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"Clad in Their Country Gray": Eighteenth-Century Fashion in Monmouth County, New Jersey

Morgan E. Glossbrenner
Salve Regina University, morgan.glossbrenner@salve.edu

"CLAD IN THEIR COUNTRY GRAY": EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY FASHION IN MONMOUTH COUNTY, NEW JERSEY

MORGAN E. GLOSSBRENNER

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Introduction

The eighteenth century in the United States was a period of growth and upheaval. For New Jersey, it was also time of immense change. New Jersey began as two separate proprietary colonies, then became a single royal colony, and finally became a state under both the Articles of Confederation and then the U.S. Constitution. The Monmouth County Historical Association (MCHA) maintains a museum in New Jersey to interpret and present Monmouth County's history. In the eighteenth century Monmouth County was the site of nationally important moments, and the MCHA recognizes those pivotal events through its exhibits. The county's lesser known, but equally important, local history is also preserved through the museum's collections. Because of its smaller size, the MCHA is able to display local history on a more intimate scale than could a larger museum.

One such intimately local aspect that the MCHA has focused on is the fashion of Monmouth County in the eighteenth century. Locally specific historic fashion collections offer a personal insight into the people who lived in a particular place and period. In the eighteenth century, social rank was conveyed through fashion, so clothing collections from that period tell a great deal about the social strata of an area. The study of historic fashion also reveals additional information about unique style preferences and local trade patterns. The clothing and fashion of a specific region and period are an essential part of material culture and reveal many facets of life in the past, and thus worthy of considered study.

Analyzing the MCHA's Eighteenth-Century Fashion

Museums must be able to accurately present their areas of focus to the public. The MCHA is a community-based museum that caters to those interested in Monmouth County

and New Jersey history. As such, its collection should reflect the various aspects of local life throughout Monmouth County's history. To accomplish a collections analysis of the MCHA's eighteenth-century fashion, the study of period fashion, local history, and trade need to be considered. By placing it in its New Jersey historical context, the analysis will determine the extent to which the collection is representative of Monmouth County and thus whether it is consistent with the mission of the MCHA.

In order to conduct the costume collections analysis, knowledge of the trends and evolution in eighteenth-century fashion must be understood. The history of fashion must be studied through books on the subject, period portraiture, and resources on other eighteenth-century costume collections. The communities that made up Monmouth County and New Jersey have to be considered in order to have a sense of who was living there and how they conducted their lives. Monmouth County's community is researched through published books on local history, visiting historic sites, and MCHA's museum resources. Finally, trade patterns in eighteenth-century New Jersey must be understood in order to know how the goods, materials, and fashions that made their way to the colony and Monmouth County. In order to research eighteenth-century trade, books and essays published on the subject should be examined.

Once there is an understanding of the history of the fashion and the vicinity that the MCHA covers, the root of the study is the collection itself. Hands-on work with the collection creates an intimate knowledge of how it is organized and its scale. The accession paperwork gives each individual piece a greater sense of history within its small community. All of the various research combined will make up the collections analysis for the MCHA's eighteenth-century fashion.

Overview of Eighteenth-Century Fashion

Women's and men's fashion in the eighteenth century had its own distinct vocabulary, as it does today. Clothing worn for formal occasions was known as "dress" and was characterized by heavier fabrics like silks and brocades, elaborate ornamentation, and fashionable cut (Baumgarten 1986, 9). The fabrics used for dress were imported to America from places like China and India by British shipping companies like the East India Company. They were exotic rarities and as such were reserved for more formal pieces. Formal pieces survive today because they were more expensive to produce and were used for special circumstances and events. As such, they had more sentimental value and families had more incentive to preserve and save them for the future. "Undress" was worn every day and was made of rougher, less expensive materials, like wools, unbleached linens, and other worsted textiles (Baumgarten 2002, 115). These pieces also had little to no embellishments.

Fabrics for undress were just as likely to be imported as those used for dress, due to England's strict policy on industry in the colonies. Early attempts at textile manufacturing in America were limited (McCusker 309). America did not have a large textile industry in the early eighteenth century, so British-produced fabrics were sold to the colonies in order to supply for their clothing. Informal clothing was designed to be flexible and allow for easier movement, so that the wearer could go about their day-to-day business without the interference of constricting outfits (Wright 9). While both categories of dress were subject to alterations over time, undress was more susceptible to being taken apart and repurposed for different wearers.

The essential piece in a female's eighteenth-century wardrobe was the shift. The shift was worn at all times and had a similar function to today's modern underwear. Shifts were worn to protect the outer gowns from being soiled by perspiration and other body oils, since these gowns were rarely washed (Baumgarten 1986, 15). While outerwear was not laundered frequently, shifts had to be sturdily put together since they were washed more regularly. Material choice, as well as durable stitching, was characteristic for eighteenth-century shifts (Baumgarten 1986, 16). For most women, shifts also doubled as nightgowns. Only the wealthiest might have shifts specifically designated for wearing to bed. Shifts were not designed to be seen and usually had little to no decoration on them. If there was any embellishment on a shift, it typically was the owner's embroidered initials.

The silhouette of the female dress in the eighteenth century was dominated by two types of structured undergarments: stays that created the shape of the bodice and panniers that went under the skirt (Bradfield 2). Stays were worn by women of all classes and with both dress and undress. Made of sturdy fabrics, stays were partially boned with materials like metal and whale baleen. They also had tabs cut out on the bottom so that a wide waist could be pursued, if desired for the fashionable figure (Wright 26). Designed to create a cone-shaped upper body, stays did not radically alter the wearer's figure, like the nineteenth-century corset. Stays also were instrumental in creating good posture, as they limited bending over and slouching. Stays were often portrayed satirically in cartoons of the day, which lampooned being laced up tightly, like in John Collet's print, *Tight Lacing, or Fashion before Ease* (Figure 2.1). But, since stays were to be worn with all clothing styles by all women, it would have been impractical for them to have been laced so tightly regularly.

Working women would not have been able to move about or breathe properly while going about their daily tasks with tightly laced stays.

The other undergarment designed to create the silhouette worn in eighteenth-century fashion were side hoops, more commonly referred to as panniers. Different materials were used in the construction of the shape of panniers, such as wicker rods. The wicker rods would be bent and curved into semi-circular shapes in order to create the bell-shaped skirt desired by the wearer. In addition to many layers of petticoats, panniers created the illusion of exaggerated wide hips, then a fashionable component of court dress in Europe from the seventeenth-century until about the 1770s. Bustle pads were also used to create false hips. However, panniers and bustle pads were only worn in the most formal of occasions.

Also worn under the gown were pockets. Unlike men's clothing, which had pockets attached to their waistcoats and coats, women's gowns made allowances for removable, pear-shaped, pockets. These pockets had waistbands that tied and came in pairs, one for each side. Slits would be cut in the gown so the wearer could access the pocket. Pockets were worn by women of all stations and as such, reflected their rank through their design. They could be plain and unadorned, and made with scrap fabric, or they could be elaborately embroidered and made with finer materials. Embroidered pockets were often part of a young woman's marriage trousseau, exemplifying her needlework skills (Wright 30).

The petticoat was an invaluable part of eighteenth-century fashion. Worn in multiple layers, they functioned as undergarments, layers for warmth, a part of the creation of the desired silhouette, and an outward expression of fashionable style. In fact, the term "petticoat" in the eighteenth century means the same thing that "skirt" does in the twenty-first century (Wright 32). Quilted petticoats were worn by women of all class ranks, from

gentry down to indentured servants and slaves (Baumgarten 1999, 38). Petticoats were simple and easy to make and those worn or displayed on the outside were often quilted. Many different types of materials were used in petticoat construction, from wool to silk. The patterns stitched into these petticoats could vary from very simple to very elaborate, depending on the amount of time an individual wanted to put into making it or how much they were willing to pay. Their designs often incorporated geometric, floral, animal, and human motifs (Baumgarten 2002, 89).

Many distinct styles of dresses were in fashion during the eighteenth century. In the first fifty years, the sack gown, or robe à la française, was the style of choice for European courts (Bradfield 13). Layers upon layers of fabric were draped from the upper back down to the hemline. All of the extra fabric utilized made the sack gown a very expensive style and impractical for everyday use. It was not replicated often by the working class. By the American and French Revolutions in the 1770s and 1780s, the sack gown was phased out in favor of the polonaise style. Polonaise gowns also utilized extraneous fabric, but instead of having the train drape down to the ground, it was gathered up in the back, creating a bustle (Bradfield 57). The last major style in women's eighteenth-century fashion was the neoclassical gown of the 1790s. These dresses featured high empire waistlines, lighter textiles like muslins, and a more natural figure, exemplified in styles such as the round gown. The wide hips popular earlier in the century were gone. Heavy fabrics, like brocades, that characterized the beginning of eighteenth-century fashion were also abandoned (Wright 39). Stays were still worn underneath, but some women stopped wearing them for greater freedom of movement (Baumgarten 2002, 219). All gowns were designed to be pinned closed, so as to allow for stays to be laced differently on different days.

While there was some emulation in fashion on the part of the working and slave classes, a sack or polonaise gown was impractical for most women. Instead, the shortgown was often worn by lower class and Colonial women in the eighteenth century. The shortgown is something of a misnomer, as it was not really a shorter gown, but a jacket that would be described as "kimono-cut, long-sleeved, flared, and hip-length" today (Wright 44). They were worn over shifts and were not as closely fitted as other fashions. As such, the wearer's stays did not have to be laced as tightly. Shortgowns were paired with outer petticoats, which were protected by aprons. Instead of the silks, brocades, and muslins of dress pieces, shortgowns were made of rougher, more durable fabrics, like linen and wool. As cotton manufacturing became more prevalent and less expensive, the working class began to use it for the shortgown. Shortgowns also required less fabric than regular fitted gowns, and with fewer pieces to fit together, they cost less to produce and took less time to put together.

