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FURNITURE OF THE PHILADELPHIA AREA:
FORMS AND CRAFTSMEN BEFORE 1730

by

Cathryn J. McElroy

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the University of Delaware in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Early American Culture

June, 1970
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The original aim of this study was to define the "William and Mary" style of furniture in the Philadelphia area, to establish the attributes of the style, and to discover if there were any characteristics of design or construction peculiar to the region. The term "William and Mary" is ambiguous because this designation for furniture has never really been defined. The difficulties inherent in the already amorphous terminology are compounded in Philadelphia whose founding date of 1682 corresponds with the supposed emergence of the "William and Mary" style in the American colonies. William McPhearson Hornor's title "Until the Queen Anne" better describes the period and the furniture under discussion. In these early years the furniture of Philadelphia would not have had cabriole legs, or have particularly employed the shell motif for carved ornament, but just when this "Queen Anne" style of furniture was introduced has not been exactly determined. Philadelphia furniture of the 1682-1730 period was distinguished from earlier joined furniture by greater variation of form and lighter styling.

The termination date of this study was established by Arthur Leibundguth's work on Philadelphia's craftsmen and the trades after
1730. This fifty year range is not rigid; some craftsmen lived to
mid-century who were active in the early 1700's, and probably continued
to work in the early styles. The study is not strictly limited to
the city because William Penn declared that the boundaries of the port
of Philadelphia:

shall extend and be accounted to extend into all such
creeks, rivers and places within this province, and shall
have so many wharffs, keys, landing places, and members
belonging thereto, for landing and shipping of goods, as
the said Mayor, Alderman and Common Council, for the time
being, with the approbation of the chief officer or offi-
cers of the king's customs, shall, from time to time,
think fit to appoint.3

Research for this thesis has revealed the kinds and amount of
furniture to be found in homes of the Philadelphia area before 1730.
Dates when various forms were present have been determined, and the
names of craftsmen who may have produced them ascertained, but the
character of the "William and Mary" style is not yet fully differen-
tiated. Information is provided on craftsmen both to suggest possi-
ble origins for the American made furniture, and to help define the
development of the furniture-making craft in Philadelphia. Imported
furniture was considered for two reasons. First, manuscript sources
seldom mention whether a particular item was, or was not, imported.
Second, without inclusion of imported forms, the discussion would be
incomplete and a possible source for the designs in use by American
craftsmen might be overlooked. Furthermore, a feeling for the
American product in relation to the stream of English fashion is
desirable.
Documentary material on either furniture or craftsmen is not abundant for this early period—the most complete and rewarding records available being the inventories taken when people died. The accuracy of estimates based on these inventories is affected by the fact that a number of the earlier ones have deteriorated into illegibility, or disappeared. Moreover, either because the deceased did not own more than the rudimentary articles necessary for housekeeping, or though the negligence of the appraiser, furniture was not always specifically itemized, instead being included in a lump assessment of "household goods." Details are often minimal and sometimes completely lacking even in more complete inventories; forms were simply recorded as "chairs" or "chest drawers." Also, there is usually no way to decide how long the deceased had owned the objects in his inventory. Although the meaning for some of the identifying terms are not known, many other inventories are very descriptive.

Supplementary references to furniture are scattered throughout a variety of source materials, such as account books, ledgers, letter books and journals. These records amplify or substantiate the material found in inventories, and indicate the nature of the work done by Philadelphia craftsmen. Though some only make such succinct comment as "To cash," other documentary sources are rich in information. The 1712-1720 account book of James Logan contains relatively abundant references to furniture, and intimates how one man furnished his home.
The scarcity of accounts for furniture in surviving manuscripts is not surprising since furniture was not a major trade item, and was not exciting enough to serve as propaganda to attract new settlers. After 1720 fewer new forms are mentioned in inventories, but references to furniture in account books and similar sources are more common. This may mean that Philadelphians had so established their economic base that they became more interested in acquiring the equipage of fashionable English society, but too few accounts from the Philadelphia area are available to assume this to be the explanation.

The documents used for this study of furniture were those thought most likely to contain pertinent references to furniture or craftsmen, and many diverse materials were surveyed or sampled. Nevertheless, the limited time available for research meant some possibly informative sources, such as letter books, were not adequately reviewed.

The most important source of information is surviving furniture. Because it is now widely scattered, a relatively small number of objects were examined. Inasmuch as few documented examples made before 1730 are known, the identification of the furniture made at that time in Philadelphia was a major problem. Only one inscribed (branded) piece of Philadelphia furniture is known, and very few items have family histories. Consequently, the furniture illustrated was
selected on the basis of probable rather than certain Philadelphia-area origin, and the conclusions offered are tenative. It is hoped, however, that some erroneous ideas about this furniture may be dispelled or forestalled, and that the character of early Philadelphia forms and state of the furniture making craft in and around the city may be defined more accurately than in the past.

Two-thirds of the summer devoted to the research for this thesis were spent in the Manuscript Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and it is impossible to adequately thank Mr. Conrad Wilson and the members of his staff for their cheerful assistance in sorting through large bodies of material. The staff of the Office of Wills in City Hall Annex were extraordinarily patient and tolerant of my demands on their energy. Their candid comments on the relevance of the study gave this project perspective. Mrs. Eleanor Mayer, assistant librarian in the Friend's Historical Library at Swarthmore, helped with an effective survey of that collection in a brief time, and responded promptly to later queries.

The staff of the Winterthur Libraries not only searched out useful materials, but were constant friends. Several Winterthur Program graduates assisted. Special acknowledgement is due Ruth Matzkin's study, "Inventories of Estates in Philadelphia County, 1682-1710." It encompassed a broader range of objects which provided helpful background material, and, while her conclusions were not all
accepted, they provoked several ideas. Patricia Kane, Edward LaFond, and Arthur Leibundguth all gave helpful pointers and information. Both Raymond Shepherd and Benno Forman gave generously of their time and knowledge. Ray made the collections of the Philadelphia Museum readily available and shared products of his own research. Benno examined some furniture with me, and his friendly editorial comments and counter arguments forced clarification, if not restatement, of some early judgements.

