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# A Guide to Spurs of Maryland and Delaware ca. 1635–1820

Sara Rivers-Cofield

*This paper discusses research conducted on an assemblage of colonial spurs from Maryland and Delaware. The author has conducted this research for the purpose of adding the artifact category to the “Small Finds” section of the “Diagnostic Artifacts in Maryland” webpage<sup>1</sup>. Identification and dating of spurs will be discussed, as will the value and meaning of spurs to the individuals who wore them. Spurs are not simply functional objects associated with horsemanship, they also represent items of personal adornment that can offer insight into status marking and boot styles worn in different time periods. This research draws from probate inventories, paintings, and other primary historical documents to create web content for archaeologists who are looking for accessible, reputable information on occasionally discovered small finds for which source material is scarce.*

*Cet article présente une recherche menée sur un assemblage d'éperons de l'époque coloniale provenant du Maryland et du Delaware. L'auteur a mené cette recherche dans le but d'ajouter cette catégorie d'artefacts à la section “Small Finds” de la page web du “Diagnostic Artifacts in Maryland”<sup>1</sup>. L'identification et la datation des éperons sont abordées, ainsi que la valeur et la signification des éperons pour ceux qui les portaient. Les éperons ne sont pas seulement des objets fonctionnels associés à l'équitation; ils sont également des parures personnelles qui offrent un aperçu du statut et du style de bottes portées à différentes époques. Cette recherche s'inspire des inventaires après-décès, des peintures et d'autres documents historiques primaires pour créer du contenu web pour les archéologues qui cherchent des renseignements accessibles et fiables sur des menus objets trouvés occasionnellement, mais pour lesquels peu de sources existent.*

## Introduction

When Europeans began permanent settlements along the Atlantic seaboard of North America, the use of horses for transportation, agriculture, and labor had long been established in European culture. The equipment associated with horsemanship was diverse, and spurs were one component of this horse-related material culture. Initially developed as one of many means of controlling a horse, spurs are essentially a tool attached to a rider's heel that has some kind of point, usually made of metal, enabling the rider to prick the horse's haunches. Bits, bridles, reins, leg pressure, and sound prompts were also used to signal a rider's wishes, but the expert use of the legs and heels to communicate with the mount allowed riders more freedom to use their hands in battle. Depending on the level of severity needed, riders could squeeze their legs to apply pressure to the horse's sides, tap the horse with the stirrups, give a delicate prick with a spur, or use a more forceful and sharp application of the spur (Chenevix-Trench 1970: 115). The spur was considered both an effective way to spark a horse to action and a means of corporal punishment for misbehavior (Cavendish 1740: 160–165).

While the spur may owe its invention and original function to equestrianism, it could be worn when not engaged in riding and was as much subject to the rules of fashion as it was to the predominant cultural attitudes on horsemanship. When English colonies took hold on the Atlantic coast, for example, spurs were a popular accessory regardless of whether the person who donned them ever rode a horse, so the use of spurs as non-utilitarian artifacts of personal adornment must also be considered. This paper examines an assemblage of colonial spurs recovered in Maryland and Delaware in the context of changing 17th- and 18th-century fashions. All the author's research into this subject has been conducted for the purpose of assembling a “Spur” category for the small finds section of the “Diagnostic Artifacts in Maryland” webpage<sup>1</sup> (Rivers-Cofield 2011).

## Research Methods

An assemblage of 51 spurs recovered from 21 archaeological sites in Maryland and 1 site in Delaware was examined for this paper (APPENDIX 1: TAB. 1). Although Delaware seems underrepresented, it is not for lack of access to

1. Diagnostic Artifacts in Maryland <<http://www.jefpat.org/diagnostic/SmallFinds/index-SmallFinds.html>>.



Figure 1. This early 14th-century prick spur could cause a significant stab wound in a horse's flanks if used with too much force. (©Trustees of the British Museum.)

collections; there are simply fewer colonial assemblages available for study in Delaware, and so far only one terrestrial site has yielded spurs. Most of the spurs included in this study ( $n=27$ ) are curated by the Maryland Archaeological Conservation Laboratory in St. Leonard, Maryland, but several other institutions allowed access to their collections so the assemblage studied could be expanded. These partners include the Anne Arundel County Lost Towns Project ( $n=1$ ), the Archaeological Society of Delaware ( $n=2$ ), Historic St. Mary's City ( $n=20$ ), and the Archaeology Lab of the Prince George's County Maryland National-Capital Park and Planning Commission ( $n=1$ ). Stylistic trends were evident in the assemblage, indicating that changes in spurs occurred over time and were worth further study to assess their diagnostic potential.

The author reviewed secondary sources on the history of spurs and horsemanship in general in order to determine whether reputable information exists that archaeologists can use as a basis for identification and analysis. Most of the secondary sources suffer from shortcomings, however, in that they either fail to provide adequate substantiation of factual claims (de Lacy Lacy 1911; Crouch 1998), or they focus on a time period that is not part of this study (Ellis 1995). Primary historical documents and period artwork were therefore consulted to ensure the accuracy of the spur chronology and social history presented here. In addition to traditional primary sources, such as 18th-century newspapers and encyclopedias, the increased accessibility of museum collections via the web has greatly enhanced this research.

Institutions such as the British Museum, the Victoria and Albert Museum, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art have extensive online collections databases that enable users to see surviving examples of spurs. Museum collections can be biased, however, since typically only the finest spurs find their way to collections in prestigious museums. Similarly, paintings, prints, and drawings of individuals wearing spurs disproportionately represent high-end spurs. The bias represented in museum collections and art correlates with the value of individual spurs more than it does the upper class, because even wealthy individuals probably wore lower-end utilitarian spurs for mundane tasks or everyday riding. Most spurs represented in museums probably belonged to wealthier individuals, however. By contrast, archaeological collections generally represent common everyday spurs that were discarded as they broke, and these are rarely attributable to any one social class. As discussed in more detail below, the biggest difference between high-end and common spurs is the metal content, while form and function were somewhat uniform across social boundaries. Museum pieces and archaeological data therefore complement each other nicely and allow for a broader understanding of all spurs that were available to consumers from ca. 1635–1820.

### **Spur Forms and Terminology**

The first and simplest spur forms are commonly known as prick spurs (FIG. 1), and they consist of some form of sharp point attached to the rider's heel (de Lacy Lacy 1911; Ellis 1995). Prick spurs had been in use in Europe by the time the Greek horseman Xenophon, who died ca. 354 B.C., wrote *On Horsemanship*, which is often cited as one of the first written records of horsemanship in the Western world (Chenvix-Trench 1970: 24). This style of spur was introduced in England either during the Roman occupation (Ellis 1995: 126) or by Vikings (Granscay 1955; Museum of London 1993). Prick spurs went out of style for riding by A.D. 1400 because they could cause a significant stab wound if applied with too much pressure, though the prick spur sometimes appeared on ceremonial spurs in the following centuries (de Lacy Lacy 1911; Ellis 1995; Granscay 1955).

The style of spur that replaced the prick spur was the rowel spur. A rowel is a star or

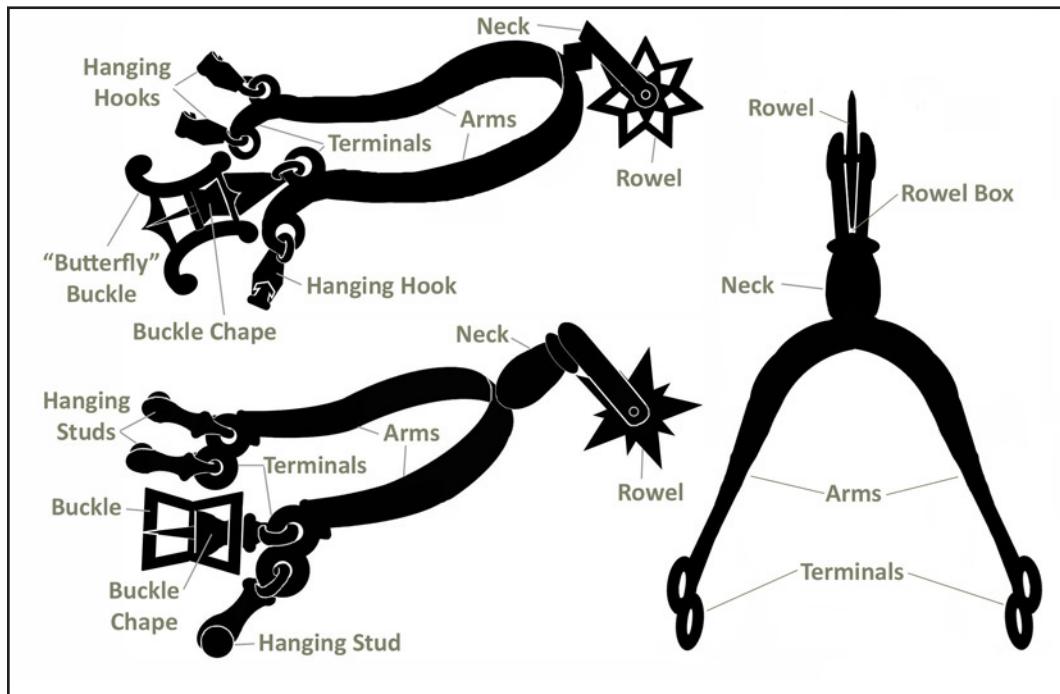


Figure 2. This diagram illustrates the elements of spurs representative of the period ca. 1600–1660. (From Rivers-Cofield 2011.)

disk-shaped metal attachment with a hole at the center that was placed at the end of the spur's neck. Period authors such as Denis Diderot noted that movable points that could turn on an axis were less cruel than fixed points stabbing into the animal (Diderot and Alembert 1751–1765: 765–768). In the 1660s, William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle, advised that rowels be employed as follows:

The Rowels should contain six Points, for that hits the Horse best, five Points are too few: And the Rowels should be as sharp as possible can be; for it is much better to let him bleed freely, than with dull spurs to raise knobs and bunches on his Side, which might give him the Farsy; but bleeding can do him no hurt when dull spurs may: Besides, there is nothing doth a Horse so much good, as to make him smart, when you correct him: There is, therefore, nothing like sharp Spurs... [Cavendish 1740: 159–160]

Cavendish (1740) also advocated milder applications of rowel spurs, such as pinching or lightly touching the horse's flanks to communicate the rider's intent. Ideally, once the horse had been trained to recognize pressure from the

spur and fear the pain that could follow, these subtle applications would be sufficient to achieve the desired effect.