Accessories, including aprons, head coverings, shoes, and capes, were an important and oftentimes practical part of fashion in the eighteenth century, just as they are today. Aprons were worn by all classes. The material and design of an apron indicated one's class and occupation. They served as protection for gowns from a woman's work, but also could be highly decorative. Shoes of the eighteenth century were defined by their lack of a left and a right foot, and no standardization in sizing. Women's shoes were made from different types of fabric, including leather and silk, and were often delicate in design. What was worn on one's head was also an important fashion accessory. Caps were worn everyday to cover the head indoors and outdoors. Calashes were a collapsible type of bonnet designed to protect the high hair that was fashionable at the time. They were often constructed out of

silk. By the end of the 1700s, calashes were replaced by the bonnet more often associated with the nineteenth century. Finally, women in the eighteenth century had capes, more commonly referred to as cloaks, to protect them from harsher weather. They came in a variety of fabrics, usually wools and broadcloths. Most came with attached hoods (Baumgarten 1986, 39).

Men's fashion in the eighteenth century was usually comprised of a shirt and a three-piece suit, which included the waistcoat, breeches, and an outer coat. Although they did not have to be, these three pieces could be made with the same fabrics and materials in order to create a matching ensemble (Baumgarten 1986, 52). While often less elaborate in construction than women's fashion, men's fashion followed many of the same principles. Like the shift for women, the shirt was the basic piece of men's fashion that was worn at all times. The shirt was designed to protect outerwear like waistcoats and coats from body oils, and to double as men's sleepwear (Wright 60). Shirts were long in cut, usually reaching thigh length, and were designed to be tucked into breeches. Unlike shifts however, men's shirts were designed to be seen as outerwear and as such, could be a little more elaborate in design. Most shirts had ruffles around the collar, which were meant to peek out from the waistcoat worn over it.

Breeches made up the bottom half of men's fashion in the eighteenth century. Worn by all men, breeches covered the thigh and reached the knees. Stockings were worn with breeches and were tucked into them at the knee. Breeches were characterized by button and flap openings, called fall fronts. Buttons, tie closures, and buckles were common at the breeches' waist and knee and usually created a tight fit around the front of the thigh. Eighteenth-century breeches were looser in the back in order to allow freedom of movement

as well space in which to tuck in long shirts. The baggy appearance in the seat of the pants could then be concealed by an outer coat (Wright 68). Common fabrics used for making breeches were broadcloth, linen, and silk; all were lightweight and allowed for flexibility in movement. Breeches could be decorated with embroidery, but ornamentation was usually reserved for formal court or dress pieces (Baumgarten 1986, 56). The stockings worn with breeches could either be knitted or constructed with woven fabrics. As such, stockings in the eighteenth century were made from a variety of fibers, from wool to linen and altering stockings, either for repair or to fit a new wearer was common (Baumgarten 2002, 185). Eventually, toward the end of the century, looser trousers replaced breeches and were characterized by a less fitted pant leg that reached down to the ankle.

The waistcoat also had multiple functions in men's fashion. Like women's stays, the shape and cut of the waistcoat was supposed to aid posture and was worn by men of all classes (Wright 71). The waistcoat by definition was a piece of outerwear, unlike women's stays, and as such could be more decorative. The type of fabric and material used in waistcoats depended on what the wearer could afford or chose to purchase and was thus a reflection of personal taste. In some cases, the fabric choice for the waistcoat might not match that of the breeches, allowing the wearer to create variations in fashion choice. However, more commonly, waistcoats, breeches, and coats were made of the same material (Wright 72). Expensive waistcoats could be made from brocades and decorated with elaborate embroidery (Baumgarten 1986, 57). Waistcoats later in the century became shorter, so breeches from that period were redesigned with a fall front that covered the buttons of the placket, the opening at the upper part of the breeches. This was done in order to maintain the lines of the suit (Baumgarten 1986, 54).

The final component of eighteenth-century men's fashion was the outer coat. Coats were long and came down to the knee. They had a button closure at the chest and then long tails that curved away at waist height. As with the waistcoat and breeches, many different types of fabric were used, depending on the owner's fashion choice and the coat's designated use. The more formal "court" coat could be made from silks and brocades. They might also be embroidered to match the breeches and waistcoat. A less formal "frock" coat usually was constructed from wool broadcloth (Baumgarten 1986, 63). The working class also wore an outer coat, but often abandoned it when working, as the coat's length could inhibit movement. The dressing gown was an informal addition to a man's wardrobe. These gowns were worn at home in lieu of the overcoat and waistcoat and in the presence of family over shirts and breeches. Lastly, men's cloaks went over the waistcoat and coat in cold weather, like women's cloaks.

Where women had pockets hidden under the skirt of their gown to hold items, men had pocketbooks to carry on the outside. The pocketbooks of the eighteenth century have more in common with the modern wallet or briefcase today. They were used to carry money and paperwork that men did not wish to keep in the pockets of their breeches and coats. Pocketbooks came in many styles from embossed leather, which could be purchased in a shop, to embroidered, which could be gifts made by female relatives (Baumgarten 1986, 70). As such, pocketbooks could be personalized with name or initials, dated, and have any design on them desired by the owner.

Clothing for infants and children in the eighteenth century were modeled on adult fashions. Like adult undergarments, the basic infant undershirt was created with rectangular and square pieces of fabric, like linens and cottons, in order to conserve fabric. The infant's

napkin, which would now be called the diaper, was simply a rectangular piece of fabric. As with all eighteenth-century fashion, the napkin could convey rank and status. Better off families could purchase fabrics specifically used for making napkins while lower-ranking families would recycle linen or use rags (Baumgarten 2002, 158).

As children grew up, their mode of dress looked more like that of their parents, especially in the early part of the eighteenth century. The use of restrictive clothing for children began at the beginning of the 1700s and featured stays for both girls and boys. Stays, constructed the same way that an adult women's pair would be, encouraged posture and helped them practice the figure that women's and men's clothing would hold them to later in life (Baumgarten 2002, 163). Otherwise, both girls' and boys' were miniatures of the fashion of their adult counterparts.

Monmouth County and New Jersey in the Eighteenth Century

Monmouth County was established shortly after the English gained control of the area from the Dutch in the late seventeenth century. Its borders were larger when it was founded and included what are the present-day Monmouth and Ocean Counties (Figure 2.2). [1] Prior to its status as an English royal colony, New Jersey had been two separately governed proprietary colonies, East Jersey and West Jersey (Wacker 331). As proprietary colonies, East and West Jersey were characterized by English aristocracy who owned the land. Most were absentee landlords (McCormick 33). Yeoman farmers owned land as well, but not to the extent that the wealthy did. East and West Jersey united to become the royal colony of

[1] Ocean County as it is today would not be established as a separate entity until 1850 (Slater 267).

New Jersey in 1702. A map illustrating the East-West Jersey divide is in Appendix B, Figure 2.3.

Before the English obtained the land from Dutch that made up the body of the future colony, their first settlements in New Jersey were founded at Middletown and Shrewsbury in 1665 (Wacker 122). Middletown and Shrewsbury would eventually be incorporated into East Jersey and both towns became a part of Monmouth County. Monmouth County was established by the Navesink patent the same year that Middletown and Shrewsbury were settled (Wacker 230). The Rhode Island Monmouth Association also played a role in the founding of Monmouth County. Men from Newport, Rhode Island collected money from people all over New England to purchase land from the Native Americans living in the Monmouth County area (Slater 18).[2] As with other mid-Atlantic colonies, New Jersey and Monmouth County were not characterized by large cities, seaports, or plantations. Instead, the area was made up of small farms run by individual families. A family might own one or two slaves, but nothing as large in scale as the cash crop plantations of the South. Slaves in Monmouth County were either African or Native American in decent.[3] Slaves of mixed African and Native background were also common (Wacker 106).[4] In addition to the Native American and African population, Monmouth County had a diverse white population in the eighteenth century. There were the original Dutch settlers, as well as the early English who

[2] The patentees of the Rhode Island Monmouth Association largely were not the settlers of Monmouth County, but in some cases, their family members did move to New Jersey (Slater 16).

[3] It is unlikely that the Native slave population was from the local Lenape tribe as the Lenape had largely been expelled from the area by the time Europeans permanently settled in New Jersey (Wacker 60, 107). Enslavement of Native Americans was legal in eighteenth-century New Jersey (Cooley 12).

[4] In 1804, New Jersey passed a law for gradual emancipation, and total emancipation occurred in 1846. New Jersey was the last Northern state to do so, indicating a reluctance to abandon the lifestyle slavery supported (Cooley 28).

came from New England, many of whom were Quaker (Slater 18). Freehold became a settlement for Scottish immigrants (Wacker 208). The rest of eighteenth-century New Jersey also varied in its make-up, as there were many German, French, and Swedish communities; it was one of the most diverse colonies (McCormick 80). In addition to small farms, Monmouth County also had some iron mining in Tinton Falls, as early as 1675 (McCormick 89).

Overall, living conditions were good in the colony. One contemporary observer noted that even the lower classes were "very well clothed and fed; better than the same people in Britain" (Fowler 15). In 1739, a forty year-old woman gave birth for the first time, in Middletown, to triplets. The newspaper reported that all were "likely to live," giving one the impression of a healthy birth and good conditions in which to rear the children (NYWJ 11/12/1739).