Mr. Charles Montgomery was an inspiring and untiring advisor. He not only made his time and resources constantly available, but would not permit flagging spirit to cause inadequate or unthoughtful presentation. Sufficient thanks for his contribution cannot be expressed. It is only hoped this final product is worthy of the effort he devoted to it.
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ABSTRACT

The first chapter of William MacPherson Hornor's *Blue Book: Philadelphia Furniture* is called "Until the Queen Anne." That chapter is the only major source on furniture made in Pennsylvania in the 1680-1730 period. Hornor, unfortunately, did not cite references in his study. Since Philadelphia is known for its fine craftsmen and school of furniture making in the last three-quarters of the eighteenth century, it seemed worthwhile to try to more fully document the background and traditions that preceeded the development of the Queen Anne and Chippendale styles in that city.

Three approaches were employed. One involved an intensive study of inventory and account records from Philadelphia for the period before 1730. This established the amount and forms of furniture used in Philadelphia homes, the dates different forms were first mentioned, the materials used in construction, and the sources from which some of the furniture was obtained. Furniture is not a common article in account books, but several transactions dealing with imported furniture or mentioning Philadelphia joiners were recorded. It is evident that a selection of furniture, including case pieces, was sometimes sent to the colonies as venture cargo. Practically every type of furniture (couches, tea tables, desks and bookcases) was listed before 1730, and
it became apparent that Philadelphians of many economic classes owned a good assortment of furniture.

A second approach concentrated on the approximately one-hundred furniture-makers working in Philadelphia prior to 1730. The purpose was to discover any personal or trade connections among the men, and to determine what they were producing. Several new names were added to the list which Hornor compiled, and a substantial amount of biographical and professional information was discovered on a number of the craftsmen.

The inventories of these craftsmen, and account under their names gave information on tools, woods, hardware, and work in progress. An assessment of these entries shows that colonial craftsmen manufactured a side variety of furniture forms from an early date. The cosmopolitan nature of Philadelphia's joiners is shown by the fact that imported woods, as well as a fine selection of Pennsylvania woods, were used. The dates that new styles were introduced was not positively determined, but there is evidence that sophisticated products were fashioned.

Finally, actual examples of furniture in the pre-Queen Anne styles were studied in order to identify any characteristics which might be peculiar to the forms made in the Philadelphia area. Several distinct features were noted, and while future studies in other areas will probably show that not all the observed characteristics were
exclusively used in the Philadelphia area, it is certain that Philadelphia furniture was not only generally well-constructed and carefully styled, but that it had a distinct quality of its own.
Chapter I

A Philadelphia Setting

The people who immigrated to Pennsylvania came from almost every economic class. Although many of them were yeoman farmers, the "first purchasers" were primarily from urban areas, and generally prosperous. Most of them were craftsmen and shopkeepers; hence they had a practical interest in commercial enterprise. Since the "first purchasers" generally represented those who had the most invested in the new province, they had the most interest in its economic success. Thus, from its founding, Philadelphia had a core of relatively well-to-do and sophisticated men to set the economic pace and determine the social standard.

The settlers were anxious to encourage further immigration to promote the colony's prosperity. A variety of practical advice was offered on the most useful items to be brought. Thomas Paschall wrote a friend in England in 1688:

Let all people know that have any mind to come hither, that they provide comfortable things for their passage, and also some provisions to serve them here, for although things are to be had at reasonable rates here, yet it is so far to fetch, that it spends much time, so that it is better to come provided for half a year than to want one day.2
William Penn gave more explicit instructions:

The Goods fit to take ... [to] use or sell for profit, are all sorts of Apparel and Utensils for Husbandry and building and Household Stuff.³

Practicality did not prohibit an early interest in achieving a measure of fashion and luxury in furnishings. The objects listed on the inventories (which law required be taken at the time of death) show that some of the settlers lived in considerable comfort. The Philadelphian's achievement of an English standard was hampered by the shortage of labor and cost of supplied in the colony. James Claypoole, who immigrated in 1682, anticipated the first problem and asked Wingfield Claypoole:

> to get me some good servts for Pennsylvania either husbandmen Carp [carpenters] Bricklayr or almost any other trade.⁴

Nevertheless, he could not avoid the costs of transportation, and complained that it was necessary:

> to give 40s P Tonn for Dry Goods and 25s for liquors, and to pay full 5£ P head for all above 12 Years of Age.⁴

The shipping costs, and the fact that "English Commodities" were sold "to great advance, at least Cent per Cent" (i.e. doubled in price),⁵ meant that persuasive efforts were made to increase the labor force and enable Pennsylvania to produce her own necessities.

In England, William Penn promoted immigration by appealing to the:
Industrious Husbandmen and Day-Labourers, that are hardly able (with extreme labour) to maintain their Families.

He also tried to attract:

Laborious Handicrafts, especially Carpenters, ...etc., where they may be spared or are low in the World; And as they shall want no encouragement so their Labour is worth more there [Pennsylvania] than here, and there provision cheaper.6

Penn's efforts were quite successful. In 1685 he reported that Philadelphia had:

advanced to Three-hundred and fifty-seven Houses; divers of them large, well built, with good Cellars, three stories, and some with balconies.7

These were inhabited by: "most sorts of useful Tradesmen as Carpenters, Joyners ...Turners, etc."7 The city prospered, and in 1691 was described as:

mightily improved, (for its famous Buildings, Stone Brick and Timber Houses of very great Value, and good Wharfs for our Shipping) the most of any new Settlement in the World for its time.8

These descriptions prompt the supposition that there was a demand for furniture in Philadelphia, and that craftsmen would have immigrated to meet the need. To further assume that those who immigrated achieved conspicuous or immediate prosperity is not correct. The same inventories which establish how much furniture was used, further reveal that some furniture craftsmen were not well-off. The sophisticated trade that had developed in Philadelphia so rapidly had some disadvantages. One inhabitant remarked:
what distinguishes us at this time is, that there is not one Colony in America that has so Considerable a Trade by their own Shipping, and a Town so inviting to an Enemy as this.9

More directly, this trade meant that Philadelphia was subject to the vacillations of maritime commerce induced by European politics, and to depressions because of merchants who over-extended themselves. In other words the economy fluctuated.

