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GENTILITY AND GENDER ROLES WITHIN THE 18TH-CENTURY MERCHANT CLASS

OF NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND

A Thesis Presented

by

NICKI L. HISE

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

MASTER OF ARTS

December 2010

Historical Archaeology Program

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NICKI L. HISE

Approved as to style and content by:

David B. Landon, Associate Professor of Anthropology Chairperson of Committee

James Garman, Associate Professor of Cultural and Historic Pre	servation
Salve Regina University	
Member	

Stephen A. Mrozowski, Professor of Anthropology Member

Stephen W. Silliman, Program Director Historical Archaeology Program

Stephen A. Mrozowski, Chairperson Anthropology Department

ABSTRACT

GENTILITY AND GENDER ROLES WITHIN THE 18TH-CENTURY MERCHANT CLASS OF NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND

December 2010

Nicki L. Hise, B.A., Texas A&M University M.A., University of Massachusetts Boston

Directed by Dr. David B. Landon

The Capt. Thomas Richardson household rose to prominence in Newport, Rhode Island during the community's golden age of prosperity in the 18th century when Newport quickly became one of the leading seaports in the New World. However, all prosperity halted due to the hardships and damage Newport suffered during the American Revolutionary War. Much of the city's property and economic success was destroyed at the hands of occupying British troops, and the Rhode Island community was never able to fully recover. Like others in colonial Newport, Capt. Thomas Richardson achieved genteel status as a merchant, distiller, and slave ship owner during the city's golden era, but died in 1782 as a shell of the man he once was, his property and status having been heavily damaged. Archaeological excavations along with the analysis of material culture of the Richardson houselot on Thames Street in Newport have sought to more clearly define the role and activities of Capt. Thomas Richardson and his family as members of Newport's elite merchant class that largely controlled the economic and social structures within the community. Additionally, women's household activities and gender roles are examined in this study in order to better understand women's lived experiences in colonial Newport. Artifacts recovered from the Thames Street houselot are used as an access point into the practices and objects necessary to display, maintain, and reproduce social status within merchant society.

The artifact assemblage comprising of ceramics, glasswares, and small finds revealed a merchant household that achieved a growth in wealth and status due to its participation in Atlantic trade, but experienced downfall at the destruction caused by the American Revolutionary War. This data, along with documentary evidence, supports the conclusion that a merchant was not necessarily synonymous with elite class, as the case of Capt. Thomas Richardson shows. Instead, merchants moved more fluidly amongst classes depending on their ability to maintain material and behavioral appearances. Just like financial booms and busts, merchants rose and fell in Newport society in correlation with their ability to maintain practices of gentility.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

During the 18th century, the city of Newport in Rhode Island quickly rose to prominence as a major commercial center and seaport in New England. As Newport's success as a leading center of trade grew, so did the city's population as people came to Newport in order to take advantage of its location and prosperity. During the 1700s when the city experienced its Golden Age, Newport was teaming with different groups and classes. In many ways the most important class in terms of power and success was the merchant elite. With the growing number of elite which included sea captains, slaveholders, and distillers, a stratification of social classes formed in the city. A dependency on market activity and trade was created by the immense success and wealth brought to Newport by commercial activity. This resulted in the merchant class having the majority of influence over Newport's activities. For many years Newport's proximity to the sea was a catalyst for success and trade, and the city teamed with promise. However, with the British occupation of the city during the American Revolution, that dependency on the sea devastated Newport as its commercial trade was cut off, leaving the city in a crippled state. The British occupation was certainly the end of Newport's Golden Age as much of the city was left in ruins, residents fled, and the city's success was never fully regained (Crane 1985).

The British occupation was not only detrimental for 18th-century Newport during the American Revolution, though. Because much of the city was destroyed, it was also harmful for contemporary historians and researchers who want to better understand the city's historical record and cultural past. By using the archaeological record and material culture assemblages, this analysis attempts to examine life and social power of Newport's 18th-century merchant elite through practices of gentility and women's labor. The examination of ceramic, glassware, and small find assemblages allows insights into a merchant household and its domestic activities. Examining these particular assemblages also helps archaeologists to more fully understand the choices those in a merchant household made while constructing their social identity through material goods. Elite status was not created solely out of commercial trade and the movement of goods, but also through the "consumption of high-style possessions deployed to reshape social class and individual identity" (Hunter 2001:5). Likewise, the financial ability or lack thereof to consume expensive goods had enormous impact on a merchant household's social identity and position within polite society. This study attempts to trace the Capt. Thomas Richardson household's movement within an elite class and the many factors that affected the family's social success.

This analysis begins with a review of literature which focuses on the particular themes used to determine the complex social status and household activities of the Capt. Thomas Richardson family. Examining previous studies of merchant classes and women's roles help in understanding the many aspects of the Capt. Thomas Richardson family as a merchant household and urban consumers in 18th-century Newport, where financial success and failure often correlated with social standing. An overview of

mannerly behavior and gentility introduces the social roles merchants played in colonial New England and their influence during that time. This also helps to more fully understand merchants' mindsets and world views which shaped how they behaved within society and the choices they made in constructing a social identity through material goods. This discussion also examines how archaeologists have studied and attempted to construct merchant households and identity through the archaeological record. Within these studies, practices of gentility have been focused upon as expressions of class identity in the colonial 18th century. Studies that focus upon gender and women's roles are also examined as a framework for interpreting household activities and labor in a colonial setting. This focus on gender is helpful in constructing a more complete interpretation of a merchant household. Finally, studies that examine practices and results of urban archaeology are utilized to allow a better understanding of the social complexity of the busy commercial city of Newport and the specific behaviors that were more common in an urban environment.

Gentility and Politeness

In this analysis merchants are considered to be part of an elite and wealthy class that was incredibly influential within 18th-century Newport and much of colonial New England. As commercial activities increased in North America, and the British colonies became major players in the arena of international trade, the merchant class rose in prominence as well as importance. The merchant class of Newport discussed here includes sea captains, distillers, and slaveholders; it is likely that Capt. Thomas Richardson was all three of these. Rather than including shopkeepers or retailers, this study focuses solely on the group within the merchant class that traded on a wider scale.

Although some of those merchants did own and operate shops, that aspect of business was more of a by-product of their commercial activities (Goodwin 1999:53). In *An Archaeology of Manners,* Goodwin claims that the huge success of the merchant class in the 18th century can be partially attributed to the great profit potential of owning ships. The main expenses of owning and operating a ship included crew wages, victuals, and merchandise, creating low overhead costs for merchants. As a result, merchants were able to acquire wealth and quickly climb to the top of the social hierarchy in Colonial North America.

Newport's obvious geographic advantage allowed the city to thrive as a center for economic trade, and thus, allowed the merchants of Newport to thrive also as wealth was drawn into that social class. Not only did the monetary wealth of Newport's upper class expand, but the physical characteristics of the city also changed because of the amount of wealth being poured into its infrastructure. In order to create a city of taste, gentility, and fashion, successful merchants were able to afford improvements on roads, markets, wharves, and public buildings, creating a physical environment that reflected and showcased their high class. Indeed, by improving the infrastructure of his town, an elite merchant was also improving his overall success. In turn, because of its improved appearance, Newport was able to attract more incoming elite residents than other rural, less economically successful towns. As a result, a higher population, urban growth and the movement of goods and money was accelerated, which encouraged even more trade activities. The merchant class came to essentially run Newport and control it through their influence, which included holding political offices, manipulating local markets, attending the right churches, and socializing with the right people (Goodwin 1999).

In this analysis, writings of other scholars have been utilized in order to better understand the specific behaviors of those within the merchant class and what it takes to access and maintain that status. Both Lorinda Goodwin and Phyllis Hunter claim that at the core of merchant identity is a code of mannerly behavior (Goodwin 1999:48; Hunter 2001:107). So ingrained was this mannerly behavior in the concept of merchant status that it was believed that mere imitation was insufficient to learn gentility (Shields 1997:38). It was necessary for manners and taste to be mastered and internalized within every aspect of a merchant's class for that person to be truly thought of as a belonging member of high society. In addition to being used as a recognizable label of class, gentility was used to further commercial goals, aid in networking among merchants, and serve as a method of reproducing and sustaining status.

Although in England, the elite class was mostly defined by owning property or ancestry, a new definition of elite had taken shape within the British Empire. Land ownership and ancestry were replaced by concepts of taste, manners, and social entertainment that were used to create a structure of American hierarchy (Carson 1965:3-40; Goodwin 1999:50-52; Hunter 2001:71-72). These new American rules of gentility were so prevalent throughout society that class division and many social interactions were based upon them. Because many of the material goods necessary for displaying taste and gentility could be purchased by those colonists with the means to do so, consumerism and trade became avenues for bolstering social status and replacing English concepts of elite heritage with new American ideas of genteel behaviors (Green and Walsh: 1994: 59-61; Sweeney 1994:2-3). If wealth allowed them the privilege, colonists of different religious faiths, family heritage, and European backgrounds could purchase a

new elite identity through owning material culture that would be used in practicing the mannerly behaviors and high-class taste of American hierarchy (Breen 1994:446-447). Certainly this concept of purchasing elite status through the use of high-class material goods and practicing mannerly behavior was utilized by the merchant class in their rise to power and influence in Newport and elsewhere within the American colonies (Bushman 1992).

The materials of gentility and social behaviors employed by the merchant class also served to function as a collective way to identify someone of the same or different status (Herman 2006:42-45). This mannerly behavior and elite material culture employed by the merchant class was a way for individuals to communicate their status to others within their community and form social networks with others of the same status. Exhibiting high-class taste and behavior, wearing the right attire, and consuming the right materials would have been a useful way for sea captains such as Capt. Thomas Richardson to easily identify other merchants, distillers, and slaveholders in Newport. This widely understood culture of gentility was a controlling factor in the ways in which those within the merchant class, such as the Capt. Thomas Richardson household, behaved and viewed the world around them.

While a merchant's house and property were also clear signals of their status, the material indicators of merchant identity were also visible in other forms, such as entertainment, clothing, and religion. The field of historical archaeology can be very useful in determining and understanding the social interactions, mannerly behaviors, and material culture of the merchant class. In examining indicators of genteel status within

the archaeological record, this study attempts to explore the concepts of social identity and merchant status in Newport.

Gender and Women's Roles

The more recent focus on women's roles has had immense impact on the field of archaeology. Views regarding women's roles within a culture and personal life experiences have affected the way we practice archaeology and interpret material culture, and they have also changed the way epistemological views of knowledge and truth are approached (Code 1991:8-9; Conkey and Williams 1991:102-139; Hesse-Biber et al 2004:3-26; Johnson 1999:188-120; Keller 1990:42-43; Trigger 1996:458-459). It was not until the 1980s that North American archaeology began to more critically examine assumptions regarding women as a group within the practice of archaeology as well as archaeological interpretations (Westkott 1999:58-68). Along with the addition of more feminist views to archaeology also came the addition of other practices within the field, such as specifically looking for women within the archaeological record and focusing on women's experience in interpretations (Conkey and Tringham 1995). A recent effort within the field has been made to rewrite the history of archaeology to reflect the contribution of these women. This rediscovery of history has helped to highlight women's role and influence in archaeology that had once been misinterpreted or grouped together with other people (Hodder and Preucel 1996:419).

One way that archaeologists attempted to correct those misinterpretations was by specifically looking for women within the archaeological record (Joyce 2004:87). Within the field of archaeology, it had been the general idea that, culturally, what was true for men was also true for women, and both men and women were lumped together in the

same group in archaeological data. Many argued against this idea, saying that women's lives and experiences were different than those of men's and sought out examples within the archaeological record that would highlight women's unique cultural experiences (Spector 1993; Wilkie 2003). However, this effort has been criticized as an "add women and stir" approach to archaeology that merely grafts women onto archaeological data without having any real implications or contributions to our empirical understanding of women within culture. Therefore, it is important to address this criticism by making "gender visible, most likely by linking specific artifacts or household areas or grave goods with males or females, so as to make inferences directly from these about what men and women did" (Conkey and Tringham 1995:204).

This analysis utilizes the recent gender-related views within the field of archaeology by attempting to provide insight into women's roles within the Capt. Thomas Richardson household through the family's practices of gentility and mannerly behavior. Although the family trade activities most likely bore Capt. Richardson's namesake, it is likely that the women of this household were in some ways directly involved with economic activities and practices of gentility, acting as social organizers and, at times, even business partners (Cott 1977:28-62; Crane 1985; Goodwin 1999:157-196; Ulrich 1982:35-50)

Although many women of lower social status worked as domestic laborers during the 18th century, women of the merchant class had wealth that afforded them the ability to direct labor, rather than perform it. At this time wealth was a determining factor in women's labor. While many unmarried women at the time worked at spinning, weaving, or cleaning, an unmarried woman of high status might occupy her time with receiving

visits, reading, painting, or needlework. It is possible that the daughters of Capt. Thomas Richardson occupied their time with those more genteel tasks. Although married women generally had less leisure time than unmarried peers, it is likely that high-status women directed more housework than those of the lower classes who performed it. In some cases, performing household labor or rigorous work would have been socially unacceptable for women of genteel status, and the mannerly behavior that dictated much of the merchant class would not have permitted a woman to perform such tasks.

However, within the merchant world, it was a woman's responsibility to act as a social gatekeeper (Goodwin 1999:177). Women of merchant households played a large part in organizing and directing social functions and gatherings. The purpose of these gatherings, though, was not merely for entertainment and recreation, although that likely occurred. Meals, teas, and other gatherings provided opportunities to "reinforce class solidarity, to add new members or exclude unlikely candidates, and to reproduce the values of the group" (Goodwin 1999:177). Social events were a time to demonstrate knowledge of mannerly behavior and social graces and prove that you belong within this particular class. Each gathering was an opportunity to display costly goods and economic success, which were important influences within the negotiation of personal alliances such as marriage and class cohesion. The ability to play cards, musical instruments, and practice social graces was a demonstration of intellectual skill and social restraint. Likewise, the proper use of objects such as teacups, fans, and jewelry was an equally important way to demonstrate the ability to navigate within the upper class. Mannerly behavior and costly goods such as this demonstrated social cohesion and encouraged class reproduction within the merchants of Newport.

While these social gatherings had long-term results in regards to class reproduction and status maintenance, they also provided more short-term opportunities for merchants to make business connections and economic ties. At dinners, dances, and "turtle frolics," men were able to judge potential business partners and determine whether another merchant had the right social qualifications, political ties, or family. If indeed a particular gentleman was determined to be desirable in terms of economic alliance, he might eventually become a helpful business partner. In this way, by acting as gatekeeper and entertainer for social gatherings and interactions in the home, a woman had direct influence over the success and wealth of her family. In forming social connections, women of the merchant class directly affected the immediate and future state of their families' success.

In many cases, women even acted as an assistant or surrogate to her husband in business transactions (Goodwin 1999:176; Ulrich 1982:9). Although these actions may have been more limited than those of the social gatekeeper, women directly contributed to their families' business affairs when acting as deputy husband. Although as true members of the merchant class, women had to maintain distance from actual labor or trade, at times they maintained merchant businesses with the approval of the community. While husbands were away either for business or personal reasons, wives were viewed as surrogates and had the ability to operate business, keep records, or even sign contracts in a man's absence. In some cases this surrogate husband role would have been the only training a woman received before finding it necessary to take control of a merchant business upon her husband's death. It may seem that this role granted women of the merchant class independence, but this typically was not so. In spite of relying on women

to maintain the family's livelihood during an absence, it was not intended for a woman to become self-reliant through this deputy husband role. However dependent upon or constrained by the accepted behaviors of the merchant class, however, the role of surrogate merchant did provide women a way of influencing family status.

Although in many ways the influence women had on their families' economic and social success was more indirect, women frequently acted as agents within the merchant class to maintain or reproduce social status and ensure economic success. Through the examination of the archaeological record, this study can hopefully provide more insight into the lived experiences, activities, and roles of women of the merchant class.

Archaeology of Merchants

There has been little written about 18th-century urban merchants in regards to class identity through gender roles. However, Ann Yentsch's book, *A Chesapeake Family and Their Slaves*, is an excellent example of using archaeological interpretations to understand the merchant household dynamic and ways of life for an elite family in Maryland (Yentsch 1994). Yentsch's analysis focuses on the Calvert family of Annapolis, utilizing archaeology, material culture, historical documentation, and oral histories to construct an interpretation of the elite merchant class and the essential role slavery played in maintaining a genteel lifestyle in colonial Maryland. The daily life of members of an aristocratic British household is reconstructed and examined in order to determine how many people of different cultural backgrounds and origins interacted.

In her Boston University dissertation, Christina Hodge details the excavation and analysis of the Wanton-Lyman-Hazard house in Newport (Hodge 2007). From 1765-1782, this house was the home of a merchant household of middling gentility. In her

work, Hodge challenges the assumption that social rank predicted consumer choice in colonial New England, arguing instead that middling classes did not simply attempt to emulate their elite social superiors. In contrast to many other historical works written and used in this analysis, Hodge's dissertation argues against the idea that merchant classes were cohesive, desirable, and elite. This unique view is important as an alternative interpretation of gentility and class behavior. Shantia Anderheggen also detailed the ownership and history of the Wanton-Lyman-Hazard house, giving insight into how the merchant family might have used and viewed the Newport home (Anderheggen 2006).

Also, as discussed before Lorinda Goodwin uses historical archaeology and documentary research to interpret the world of politeness and elite behavior for the Massachusetts merchant class (Goodwin 1999). Using material symbols of elite status, such as ceramics, clothing, and adornment, Goodwin conveys the material world in which merchants consumed, created, and expressed their elite identities. Using the Turner family as an example, she described how a Salem, Massachusetts household situated themselves socially and economically within the larger contexts of colonial commercial trade and class identity. Goodwin effectively uses the field of archaeology as an access point into the mannerly behaviors, gender roles, and consumerism of the 18thcentury merchant class of colonial New England.

Other historical archaeologists have also examined merchants of New Hampshire and Massachusetts, using the historical record to interpret merchants' relationship with their communities (Beaudry 1995, 2008). Beaudry's excavation of a rural farm in Newbury, Massachusetts reveals insights into the lives of two merchants living in a rural community. Through this analysis, evidence of the genteel class and mannerly behaviors

are identified, such as the elaborate decoration of the farm's house in order to exhibit gentility and taste. While the rural merchants would initially appear to be a success story in terms of commercial trade and social class, it is ultimately a tale of failure. In Beaudry's study, it is revealed that these Massachusetts merchants wound up in economic downfalls. However, the example of merchants who fail are equally as important as those who experience wealth and success, as it adds a realistic view of the risks and complexities of merchant business. While many merchants experienced enormous wealth and commercial success, there were also those within the merchant class who utterly failed.

Faith Harrington's archaeological analysis revealed the presence of polite society and mannerly behavior for a merchant household at the Sherburne house in Portsmouth, NH (Harrington 1889). In her study, Harrington describes Joseph Sherburne as an 18thcentury merchant who utilized his property, dress, material goods, and slaves in order to maintain and reinforce his social status. As Sherburne accumulated wealth, as Harrington argues, the merchant felt the social need to express his upper class identity to his fellow merchants within the community. By consuming expensive materials and goods, Sherburne fulfilled the need to maintain and exhibit his status. This analysis provides insights into the specific materials and behaviors of taste that were used within the merchant class, as well as the concepts of class identity and maintenance among merchants.

Although his study includes merchants but does not focus specifically on them, Steven Pendery uses probate records to analyze consumer behavior in 18th-century Charlestown, MA (Pendery 1991). Directing his research at Charlestown's urban

population, Pendery presents the claim that consumer decisions were influenced by shifting cultural values such as an emphasis on the family unit and the importance of the individual. The shifting values described in Pendery's work are interesting in that it presents the concept of the individual as well as colonial culture's emphasis on individual identity. It would seem that individual identity would be something pushed aside by the merchant class' concentration on group solidarity and structured behavior. However, Pendery's argument provides a unique view of consumer choices.

Like the studies described which focus on or include the merchant class of colonial New England, this analysis utilizes archaeology in order to add to our understanding of merchant identity and practices of gentility and consumerism in the 18th century. This analysis also attempts to provide insight into women's roles, labor, and lived experiences as essential members of this elite class. Through the addition of an emphasis on gender, this study compliments previous works and reveals additional understanding about colonial merchant households.

415 Thames Street

The case study of 415 Thames Street is an example of the intricate nature of urban archaeology, which many times can present complexities of determining an accurate understanding of intensely used properties. In this particular case, the archaeological excavation encompasses a time span of nearly three centuries and material contexts associated with occupants of different economic, social, and ethnic background. The house currently located at 415 Thames Street was built between the years 1834-1835 by Clark Burdick, a local boot and shoe dealer at 405 Thames Street (NLE 20:99). This two-and-a-half story house is located on the west side of Thames Street between Young

and Dennison. Built with Greek revival style architecture, the house shows examples of this particular style, such as a gabled roof. The main entrance faces south, and cornered pilasters provide support around the house's perimeter. From 1834-1905, members of the Burdick family owned the house, and ownership was transferred to Burdick's son, Clark Burdick, Jr., during that time. During the late 19th century, while Burdick, Jr. was in possession of the house, the building entered a period of tenancy and was rented to families of various ethnic backgrounds. Israel Joseph lived in the house as a tenant from 1889-1890 and operated a dry goods store on the property (CD 1889, 1890). Remigio Pasqualetti was a tenant in 1892 and operated a fruit and nut business on the property (CD 1892). In 1893, the house was used as the London Art and Portrait Studio (CD 1893). The following year it was used as Julius Engel's store where he sold china and glassware (CD 1894).