Education was also stressed in Monmouth County. An advertisement in *The New-York Journal* announced the opening of a school in Freehold, which was run by the local minister, William Tennant. The school presented itself as preparing to send its students to "the American Colleges," and focused on language (NYJ 12/24/1766). Despite being a relatively rural community, residents still wanted to send their young boys to college either within or without the colony. Two colleges were established in New Jersey in the eighteenth century. The first, The College of New Jersey, now Princeton University, was founded by Presbyterians in 1746 (McCormick 89).[5] The second, Queen's College, now Rutgers University, was founded by a liberal party of the Dutch Reformed Church in 1766 (McCormick 89). It is probably not coincidence that Tennant's school was founded the end

[5] The current The College of New Jersey was not founded until 1855.

of the same year as Queen's College. Tennant's school offered Monmouth County families a better chance at being able to attend a university like Queen's College by producing a formal local education.

New Jersey's royal governor in the years leading up to and during the war was William Franklin, the illegitimate son of Benjamin Franklin. William Franklin was famously loyal to the Crown. He was eventually run out of office by 1775 and was replaced by William Livingston (McCormick 121). New Jersey's population was split over the issue of independence. Counties that were originally in East Jersey were usually pro-Crown since they held more land and had more at stake economically (McCormick 128). New Jersey was the site of the Battles of Trenton and Princeton in 1776 and 1777 respectively. Both battles are considered a major turning point for the Colonial militia in the war.

Monmouth County had its own role to play during the American Revolution. Largely inhabited by those loyal to the crown, those who supported American independence faced hostility and were often ostracized. Loyalist bands and Colonial militia engaged in raids and skirmishes against each other and some pro-independence residents spied on their loyalist neighbors (McCormick 122). When caught, they were placed in a prisoner-of-war camp on Sandy Hook, a stretch of beach on the northeastern shore of Monmouth County. The British took advantage of the fact that New York Harbor was easily visible from Sandy Hook and monitored costal movements from there. As a result of the war, bad blood was created amongst neighbors. In one outstanding case, Joseph Murray, who had spent time in the British prison, was killed at the behest of a prominent loyalist family on his own property (Mandeville 62). Prior to the Battle of Monmouth Courthouse, Sir Henry Clinton, then commander of the British forces, burned the homes of those who supported independence

throughout the county. Slaves from the area more often than not sided with British troops, since freedom was promised if they turned against their pro-independence owners (Slater 430). The county was also the site of the last major military campaign in the North during the American Revolution, the Battle of Monmouth Courthouse, which occurred in June of 1778. It was considered a draw in the immediate aftermath, but as time passed, it was viewed as favoring the Continental Army (McCormick 147). After the battle, both American and British troops concentrated their efforts on the South, marking a turning point in the war.

After the war, New Jersey was heavily in debt, exacerbating old East and West Jersey rivalries (McCormick 159). Farms in the post-war years suffered the most because farmers could not pay off their debts or their heavy taxes, while the wheat crop of 1786 was poor (McCormick 162). These events greatly affected the residents in Monmouth County, most of whom were small-scale farmers. As such, most residents in New Jersey favored a strong central government to help alleviate the state government's and the Articles of Confederation's shortcomings. New Jersey sent representatives to the Constitutional Convention of 1787 before it was even called and it was the "New Jersey Plan," that focused on a strong central government, which was eventually incorporated into the "Connecticut Compromise," and then the United State Constitution (McCormick 170). New Jersey approved of the new constitution and became the third state to ratify it. Simultaneously, a movement against paper money started in New Jersey in an effort to ensure that the state functioned well within the federal government. With these developments, all residents hoped that the state's economy would begin to recover as the eighteenth century drew to a close (McCormick 175).

Trade in Monmouth County and New Jersey in the Eighteenth Century

As a largely agrarian community wedged in between the two major port cities of New York City and Philadelphia, the colony of New Jersey did not import and export many goods. That said, New Jersey did not totally lack in trade. Because of its proximity to two cities, obtaining goods was almost easier. West Jersey had quick access to Philadelphia, while East Jersey traded more frequently with New York City (McCormick 57). Monmouth County is located in what was East Jersey, so goods were more likely to come from New York. However, it would not be impossible for Monmouth County residents to purchase items from Philadelphia. Likewise, residents in New Jersey who wished to export goods could have their products brought to New York City or Philadelphia, where shipping opportunities were available (Shepherd 3). Merchants from both ports made business contacts in New Jersey, and many even retired in the colony (Fowler 17). Philadelphia merchants had their stores cater specifically to New Jersey consumers, like Daniel Benezet, who sold to residents of Trenton (Doerflinger 166). New Jersey lacked in direct interaction with international trading, but there was a good deal of intercolonial and intracolonial trade to be found through local merchants and peddlers, especially textiles, who provided goods to consumers (Fowler 19).

However, trade between New Jersey and neighboring ports was not always friendly. In 1787, New York City passed an act that raised entrance and clearance fees on foreign goods brought in from New Jersey; this was a result of New Jersey's refusal to outlaw trade with British ships for British goods (Shepherd 34). But in spite of a war and politics, consumers in New Jersey still had a desire for English and European goods.

Textile trade with America was very important to England. The passage of the Navigation Acts in 1649 and 1651 ensured that only British ships would dock in Colonial

ports in an effort to protect English manufactures (Dickerson 8). This policy remained in effect until the Revolutionary War. By 1790, between one third and one half of Britain's cotton exports were to the United States (Morgan 36). Textiles were marketed according to the tastes of the ports they were being shipped to (Morgan 57). It was difficult for English merchants to try and sell older fashions and textiles to the colonies once they were significantly out of date in Europe. As such, American merchants did not keep a large stock of these types of goods for this reason (Morgan 59).

The China trade was an important component of Colonial shipping and an important source of textiles in the United States. Nankeen, a type of cotton cloth, and silk were the most commonly sold Chinese textiles in the colonies (Lee 33). These textiles came in a variety of colors and styles. In order to make it easy for merchants to display the available goods, samples of the silks were cut into small squares and pasted on paper so a customer might get an idea of what a particular textile looked like (Lee 194).

Despite the fact that Monmouth County traditionally would have received its imported goods from New York City, Quakers from Philadelphia involved in the China trade were a group with a direct connection to Monmouth County. Shrewsbury had a sizeable Quaker population living there in the eighteenth century. Thus the Quaker communities in Monmouth County and Philadelphia had ties to each other. Charles Haight was one Quaker merchant who shipped goods from Philadelphia and was involved in the China trade. Haight owned property in New Jersey in Colts Neck and Shrewsbury at the same time that he was running his ships out of Philadelphia; he later retired to Long Branch (Lee 135).[6] When ordering silks from overseas, Quaker merchants requested simpler color schemes such as

[6] It is possible that Haight never actually lived in Philadelphia and simply had his ships port there. Records are unclear as his mail was postmarked to both Philadelphia and his home in Shrewsbury (Lee 135).

"drabs, doves and Leads" to fit their modest aesthetic values (Morgan 56). The type of silk ordered by Quaker merchants reflects their own taste and the taste of their customers.

New Jersey had several of its own port towns in the eighteenth century. In West Jersey, ports were founded at Burlington and Salem in the late seventeenth century, and in East Jersey, Perth Amboy was established in the early eighteenth century. Perth Amboy reached its peak as a port in the 1720s, with the post-war boom created by the ending of Queen Anne's War (Levitt 31). The port saw an increase in the number of ships docking there during the boom. This increase in trade was short-lived however, and by the 1740s, Perth Amboy was in decline again, due to the start of the French and Indian War (Levitt 32). Some of Perth Amboy's vessels were owned by merchants living in New Jersey (Levitt 31). New Jersey merchants were able to purchase ships locally-made, and some of the ships that sailed out of Perth Amboy were constructed in Newbridge, Little Egg Harbor, and Shrewsbury (Levitt 88). These communities were able to produce ships due to their proximity to rivers and estuaries. Monmouth County landowner and resident Daniel Hendrickson became a small-scale merchant based in Perth Amboy, owning at least one vessel and a small store as a way to earn more money. He eventually expanded into trade in the West Indies. But, his role as a merchant was always secondary to the land property he owned, indicating that shipping was not the most lucrative way to make money in New Jersey (Levitt 108).

Ultimately, New Jersey ports lost trade advantages to other larger cities because they did not have the capability to dock larger vessels, as New York City and Philadelphia did. The lack of a governor in New Jersey between 1702 and 1738 allowed for New York City

and Philadelphia to gain shipping dominance in the mid-Atlantic colonies (Levitt 9).[7] Between 1768 and 1772, New York's volume of exports was ninety-four times greater than New Jersey's and Philadelphia's was one hundred and seventy-six times greater (Levitt 22). The years of the American Revolution were not conducive to trade either. In 1774, the Continental Congress attempted to ban all trade with Great Britain, from which colonists were most accustomed to trade. But by 1776, that ban had been lifted. Still, trading was difficult, due to the blockade on the colonies established by the British navy (McCusker 361). Smuggling occurred in New Jersey, but not to the benefit of its port towns (Levitt 18). Because the colony was focused on small-scale farming, overseas trade and shipping was not essential to their economy (Levitt 75). It relied too much on neighboring colonies for resources, and as such, places like Perth Amboy, Burlington, and Salem became irrelevant to overseas trade by the end of the eighteenth century (Levitt 154).