Spurs recovered from colonial-period archaeological contexts in Maryland and Delaware are likely to be rowel spurs made in the English style. Spurs in colonial Maryland were typically imported from England or made by local jewelers in English styles. While English spurs could be very elaborate and decorative, particularly in the mid 17th century, they tended to have limited decoration after the late 17th century. By contrast, spurs of the Spanish colonies reflected a fusion with Arabian decorative traditions for horse equipage. The Arab-Spanish motifs were adopted in Mexico and the American Southwest, eventually morphing into America's "Western cowboy"-style hardware (Emerson 2003). By the 1830s, the U.S. was manufacturing its own spurs in both English and western styles to satisfy American consumers (C.M. Moseman and Brother 1987; Emerson 2003).

English rowel spurs have seven main parts: rowel, neck, rowel box, sides or arms,

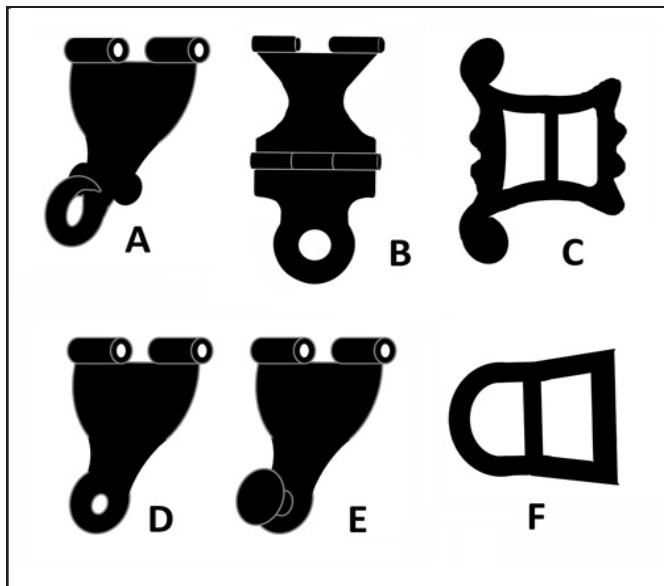


Figure 3: Spur buckle identification requires a looped chape (A), a hinged chape with an opening for a stationary stud (B), or the distinctive butterfly shape characteristic of 17th-century spurs (C). Studded buckle shapes (E) might be mistaken for spur buckles, particularly if the stud is missing (D), but these could be used on any number of leather straps. It is also tempting to identify other asymmetric buckles (F) as spur buckles, but these buckles were not exclusively for spurs. (Figure by the author.)

terminals, studs, and buckle (FIG. 2). Each element of the spur changes over time and can be used for diagnostic purposes. Familiarity with the parts of the spur should be all that one needs for identification, though spur buckles may present a special challenge. Certain asymmetrical butterfly-shaped buckles that were popular in the 17th century can generally be considered spur buckles (FIG. 3c), but other symmetric or plain asymmetric buckles may have been used on various garters, belts, straps, or horse tack (FIG. 3f). Size is not particularly diagnostic because spurs and spur buckles might have been made for various kinds of footwear worn by men, women, and children, and the difference in proportion is considerable depending on the type of footwear and the size of the foot. The best indicator of a spur buckle is the chape, which is the portion of the buckle that attached it to the spur arm. A spur-buckle chape will either have a looped end or a joint and wide circular opening for attachment to a stud (FIG. 3a and b).

Buckle shapes with built-in studs or small holes that once held built-in studs were not attached to spurs, though it is possible that they attached to leather straps that passed through grill-style spurs (FIG. 3d and e).

Other identification difficulties may arise when one finds similar artifacts that may be misidentified as spurs. Many metal artifacts might have a U-shape with a protrusion at the base of the U (e.g. musket rests, oar rests, stands for navigational instruments that need to be able to rotate to stay level, etc.). X-rays can be incredibly helpful in such cases since they may reveal terminal details or a rowel box that is obscured by corrosion. Additionally, x-rays can document spur elements that may have completely succumbed to corrosion. In one example from the Smith's St. Leonard site in Calvert County, Maryland, the outline of hooked studs can be seen in the x-ray, though there was no core metal left and there is no trace of the hooks after conservation treatment (FIG. 4).

## Chronology

As might be expected, the shape of a spur is intimately related to the type of footwear on which it is placed. Usually spurs are worn with boots, so their use and shape are tied to trends in boot styles. Of course, there are always exceptions. For example, some spurs of the mid-17th century were made to clip on the back of a shoe (de Lacy Lacy 1911: 64). Such styles are not typical of archaeologically-recovered spurs; most spurs were worn with boots and separate spur leathers or straps, and the chronology offered here follows this dominant trend of the 17th and 18th centuries. A summary of changes in spurs over time is included in Table 2, while the social and historical context for these changes is offered in the following text (APPENDIX 2: TAB. 2).

## Boots and Spurs ca. 1600–1670

In the first half of the 17th century, boots were common everyday wear for English men, regardless of horse ownership or one's intention to ride (Bradfield 1938; Fairholt 1885: 75). The disassociation of horse and spur may have resulted from the fashions of aspiring individuals who wanted to give the impression that they were wealthy enough to own a horse. At the turn of the 17th century, one comedian mocked the phenomenon of men who wore boots without riding and noted that "many thinkes they haue Horse and credite to" (Singer 1600: G1). The dominance of boots for walking as well as riding persisted throughout the reign of Charles I. As a small child, Charles I had suffered from an illness, possibly rickets, that slowed his growth and prevented him from walking. His father wanted to put him in iron boots to improve his joints, but his caregiver opposed this and instead obtained boots made of Spanish leather with hidden brass framing to assist the child's motor skills (Gregg 1984: 11). Although Charles outgrew his illness and became quite athletic before assuming the throne, his early dependence on boots may

have influenced the popularity of fine leather boots for daily wear.

The boots of the early 17th century were soft, and draped wrinkles were stylish indicators of fine leather (Fairholt 1885: 76; Bradfield 1938: 86). Soft leather allowed spurs to be worn tight around the ankle. While the spur's neck rested above the heel bone near the Achilles tendon, the arms curved down around the contours of the ankle. Spur leathers of the period usually consisted of a strap that passed under the arch and a wide instep cover in the shape of a butterfly, each of which attached to spur studs (FIG. 5A) (Alcock and Cox 2000). Finer boots might be worn with a galosh or undershoe to protect them from the elements (FIG. 6) (Van Dyck 1638 in Ribiero 2005: 101, 124). Boot garters were worn to keep the soft boots up at the calf, while the tops were folded down to reveal boot-hose, which protected stockings from wearing against leather boots and added decoration where they fell over folded boot tops (Fairholt 1885: 77; Bradfield 1938: 86; Ribiero 2005: 103; Victoria and Albert Museum 2010). Spurs were an integral part of the overall look, and the more decoration, the better (Fosbroke 1825: 328; de Lacy Lacy 1911: 52; Gorsline 1952: 66).

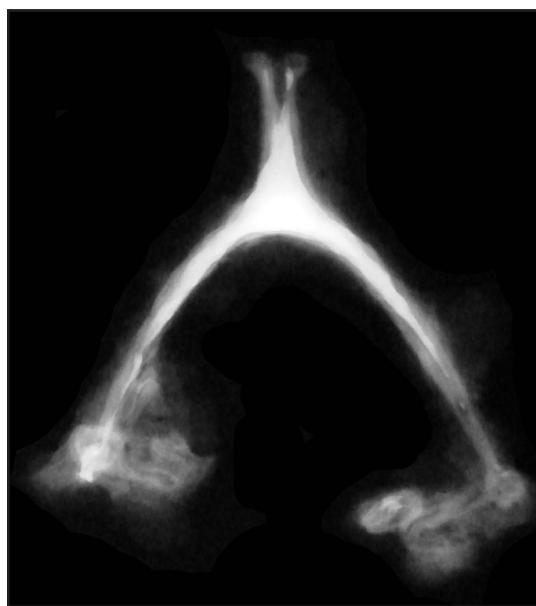


Figure 4: A spur from an unplowed midden at the Smith's St. Leonard (18CV91) Plantation's stable once had hanging hooks for attachment to spur leathers. These can be seen on an x-ray of the spur. In the x-ray, brighter areas have more surviving metal while cloudy areas indicate severe corrosion. The hooks were so deteriorated that they could not be saved by conservators. (Artifact courtesy of Maryland Archaeological Conservation Laboratory. Photographs by Caitlin Shaffer.)

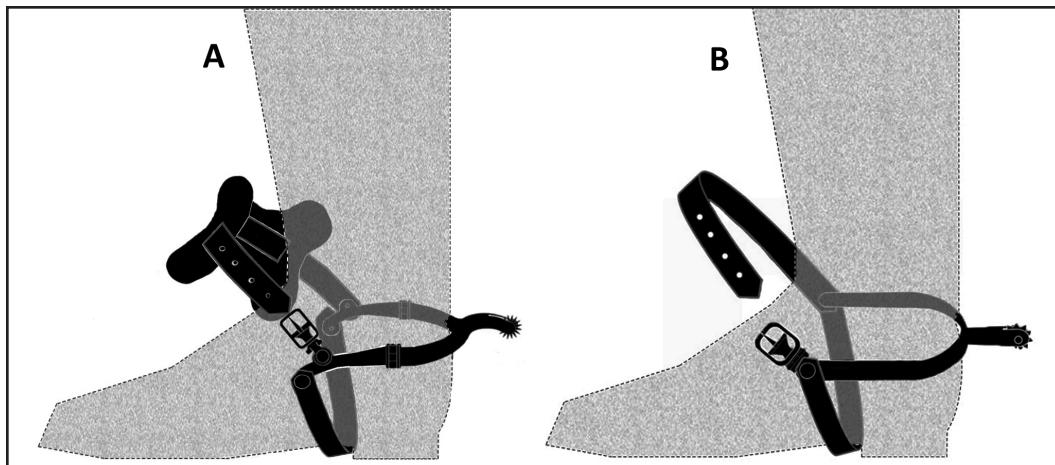


Figure 5: Diagram showing how spur leathers attach to spurs with two studs (A) versus one stud (B). (Figure by the author.)