Francis Daniel Pastorius needed carpenters in 1700, but admitted:

their daily wages are now much diminished, and beyond their board they receive not more than [two] shillings a say, though most of them for this reason do not work and are preferring to leave the country.10

By 1714, however, the wages for a good carpenter had advanced to "2s 6d a day if a good workman and all this with meant and drink."11 A period of depression followed the South Sea Bubble (1721-1723). Deflation and lost investments meant many shopkeepers were without funds to replace their stock, and as many as two hundred houses were temporarily abandoned, but by the mid-1730's times were again prosperous.

The first fifty years of the city's history were, therefore, generally times of growth and prosperity. Philadelphia was an expanding urban community, with sufficient resources to support, and an atmosphere which could have prompted a demand for furniture craftsmen who produced a sophisticated product.
The dominant position of the Quakers also influenced early Philadelphia society. Although the Charter of Privileges, granted in 1701, broke the complete control the Quakers had exercised, the pressure they exerted as a group on the social life and standards of the town certainly continued. It is doubtful that all "Friends" conformed to the statement that:

Useless ornaments and ostentatious superfluities that served only to please the 'creaturely' mind were banished from Quaker costume, furniture, meeting houses and dwellings.13

It is certain, however, that they tried to establish a code condemning the purely ornamental. The Yearly Meeting of Women Friends in 1698 entreated:

that no superfluous furniture be in your houses, as great fringes about your valances, and double valances, and double curtains, and many such needless things.13

This plea is evidence that some Philadelphians enjoyed very un-Spartan-like surroundings, but it also means that the creative talents of craftsmen were suppressed to the extent that elaborately crafted furniture was discouraged. The nature of provincial existence stressed function and durability; the additional emphasis given these qualities by a powerful united group must have hindered, if not prevented, the evolution of purely artistic characteristics in furniture. The craftsmen were asked instead to meet a standard "of the best sort, but plain." When the domestic establishments of early Philadelphians are examined, such generalities are explained and expanded.
This study is focused on furniture, but furniture is best understood when it is visualized in a house, surrounded by accessories. A description of a Philadelphia interior before 1730 is not known, so any setting must be a conjecture, based on inventory information. The great variety of accessory furnishings in the houses before 1710 has been analyzed by Ruth Matzkin. The accessories mentioned in this study were selected to show what was available and in use, not necessarily what was usual or common. The majority of inventories do not tell in which room of the house the objects listed were located, so the information available on the interior arrangements is scanty and does not represent an accurate cross section. The placement of furniture within a room was never described.

The standard Philadelphia house had two ground floor rooms with chambers above, the kitchen perhaps an extra room, plus garrets and cellars. James Claypoole described the construction of the houses in 1691:

They build all with Stone and Brick now, except the very meanest sort of People, which Build framed Houses with Timber, and Featheredge-Boards without side [sic], lath'd and plaistered within, two stories high, very pretty Houses. 

After citing the wearing apparel and cash of the deceased, the standard inventory lists the contents of the main chamber (bedroom), and then of the other living rooms. The kitchen and cellars were usually
the last rooms considered, followed by any livestock and real property.
If the deceased were a craftsman, his tools were often itemized
separately, if a merchant, his "Shop Goods." The "Shop" was frequently
a part of the house.

One of the earliest surviving Philadelphia inventories is that
of Christopher Taylor, taken in March, 1686. A substantial merchant
who had served as Register General of the Province (a lucrative office),
he owned two houses. A "House and Lot in high Street" valued at £100
was not abundantly furnished, though it held Taylor's library, which
included: "Warrell's Husbandry...12s" and "12 Dutch Books...5s, 15
English Books...5s." Another structure, called "The Logg House," was
apparently a two and one-half story building, with two rooms and the
"Roome where they Dress Victualls" on the ground level, chambers above
each of these, and garret rooms over all.

The furniture in these rooms included a cedar table valued
at 8s, an oak chest of drawers at £1:0:0, a spice box at 5s, a close
stool case with a stand for a basin at 2s, and two tables listed with
carpets at 10s and 12s. More than thirty chairs were present: six
"Turkey work" were valued together at £1:16:0, six cane at £2:5:0,
eight wooden at 15s, two serge at 8s, a wicker chair at 12s, and a
number of others which were either not described or simply called
"old." A "Standing Candlestick with Snuffers" at 12s in the "low
room" of the log house was of greater value than the 10s clock.
The presence of such objects suggests that although the houses may have been relatively crude, the furnishing were not necessarily primitive.

A house left by merchant William Frampton the next year followed the same pattern, and the furnishings reflect the high value of his estate. There were "bermudas," leather, and cane chairs, and "8 feather Cussions" to make the wooden chairs in the hall comfortable. The walls of the parlor were ornamented with "One Square cutt diamond Looking glass" at £1:5:0, "one hanging shellefe 8 Glasses" at 6s, and "a mapp of Philadelphia" at 2s. Such inventory samplings show that early settlers were not limited to basic necessities. Not all colonists furnished their homes lavishly, but it appears that those who had money and the inclination to spend it often invested in fine furnishings. Prosperous men, such as William Penn and John Tatham, built large dwellings. Knowledge of their houses and furnishings provides a guide in assessing the property of others.

As Proprietary of Pennsylvania, William Penn was the most important man in the new colony. His religious principles did not preclude concern for financial investments or interest in domestic details. Even after being called back to England in 1684, Penn retained a personal involvement in the details of his Pennsylvania estate. He appointed James Harrison as "the Steward of my Household & what relates to the Place where I live." He trusted Harrison's wife "to overlook
the maidens in Dairy, Kitchen, and Chambers" of that substantial establishm ent. 19

In November 1685 he sent Harrison instructions for one of the three carpenters he had transported to Pennsylvania the preceding March:

The Carpenter & Joyner I sent is fit for wainscot—
which let be plain—Gett window shutts & two or three
Eating Tables to flap down—one less that another as
for 12-8-5. Some wooden chairs of Walnut with long
backs, 4 Inches lower than the old ones because of
Cusheons.20

Although expressing the conservatism ("which let be plain") that would underscore colonial tastes, Penn's concern for fashion and comfort is unmistakable. These significant allusions establish the presence of pannelled rooms with shuttered windows, tables to allow the practice of dining in small groups made fashionable by Charles II, and the early manufacture of chairs in America. The eating tables "to flap down" follow a form developed under the Stuarts, when

Many tables were constructed with a folding half-top
and some form of gate leg support, and from these
latter derived the small gate-leg tables with hinged
flaps ("falling" tables) made in increasing numbers
and size.21

His more exact instructions for the chairs confirm the presence of tall-back "William and Mary" chairs, the accommodations of style for comfort and the early use of walnut in Pennsylvania furniture. Though walnut was the fashionable wood in urban England, in the 1680's and 1690's it is often assumed that this era was still an "Age of Oak" in

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America. Undoubtedly, immigrants brought both old and new styles with them.