Eventually, the house at 415 Thames Street and the adjacent property at 413 Thames Street were purchased in 1905 by the DeCotis family (NLE 86:355). During the subsequent 64 years, the two properties were occupied by several generations of the Italian Decotis family who owned and operated a barber shop at 415 Thames Street. Finally, in 1969 both 413 and 415 Thames Street were purchased by the Newport Restoration Foundation from Alfred and Marion DeCotis (NLE 227:63-65). The NRF had purchased the two properties as part of a project to restore and protect the historical integrity of southern Thames Street in Newport. After several phases of construction and restoration were completed by the NRF, both 413 and 415 Thames Street are now fully functional. The first floor of 415 Thames serves as the NRF's museum gift shop, and the

second floor of the building functions as a rented apartment. The house on 413 Thames Street also currently functions as a rented tenement.

Since the site was occupied by multiple owners and tenants, it is not surprising that excavations revealed deposits and contexts relating to many households, including the material culture of the DeCotis family and their barber shop as well as the tenancy period of the Burdick family (Styger 2009). These archaeological deposits are certainly complex, but further excavation of the lot, discussed later in this thesis, only added to the site's complexity. Material culture belonging to an 18th-century household was discovered, requiring further research in order to better understand the land's use and occupation.

Upon further research of the site's history, land use, and earlier occupants, it was found that the parcel of land presently known as 415 Thames Street was originally the southern portion of a larger lot of land purchased by Capt. Thomas Richardson in 1714 (NLE 1:63-64). This land along Thames Street measured "68 feet in length" (NLE 1:63-64), and its bounds seem to correspond to the present bounds of 413-415 Thames Street. Although today this land does not border the water since land fill has extended the wharf, during the 18th century, Richardson's land would have had immediate access what is now known as Brown and Howard Wharves (Styger 2009:12). Through examination of a 1777 plan of Newport drawn by Charles Blaskowitz, it is clear that a house and three warehouses or still houses had been constructed on Capt. Richardson's property by that time. (Figure 1.1) The Richardson household occupied this site until Richardson's death in 1782. Afterwards, it seems that the house was shortly occupied by Capt. Richardson's



Figure 1.1: Charles Blaskowitz 1777 map of Newport, depicting Capt. Richardson's structures. *Source: U.S. Library of Congress*

daughter, Lydia, and son-in-law, Nicolas Anceaux, until the land and relating property were sold in 1783 (Newport Mercury 1782, 1783). Capt. Thomas Richardson's obituary appeared in the Newport Mercury announcing that his death had occurred on September 17, 1782. The Newport Mercury also published an advertisement in the next year, on October 11, 1783, for the house and land to be sold. On October 9, 1784, another advertisement appeared in the newspaper, announcing that Capt. Thomas Richardson's distillery was to be sold.

The house and land on 415 Thames Street was then sold to John Philibert in January 1784 for the amount of \$555 Spanish Milled Dollars (NLE 2:71-73). Not long after Philibert's purchase, the house was described as a "mansion or dwelling house" when it was sold to John Cooke of Tiverton, RI in July 1784 (NLE 2:222). Cooke only owned the property for just over a year and sold it to Col. John Malbone in November 1785 (NLE 3:267). Under Malbone's ownership, the property entered a period of tenancy until the house was razed between 1812 and 1832.

In summary, the backlot of 415 Thames is an excellent example of the archaeological complexities of an urban environment and many known households. The house built before 1777 was occupied by Capt. Thomas Richardson along with his family and slaves until his death in 1782. After three subsequent owners, the house entered a period of tenancy until it was demolished sometime after 1812. The lot stayed unused until Charles Burdick built and occupied a house on the property in 1834. For over a century the house was occupied by the Burdick family, the DeCotis family, and a series of tenants until it was finally purchased and restored by the Newport Restoration Foundation in 1969. This thesis focuses on the household of Capt. Thomas Richardson, who occupied the site from around 1755-1782. In an attempt to better understand the merchant world of Capt. Richardson, the activities and roles of household members, and their precarious position in elite society, the material culture of contexts associated with that household is analyzed in this study.

CHAPTER II

HISTORY OF COLONIAL NEWPORT

Although Newport eventually developed into one of the most influential commercial and social centers of colonial New England, the town had rather meager beginnings. It could be said that Newport, on Aquidneck Island, had originally been settled out of the necessity of having nowhere else to go. After being banished from the Massachusetts Bay Colony because of their radical religious views, Anne Hutchinson, along with a band of misfit followers, purchased land on Aquidneck Island from the Narragansett native inhabitants in 1638 (Jeffreys 2008:5). After first settling on the northern tip of Aquidneck Island, now part of Portsmouth, religious disagreements eventually divided the settlers. As a result of those disagreements, a separate group, led by Nicholas Easton, William Coddington, and Dr. John Clarke, moved from the northern tip to the southern area of the island and founded Newport in 1639. After the original Aquidneck Island settlers had gone their separate ways, founding different towns on the island, a new charter was eventually granted to Newport in 1663 (Jeffreys 2008:12). This new charter was quite liberal towards the colony of Rhode Island, guaranteeing selfgovernment and establishing "a lively experiment...with full liberty in religious concernments" (Jeffereys 2008:12). This new Rhode Island charter, under which the settlers of Newport lived, was the first in Western history to make religious liberty a priority of existence.

The town was originally founded as a rural settlement, although the convenience of the area's harbor as an ideal port was certainly obvious at the time (Bridenbaugh 1974:19). Believing that their newly settled town would certainly fail if no commodities or goods were produced for subsistence and trade, the original founders sought economic opportunities through rural activities (Withey 1984:18-19). Therefore, Newport initially functioned as a rural settlement through the raising of livestock for the purposes of trade among other markets and farming grains for the settlers' own use. The towns of Aquidneck Island experienced success with their livestock markets, and Newport's population, which was recorded at approximately 300 settlers in 1650, eventually grew to reach 2,000 in 1690 (Bridenbaugh 1974:72-73). Although Newport's rural economy was generally successful, the conveniently located harbor provided the means for an incredible economic and commercial boom. Eventually, the town's leaders would put aside rural goals in order to pursue the economic opportunities that Newport's harbor provided.

Newport's initial emphasis on commercial activities with other seaport settlements was evident in the town's construction of a wharf organized by town leaders around the mid-17th century (Bridenbaugh 1974:94-96). The initial wharf appears to have been a successful venture because by the 1680s, Newport had two community wharves after local merchants requested a second wharf. The construction of these wharves for the use of commercial trading set off a series of long-term effects on the town of Newport that would eventually shape the settlement's future and success. With the town's previous rural activities pushed aside in favor of large-scale maritime trading, Newport became an essential part of many commercial activities that helped to keep the

infrastructure of the British colonies afloat (James 1984). Newport was able to join the notorious trade triangle, where local products and goods were exported from New England colonies to Caribbean ports in exchange for sugar cane products, molasses, and slaves. The town was also able to use its harbor as a way to trade with other colonies along North America's eastern coast. By being able to trade directly with Caribbean merchants, Newport's new commercial economy helped to reduce the role of Boston as a middleman for trade and made the export of products more efficient (Withey 1984:18-19). However, imports were still shipped from Europe, to Boston, then eventually to Newport at the time because the town's commercial demand was too small to merit a direct shipment of packets from Europe. Even with the reliance on Boston at the time as a middleman for imports, though, Newport was starting to become a major player within the arena of colonial trade.

Newport was soon given near total autonomy from British control when the Rhode Island assembly passed a law in 1705 which authorized the town to regulate its own economic affairs (Bridenbaugh 1968:144-145). This new law gave the Town Meeting the authority to levy taxes for all commercial affairs and transactions, "a privilege which would have aroused the greatest official envy at Philadelphia or New York" (Bridenbaugh 1968:145). With this newfound commercial freedom, Newport began to serve a major regional function within Rhode Island. The town's merchants imported and sold European products that Providence shopkeepers then sold to Rhode Island settlers in the north (Whithey 1984: 6-7). In this way, Newport's network of trade extended throughout Rhode Island, Connecticut, and southern Massachusetts. Although many residents in Newport rarely ventured a long distance from their homes, shopkeepers

and merchants were able to make contacts in other towns and regions. Furthermore, merchants that operated on large scales even had commercial contacts in other major seaports of the colonies and Europe.

At the time, rum and molasses were utilized as a valuable means of exchange and form of currency. Newport merchants were able to use this exchange system to their advantage by taking part in an Atlantic triangular trade pattern that greatly added to the wealth of the town's merchant class (Barrow 1967:70; Coughtry 1981:20-21). Molasses was purchased in the West Indies and taken back to Newport to be distilled into rum. Rum was then shipped across the Atlantic and used as a currency along the West African coast to purchase slaves. After becoming more heavily involved in Atlantic commerce, Newport trade activities included exchanges with British colonies as well as illegal exchanges with Dutch colonies in the West Indies (Coughtry 1981:8; Schmidt and Mrozowski 1988:32-42). Thanks to the law passed which authorized the town to regulate taxes, illegal trading was certainly more prevalent.

Newport's role as a commercial center grew throughout the 18th century. As a result of the town's success as a seaport, the construction of additional wharves, distilleries, and waterfront warehouses were necessary in order for the town to maintain its level of commercial activity. Not only was Newport expanded to allow for greater trade activity, but the town's population also expanded. The population had more than doubled in nearly forty years, amounting to 4,460 people and approximately 400 houses, making Newport the largest trading center in Rhode Island at the time (Coughtry 1981:10). This increase in population not only affected the amount of commercial activity, but it also changed the physical appearance of Newport (Goodwin 1999).

Residents, such as the merchant elite, were able to afford improvements and expansions in their town. Public buildings were constructed, roadways were improved, and wharves were enhanced. Newport's leaders also ordered the construction of a town market in 1733 in an attempt to regulate and organize goods (Daniels 1979:104). These town improvements advertised that not only was Newport a great place to make money, but it was also a desirable place to live.

The construction of new wharves and docks also helped merchants to increase or even monopolize commercial trade. The 1739 expansion of Long Wharf was a major step in declaring Newport an important colonial seaport (Withey 1884:29). The elite merchant class, who in many ways both supported and ran the town of Newport, built their wharves and houses right on Thames Street, the town's waterfront (Crane 1985:49-52). In this way, merchants had direct access to commercial trade; it was all right outside their doors. The close proximity of seaport activity to their homes was certainly convenient for merchants, and it also gave them opportunities to display their wealth and status in the town's center (Bridenbaugh 1965:38). Fashionable houses, private wharves and distilleries allowed merchants to display their prominence and was useful space for constructing stores and warehouses from which manufactured goods, such as rum, were sold and exported. While visible improvements and major construction projects certainly displayed Newport's success as a seaport, its direct trade between the New World and Europe was the most significant marker that the town which had started with such small beginnings had finally become an important contender in Atlantic trade. From raising livestock and growing grains, Newport had turned into a major center of commercial and urban activity within the British colonies.

Rum Trade & Heyday

Newport's source of incredible success in the 18th century can be attributed to the town's involvement in trade with Britain and illegal smuggling within the Atlantic world. The decades before the American Revolutionary War was indeed the town's heyday as the merchant class grew in power and wealth. During the 1750s, Newport experienced an economic and commercial surge (Withey 1984:10-14). The success of the merchant class in Newport attracted new residents to the town who saw the possibility of wealth through commercial ties (Platt 1975:610-618). Migrating to Newport gave many hopeful merchants more direct access to the booming triangle save trade which the town would soon become an integral part of. At the time, Newport seemed to be the perfect place to make a fortune, and hopeful residents desired to utilize this opportunity for their own benefit. The town's location as a quality seaport and numerous wharves certainly influenced merchants from many regions to view the spot as an excellent place for trade.

The usefulness of molasses and rum as a currency was well-known throughout the Atlantic world, and Newport took advantage of this commodity by building its success on the movement of the slave trade (Crane 1985:28-29). Newport merchants took part in this trade by importing molasses from the West Indies and distilling it into rum, causing distilling to become a major commercial activity in the 18th century. By creating a stronghold on rum and sugar within the New England market, Newport effectively distanced itself from Boston as a trading contender by maintaining a monopoly within the Caribbean and European trade network (Rudolph 1975, 1978). The merchants of Newport achieved great economic success by exporting their distilled rum to the African coast. The rum was traded for slaves who were taken to the Caribbean and again

exchanged, this time for molasses that would be eventually shipped up to Newport and distilled. This process resulted in a powerful cycle of exchange that was an essential part of the economic infrastructure of American colonies. Rum, therefore, was in many ways the backbone of Newport. By the time Newport had reached its peak in the 18th century, twenty-two stills were simultaneously being operated in the town. A 1790s census in Rhode Island showed ten distillers operating in Newport; this number amounted to nearly a third of all distillers in Rhode Island (Ostrander 1973:640). The town's entire economic system was dependent on the distilled product, and many merchants owed their livelihoods and success to the African slave trade (Ostrander 1956).

For decades into the 18th century, Caribbean molasses and sugar were the main commodities shipped to Newport's wharves, and rum was the major export pouring out of the town. This successful trade cycle was able to support Newport's economy and the local residents. While the merchant class reaped most of the benefits of Newport's rum trade, other residents depended on it either directly or indirectly for much of their goods and commodities. The town's wealth earned from trading rum allowed merchants to invest in their immediate surroundings, paying for construction projects that improved the appeal of Newport. The revenue from trading also paid to import a variety of British goods into the town that could be purchased and used to display status and social rank (Crane 1985). Not all of the goods being imported were British, though, and other desirable commodities were also smuggled in for those who could afford the risk. With the booming trade in Newport, economic ties were also formed and strengthened in surrounding communities, allowing the effects of the town's success to spread into other regions.

Newport's turn from rural beginnings to utilizing its harbor as part of the African slave trade is certainly what initiated a golden era for the town. By the 1760s, the community had achieved a peak in commercial success, and local merchants who actively traded commodities within the Atlantic world were accumulating incredible wealth and prosperity (Crane 1985). Rum was essential to Newport for the success of its economy and residents' livelihoods. The town's ability to quickly turn molasses into rum and make large profits from the trade of those goods was what made Newport one of the more successful British ports in 18th-century North America.

Pre-Revolution Rumblings

The decade of the 1760s was certainly the years when Newport peaked in terms of wealth and Atlantic trade. The city was continuously being expanded and improved, and rum and molasses persisted as the main commodities that held the Newport's economic structure together. Because of its autonomy granted by the 1705 charter, Newport was also heavily utilized as a hot spot for smuggling. Throughout much of the 18th century, the city was a capital of illegal trade. Large quantities of prohibited molasses and rum poured through the city's wharves, violating the British Navigation Acts, which basically stated that it was unlawful to trade with the enemy (Bridenbaugh 1965:64-67). Newport did just that, however, during Queen Anne's War, King George's War, and the Seven Years War. In many cases, Dutch and French traders reaped the rewards of Newport's economy while the British Empire continued to suffer in times of war. In times of conflict, trading outside the empire was not just illegal, but considered treason as it was viewed as a betrayal of one's country by aiding the enemy. In fact, naval officers at the time even speculated that during Queen Anne's War, illegal trade delayed the enemy's

collapse by a year (Bridenbaugh 1965:64). However, at the time concepts of patriotism and nationalism did not fully exist, and most merchants truly believed that their illegal trading entailed no actual treason or loss of respect. It was simply an excellent opportunity to gain wealth, and unlawful trading continued in full force in Newport. So much wealth was acquired through illegal means, in fact, that historian Gilman Ostrander estimated that in the years 1767 through 1772, Newport exported close to 170,000 more gallons of molasses and rum by illegal means than through lawful channels (Ostrander 1956:81).

By the end of the Seven Years War in 1763, many New England merchants were experiencing an increase in economic success and activity (Smith 2005:64-66). As a result of its loss of control over French Canada, the French government was forced to loosen trade restrictions in the French Caribbean market. New England traders flooded French Caribbean ports to take advantage of less restricted trade of rum and molasses. While other British merchants were seeing a spike in their commerce, Newport merchants found themselves struggling through a depression, however. Newport's booming success could be attributed to loose control on trade and tax levies, but now Britain was tightening enforcement of the Molasses Act of 1733, which put a tax on foreign molasses entering American ports. This legislation had the goal of limiting the importation of foreign sugars by enforcing a six-pence-per-gallon tax on all foreign molasses, including the West Indian molasses that Newport was so dependent on, that was shipped into the city's wharves. Newport had been able to thrive after the act was passed in 1733 because most merchants simply ignored the tax levy and continued trading illegally. Knowledgeable of this blatant disobedience, British authorities began to

strictly enforce the legislation, and Newport merchants experienced the effects in a decrease in revenue.

The Sugar Act of 1764 imposed even greater judicial control and only strengthened the enforcement of the Molasses Act. Since Newport's economy was totally reliant on rum production, the city suffered from the Sugar Act's decree that a high tax was to be imposed on molasses (Withey 1984:32-34). Finally, in an effort to make colonists help pay for the costs of maintaining the British army during the Seven Years War, the British government passed the Stamp Act of 1765 and The Townshend Duties in 1767. While the Stamp Act hurt the merchant class by imposing a tax on the transfer of documents, the Townshend Duties more directly affected all of the city's residents by imposing taxes on everyday necessities such as paint, paper products, glass, and tea. All of these newly enforced restrictions and taxes resulted in a decline of commerce and an increase in expenses for Newport residents. In an effort to keep trade flowing, merchants continued illegal trading and the production of unlawful commodities as they struggled to maintain the city's power as a New England hub of commerce (Bridenbaugh 1965:418-420). After becoming one of the busiest seaports for rum and molasses trade, Newport eventually wound up a crippled town characterized by economic hardships in the later 18th century.

As a reaction to the enforced British legislation, Rhode Island joined other colonies in protest against what was viewed by many American colonists as oppressive decrees (Sosin 1965:54-56). Colonists desired that, if money must be raised as repayment for the Seven Years War, it should be through the old requisition system. Although American colonists had not always complied with that system either, they felt it

was a more customary way of collecting money. As a form of protest against the Stamp Act, anti-legislation pamphlets were printed and a committee of the General Court, headed by Governor Stephen Hopkins, was formed with the purpose of rallying for change in London. This committee argued that Britain's right to tax the colonists through this legislation was unfounded and rejected the idea of taxes on trade (Morgan, Morgan 1953:39). Locally, residents in Newport printed columns in the *Newport Mercury* advocating the repeal of the British legislation (Morgan, Morgan 1953:188). Colonial resistance to the Stamp Act was clear, and the British Parliament eventually repealed the legislation in 1766.

The enforcement of the Molasses and Sugar Acts took a heavy toll on Newport Merchants, and the creation of the Stamp Act and Townshend Acts angered local residents even further. Colonists felt that these taxes were an unjust way of attempting to collect repayment for war costs. Many merchants had already incurred heavy losses during the Seven Years War, such as the loss of ships and cargo to Atlantic privateers, and felt that they owed the British Crown nothing. These taxes sent Newport, a town that had previously thrived due to illegal trading and autonomy, into a terrible depression in the later part of the 18th century. The Stamp Act was indeed repealed, but this action certainly did not rectify Newport's ailing economy. Although British legislation was a terrible blow to the city's thriving economy, losses sustained by local merchants were small when compared to how Newport suffered once British troops occupied the city during the American Revolution.

British Occupation during the American Revolutionary War

In order to survive the economic downfall of the 1760s, Newport merchants knew that they had to reduce their dependence on the rum trade. With the recently enforced tax legislation, Newport could not continue with rum as the backbone of its commercial activity. As a method of solving economic crisis, merchants began trading locally made commodities (Withey 1984:16). The large expansion of coastal trade in the Atlantic was helpful for Newport after the city's recent hard times, and merchants were able to regain footing by exporting goods such as candles and whale oil in addition to their rum operations. By the time Newport was upon the eve of the American Revolution, many merchants had been able to regain their wealth, and some were even hopeful about future trading activity (Coclanis 1990). However, the efforts that the merchant class had made to restore their city would be for naught; British troops occupied Newport from 1776-1779. In three short years, the occupation of these troops totally reversed the city's standing as a powerful New England settlement that residents had spent decades building. British occupation caused extensive devastation to Newport by destroying many buildings and homes as well as interrupting trade activity. During the years of occupation, the city also experienced extensive depopulation as residents fled the area.

Although many merchants stayed in Newport during the 1770s in an attempt to rebuild their businesses, some merchants, seeming to sense that war was quickly approaching, fled the city to other areas of Rhode Island or Massachusetts. Knowing that New England's second largest seaport would be an important target for the British, wealthy merchant families fled Newport hoping to avoid the effects of war (Rudolph 1975). The fear that the British would take advantage of Newport's economic and

geographic position came to a reality as 8,000 troops poured into the city in December of 1776, taking control of the seaport (Withey 1984:82). The troops immediately cut off many residents' livelihoods by barricading the entrance to Narragansett Bay. Throughout their occupation, British soldiers completely ruined Newport's trade activity and economic infrastructure. With trade severely interrupted, residents who had stayed in Newport suffered from the lack of necessary goods and food, especially during the winter seasons when living in the cold New England environment was especially difficult. British troops pillaged the farms and gardens of the city's residents and slaughtered livestock that the community would have used to feed themselves. Instead, farm produce and animals were used to feed the unwanted troops. With inadequate availability of provisions, prices of food and other goods soared at the local markets. Eventually, residents were paying three times as much for goods than before the Revolution began. It was extremely difficult to endure the years of occupation, and the Newport community suffered incredibly from shortages, many times relying on surpluses of chocolate or coffee to survive (Rudolph 1975:250).

Not only did the presence of troops cause food and provision shortages, British soldiers destroyed many physical aspects of the city itself. During their occupation, troops burned and destroyed nearly 450 buildings in the city (Coughtry 1981:235-236). Warehouses that merchants depended on to operate their businesses, public buildings that had once been used to identify the community, and houses where families lived were totally destroyed during the British occupation. Many buildings and wharves were dismantled and used for firewood by troops, creating a lack of fuel source for residents. Trade and economic activities came to an abrupt halt during the Revolution, and every

person in Newport suffered from the devastation. In December of 1779, three years after their arrival, British troops evacuated Newport. Although the troops had gone, the terrible effects of their occupation stayed with Newport for decades afterward, and the city would never be the pillar of colonial trade that it once was.