True dandies might even step out in elaborate spurs with jingle attachments or built-in spring mechanisms that made noise to draw attention (de Lacy Lacy 191; Granscay 1955: 115; Ribiero 2005: 183).

When the boots were actually employed in riding, the tops could be pulled up to protect legs, hose, and even the lower breeches from wear. At the beginning of the 17th century boot tops were relatively narrow, but as mid-century approached the leather became stiffer and tops widened (Bradfield 1938: 86, 95). Wider boot tops sparked a concern amongst some that the popular style was wasteful (Felt 1853: 89; Earle 1903). In 1629, a petition was made in Parliament to restrict the manufacture of the great boots. It reads:

The wearing of Boots is not the Abuse; but the generality of wearing and the manner of cutting Boots out with huge slovenly unmanly immoderately tops. What over lavish spending is there in Boots and Shoes. To either which is now added a French proud Superfluity of Leather. ...For the general Walking in Boots it is Pride taken up by the Courtier and is descended to the Clown. The Merchant and Mechanic walk in Boots. Many of our Clergy either in neat Boots or Shoes and Galloshoes. University Scholars maintain the Fashion likewise. Some Citizens out of a Scorn not to be Gentle go every day booted. Attorneys, Lawyers, Clerks, Serving Men, All Sorts of Men delight in this Wasteful Wantonness. ...One pair of boots eats of the leather of six reasonable pair of men's shoes (Quoted in Earle 1903: 377).

Despite the outcry of the few, large boot tops persisted for daily wear even throughout the period of Cromwell's reign in England, when Puritan values favored plainness and moderation (Earle 1903: 378; Gorsline 1952: 66; Redfern 2009: 85). Massachusetts passed a sumptuary law in 1651 ordering fines on any man worth less than £200 who wore great boots, and some men were even prosecuted, but this did not seem to affect the popularity of the style (Felt 1853: 89). Fanciful boot hose declined in popularity, but the large boot tops did not, and spurs were part of the package (Earle 1903: 378). It is difficult to find any 17th-century image of a booted man without spurs.

Among the English, the "superfluity of leather" was perceived as a French extravagance, and boots with excessively wide tops became known as "French falls" (Earle 1903: 377; McClellan 1969: 64). Charles II adopted many French fashions while in exile and brought them to England after the Restoration (Fairholt 1885: 78; Gorsline 1952: 67). The term "French fall" can also refer to a type of collar worn by women (*Oxford English Dictionary* 1991), but it appears frequently in Maryland probate inventories under listings of footwear. For example, the 1671 inventory of Robert Slye of St. Mary's County includes a typical division of footwear for the period when it lists "women's shoes," "children's shoes," "men's French falls shoes," and "men's" plain shoes' (Maryland State Archives 1671).



Figure 6: Abraham Bosse's etching *La Galerie du Palais* (*The Palace Gallery*), ca. 1637-1640, shows how men went out in boots and spurs even when shopping with their ladies. Two of the men wear galoshes to protect the soles of their boots from the elements (insets). (©Trustees of the British Museum.)

Spur styles of the early to mid-17th century reflect their role as an accessory for daily wear with the popular boot styles. Sides are curved to fit closely under and around ankle bones, which could be seen through soft leather boots. The most common terminals of the period have a figure-eight shape that is offset so that only the top hole actually contacts the spur's curved arm (FIG. 2, *bottom left*). Rowel necks frequently bend at a 90° angle (de Lacy Lacy 1911: 50-51). The rowels point down, not up, and they might be made of iron or finely cast brass. Rowels of this period are generally at least an inch in diameter and might well have been prone to catching on obstacles, such as ladies' skirts, had they not been protected by the umbrella of wide boot tops (FIG. 7).

Not surprisingly given this chronology, all the spurs with curved sides, angled rowel necks, and relatively large brass rowels that have been located so far in Maryland collections come from sites with early to mid-17th-century components: the Leonard Calvert House (18ST1-13), the St. Johns site (18ST1-23), and the Van Sweringen site (18ST1-19) at Historic St. Mary's City, Old Chapel Field in St. Inigoes

(18ST233), and Compton (18CV279) in southern Calvert County (FIG. 8). These spurs are the only ones in the overall assemblage to bear decoration: one of the St. Johns spurs has a decorative neck (FIG. 8F), a rowel from the Leonard Calvert House has engraving and a gold wash (FIG. 8c), and the Old Chapel Field example has a diamond-shaped stud and a decorated arm (FIG. 8G). The decoration on the Old Chapel Field spur includes punched circles along the edges and an engraved zigzag known as "wriggle work" along its center, which was particularly common for metal-work of the medieval period (Egan and Pritchard 1991: 28-31). Such decoration might be considered somewhat old fashioned by the time Maryland was settled, lending further support to the relatively early date of this example.

### Boots and Spurs ca. 1660-1780

English tastes in boots changed after the Restoration of Charles II. Perhaps it was the impracticality of walking in the incredibly wide French falls or the general preference for shoes in France, but for the most part men



Figure 7: This ca. 1682–1702 Romeyn De Hooghe etching, Plate 3 from *Figures a la mode (Fashionable Figures)*, illustrates how wide boot tops loomed over spurs to display decorative boot hose (inset). (©Trustees of the British Museum.)

turned to plain shoes for everyday wear (Fairholt 1885: 75). By the 1670s, boots were worn for riding or traveling only, and no longer flaunted a wrinkled look (Fairholt 1885: 77; Bradfield 1938: 97, 101). Boots could be incredibly stiff, and some got the nickname "jack-boots" because of their resemblance to hard leather mugs called jacks (Earle 1903: 379). They were not comfortable for walking, but they afforded more durability and protection for riders and soldiers.

In the 1680s, softer leather came into fashion again, but wrinkles did not, and extra efforts were made to prevent wrinkles. For example, one could employ a pair of *sashoons*, which Randle Holme (1701) describes in his *Academy of Armory* as "stuffed or quilted leather to be bound about the small of the leg, of such as have long heels, to thicken the leg that the boot may fit straight and be without wrinkles" (Alcock and Cox 2000: 3.1, 3). As an alternative, boots could be tightened on the leg with buckles or buttons (Bradfield 1938: 105). In this period, riders might also wear leather leggings with shoes and spurs, foreshadowing the use of gaiters. Wide spur leathers at the intersection of legging and shoe gave this hybrid arrangement the same look as a boot (Bradfield 1938: 109).

Along with straight unwrinkled boots came straight-sided spurs (FIG. 9). Spurs could no longer hug the ankle bones, so stiff leather boots were often fitted with spur rests to keep them from sliding down the heel (FIG. 10) (Fairholt 1885: 81; Redfern 2009: 85). The placement of the spur was generally

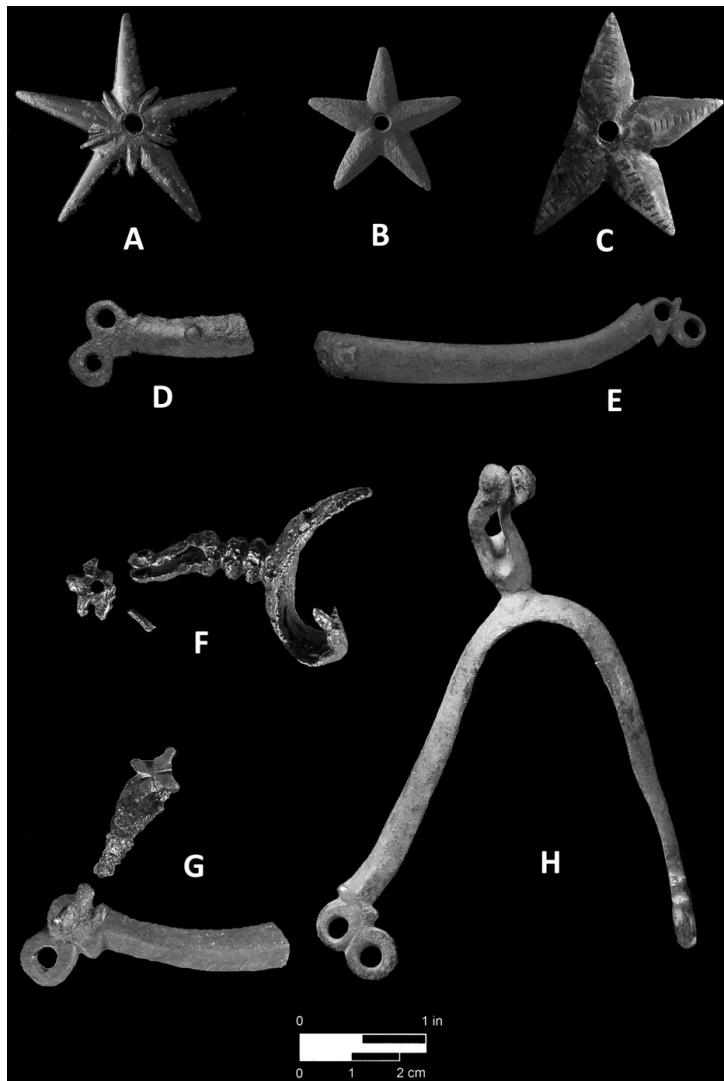


Figure 8: Early-mid 17th-century spur fragments and rowels recovered in Maryland. See Appendix 1: Table 1 for individual provenience information and date ranges. (Figure by Sara Rivers-Cofield with spurs A-F courtesy of Historic St. Mary's City (Photos by Donald L. Winter), spur G courtesy of the Naval District Washington, Naval Air Station Patuxent River and the Webster Field Annex (Photo by Caitlin Shaffer), and spur H courtesy of the Maryland Archaeological Conservation Laboratory (Photograph by Caitlin Shaffer).)

at about the area of the Achilles tendon, so these spurs could be quite narrow and have more of a V shape than a U shape. Additionally, the spurs were primarily a practical article rather than a fashion accessory, and decoration declined. Long, angled necks were abandoned in favor of shorter straight necks. Jingles disappeared altogether. Rowels