Since Philadelphia was not founded until 1682, and few examples of Pennsylvania furniture made in the early seventeenth century style are known, it is probable that most furniture made in the new city was made in the "William and Mary" mode. Whereas in New England an indigenous tradition of furniture making in the early styles had time to develop, and was slowly overcome by the newer styles first introduced during the reign of Charles II (1660-1682), this progression was probably not the case in Pennsylvania. Both the furniture craftsmen and their customers were probably exposed to the newer styles before they immigrated. The rapid expansion of Philadelphia as a port of consequence supporting a class who could afford fashionable furniture, plus the availability of walnut, probably favored the predominance of the "new" style.

The instructions Penn sent Harrison must have been followed, for the first reference to walnut chairs discovered in a Philadelphia-related manuscript were those listed in the 1687 room-by-room account of the goods at "Pennsbury Manor." This same account determines that "The Govrs Paller," "Paller," and "Joyners Roume," were connected by a "Hall" and "Pasaige Roome" on the ground floor. Contrary to usual seventeenth century custom, a lack of furniture shows that the "Hall" was not a dwelling room, but the "Pasaige Roome" contained tables,
chairs, and chests. Chambers above each of these rooms were described after three cellars--"Common," "Kitchen," and "one next to the garden." It may be that the "Ould Kitchen" and its chamber, "John Brooks Roum," a smith's shop--with chamber and garret, a carpenter's room, and "henery Gibses Roume" were in separate out-buildings.\(^22\)

Considering Penn's social and economic standing, and the size of Pennsbury, the furniture is not unduly impressive. Accessories were as important as abundant furniture through most of the seventeenth century, and the amounts of pewter, brass, silver, textiles, and books are assurance the Proprietor did not content himself with mere necessities. Surprisingly, no picture or maps were mentioned, because Penn complained to Harrison in 1686:

> I know not in what estate the house is--the Chamber Garretts, or what we must have for our entertainment if we come--The rooms when I left being mostly bare walled."\(^23\)

Only the "Govrs Paller," which seems to have served as a storage room, and the passage room, which must have been inconvenient, did not contain beds. Progress though the latter was impeded by a small oval table, three black walnut and four oak chairs, a backstool, cricket (low wooden footstool), two chests, a "wood Caige for Chicken", an "old barell with hay seed," and other odd items. Other rooms were plentifully, though less diversely, furnished. Besides two tables (one oval, one with a drawer), eleven chairs, and spice box, the "Paller" was distinguished by a "new Chest of Drawers." In the
chamber above, a "Large Ceane Carved trundell Chair" rivaled the bed for attention. Other chairs, a black walnut table with a drawer, and small deal (pine) sideboard table completed the setting reflected by an "olive framed Lucking glass." "

In a sense, Penn was obliged to be concerned with his household furniture. While a growing middle class encouraged the introduction of new forms and the trend toward more fully furnished rooms, customary associations of certain items with social rank continued. The "great" (usually an armed) chair, for instance, had ceremonial significance. William Markham, the kinsman of Penn who purchased the land for Penns bury, kept the Proprietor informed of events in the colony when Penn was in England. Markham recounted an incident in 1686 which indicates the privilege and authority an "Elbow" (armed) chair represented:

The first thing they [the Court] did they sent a warrant for P[atrick] R[obinson] ... As soon as he came in he squats himselfe downe opposite to me, at the table I writ which was before the Judges; Arthur Cook spake to him thus, wee sent for you not to sitt There He replyed he Came not in obedience to their warrant but voluntarily to Know what they had to say to him, and said he, if you are offended at my sitting here I will sitt there. He then Removed into an Elbow Chaire with a Cushing in it that had been sett for President Lloyd. His posture when there was very Indecent, much like a mad Man. I was astonished to see it in a Man of his understanding.

Robinson had held responsible offices in the province, but insubordinate behavior prompted the Assembly to seek his dismissal. The expectation that even a man known for his intractability would respect a chair is demonstration of a symbolic role, because chairs were the most
frequently mentioned and best described items found in Philadelphia inventories. Convention, not scarcity, prompted Markham's remarks. Fine furnishings were not ostentatious; they were necessary accoutrements for a man of position.

John Tatham of Burlington, West Jersey, a member of the Grand Council of West Jersey Proprietors, was such a man. In 1685 Tatham lived on Neshaminy Creek in Bucks County, Pennsylvania. At that time Penn acknowledged Tatham's status by admonishing Thomas Lloyd:

be sure to please him in his Land & for distance he must take where it is clear of other pretensions.27

Even when Tatham moved to New Jersey a record of legal difficulties shows that he had continued interests in Pennsylvania.

The Tathams had a large house in Burlington. In 1698 Gabriel Thomas described it as a:

Great and Stately Palace . . . pleasantly Situated on the Northside of Town, having a very fine and delightful Garden and Orchard adjoyning to it.28

The floor plan is not known, but the house contained a "Great Parlour," "Lodging Room," "Hall," "Gallery," "Esqr's Closet," "dyning Roome," and "nursery," besides several other rooms. A nursery was not mentioned in a Philadelphia inventory before 1730, and the Tatham's dining room was the earliest found.

Two inventories were made of the Tatham property within a brief period because Elizabeth died in January, 1701, just four months...
after her husband. Since Burlington was in the Philadelphia trade area, most of the furnishings for their home was probably purchased directly from ships or though Philadelphia.