After troops had left Newport, merchants returned to find their community destroyed. Residents that had been gone for three years were shocked at the changes in the city. Having experienced Newport in its heyday, returning merchants saw a poor village full of starving beggars (Withey 1984:78-88). Many of their homes and wharves had been destroyed by both the British troops, in an effort to destroy the American revolt, and the Newport community, trying desperately to survive the harsh times. Though some merchants stayed and attempted to restore their businesses, many others had either died or moved on to more promising locations. By the 1780s, visitors of Newport saw a shell of what the city used to be. Once a bustling commercial center, Newport was now a desolate place. Busy trade routes, expensive public buildings, and lavish homes had been turned into "idle wharves, dirty streets, and unpainted houses." (Coughtry 1981:237). Now a mere shadow of its previous power, Newport would never fully recover to become the influential and impressive seaport that it once was.

Capt. Thomas Richardson Household

Although Capt. Thomas Richardson was present during Newport's heyday and the city's downfall during the Revolutionary War, he left little documentary evidence behind that would give us insight into his life and his household. To add to the difficulty in reconstructing the Richardson household, there appears to have been three men by the name Thomas Richardson who were operating within or connected to Newport during the

18th century. A close examination of historical records was required in order to untangle the lives of these three men and determine who exactly lived at 415 Thames Street. Many documents and resources did not make it clear which Richardson of Newport was being referred to, and it is easy to become confused when looking through documents that speak of several different Richardsons. What did survive, including vital records, wills, and probate records, are examined here in order to better understand the members of the household living at 415 Thames Street.

Capt. Thomas Richardson was born to Ebenezer Richardson and Keziah Draper after their marriage on June 5, 1722 (Arnold 1891:466) (Appendix A). In addition to Thomas, who was born in approximately 1731, Ebenezer and Keziah also had two other children, Sarah and Ebenezer, Jr (Arnold 1891:241). The gravestone for Thomas Richardson of Newport, located in the city's Common Burial Ground, shows that he died on September 17, 1782 (Mustone 2009:9). This date seems to correspond to the obituary of Capt. Thomas Richardson published by the Newport Mercury on September 21, 1782 (Newport Mercury 1782). According to Richardson's gravestone, the date of his wife, Elizabeth's, death was June 14, 1775. Although no record could be found of Richardson's marriage to Elizabeth, James Arnold's Vital Records of Rhode Island, 1636-1850 details the baptisms of their children at Newport's Second Congregational Church (Arnold 1891:450). Thomas and Elizabeth had seven daughters, Valeria, Elizabeth, Elizabeth (second), Margaret, Margaret (second), Lydia, and Joanna. According to the dates of their baptisms, all of Richardson's daughters were born between February 1756 and May 1767. Valeria was baptized on February 15, 1767. Elizabeth was baptized January 1, 1758, and according to her gravestone in the Common

Burial Ground died November 7, 1758. Elizabeth (second) was baptized May 11, 1760, and Margaret was baptized August 6, 1761. After the death of their daughter, Margaret (second) was baptized August 8, 1762. Lydia was baptized April 8, 1764, and finally, Joanna was baptized May 24, 1767.

Although Capt. Richardson was certainly the face of his distilling and trading activities, with five living daughters and a wife, women were a large part of the Richardson household. A marriage announcement appeared in the *Newport Mercury* on November 15, 1773 for the marriage of Valeria Richardson to William Gibbons of Savannah, Georgia (Newport Mercury 1773). The marriage of Lydia Richardson to Nicolas Anceaux was also recorded on March 19, 1781 (Arnold 1891). Nicolas Anceaux was a quartermaster in the Royal Deux-Ponts Regiment of the French forces that arrived in Newport in 1780 after the British evacuation. The birth of Lydia's first child, Nicolas, Jr., was recorded to have taken place on December 17, 1781 (Arnold 1891). Lydia and Nicolas Anceaux also had two daughters, Lydia, who was born September 19, 1783, and Eliza, born September 19, 1786 (Arnold 1891).

In the diary of Ezra Stiles, the minister of Newport's Second Congregational Church, both Ebenezer, Sr. and Capt. Thomas Richardson are listed among the adult members in the church's congregation (Dexter 1901:425). This particular diary entry is interesting because it suggests that Capt. Richardson had distanced his ties with the Quaker Society of Friends. It is possible that Capt. Richardson's choice of church was a social statement since attending the right church was a social requirement of the upper class. Richardson could have been attempting to improve or maintain his social status by becoming a member of the Second Congregational Church. According to Elaine Crane in

her book *A Dependant People*, social success and status had a close correlation with religious affiliation (Crane 1985:59). Crane explains that although many of the founding settlers of Newport had embraced the Quaker religion, growing wealth and the ability to purchase luxury goods had tempted many prosperous families away from the Quaker Church, which did not condone holding value in worldly possessions.

In a table compiled by Crane, the occupation, amount of taxes paid, and number of slaves owned by many individuals of Newport in 1772 is listed (Crane 1985:25-29). Thomas Richardson is listed as a top taxpayer in Newport. He is marked as a distiller and merchant who owns a slave vessel and extensively trades rum and molasses. Likewise, Thomas Richardson's father, Ebenezer Richardson, is shown as a top taxpayer, distiller, and merchant. The data included in Crane's research seems to show that during his occupation of 415 Thames Street, Capt. Richardson likely imported slaves to sell in the Atlantic market and participated in the triangle trade cycle that made Newport so successful. Richardson also appears in the 1774 census of Newport (Bartlett 1858). According to the census, as many as eight individuals lived in the Thames Street house. The census records lists Richardson himself, one white male under the age of 16, one white female above 16, one Indian, and four African slaves. It is likely that the woman over the age of 16 shown in the census record is Richardson's wife, Elizabeth, who died that same year.

In 1776, both Capt. Thomas Richardson and his father, Ebenezer Richardson, appear in Ezra Stiles's diary entry, listing the names of those who stayed in Newport when it was taken by British troops (Dexter 1901:131). In the list, their names do not have stars beside them, indicating that the two men held no loyalist feelings. Richardson

was certainly not immune to the devastation caused by the British occupation during the Revolutionary War, however, and in June of 1782 he filed a claim with the Crown detailing the extensive losses he sustained at the hands of British troops (Richardson 1782:82) (Appendix B). The account of losses reports that Capt. Richardson lost his "estate down town consisting of 3 dwelling houses, 2 large stores, 1 stable and wharf" (Richardson 1782:82). Richardson also claimed that he lost a sloop, 18 boats, his "interest up town, 1 large store, 1 small distill house wharf, and 2 large distill heads" (Richardson 1782:82). The list of grievances goes on to include that the fencing was removed from his lot in Middletown, 70 of is locust trees were taken down, and his slave, Jack, was taken in the British evacuation. If this claim of losses is indeed true, it shows that Capt. Richardson was a slave holder with at least one site in Newport, land in Middletown, and interest within other business ventures. The distill houses, wharves, buildings, and boats that Richardson describes also seem to indicate a high level of commercial activity. The historical documentation regarding Richardson, along with the artifact analysis done at 415 Thames Street, shows that he was a slave trader and was involved in the distilling practices that many merchants in Newport dependent on as livelihood.

Not only does Capt. Richardson appear to have suffered in loss of property during the Revolutionary War, but it seems as though he suffered physically by being held captive on a prison ship in 1782. The grievance filed with the Crown also claims that he was "10 days confined in the provost and 18 days on board the prison ship" (Richardson 1782:82). In the *Rhode Island Republican*, an account and list of prisoners held on the *Lord Sandwich* prison ship is provided (Rhode Island Republic 1838). Thomas

Richardson is among the names of those taken onboard and held in the vessel in Newport's harbor in 1777. The account explains that the men held prisoner were suspected of disloyalty to the King. They had refused to sign their names for pardon and would not enlist themselves in the King's service to defend Rhode Island. Although most of the men were released after being held six weeks, Richardson was only held for nearly three weeks of punishment. If Richardson's claim of being held aboard a prison ship can be viewed as accurate, it can be assumed that he was only held for half the time of his fellow colonists. Richardson's imprisonment could also indicate that he held patriotic sentiments towards the American revolutionary cause and was unwilling to cooperate with invading British forces.

Capt. Thomas Richardson's will, dated August 29, 1782, described him as a distiller, being weak in body but sound in mind and memory (NP 1:93). Richardson's estate, funds, and any debt was left to his two married daughters, Valeria Gibbons and Lydia Henshaw. The probate record of his belongings at death indicates that Richardson may have been a successful merchant during Newport's heyday, but died with few belongings and in debt. Listed in the probate inventory are two slaves, Sylvia and Gambo, a horse, furniture, clothing, tableware, and silver. Many of these items are described as worn, broken, and old. Also listed in the probate is "the remains of the hull of an old sloop lying on the Point" (NP 1:93). Nearly three weeks after his will was written, Richardson died and was laid to rest under a slab in the Common Burial Ground. This documentary evidence creates an image of Capt. Richardson's household and life in Newport. Although at one time he may have counted himself among the merchant elite

in Newport, the final years of his life showed a financially devastated man who had sustained incredible losses.

CHAPTER III

MATERIALS AND METHODS

A variety of field and laboratory techniques were utilized in the analysis of life in 18th-century Newport as well as the household of Capt. Thomas Richardson. Thorough excavation and documentation of all data and results has lead to a clearer understanding of the individuals who lived at the site. Two archaeological deposits, called Fill 5/5A and the Trash Trench, were excavated from the backlot of 415 Thames Street and were found to represent the material culture of the Capt. Thomas Richardson household (ca. 1755 – 1782). The procedures for excavating and analyzing those contexts are discussed in this chapter.

Field Methods

Excavation of the backlot of 415 Thames Street began during the summer of 2007 as a project with the purpose of introducing undergraduate students of Salve Regina University to the archaeology of 19th-century immigrant families. The initial field crew comprised of undergraduates studying historic preservation at Salve Regina under the direction of Professor James Garman, Associate Professor and Chair of the Department of Cultural and Historical Preservation (Styger 2009).

Initially, the project's scope was intended to be focused on 19th-century cultural materials. However, after the discovery of Capt. Thomas Richardson's occupation in the

archaeological record, the project grew at the end of the first field season to include the 18th-century remains of that merchant household.

During the summer of 2007, field crews excavated by opening two 5'x5' test pits in order to locate areas of artifact concentration and possible features. (Figures 3.1 and 3.2) When recovering artifacts, all soil was screened using 1/4" screens. Two units, Unit 2 and Unit 6, were excavated that summer until sterile subsoil was reached at 4.5' below the ground surface. While excavating the last 1.5' of the two units, crews discovered Fill 5/5A and the Trash Trench located below a layer of subsoil that had been ejected during the constructions of 415 Thames Street's existing house during the 1830s. At the time, Fill 5/5A was noted as a sandy, dark brown midden deposit which spanned the lengths of Units 2 and 6. The Trash Trench was a linear feature which cut through Fill 5/5A between both units running east and west towards the existing house. Both contexts were excavated, and soil samples were gathered from each unit in order to recover macrobotanicals.

During the planning phase for the summer 2008 field season, electrical resistivity data was collected in the backlots of 413 and 415 Thames Street by Dr. Garman and archaeology students from Salve Regina University. This electrical resistivity was conducted in order to locate larger features, such as privies and any surviving structures from the period of Capt. Richardson's occupation. The images created from resistivity data showed two linear features, one running east to west and located approximately 5' from Units 2 and 6 and the other in the backlot of 413 Thames Street. These features appeared to be the possible remains of stone foundations.

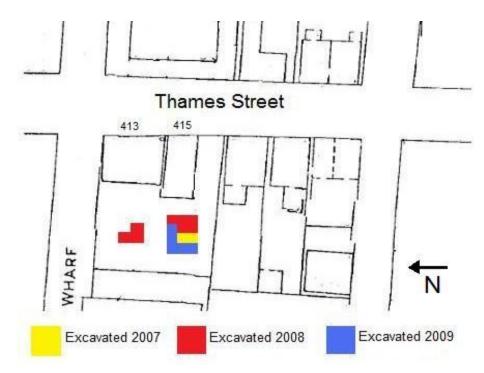


Figure 3.1: Map of 413 and 415 Thames Street showing excavated units. Source: 1953 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map

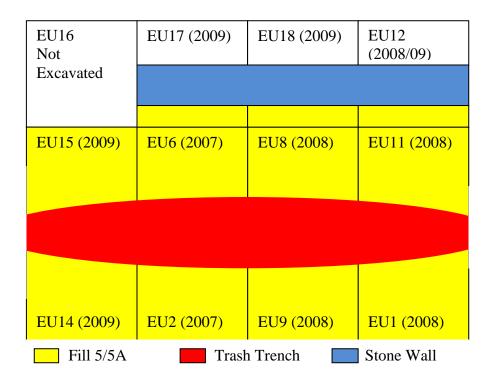


Figure 3.2: Schematic plan of 415 Thames St. showing excavated units and features. *Scale: The excavated area measured 20'x15'*

After the discovery of the possible stone features, the size of the project grew in the summer of 2008 to include five additional units in the backlot of 415 Thames Street and a portion of 413 Thames Street's backlot. Salve Regina University undergraduates and two University of Massachusetts Boston graduate students reopened Units 2 and 6 and also expanded the site eastward toward the existing house to include five 5'x5' units in the backlot of 415 Thames Street. These units were labeled as 1, 8, 9, 11, and 12. The additional units opened in the backlot of 413 Thames Street were labeled as 7 and 10. While excavating the area, the field crew discovered the stone structures that had been seen in the electric resistivity data, one in Unit 12 and the other in Units 7 and 10. Fill 5/5A was also identified in Units 1, 8, 9, and 12, and the Trash Trench was identified in Units 1, 8, 9, and 11.

The scope of the project grew once again in the summer of 2009 to include four additional units in the backlot of 415 Thames Street. However, excavation of 413 Thames Street was not carried out during this field season. Once again, Salve Regina University Undergraduates, three University of Massachusetts Boston graduate students, and a graduate student of Boston University expanded the site to the west and north to include four 5'x5' units labeled as 14, 15, 17 and 18. Upon excavation of Units 17 and 18, it was found that the stone structure extended into both units as a linear feature running east to west. It appeared that this stone feature was the remains of a wall or foundation. Fill 5/5A were identified in Units 14 and 15, and the Trash Trench was identified in both of those units. Additionally, on the last day of scheduled fieldwork Unit 12 was excavated to reveal stairs leading into a possible crawl space or filled cellar.

In total, the three field seasons yielded 50 small finds, approximately 6,470 ceramic sherds, and approximately 520 glass fragments from Fill 5/5A and the Trash Trench. Although no future excavations of 415 Thames Street are planned, artifacts gathered from this site and future excavations at other Newport Restoration Foundation properties will certainly help future researchers in the understanding and analysis of colonial Newport, the role of the city's merchant glass, and the culture and practices of those living in 18th-century Newport.

Laboratory Methods

The contexts Fill 5/5A and the Trash Trench contained a high volume of ceramics, glassware, and small finds. Quantitative methods were used in the analysis of the material records of Fill 5/5A and the Trash Trench. Artifacts were recorded and cataloged, and minimum vessel counts were determined in order to gain a fuller understanding of the quantity of material possessions within the Capt. Richardson household. After an analysis of ceramic artifacts recovered from these contexts, approximate dates for Fill 5/5A and the Trash Trench were determined. (Figures 3.3 and 3.4) The two graphs depicted below illustrate the date ranges for each ceramic type excavated in Fill 5/5A and the Trash Trench. The resulting data shows that the median dates for most ceramic types appear to fall between 1755 and 1800. By compiling dates for each type of ceramic discovered in the contexts and narrowing the time of occupation to a specific period, it was determined that Fill 5/5A and the trash trench dated to approximately 1755-1800. Because of this date range, it was determined that the two contexts were indeed associated with the household of Capt. Thomas Richardson.

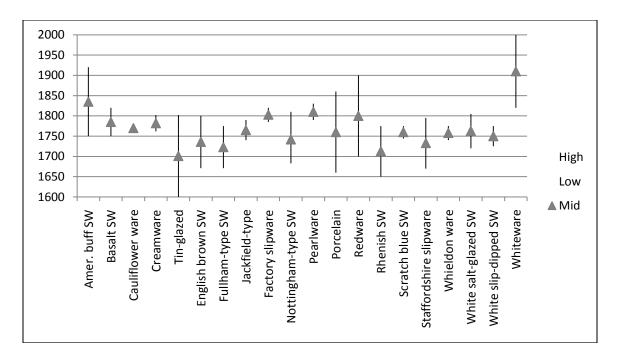


Figure 3.3: Date range of Fill 5/5A ceramic assemblage.

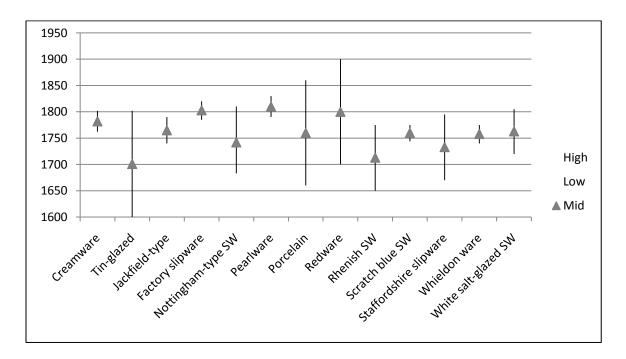


Figure 3.4: Date range of the Trash Trench ceramic assemblage.

Stanley South's method of determining mean ceramic dates was also utilized in this study to date Fill 5/5A and the Trash Trench contexts (South 1978). Although South's formula for dating ceramics focuses more on dates of manufacture than dates of ceramic use, this dating method was incorporated as an additional way of accessing an accurate occupation period for the Richardson household. The mathematic formula used results in an average date based on the frequency of ceramic types as well as median manufacture dates for each type. In using South's dating formula, Fill 5/5A was assigned a mean ceramic date of 1783, and the Trash Trench was assigned a date of 1786. Although the dates arrived at through the dating formula are after Capt. Thomas Richardson's death and the subsequent sale of his property, they place the ceramic assemblages within a relevant time frame considered to be associated with the Richardson household's occupation of 415 Thames Street. Also, the use of additional dating methods adds to the understanding of the Richardson household.

Although dates for most ceramics fell within the time period of the Richardson household, there were wares in the Trash Trench and Fill 5/5A that post-dated the household and most likely belonged instead to the period of tenancy that the site experienced after about 1785. Whiteware, factory slipware, and pearlware were not widely available until after Capt. Richardson's death, although all of these wares were discovered in the contexts of this study. This is not totally surprising since during the 18th century the area excavated was used as an open lot where people walked over and disposed of their garbage. Therefore, it is highly likely that although the ceramic artifacts which post-date Richardson belonged to later tenants at the site, they managed to find their way into the Trash Trench and Fill 5/5A. These artifacts would more appropriately

belong with Fill 4, which contains material culture of the site's tenancy period and is located directly on top of the Trash Trench and Fill 5/5A in the site's stratigraphy. However, due to the use of the site as an open dumping area, some ceramics of later dates were located in earlier contexts. However, these tenancy period ceramics make up a small percentage of the overall amount of ceramic artifacts in the Trash Trench and Fill 5/5A, approximately 17% of the Trash Trench and 11% of Fill 5/5A. Because the vast majority of ceramic artifacts in this study date to the period of the Richardson household, both the Trash Trench and Fill 5/5A contexts have been associated with that household and are used here as assemblages that can allow clearer interpretations regarding the cultural practices and lifestyle of the Richardson family.

Boxes of ceramics, glassware, and small finds were moved from the Salve Regina Preservation Laboratory to the Fiske Center Laboratory at University of Massachusetts Boston for analysis. Identification and cataloging of all artifacts was done at the Fiske Center Laboratory under the supervision of Dr. David Landon. This analysis began with sorting and bagging all materials into separate classes of artifact types. Artifacts were then cataloged and further separated into specific ware and vessel types. While small finds were kept as one main category, ceramics and glassware were separated into different ware types, vessel types and vessel parts. Each artifact was counted, examined for specific decoration, style, and function, and cataloged in a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet. Several materials were identified with the help of the Fiske Center Laboratory's comparative artifact collection. Following the initial examination and cataloging of all materials, minimum vessel counts were determined for ceramic and glass artifacts. In determining a minimum vessel count, or MVC, sherds are sorted into

groups that reflect individual vessels. Since each ceramic sherd or glass fragment certainly cannot accurately represent one entire vessel, specific parts of a vessel, such as bases or rims that have unique characteristics, are divided into groups based on criteria such as ware type, style, color, or manufacture method (Egloff 1973:351-353; Hendrickson and McDonald 1983:634-637). Each group of artifacts with identical characteristics is then viewed as one vessel. The total number of groups identified is then determined to be the MVC. Generally, if sherds or fragments look as if they could have possibly originated from the same vessel, they are counted as one. This method can be useful in determining the minimum number of vessels that are located at a site, as well as the function, date, and types of vessels. It also allows archaeologists to gain a more specific view of an assemblage in terms of quantity.

Although this method of counting minimum vessels can be useful, it is not without faults. The results of a MVC are an approximate estimate of quantity, not an exact determination. The number of vessels found to be in an assemblage is meant to be a minimum number of possible vessels, meaning that it is also possible for there to be more than the minimum count. Problems could arise from this method in terms of inaccurate views of vessel quantities. In some cases, it is also easier to quantify vessels of a certain ceramic or glassware type. For example, porcelains and tablewares are frequently decorated and thus are easier to split into separate vessel groups because of their unique style or decoration. Utilitarian vessels were not as frequently decorated; therefore, sherds and fragments from those vessels could get separated into a single vessel group because of their lack of unique characteristics.