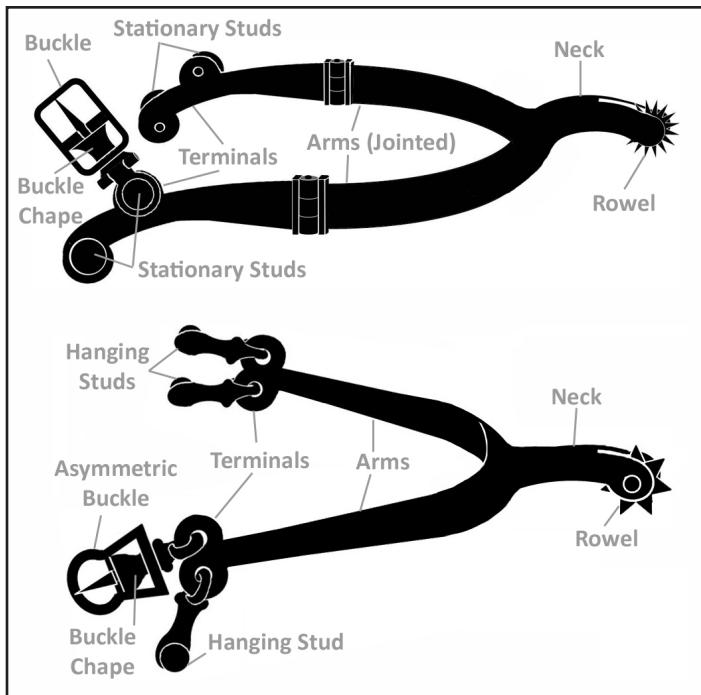


Figure 9: This diagram illustrates the elements of spurs representative of the period ca. 1650-1775. (From Rivers-Cofield 2011.)

shrank in size to less than an inch in diameter, and some barely protruded from the spur's neck. These rowels were also thinner and were generally iron instead of brass. Traditional figure-eight terminals continued, but the spur arms contact them at dead center instead of at an angle (FIG. 11). Many of the spurs in the assemblage from this date range are made of iron, with a thin figure-eight terminal, plain hanging studs, and a short neck of an inch or less (FIG. 12 D-I).

Some other styles also appeared in this period, however. Many spurs of the 17th and 18th centuries have an S-shaped terminal rather than a figure-eight (de Lacy Lacy 1911: 51), and these can be so thin that they are sometimes mistaken for brass plates from firearms (FIG. 13 D-E). Jointed spurs also appear in the late 17th century, which may have allowed more flexibility to accommodate stiff boots (FIG. 13 F-H). By the early 18th century, some of the spurs have stationary studs instead of hanging studs to attach buckles and spur leathers (FIG. 13). Spur buckles for this form have a chape with a hole at the end, that

can swivel on one of the studs. These chapes are usually hinged, presumably because flexibility was needed to manipulate straps into the buckle without breaking it (FIG. 3B).

The styles that developed in the latter half of the 17th and early 18th century persisted throughout the colonial period, and most of the spurs in the Maryland and Delaware collections that appear on the "Diagnostic Artifacts in Maryland" website represent the common spurs of this time period (Rivers Cofield 2011). The lack of major changes is reflected in newspaper ads and account books, which generally limit descriptors to size and metal content. Spurs are often described as steel, plated, silver plated, or silver, and advertisements for lost silver spurs appear regularly

in colonial newspapers (Readex 1734-1735, 1735b, 1737, 1741, 1744, 1747, 1765).

When other descriptors for spurs are used in newspaper ads, they can indicate differences that have not yet appeared in the mid-Atlantic assemblages. For example, one style mentioned is the "spring spur." "Steel spring spurs" are listed among imports in a 1763 ad in the *Boston News-Letter*, and subsequent newspaper ads in Boston, New Hampshire, and New York sometimes include spring spurs as well (Readex 1763, 1766, 1770, 1771, 1772). Diderot's encyclopedia illustrates a "spring spur" that shows no sign of having a spring mechanism incorporated, but it may be hidden internally to allow the rowel to retract (FIG. 14) (Diderot and Alembert 1751-1765). Other spurs that may be interpreted as spring spurs have a spring in the neck that allows the neck and rowel to fold up against the back of the heel, often into a sort of metal rowel case (FIG. 15A). Alternatively, the spring could allow a rowel protector to fold down over the rowel. These spring spurs allowed the wearer to put pointy rowels away and prevent them from catching

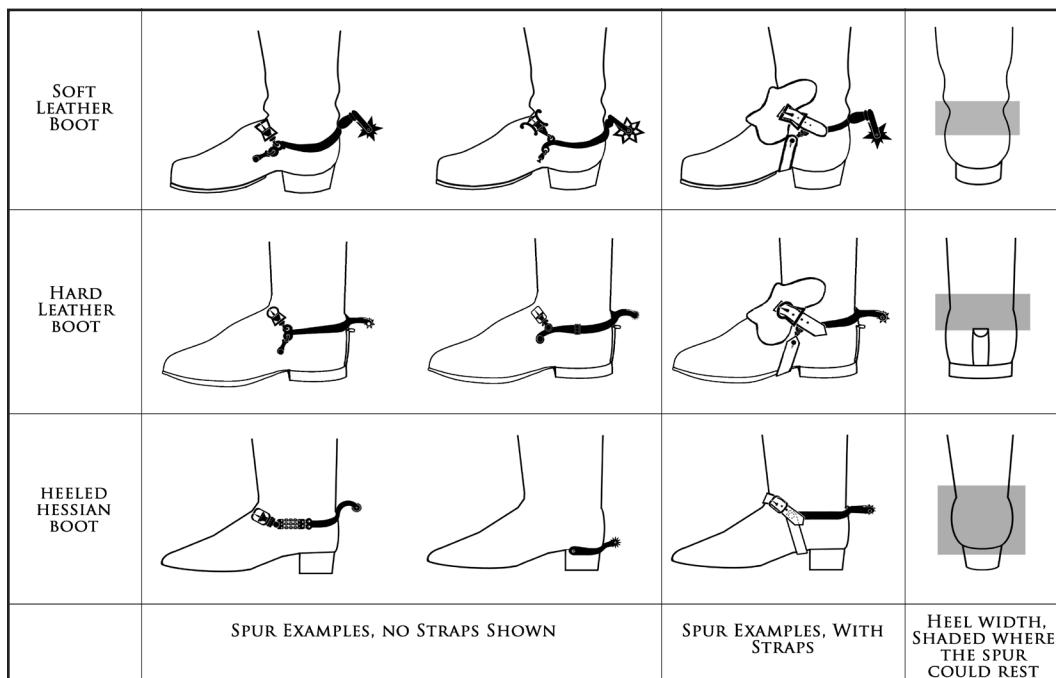


Figure 10: Examples of different boots and the types of spurs that fit them, shown with and without straps. Top row: Soft leather boots with spurs that had curved arms fitting around ankle bones. Center row: Hard leather boots with straight-armed spurs that stay up with the help of a spur rest. Bottom row: Hessian boots and Wellingtons accommodated a variety of spurs that could attach to high heels below the foot, or to higher points on the boot. The width of the spur could vary depending on its placement on the boot (right column). (Figure by the author.)

on anything, without removing the spurs from their boots (Essex Institute Sample Books [1770-1838]; British Museum 2011). This was especially useful in cases where spurs were attached directly to boot heels with screws instead of straps, a style that increased in popularity as the 18th century drew to a close (FIG. 15B).

Two additional styles that appear before the end of the colonial period are “chain spurs” and “swan neck spurs,” both of which are referenced in newspaper ads (Readex 1774, 1775, 1778, 1785). Chain spurs are essentially common straight-sided spurs that incorporate chains into the arms between the terminal and the studs. Usually multiple small chains are used. Swan neck spurs have a more pronounced curvature of the neck, generally angling up and then down, but not at a right angle as seen in early 17th-century spurs. Both of these styles appeared just before the American Revolution and they persisted into the post-colonial period (FIG. 16).

### Post-Colonial Boots and Spurs

From about 1780–1820, boots again enjoyed popularity for everyday menswear regardless of whether or not someone was riding or traveling (Bradfield 1938:124; McClellan 1969:360–361). This coincided with a shift in preference from breeches to trousers. Brown-top boots and fitted Hessian boots became popular. The period does not seem to have been accompanied by an increase in spur decoration, however, nor does it seem that the spur was always an essential accessory of the boot. While 17th-century depictions of men in boots nearly always include spurs, artwork from 1780 to 1820 frequently illustrates men wearing boots without spurs.

New shapes and styles became popular at this time, such as the chain spurs and swan neck spurs already mentioned. Additionally, the stationary studs that appeared in the early 18th century foreshadowed a shift in the late 18th century to spurs with a terminal that had a single stud that held both a swiveling buckle

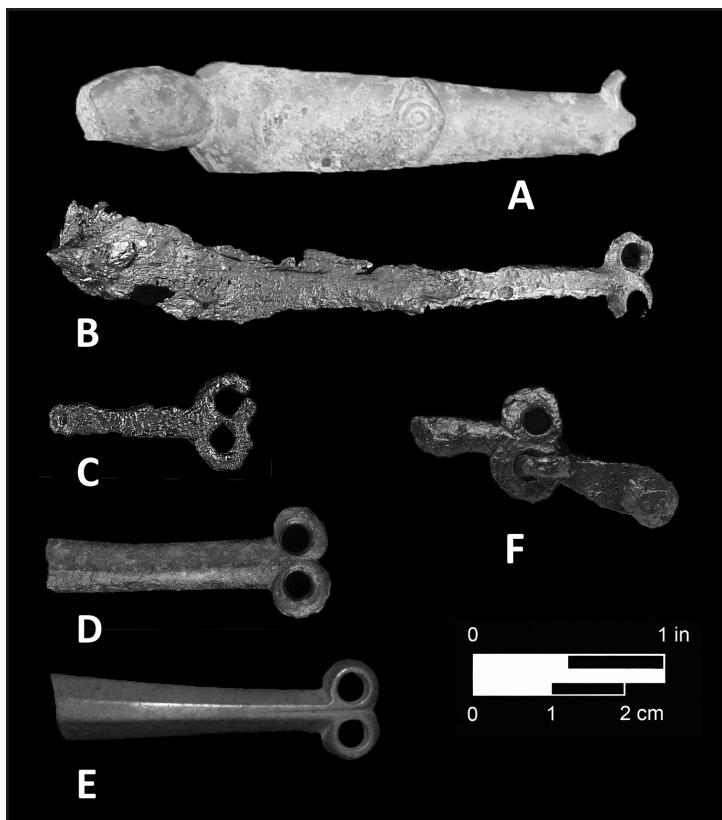


Figure 11: Many spur terminals recovered in Maryland are typical of the ca. 1650-1775 period. See Appendix 1: Table 1 for individual provenience information and date ranges. (Figure by the author with spurs A-C courtesy of the Maryland Archaeological Conservation Laboratory (Photographs by Caitlin Shaffer), spurs D and F courtesy of Historic St. Mary's City (Photographs by Donald L. Winter), and spur E courtesy of the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission (Photograph by the author.))