The Tatham house was well furnished. The basic furnishing for a dining room were published by Randall Holme in England in 1688:

Lang table in the middle, either square or to draw out in Leaves, or Long, or Round, or oval with falling leaves. ... a Turky table cover, or carpet of cloth or Leather printed. Chairs and stools of Turkey work, Russia or calves Leather, cloth or stuff, or of needlework. Or else made of Joyn work or cane chairs ... and a large seeing Glass at the higher end of the Rome.²⁹

The Tathams' example was fitted (among other things) with: "one small oval wallnut Table Skreene...£2:5:0," "1 doz new Cane Chairs...£18:0:0," "one Large looking glass...£5:0:0," and "one writing desk with drawers covering...£2:0:0."³⁰ Other furnishings of both Penn and Tatham are mentioned in latter discussion.

A dining room was not listed in a Philadelphia inventory until 1711. There Benjamin Wright placed:

```
1 Chest Drawers £ 1:0:0
6 Caine Chairs £12s6d  3:15:0
2 Leather Chairs  0:6:0
1 Ovall Table & Carpet  2:0:0
```

Particular rooms were noted in some other Philadelphia houses. Baker James Fox, whose shop goods show he had also been a merchant, had expanded his house, for a "New Roome" was furnished with twelve chairs and a walnut table in 1701.³²
When John Weir drew his will in 1700 he lived in "Charleston in ye Province of Carolina," but appraisers titled him "Capt. John Ware Late of Philadelphia Marct," when assessing his Philadelphia property in 1705. His shop was incorporated in his house, for the inventory proceeds from the "The Room Next to ye Shop" to the "Great Parlor," individualized by:

\[
\begin{array}{r}
\text{cours callico carpt} & 1:0:0 \\
\text{large Looking glass} & 3:10:0 \\
5 \text{ Maps and 3 Small Picture} & 5:0:0 \\
\text{A Comb Box jap} & 0:15:0 \\
\text{A wrought[needlework] Quilt lined with Silk} & 6:0:0
\end{array}
\]

A kitchen and entry completed the lower floor, three chambers and garrets formed two more levels. Since one of the last rooms contained "2 Servants Beds &c Ould," Weir lived in considerable comfort.

An interesting architectural feature of 1706 Philadelphia house was a "Balconey Chamber". The furnishings included: "1 Good Cane Couch...\£2:0:0," "a Swinging Glass...\£1:10:0," and "2 Mapps...\£2:0:0." Maps were widely owned [but] this house had an unusual number; two in the best chamber, three each in the parlour and "Second best Roome," and "A map of London...6s" in the kitchen. Less common accessories were a "Weather Glass...\£1:0:0" and a clock worth\£20:0:0 in the parlor.

Functional objects which were decorative gave the Philadelphia home a distinctive tone. Hammocks, for instance, a very practical form of bed which could be brought out when required but easily dispensed with otherwise, were mentioned in several inventories. Five
were detailed in the substantial estate of Quaker John Jones, who brought his family to Philadelphia in 1683 "from Plantation Meeting, Island of Barbadoes." These demonstrate that Quakers were not all "plain" people:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>£ s d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Old hamack</td>
<td>1:0:0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Ditto with fringe</td>
<td>1:10:0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Ditto old</td>
<td>1:5:0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Ditto Double fringe</td>
<td>2:0:0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 old D° no strings</td>
<td>0:10:0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The "fringed" examples, which may have been so elaborate as to have been permanently hung, show how essential forms were decorated.

Textiles were another necessary item in home furnishings which were important as decoration. Table, sidboard and chimney cloths were made of rich fabrics as well as linen. The luxurious fashion of draping a table with a carpet was also practiced in Philadelphia; as evidenced in these entries:

(1694) One Small Pine Table & Old Strip't Carpt ... 6s
(1697) 1 Old Oval pine Table & Carpett ... 45s

The nature and number of decorated items was determined by the wealth of the settler, but almost every inventory listed at least a looking glass (either because of the poor quality of artificial lighting or for prestige). A sense of decoration is manifested by even a small number of the items mentioned before 1700:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>£ s d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4 turkey worke Cusheons</td>
<td>0:8:0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Pillow case</td>
<td>0:1:0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 small arm ditto at 9d</td>
<td>0:1:3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 painted carpetts at 3s</td>
<td>0:6:0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 old painted Chimney Cloaths</td>
<td>0:0:9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Decorative articles seem to increase after the turn of the century. By that time more settlers were well enough established to acquire them, and sufficient time had passed to allow their accumulation. Structural decoration was also becoming fashionable. Houses from this period are generally panelled, and wall papers and ornamental tiles were being used. In 1715/16, for instance, Isaac Norris purchased "2 Chests of Dutch Tyles: 1 black, 1 printed" for £8:0:0. These may have been for his own use or for resale. 39

As supplement to, or perhaps instead of, these integral elements, walls continued to be hung with movable ornaments. In 1715 sadler John Newman owned:

\[
\begin{array}{lrr}
\text{2 looking Glasses} & \pounds & 1:10:0 \\
\text{1 Ditto & 2 Dressing Boxes} & 3:0:0 \\
\text{1 D° & a paF Sconces} & 5:0:0 \\
\text{2 Picture Frames} & 1:0:0 \\
\text{3 Oval & 2 Square Pictures} & 23:0:0 \\
\text{24 Small Pictures at 2s} & 2:8:0 \\
\text{3 Pictures} & 0:5:0 \\
\text{7 black Pictures} & 1:10:0
\end{array}
\]

The subjects did not impress the appraisers as did Margaret Tench's "King Charles picture Sett in Silver...1s 6d," but the assortment is more definite than a 1720 listing of "4 pictures with Glass & 5
ditto without" at £1:15:0. That such articles were commonly accepted, or thought necessary, in a room is suggested by a 1720 newspaper advertisement in the Philadelphia American Weekly Mercury:

Useful and Cheap Ornaments for Room's being 6 New Beautiful Mapp's each on two large Sheets of Royall Paper Sold by John Copson in Market Street.42

Oliver Galtrey's advertisement of August, 1723, suggests further sources for ideas of interior decoration:

There is lately come from London by way of New York to Philadelphia, a very curious and exact Modell of the Czar of Muscovia's Country Seat, . . .the House is also furnished in all the Rooms with all sorts of the most fashionable Furniture, and People at their severall Diversions; Likewise out houses of all sorts, with their several Conveniences according to the Czars own fancy; . . .may be seen at any time betwixt the Hours of three and six at Mr. Oliver Galtrey Perriwig maker in the Market Street near the Old Prison.43

The inspiration for furnishings could thus have come from diverse, and sometimes odd, sources. The advertisement affirms the fact that there was an interest in "fashionable furniture," and indicates that colonists were not isolated from contemporary European fashions. Most Philadelphians would have viewed the exhibit because of curiosity about the "Czars own fancy," but some may have adapted what they saw for more than amusement.