Since this particular method can create controversy within the archaeological record if relied upon too heavily, I proceeded with my analysis conservatively with the assumption that the results of a MVC are indeed the *minimum* number of vessels located in contexts Fill 5/5A and the Trash Trench, not an exact quantity. Rims were used for the MVC of ceramic artifacts, and bases were used for the MVC of glasswares. To allow for the connection of proveniences across the site, all contexts relating to the Richardson household, Fill 5/5A and the Trash Trench, were incorporated into the minimum vessel count.

In addition to incorporating a MVC into the methodology, artifacts were also analyzed in terms of their function. In order to gain a more complete view of the Capt. Thomas Richardson household's social class and practices of gentility, examination of the specific functions of vessels was done. Vessels of certain functions, such as tea wares and tablewares, carried specific meaning with them and were commonly associated with certain social behaviors. It is important to better understand the functions of the vessels within the Capt. Thomas Richardson household in order to gain a clearer understanding of the social behaviors and interactions of the Richardson family.

Documentary Research

In addition to field methods and laboratory analysis, documentary sources provided through the research of undergraduate students at Salve Regina University were used in order to gain a better understanding of the individuals who comprised the Capt. Thomas Richardson household, as well as their possible social standing in Newport (SRU).

Census records, newspaper clippings, as well as birth, baptismal, marriage, and death records were all consulted in order to construct an accurate timeline of the Richardson household (Arnold 1891; Bartlett 1858; Dexter 1901; Newport Mercury 1773, 1782). These records also helped in pinpointing the specific individuals within the household over various periods of time. From the records consulted, it was determined that at various points over the period of 1755-1782, the Richardson household was primarily made up of Capt. Thomas Richardson, his wife, Elizabeth, five daughters, and three slaves in total. These individuals are of importance because they were influential on the merchant and economic activities of the Richardson household and Newport. Revealing them within the historical record is helpful in determining the connection between material culture and the people who used it.

Additionally, documentary research was conducted in regards to the history of ownership and land use at 413 and 415 Thames Street (CD, NLE, Newport Mercury 1783, 1784). This research shows that 413 and 415 Thames Street was occupied by the Richardson household from roughly 1755 until 1782, when Capt. Thomas Richardson died. After his death, the property was sold in 1784 to a planter, John Philibert of Fort Dauphin in the Land of Hispaniola, and entered a period of tenancy (NLE). Research regarding land use was necessary in determining individual occupants, periods of occupancy, and possible cultural activities at the site, and based on this information the dates of the Richardson household's existence can be more accurately pinpointed.

Probate records were consulted as a comparative tool for understanding where the Richardson household stood within the merchant class of Newport (NP). Probate records taken into consideration include Richardson's will and a probate inventory of his estate

written prior to his death 1782. Other probate records belonging to Newport residents assumed to be of similar social class were used as a way to compare the material belongings of Capt. Thomas Richardson collected during the excavation of 413 and 415 Thames Street to the belongings of other households of Newport, thus gaining insight to the Richardson household's economic success and social status among the merchant class. Also taken into consideration was the grievance filed against the British Crown that detailed the losses Capt. Thomas Richardson claimed to have suffered at the hands of British troops during their occupation of Newport (Richardson 1782). Since the British occupancy destroyed much of the city and many residents were left with heavy losses after the American Revolution, this grievance was included with the assumption that records of Newport residents' material belongings could have reflected fewer possessions of value or gentility than they may have owned prior to the British occupation.

Summary

Analysis of the contexts Fill5/5A and the Trash Trench, which were excavated from 2007-2009, show the artifact assemblage collected to be connected to the individuals living within the Capt. Thomas Richardson household. Since two of Capt. Thomas Richardson's and his wife, Elizabeth's, daughters died as infants, the household was primarily comprised of ten people over the period of 1755-1782. These included the Richardson parents, their five daughters, and three slaves. Most likely, all individuals were involved with the collection of materials discovered in Fill5/5A and the Trash Trench. Through artifact analysis and documentary research, the Richardson household's members and occupation at 413 and 415 Thames Street, their practices of

gentility and household activities, and the family's social status within Newport have been made clearer.

CHAPTER IV

415 THAMES STREET ASSEMBLAGES

The ceramic, glassware, and small finds collections are described in this chapter as single assemblages representing both Fill 5/5A and the Trash Trench. Although Fill 5/5A and the Trash Trench are different contexts that were excavated and processed separately over a period of three field seasons, they are both linked to the Capt. Thomas Richardson household from the years 1755-1782. Thus, the ceramic, glassware, and small finds collections from the contexts are combined in their description here. A detailed analysis of each collection provides the basis for interpreting the Richardson's gentility, social status, and labor of the women of the household. The Fill 5/5A and Trash Trench assemblages aid in developing a clearer understanding between objects of gentility and women's roles and the larger topics of class and gender within 18th-century Newport. After detailing the artifact collections, an interpretation of the artifacts' possible meaning and relevance is provided in order to create a more comprehensive understanding of the household activities and roles.

Artifact Type	Fill 5/5A Total	TT Total	MVC	
Ceramics	4,480	1,993	182	
Glass	393	125	35	
Small finds	34	16	_	
TOTAL	4,907	2,134	—	

Table 4.1: Fill 5/5A and Trash Trench artifact assemblages

The Fill 5/5A analyzed assemblage contained a total of 4,907 artifacts. (Table 4.1) Of those, 4,480 were ceramics, 393 were glassware, and 34 were small finds. The Trash Trench assemblage contained a total of 2,134 artifacts, making it 45% the size of Fill 5/5A in terms of the types of artifacts included in this analysis. Of the total artifacts within the Trash Trench, 1,993 were ceramics, 125 were glassware, and 16 were small finds. Since minimum vessel count analysis was performed across contexts, it was determined that there were at least 182 ceramic vessels and 35 glass vessels within Fill 5/5A and the Trash Trench.

Ceramics

Ceramics were sorted into specific types during the process of cataloging and analysis. (Table 4.2) Refined earthenwares included cauliflower ware, creamware,

Ware Type	Fill 5/5A Total	TT Total	Jackfie
American buff stoneware	5	0	1.
Basalt stoneware	1	0	slipwa
Cauliflower ware	2	0	
Creamware	1,809	628	porcela
Tin-glazed	189	92	slipwa
English brown stoneware	20	20	supwar
Factory slipware	14	1	ware, a
Fulham stoneware	3	0	ware, a
Jackfield-type	8	5	Coarse
Nottingham-type stoneware	10	2	course
Pearlware	452	365	include
Porcelain	164	57	
Redware	1,450	698	redwar
Rhenish stoneware	128	37	
Salopian ware	2	0	catalog
Scratch blue stoneware	14	1	
Staffordshire slipware	37	12	context
Whieldon ware	12	1	
White salt-glazed stoneware	103	54	buff, ba
White slip-dipped stoneware	1	0	
Whiteware	26	0	brown,
Indeterminate earthenware	31	20	
TOTAL	4,480	1,993	Notting

Jackfield-type, factory slipware, pearlware, porcelain, Staffordshire slipware, whieldon ware, and whiteware. Coarse earthenwares included delft and redware. Stonewares cataloged in this contexts were American buff, basalt, English brown, Fulham, Nottingham-type,

 Table 4.2. Fill 5/5A and Trash Trench ceramic assemblages.

Rhenish, scratch blue,

white salt-glazed, and white slip-dipped. Of the many ceramic types within the two contexts, creamware and redware were overwhelmingly the most prevalent, amounting to 32% and 40%, respectively, of Fill 5/5A and 32% and 35% of the Trash Trench.

Porcelain, notable because of its significance to the practice of gentility and class, consisted of 4% and 3 % of Fill 5/5A and the Trash Trench ceramic assemblages, respectively (Chappell 1994:216; Hume 1969:257). Most porcelain decoration in both contexts appeared to be that of more common porcelain vessels during this time period, such a blue or polychrome handpainting. (Table 4.3) Forty-one porcelain sherds which include Imari and Armorial decoration, or 25% of the Fill 5/5A porcelain assemblage, and 8 sherds, or 14% of the Trash Trench assemblage, had overglaze paint in polychrome, Batavia, black, and red colors.

Two unique porcelain decorations, Imari and Armorial, were present in the site's ceramic assemblage. Six porcelain sherds, or 4% of all porcelain within Fill 5/5A, and 2

Paint/Print/Color	Fill 5/5A Total	TT Total
Batavia	4	2
Blue handpainted	77	31
Blue transfer printed	2	0
Polychrome overglazed	13	1
Red overglazed	6	1
Red, black overglaze	0	1
Brown, red overglaze	4	0
Brown handpainted	3	0
White slipped	2	0
Polychrome handpainted	1	0
Imari	6	2
Armorial	11	3
No decoration	35	16
TOTAL	164	57

sherds, or 4% of all porcelain in the Trash Trench, had blue and red painting characteristic of Imari porcelain (Hume 1969:258-259). This particular porcelain is named after its place of manufacture, the Japanese

 Table 4.3: Fill 5/5A and Trash Trench porcelain decoration

port of Imari, and is handpainted with blue underglaze along with red and gold overglaze.

The most popular period for Imari decoration on porcelain is 1710-1730 (Miller 2000:9). Like all overglaze painting on ceramics, the decorative paint is easily removed from the vessel and can remain in the dirt when the sherd is excavated or wash off easily during processing. Because of the delicate nature of overglaze paint, it is possible that porcelain sherds with no observed color during processing at one time had overglaze painting during their periods of use (Hume 1969:259). However, for the purposes of this analysis, it is assumed that only ceramic sherds with apparent color or paint during the time of processing were manufactured and decorated in such a way. All Imari porcelain sherds excavated were determined to have come from tableware vessel forms.

Armorial porcelain was also a uniquely decorated ware, and 11 Armorial sherds, or 7% of all porcelain in Fill 5/5A, and 3 sherds, or 5% of porcelain within the Trash Trench, were excavated at this site (Kroes 2008). All Armorial sherds had no underglaze painting but were decorated with black overglaze dot, line, and floral patterns. The definitive characteristic that gives this particular type of porcelain its namesake is a painted coat of arms or family crest on vessels. Although no sherd with a crest was found during excavations, it was determined that these 11 sherds were indeed Armorial porcelain because of their striking similarities in terms of style and painted patterns to other Armorial vessels with crests (Kroes 2008:391, 445). Armorial Chinese porcelain began appearing in the English market in 1700 (Miller 2000:9). Given the date of this ceramic's introduction, it is possible that the Armorial porcelain at this site had originally belonged to Capt. Thomas Richardson's father, Ebenezer Richardson, Jr.

Twenty-six ceramic sherds from Fill 5/5A and 18 from the Trash Trench were from tableware with shell-edge decoration of either green or blue. All sherds were of

Rococo style, dating to approximately 1784-1812 (Miller 2000:3). The date of the shelledged ceramics indicates that they likely belonged to households occupying the site after Richardson's death. Also in Fill 5/5A was a delft tile fragment. The tile was tin-glazed and hand painted in a blue floral pattern. Delft tiles were not commonly used on floors or walkways because they would easily crack or break (Erickson 2003; Schaap 2006; Van Hook 1998). Since delft was too fragile to be places on a walking surface, this tile was more likely used as part of a decorative accent in a home, perhaps as part of a fireplace surround.

Salopian ware was also identified in Fill 5/5A. Two Salopian sherds had green transfer-printed paint. Generally, Salopian ware is known as a vessel with a transfer-printed brown pattern and overglaze painted in blue and orange (Hume 2001). However, this particular vessel appears to be unique in that the transfer-print is in a green color. The pattern on the Salopian sherds from 415 Thames Street appear to be most similar to a pattern produced from 1802-1805, which celebrated the temporary peace between France and England through the treaty Peace of Amiens (Hume 2001). Although the Salopian sherds in Fill 5/5A do not bear the mark of Britannia, they appear to be part of a vessel or set that does indeed display that symbol within the green pattern since other identical Salopian sherds bearing Britannia have been identified in other contexts at this site, Fill 4. Given the occupation and destruction of Newport by British troops during the American Revolution, it would seem surprising that a household would possess items bearing the Britannia mark since that suggests loyalty to the English Crown. However, since this particular pattern was produced about twenty years after Capt. Thomas Richardson's

death, it is likely that this Salopian ware was not part of his household and instead belonged to the small percentage of material culture that post-dates Richardon's death.

On the base of a pearlware piece of tableware located in Fill 5/5A was a maker's mark bearing the letters BU_SLEM. The mark bore and eagle with a shield. Through the analysis of the maker's mark, it was found that this vessel had been manufactured in Burslem, Staffordshire by Enoch Wood & Sons (Kowalsky A, Kowalsky D 1999:381). However, since this particular maker's mark was used from 1818-1845, it also could not have been part of the ceramics collection in the Richardson household. Most likely, this pearlware sherd ended up in the context due to bioturbation or, like the Salopian ware, belonged to a later household.

Glassware

For the purpose of this analysis, all window glass was excluded from cataloging in both contexts Fill 5/5A and the Trash Trench, and only vessel glass was cataloged. Glassware was sorted by object type in the process of cataloging and analysis. The object types within Fill 5/5A were bottles, wine bottles, containers, tableware, and vials. (Figure 4.4) Of the object types in this context, bottles and containers were most prevalent, amounting to 25% and 46%, respectively, of Fill 5/5A. Least prevalent was vials, which amounted to 1% of the context's glass assemblage. Tableware artifacts amounted to 10% of the assemblage, and wine bottle artifacts represent 18% of the total glassware assemblage in Fill 5/5A. Of the object types in the Trash Trench context, containers were most prevalent, amounting to 73% of the context. Least prevalent was vials, which amounted to approximately 1% of the context's glass assemblage. Tableware artifacts amounted to 9% of the assemblage, and wine bottle artifacts represent 10% of the total glassware assemblage in the Trash Trench. Although the prevalence of wine bottles is not extremely high among the two contexts, their presence indicates evidence of alcohol consumption at the site (Mrozowski 2006:128).

Object Type	Fill 5/5A Total	TT Total		
Bottle, indeterminate	97	9		
Wine bottle	72	13		
Container	179	91		
Tableware	41	11		
Vial	4	1		
TOTAL	393	125		

One tableware stem was found in Fill 5/5A. It was mold blown and determined to be of a ball knop shape (Hume 1959:190-191; Jones, et al

 Table 4.4: Fill 5/5A and Trash Trench glass sherd assemblages.

1985:140). One tableware stem was also found in the Trash Trench. It was mold blown and determined to be of an annular knop shap (Hume 1959:190-191; Jones, et al 1985:140). Mold blown tableware such as these stems have been determined to have begun being manufactured circa 1650 (Miller 2000:7).

Several glass artifacts in Fill 5/5A and the Trash Trench had unique styles or decoration. Many were paneled in an identical style, decorated with etching, or were hand painted. All of these glass artifacts were most likely from tableware, stemware, or possibly a punch bowl set. Since these artifacts were nearly identical to those of the same decorative styles, it seems likely that they belonged to sets. One piece of milk glass was also found in Fill 5/5A, which began being manufactured in 1743 (Miller 2000:7). One cobalt blue colored glass sherd was found in this context. While colored glass rose to popularity in the 1750s, this particular color of cobalt glass was not manufactured until 1763 (Hume 1969:196). This "Bristol-blue" cobalt glass is said to have developed when a supply of fine cobalt from Saxony was made available to Bristol glassmakers. Three glass artifact from Fill 5/5A had clearly been worked. These sherds were three colorless

tumbler bases. Edges of the sherds had clearly been knapped, and points of flaking were evident on the glass. These artifacts appeared to have been worked into scraping tools.

Vessel Counts and Function

Ceramics

In order to allow for the connection of proveniences across the site, Fill 5/5A and the Trash trench were incorporated into the minimum vessel count of ceramics together, instead of calculating minimum vessels of the contexts separately. For MVC of 415 Thames Street ceramics, rim sherds were used. By sorting rims into groups that reflect individual vessels, it was determined that there was a minimum of 182 ceramic vessels in Fill 5/5A and the Trash Trench. (Table 4.5) The most prevalent vessels were porcelain and redware, amounting to 19% of the contexts' vessel count each. It is possible that these numbers are slightly skewed because of the difficulty of separating ceramic types such as redware, and stoneware into individual vessels. Redware and stoneware were most commonly used for utilitarian vessel and were not as uniquely decorated as ceramics such as porcelain or pearlware, if they were decorated at all. Because of this, it is possible that there are more utilitarian vessels than calculated in MVC analysis because of the difficulty of determining unique vessels.

Least prevalent vessels were American buff stoneware, Basalt stoneware, English brown stoneware, Fulham stoneware, white slip-dipped stoneware, cauliflower ware, factory slipware, and Salopian ware. There was only one vessel each made from these ceramic types, and together those 8 vessels totaled 4% of the vessel count.

Ware Type	Util.	Hol.	Milk	Chamber	Table	Flat.	Platter	Saucer	Bowl	Plate
American buff	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Basalt	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cauliflower ware	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Creamware	0	20	0	2	0	1	2	0	0	1
Tin-glazed	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
English brown	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fulham	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jackfield-type	4	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Factory slipware	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Nottingham-type	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pearlware	0	4	0	0	5	5	1	1	3	0
Porcelain	0	0	0	0	35	0	0	0	0	0
Redware	31	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rhenish	6	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Salopian ware	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Scratch blue	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
Staffordshire slip.	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Whieldon ware	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
White salt-glazed	0	10	0	0	0	4	1	0	0	0
White slip-dipped	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Whiteware	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0
Indeterminate earth.	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	47	59	3	5	49	10	4	1	3	1

Table 4.5: Function and minimum count of ceramic vessels.

In addition to vessel counts, vessel form and function was also analyzed in the 415 Thames Street ceramic assemblage. Although it would have been ideal to be able to determine the specific vessel form of each rim sherd in the ceramic assemblage, the analysis of vessels proved to be too difficult for a complete understanding of function. Most rims were too small to determine any specific function such as teaware or tableware. As a result, although there certainly may have been more unique ceramics within the Richardson household, most vessels were determined to simply be hollowware. Utilitarian hollowware and indeterminate holloware was by far the most prevalent in the assemblage, totaling 106 vessels. (Figure 4.5) In this analysis of vessel

form, hollowares were split into two different groups, utilitarian and indeterminate. Most stonewares and redware were determined to most likely have had utilitarian functions. However, it was less clear what specific functions wares such as creamware, Jackfieldtype, and white salt-glazed stoneware would have had. Although these wares were certainly used in the manufacturing of utilitarian vessels, it was difficult to tell with certainty the functions of those vessels in the Trash Trench and Fill 5/5A since those wares could have also been used for more refined vessels, such as tableware. As a result, vessels made from wares that gave no definite clues regarding function were left in an indeterminate category of hollowware. In addition to the utilitarian hollowware vessels mentioned, other utilitarian forms such as milk pans and chamber pots were present, totaling 6 vessels. Utilitarian ware including milk pans and chamber pots amounted to 56 vessels and represented 31% of the MVC. There were a total of 50 indeterminate tableware vessels, representing 27% of the vessel count. In addition, 11 flatware vessels, 3 platters, 1 saucer, 3 bowls, and 1 plate were identified in the process of determining MVC. Together, these 19 vessels amounted to 10% of the vessel count, and combined with the amount of indeterminate tableware vessels, the 69 tableware pieces represented 38% of the vessel count.

Glassware

In order to allow for the connection of proveniences across the site, Fill 5/5A and the Trash trench were incorporated into the minimum vessel count of glassware together, instead of calculating minimum vessels of the contexts separately. For MVC of 415 Thames Street glassware, base sherds were used. By sorting bases into groups that reflect individual vessels, it was determined that there was a minimum of 35 glass vessels in Fill

Vessel Type	MVC
Wine bottle	8
Case bottle	3
Vial	6
Tumbler	7
Stemware	9
Container, indeterminate	2
TOTAL	35

 Table 4.6: Minimum count of glass vessel

 forms.

5/5A and the Trash Trench. Like the ceramic MVC, it is also possible that these numbers are slightly skewed because of the difficult nature of calculating minimum vessels.

In addition to vessel counts, vessel form and function was also analyzed in the 415 Thames

Street glass assemblage. The most prevalent vessel form was stemware, amounting to 26% of the contexts' vessel count, indicating an interest in consuming and the means to purchase alcoholic drinks. (Table 4.6) It is likely that these types of drinks would have been consumed at social gatherings at 415 Thames Street while the Richardson family was entertaining guests. The least prevalent glass vessel form was indeterminate containers, which totaled only 6% of the glass assemblage. There are many different vessel types that these indeterminate containers could have been, such as liquor bottles, pharmaceutical containers, or jars.

Vial forms represented 17% of the vessel count. These vessels were all 3.5-6.0 cm in base diameter, free-blown, and aqua or colorless. Most likely they were made to contain medicinal substances such as ointment or tonic. However, since many medicinal substances contained alcohol at the time, it is possible that the presence of these vials also indicates alcohol consumption (Mrozowski 2006:126-129).

Small Finds

A total of 32 small finds were excavated from the Fill 5/5A context. (Table 4.7) The most prevalent objects in this context were buttons, which represented 25% of the small finds in Fill 5/5A. A total of 16 small finds were excavated from the Trash Trench

Object	Fill 5/5A	TT Total
Bale seal	1	0
Bead	4	1
Buckle	4	2
Button	8	5
Comb	3	0
Decorative object	0	1
Fan blade	1	0
Furniture hardware	1	0
Game piece	0	2
Knife handle	1	0
Marble	2	0
Metal fragment	3	0
Pin	2	4
Thimble	2	0
Wig curler	0	1
TOTAL	32	16

context. Like Fill 5/5A, the most prevalent objects in this context were buttons, amounting to 31% of the small finds in the Trash Trench.

One lead bale seal was found in Fill 5/5A. This particular type of artifact is commonly excavated at sites associated with trade (Hume 1969:269-271). The lead seal at this site would have been Capt. Thomas Richardson's own seal used to demark his

Table 4.7: Fill 5/5A and Trash Trench small finds assemblage.

merchandise or was used to denote goods that Richardson bought. Although seals have mostly been associated with the textile industry, they were also used to secure bags of general merchandise. The latter use is more likely for this particular household since there is no evidence of textile trade at this site.