and the under-sole spur leather (FIGS. 5B, 10, AND 16). By the turn of the 19th century, spurs might have a terminal with a single stud, or they might be attached directly to the boot with screws (FIG. 17E) or catches built into the heel (FIG. 17 A-C). Alternatively, some spurs just had wide openings at the terminal for a strap to slide through (FIG. 16, *center*). In the latter case, straps were sewn to the spur, or there was a separate buckle on the strap that was not an integral part of the spur. The different styles varied greatly in terms of size. Many spurs of this period sit on a spur rest right at the heel bone, requiring a wider spread than those that sit above the heel. Spurs that attach directly to boot heels, however, could be very narrow (FIG. 10).

As the 19th century progressed, increased industrial production allowed for more styles so that consumers could select from a number of inventive spurs that either showed off one's taste, clipped efficiently to the heel, folded inconspicuously to protect the rowel, or simply carried on old traditional styles (C.M. Moseman and Brother 1887; Essex Institute Sample Books [1770-1838]).

### Interpretive Value

Like many small finds, spurs have rarely been targeted as major contributors to site analysis. This neglect probably results from lack of recognition of some spur fragments and lack of published source material on chronological changes in spurs. While the stylistic changes outlined above do enable archaeologists to consider spurs "diagnostic," their significance for dating archaeological contexts remains somewhat limited. Spurs

do not change as rapidly as other diagnostics such as ceramics and pipes, nor are they as likely to be recovered. Spurs do, however, have the potential to contribute to site interpretation as artifacts of personal adornment and objects relating to transportation or recreation, depending on the time period and social context. The remainder of this paper explores the interpretive value of spurs for examining behavior (function), status, and gender.

### Function

As noted above, spurs could be related to riding or accessorizing, or both. Form may not always vary with function, however, so it is important to gather as much contextual

information as possible. Regional patterns in horse ownership must be explored to grasp the “big picture” cultural phenomena influencing spurs as material culture. More specific records, such as probate inventories, offer glimpses of how individual agency was expressed within larger social trends.

Historical records do not spell out exactly how many horses arrived in Maryland, or when, but they do indicate that horses were pretty rare in the earliest years of the colony. One of the first references to horses in the Maryland Archives is the 1647 probate inventory of Governor Leonard Calvert. His three stone horses, three mares, and one stone colt were worth 8400 lb. of tobacco, which was more than his “large house with 3 Manors belonging to it at Piney Neck,” worth 7000 lb. tobacco, and over twice as much as his “large framed house, with 100 acres of town land” at 4000 lb. tobacco (Browne 1887: 320–321) (FIG. 8C shows a rowel from the latter property).

These horses alone comprised over a third of his whole estate at his death, indicating just how rare and valuable they were at that time. Despite the scarcity of horses, however, some of Leonard Calvert’s contemporaries owned boots and spurs. For example, the 1638 probate inventories of Zachary Mottershead and John Bryant both list boots and spurs, though neither was particularly wealthy, with estates valued at 516 lb. of tobacco and 1,976 lb. of tobacco, respectively (Browne 1887:

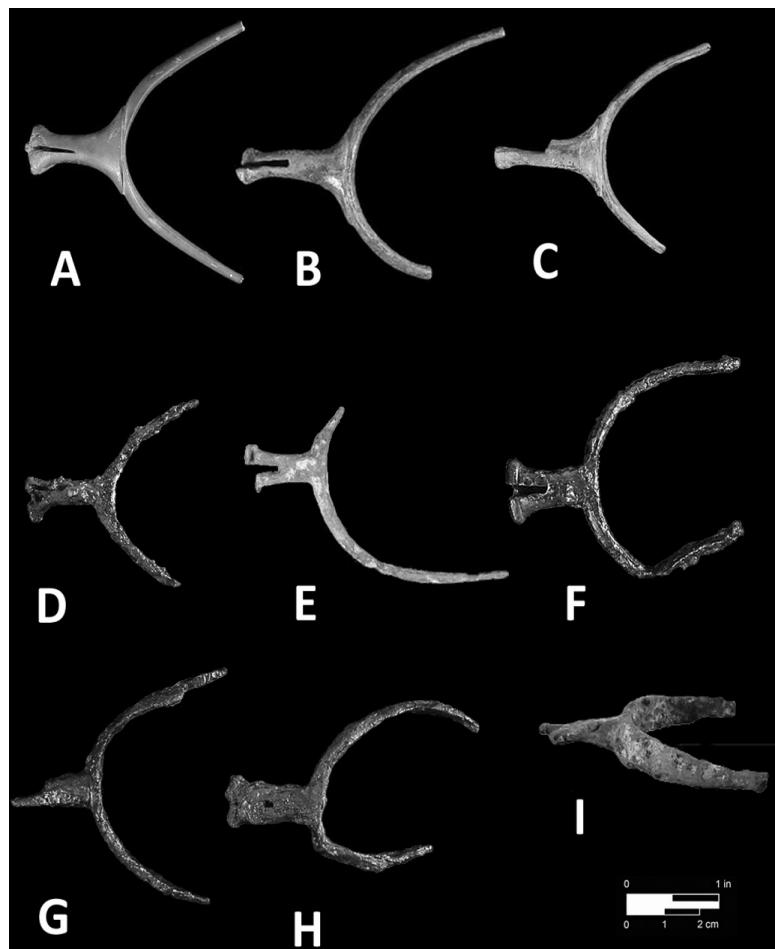


Figure 12: Most spurs recovered by archaeologists are missing diagnostic terminals. Among them are copper alloy spurs (A-C) and ferrous spurs (D-I). Despite their fragmentary nature, the presence of straight arms and necks without a dramatic angle place these spurs in the ca. 1650-1775 date range. See Appendix 1: Table 1 for individual provenience information and date ranges. (Figure by the author with spurs A-B, C-G, and I courtesy of the Maryland Archaeological Conservation Laboratory and spurs C and H courtesy of the Naval District Washington, Naval Air Station Patuxent River and the Webster Field Annex. (Photographs by Caitlin Shaffer.)

30–46). It is clear that these men could not afford horses, but they still had boots and spurs as part of their wardrobes. Although individuals who did not own horses might expect to rent or borrow one as needed, the paucity of horses in Maryland in 1638 strongly suggests that Mottershead and Bryant had spurs primarily as fashion accessories, while Calvert’s spurs probably served a dual function as accessories and riding aids.

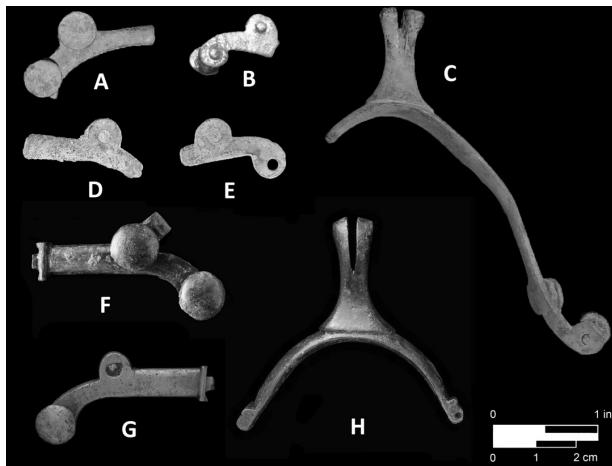


Figure 13: Spurs with hinged arms and stationary studs were popular ca. 1650-1775. All of the spurs in the study assemblage with these characteristics are copper alloy. See Appendix 1: Table 1 for individual provenience information and date ranges. (Figure by the author with spur A courtesy of the Archaeological Society of Delaware (Photograph by the author), spurs B and F-H courtesy of Historic St. Mary's City (Photographs by Donald L. Winter), spur C courtesy of the Anne Arundel County Lost Towns Project (Photograph by the author), and spurs D-E courtesy of the Maryland Archaeological Conservation Laboratory (Photographs by Caitlin Shaffer).)

The scarcity of horses seems to have abated over the next decade. By 1659 Maryland lawmakers felt the need to regulate the height of fences to protect crops from roaming horses, and by 1671 horses had become such a nuisance that a law was passed banning their importation altogether (Russo 2011). The value of the horses had dropped as well, making horse ownership increasingly possible. By this time, spurs were generally worn only for riding, so examples found archaeologically are likely to be associated with horsemanship as opposed to accessorizing.

As the availability of horses increased, probate inventories indicate an increase in the exploitation of horses for more specialized functions. For instance, Thomas Addison's 1727 Prince George's County, Maryland, inventory lists cart horses, plough horses, coach horses, and saddle horses (Garrow and Wheaton 1986). The equipment associated with these different uses varied, and spurs were certainly affected. For example, an increase in the number of coaches and carriages brought about a new boot style in the 18th century: the postilion boot.

The postilion boot was an incredibly large and stiff jack boot worn by the person who rode harnessed horses pulling a coach. They were designed to protect legs from injury when hitting rigging that connected horse to carriage, and striking various bushes and branches along overgrown roads. Postilion boots could even allow riders to extricate a leg trapped by a horse's weight in an accident (de Garsault 1805:150). Postilion spurs are extremely large to fit around these enormous contraptions. The impracticality and ridiculousness of walking in such boots made the postilion a popular target for satirical drawings (FIG. 18).