The usual, though less distinctive, supply of household equipment had the advantages of traditional use and economy. Thomas Crompton offered for sale:
in Market Street near the old prison, Several Sorts of Household Goods and Game Shop Goods, by Wholesale or Retail at Reasonable Rates.\textsuperscript{44}

Ceramics and glassware might have been among the goods Crompton sold. These were useful articles, but inventory entries, such as: "a Cubbard earthenware & glasses to furnish it", imply that decoration and display were other functions.\textsuperscript{45} Since a bricklayer's "Front Large Chamber" and "little Room" were "up 2 pair of Stairs," his 1720 house and shop must have been three storied. In two of the bedrooms, and in the room behind the shop, earthenware and glasses on the "Chimney Piece" were given values of 6s, 6s 6d, and 16s.\textsuperscript{46} In 1722, Jonathan Dickinson also placed "10 Glasses on Mantlepiece," valued at 4s, in his front chamber. Earthenware did not meet his standard, however. Instead, "23 pc\textsuperscript{s} Chinaware" worth £1:0:0 were on the mantle of his best chamber.

Similarly, Dickinson was not content with dull tin or iron. He owned:

\begin{itemize}
  \item Brass Knobbed Doggs a Tongs shovel & bellows £0:15:0
  \item Large sliding Brass & Iron standing Candlestick £1:10:0
  \item 9 Brass Candlesticks £1:0:0
\end{itemize}

Evaluation of luxury or necessity of Dickinson's possessions depends on our comprehension of a house with eight rooms, exclusive of kitchens, garrets and cellars. His estate totaled £1978:17:0 3/4, while one mariner's estate was only £72:17:0 (with no land). Nevertheless, the mariner owned a looking glass worth £1:15:0, as well as "Small
Tea Table, 3 Maps, 2 pictures and glass and earthenware...[all] 10s." Several inventories similarly demonstrate that ownership of decorative items was not confined to the wealthy, although they may have had a greater variety.

It has thus become evident that those colonists who could afford more did not make do with scant primitive furniture and bare walls simply because they were in Pennsylvania. The memories of their English homes were strong, and interior decoration was keyed to the effort to reproduce the "home" setting in the new land. This provided some material continuity for their new situation, and the decorative elements essential to accomplish it were in almost every Philadelphia home. This idea of the structure and decoration of Philadelphia houses before 1730 provides some context for a more thorough study of the furniture forms which were in use.
Chapter II

Forms for Living

Furniture is the basic element in house furnishings. The forms which are used to sleep on, eat from, sit upon, and store in determine not only how a room looks, but how a society lives. To understand Philadelphia before 1730, therefore, it is important to know what furniture forms were in use, the variety within these forms, and when shapes or materials were first mentioned. Ruth Matzkin's comprehensive statistical study of the contents of Philadelphia inventories taken before 1710 did not record when specific forms of furniture appeared, nor did it consider accounts and import records.¹ This study is limited to furniture in an attempt to discover whether a stylistic, rather than statistical, statement might be made.

Beds were usually the first furnishings listed in an inventory, and often represented a major portion of a person's household goods. During the period discussed, a "bed" essentially meant the pallet or mattress. There is a conspicuous lack of detail about the wooden frame, or "bedstead," which supported the mattress and hangings; in fact, there are surprisingly few references to actual bedsteads, although "sacking bottoms" and "cords" prove the existence of some sort...
of frame. In 1682 James Claypoole willed to his daughters:

3 ffeather Bedds 3 Bolsters 6 Pillows & Covers 6 (?)
of sheets 6 Blankets one quilt and two Ruggs and my
3 coorst setts of Curtains & valens; § 3 Bedsteads.

His appraisers valued one of the bedsteads "with Sacking bottom"
at 20s.²

Three of the eleven beds listed at Pennsbury the same year
were seemingly without frames. Two were described as "bed and
tester," which implies a frame, and the rest mentioned a bedstead.³
The parlour contained "one fether bed boulster and pillo one blan-
ket" with "Cordes and stetell". Whether the "stetell" (probably a
settle) served as the bed (which raises the question of how the
cords were used) or was perhaps storage space for extra sleeping
materials is uncertain.

A casual attitude toward bedsteads is manifested in a letter
from William to Hannah Penn in 1695, when both were in England:

I need say littl of our household matters, in a post
or two those will have an account of w't is sent, & y'e
keys by some safe hand, w'ch is all yt ye season will
allow. Tishe desires thee to excuse her sending her
white curtains, unwasht, she had not time, I pressing
her, & promessing to excuse it. overlook her outside,
It was a gift of her mothers, & she never made it up
before. y'e curtains are to come no lower than y'e bed-
stead at bottom of counterpan reaching the Ground [sic],
serves for lower vallen's...⁴

Apparently the curtains did not reach the floor, and the fittings
were otherwise simplified by the elimination of a "dust ruffle," but
Penn's instructions are not clear. The casual expectation that these hangings will fit suggests a standard size or form of frame.

Elizabeth Tibby, a joiner's widow, owned a "Caniped" bedstead worth 10s in 1688.\(^5\) This was probably what is called a "four-poster" bed today. A "Canopy bedstead" was appraised again in 1717 among the widow Sarah Quary's goods, together with "a Tent bedstead 8s."\(^6\) Tents are mentioned in the 1687 Pennsbury account, and thereafter in several inventories, but without indication of how they were used. The "tent" bedstead may have been similar to John Moon's "Field bedsted," a folding type which could be easily disassembled.\(^7\) The bedding and "3 iron curtain rods" listed with this bed in 1688 mark a high-posted form. Moon's garret contained "2 peers bedboard...1s 6d," and "1 bedstead and bord...3s," raising the question of what were "bed-boards?" Besides a "Large Walnut Bedstead w\(^{th}\) ffurniture 22" in the great chamber, Margaret Beardsley left "1 old bedstead at Thomas England's."\(^8\) Both Moon and England have been identified as merchants, but there are also indications that they did upholstery work.\(^9\) The widow Beardsley could have been having a bed refurnished, and it would explain the bed frame parts in Moon's attic.