Textile industries in the colonies, and by extension, New Jersey, were relatively limited in the eighteenth century. When the Revolution began, there was a boom in American-made textiles (McCusker 364). Newspapers reported on the textile output of individual families and in Woodbridge, several families produced over five hundred yards of fabric. Elizabeth declared it had manufactured "upwards of 100,000 yards of linnen [sic] and woolen cloth" (Henretta 66). This demand for locally-made textiles quickly declined with the 1778 treaty with France, which gave American merchants and consumers access to French goods, and by the 1780s, trade with China had been established (McCusker 370). After the war ended, American consumers returned to their preferred British textiles since they were cheaper and better made than the homespun produced locally. As such, American

[7] There was no royal governor for New Jersey until 1739 because until then, the governor of New York was also responsible for governing New Jersey (McCormick 62).

textile manufacturing continued to decline in the eighteenth century and did not resume as a dominant force until the nineteenth century (McCusker 372).

History of the MCHA

The MCHA was founded in 1898, primarily as a genealogical resource for those interested in their Colonial roots. Shortly thereafter, it began its museum collection. Its headquarters are currently located in the county seat, Freehold, in a building built and designed in the 1930s specifically for the MCHA. The headquarters also functions as its main museum, which contains permanent and annually rotating exhibits on many seventeenth to twentieth century aspects Monmouth County life. The MCHA owns five historic properties around the county, most of them dating from the Colonial era. These houses are open seasonally. Properties owned by the MCHA were originally owned by prominent Monmouth County families including the Hendricksons, Holmes, and Taylors. The MCHA also works with the Monmouth Battlefield State Park, the site of the Battle of Monmouth Courthouse.

The MCHA sponsors educational programs for local schools and conferences and living history programs at the historic homes. The MCHA's library is open in conjunction with the main museum for people to conduct research with everything from local histories to original manuscripts. Because of Monmouth County's long and rich Colonial history, the MCHA has a wealth of information on the era that is utilized by scholars from all over the country. It has even loaned its original copy of Emanuel Leutze's *Washington Rallying the Troops at Monmouth* to Mount Vernon for their special exhibit, "Washington and His Generals." The MCHA has collections of many different areas of material culture, including

furniture, ceramics, silver, and traditional artwork. There are 3,500 pieces in the MCHA's complete textile collection (MCHA website). It is eighteenth-century part of this collection that was analyzed and assessed for this project.

MCHA's Eighteenth-Century Fashion

In 1981, Jean Pinelli conducted a survey of the eighteenth-century textiles in the MCHA collection. Her survey consisted of compiling the accession files, making detailed drawings, tracing ownership and families, and making collection recommendations. Table 1.1 illustrates the breakdown of the collection from Pinelli's 1981 survey when there were fifty-four eighteenth-century pieces. The breakdown of the eighteenth-century textile collection in 2010 can be found in Table 1.2. Comparing the two reveals where the collection has grown or where certain pieces have been reattributed. In the elapsed twenty-nine years, eleven pieces have been moved out of the eighteenth-century portion of the textile collection. Despite these reattributions, the collection has expanded significantly to seventy-two pieces. This survey does not discuss two pieces in the current collection. One piece not surveyed is an infant's pudding cap, which is a reproduction dating to 2001. The other piece not included is a pair of women's shoes which have been misplaced and could not be looked at for inspection. Organized by gender and age, there are thirty pieces in the women's collection, nineteen in the men's, eleven in the unisex, and ten in the children's. All of these were included in this investigation.

Most of the women's collection is made up of undergarments and accessories, with only nine pieces classified as outerwear. The men's collection is more evenly distributed between undergarments, outer garments, and accessories. The unisex collection consists of

pocketbooks, which resemble the modern wallet or briefcase. Even though eighteenth-century pocketbooks are usually ascribed to men, the provenance attached to some of the pocketbooks in the collection indicate that they were once owned by women, making the pocketbooks categorically unisex for this survey. Descriptions of individual pieces are based on personal notes, photographs, observation, and handling. Table 1.3 lists every piece discussed in this analysis from the collection with its accession number, material, date, and additional provenance. Specific pieces are identified in-text parenthetically with their most current accession numbers. Appendix C contains thumbnail images of all in the pieces used in the analysis. The images in Appendix C are also captioned with their most current accession numbers.[8]

The earliest date attributed to any of the pieces in the eighteenth-century collection is 1745; the latest is 1800. The majority of the collection dates from about 1770 to about 1800, covering thirty years of fashion. The pieces from the first half of the century tend to be accessories, like shoes. Many pieces donated to the MCHA were from longstanding Monmouth County families; several significant contributions came from Louise Hartshorne in the 1930s. Every piece in the current eighteenth-century collection shows signs of wear and aging, but some are in better condition than others. Hems, edges, joints, and points of stress are common locations for more intense wear. The pieces in the collection do not appear to have been seriously altered since the eighteenth century. Some pieces have lost buttons and were replaced with ones of more modern make, but that is the extent of recent alteration. Today, textiles are wrapped in acid-free tissue paper and stacked in acid-free boxes, ensuring that minimal age damage will be done to the collection.

[8] There is an additional CD containing larger images attached to the back of this document, as well images of details and condition.

The undergarments in the collection illustrate how women created a foundation for clothing visible to everyone else. The two shifts in the collection are typical of the period; one is dated from 1790 to 1795, while the other is simply dated late eighteenth century. They are both made of white linen and have similar construction, with square and rectangular shaped pieces sewn together to create the pattern and gussets along the sides. Although they vary in length, both have low necks designed to keep the shift invisible under the outer gown. The 1790 shift has a drawstring-close neck to bring the neckline up as needed (T74.156). Both are very plain but both are monogrammed to identify the owner. The shift monogrammed with the initials "M.H." was owned by Mary Lloyd Hendrickson, a Monmouth County resident (T74.156). It is possible that this was the shift she wore at her wedding, as stated in the provenance in the accession file. The shift initialed "P.B" was owned by Polly Bingham; it is the one piece definitively not attributed to Monmouth County or New Jersey (1982.9.1). According to the accession files, the shift came from Mansfield, Connecticut.

Undergarments designed to create the fashionable silhouette of the wearer are also represented in the collection. Intended to be practical and not ornamental, the one pair of adult stays, dated between 1780 and 1790, are made from sturdy brown linen, boned with metal, and have no additional decoration. The grommets for lacing the stays are sewn by hand, as one would sew buttonholes. The stays show age and wear through fraying and staining, indicating frequent use by the owner. The original straps have disintegrated to almost nothing and the boning is beginning to poke out of the fabric. The poor condition of the stays illustrates how essential they were to eighteenth-century fashion.

Stays were supplemented by busks, which were designed to keep the front upright. The three busks from the late eighteenth century in the collection are simple, wooden, and carved, but none of the carving is decorative. All three are worn smooth from use and age and are slightly chipped, presumably from handling.

The final undergarment represented is the late eighteenth-century pannier. One pannier would be placed on each hip and tied around the waist, but there is only one half of the pannier in the collection. The waist tie is still attached to the pannier. The pannier is made of off-white linen. The linen has a perfected, manufactured look to it and, due to limited industry in America at the time, it is probable that it was manufactured in England or elsewhere in Europe. The pannier's shape is constructed from wicker instead of metal. Wicker is more flexible than metal and helped create the desired rounded hoop shape. Unlike the stays, the one pannier is in relatively good condition, with little to no age staining. Panniers were worn with more formal dress and as such, these panniers were probably not in frequent use. Thus, they are in better condition today.

The pair of pockets in the collection appear to match and are very simple in design. Dating from between 1770 and 1790, they are the traditional pear shape and are made from an off-white linen that has a rough-looking weave. Neither of the pockets are embroidered, giving them a utilitarian appearance. They appear to have been in frequent use, as the waistband ties are now worn very thin, and are yellowed with age. The pockets themselves have been repaired and were darned at one point in their history.

Quilted petticoats were an important and common part of women's fashion in the eighteenth century. They are well represented in the MCHA collection. Two of the quilted petticoats date from the first half of the century, at the earliest, 1745 (1210 [38] and T76.63).

The other two are attributed to the last quarter, from 1770 to 1800 (1694 [41] and 2097b [46]). All four are relatively similar in construction. All the petticoats are silk, with tie closures, and have floral or natural designs stitched into the quilting.[9] These patterns give personality to the petticoats and, if worn with open gowns, would make the wearer's outfit more visually dynamic. The silks used are all neutral and darker shades, like tan, gray, and muted yellow. The choice of color is a reflection of the owner's personal taste and the need for flexibility in matching petticoats to gowns. Although there is wear around the waistbands and at the hems, all four petticoats are in remarkably good condition, indicating that they were designed to be durable and to last.

The pale yellow quilted petticoat was owned by Elizabeth T. Wooley, according to the Holmes records. Wooley was from Poplar, New Jersey, and although it is not a part of Monmouth County, it is still representative of eighteenth-century fashion in New Jersey (1694 [41]). The other quilted petticoat from the late eighteenth century was donated to the MCHA, along with the round gown and bonnet discussed below, and all three items are identified as "Quaker" (2097b [46]). The Quakers in Philadelphia were very involved in the China trade in the eighteenth century, making it very likely that the silk used make the petticoat, as well as the round gown discussed below, came from there (Lee 31).

The two outer gowns that are a part of the MCHA's eighteenth-century collection are a silk round gown from 1790 and a printed cotton shortgown, also from the latter part of the century. The round gown has all the characteristics of the simpler fashion choices of the end

[9] Quilted petticoats of comparable construction and design are sketched on pages 23 to 26 in Bradfield's *Costume in Detail*, all from the Snowhill Collection, part of the National Trust in the United Kingdom. Given the shared history of the colonies and England, the similarity between the two pieces is not surprising.

of the century.[10] The front opens up, both above and below the empire waistline, to reveal the lined interior. Below the waistline, the garment is designed to be tied shut, while the upper bodice was pinned to the wearer's stays. The pieces of the gown are made up of straight lines, with no extra flaring or embellishment that typified earlier eighteenth-century fashion. The choice in fabric is relatively conservative, as it is a silk in olive green. There is no known Monmouth County owner, but according to the Holmes records provenance, it is a "Quaker dress." Given the connection between Philadelphia Quakers involved in the China trade and Monmouth County, it is likely that a gown such as this would have been available to a Monmouth County resident. This modest mindset explains the muted color choice for the round gown.