A total of 4 beads were excavated from Fill 5/5A. Of that number, one was a red and black clay bead, one was a green faceted glass bead, and two were seed beads. One seed bead was made of red faceted glass, and the second was of black glass. There was one bead excavated from the Trash Trench. It was made of glass and opaque white in color. All glass beads at this site were likely imported from Amsterdam or Murano, an island which specialized in Venetian glassmaking (Hume 1969:53). There were 4 metal buckle artifacts in Fill 5/5A. Three consisted of only the frame portion of the buckle, 1 was the tine portion, and 1 consisted of the entire buckle. Of the 4 artifacts, 2 were

molded. Two buckles fragments were excavated from the Trash Trench context. Both were part of a frame, and only one was decorated with molding. It is most likely that these buckles were used as adornment pieces for objects such as belts, shoes, or hats (Hume 1969:84-88). Also collected from Fill 5/5A were 8 buttons. Three of these were bone, and 5 were made of metal. Five buttons were in the Trash Trench. Of these, 1 was made of shell, 3 were of metal, and 1 was bone. Since buttons and buckles were usually types of personal adornment specific to men, it is likely that these artifacts had at one time decorated items of clothing worn by men at the site, possibly Capt. Thomas Richardson, his male slaves, or guests of his house (White 2005:17).

One decorative object that was not easily identified was excavated from the Trash Trench context. It was made of bone, hollow, and had been formed into a curved shape. Threads were located at both ends of the object to be screwed into something. One end had threads on the inside, while the other end had threads on the outside. It was determined that his artifact was likely part of a musical instrument, such as a flute or clarinet.

In Fill 5/5A were 3 comb pieces, each made of bone. Since those artifacts are not decorated or ornate in any way, it seems most likely that they were utilized as objects of personal hygiene rather than adornment or decoration (Lester, Oerke 2004:134). All comb pieces appeared to be rectangular in shape, and 2 pieces showed teeth along both opposite sides of the combs. A fan blade piece was also located in Fill 5/5A, and the portion of the fan collected was the rivet end. One furniture hardware artifact was recovered from Fill 5/5A. It was a small loop handle measuring approximately 2 cm (Hume 1969:228-229). Mostly likely, it was used for a drawer or cupboard door. One

knife handle was also recovered from this context. It was made of bone and measured approximately 6 cm. There were 2 marbles in Fill 5/5A, each made of clay and measuring approximately 1.5 cm. Two game pieces were in the Trash Trench. Both were circular, flat, and made from polished stone. One piece measured approximately 2 cm in diameter, and the second measured approximately 1.5 cm.

There were 3 metal fragments in Fill 5/5A. All of them appeared to have been scraps or have broken off of other objects. Their significance as small finds is that the fragments appear to have been intentionally bent or contorted into unusual shapes. Also in Fill 5/5A were 2 pins and 2 thimbles. Of the pins, one artifact included the entire pin and the second included only the top head portion of the pin. The first thimble, measuring approximately 1.5 cm was squat and heavy, appearing to have been made from a single piece of metal. The second, measuring approximately 2 cm, is longer than the first and seems to have been made from two pieces of metal, the sides being formed from one strip and the crown attached to it (Hume 1969:256). Although Hume claims that, generally, shorter thimbles made from one piece of metal are earlier than longer thimbles from multiple pieces of metal, no thimbles from this site could be accurately dated. Four pins were found in the Trash Trench. Three of these pin artifacts included only the upper head portion of the pin. The fourth pin did include the entire pin, but it was unlike other sewing artifacts in that it had been intentionally wound into a tight ball of metal. Lastly, a wig curler was located in the Trash Trench. It was made of clay and measured approximately 6 cm in length.

Interpretation of Assemblages

Many artifacts in the Fill 5/5A and Trash Trench assemblages were unique and insightful, leading to specific interpretations regarding the Richardson household's status, practices of gentility, and the role of women in the family. During the Richardson household's occupation period at the site in the 18th century, porcelain was fairly expensive tableware that signified wealth and higher social status. The ceramic's prevalence in both contexts at 415 Thames Street, although not extremely high, could indicate affluence or mannerly behavior and the means for entertaining guests in the Richardson home (Mrozowski 2006:51). Surely in order to be considered part of Newport's upper class, it would have been expected that you able to entertain appropriately and afford expensive goods.

Also notable was the Armorial porcelain recovered from the site. As its name suggests, this ware was typically decorated with a family crest or coat of arms. Being able to afford personalized porcelain would have been a clear signal of status and taste. However, it has not been determined if Capt. Thomas Richardson had or had created a coat of arms that would have been painted on the Armorial porcelain found at the 415 Thames Street site. If the household did indeed have a unique crest, then Richardson's or his father's possession of Armorial ware seems to signify that this was an affluent family of some importance, or at least the household had this view of themselves.

Glass tableware is also noteworthy because of its use in practices of gentility and class significance (Carson 1994:570; Jones 2000:141). Glass tableware's purpose was not only to be used as a drinking vessel, but also to be seen. Fine tableware exhibited wealth and status, and setting a table with expensive and fashionable glass was an

opportunity to showcase economic success. Like exhibiting expensive porcelain or wellcrafted furniture, glass tableware also played a role in practices of gentility and maintaining social status. The amount of wine bottle artifacts, which could have also been used to hold rum, also indicates a level of alcohol consumption appropriate for the merchant class. Certainly alcohol also played a large role in entertaining and may have been useful as a conduit for business transactions and networking. Most likely, alcohol would have been present at social gatherings and functions at 415 Thames Street, and would have displayed the ability to keep up with the rest of the merchant class in regards to social status.

The discovery of glass stems at 415 Thames Street indicates that the household possessed stemware pieces which held specific liquids such as alcoholic drinks. Stemware and the drinks consumed from them would have been a significant aspect of entertaining guests, networking amongst the merchant class, and exhibiting wealth (Mrozowski 2006:126-129). The presence of stemware at the site indicates a level of formal dining or entertainment in the Capt. Thomas Richardson household. The etched, paneled, and painted glassware artifacts in both Fill 5/5A and the Trash Trench contexts are nearly identical and indicate that they likely belonged to respective glassware sets. It is possible that these were parts of punch bowl sets used at social events. Although not much has been published or researched in regards to punch-drinking during this time, Karen Harvey offers the argument that while coffee was mostly consumed by men in male-oriented coffee houses, and tea was linked to women and household domesticity, punch provided a drink that united masculine sociability and feminine domesticity

(Harvey 2008:205-206). If this is accurate, punch seems like an excellent drink to serve at social functions in a home where both men and women would be in attendance.

The presence and number of vessel forms such as tableware suggests the ability to set a fine table and means for entertainment at 415 Thames Street. While there may have been tea ware present in the assemblage, rim sherds were too small to determine any tearelated functions. Certainly as a means of strengthening or forming business ties, social functions would have been held within the Capt. Thomas Richardson household (Goodwin 1999:176-177). These social gatherings would have been one of the ways in which the women of the household contributed to their merchant business economically and socially (Cott 1977:28-62; Crane 1985; Ulrich 1982:35-50). Women in the highstatus merchant class would have found it necessary to maintain distance from trade or manual labor. This constraint would have meant that women contributed to their household and family business in other, more domestic, ways. Women of Capt. Thomas Richardson's household, such as Elizabeth and their five daughters, would have found it to be their responsibility to organize these social gatherings and functions for other members of the merchant class. Therefore, the women of the household would have had direct influence over what tableware to purchase, set their table with, and use to display their family's status. The prevalence of porcelain tableware suggests that the Richardson family had the means to purchase more expensive dining vessels and, because of their fine tableware, could have been viewed as high-class amongst their fellow merchant elite.

The retouching on the tumbler bases is consistent with wear found on lithic artifacts. It is likely that these glass tools were fashioned and used by African slaves or an indentured Indian within the household as scraping devices (Wilkie 2000:189-201).

Given the observation that these glass sherds have been reworked into tools, it is logical to assume that their production required a certain amount of knapping ability. It seems more likely that the family's three slaves or an Indian would have possessed knapping ability than any of the merchant family members in the household. Since Capt. Thomas Richardson was described as a slave ship owner in addition to a merchant, the higher volume of African slaves coming in contact with his property could also attribute to the amount of knapped glass on the site. Although many glass artifacts from 415 Thames Street exhibit wear such as chipping or scarring, these three tumbler bases are the only artifacts to have been clearly retouched by knapping.

Since beads were widely considered at the time to be decorative baubles of women, it is most likely that the beads found at 415 Thames Street belonged to the women within the household (Chan 2007:141; White 2005:81-83). It is also quite possible that the beads belonged specifically to slave women at the site (Eicher, Sciama 1998:182; Yentsch 1994:190-191). In her book *A Chesapeake Family and Their Slaves*, Yentsch suggests that the presence of beads indicates African practices of personal adornment being carried on in America as a form of cultural solidarity and womanly expression. Although the beads may have been used as part of jewelry belonging to the Richardson women, it is also possible that beads found at this site belonged to the Richardson family's slave, Sylvia. In that case, it could indicate African cultural expression continuing on in the New World and an African traditional expression of womanhood (Cabak et al 1996:53). It is possible that Sylvia used these beads to sustain her cultural identity and womanhood in a place entirely different from that of her home. The use of beads by slaves at this site would also provide insight into slave life at 415 Thames Street and the concept of slave women as individuals who denoted themselves as such with the use of adornment.

The comb pieces located at 415 Thames Street were most likely double-edged combs used for the removal of lice from hair or beards (Hume 1969:174-175; White 2005:104). Although many elite women wore decorative combs as a way of displaying fashionable taste, these bone double-edged combs were likely used for hygienic purposes. The combs found in the 415 Thames Street assemblage likely served a utilitarian purpose. The presence of these particular types of combs demonstrates that lice and other vermin were not entirely contained to the lower-classes. It seems that unhygienic vermin likely plagued residents of Newport regardless of class or wealth, and it was certainly possible for a high-status household to have head lice. Additionally, fans were important symbols of sexuality and gentility, and the fan blade artifact located in Fill 5/5A would have been used by an upper-class or even middle-class woman as a way of conveying their status (Lester, Oerke 2004:436; White 2005:122-127). Fans were expensive items and could also be used to convey flirtations or romantic interests in another person. The presence of a fan blade, a marker of class, at this site suggests that the Richardson household was indeed one of gentility.

The less expensive bone knife handle seems to be a contradiction to the finer women's fan, however. This particular type of handle is not easily dateable, but it is thought to be most popular from the late 18th to 19th century (Hume 1969:182). The handle, being made of polished bone, seems quite plain in comparison to more refined handles of the time that were inlaid or ornately decorated. This seemingly less expensive

cutlery is likely a utilitarian object that would not have been used in extravagant social functions where displays of wealth would have been important.

The marbles and game pieces found in both contexts are an example of 18th-century entertainment. Toys or game items such as these are generally classified as children's playthings and could have been used by the Richardson children at the site (Hume 1969:320). Although marbles and games are indeed usually associated with children, it would not be impossible for them to have been used by slaves at 415 Thames Street, either.

The metal fragments located in Fill 5/5A were considered small finds because of their unique shape. It appeared as if the fragments, as well as the tightly wound pin, had been intentionally contorted. Given the intentional shaping of the metal and pin, it is possible that these artifacts were purposely contorted and used in an African minkisi, or spiritual bundle (Chireau 1997:46; Ferguson 1992:114-116; Gladys-Marie, Leone 1999:377-380; SRU). Minkisis have been shown to have been important material aspects of African cultural and spiritual beliefs. Traditionally, a minkisi was carried as a protective talisman object with the purpose of keeping evil and sickness away. It was also believed that these protective bundles had supernatural powers and would transfer power to its owners, such as the ability to transform or conjure. These particular artifacts are not extremely common in colonial American sites. They were usually hidden within homes, and the protective bundles have been found in hearths, sills, and under kitchen floors (Leone 1999:378). Being a slave in 18th-century New England would certainly give reason for wanting protection and the desire to possess a supernatural power, especially since slaves were mostly stripped of power in their daily lives.

Traditionally, minkisis contained both natural and man-made objects such as leaves, roots, bones, and metal. The prevalence of these sorts of items not only in Africa, but also colonial America, would have been helpful in allowing slaves to continue their African spiritual practices. Artifacts from 415 Thames Street which have been linked to African minkisis include beads, pins, scrap metal, shells, bones and glass fragments. However, it would be foolish to assume that all artifacts of this kind are possible minkisi items. The three scrap metal fragments found in Fill 5/5A seem significant, though, because they appeared to be intentionally contorted. This would have made them more likely to have been part of a minkisi than typical household trash. The presence of minkisi objects at 415 Thames Street would demonstrate slaves' desire and ability to continue spiritual practices and beliefs in American and also in close proximity to their masters' homes. It could also indicate a form of resistance against the Richardson household and Newport's white community as well as an attempt to maintain control within their daily lives as slaves.

Although it is unclear who would have used sewing artifacts at the site, the Richardson women or their female slave, the pin and thimbles certainly suggest women's labor (Beaudry 2006; Cott 1977:26-28; Hill 2000; Ulrich 1982:29). During the time of the Richardson family's occupation at 415 Thames, women did most of their work in the household, which included textile manufacturing, sewing, and needlework. By selling the products of this domestic labor, some women also turned these activities into profitable work. Needlepoint was also considered an appropriate hobby for upper-class women at the time. Although mothers and daughters shared those labors, it would be difficult to say whether women of the Richardson family or Sylvia, their slave, performed

most of this type of domestic work. Throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, pins were also commonly used as women's clothing fasteners (Beaudry 2006:13-14; White 2005:74). Bodices and other articles of clothing were fastened and closed using pins, rather than buttons or hooks. Therefore, it is difficult to tell the exact use for the pins excavated at 415 Thames Street since those objects were multifunctional at the time.

The wooden decorative object, threaded on both sides, was initially a puzzling item in the collection. There were no immediate indicators that would give insight to its use. However, after examining the historic musical instruments collection at Boston's Museum of Fine Arts, it has been determined that this piece was likely part of an instrument such as a flute or clarinet. Like they are today, these instruments had to be assembled by the musician before playing in the 18th century. Usually woodwind instruments such as clarinets and flutes were made in three or four pieces to be connected by threads or cork in order to be played. During this time, those instruments were most commonly silver-plated, or made of glass or wood. Possessing an expensive musical instrument was usually limited to those of the upper class and indicated wealth. In addition to displaying wealth due to the item's cost, it also showed that the musician could afford to devote time to learning musical skill rather than laborious tasks. Like needlepoint, playing instruments was viewed as an appropriate way for a genteel woman to spend her time, and this mannerly behavior was more common among the upper-class than those with a lower status.

The wig curler located in the Trash Trench could have possibly been used to curl or dress a wig belonging to Capt. Thomas Richardson. During the 18th century, wearing a dressed wig was an important part of any gentleman's dress code (Calvert 1994:263-

270). The wearing of a wig was also a display of social rank, and wig styles came to be strongly associated with a man's profession. Merchants such a Capt. Thomas Richardson wore a version of a natty bob with a straight crown of hair and tightly curled ends. While many items or adornments, such as fine tableware or jewelry, were used by the upper class to display status, a gentleman's wig offered even greater precision in defining social rank and belonging.

Summary

During the cataloging process, creamware and redware were shown to be the most predominant ceramic type in Fill 5/5A and the Trash Trench. Together, those two ceramic types represented 74% of the total ceramic assemblage of both contexts. Based on minimum vessel count analysis, creamware, porcelain, and redware proved to be the most prevalent amongst vessels in the 415 Thames Street site, representing 55% of the vessel count. Vessel forms were also taken into consideration, and utilitarian or unspecified hollowware was the most prevalent ceramic vessel form, amounting to 62% of all ceramic vessels. In terms of glassware, wine bottles and stemware were the most prevalent forms, representing 49% of all glass vessels.

The number of small finds in the Trash Trench, 16, amounted to exactly half the number in Fill 5/5A, 32. The most prevalent small finds in Fill 5/5A were buttons, totaling 25% of that context's small finds assemblage. Most prevalent in the Trash Trench were buttons and pins, representing 56% of that assemblage. Much of the Fill 5/5A and Trash Trench assemblages contained artifacts indicating gentility and wealth. However, a smaller amount of artifacts within the contexts were items of a utilitarian nature that would have likely not been used as status markers in 18th-century Newport.

CHAPTER V

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

In an attempt to form a more accurate understanding of the Capt. Thomas Richardson household's practices of gentility and social standing within the Newport community, comparative analysis was conducted. Specifically, the site assemblages of 415 Thames Street were compared to those of the Queen Anne's Square excavation in Newport. Although the Queen Anne's Square assemblage has been given a date earlier than that of the 415 Thames Street assemblage, there was enough overlap in time of the two assemblages to make the artifacts of Queen Anne's Square a relevant comparison collection. It was determined that the households of Queen Anne's Square were of a middle-class group in 18th-century Newport, and the assemblages of those households are utilized to help pinpoint the Richardson household's place within society. Additionally, probate inventories taken in Newport during the last half of the 18th century (Appendix C) are used as a comparative tool in order to establish Richardson's material wealth. In a culture where a person's status was largely determined by what they owned, probate records are a valuable collection of data in determining Capt. Thomas Richardson's standing in Newport society.

Comparison to Queen Anne's Square Assemblages

A material culture analysis of Queen Anne's Square in Newport, RI was conducted by Stephen Mrozowski in an effort to establish the formation of class in this

18th-century urban setting (Mrozowski 2006). The results of this analysis suggested that the area of Queen Anne's Square was occupied by middle-class households who used available goods to emulate gentility and status. The Tate and Brown households examined in the analysis were an example of a cultural transformation taking place in Newport, where households of middling status adopted practices of gentility in order to create a higher social ranking for themselves (Mrozowski 2006:59). Just as high-status members of the community consumed expensive goods to manufacture an image of gentility, households of middling status also attempted to consume higher quality goods as a way of bolstering their image. These social practices also created a tension within the community between high-status residents that worked to keep their social class exclusive and middle-class households that wanted to be included within the upper tier of society, resulting in Queen Anne's Square becoming a contested space. The area was filled with people and households attempting to communicate their own social identities through the use of genteel practices and objects. In displaying similar material identities, households used Queen Anne's Square as an expression of shared cultural space that also correlated with class.

Here, the minimum vessel counts and ware types of Mrozowski's Queen Anne's Square analysis are compared to the MVC and ware type data collected at 415 Thames Street (Mrozowski 2006:52). By comparing these two case studies, a clearer understanding of where the Capt. Thomas Richardson household stood, socially and materially, within the complex Newport society can be seen. (Table 5.1) It has been determined that both the Tate and Brown households of Newport were part of a middling class within the community, although they did possess some fine goods in an attempt to

Ware Type	Richardson House	Tate House	Brown House
Creamware	31	2	0
Tin-glazed	8	21	10
English brown stoneware	1	3	0
Jackfield-type	4	4	0
Porcelain	35 (25%)	10 (12%)	3 (10%)
Redware	35 (25%)	17 (21%)	10 (33%)
Scratch blue stoneware	3	2	0
Staffordshire slipware	2	3	0
White salt-glazed stoneware	15	20	7
TOTAL	139	81	30

 Table 5.1: Minimum vessel count comparison of ceramics excavated at 415 Thames Street and Queen Anne's Square.

bolster their social status. The Tate and Brown households resided in Newport earlier, in the first half of the 18th century, than the Richardson household, who occupied 415 Thames Street in the latter half of the century. Although there is a small disparity in the time periods of these households, the Tate and Brown households were deemed to be relevant in the comparison of wealth and status in Newport. The comparison of Capt. Thomas Richardson's household to others in the community can help to determine whether the Richardson family was part of the upper-class merchant elite, or if the household more closely identified with Newport's middle-class residents.

Although the site at 415 Thames Street did indeed have a larger variety of ware types than that of the Queen Anne's Square assemblage, this comparison is based on an analysis of ware types that were found at both sites. Of the ware types that were used in this comparison of minimum vessel counts, the Richardson household contained the greatest number of vessels by far, totaling 139, in contrast to the Tate household's 81 vessels and the Brown household's 30 vessels. In terms of vessels of English brown stoneware, Jackfield-type, Scratch blue stoneware, white salt-glazed stoneware, and

Staffordshire slipware, both sites yielded a similar number of vessels with no significant disparity. A greater disparity was obvious, though, when examining the number of creamware, tin-glazed, porcelain, and redware vessels from the different assemblages. The Richardson household contained far more creamware, porcelain, and redware vessels, and both of the Tate and Brown households contained more tin-glazed vessels. While tin-glazed ware was used in manufacturing vessels associated with practices of gentility during the 18th century, such as punch bowls, the most coveted ware in terms of status and genteel expression was porcelain. In the Richardson household, 25% of the MVC was porcelain, compared to 12% and 10% of the Tate and Brown household, respectively. Based on the MVC analysis done on both the 415 Thames Street and Queen Anne's Square assemblages, it seems clear that the Richardson household possessed far more valuable wares associated with high-class society than that of middling households in Newport. This seems to support the notion that the Richardson family did indeed count themselves as part of the elite merchant class within a community where class and social space were highly contested.

However, small finds that were used as 18th-century symbols of class were found at both 415 Thames Street and the middling households of Queen Anne's Square. Both sites yielded fan parts, comb fragments, beads, and artifacts associated with sewing. However, the fan blade parts and comb fragments are particularly notable as they were used to project class and fashionable style. Owning fans and combs would have been an intentional expression of genteel identity. Although it is generally thought that those items were usually owned by high status individuals, it is possible that objects such as these were not exclusively associated with the elite class since Newport's middling

households did have some access to them. It could be the case that, while items such as fans and combs projected refinement, they were used by both the elite and the middling class in an attempt to modify or maintain their social standing within the community.