Other specialized spurs might be made for specific activities such as hunting and racing. Charles de Lacy Lacy (1911: 71–73) indicates that there is a general straightness to 19th-century hunting spurs; the neck and rowel box are in a straight line and the sides are also straight. The late 19th-century C. M. Moseman and Brother catalog offers "Hunting, Racing, and Park Spurs" separately from generic "Spurs and Spur Rowels," but English-style spurs with remarkable similarities are illustrated on both pages, indicating that the differences are either very subtle, or that labels such as "hunting spur" and "racing spur" may reflect branding and marketing strategies more than morphological differences (C. M. Moseman and Brother 1987). Unfortunately, these sources may have little relevance to the period before 1820, and the author has yet to find any colonial sources that explain the differences between common spurs and hunting or racing spurs.

As boots came back into fashion for walking in the last quarter of the 18th century, spurs again took on meaning as accessories. For example, the 1787 inventory of Dr. John Sprigg of Prince George's County, Maryland, lists his spurs under the heading "jewelry," along with sleeve buttons, gold rings, a gold watch, and various buckles (Probing the Past 2006). This distinction may have to do with the metal content as much as function in the sense

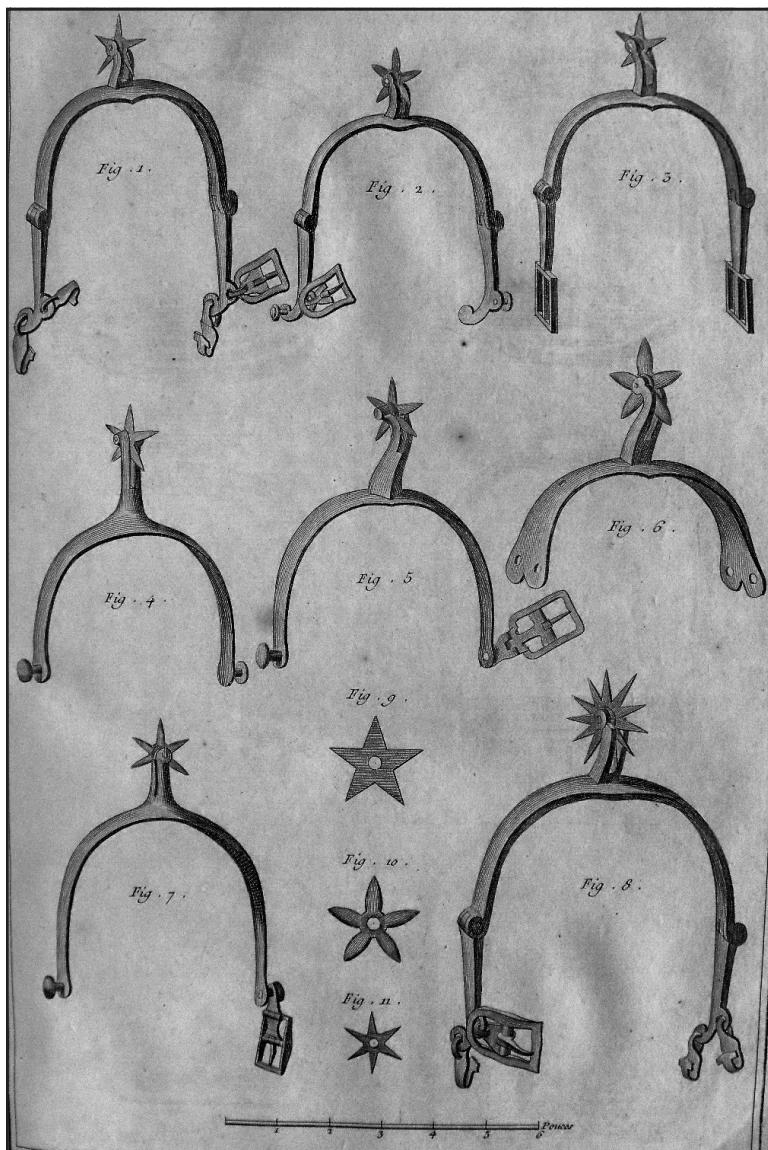


Figure 14: Diderot's encyclopedia illustrates several mid-18th-century spurs, including a "spring" spur (FIG. 4). The other spurs are labeled, translated from the French, as follows: 1) Jointed spur with five points, 2) Jointed spur with buttons, 3) Jointed spur with grate, 4) Spring spur, 5) Spur "*à tous sens*" [of every angle?], 6) Rivet spur, 7) English spur with horizontal rowel, 8) Spur for strong boots, 9) Rowel with five points, 10) Rowel with five lancet-like points, 11) Six-pointed rowel. (Courtesy of the Robert Charles Lawrence Ferguson Collection, the Society of the Cincinnati, Washington, DC).

that high-end spurs were generally made of silver, and were therefore often on sale in silver and goldsmith shops, and would be taken to these shops for repair or melting

down if they broke. If John Sprigg owned steel spurs, they might not have been listed under jewelry. Still, the meaning of spurs to those who wore them must be understood in the context of changing fashions, and they cannot be viewed simply as riding equipment.

#### Status

The decoration and material of the spur, like any other item of dress, signaled status and taste. Spurs as status symbols were well-established by the time of English colonization in the Americas. In the medieval period, gold or gilt spurs were reserved for knights, while silvered spurs could only be worn by squires, and lower classes were allowed only tinned spurs (Diderot and Alembert 1751-1765; Granscay 1955; Ellis 1995:124). When knights died, the spurs were even carried as a symbol of honor in the funeral procession (Holme 1701: 487-488). By the 17th and 18th-centuries, these regulations had been relaxed, but metal content was still a well-established status signal. Inventories and account books often

differentiate between steel, plated, bell metal, brass, and silver spurs showing how values varied by metal content (White 2005). Appraisers were so aware of the relative

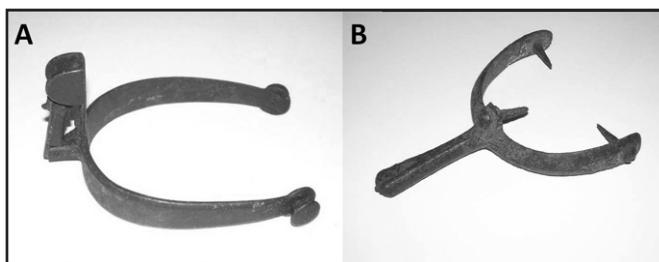


Figure 15: At the end of the 18th century, spring spurs with folding rowels (A) and spurs that attach directly to boot heels (B) rose in popularity. (©Trustees of the British Museum.)

values of the materials in spurs that they came up with formulas for assessing the content of different metals in these oddly shaped objects, even accounting for situations where the spur body and its attached buckles and studs were treated with different metals. According to one appraiser's reference:

When a Pair of Silver Spurs are lined with Steel, the Makers reckon the Steel in the Spurs to weigh about 10 dwt, and the Steel in the Tackle to weigh about 5 dwt, viz. 13 [sic] dwt in all; which deduct out of the whole Weight of the Pair of Spurs, and it leaves you the neat weight of the Silver. N.B. If only the Spurs, or only the Tackle is lined you must deduct accordingly. Of a Pair of Spurs that are plated over, the Silver is usually reckoned at 5s or 6s (An Eminent Broker 1783: 47).

In this quote, the "Tackle" presumably refers to attachments such as studs, buckles, and rowels, which might have had different metal content than the body of the spur.

The most expensive spurs were silver, since the metal itself held inherent value and could be melted down and made into other goods. This made spurs the target of pick pockets who stealthily cut spur leathers when the men who wore them were distracted. For example, one 1735 news item from Hampstead in England indicated that thieves made off with so many spurs at the horse races that there was a surge in men betting their odd silver spurs against those of other spectators (Readex 1735a).

Because metal content was so central to value, the author examined the possibility that prices of spurs recorded in account books might be

used to determine spur size. Unfortunately, studies along these lines have yet to prove fruitful. For example, the account books of the New York based merchants Cortlandt, Billings & Company list several pairs of spurs between 1784 and 1786, but most descriptions are not uniform and, even when descriptions match, the prices vary (TAB. 3). As indicated in Table 3, the spurs that Pierre Van Cortlandt bought for

his son Pierre in 1784 and 1786 have identical descriptions but very different prices: one possible reason for this is the difference in available styles. As previously mentioned, new styles of spurs appeared in the last quarter of the 18th century, and some required less metal than others. A small rivet spur that attached directly to the heel of a boot would use less metal than a spur with terminals, studs, and buckles. While other entries for plated spurs offer some clues as to attributes, such as "best," "large," and "with chains," there is still not enough information to extrapolate spur size from the account.

Account books are still useful for the interpretation of spurs as status signals,

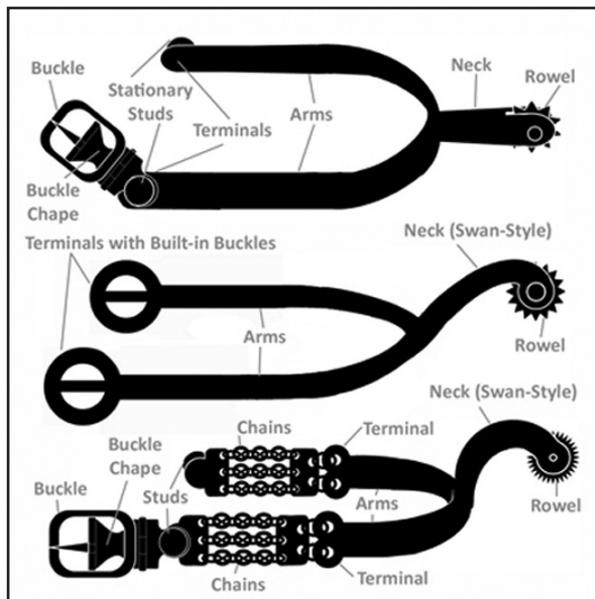


Figure 16: This diagram illustrates the elements of spurs representative of the period ca. 1760–1820. (From Rivers-Cofield 2011.)