In contrast to the simple elegance of the round gown, the shortgown has a different story to tell. The provenance that came with the shortgown attributes it to a slave woman named Betty, who was owned by Esek Hartshorne of Middletown, New Jersey, and later by his daughter and son-in-law, Elizabeth and Tylee Williams, of Shrewsbury, New Jersey.[11] The fact that it was owned by a slave woman gives the shortgown a deeper history; it is probable that Betty herself sewed it. The shortgown is made of a red and white floral "fig'd," or printed, cotton. It is very rudimentary in construction, with square and rectangular pieces sewn together to create the body and the sleeves. It is also not lined, showing either a lack of care for quality or that less time was devoted to making slaves' clothing. Like the round gown, the shortgown was designed to be pinned in the front and has two very large

[10] Its construction and design are very similar to the gowns illustrated on pages 75 and 84 in Bradfield's *Costume in Detail*, both from the Snowshill Collection.

[11] The MCHA has a pencil portrait of Betty in her old age (Figure 2.5). Although it does not illustrate her in eighteenth-century fashion, it gives a sense of the simple styles she would have worn in the nineteenth century.

flaps that would have overlapped when closed. Betty's shortgown provides a glimpse at a piece of often-overlooked slave life in Monmouth County in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Both of the aprons in the collection probably served as decorative pieces rather than utilitarian accessories. The first example is from the late eighteenth century and is made with sheer cotton gauze that gives it a transparent appearance (867 [35]). It has no adornment on it. According to the accession files, it is possible that this apron was made in France. If owned by a Monmouth County resident, a French-made apron would have probably been for formal wear, not everyday wear. The other apron dates from 1775 to 1800 and is also made from sheer cotton, but it is less transparent (1980.19.10). It is small and has tiny pockets sewn on the front that are decorative. There is a multicolor embroidered floral design on the pockets, around the hemmed edges, and at the waist tie of the apron, suggesting it was probably not a work apron. Both aprons are in good condition, aside from discoloration from age, and some of the design is starting to unravel from the embroidered apron.

The three pairs of women's shoes in the collection are from different decades and illustrate the change in shoe design over the 1700s. The earliest dated shoes are from the 1750s and are made from a green silk (1993.511 ab). They have a black metallic pattern embroidered on the toe and a low-rise wooden heel known as a Louis heel. Louis heels were named after Louis XIV of France, who popularized them in the sixteenth century (Benstock 10). The soles are made from leather and the pair does not have a left or a right foot. The shoes also seem to have been made for a wider foot. Neither of the two shoes have their original buckles. The shoe from the 1760s is missing its mate, but is otherwise in good condition (1993.513). It has a very high heel, also called a Louis heel, and is made of ivory

silk with a linen lining. The use of fine silk indicates that this shoe might have been worn at more formal occasions. The shoe is in such good condition that the original label identifying its maker, "John A. Wolfe of New-York," is still glued inside. Since there was trade going on between New Jersey and New York City, it is quite possible that the original pair of shoes might have been brought from New York and sold in Monmouth County in the eighteenth century. The final pair of shoes from the 1790s is not made of silk, but rather brocade in a slip-on fashion (1993.506 ab). Its heel is much lower than the previous two, which was popular at the end of the eighteenth century (Baumgarten, 1986 47).[12] It has decorative ribbons attached to the front of both shoes that are beginning to fray and the brocade is stained due to age.

Women's headgear has the most variation represented by the MCHA collection. The most basic type of head covering is the cap. All three caps in the collection date from the late eighteenth century. Two of them have "lappets," which were flaps pinned under the chin. Both are simple, designed not to draw attention, and made of linen. One of the lappet caps is identified in the textile binder as "Dutch style," possibly indicating that the original owner was Dutch (611 [34]). It is very plain in appearance. The other lappet cap was owned by Mary Conover and is probably a Monmouth County piece, since the Conovers lived throughout the area (1998.513).[13] The non-lappet cap is made from woven cotton that has a subtle grid pattern and scalloped edges (1988.689). Like the other two caps, it is also very plain.

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[12] The height of heels on eighteenth-century shoes can be visually traced in the timeline at the end of Baumgarten's *What Clothes Reveal*.

[13] Conover is the Anglicized version of the Dutch name Covenhoven, sometimes spelled Cowenhoven. The Conover family's presence illustrates the continued habitation of Dutch colonists in eighteenth-century New Jersey and Monmouth County.

The calashes in the collection, unlike the simple caps, make quite a statement, as they were designed to complement the high powdered hair of the era. All date from between 1770 and 1790 and are constructed of wicker and silk; two are brown and two are green. They vary in height and width, allowing for different sized and styled hair. One of the brown calashes came to the MCHA from the family of Rulif Lawrence, and it is probable that it originated in Monmouth County (381 [33]). The other brown calash was from the Throckmorton collection, a family who had lived in the Monmouth County area since the seventeenth century (1980.14.1). In the accession files, one of the calashes is identified as "possible Monmouth County" but there is no further provenance attached to it or a way of knowing where it came from (T76.18).[14]

Finally, the bonnet dating from the end of the century foreshadows the fashion to follow. This "Quaker" bonnet came to the MCHA with a quilted petticoat and the round gown in the collection, so they are discussed together in their accession paperwork. There is no known Monmouth County ownership for the bonnet, but because of close trade and religious ties, it is probable that it was representative of what one would wear in the area. It has a stiff brim that extends well beyond the face to shade the wearer from the sun. Constructed of black silk and buckram, it is plain in appearance and was probably for everyday use. The silk of the bonnet as well as the ribbon closures are frayed, indicating frequent use.

Finally, the MCHA collection includes three women's cloaks dating from between 1750 and 1790. All three are made from red wool and are stylistically known as "cardinal cloaks," due to their mimicry of the bright red cardinal color (McClellan 140). A visitor to

[14] It is possible that additional information was attached to the calash further confirming its Monmouth County origins, but has since been misplaced.

the colonies from England noted in 1773, "almost every Lady wears a red Cloak" (Baumgarten 1986, 39). Wear in the cloaks is limited to the hem area, where there is also some staining. One of the cloaks is identified with Moyka Longstreet Reid, a resident of the Freehold area (1998.578). A cloak of her husband's is also in the MCHA's collection.[15] Another one of the cloaks was probably owned by the Dey family, residents of Monmouth County (T77.10).

The men's shirts date from the latter half of the eighteenth century. All are all relatively similar in design and are primarily constructed out of linen. Two of the shirts have batiste ruffles, which would have been visible over the waistcoat (2077A [45] and 2077B [45]). The ruffles indicate that these shirts might have been worn on more formal occasions, rather than for work and sleep, since ruffles needed to be maintained and starched. Like all eighteenth-century fashion, the shirts were constructed out of rectangular pieces of fabric, creating oddly shaped sleeves. The armpits of the shirts are supplemented by gussets to fill in the gaps created by the cut of the fabric. The buttonholes of the shirts are hand-sewn. The buttons vary in style from cloth-covered wood to decoratively stitched. In one case, the original buttons are missing and have been replaced with plastic ones, indicating that at one point in the shirt's history it might have been worn by someone in the twentieth century (2077A [45]). The overall condition of all four shirts is good, with only minor age stains and yellowing. The two shirts with batiste ruffles, according to the Holmes records, came from the Taylor family, residents of Monmouth County. The other two shirts (1993.503 and 1993.504) are indicated as "possible Monmouth County" in their accession files, but there

[15] For James Reid's cape, see below in MCHA men's fashions.

are no further indications to confirm their origins. It is possible that some of the information on the shirts' history was misplaced since they were accessioned.

The MCHA's textile collection has examples of both late eighteenth-century breeches and pants, illustrating the shift in fashion that took place around the turn of the century. The five pairs of breeches are made with lightweight materials: silk, satin, and linen. All are without additional adornment and are not embroidered. The breeches, typical of the period, have extra fabric left in the seat of the pants, allowing for the long shirts to be tucked in. They also have the characteristic fall front openings. All of the breeches have varying degrees of wear, usually confined to the seat of the pants and the knee, the places of most friction and contact. Some of the breeches appear to be missing their original buttons and the more formal breeches do not have their buckle closures anymore.

The silk breeches are black and the satin breeches were a pale blue that has since faded into a pale green. The pale blue satin breeches were owned by John Hendrickson, and were allegedly the breeches he wore on his wedding day in 1793 (832 [53]). They would have been a special keepsake and thus were saved for the past two hundred years. The black breeches were owned by Richard Hendrickson circa 1790 (T76.93). As with the shirts, original buttons are missing from the fall fronts and the knee. In some cases, missing buttons have been replaced, but do not match the originals. Two pairs of linen breeches do not have names attached to them, but are labeled in their accession files as "possible Monmouth County" (1998.69 and 833[35]). One of these pairs was donated to the MCHA by the Hartshorne family, residents of the area since its Colonial days, making it all the more likely that they are Monmouth County in origin (1998.69).

The trousers in the collection are similar in appearance to those of the breeches with notable exceptions. Unlike breeches, the trousers reached the ankle instead of just covering the thigh. The trousers are made of linen, but the linen is a heavier weight in comparison to the fabric used for the breeches in the collection. This fabric gives the trousers a more durable feel. The trousers have a fall front closure and drawstring ties in the front. As with the breeches, the wear and staining occurs mostly at the points of stress. They also have the baggy design in the seat of the pants for tucking in shirts. These trousers came from the Taylor family through a donation to the MCHA by Louise Hartshorne in the 1930s, according to their accession papers.