Comparison to 18th-Century Probate Inventories

In order to establish Capt. Thomas Richardson's standing within the Newport community in terms of wealth and material possessions, his probate inventory has been compared to sixteen other probate inventories of men residing in Newport from the years 1778-1782 (SRU). (Table 5.2) Since Richardson's probate inventory was recorded after his death in 1782, these inventories have been collected from the same period as a comparative sample. The probate inventories of Newport help to better clarify Richardson's place in society at the time of his death and provide insight into the state of Richardson's affairs.

Group 1		
Peter Langley	£1,78642	
Christopher Champlin	£93490	
Philip Wilkinson	£70924	
Nathaniel Mumford	£70356	
Group 2		
Meyer Polock	£27610	
Joseph Jacob	£243410	
Robert Stephens	£19993	
Capt. Thomas Richardson	£188129	
Col. Robert Elliot	£183120	
Philip Wanton	£18040	
Group 3		
Isaac Smith	£104100	
Capt. William Bourke	£95196	
Jonathan Thurston	£6719	
Capt. Isaac Freeborn	£56100	
William Cranston	£42180	
Dr. Stephen Wigneron	£4070	
Joseph Turner	£2756	

In examining the probate inventories and the amount of money each man had in his possession at his death, three groups began to take shape within the data, representing a lower, middle, and upper class in Newport. Group 1 was comprised of a seemingly elite class who possessed many high quality items in their households and shops. This upper tier owned £700 to £1,700 at their deaths. Christopher

Table 5.2: Probate inventories.

Champlin, Peter Langley, Nathaniel Mumford, and Philip Wilkinson were in this upperclass group. Group 2 was comprised of a middling class with less material goods who did possess some higher quality items, though they were often broken or old. These seven men owned £180 to £300 at their deaths. Capt. Thomas Richardson, Joseph Jacob, Philip Wanton, Col. Robert Elliot, Meyer Polock, and Robert Stephens were in this group. Lastly, Group 3 was comprised of lower-class individuals who had few material possessions and whose probates rarely listed goods of high quality. These records showed that Isaac Smith, Jonathan Thurston, William Cranston, Joseph Turner, Dr. Stephen Wigneron, Capt. Isaac Freeborn, and Capt. William Bourke were among that group, each man owning less than £110 at their deaths.

Capt. Thomas Richardson's location within this middle-class group seems to be a far cry from his status as a top taxpayer, merchant, and distiller before the American Revolutionary War, as detailed by Elaine Crane in *A Dependant People* (Crane 1985). At his death in 1782, many of his possessions are described as old, broken, and worn. At that point, Richardson was certainly not amongst the privileged elite of Newport. If his grievance filed with the British Crown after the American Revolutionary War is correct, Richardson did indeed suffer expensive losses over the decade preceding his death. Judging by his probate inventory, he was not able to regain success and fell from the elite tier of Newport society. At his death, Richardson found himself in a middling class of residents that the genteel class of Newport had worked so hard, through elaborate displays of wealth and unique behaviors, to distance themselves from socially.

Although Capt. Thomas Richardson's probate inventory does indeed show a man who had few high quality possessions and no place among the elite class, in reading

through the records, echoes alluding to what could have at one time been a powerful and successful merchant are present. Richardson's slaves, Sylvia and Gambo, though described in his probate as "lame and of no value," (NP) were possessions that typically were only afforded by those with wealth and status. It is possible that when Richardson acquired his slaves, his household was an example of those families who had experienced economic success during Newport's boom. Although Sylvia and Gambo were viewed as having no value in 1782, at one point in their lives the African slaves would have helped to denote their owner as wealthy and successful.

Likewise, the two copper stills and worms, part of an old still, and remains of an old sloop show that Richardson surely took part in Newport's rum trade empire before the Revolutionary War. His ownership of distilling equipment and a trading vessel indicate that Richardson could have counted himself among the many merchants who achieved great wealth and social admiration due to an ideal trading location and tax laws that were not enforced by the British government. Indeed, he is described as a distiller, merchant, and owner of a slave ship in Crane's compiled data (Crane 1985). It seems likely that Capt. Thomas Richardson was at one time a successful merchant who was able to gain wealth through Newport's participation in the triangle trading cycle. Like many residents of Newport, however, Richardson experienced the destruction of his wealth and community at the hand of British occupying troops. As a result of this irreparable blow, Richardson died having lost both his wealth and social status.

Summary

A comparison of the Capt. Thomas Richardson artifact assemblage and historical documentation to the Queen Anne's Square excavation and probate records has helped to

draw conclusions regarding the household's status within the Newport community. In comparing the minimum vessel count data to that of the Tate and Brown households of Queen Anne's Square, it seems that the Richardson household possessed more high quality ceramics that would have been important for maintaining a genteel status. Although the Tate and Brown households did possess status-related items such as porcelain, fans, and combs, the amount of those objects were significantly lower than what was collected during the excavation at 415 Thames Street. The high-status position of the Richardson household that was concluded from the Queen Anne's Square comparison seemed to contrast Capt. Thomas Richardson's standing in Newport at the end of his life in 1782. Using probate records, it was determined that Richardson had died with few possessions of value and had most likely fallen from any position of status and taste. It was concluded, therefore, that Capt. Thomas Richardson most likely experienced a rise in wealth and success during Newport's booming era of trade and rum enterprise, but by the end of his life, after the devastation of the Revolutionary War, found himself monetarily destroyed and of lower status.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The analysis of ceramic, glass, and small finds assemblages excavated at 415 Thames Street, along with documentary research regarding status in 18th-century Newport illuminates the concept of what it meant to be a merchant as well as a member of the genteel class. Aided by Newport's ideal location and lenient tax laws, merchants of the area participated in a huge commercial enterprise during the community's booming era from the 1750s to 1770s. Newport's surge of economic success allowed the merchant class to acquire large amounts of wealth and become cultural participants in practices of gentility and mannerly behaviors. Their display of taste and gentility was used as a way of maintaining and reproducing their status, as well as communicating their financial success to other members within their community. It seems as though the Capt. Thomas Richardson household was amongst the many families who experienced wealth and economic success during Newport's rum boom. However, by the end of the American Revolutionary War, after the occupying British troops had destroyed much of the city, Richardson found himself among the many that had lost their fortunes and livelihoods during the 1770s. The Richardson household's position among the merchant elite for the majority of the 18th century is documented in the archaeological and historical record, but in 1782 Richardson dies having fallen from the upper tier of society.

In Lorinda Goodwin's work, membership in elite society is discussed as a cultural infiltration of power into areas of kinship, religion, and social interactions (Goodwin 1999). This elite power in 18th-century Newport was also a means of social maintenance and reproduction through avenues of marriage, gender roles, business ties, and other social networks. For the better part of the 18th century, Capt. Thomas Richardson and his family appear to be participating members of Newport's elite class. Tax records indicate that he was among the highest taxed men in the city and also describe him as a merchant, distiller, and slave ship owner. If his grievance filed with the British Crown regarding losses sustained during the revolutionary was can be considered accurate, Richardson indeed found much of his expensive property destroyed at the hands of British troops. This included buildings, wharves, ships, and distilleries. While his probate inventory records old and damaged goods, showing that Richardson likely died as broken as his possessions, shadows of past success could be seen in the inventory, such as slaves, distilling equipment, and the hull of a ship.

Additionally, the women of the Richardson household would have also had unique lived experiences as members of merchant society during Newport's heyday. Archaeological data collected at 415 Thames Street was indicative of women's presence and activities, though it may be impossible to determine which women were associated with specific artifacts. However, objects associated with society's upper class indicate that the Richardson women were indeed part of an elite group. The financial and material means for hosting social gatherings are also interpreted as evidence of women's activities. Although Thomas Richardson was the face of his merchant business, it would have been the responsibility of his wife and other female household members to organize

and host social events at their home. These gatherings were great opportunities for forming business and ties and displaying wealth, and they served as a way of maintaining and reproducing the elite class. A woman's role in these functions meant that she had direct influence over the fortune and social status of her family.

The archaeological record at 415 Thames Street indicates the Richardson household's place in elite merchant society. Artifacts alluding to the trappings of polite behavior were discovered in the ceramic, glass, and small finds assemblages. Porcelain sherds, such as Armorial porcelain which is notable because of its personalized use of a crest or family coat of arms, was found in both contexts Fill 5/5A and the Trash Trench, indicating that the Richardson household had could afford to purchase this expensive ware and considered themselves to be deserving of high status. Glass artifacts belonging to wine bottles, stemware, and a punch bowl set were also located in both contexts. Stemware and punch bowls, both used to hold specific liquids, show that the household had the means for entertainment and likely participated in social gatherings that were essential for the elite class' social maintenance. The contexts analyzed in this study also contained more porcelain and high-quality vessels than that of the Tate and Brown households from Mrozowski's Queen Anne's Square excavation (Mrozowski 2006). The Tate and Brown families were concluded to be of a middling class who attempted to use material goods to bolster their social status. The 415 Thames Street site's higher volume of porcelain vessels seems to indicate that the Richardson household was able to afford more of these status objects and likely viewed themselves as belonging to a higher class than that of the Tate and Brown households.

Similarly, small finds from the Richardson household also indicate a family of merchant elites. A lead bale seal provides evidence of commercial activities taking place at the site, and the musical instrument piece, fan blade, and wig curler are all objects that are typically associated with mannerly behavior or dress. The presence of a fan blade, musical instrument, and sewing objects also seem to be evidence of women's activities within the household. With five living daughters, a wife, Elizabeth, and one female slave, Sylvia, women were certainly a large presence in the Richardson household. Sewing items and goods such as fans and instruments are examples of material culture commonly associated with womanly behavior during the colonial 18th century. The actions associated with these objects also came to be associated with polite femininity, as hobbies such as sewing and playing music were deemed appropriate tasks for women of taste and class.

A comparison of 18th-century Newport probate records produces a much different image of Richardson than that of a wealthy and powerful merchant. Reviewing the material possessions that Richardson had when he died in comparison to men of Newport during the same time reveals that far from being a successful merchant in his last years, Capt. Thomas Richardson had become a financially devastated man. Mary Beaudry's analysis of a Massachusetts merchant household indicates that their house was decorated and furnished in a way that would be expected and required for genteel life. This scenario certainly did not resemble Richardson's house in 1782. Most of the items on his probate are described as broken, worn, and of no use.

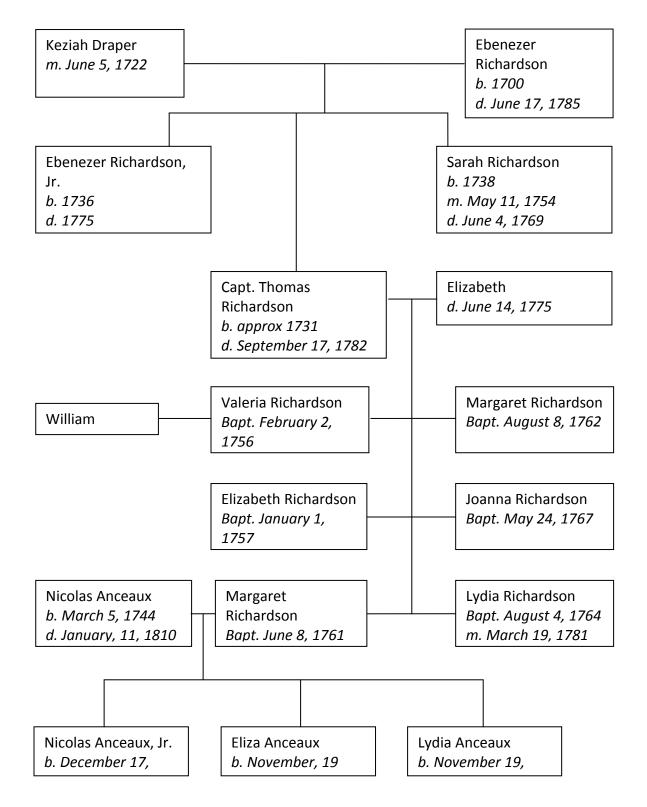
Goodwin described polite behaviors as cushions for the merchant elite whose fortunes and social standing could be affected vastly by changes in the economic

structures of their communities (Goodwin 1999). With drastic financial changes happening, upholding elite behaviors and taste allowed merchants of Newport a mask to hide behind in the face of economic and social upheavals. By using the practices of gentility that were so important in the upper tier of society, merchants were able to maintain their ranks, even if their finances did not reflect high status. The dilapidated state of Richardson's possessions upon his death seems to be an example of Goodwin's argument regarding the social importance of genteel behaviors and goods. Having reached the height of his financial and social success during Newport's booming era from 1750-1770, Capt. Thomas Richardson found himself in a state of ruin after the Revolutionary War. He was unable to keep up with the expectations and behaviors of the community's elite class, and thus found himself no longer a part of it. Upon his death Richardson seems to be a part of the middling class of Newport, rather than the elite upper tier that everyone coveted.

The examination of the Richardson household in 18th-century Newport provides insight into the complex merchant identity. Rather than thinking of a merchant as concretely synonymous with elite class, the case of Richardson indicates that merchants moved more fluidly amongst classes depending on their ability to maintain material and behavioral appearances. Just like financial booms and busts, merchants rose and fell in Newport society in correlation with their ability to maintain practices of gentility. The archaeological record at 415 Thames Street in addition to historical documentation provided the necessary information to illuminate the complexity of merchant identity and the integral aspects of polite behaviors that seems to have been the fate of the Capt. Thomas Richardson household.

APPENDIX A

RICHARDSON FAMILY TREE



APPENDIX B

ACCOUNT OF LOSSES SUSTAINED

An Account of Losses Sustained by the British Troops while in Possession of Rhode Island is as follows

Whole Amount	£1,843100
10 days confined in the Provost and 18 days on board the Prison Ship	
My Negro man Jack carried off at the evacuation	6000
A quantity of rigging taken out of my cellar by Welch and his Clerk	8400
trees Cash taken from me by Welch the Provost Master	4100
All the fencing taken off my lot at Middletown and about 70 Locust	6000
18 boats and 2 large schooners	10500
large distill heads	
My interest up town, 1 large store, 1 small distill house, wharf, and 2	45000
blocks falls (?) and also my distill house much damaged	15000
Taken out of my distill house sundry sails, 1 cable, 1 anchor, a parcel of rigging	
One sloop, 3 cables, 3 anchors, 1 new suit of sails	45000
My Estate down town consisting of, 3 dwelling houses, 2 large stores, 1 stable and wharf	£18000 30000

Newport June 10th 1782 Signed by Capt. Thomas Richardson

APPENDIX C

18^{th-}CENTURY PROBATE INVENTORIES

Capt. Thomas Richardson Probate Inventory (NP)

Inventory of the Personal Estate of Thomas Richardson (deceased), appraised by us subscribers.

One eight day clock	£1200
One mahogany desk and book case	900
One four foot maple table (oval)	1180
One three food, ditto	0120
One mahogany tea stand	090
One looking glass	1100
3 round about chairs (one broke)	0120
Pair hand iron brass top and shovel and tongs	0180
6 China plates (cracked), 2 ditto bowls (one cracked)	1100
In the Great Room,	
Sundry pieces of delph ware in cupboard (Little Room)	0120
2 brass candlesticks, 2 pewter platters, 1 warming pan	0150
One old silver porringer	140
One pair Kitchen hand irons, 1 spitt, 1 iron skillet and pewter basin	100
One old brass kettle, 2 small iron ditto and 2 iron pots	160
One glass lanthorn (broke)	030
His wearing apparel	5140
Pair old silver shoe and knee buckles, 2 oz.	0131
One feather bed, bolster, bedding, and 2 under beds (old & worn)	5140
One old Negro man (Gambo)	
One old Negro woman (Sylvia), both lame and of no value	
One old silver watch (broke)	140
One small pewter worm and copper tops	3180
3 old empty casks	090
One large copper still and worm, 350 Dollar	10500
One small ditto, 20 Dollar	600
Old Junk, old casks, old pumps, 4 beat oars, old trough	140
Old iron	030
One old horse	
One part of an old still	600
The remains of the hull of the Old Sloop lying on the point	1800

Whole Amount £188...12...9

Joseph Jacob Probate Inventory (NP 1:37)

An inventory of the Personal Estate of Joseph Jacob, late of Newport, (deceased) taken and appraised by us the subscribers, presented to us by Thomas Robinson, sole acting executer of Estate this 3rd day of the 3rd month 1778.

In the hall and closet ajoining, Couch frame and pillow, one of four leather bottomed chairs, 2 of round One high candlestick of small stand One pair hand irons, shovel & tongs & bellows and hearth mush One old oak table, one looking glass A barometer, glassware, an earthen shaving basin, pot of lead One table bell, 6 matts, small brush One bread basket, 2 tin canisters, a mousetrap	£1160 040 0120 0100 0100 030 020
In the Great Parlor, One large mahogany table, one tea table China bowls, dishes, and platter White stone dishes and plates One large earthen flower pot (broken) 4 glass ware, 2 tin jams 6 leather bottomed chairs, 3 of Cane An old large trunk One black traveling trunk, 3 Damask table cloths, and 3 diaper (old) 8 pillow cases, 5 towls, 6 old sheets One dos. Damask napkins, 1 dos diapers 9 small table matts, a cloath brush, and small case with four forks	1120 2100 0120 050 1180 0180 220 0166 1100
In the White Chamber, One bedstand, bed, and bolster	300
In the Green Chamber, 4 cane chairs, 1 of leather, and 1 great cane chare One old stand and dressing glass	0100 0100
In the New Garret, One old black trunk, 4 flower pots, and 1 old screen One bead stead, 1 old saddle, bridle	0100 120
In the Hall Chamber, One old easy chair, 1 old high case of drawers One glass lantern, 6 large cloaths press One pair bellows and cloath brush, 1 sugar and tea canister Some old earthen and glassware and small crane A case of silver hafed knives and forks	$ \begin{array}{c} 140\\ 0100\\ 050\\ 020\\ 300 \end{array} $

In the Little Parlor, One eight day clock, 5 leather bottomed chairs, 1 cane One old oval table, a carpet One looking glass, 1 brass shovel and tongs and hand irons, 1 old map	740 0120 0120
In the Study Adjoining, One case of bottles, 1 old hand and writing chair One nest of weights, 6 diapers, and 1 Damask table cloth 8 pillow cases, 5 diaper towels 11 sheets, some old	$\begin{array}{c} 006\\ 170\\ 120\\ 3130\end{array}$
In the Kitchen Chamber, One bedstead and bed and bedding, 1 ditto One bed bolster and pillow Plate 34 oz c-17 dest	7100 280 102111
In the Kitchen, One trammel and 2 spitts, 11 brass candlesticks 2 chaffen dishes, 1 coffee mill, warming pan One iron tea kettle and 2 copper bake pans 110 Irondogs, 2 copper tea kettles & pint pot 2 tin covers, 3 copper kettles, 2 iron pots, 3 old brass kettles 3 old bell metal skillets, 1 iron, 2 hand irons, 1 old iron candlesticks One small cleaver, bell mettle mortar and pestle One hand irons, 17 pewter dishes, 4 day plates, 3 basins	$\begin{array}{c} 0140\\ 0150\\ 060\\ 3156\\ 100\\ 040\\ 400\end{array}$
Empty bottles in the cellar One box of money seats & weights, spectacles	100 0160
At Jacob Motts, Portsmouth, One high case of drawers, dress table One old pillow, set of China, some broken One old small table, 1 plate basket, 1 dish One Gilt cooking glass, 1 ditto plain One small looking glass, 12 leather bottomed chairs Cash of half John 9 dol. Each @ 46/9	$\begin{array}{c} 400\\ 0180\\ 1140\\ 220\\ 440\\ 39149\end{array}$

Whole Amount £243...4...10

Newport: Octb. 23, 1781

Jonathan Thurston Probate Inventory (NP 1:11)

Inventory of the Personal Estate of Mr. Jonathan Thurston, deceased, with the value affixed by us subscribers at $6\frac{1}{2}$ Pr. Dollar, silver on the 4^{th} day of September, 1780.

One looking glass	£600
One mahogany fly table, 2 waiters	100

One four seat mahogany table 7 China cups, saucers 20 Queen ware plates 9 China, ditto 8 French, ditto 4 Queen ware dishes 2 salted, ditto 4 glass, salts 4 jelly glasses 7 wine, ditto 2 small wine decanters 4 old tin tea canisters One flower pot, 2 bottle stands One Kitchen table 4 pewter platters, 25 plates 6 tin measures, different sizes 3 brass candlesticks One tray and sieve One iron pot, kettle One skillet One warming pan One flat iron One chaffin dish, toaster 3 baskets 2 water pails, 3 washing tubs	$\begin{array}{c} 1 \dots 0 \dots 0 \\ 0 \dots 12 \dots 0 \\ 0 \dots 15 \dots 0 \\ 0 \dots 15 \dots 0 \\ 0 \dots 3 \dots 0 \\ 0 \dots 1 \dots 6 \\ 0 \dots 15 \dots 0 \\ 0 \dots 3 \dots 0 \\ 1 \dots 12 \dots 0 \\ 0 \dots 6 \dots 0 \\ 0 \dots 4 \dots 0 \\ 0 \dots 3 \dots 0 \\ 0 \dots 4 \dots 0 \end{array}$
 6 candle molds 5 Kitchen chairs 4 linen sheets 3 table cloths 3 pillow cases 6 old diaper napkins 2 hand irons One shovel, tongs One tin cheese toaster One iron trammel 5 case knives, forks One knife basket 8 chamber chairs One mahogany dressing table One small dressing do One sett, white curtains One fowling piece One sword, 1 silver watch 	$\begin{array}{c} 060\\ 850\\ 200\\ 150\\ 0100\\ 090\\ 200\\ 090\\ 090\\ 090\\ 010\\ 090\\ 010\\ 010\\ 010\\ 0100\\ 1100\\ 1100\\ 1100\\ 1100\\ 440\end{array}$

2 blankets, 1 rug2 feather beds2 ditto bolster and 3 pillows	0100 1000 1100
2 cotton coverlaids	1100
One towel, maple bedstead	0180
One Queen ware coffee pot	86
One pair brass scales	850
6 flagg bottomed chairs	0180
One copper bake pan	040
One wood ax	030
Oz dwt Gm (?)	14712
Silver plate	463
One pewter Gall pot	030
One small brass kettle	020
One Claret-colour coat, vest, breeches	030
2 coloured waistcoats	020
One blue coat, vest	100
One black coat, waist, breeches	160
One buff waist, breeches	0150
One striped vest, breeches	160
5 linen waistcoats	150
2 breeches	040
2 ditto overhales	050
One ditto Cheem Jacket	020
One Robin linen drawers	010
6 pair old worsted socks	090
3 pair linen ditto	020
One pair gloves, mitts	020
One white hat	060
2 razors	030
2 old white shirts	040
One pair old boots	010
•	

Whole Amount £67...1...9

September 4, 1780 William Shaw Chris Champlin

Isaac Smith Probate Inventory (NP 1:53)

An inventory of the Personal Estate of Isaac Smith, late President of Newport (deceased), appraised by the inscribers the 22 & 23 days of the 12th month called December, 1779. At the house late belonging to William Noddard in Newport.