Table 3. Spur entries in the account books for Cortlandt, Billings &amp; Co., New York, NY, 1784–1786

Date	Year	Purchaser	Entry	Pounds	Shillings	Pence
12-Oct.	1784	Dirck Ten Broeck	To 1. p plated Spurs with Chains	0	18	6
22-Oct.	1784	Pierre Van Cortlandt, Esq.	To 1 p. Plated Spurs for Son Pierre	0	16	6
7-Nov.	1784	John C. Schuyler	To 1 p. best plated Spurs	1	0	0
16-Dec.	1784	Dirck Ten Broeck	To 1p. large Plated Spurs	1	0	0
22-Oct	1785	John French	To 1 pr Spurs	0	8	6
31-Jan.	1786	Pierre Van Cortlandt, Esq.	To 1 p. plated spurs for Son Pierre	0	6	0

however. “Best” spurs are more expensive than spurs without descriptors, brass spurs are more expensive than iron ones, and so on. Additionally, consumers who frequented jewelers’ shops to buy spurs might be dealing in more-precious metals than individuals who bought their spurs at the local dry-goods store or saddler’s shop. From an archaeological perspective, this line of inquiry is particularly worth considering in terms of how it would affect the archaeological sample. An assemblage of relatively cheap iron spurs recovered on a site associated with a wealthy family might seem like an anomaly until one considers the likelihood that a wealthy family could have a groom, servants, and slaves who were equipped with cheap spurs. This is not to suggest that spurs can be attributed to specific ranks with complete certainty though. Even wealthy individuals might have both high-end and low-end spurs to wear for different occasions. Still, certain contexts may suggest that plain utilitarian spurs represent oft-mutated subservient individuals who lived among elites.

#### Gender and Age

Spurs also have significance as material expressions of gender. Spurs recovered in the archaeological record most likely represent the presence of adult or adolescent men, though historical evidence and variation in spur styles suggests that

assigning gender and age to the user is not straight forward. For example, boys dressed as smaller versions of adult men might wear spurs as a fashion statement rather than a necessity. Even if children were introduced to horses at an early age, it is probable that their first horses or ponies would be well-trained mounts that could accommodate inexperienced riders without the need of spurs.

Women present an even bigger challenge for interpretation. The pertinent question here is: Did women wear spurs and, if so, under what circumstances? The answer seems to be that women did wear spurs, but rarely. The full skirts worn by women of the colonial period precluded them from adopting spurs as a fashion accessory (Ellis 1995:124), and, though women could and did utilize spurs for

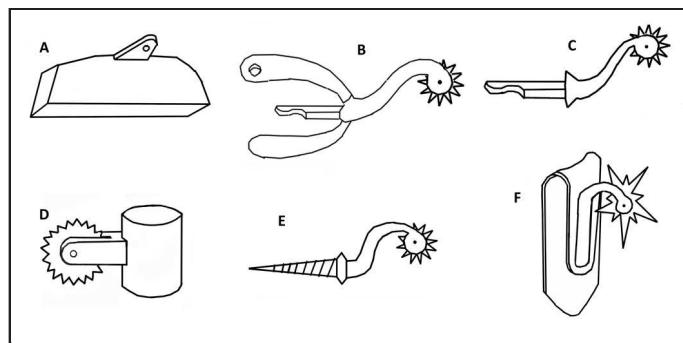


Figure 17: Miscellaneous spur styles. In the 19th century, some spurs attached to a box mechanism (A) built into the boot heel to grasp removable spurs (B-C). Other spurs screwed into the boot heel (E) or clipped on to the back of a shoe (F). Spurs could also be attached to a whip instead of a shoe (D). Examples A-E are late 19th-century styles based on C.M. Moseman and Brother (1987: 270-271), while example F is a 17th-century shoe spur after de Lacy Lacy (1911: Plate 37). (Figure by the author.)

riding, it was not necessarily the norm (Davis 1867: 58; Chenevix-Trench 1970:280). Part of the problem was a logistical one; when women wore spurs they had to contend with the combination of the spur and the riding habit that covered a lady's legs as she rode. Apparently small holes were sometimes made in habit skirts for spurs to pass through, and the habit was secured to the ankle by a string so that the rowel would stay outside the skirt (Walsh 1859: 537). Even if this were arranged, however, many women of the colonial period rode side saddle, and were therefore better placed to create a gash in the horse's side than to lightly prick its flanks. Furthermore, if women wanted to stimulate the horse's opposite flank, they had to use a whip, sometimes with a spur attachment at the end (FIG. 17D) (Rarey 1859). Given these difficulties, some manuals advocated giving women tame horses that could be controlled with the whip, reins, leg pressure, and verbal signals instead of requiring the stimulus of a spur (Walsh 1859: 537; de Hurst 1892: 114-117).

Some women did wear spurs, however, illustrating that not all females subscribed to the limitations that the authors of horsemanship manuals would have them follow. Riding was an acceptable pastime for gentlewomen, and it afforded them the opportunity to adopt some elements of dress that were considered masculine (Mackay-Smith, Druesedow and Ryder 1984: 59-68). For example, a 1779 French fashion plate depicting a young woman on horseback in a coat, boots, and spurs includes the description "*elle est habillée en homme* (*she is dressed as a man*)" (LeClerc 1779). This is an extreme example though. Habits could resemble menswear to a greater or lesser degree depending on fashion trends and personal tastes. Some women scorned the opportunity to adopt masculine dress and instead kept as much femininity in their riding attire as practicality would allow



Figure 18: Although the proportions are exaggerated, James Bretherton's 1774 satirical print of a French postilion shows how the oversized nature of postilion boots could make walking extremely cumbersome. (©Trustees of the British Museum.)

(Mackay-Smith, Druesedow and Ryder 1984: 59-68). There are fewer works of art showing women riding in boots than there are depictions of women riding in regular shoes, including those with high-heels (FIG. 19).

A woman's position in society might also play a role in whether or not she wore spurs. Most of the available literature on women and riding describes best practice for genteel horsewomen, and it takes the side saddle as a given (Astley 1802; Bowen 1833; de Hurst 1892). Not all individuals who owned a horse, however, might be able to afford both a man's saddle and a side saddle, so many women may have ridden astride out of necessity, perhaps making spur use more practical. Women of the upper classes or nobility who rode astride, such as Princess Frederika



Figure 19: In the satirical hand-colored etching *The Coxheath Race for £100, No Crossing nor Jostling*, three ladies are shown wearing riding habits in a masculine military style, but they do not wear boots and spurs. Instead they wear typical ladies' heeled shoes with buckles (Darly 1779). The inset at the bottom right shows a detail of the center rider's shoe and stirrup, which had a toe cover and platform to help protect the shoe and provide a flat purchase. This was not atypical for side-saddle stirrups. (©Trustees of the British Museum.)

Sophia Wilhelmina of Prussia, could clearly afford a side saddle, but they could also afford to thwart social norms if they wanted (Haag 1789) (FIG. 20). The behavior of women on horseback could therefore have much to say about gentility in the colonial period. Women of the uppermost classes might be able to choose how they rode and what they wore, while aspiring classes could show off the depths of their pockets and their knowledge of genteel behavior by adopting the side saddle. The lower classes, however, would not have had the same options and therefore may not have adopted similar standards of propriety. Unfortunately, the spur's potential contribution to the conversation about gender and gentility is limited as long as specific spurs cannot be definitively affiliated with women. So far, no women's spurs have been identified in the assemblage.

#### Size

It is tempting to try to assign ownership based on spur size, but there is no easy rule to follow. It would be wonderful to be able to say that large spurs are for men, women's spurs are smaller than men's spurs, and children's spurs are the smallest of all, but this simply is not the case. As previously outlined, spur size has far more to do with the style and width of one's footwear than with the size of the foot itself. Not only did footwear vary, but the spur's placement on the foot varied as well. Spur width varied depending on whether the spur attached around the Achilles tendon, the heel bone, or a boot heel below the foot (FIG. 10). Additionally, some spurs could simply clip on the back of a shoe heel, allowing both sexes to use a spur with everyday shoes of all sizes (FIG. 17E).

While it would be misleading to suggest that there is no relationship between the size



Figure 20: Some wealthy ladies of the nobility, such as Princess Frederika Sophia Wilhemina of Prussia, could afford to thwart social norms by riding astride instead of side-saddle (Haag 1789). (Image courtesy of the Rijkmuseum, Netherlands.)

of a person and the size of the spurs, it would also be problematic to use the size of a spur alone to determine the probable wearer. This may be just as well, since precise measurements of archaeological spurs are hindered by a number of factors, such as the completeness of the spur, the degree of corrosion, and the frequency with which spurs are bent or otherwise misshapened.

## Conclusion

The spurs thus far compiled for this study have proven that datable stylistic differences exist. Changes in form are evident in artwork, historical documents, and museum assemblages, and these can be used to determine date ranges for spur fragments recovered by archaeologists. The chronology and diagrams presented here are designed to help archaeologists overcome basic issues of identification and dating so that interpretive significance can be considered.

Unfortunately, when it comes to interpreting spurs, there are no easy answers. While this

study has shown that spurs have the potential to contribute to site analyses that look at trends in personal adornment, horse ownership, status, and gender, the meaning will vary greatly by site and context.

As with most small finds, simply placing spurs in functional categories, such as “clothing group” or “transportation group,” when writing reports pigeon holes the artifacts into categories that do not always apply. This perpetuates misunderstandings of what spurs might mean and hinders archaeological interpretation more than it advances it. The best that any small-finds analyst can do is compile as much context and comparative data as possible. The spurs included on the *“Diagnostic Artifacts in Maryland”* webpage can aid such studies by offering examples for comparison from a spectrum of sites. Contextual interpretation, including an examination of other horse-related artifacts and artifacts of personal adornment in the assemblage under study may reveal how a particular spur fits into patterns of horsemanship, leisure, transportation, and personal adornment.

## Acknowledgements

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Appendix 1: Table 1: Site and provenience information for 51 spurs recovered in the Mid-Atlantic.

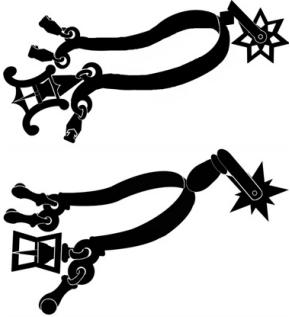
\* Context date ranges are given where possible, but when artifacts are from plowzone, disturbed contexts, or undisturbed contexts that have not been fully analyzed as to date range, the overall date range of the site is given instead.