The two pairs of stockings in the collection that would have been worn with breeches represent both knitted and woven examples from the period. The pair dating from the latter half of the century is linen and short in calf length (1999.539 AB). The other pair, made of linen and cotton, can be dated to 1782 and were owned by James Dorsett, a resident of Monmouth County (1246 [38] AB). His aunt, Mary Dorsett, made them for him to wear on his wedding day. They are much longer than the other pair, but both are simple and unadorned. The other pair of stockings are identified as "possible Monmouth County" in their accession paperwork.[16]

The shirts and breeches of the collection are relatively unadorned compared to the four waistcoats of the collection. The level of detail put into the polychromatic embroidery on the waistcoats indicates that they were probably for special occasions. Two of the waistcoats are silk and, interestingly, the other two are made of twill cotton but still have a formal design. These two waistcoats were owned by John Grant from Shrewsbury, New

[16] There might have been more information on the stockings' exact origins, but the information was misplaced.

Jersey (1977.10.1 and 1977.10.2). The twill cotton waistcoats are embroidered with identical patterns, except for different designs on the cloth-covered buttons. The buttons of the waistcoats, if they still have them, match the color and embroidery design of the rest of the waistcoat and in some instances are faux decorative buttons. The ivory silk waistcoat is probably from Monmouth County ([nn]). Although there is no original owner identified with this waistcoat, it was donated to the MCHA the Hartshorne family, so there is a strong possibility it was connected to Monmouth County in the eighteenth century. All of the waistcoats are embroidered with designs of plants, flowers, and other natural motifs. The waistcoat attributed to the mid-eighteenth century has a longer length, reflecting earlier taste in fashion (489 [33]). The waistcoats contain a mixture of shallow and false pockets, which are not practical in purpose. The fabrics are yellowing with age and, in some cases, the waistcoats have staining in the armpits.

The one court coat that the MCHA has in its collection is immediately recognizable as a piece of clothing for special occasions. Dated at about 1790 to 1800, it is made with heavy blue wool and lined with green silk; most strikingly, it is embroidered in gold bullion. The leaf and vine patterns of the embroidered bullion run up the front and back of the coat, as well as on the cuffs, high collar, and false pockets. Included with the embroidery are small glass, rhinestone-like gems. All of these elements add to the ornamentation of this physically heavy court coat. Pieces like this often were embroidered and decorated in England or France and then sent to the American market to be tailored for the customer (Martin 80). J.A.D. Ingres' 1811 painting *Hippolyte-Francois Devillers* illustrates a French coat that looks almost identical in cut and embroidered design to the MCHA's own court coat (Figure 2.4).[17]

[17] The only notable difference between the MCHA's coat and Ingres' sitter is that there is not an extra strip of embroidery along the button flap in the painting.

This painting further illustrates the importance of a coat like the MCHA's, as the French sitter chose to be presented in a piece practically identical to it. Although there is no provenance pointing to the original owner, a coat like this would only to be used for the most important of events. [18] Because of new, unrestricted trade with France after the Revolutionary War, it would not be impossible for this court coat to be available in New Jersey at the end of the century. However, Monmouth County's status as a small, agrarian community makes it unlikely that an individual specifically in that particular area would have had great use for it. There are some minor aging issues, like small holes in the wool, but overall the coat is still in impressive condition.

The final pieces of the men's collection at the MCHA are the dressing gown and cloak. The dressing gown dates to 1790 to 1820. It is an informal piece of clothing, with cuffed sleeves and faux pockets. The most striking feature of the dressing gown is the material with which it is made. It is black cotton with bright orange rings printed on it, possibly indicating the more daring taste of the original owner. According to the accession files, the dressing gown came from the Throckmorton family in Monmouth County. The cloak is made of a very heavy brown linen lined with green wool and is partially quilted in the blue velvet collar. Together, these features give the cloak a heavy-duty weight as well as make it a thick guard against the outside elements. This cloak shows signs of use and age, with stains and wear around the hem and a well-worn look to the wool lining. The cloak was owned by James Reid, a resident of the Freehold area (Symmes 431). His first wife's cloak is also owned by the MCHA.[19]

[18] A formal occasion that a New Jersey resident might have attended in the court coat could have been George Washington's inauguration in New York City. The coat dates to about the same year as the inaugural.

[19] For Moyka Longstreet Reid's cape, see above in MCHA women's fashion.

Ten of the eleven late eighteenth-century pocketbooks in the MCHA collection are several inches in length and height and fold open like a fan portfolio to reveal many pockets for storage. The final pocketbook resembles a small coin purse (1995.524). The necessary versatility of an object like a pocketbook is reflected by the variety of in the collection. Materials used include colored linens, cottons, wools, velvets, and silks. Two of the pocketbooks remain unfinished, several are dated to the 1770s, and many bear initials of the owners (1733 [42] and 1829 [43]). Plainer pocket books are embroidered with a flame stitch pattern. Two have strawberry motifs and one is elaborately embroidered with multicolor flowers, vases, and peacocks, made all the more striking when set against a black silk background (304 [33], 1995.523, and 1829 [43]). One pocketbook's ownership is attributed to James Hamilton and another to Isaac Coats (1829 [43] and 1995.522). It is unknown if they lived in Monmouth County. One pocketbook has no eighteenth-century name ascribed to it, but was given to the MCHA by the Hartshorne family (857 [35]). Interestingly, names attached to three eighteenth-century pocketbooks are female: Mary Polhemus, and later her sister Abbie, both of whom lived in Monmouth County (301 [33]). Mary "signed" and dated her pocketbook in the exterior embroidery while Abbie left her mark with embroidered initials on the interior flap. Another pocketbook's ownership is attributed to Hanah Crawford, yet another Monmouth County resident (304 [33]). These attributions suggest a unisex multipurpose to eighteenth-century pocketbooks.

The MCHA has six late eighteenth-century infant undershirts in its collection. The undershirts are largely unadorned except for two examples, which have some lacing around the collar and capped sleeves (1978.7.3 and 1988.683). Since undershirts were worn by very young children, it would be impractical for them to be highly decorated. Three of the

undershirts are virtually identical in size and design, indicating that they were probably worn and owned by the same family (2003.521.1, 2003.521.2, and 2003.521.3). Their accession files do not give a family name but do identify them as "possible Monmouth County" in origin. More information on the undershirts' origins might have been there when they were originally accessioned. They have short sleeves and were designed to be put over the baby's head. Two of the other undershirts have openings in the front, but no buttons, and were probably pinned shut (1978.7.3 and 1988.683). One infant's undershirt is edged with lace and was owned by the Smock family of Pleasant Valley (1978.7.3).[20] The MCHA also has one infant napkin in its collection dating somewhere from the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century. The napkin is white woven cotton with a repeated diamond pattern. The quality of the weave indicates that it might have been imported from England or Europe and was used by a wealthier family.

Although the MCHA's collection of children's clothing is limited, it provides insight into how much their clothing was modeled after that of adults. The pair of child's stays, well worn with age and use, is a miniature in construction of the stays for grown women in the collection. The child stays are dated between 1780 and 1790 and are made with tanna twill, a durable and heavy-duty fabric. A metal band originally sewn into the interior has now almost completely come out, but the busk built into the stays still remains. Wear is found where the boning is beginning to protrude and around the armpits, where the friction from movement would be most common. The straps have almost completely disintegrated with age. These stays were donated by the Hartshorne family and were worn by Mary Hendrickson.

[20] Pleasant Valley is now Holmdel in Monmouth County (Holmdel Historical Society website).

Likewise, the little girl's olive green and red silk bonnet resembles the black silk bonnet in the women's accessories collection with a long brim. It is dated between 1790 and 1820 and represents the transitional period into nineteenth-century fashion. Unlike the stiffly-reinforced brim of the women's bonnet, the child's is quilted in floral patterns. These patterns resemble the floral quilting found in the women's quilted petticoats in the collection. No name is attributed to the bonnet, but in its current file it is indicated that it might be Monmouth County in origin.

Finally, the child's dressing gown is very similarly designed like the men's dressing gown. The dressing gown is attributed to between 1785 and 1805 and has the same button-down closure that the adult size has. It also is made with printed cotton, although the design is a more traditional floral print. Unlike the adult dressing gown, the child's size has a small waistcoat sewn on the interior with a button closure. It is possible that the waistcoat was included to encourage additional good posture, even in a less formal environment. According to the Hartshorne records, this dressing gown was worn by Charles Hendrickson.

Is the Collection Representative of Monmouth County and New Jersey?

In determining what makes a representative collection, two conditions must be set. First, in order for a piece to be considered representative for the MCHA it must be either from Monmouth County or New Jersey at large. Two percentages will be taken to assess how representative the collection is, the first indicating how representative it is for Monmouth County, the second for New Jersey. Because original Monmouth County fashion might be harder to acquire at this stage, including New Jersey as a whole allows the MCHA

to broaden their collection in scope while still reflecting its history as a mid-Atlantic farming colony.

Second, unless a piece is definitively identified as not Monmouth County or New Jersey in origin, if it strongly resembles pieces that are known to be from those areas or represents trends documented in New Jersey's history, it can also be considered representative. If a piece is similar to fashions commonly worn in Monmouth County in material and design, it would be considered representative. These pieces are still significant to the collection, but will not represent the area as strongly as the pieces with known provenance.

Calculating the representative percentage of the MCHA's eighteenth-century clothing collection is taken by putting the number of "representative" pieces over the total number of pieces included in the survey, which is seventy in all. The percentages calculated and how each piece fits into their category is shown in Table 1.4 in the appendix. The final representative percentage calculated would then compared to the final non-representative percentage in order to assess how the MCHA's collection stands now and what recommendations should be made for the future.