One mahogany bureau	£300
16 black walnut chairs	4160
2 round about, ditto	0120

One square mahogany table 3 mahogany tea tables, one broken One old chest, 1 case with 12 bottles One bedstead, iron rods, 1 joint stool At Ye Widow Mackey's in Newport one looking glass	$\begin{array}{c} 280\\ 280\\ 0120\\ 0120\\ 280\end{array}$
At Smith's house in Middletown, one old maple desk and table One old maple desk and table One bed, bolster, bedstead, 2 pillows One wooden wheel and reel One brass kettle One iron bake, 1 small iron kettle, one iron basin, 1 pair hand irons, 1 flatt iron	$ \begin{array}{c} 1160\\ 1160\\ 600\\ 0120\\ 3150\\ 0180 \end{array} $
One old square table and chairs	090
One iron pan 2 ox chains 2 old hoes and 1 pick ax One pair old horse yokes 2 old ploughs One old ox cart 8 small shotes One pair oxen 2 very old cows	$\begin{array}{c} 090\\ 0120\\ 060\\ 0120\\ 0120\\ 3150\\ 4160\\ 1800\\ 10160\end{array}$
At the house late belonging to Stoddard in Middletown,	
One old black walnut case of drawers One case, with 8 flasks One old chest One counterpane curtains and vallins One old coverlaid One bed and bedding 5 pairs of sheets, 5 table cloths and sundry other linen Pewter ware 6 old books One silver watch, 1 linen wheel One pair brass hand irons, sundry brassware and coffee mill One iron pot, spit dripping pan and sundry iron ware One taught place, 1 small tea chest One old saddle, 1 riding chaise One old Negro woman named Dinah	$\begin{array}{c} 0180\\ 090\\ 040\\ 300\\ 070\\ 600\\ 3120\\ 0170\\ 090\\ 330\\ 0150\\ 170\\ 630\\ 6150\end{array}$
One pair seloir shoe and 3 buckles	0150

Whole Amount £104...10...0

Signed The Coggeshall and John Goald

William Cranston Probate Inventory (NP)

A list of the Personal Estate of William Cranston (deceased) shown to us, the subscribers, by his Widow Sarah Cranston, which we have inventoried this third day of July, 1780.

One maple desk	£0100
2 round about chairs & Kitchen ditto	090
One oval maple table, 1 pine chest	0100
2 old, broken gin cases	060
2 bedsteads with rails	0120
2 pair shoes, something worse for ware	060
One tea chest	040
2 earthen platters, 2 broken China bowls, 1 glass salt, 2 small tumbles,	
1 cloth & 2 earthen pots	036
2 iron cranes & grid iron	
One pair hand irons & pair tongs	076
One tin pan, 1 Black Jack, 1 coffee pot	040
2 small earthen pots & maple tables	030
One keiler & old cradle	030
6 old barrels, 1 bushel of corn & hogshead	090
One pair silver shoe buckes & pair of breeches	0100
His wearing apparel	170
2 old books	026
23 yards of cloth	1134
Cash received of William Dennis as prize along in the sloop America	30106

Whole Amount £42...18...0

3...12...0

Latham Clarke Latham Thuerton

Newport: Newport State Rhode Island February 14, 1782

Note of hand of William Dennis for 12 Dollars

In Council appeared Latham Clarke & Latham Thuerton and On their Oaths, declared the above, and forgoing page, Contained on this Half sheet of Paper, to be a true Inventory of all the personal Estate of William Cranston, late of said Newport, Mariner, (deceased) that was presented to their View & Sarah Cranston his Widow declared, she showed them all the personal Estate of her said (deceased) Husband, that is come to her Knowledge & that what further shall come to her Knowledge, hereafter, she will render an account thereof to the Council.

Witness Peter J. Barker, Council

Christopher Champlin Probate Inventory (NP)

Inventory of the Personal Estate of Mr. Christopher Champlin, late of Newport (deceased), as shown us by the executers.

Goods in the Store, 10 hogsheads molasses 1,000 Gall 51 liver oil 3 ditto Currey 2 hogsheads Spincle 200 Gall 7 cask jug One barrel coffee 4 old casks	£10000 23150 660 6000 3800 600 100
Goods in Distill House, 130 bushel salt One horse and chaise One horse cart One small beam scale & some One small can hook and 1 Behe iron	7000210041000180
Goods in the Cellar, 60 gallons rum 20 gallons cherrey rum 130 gallons molasses 10 gallons French rum A few empty casks	$ \begin{array}{c} 1800\\ 300\\ 1300\\ 1100\\ 0012 \end{array} $
Goods in the Shop, 15 gallons molasses 4 brown sugar 3 Nails 60 yards woolen cloth Aquant tobacco, snuff, combs, pins and buttons 24 bottles of wine Sundry crocks and ware 100 tin and glasses 4 loaves jug Wooden pails and bowls 12 pair worsted stockings Sundry remnant dry goods Sundry spices 6 Indigo 20 pepper 50 allspice Thread and some sewing silk Writing bonnet and wrap paper	1100 800 880 4500 7100 280 200 7100 300 1100 3120 5000 280 1160 500 2100 1100 200
Furniture in the Great Room, One mahogany desk One ditto table and stand	600 2100

One large looking glass 6 black walnut chairs, leather bottomed 2 round chairs Hand irons, shovel, tongs and bellows 6 small pictures China, in the Beaus and Stand One silver watch One small tea chest and waiter	$\begin{array}{c} 600\\ 500\\ 100\\ 200\\ 0100\\ 900\\ 300\\ 0100\end{array}$
Furniture in the Southwest Room, One bed and furniture One old desk One small looking glass One maple table and 6 old chairs Hand iron, shovel and tongs China and glass in Beaufat Crockery ware in the closet 40 ounces plate	1200 100 1160 200 1100 300 100 100
Furniture in the Kitchen, 2 leagues Parcel of iron ware One large brass kettle One bell mettle skillet Some tin ware 5 brass candlesticks One Jack, spitt and Skewers One old coffee mill Some stone dishes and plates 12 knives and forks One pestle and mortar 2 old chairs and some tables One saddle, bridle	5000 600 140 140 140 200 040 200 0100 060 100 1100
Furniture in the SW Chamber, One bed and furniture One small maple table 4 mahogany chairs One small looking glass One small carpet Furniture in the Great Chamber, One chest of drawers One mahogany fly table 4 ditto chairs One large straw bottomed old chair	1200 0100 300 1160 060 4100 1160 300 080

Furniture in Kitchen Chamber,	
One bed and bedding	7100
One palet bedstead and bed	2100
2 chests	140
Furniture in Shop Chamber,	
One palet bedstead and bedding	2100
One trunk and chest	1100
One brass warming pan	100
One high chair	080
12 uardrors	100
2 lath buckets and lanthorns	1100
Wearing apparel	300
620 Dollars	18600

Whole Amount £934...9...0

Newp Sept 1, 1781 James Robinson Rich Woodman

Newpt Sept 3, 1781 New Record, Composed by me Barker Jun 6

Newport State Rhode Island Sept 3, 1781

In Council appeared James Robinson and Richard Woodman, and on their oath declared the above and forgoing Inventory to be a true Inventory of all the personal Estate, of Christopher Champlin, late of Newport, deceasd, that was presented to their View and Phebe Champlin upon Oath then showed them all the Personal Estate of her late (dead) Husband, Chris Champlin that is come to her Knowledge, and that what further shall come to her Knowledge hereafter, she will render all thereof to the Council.

Witness Peter Barker

Philip Wanton Probate Inventory (NP)

An inventory of all, and singular the Personal Estate, of Philip Wanton (deceased).

One eight day clock and case	£800
One maple desk and book case	1134
One ditto, 4 foot table	0174
One black walnut square tea table	0108
6 common maple chairs, flag bottomed	0188
4 leather bottomed chairs	0188
2 green round about wooden ditto	080
One pair tongs and bellows	054
One bed, bedstead and furniture without curtains	968

	o 1 - -
One dozen blue and white China plates	0174
9 enameled ditto	0120
One three quart China bowl	100
4 coffee saucers	020
Sundry broken China and glass	028
One seal skin trunk	0100
One bed, bolster and 2 pillows	568
One large blue chest	094
One woolen and 2 linen spinning wheels	100
One linen reel	028
Part of a calf skin and about 15 sole leather	194
4 stone pots, 1 large glass bottle	068
One close stool and pan	090
2 brass kettles	1100
One low case of drawers	054
2 beds, bedsteads and furniture without curtains	10134
One mahogany desk	400
2 great chairs, flagg bottoms	0108
One pair iron dogs	048
One pair shovel and tongs	048
One mahogany table	180
One ditto stand	0120
George Fox's journal	098
One large Bible, 1 small ditto and 5 old books	0108
3 horses, age 15, 19 and 25 years	2500
One cow	800
One hog	280
•	6134
One cart and 1 pair hucks 16 pewter dishes, 2 ditto basins and 4 ditto plates	200
	0120
One brass pan and 1 bell ditto	
2 large and 2 small yellow bowls, 3 stone dishes and 10 ditto plates	0140
6 knives and forks	060
One frying pan, 1 iron spider	054
5 iron kettles (different size)	134
One ditto large pot	168
4 iron basins	054
One spitt, 1 grid iron and toaster	068
One warming pan	060
2 pair brass candlesticks	028
One slate table	054
One shovel, 1 pair tongs, 3 Framinds	0174
One pair flat irons, 1 box iron	080
One glass lanthorn	040
2 leather Buchets	060
72 Duncet wrought plates	21120
8 Damask bottomed chairs	280

One easy chair	094
One Pellet bedstead	0180
2 looking glasses	280
One three foot mahogany table	140
105 Silver Dollars	31100
3 pair of sheets, 3 table cloths, 4 napkins, 4 pillow cases	2160
One bed, bedstead, furniture and curtains	10134

Whole Amount £180...4...0

Giles Hosier Gould Marsh

Newport July 2nd 1781, in council appeared Giles Hosier, and Gould Marsh, and on their Oaths declared the above and foregoing Inventory to be a true Inventory of all the Personal Estate of Philip Wanton, late of said Newport (Apothecary) deceased, that was presented to their View, and Sarah Wanton upon Oath declared, she showed them all the Personal Estate of the said deceased Philip Wanton, her late husband, that is come to her knowledge and what further shall come to her knowledge hereafter, she will render an account thereof to the Council. Witness Peter Barker Jun 3, Town Clerk.

Newport July 18 1781. A true Record, Compared, Witness P. Barker, Jun 6.

Col. Robert Elliot Probate Inventory (NP)

Inventory of sundry goods, late the property of Col. Robert Elliot (deceased) taken by us the subscribers, Newport, 29th of November 1781.

One large Bible	£070
His wearing apparel	1000
One prayer book	040
A parcel of China, consisting of plates & dishes & some small glass	3150
A parcel of French earthen ware	0160
One old case of knives & forks, plated	1100
12 table, 11 tea spoons and 11 sugar tongs, all silver	740
One plated Tankara (old) past mending	0120
2 small mahogany tables	300
2 tea tables, mahogany	170
One mahogany waiter	0150
One empty case of 1 caston, 4 mats and bread basket	0140
18 old leather chairs and 6 Winford	600
6 camp chairs	080
15 small pictures	0150
One looking glass, 2 old Luardrants	2110
One old hanging compass, 1 wooden Fella	0130

4 great bedsteads and 2 small ditto	
4 beds and furniture, curtains & 9 pair old sheets	4500
2 small beds (old)	4100
5 old, Guinea carpets	0100
1 old case drawers, 2 old spy glasses	0190
2 Dictionaries	0180
One sword, 2 hangers, 2 guns, 1 pistol	600
One old pine table, 3 pair hand irons	180
One Jack, 2 spitts, 4 trammonds, 1 grid iron, 1 bread toaster,	
2 shovel & tongs & 3 iron tea kettles	300
Crow bar, 1 spade, 6 iron pots, 2 kettles, 2 hoes, 2 pitch forks, 1 saw,	
1 frying pan, 1 basin, 1 skillet, 2 rakes, 1 pair steel guards (all old)	3100
One bake pan, 1 copper pan, 3 candlesticks	280
Old jugs and bottles	1150
One horse and cart	1200
One chaise and tackling	1000
A Mulatto wench & child	1500
A Negro boy	2100
One cow	4100
One watch and pair silver buckles	360
One pattern of a jacket	0100
16 ¹ / ₄ cords of wood due Col. Elliot from the State by an ordinance	
One dozen towels	100

Whole Amount £183...15...0

One treasury note for 200 Dollars, date 15^{th} January 1777 payable to John Smith Esq. Two treasury notes for £10...0...0 each 25^{th} June 1779. Twenty-three paper Dollars, New Emission, State of Rhode Island. Fifteen paper ditto, of Massachusetts. Sixty Continental paper Dollars. £13...9...0 in Boston notes of the year 1775. £11...0...0 of the Emission this State, June 1780. One note of hand upon Silas Casey 12...0...0 Dollars, silver. One ditto of Robinson £17...16...0 Laws. One ditto of Josiah Flagg £36...11...11 Laws. One ditto of George Sweet, for £30...0...0 sterling. One ditto of John Byrn £2...4...0 Laws.

Pete J. Shearman Job Easton

Newport State of Rhode Island, December 3rd, 1781 In Council appeared Job Easton and Pete J. Shearman, and on their oaths declared the above and forgoing Inventory, to be a true inventory of all the personal Estate of Robert Elliot (deceased) that was present to their view, and Abigail Elliot (widow of the said deceased) upon oath declared, she showed them all the personal Estate, of her said (deceased) Husband that is come to her Knowledge, and that, what further shall come to her Knowledge, hereafter, she will render an account thereof to the Council. Witness Peter J. Barker, Council Clerk

Meyer Polock Probate Inventory (NP)

Inventory of all and singular the Personal Estate of Meyer Polock, late of Newport, deceased, as shown unto us subscribers, by his Widow Abigail Polock, April 30th 1781.

Wearing apparel of the deceased	£1000
7 Osnaburg sheets	1150
30 yards Osnaburg	200
10 yards Duck	200
10 yards Halfthicks	100
12 yards brown ditto	140
21 Dunstur skins, very small and very bad	440
20 pair of French needles	880
24 Quire of writing paper	200
One old Quarte Bible	0120
10 table cloths, some very bad and small	1100
23 white linen sheets	1000
26 pillow cases	1100
2 coverlaids	0180
8 napkins	0120
One suit red furniture curtains	1160
11 yards course callus	120
10 new linen handkerchiefs	100
2 Osnaburg bags	080
2 old trunks	060
8 mahogany chairs	4160
One round about ditto	0120
One mahogany bedstead, bed, bolster, pillows, furniture, with a set	
of Callus curtains	1600
One bedstead, bed, and bedding	600
One mahogany bureau	220
One looking glass	250
10 pictures	0100
15 oz. old silver	500
One pair earthen candlesticks	010
One pallet, bedstead, bed and bedding	200
One Toilist table	020
One mahogany bedstead, bed and check curtains	800
One small looking glass	050

One large ditto 3 chairs and 3 old tables One pair iron dogs and 1 pair small tongs One bedstead and bedding One small bookcase with 1 writing desk	$\begin{array}{c} 250\\ 070\\ 060\\ 0120\\ 0120\end{array}$
4 cases of Gineva	1000
4 empty cases 50 yards cotton wool	0120 500
30 demagede Chocolate	0150
2 dos. pewter candle molds	140
I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I	
One pair brass hand irons	140
One pewter water dish	040
6 pewter plates	0120
One pewter bed pan	060
20 ditto plates	1100
3 dozen ditto	170
40 tin canisters	200
39 ditto	0196
34 ditto	0100
One ditto gallon measured	030
3 ditto funnels	300
39 China plates	2176
23 ditto, dishes, small	1150
One glass Lanthorn	060
One ditto broken globe	010
2 cracked China bowls	020
2 ditto, small ditto	010
One China sug dish and saucer (cracked)	010
2 ditto milk pots ditto	010
12 ditto cups ditto	030
One ditto tea pot and canister	030
One pair glass decanters	060
2 wine glasses	020
2 looking glasses	3120
One mahogany card table	220
One ditto dining ditto	300
One ditto fly ditto	0180
One ditto stand ditto	060
2 ditto tea boards One ditto cradle	030
	0120
One maple dining table	060 300
8 black walnut chairs, leather bottomed One ditto tea table	300 060
One silver watch	280
One pair polished hand irons, shovel and tongs	1100
one pair ponsition nano nons, snover and tongs	1100

	0 1 0
One straw bottom arm chair	040
4 slat back chairs	080
One bedstead, bed and bedding	400
One round about chair	030
One mahogany desk	700
One old clock	440
4 pewter dishes	040
12 ditto plates	060
One tin coffee pot	010
2 candlesticks	020
4 flat irons	080
One copper tea kettle	060
One iron ditto	060
One brass wash ditto	0100
6 iron pots and kettles	140
3 Trammels	1100
One pair kitchen hand irons	060
One tin candle box	010
One Pasthen dish	010
2 kitchen tables	060
One coffee mill	060
8 pair course yarn stockings	0160
18 yards of halfthicks	1160
One Hadleys Quadrant	1100
3 small baskets	010
One Mariners compass	030
80 Coffee	200
2 pair seals, with some weight	0120
2 pair women's leather shoes	160
One silver laced hat	0120
One grind stone	060
¹ / ₂ Butt of port wine	7100
¹ / ₄ ditto ditto	3150
One cast cont. 15 gallons wine	1100
One ditto 10 gallons ditto	1160
2 dozen of ale	100
2 wooden funnels	040
A parcel of empty bottles and casks	060
One pair large seals, beam and 4 iron weights	200
Old iron	0120
200 shingles	0120
4 bundles of clapboards	00
•	060
Parcel of empty casks One wood frame saw and wood horse	000
	4100
1 (?) Fish One small copper still and head	4100
One small copper still and head	1200

8 shaken hogsheads	140
4 stone fruit markets	040
Cash	33180

Whole Amount £276...1...0

Moses Seisas George Lanton

Robert Stephens Probate Inventory (NP)

An Inventory of the Personal Estate of Mr. Robert Stevens, late of Newport, Merchandt (deceased) taken by us the Subscribers this Nov 1781.

In the parlour,	
One maple desk, old	£0120
3 ditto chairs, leather bottomed	300
One easy chair with slip, very old	0100
One chair with a cushion, 4 old chairs	0120
2 old maple tables, 1 couch and squab	0150
One looking glass	1100
One screen	1160
One clock with mahogany case	900
10 pictures	0120
3 tea boards, 9 cups and saucers, 2 teapots, 1 bowl and 1 sugar dish,	
5 old China plates, 2 dozen bows, 6 dozen pint bowls, 6 coffee cups,	
9 French delp plates, 2 dozen dishes, 10 plates Queen ware, 1 Queen	
ware dish,	
8 wine glasses and sundry small articles in the closet	3170
One case with 6 large and small ditto	0180
One mahogany table	0180
One small tea chest and two tea boards	0120
In the Great Room,	
One maple table and an old carpet	060
One small looking glass	060
In the Great Chamber,	
One bed, bolster and pillows, 2 coverlids, underbed and bedstead	600
One case of draws	300
4 mahogany chairs, leather bottomed	300
2 maple ditto Green Harrateen	1100
One square mahogany table (damaged)	060
One mahogany tea, broke, 1 maple ditto	090
One old Lanthorn, 1 ditto fire screen	060
One silver hilted sword, 5 pictures	170
2 window curtains, furniture hex	0120
One white counterpane, 1 callico bed quilt	1160

 15 pillow cases, 1 bolster cas, 11 towels 2 damask napkins, 2 ditto tablecloths 1 deajur tablecloth, 1 damask ditto 4 white window curtains and valens 7 ¹/₂ pair old sheets One looking glass 2 check bolster cases, wearing apparel 	286 180 0150 0160 7100 140 7150
Chamber over the Parlour, One bed, bolster 2 pillows, 2 sheets, 3 blankets, quilt, harrateen furniture, ditto spread and bedstead One pallet bed, bolster, coverlaid, blanket, 1 pair sheets and bedstead 6 maple chairs, three harrateen bottomed 3 old straw bottomed ditto One mahogany dressing table 2 dressing glasses, 4 chamber ditto One mahogany stand 6 pictures, carpet One pair hand irons, shovel, tongs and 1 pair bellows One nest of old drawers	16160 440 3120 060 300 140 090 170 060 060
Little Bed Room Chamber, One bed, bedstead, bolster, pillow, 10 sheets, 3 blankets, coverlid & under bed Old chest of drawers Old chest	600 140 030
Bed Room Chamber, One box of books One tub, 4 old chairs, 3 stone jugs One course floor carpet, some small articles One Luit print curtains with rods and rails 2 large pewter dishes, 3 small ditto, 10 plates, 1 large dish with a cover	$\begin{array}{c} 220\\ 0120\\ 140\\ 200\\ 300\end{array}$
In the Garrett, 2 Milton carpets, 1 brass hearth 5 candle molds, 8 old trunks One box leather ware One old Jack, coffee mill & tea kettle One close stoll without a pan	$740 \\ 1140 \\ 0120 \\ 1100 \\ 060$
In the Kitchen, 2 brass kettles 3 iron pots, 2 ditto kettles 2 iron, 1 bell mettle ditto	$1100 \\ 1100 \\ 0140$

11 sauce pans, 1 coffee water	040
Bread toaster, grid iron	060
Hand iron, shovel, tongs, tender	1130
3 (?), Mortar & pestle	0150
5 brass candlesticks and snuffers	0100
11 pewter dishes and 8 plates	1100
A copper bake pan, 1 coffee pot	0190
2 brass chapter dishes, 1 copper hand basin	090
2 old tables, 3 water pails	500
1 Sprit, 3 old chairs	900
A Negro woman and three children	3600
82 oz plate	2679
Curled hair	200
Iron bake pan, leather b	1200

Whole Amount £199...9...3

Samuel Fowler Nicholas P. Tillinghast

Newport State of Rhode Island December 3, 1781

In council appeared Samuel Fowler and Nicholas P. Tillinghast and on their oaths, declared, the within and foregoing Inventory to be a true Inventory of all the personal Estate of Robert Stevens late of said Newport, Merchant (deceased) that was presented to their View, and in Elizabeth Stevens (widow of the said died) upon oath declared, she showed them all the personal Estate of her said deceased Husband that income to her Knowledge, of that, what further shall come to her Knowledge here after, She will render an account thereof to the council.