Site	Provenience	Lot/Alpha	Context description	Site/context date*	Artifact element	Material	Figure
7SG57	F. 63 Section 6, L. 3	1080	Cellar	c. 1690s–1720	Necks, arms, terminals, three hanging studs, one buckle chape.	Iron	N/A
7SG57	F. 63, Section 1, L. 1	884	Cellar	c. 1690s–1720	Terminal	Copper alloy	13A
18AN39	Unknown	N/A	Cellar fill	c. 1700–1790s	Hanging stud	Copper alloy	N/A
18AN39	Unknown	N/A	Cellar fill	c. 1700–1790s	Terminal fragment	Copper alloy	13E
18AN339	Unit 59, N1105, E-1050, Strat. 1	392	Plowzone	c. 1657–1890	Neck, arm, and terminal	Copper alloy	13C
18CV60	Unknown	1	Unknown	c. 1650–1770	Neck with one partial arm	Iron	12E
18CV60	Unknown	1	Unknown	c. 1650–1770	Neck and partial arms	Iron	12I
18CV60	Unknown	1	Unknown	c. 1650–1770	Neck and partial arms	Iron	N/A
18CV91	Unit 3026, Layer A	150	Plowzone, main house	c. 1711–1754	Hanging stud	Iron	N/A
18CV91	Unit 3230, Layer A	155	Plowzone, main house	c. 1711–1754	Terminal fragment	Copper alloy	13D
18CV91	Unit 8540, Layer B	256	Unplowed midden, stable	c. 1711–1754	Neck and partial arms	Iron	12D
18CV91	Unit 8740, Layer B	266	Unplowed midden, stable	c. 1711–1754	Neck and partial arms, but terminals and hanging studs are recorded in the pre-conservation x-ray	Iron	4
18CV271	Surface	344	Surface	c. 1658–1690s	Neck and arm fragments	Iron	12F
18CV279	F.3, L.2, East half	168	Refuse pit	c. 1651–1665	Neck and partial arms	Copper alloy	8H
18DO58	General surface	1	Surface	c. 1670–1770s	Neck and partial arms	Copper alloy	12A
18DO58	Unknown	257	Unknown	c. 1670–1770s	Neck and arms to hinged joints	Iron	N/A
18DO58	Unit 43B	70	Occupation or destruction layer below plowzone inside house foundation	c. 1670–1770s	Neck and partial arms	Iron	12G

Site	Provenience	Lot/Alpha	Context description	Site/context date*	Artifact element	Material	Figure
18DO58	Unit 51A	80	Destruction layer over west wall foundation	c. 1670–1770s	Neck with one arm and terminal	Iron	11B
18KE292	Unit IB15-B	120	Trash pit	c. 1660–1700	Terminal	Iron	11C
18PR6	Terrace B, Unit 231, Layer A	5253	Plowzone	c. 1700–1715	Terminal	Copper alloy	11E
18PR175	Area VB, Unit S218 E292, Layer B	7986	Undetermined	c. 1687–1895	Neck and partial arms	Copper alloy	12B
18PR175	Unit S219 E260, F.663 Surface	17010	Surface of a well after mechanical stripping	c. 1689–1800	Partial rowel, neck, and partial arms	Iron	N/A
18PR705	Unit 53, F.46, 20–30cmbs	630	Detached kitchen	c. 1720s–1790	Neck and partial arms	Iron	N/A
18QU30	F.5, L.4	293	Root cellar	c. 1695–1730	Partial neck, arms, and partial terminals	Copper alloy with plating	11A
18QU30	F.5, L.3	302	Root cellar	c. 1695–1730	Partial rowel, neck, one partial arm, and one whole arm with terminal	Iron	N/A
18QU30	F.5, L.2	301	Root cellar	c. 1695–1730	Partial neck and one partial arm	Iron	N/A
18QU30	F.5, L.4	295	Root cellar	c. 1695–1730	Buckle and partial buckle chape	Copper alloy	N/A
18ST1-13	1701G	CW	Plowzone	c. 1634–1840	Rowel missing one point	Copper alloy	8C
18ST1-14	851J	No alpha	Fill/erosion deposit	c. 1840–1900	Whole spur with buckle chape and one hanging stud	Plated iron with copper alloy brackets	N/A
18ST1-19	291	NY	Plowzone	c. 1660–1750	Neck, one whole arm with terminal, and one partial arm	Iron	N/A
18ST1-19	360N	WB	Plowzone	c. 1660–1750	Hinged terminal with one stationary stud	Copper alloy	13G
18ST1-19	361	NZ	Plowzone	c. 1660–1750	Rowel	Copper alloy	8A
18ST1-19	363	LT	Plowzone	c. 1660–1750	Terminal with one hanging stud	Iron	11F
18ST1-19	396J	GW	Cellar fill	c. 1724–1750	Neck and arms to hinged joint	Copper alloy	13H
18ST1-19	430N	CW	Cellar fill	c. 1724–1750	Hinged terminal, two stationary studs, and one partial buckle chape	Copper alloy	13F
18ST1-19	442J	ED	Storage pit	c. 1660–1750	Partial arm with terminal	Copper alloy	N/A

Site	Provenience	Lot/Alpha	Context description	Site/context date*	Artifact element	Material	Figure
18ST1-19	475C	CF	Plowzone	c. 1660–1750	Terminal with one stationary stud	Copper alloy	13B
18ST1-22	86	No alpha	Topsoil	c. 1723–1743	Partial neck and one partial arm	Copper alloy	N/A
18ST1-23	1A	GE	20th-century fill (HCF)	c. 1638–1715	Partial arm with terminal	Copper alloy	8D
18ST1-23	1F	FE	Destruction fill	c. 1638–1715	Neck, one whole arm with terminal, and one partial arm	Iron	N/A
18ST1-23	2A	CNF	20th century fill (HCF)	c. 1638–1715	Neck, arms, and one terminal	Iron	N/A
18ST1-23	11	AX	Plowzone	c. 1638–1715	Rowel, neck, and partial arms	Iron	8F
18ST1-23	25H	CF	Kitchen posthole	c. 1638–1665	Rowel	Copper alloy	8B
18ST1-23	47	KLT	Plowzone	c. 1638–1715	Arms and terminal	Copper alloy	8E
18ST1-23	53	FU	Plowzone	c. 1638–1715	One partial arm and one whole arm with terminal	Iron	N/A
18ST1-23	53C	WP	Large circular trash pit	c. 1685–1715	Whole spur body with partial rowel and three hanging studs	Iron	N/A
18ST1-23	80	UC	Plowzone	c. 1638–1715	Partial rowel, neck, and arms	Iron	N/A
18ST233	Unit 47070	375	Plowzone	c. 1637–1660	Terminal and hanging stud	Copper alloy and iron	8G
18ST330	Unit 3	93	Cellar fill	c. 1705–1750	Neck and partial arms	Copper alloy	12C
18ST390	Unit 35192E	201	Buried humus, possible slump from early deposits	c. 1666–1740	Neck and partial arms	Iron	N/A
18ST704	Pond 1, Block C, Unit 13, F.11, L.3	404	Redeposited fill	c. 1675–1943	Neck and partial arms	Iron	12H

Appendix 2: Table 2: Typical English Spur Styles ca. 1600-1820.

	ca. 1600-1660	ca. 1650-1775	ca. 1765-1820
Sample Illustrations			
Function	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Riding/traveling</li> <li>Boots and spurs popular for daily wear and walking</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Riding/traveling only</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Riding/traveling</li> <li>Boots popular for walking/daily wear, though not always with spurs</li> </ul>
Rowel	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Often over 1 in. diameter</li> <li>Sometimes ornate</li> <li>Brass or iron</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Less than 1 in. diameter</li> <li>Usually iron</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Very small, sometimes barely protruding from the end of the neck</li> <li>Usually iron</li> </ul>
Neck	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Relatively long; over 1 in. in length</li> <li>Bent or curved downward, often at a 90° angle</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1 in. or less in length</li> <li>Curved slightly downward</li> <li>Often flared at the end</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Length varies</li> <li>Straight neck</li> <li>Swan shaped neck begins (curves up, then down)</li> <li>Flared end less common</li> </ul>

	ca. 1600-1660	ca. 1650-1775	ca. 1765-1820
Arms/Sides	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Usually curved</li> <li>Sometimes triangular in cross-section</li> <li>Slight taper from neck to terminal</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Straight</li> <li>Slight or significant taper from neck to terminal</li> <li>Sometimes hinged with little taper from neck to terminal</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Straight</li> <li>Minimal tapering from neck to terminal</li> <li>May incorporate chains between the terminal and stud/buckle</li> </ul>
Terminals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Offset figure-eight with two holes</li> <li>S-shaped with two holes</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Centered figure-eight with two holes</li> <li>S-shaped with two holes</li> <li>S-shaped with stationary studs</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A single stationary stud</li> <li>A stud and buckle connected by brackets and/or chains</li> <li>Openings for straps to pass through (grill-style)</li> </ul>
Studs/Hooks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Looped around holes at the spur terminal; hang and swing freely</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Looped around holes at the spur terminal; hang and swing freely</li> <li>Stationary studs attached directly to terminal holes</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A single stationary stud at each terminal</li> <li>None: straps attach directly to the spur terminal or the spur attaches to the boot without straps at all</li> </ul>
Buckles	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Butterfly-shape is popular for spurs of this period, but plain asymmetrical and symmetrical buckles are also present</li> <li>Looped chape to attach to the spur terminal</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Both asymmetrical and symmetrical buckles used</li> <li>Looped chape to attach to the spur terminal</li> <li>Hinged chape with an attachment for a stationary stud</li> <li>Unhinged chape with a large hole for a stationary stud</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Hinged chape with an attachment for a stationary stud</li> <li>Buckle attaches to spur straps that pass through openings in the terminal, not the spur itself.</li> </ul>
Decoration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Decoration preferred</li> <li>Jingles possible</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Usually undecorated</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Usually undecorated</li> </ul>