The information in the accession files of the collection confirm that twenty-two of the seventy textile pieces included in the collections analysis were owned by individuals and families living in Monmouth County in the eighteenth century. Therefore, about thirty-one percent of the collection definitely represents the area through known Monmouth County families. Fourteen pieces are listed as "possible Monmouth County" in origin in their accession files. Further research would have to be conducted into their provenance but for the time being, they would be considered representative. It is assumed that additional

provenance that definitively places the pieces in Monmouth County has been misplaced, but that there is sufficient cause to consider them local clothing. Research on trade patterns and merchant-consumer connections in New York City and Philadelphia indicate that five other items in the collection are likely to be Monmouth County pieces as well. One apron is probably French in origin, according to its accession file (867 [35]). But, it easily could have been seen in Monmouth County, due to its simpler appearance and the availability of trade. Including these five pieces, the representative percentage for Monmouth County is fifty-four percent. Thus, over half of the eighteenth-century fashion presently in the MCHA collection is Monmouth County in origin. The collection is strongly representative of the local area in the eighteenth century.

Expanding the reach of representation to all of New Jersey allows for the MCHA's collection to become larger, in effect. A collection representative of New Jersey as a colony and state would begin with the part of collection already determined as Monmouth County in origin. One of the quilted petticoats in the collection has a name attached to it that is not from Monmouth County, but is from New Jersey in the eighteenth century (1694 [41]). The court coat that is incredibly elaborate and French in make would have been out of place in the rural Monmouth County setting, even if trade could have gotten it to the area (1576a [41]). But, the piece could have been bought by a wealthier resident of New Jersey in the eighteenth century who had formal occasions to attend. The thirty-eight Monmouth County pieces added with the two New Jersey pieces make up fifty-eight percent of the current eighteenth-century costume collection.

About forty percent of the collection has no provenance that places the object in Monmouth County or New Jersey in the eighteenth century. But, these twenty-eight pieces

fit the appropriate styles of the period and community. They are mostly undergarments and accessories but all could have potentially been used in Monmouth County or New Jersey. The materials used in these objects could have easily come through the New York or Philadelphia ports and some of the pieces are identical to known pieces. Therefore, although these are not recognized as from the area, they are still representative of local fashion.

Out of the seventy piece collection, only one is definitively not from Monmouth County or New Jersey (1982.9.1). The piece is a shift that was owned by Polly Bingham of Mansfield, Connecticut. It is worth noting that it easily could have been a shift worn in the area at the time. It is similar in construction and material to the other shift in the collection, which is a known Monmouth County piece. They even both have the initials of the owner stitched in at the cut of the neck. The only thing keeping this piece from being representative is the fact that it was originally from Connecticut.

As a whole, the MCHA's textile collection is already very strongly representative of Monmouth County and New Jersey in the eighteenth century. The pieces give one the sense of what members of the small farming communities in the county and the colony were wearing at the time. Over fifty percent of the collection is representative of clothing worn by families in Monmouth County. Most of the remaining collection may not have the provenance to go with it, but the styles and material typify what one would be able to wear in an eighteenth-century farming community.

Collection Recommendations

After assessing the MCHA's eighteenth-century costumes, recommendations for the museum on how to expand upon its current collection must be made. Of the seventy pieces

in the surveyed collection, twenty-two of them have names of known individuals and families who were living in Monmouth County at the time. As such, those pieces represent the fashion of the area in eighteenth-century and should remain in the MCHA's collection. According the accession paperwork, fourteen of the pieces in the collection are labeled as "probably Monmouth County" in origin, but do not have a name attached to the individual piece to confirm its status. Some of these pieces are probably attributed to Monmouth County because they were donated by families like the Hartshornes, who had donated other pieces definitely from old families and are themselves longstanding residents. These pieces might have had provenance once, but it has been lost over time. Still, these pieces should remain in the collection. Five pieces in the collection reflect trade in the area in the eighteenth century, both locally with New York and Philadelphia, and abroad with France and China. As such, they should remain in the collection to illustrate the broader reach of Monmouth County. One of the quilted petticoats is not specifically from Monmouth County, but is still representative of the colony and thus should be in the MCHA's possession (1694 [41]). The court coat from France should also remain in the collection as it reflects New Jersey's ability to obtain foreign goods through trade at the end of the century (1576a [41]).

The twenty-eight pieces in the MCHA's collection that do not have any provenance attached to them but indicate an origin in Monmouth County or New Jersey should stay in the collection, for now. It is likely that these pieces initially had more information about their origins and donators in their accession files, but those records have since been misplaced. The MCHA should work on obtaining pieces similar to these that have known origins in the area to augment the collection and better illustrate exactly what was worn in eighteenth-century New Jersey.

One shift is definitely attributed to an owner in Mansfield, Connecticut and thus is not representative of Monmouth County's eighteenth-century fashion (1982.9.1). The MCHA already has an eighteenth-century shift that is a known Monmouth County piece and similar in make to the one from Connecticut. The shift from Connecticut should be deaccessioned.

Jean Pinelli's 1981 survey of the collection made the recommendation of accessioning more pieces from the first half of the 1700s. The bulk of the eighteenth-century clothing in the MCHA's possession is dated to post-1750, so that recommendation still stands. The MCHA collection has a few significant outerwear pieces, but is largely made up of undergarments and accessories. The MCHA only has two eighteenth-century gowns, the Quaker round gown, and Betty Hartshorne's shortgown (2097a [46] and 850 [35]). Women's fashion and gowns in the eighteenth century were incredibly varied, and that array is not reflected in the MCHA's current state, where the body of the women's collection is undergarments. Accessioning more women's outerwear would create a more balanced collection. The current collection of children's clothing is limited to only a few pieces. It, too, could also be built upon and expanded. The men's collection has a better ratio of undergarments and outer wear. The men's fashion is the best developed but could be expanded upon even further. Having a variety of pieces and similar types of clothing would allow the MCHA to display and discuss the subtle differences in styles of the period.

Due to the nature of textiles and how well they survive, it becomes more difficult to find well-preserved pieces the further back one wishes to collect. Most textile collections start in the seventeenth century and do not have earlier pieces. Colonial Williamsburg's eighteenth-century fashion collection only dates back to 1730 (Baumgarten 1986, 7). The Fashion Museum in Bath, England has pieces from 1600, but does not reach even further

back into the sixteenth century, while the Victoria and Albert collection in London has nothing earlier than the seventeenth century (Fashion Museum website, V&A website). Added difficulties would be found in trying to keep the collection exclusively representative of Monmouth County and New Jersey. Therefore, when possible, the MCHA should accession textile pieces dating from 1700 to 1750, as best they can, given that fewer of them survive.

Conclusion

The current clothing collection strongly represents the foundations of dress in Monmouth County for the latter half of the eighteenth century. Although the collection has many basic and accessory pieces of local eighteenth-century fashion, it still can be expanded upon. The women's outwear collection is limited and if possible, more gowns could be obtained. The children's collection is small, and could use a variety of additions to it as well. The men's collection could simply be expanded upon by gathering similar pieces to what is already there, in order to create variety. For the scale of the MCHA, its eighteenth-century fashion collection strongly reflects what was worn and what was available to those in Monmouth County and New Jersey at the time. Research on the collection and its associated paperwork, as well as secondary historical sources, has yielded the conclusion that the seventy-piece collection is representative of the area. The fashion styles fit both what was popular at the time and what a community of small-scale farmers would have worn. The materials used to create the pieces were accessible to the colonists via trade with England, Europe at large, and as far away as China. Many of the pieces not only fit these requirements, but also are pieces of known local families, many of them prominent citizens

in Monmouth County and New Jersey history. Having a family name to go with a piece allows for the MCHA to present a richer history of the individual pieces of fashion. This information gives the visitor to the museum, when the piece is on display, a way of connecting with an individual and the past more easily. The MCHA strives to present the history of Monmouth County and New Jersey at large, and the foundation of what is currently in the eighteenth-century costume collection does just that.

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Appendix A: Tables

Table 1.1

18th c. collection 1981			
Women's	**Men's**	**Child's**	
1 bonnet 3 busks 3 calashes 3 caps 2 capes 7 handkerchiefs 4 pocketbooks 1 pr pockets 3 quilted petticoats 1 reticule 1 round gown 1 shift 4 prs shoes 1 shortgown 2 spencers 2 prs stays	4 prs breeches 2 capes 1 coat 2 pocketbooks 1 shirt 1 pr stockings 3 waistcoats	1 apron	
Total: 39	**Total: 14**	**Total: 1**	**Overall: 54**

Table 1.2

18th c. collection 2010			
Women's	**Men's**	**Child's**	
2 aprons 1 bonnet 4 calashes 3 caps 3 capes 3 busks 1 pr stays 1 pr panniers 4 quilted petticoats 1 pr pockets 1 round gown 2 shifts 3 prs shoes 1 shortgown	5 prs breeches 1 cape 1 coat 1 dressing gowns 1 pr pants 4 shirts 2 prs stockings 4 waistcoats 11 pocketbooks	1 bonnet 1 pr stays 1 diaper 1 dressing gown 6 undershirts	
Total: 30	**Total: 30**	**Total: 10**	**Overall: 70**