Witness Pete J. Barker

Joseph Turner Probate Inventory (NP 1:45)

Inventory of household furniture, the property of Mr. Joseph Turner, late of Newport, Mariner (deceased).

£900
160
140
1100
160
090
286
0120
090
020
020
060
096

6 knives and forks	066
One pair hand irons	0126
Pair tongs, shovel	056
Bellows, 1 iron kettle	0140
2 iron pots	0126
One copper tea kettle	060
2 skillets	070
2 iron ends	080
One pair steel yards	1100
2 Bibles	160
One beetle and wedges	010
One ax	023
One saw	066
One frying pan	023
Grid iron	076
Toaster	026
One trunk	0120
One chest	050

Whole Amount £27...5...6

Benjamin Elery

Peleg Turner

Newpt. State Rhode Island Jany. 21, 1782, in council appeared Bery Ellery and Peleg Turner & on their oath declared, the above and foregoing to be a true Inventory of all the Personal Estate of Joseph Turner, late of said Newpt. Gentlm. Deceased, that was presented to their View and Sarah Turner upon oath declared she showed them all the personal Estate of her said deceased husband that is come to her know ledge and that what further shall come to her knowledge hereafter, she will render an account thereof to the council.

Witness Peleg Barker Jun. Coun. Clk.

Peter Langley Probate Inventory (NP)

An inventory of Mr. Peter Langley Household furniture & Merchandise Goods

318 Gallons New England rum £4314	46
156 Gallons WE ditto 314	
16 cask small wine 244	.0
50 wt Indigo 1210	0
One cask bad rum 416	.0
One cask molasses 126	.0
One cask wine 90	0
2 ditto cherry rum 50	0
2 barrels flour 318	.2
12 sugar in different casks 712	.0
243 pewter old and new 123	.0
One cask of Raisons 36	0

One bound of muchlour	1 0 0
One barrel of rye flour	100
4 yards broad cloth	280 170
6 gallons oil 7 brooms 16m loof sugar	
7 brooms, 16w loaf sugar	117
Earthen ware	280
189w hard soap	990
11 pair mens shoes	360
12 pair womens ditto	3180
One barrel of flour	1116
3 pair bellows	080
7 cheeses	1116
4 bed cords	0120
One ream writing paper	100
1,800 small nails	170
14w shot	094
43 candles, 20 snuffers	330
4 roll tobacco	0150
2 teftaments, 2 dozen primmers	0160
18 spelling books	170
5 silk handkerchiefs	100
One twist, 11 penknives	160
33 French pencils	056
11 watch keep, 9 pairs of bobbin	083
2 paper hair pins, 3 paper common pins	090
8 cakes of black ball, 11 Baifors	0134
A parcel of buttons, different sorts	1100
9w pepper	250
15 combs, 1w thread	0136
18w snuff, 60 yards binding	46
30 yards Callimanco	4100
2 saw plates, part box of pipes	360
15 straw bottom chairs	250
2 stands, 2 chests	1130
Wearing apparel	2400
4 breeches patterns	1160
One desk, 4 tables	600
One cradle, 1 looking glass	140
12 dozen silver tea spoons	0120
One bed & furniture	600
¹ / ₂ dozen wine glasses	060
¹ / ₂ doz cups and saucers	090
¹ / ₂ doz stone plates	060
2 punch bowls, 1 tea pot	076
One pair flat irons, 1 iron pot	0150
4 candlesticks, 1 brass kettle	170
	1/

One trammel, ¹ / ₂ doz knives & forks	0136
One tea kettle, 1 pair iron dogs	110
One pair shovel & tongs	090
2 pair bellows	090
One grid iron & spitt	076
One bedding shain	600
One cow and heifer	900
1/2 load of hey	170
15 gallons saffear	1176
NB 1/8 th part of a Schooner & Cargo, sent to sea which was taken by the Enemy	8400
One sorrel mare	7160
In cash	132742

Whole Amount £1,786...4...2

Henry Peckham Edward Murphey

Newport State of Rhode Island Jan 21, 1782, in council appeared Henry Peckham & Edward Murphey the Subscriber & on their Oaths declared the within & foregoing Inventory of all the personal Estate of Peter Langley, late of said Newport (deceased) that was presented to their View, & Elisabeth Langley widow of the said (deceased) affirmed She Showed them all, the Same, that in come to her Knowledge & that what further here after Shall come to her Knowledge, she will render thereof to the Council

Witness Peleg Barker Jun. Coun. Clk.

Dr. Stephen Wigneron Probate Inventory (NP 1:47)

An inventory an appraisement of the Personal Estate of Doctor Stephen Wigernon, late of Newport, Deceased.

One silver case with three lancets	090
One Shagreen case with two lancets	020
One case with two razors	030
One penknife and one crooked ditto	020
One doctor saw	030
One pair fossops silver bons	030
One pair crooked scissors	010
One silver stitching quill	010
One sun glass	030
One razor strap	000
One Shagreen case with three small instruments of silver	030
One Shagreen case with 14 crooked needles	010
One large crooked knife	040
Three medical books and some arithmetic ditto	060
One knee buckle and one slock ditto	030

Two pair old stockings	016
One note upon Nicholas Easton 1773 One ditto James Davis	13100 600
One ditto Abial Howland	4160
One ditto Elija Humphreys	300
One ditto Ephraim Crowley	1160

Whole Amount £40...7...0

Robert Benny Job Townshend

Newpt. State Rhode Island March 4th 1782. In Council appeared Robert Benny and Job Townshend and on their oaths declared the within and foregoing inventory to be a true inventory of all the personal Estate of Stephen Wignernon, late of said Newport (Physician) deceased, that was presented to their view and James Taylor affirmed he showed them all the personal estate of the said deceased, that has come to his knowledge and that what further shall come to his knowledge hereafter, he will under an account thereto the council.

Witness Peleg Barker Jun. County Clerk

Nathaniel Mumford Probate Inventory (NP)

Inventory of Cash, Bonds, and Notes of the Estate of Nathanial Mumford Gengleman (deceased).

Eleven thirty Dollar Bills, date Jan. 9 1777 A loan office Certificate for 200 Dollars, date March 10 1779 Fifty three Dollars State money, Feb. 9 1777 Sixty two ditto State Money, March 1777 Six Dollars ditto State Money (Blank), 1777 John Warners Receipt of note for 19 Silver Dollars, date July 20 1700 Jonathan Hazard note, date Feb. 1 1771 for 6 Dollars ³/₄ Silver Money Nathen Robinson note, date April 13 1780 for 12 1/2 Dollars silver with interest John Mumford (of Hammersmith Farm) note accepted £27...5...0 Law Mo June 2 1774 Daniel Donham June note for 32 ¹/₂ Spanish milled Dollars, date Nov. 10 1773 with interest Order on Thomas Rummerill & Daniel Rufsell by Job Bennett, date Dec. 26 1776 for £317...6...4 Order on George Gibbs by Sylvester Gardner, date Sept. 1 1776 for £36...10...0 Clarke & Nightingale order on Peter Mumford for £127...8...0 with initial date July 30 1775 in fav.m Nathaniel Mumford & Geo. Irish

Deed of Mortgage from Benjamin Brenton, date Sept. 19 1782

In the Keeping Room, One old maple desk

 $\pounds 1 \dots 16 \dots 0$

One ditto oval table (maple) 4 foot square	1100
8 black walnut chairs, old	140
One round about ditto	030
One head hand irons, shovel & tongs	0180
One mahogany fly table	1100
One large Bible (New Testament only)	0100
3 pictures	030
A parcel of books	150
One spy glass	030
One cloth and 1 hearth brush	006
	00
One backgammon table (broken)	
One two foot plain locking glass	0120
104 oz wrought plate	34134
In Entry, 1 hand saw & 1 glass Lanthorn	060
In the Creat Chember	
In the Great Chamber,	10 0 0
One eight day clock	100
One gilt looking glass	300
One five foot mahogany table	200
One four foot square ditto	280
One maple desk	1100
6 Harrateen black walnut chairs	3120
One round about ditto	030
One mahogany empty tea chest	010
One large Bible	1100
China & glass in Keeping & Great Room	500
One tea canister, earthen pot & empty case	060
8 Case knives & 11 forks	060
4 Brass candlesticks	060
10 pewter plates	0120
7 old delph plates	030
7 tin cups, 1 ditto teapot, Muftard pot, five jugs	090
5 stone pots, 1 chopping knife, 2 mortar & pestles	0120
One tin candle mold & cover	020
One bell mettle skillet	060
2 old copper kettles, 1 ditto saucepan	060
One brass kettle	1100
3 iron trammels	060
	00
One pair broken hand irons	
One pair shovel & tongs (broken) one ditto tongs	060
One old Chaffen dish and Brafs Summer	030
One fender, steelyards & Grid iron	0150
3 iron pots, dish kettle and skillet & bake pan	100
3 pair old scales, 1 old sieve and salt box	0120
One iron spitt, 1 ditto tea kettle	060
One Churn, 1 large spinning wheel, 1 small ditto	0150

One pair flat irons, two Crofs feet saws, one hammer One Negro's bed & bedding	0100 100
In the Kitchen,	
One chamber looking glass	3120
One mahogany high cafe draws	600
One ditto dressing table	1100
One seal skin trunk	140
One bed, bedstead, bolster and pillows, bed harrateen curtains & counterpins	1500
One small iron bound chest	1100
One easy chair	1100
Great Chamber,	
One bed, bedstead, bedding curtains	900
One pine toilet & furniture	020
One large broken trunk	030
One small trunk	030
One gun, "Sword Silver Hilled" & pistols	300
3 cloth masmett	020
One dressing glass	1000
One case low maple draws	600
One bed, bedstead & furniture	600
One bed, bedstead & furniture	600
One broken pallet bedstead	068
Kitchen Chamber,	
One Negro man	4500
Two dozen damask napkins	140
4 damask table cloths	140
One suit white muslen curtains	400

Whole Amount £703...5...6

William Taggart Peleg Clarke

Newport town, Newport State Rhode Island October 28th 1782

William Taggart Esq. & Peleg Clarke Gent on this day Appeared & on Oath declared the appraisement to the above & foregoing Inventory to be Just and agreeable to their best Judgment & Frances Mumford Alfo upon Oath declared the within to be the whole of the deceased Personal Estate within her Knowledge & that in future if any of the things Should come to her Knowledge She would make due report thereof. By order, Before me Peleg Barker Jun

Capt. Isaac Freeborn Probate Inventory (NP)

Inventory of the Personal Estate of Capt. Isaac Freeborn, late of Newport, (deceased) as shown to us & taken by us the Subscribers, this 5th day of August 1782. Newpt. Aug' 5 1782 State Rhode Island. In Council appeared James Bourk, and Daniel Mason, the within Subscriber, & upon Oath declared the foregoing to be a true Inventory of all the Personal Estate, of Capt. Isaac Freeborn late of this town (deceased) that was presented to their View. Freeborn, his Mother upon Oath, she showed them all the Personal Estate of her (deceased) son that has come to her knowledge & that what further Shall come to her knowledge, hereafter She will render an plea thereof to the Council.

Wearing apparel	£4100
Books	200
One sword, 10 old sale bags	0190
One watch	200
Shoe, knee of stock buckles	0100
Job Howland's note of hand for £150150 Cont' Mo, 23 rd Sept. 1770	33100
Priscilla (?) note for £20000 Cont' Mo, 23 rd Augt. 1779	1250

Whole Amount £56...10...0

Philip Wilkinson Probate Inventory (NP 1:70)

Newport State Rhode Island, Inventory of the Personal Estate of Mr. Philip Wilkinson (deceased) with the Value affixed by us the Subscribers at 6 per Silver Dollar.

Room W.1, 2 looking glasses One dining table One ditto mahogany, small One small maple table 7 chairs, old leather bottomed 4 window cushings One fire screen, 3 waiters One pair hand irons, tongs and shovel, and small pair bellows and hearth brush	$\pounds 600$ 0150 0100 030 500 0120 000 100
Room Ws, One clock, 2 looking glasses	1200
Entry, One large mahogany table One small pine ditto	1160 040
Room No. 3, One leather bottom arm chair 6 mahogany chairs One ditto card table	0120 300 100

One toilet table, and dressing glass	100
One old carpet, 1 easy chair	600
4 looking glasses	7160
One small mahogany tea table	0100
2 large jars, 1 pair tongs	0110
One iron harateen bed, bedstead and window curtains	7100
One spy glass	060
Chamber Entry,	
One old couch, 1 dining table	150
One ditto small mahogany, 8 chairs	4120
A parcel of books, a parcel old glass	300
One pine table	060
Room No. 4,	
One bedstead	150
One arm chair, 1 large Bible	180
One case drawers, 1 small looking glass	5140
One chair	030
9 pair sheets	6150
24 table cloths, different size and worn much	3120
96 napkins and towels	4160
48 pillow cases	280
One set curtains, 1 pair blankets, 1 coverlid	4100
4 pieces of carpet, wearing apparel	4100
One pair shoe and knee buckles, stock ditto and sleeve buttons	140
One watch, 1 sword, 1 cane	590
Room No. 5,	
2 small beds, 1 bedstead, curtains and coverlids	900
One old desk and 1 old chest of drawers	300
One dressing glass	060
Room No. 6,	
A parcel of China, some broke	7100
A ditto, delph ware	0100
A parcel old bottles and jugs	000
2 dozen knives and forks	014
One dozen candle molds	0100
One pair tongs, shovels and hand irons	0150
One tea kettle and basket	050
Room No. 7,	
Apparatus for shaving	050
One pair looking glass	4100
One bed, bedstead and curtains	060

One table, 1 dressing One arm chair, 1 pair castors One case small bottles and 2 plate baskets 9 delph dishes, 1 dozen wine glasses Sugar canister, candlebox and tea chest Garret, a Negro, bed and bedding A few old chests, trunks, 1 old mattress	580 140 0100 0150 080 0312 120
Kitchen,	
5 old chairs, 2 pine tables	0150
2 brass kettles, 3 iron pots	220
One iron kettle, 4 skillets	0120
2 tea kettles	0100
3 pewter dishes, 2 plates and pewter basin	0120
One bell mettle skillet	0150
One copper fish kettle	0120
Tongs, shovel, hand iron	140
One Jack and 2 spitts, 3 trammels	1130
5 flatt irons, 4 brass candlesticks	150
Bread toaster, skewers and flesh fork	080
One fry pan and grid iron	0100
One skimmer, plate covers	040
Sundry small (?)	0120
2 pails, and walking tubs	060
2 saws and 1 ax, 2 mortars and 2 Spyders	140
One save, 8 dozen bottles	100 5140
One painted carpet, 1 cown One old Negro, 1 Negro boy	3900
4 cord of wood	390
A note of hand of Stephen Gardner at Boston	479
Bond from James Burton balanced	326130
Cash on hand	2400
156 owners plate	5200
73 pictures of different sorts and sizes	10190
75 protutes of unreferr sorts and sizes	10170
In the Country,	
One large silver, 3 small ditto, 3 small caster, 1 soup spoon, 1 punch	3368
ladle,	
3 butter cups, 4 salts, 1 tankard	

Whole Amount £709...2...4

Newport May 22 1782 Robert Stevens Sam Mason Newport June 3rd 1782, In Council appeared Robert Stevens and Daniel Mason, and on their Oaths declared the above and foregoing, to be a true Inventory of all the Personal Estate of Philip Wilkinson, late of Said Newport, deceased that was Showed to their views. And Abigail Wilkinson (widow) upon oath declared she showed them all the Personal Estate that hath come to her knowledge, and that what further shall come to her knowledge here after she will under an amount thereof to the Council Pledge Barker June 3rd Council

Newp. July 26th 1782 Alive Record Y Compared P. Barker and William C. C.

Capt. William Bourke Probate Inventory (NP 1:11)

The Following Inventory of the Personal Estate of Capt. William Bourke, Deceased, was taken by us the Subscribers, on the 23 day of May 1780, at Newport Computed in Silver Spanish Milled Dollar at Six Shillings each.

In the Front Chamber, One clock and case One high chest of drawers One in going table One large oval table, broken 5 old leather bottomed chairs One old arm chair, straw bottomed One small looking glass	$\pounds 400$ 200 100 0150 0150 030 100
In the Kitchen Chamber, One bed, bolster and pillows, and old coverlaid and blankets, and sheets One suit blue and white callico curtains On old sea desk One bedstead 3 old chairs, 1 old trunk	$\begin{array}{c} 4100\\ 1160\\ 100\\ 0120\\ 060\end{array}$
In the Garret, One laundrant, 3 old chests One old cradle and a number of bottles	140 0120
In the Great Chamber, One suit red old harrateen curtains, bods and baile One old bedspread and Bedford One bed, bolster and two pillows and counterpin One looking glass ¹ / ₂ dozen red plush bottomed chairs One China table, old	$ \begin{array}{c} 1100\\ 0120\\ 440\\ 200\\ 1160\\ 060 \end{array} $

In the Great Room,	
One large looking glass	300
One mahogany desk and book case	600
One light day clock and lease	4100
One square mahogany table	1160
One mahogany stand	060
One oval maple table	060
$\frac{1}{2}$ dozen old leather bottomed chairs	1100
One Queen chair	060
9 pictures	0100
One glass globe	060
Pair brass hand irons, shovel, tongs and hearth brush	140
In the Bedroom,	
One bed and bedstead	300
In the Kitchen	
One (?) and 10 buckets	0120
11 large steel yards	0120
2 old tables	060
6 brass and iron candlesticks	060
One old coffee mill and mortar	040
2 trammonds, 1 large hand iron, 1 tinder and 1 flatt iron	0100
One old brass kettle	020
Ditto and 1 dish kettle	110
Old frying pan, skillet and spitt	090
5 old pewter dishes and 4 plates	0150
A parcel of old crockery ware	060
One mans saddle and hosing	1100
One copper tea kettle and brass coffee pot	0120
In the Shop,	
10 Chuk hand linens	100
4 silk ditto	0160
4 Chip hats	020
4 Duffill trousers	0100
2 Greatboats	1160
3 pair ships overalls	1120
One gare hand linen	030
4 felt hats	080
3 pair flannel draws	030
2 ditto jackets	040
11 pair common plated shoe buckles	120
2 box irons	060
2 dozen chopping knives	140
One cloth brush	120

0 1 1 1 1	
8 packs playing cards	$\begin{array}{c} 0.\ldots8\ldots0\\ 0\ldots8\ldots0\end{array}$
One dozen rub stones	080 090
One and ¹ / ₂ dozen French saw plates	090
A parcel of nice sateen leather gloves	
6 yards ³ / ₄ broadcloth	400
8 yards coarse ditto half thick	1120
12 yards towel	0180
8 yards flowered, damaged	0120
4 ½ ditto coarse	0120
About 6 yards rope	0100
About 6 yards course lambleteen	060
4 remnants tammy	0120
3 pair coarse thread stockings	0120
4 pair small and black ditto	060
A parcel of horn combs	0120
A parcel of show buckles	1100
20 coarse threads	1100
3 carps	0130
2 curvy combs	030
A parcel of iron and brass small ware	0120
4 horse whips	0120
Part of cask shingle nails	300
Button molds, pair of shears, and parcel sewing needles	060
About 40 yards ribbon, different width	100
About 20 pair horn garters	050
Small remnants shoe binding	030
About 4 sewing thread	0160
About ¹ / ₂ mohair	060
A parcel of curvels	060
One dozen packet knives	040
4 snuff boxes and 1 dozen shoe buttons	030
Two 14 iron weights and 1 lead weight	090
One dozen horse combs, 3 pair iron hinges	090
15 empty oil bottles	026
One writing desk and glass case	0120

Whole Amount £95...19...6

Signed J. Bours, William Gardner

State of Rhode Island and Newport June 5th 1780, In Council appeared John Bours, and William J. Gardner, and on their Oaths declared the above and three foregoing Pages, to be a true Inventory of all the Personal Estate of William Bourke, late of Newport, shopkeeper, deceased that was presented to their view and Susanna Bourke, his widow, on oath declared, She Showed them all the Personal Estate of the said, William Bourke,

the Deceased Husband, that is to her knowledge, and that what further shall come to her knowledge, here after, she will render an account to the Council.

Newport February 24th 1784, A True Copy, Recorded and Compared by one Pete J. Barker Jun. Council Check Writings William Coddington, Council

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