A particularly descriptive listing of bed types was compiled by some appraisers in 1692:
1 Black wallnut bedsted § Sacking bottom to it with wooden Screws £2:0:0
1 Ditto with Sacking bottom & Iron Screws £1:12:0
1 Oak Bedsteed Short post § curd
1 pallat bedsteed (4s)
1 oak bedstead with long post & cord

The woods used and the choice of "short" and "long" posted forms is interesting, but the specific mention of screws is even more important because screws meant the beds were held securely but could be dismantled without difficulty.

There can be no doubt that Philadelphia joiners were making bedsteads at this time. In 1694 joiner John Fellows not only left "2 Bedsteeds" valued at 12s among his own household goods, but "one pallet bedsted partlie made" at 6s. Listings in three 1699 inventories are representative of the price range: "6 Bed: steads" valued at £3:0:0, "a new Bedsted" at 8s, "a bedstead Cord" at 8s, "1 Old bedstead w th Iron Curt n rods" at 14s, and "1 Blak walnut pallet bedstead with a sacking bottom" at £1:0:0. Samuel Robeson also had an "ordinary bed: stead," so some type of carving or ornament may have distinguished others.

Some of the best information on Philadelphia furniture in the early eighteenth century is found in the account books of James Logan who came to Pennsylvania in 1699 as Penn's secretary. He remained in the colony as a merchant and as Penn's agent until his death in 1739. One of his accountbooks begins in 1712, and was the only non-inventory source consulted which mentioned furniture during the
1700-1715 period. Significantly, three of the four account references during that time are to bed furnishings. "Silk Ticken" costing £4:9:2 in 1712 was probably for the embellishment of Logan's own chamber, and approximates the price of four walnut chairs imported the same year, evidence of the large outlays beds represented.

The detail of Logan's accounts is shown by the entries of such small purchases as "Rings to the Bed" at 4s 10 1/4d, but there is no mention of bedsteads.

One reason bedsteads were not specifically listed on some inventories may be that they were not used. Hammocks were listed in a number of inventories, and the lack of reference to a frame per se in the many bequests of bedding, such as Margaret Cooke's "Unto my Daughter Sarah Cooke . . . my pallet Bed & furniture there Unto belonging" may indeed mean that it was just a matting of some type.

Other alternatives include the use of cotts, such as that possessed by joiner Richard Gove, valued with a bedsted at five shillings in 1710. This was probably a simple style, because a "Cott bedstead" in a front chamber in 1719 was valued at 10s, while "1 Old Bedstead and Rods" in the "small Front Chamber" was worth 20s. It may be that bedsteads sometimes were not used at all, but they were more probably such simple frames, and so thoroughly covered, that they did not merit description. Another explanation is that a bed predicated a bedstead to most appraisers, so it would have been redundant to list it.
The strictly utilitarian role of the bedstead is evidenced in the inventories of the Tathams of Burlington. The entries follow the form found in most inventories, and are generally descriptive:

"1 feather Bed, bolster & Pillow a Sett of Camlet Curtains lin'd wth Sarsnett Vallens above & below, Sacking bottoms, bedstead, 3 Iron rods wth a high head lin'd & quilted, 1 Silk Quilt lin'd wth bags ... all at £30:0:0.19

Occasionally the appraisers were more specific about the bedsteads. The chamber above the Tatham's kitchen, and the long gallery, contained "screw" bedsteads. The latter also had "turned posts", but was "wanting ye Sides" (6s). The most interesting bed was in the "lodging Room" where a down bed was supported by "1 Good Sacking bottom bedstead wth large wrought head" valued at £37:0:0.19 It is tempting to assume the "wrought head" meant carved wood, but it could also describe a panelled headboard, or a simple frame with a needlework covering.

A 1704 estate included: "4 Standing beadsteads 2 Turned beadsteads & some Curtain rods," all valued at £2:10:0.20 The "turned" type is self-explanatory, but "standing" is an enigmatic term, provoking the image of a high posted form, but this is not a certain definition. Bedsteads were otherwise described as small, large, old and "low," the last in the garret of a glazier.21 Merchant Samuel Cart neglected his furnishings despite an estate evaluation of £1266:13:6. The bedsteads, and "old clock", "broken p Chest of drawers" and "Table old & broken", were all described as "old fashioned" in 1711.22 Shipwright
Bartholomew Penrose had a 5s "Truckle Bedstead," truckle referring to the small wheels which made them easily movable.  

The inventory of Charles Plumley, a joiner, in 1708 recorded only two bedsteads for four beds: "1 Small Sacking bedstead" at 15s and "1 Bedstead Bottom Iron Rodds and Cornishes &c" worth £2:10:0," for which he had "1 pr Green Curtains and Vallens" or 1 pr blew Printed Curtains fringed", each at £1:15:0. It is uncertain whether the "Cornishes" were wooden or upholstered. Since Plumley had "7 Sett Gum bedstead pillows" (pillars?) at 2s 4d and "15 Sett Sydes and Ends at the same price among his shop goods, another source of bed frames in Philadelphia is known. Gum wood has not normally been identified as a cabinet wood used in this area.

Walnut bedsteads which seem to have been commonly used were sometimes highly valued, as: "1 Black Walnut Bedstead at 30s, 1 ditto at 20s." Other woods were also mentioned. A "Bedd, Pine bedstead, ordinary Quilt, &c." valued at £3:10:0 was kept in Nathaniel Puckle's "Little Roome." Carpenter Thomas Bradford had a varied assortment in 1722; two walnut bedsteads were located in his best chamber, an oak example in a "Little Chamber" and garret, and one of gum in a lower room. All had sacking bottoms. An important 1719 entry completes the range of woods available:

"Feather bed bolster pillow Sheets 3 blanketts 2 Coverlids Curtains, rod & Mahogany bed stead ... £6:5:0"
The use of mahogany did not necessarily signify elegant form. Elizabeth Coates only paid 11s for a mahogany bedstead three years later, against which an undescribed bedstead cost Sarah Coates £1:10:0 in 1724.29