Table 1.3: The Collection

Accession number	Textile	Material	Date	Provenance
T74.156	woman's shift	linen	1790-1795	Mary Lloyd Hendrickson, MC
1982.9.1	woman's shift	linen	late 18th century	Polly Bingham, Mansfield, CT
T74.135	woman's stays	linen, metal boning	1780-1790	
549 [34] ABC	busks (x3)	carved wood	late 18th century	
1988.619	pannier	linen, wicker	late 18th century	
568 [34] AB	pair of pockets	linen, cotton twill	1770-1790	
1210 [38]	quilted petticoat	silk	1745-1775	
1694 [41]	quilted petticoat	silk	late 18th century	Elizabeth T. Williams Wooley, Poplar, NJ
2097b [46]	quilted petticoat	silk	1770-1800	Quaker, possible Philadelphia or NJ
T76.63	quilted petticoat	silk	1745-1760	
2097a [46]	round gown	silk	1790-1800	Quaker, possible Philadelphia or NJ
860 [35]	shortgown	printed cotton	late 18th century	Betty Hartshorne, MC
867 [35]	apron	cotton gauze	late 18th century	possible French
1980.19.10	apron	cotton	1775-1800	
1993.506 ab	pair of shoes	silk brocade	1790	
1993.511 ab	pair of shoes	silk, wood	1750	
1993.513	single shoe	silk, linen	1760	New York City
611 [34]	cap	linen	1780-1795	
1988.689	cap	woven cotton	late 18th/early 19th century	
1998.513	cap	linen, cotton	late 18th/early 19th century	Mary Conover, MC
381 [33]	calash	silk, wicker	1770-1790	Lawrence family, MC
699 [34]	calash	silk, wicker	1770-1790	
T76.18	calash	silk, wicker	1770-1790	possible Monmouth County

1980.14.1	calash	silk, wicker	1770-1790	Throckmorton family, MC
2097.4 [46]	woman's bonnet	silk buckram	late 18th century	Quaker, possible Philadelphia or NJ
3356 [50]	woman's cloak	wool, silk	1750-1790	
T77.10	woman's cloak	wool	1760-1790	Dey family, MC
1998.578	woman's cloak	wool	1760-1790	Moyka Longstreet Reid, MC
2077A [45]	man's shirt	linen, batiste	late 18th/early 19th century	Taylor family, MC
2077B [45]	man's shirt	muslin, batiste	late 18th/early 19th century	Taylor family, MC
1993.503	man's shirt	linen	late 18th century	possible Monmouth County
1993.504	man's shirt	linen	late 18th century	possible Monmouth County
832 [35]	breeches	satin	1793	John Hendrickson, MC
833 [35]	breeches	linen	1790-1800	possible Monmouth County
1439 [40]	breeches	linen	late 18th century	
T76.93	breeches	silk	1790	Richard Henderson, MC
1998.69	breeches	linen	late 18th century	possible Monmouth County
1246 [38] AB	stockings	linen, cotton	1782	James Dorsett, MC
1999.539 AB	stockings	linen	late 18th/early 19th century	possible Monmouth County
1060 [35]	trousers	linen	late 18th/early 19th century	Taylor family, MC
489 [33]	waistcoat	silk	mid-18th century	possible Monmouth County
1977.10.1	waistcoat	twill cotton	1790-1800	John Grant, MC
1977.10.2	waistcoat	twill cotton	1790-1800	John Grant, MC
[nn]	waistcoat	silk	late 18th century	possible Monmouth County
1576a [41]	court coat	wool, bullion	1790-1800	possible French
1980.14.86	man's dressing gown	glazed cotton	1790-1820	Throckmorton family, MC
1999.572	man's cloak	linen, wool, velvet	1780-1790	James Reid, MC
301 [33]	pocketbook	linen	1774	Mary and Abbie Polhemus, MC

304 [33]	pocketbook		1785	Hanah Crawford, MC
857 [35]	pocketbook	silk	1750-1780	possible Monmouth County
1733 [42]	pocketbook	linen	late 18th century	
1829 [43]	pocketbook	silk, satin	1773	James Hamilton
1975.21.2	pocketbook		1740-1790	
1993.7.14	pocketbook	wool	late 18th century	
1995.521	pocketbook	linen	1740-1790	
1995.522	pocketbook	linen	1774	Isaac Coats
1995.523	pocketbook	linen	1793	M.G.
1995.524	pocketbook	velvet	late 18th century	
887 [35]	infant's undershirt	linen	1790-1820	
1978.7.3	infant's undershirt	linen	late 18th century	Smock family, MC
1988.683	infant's undershirt	linen	1780-1800	
2003.521.1	infant's undershirt		late 18th/early 19th century	possible Monmouth County
2003.521.2	infant's undershirt		late 18th/early 19th century	possible Monmouth County
2003.521.3	infant's undershirt		late 18th/early 19th century	possible Monmouth County
1998.512	infant's diaper	pique cotton	late 18th/early 19th century	
864 [35]	girl's stays	tanna twill, iron band	1780-1790	Mary Hendrickson, MC
1545 [41]	girl's bonnet	silk	1790-1820	possible Monmouth County
863 [35]	boy's dressing gown	cotton, linen	1785-1805	Charles Hendrickson, MC

Table 1.4: Representative Percentages

Monmouth County pieces			
Names attached	*"Possible Monmouth County"*	*Monmouth County via trade*	
T74.156 860 [35] 1998.513 381 [33] 1980.14.1 T77.10 1998.578 2077A [45] 2077B [45] 832 [35] T76.93 1246 [38] 1060 [35] 1977.10.1 1977.10.2 1980.14.86 1999.572 301 [33] 304 [33] 1978.7.3 864 [35] 863 [35]	T76.18 833 [35] 1993.503 1993.504 1999.539 AB 489 [33] [nn] 857 [35] 1545 [41] 2003.521.1 2003.521.2 2003.521.3	867 [35] 2097.4 [46] 2097b [46] 2097a [46] 1993.513	
TOTAL: 22	**TOTAL: 14**	**TOTAL: 5**	**TOTAL: 38, 54%**

New Jersey pieces (MC+)			
Names attached		*New Jersey via trade*	
1694 [41]		1576a [41]	
TOTAL: 1		**TOTAL: 1**	**TOTAL: 40, 58%**

Pieces without provenance
T74.135 549 [34] ABC 1988.619 568 [34] AB

1210 [38] T76.63 1980.19.10 1993.506 ab 1993.511 ab 611 [34] 1988.689 699 [34] 3356 [50] 1439 [40] 1998.69 1733 [42] 1829 [43] 1975.21.2 1993.7.14 1995.521 1995.522 1995.523 1995.524 887 [35] 1988.683 1998.512
TOTAL: 28, 40%

Non-MC or NJ
1982.9.1
TOTAL: 1, 2%

Appendix B: Images

Figure 2.1: John Collet, *Tight Lacing, or Fashion Before Ease*, ca. 1770-1775, Colonial Williamsburg Collection

Figure 2.2: New Jersey, with Monmouth County's original border, 1795, West Jersey History Project

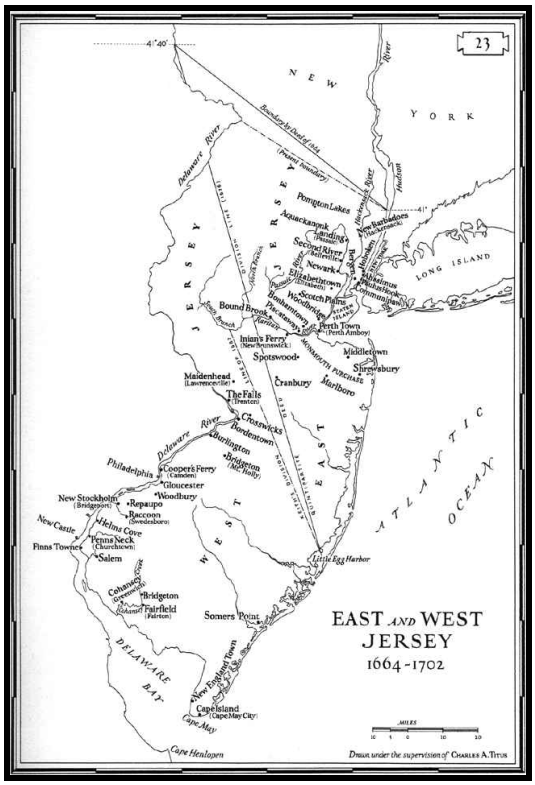

Figure 2.3: East and West Jersey, West Jersey History Project

Figure 2.4: J.A.D. Ingres, *Hippolyte-Francois Devillers*, 1811 E.G. Bührle Collection

Figure 2.5: Unknown artist, *Betty Hartshorne*, 1845, Monmouth County Historical Association, photograph by Morgan Glossbrenner

Appendix C: The Collection

T74.156

1982.9.1

T74.135

549 [34]

AB1988.619

568 [34] AB

1210 [38]

1694 [41]

2097b [46]

T76.63 2097a [46] 860 [35]

867 [35] 1980.19.10 1993.506 ab

1993.511 ab 1993.513 611 [34]

1988.689 1998.513 381 [33]

699 [14] T76.18 1980.14.1

2097.4 [46] 3356 [30] T77.10



1998.578 2077A [45] 2077B [45]



1993.503 1993.504 832 [35]



833 [35] 1439 [40] T76.93

1998.69 1246 [38] AB 1999.539 AB

1060 [35] 489 [33] 1977.10.1

1977.10.2 [nn] 1576a [41]

1980.14.86

1999.572

301 [33]

304 [33]

857 [35]

1733 [42]

1829 [43]

1975.21.2

1993.7.14

1995.521 1995.522 1995.523

1995.524 887 [35] 1978.7.3

1988.683 2003.521.1-3 1998.512

864 [35] 1545 [41] 863 [35]

Photographs by Morgan Glossbrenner.

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Cover Image:

Henry Singleton, *The Ale-House Door*, 1790, Victoria and Albert Museum.