	William Allason	unknown	Ruggles-Brise 1949:168
VA	Theater, Williamsburg	"W. Davis"	undated	1	unknown	unknown	Pickett, Cooper, McCartney 1991
VA	Williamsburg	"WL"	undated	1	William Lee or William Levinson	unknown	Ruggles-Brise 1949:169
VA	Williamsburg	"TP"	undated	1	Thomas Pettus	unknown	Ruggles-Brise 1949:169
VA	Williamsburg	"TBY"	undated	1	unknown	unknown	Ruggles-Brise 1949:169
VA	Williamsburg	"JBY"	undated	1	unknown	unknown	Ruggles-Brise 1949:169
VIRGINIA TOTAL				250			
NC	Brunswick Town	W. Dry 1766	1766	158	William Dry	Port Collector	South 2010
NORTH CAROLINA TOTAL				158			

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Appendix: Bottle Seal Gazetteer. (continued)

State	Site	Seal	Date	No.	Owner	Occupation	Reference
MI	Fort Michilimackinac	[Shield with chevron]	18th century	1	unknown	unknown	Brown 1971:127
MI	Unknown	"GR"	18th century	1	George the King	unknown	P.C. Dena Doroszkeno 2012
MICHIGAN TOTAL				2			
Canada	Artillery Park, Quebec	"GS/M"	c. 1775	1	unknown	unknown	Hanrahan 1994
Canada	Place Royale, Old Montreal	"TW"	undated	1	unknown	unknown	Hanrahan 1994
Canada	Dufferin Terrace, Quebec	[Coat of arms, Charles de Beauharnois]	1726-1746	1	Charles de Beauharnois	Governor, knight	Hanrahan 1994
Canada	Duniere House, Place Royale, Quebec	"G. Allsopp 1773"	1773	1	George Allsopp	Merchant	Hanrahan 1994
Canada	Place Royale, Quebec	"A"	c. 1750-1775	1	unknown	unknown	Hanrahan 1994
Canada	Place Royale, Quebec	"GW"	undated	1	unknown	unknown	Hanrahan 1994
QUEBEC TOTAL				6			
Canada	Spadino House, Ontario	"Chateau Lafitte"	19th century	1	unknown	unknown	P.C. Dena Doroszkeno 2012
Canada	Various sites	"GR"	c. 1760-1830	4	Crown Property	unknown	Hanrahan 1994
Canada	Fort Albany, NE Ontario	"F"	c. 1769	1	H	unknown	Hanrahan 1994
ONTARIO TOTAL				6			
Canada	Castle Hill, Newfoundland	"W. Saunder 1777"	1777	1	Unknown	Unknown	Hanrahan 1994
Canada	Castle Hill, Newfoundland	"Air No. 1"	undated	1	unknown	unknown	Hanrahan 1994
Canada	Ferryland, Newfoundland	"BHE"	c. 1698-1707	1	BHE	Merchant	www.heritage.nf.ca/avalon/artifacts/bottleseals_ref.html
Canada	Ferryland, Newfoundland	"B.T.S. 1723"	1723	1	Thomas Burley	Merchant	www.heritage.nf.ca/avalon/artifacts/bottleseals_ref.html

Appendix: Bottle Seal Gazetteer. (*continued*)

State	Site	Seal	Date	No.	Owner	Occupation	Reference
Canada	Ferryland, Newfoundland	"George Davis"	undated	1	George Davis	Merchant	www.heritage.nf.ca/avalon/artifacts/bottleseals_ref.html
Canada	Ferryland, Newfoundland	"H"	undated	1	Holdsworth family	unknown	www.heritage.nf.ca/avalon/artifacts/bottleseals_ref.html
Canada	Ferryland, Newfoundland	"INO Robins 1735"	1735	1	John Robins	unknown	www.heritage.nf.ca/avalon/artifacts/bottleseals_ref.html
Canada	Ferryland, Newfoundland	"IR"	c. 1661-1673	1	John Rayner	Sea captain	www.heritage.nf.ca/avalon/artifacts/bottleseals_ref.html
Canada	Ferryland, Newfoundland	"John Curtis 1695"	1695	1	John Curtis	Boat owner	www.heritage.nf.ca/avalon/artifacts/bottleseals_ref.html
Canada	Ferryland, Newfoundland	"John Strang"	c. 1707	1	John Strang	Merchant	www.heritage.nf.ca/avalon/artifacts/bottleseals_ref.html
Canada	Ferryland, Newfoundland	"P.C."	c. 1673	1	Unknown	Merchant	www.heritage.nf.ca/avalon/artifacts/bottleseals_ref.html
Canada	Ferryland, Newfoundland	"Peter Fewings"	c. 1700-1701	1	Peter Fewings	Merchant	www.heritage.nf.ca/avalon/artifacts/bottleseals_ref.html
Canada	Ferryland, Newfoundland	"P. Gely 1752"	c. 1754	1	Philip Gely	Surveyor	www.heritage.nf.ca/avalon/artifacts/bottleseals_ref.html
Canada	Ferryland, Newfoundland	"PK"	c. 1765-1697	3	Phillip Kirke I	Merchant	www.heritage.nf.ca/avalon/artifacts/bottleseals_ref.html
Canada	Ferryland, Newfoundland	"Sloss 1699"	1699	1	? Sloss	unknown	www.heritage.nf.ca/avalon/artifacts/bottleseals_ref.html
Canada	Ferryland, Newfoundland	"Tho Holds in Da.. 17..."	17??	1	Thomas Holdsworth	Fishery investor	www.heritage.nf.ca/avalon/artifacts/bottleseals_ref.html
Canada	Ferryland, Newfoundland	"W.H."	c. 1699	1	Henry Wickley	Fisherman	www.heritage.nf.ca/avalon/artifacts/bottleseals_ref.html
Canada	Ferryland, Newfoundland	"Wm. Saunders"	c. 1763	1	William Saunders	Planter	www.heritage.nf.ca/avalon/artifacts/bottleseals_ref.html

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State	Site	Seal	Date	No.	Owner	Occupation	Reference
Canada	Ferryland, Newfoundland	"Wm. Smith 172..."	172?	1	William Smith	Owned 3 boats	www.heritage.nf.ca/avalon/artifacts/bottleseals_ref.html
NEWFOUNDLAND TOTAL				21			
Canada	Fortress Louisbourg, Nova Scotia	[Coat of Arms of Joseph de Brouillan]	1718-1738	13	Joseph de Brouillan	Gov. of Ile Royale	Hanrahan 1994
Canada	Fortress Louisbourg, Nova Scotia	"M. Ballard"	undated	1	unknown	unknown	Hanrahan 1994
Canada	Fortress Louisbourg, Nova Scotia	"BC"	undated	1	unknown	unknown	Hanrahan 1994
Canada	Fortress Louisbourg, Nova Scotia	"IG"	undated	1	unknown	unknown	Hanrahan 1994
Canada	Fortress Louisbourg, Nova Scotia	"IC"	undated	1	unknown	unknown	Hanrahan 1994
Canada	Fortress Louisbourg, Nova Scotia	"London" and [Star of David]	undated	1	unknown	unknown	Hanrahan 1994
Canada	Fortress Louisbourg, Nova Scotia	"WB"	undated	1	unknown	unknown	Hanrahan 1994
NOVA SCOTIA TOTAL				19			
TOTAL				651			