An apparently casual grouping, "To a Couch a Bed and Pillow belonging to it" for £1:5:0 in 1724 assumes significance when "2 Couch beds" at 8s appear in 1727.30 As a "Cane Couch" is later listed at 15s these beds were probably pallets of some type to go on the couch, but the term might also have referred to the frame form itself. James Logan paid Thomas Lawrence £1:14:0 "for Plush for a Couch bed", which seems to indicate a covering for some simple form, perhaps even the inexpensive (6s) couch which Logan had debited his cash account for in 1725.31

Frequent references to bed ticking, feathers, and bedding of all sorts illustrate the method and costs of furnishing a bed in Philadelphia. Feathers or flock (wool or cotton waste) were the most common mattresses. Feathers could be obtained in various qualities. Sarah Coates purchased "63 pound of Feathers @ 20d" ... 5:4:0 in 1724. and in 1720 Nathaniel Allen observed to Williams Tucker in Bermuda:

as for feathers they are sold here for 2 shillings a pound if they are very good. 32

The contrast of Logan's payments of 25s to joiner Thomas Stapleford for a "Pallet Bedstead" in 1717 or 26s for a "bedstead" in 1718 to
the £13:14:9 paid upholsterer John Houseman "for a bed making & 2 stools" in 1720 confirms relative position of frame to bedding.33

John Christopher Sauer indicated the economic restrictions on the colony, as well as the indifferent attitude to furniture shipments in August of 1725. He wrote:

When one sails here from Holland, one can bring along, of course, much merchandise, as all goods here cost twice as much as over there, especially yellow, white, brown and red sewing and quilting threads. If examined by customs in England, it will be confiscated, because the merchants of England do not tolerate it. They are not supposed to check in the bedsteads, however.34

Philadelphia's furniture imports are better assessed in comparison with total English furniture exports to the colonies. Between 1697 and 1734 chairs worth £4,735, chests of drawers worth £1054, and scutoires worth £229 were sent. The growing self sufficiency of the colonies may be reflected by the drop during the 1720-1728 period. No chests of drawers were sent, and the scutoires were worth but £5. Chair exports were £1,232. More probably the cut-back was due to an overstocked market, which finally induced a depression in 1729.35

James Logan's accounts also contain the best record of furniture imported into Philadelphia before 1730. His accounts indicate how some furniture entered the country, and how it was dispersed. The "sundries" Logan purchased for his "own use" in 1712 are especially significant:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Chest of Drawers</td>
<td>8:0:0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Walnut Chamber Table</td>
<td>2:16:0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 large looking Glass</td>
<td>6:0:0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 D° Smaller 30s and 1 Swinging Glass</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3:0:0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 fine Mesopotam Quilt</td>
<td>4:16:0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 fine pair of Blanketts</td>
<td>2:0:0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Walnut Chairs at 22s6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Armed D° 27s</td>
<td>9:0:0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Small 18s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>total 35:12:0 36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Logan's note that the items were "brought over" proves that furniture was being imported, that it was good furniture (the price of the pieces and the trouble of importation support this assertion), and that it was not limited to chairs, but included some case pieces as well. Logan titled entries made on March 25, 1718:

Sundry Accots D'' to Accot of Cargoe the Adventure for the following Goods being what I have recvd for my 1/4 the of Said Cargoe accounting each Guilder to advance to 4s of our Money^7

The necessity of establishing a rate of exchange from gilders means the goods could either be Dutch, or from a country for whom the Dutch were carriers.

This "Joyners Ware" was received from the Adventure's cargo:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Table N° 1 at 28St[ivers]</td>
<td>£2:6:1 3/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 d° No. 3 at 46 St</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 d° N 4 at 56 St</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Table N° 6 at 54 St</td>
<td>£0:17:7 1/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Leaf at 14 St</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 d° at 20 St</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1 black Stand at 22 St
   1 Side Table 38 St £0:12:0
6 buckets at 13 1/2 St
   3 Close Stooles at 27 St £1:12:4 3/4
1 Desk at 27 St
   1 Pair Bellows at 18 St £0:9:0
1 Oval Table at 38 St
   2 ditto 28 St £0:18:9 1/2
1 Hangore at 48 St
   2 ditto at 60 £2:8:7 3/4
1 Sempsters box at 24 St
   1 d° at 75 £2:7:2 1/2
3 Bottle Cases 1 at 4.8 £0:4:9 1/2
   2 ditto 3.14

A "Sempsters box" must have been a box fitted with compartments to hold a tailor's (i.e. seamster's) implements. The possibility that this cargo came from Holland may account for the "Dutch tables" listed in inventories of 1717 and 1722, or the term may refer to a certain form. The exact origin of the "Queen Anne" (cabriole leg and shell motif) style is uncertain, but it undoubtedly came to England from the continent. Perhaps these tables were in that style, rather than having the straight, turned legs of "William and Mary" furniture.

The cargoes that Logan received in bulk were separately dispersed over a length of time. Thomas Lindley bought one "Case w th 12 Bottles in" for £1:0:0 on April 7, 1718, and just two days later Governor Keith purchased the black stand, but it was not until the next year that Chas. Brockden purchased a stand and "No. 4" table. These were, of course, also exchanges in between. Thomas Sharp, who sold Logan a "bed bottom: for £1:0:0 was charged for three tables on May 7, 1718: "1 Large Hangore...£1:0:0, 1 Small ditto...15s & 1 Oval...
One of the most intriguing entries is for part of a cargo received in 1718 which included:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Case Picture frames</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Case Compasses and Glasses</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Case Chairs &amp; c.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Cask Brushes</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Nests Trunks</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Where the chairs were made, how many were in a "Case," and whether or not they were assembled remains in question, but it does suggest how things were shipped.

Logan took parts of the cargoes he received for his own use, but he also made special orders for himself. A postscript in a letter to England on March 4, 1717/18 contained these exacting directions:

I now desire further A handsome black looking glass for a Parlour of about 4£ or 4:10 pray See the glass be good & true; ye best way to try. wch is by going back from it in a good light on thy face about 20 or 30 foot, then try all yᵉ parts of it, & if it no way distort thy face in making it neither longer or broader it is good; but for yᵉ Joyners Work be strong, and the case good.42

The emphasis is on function rather than ornament, but Philadelphia craftsmen were not prepared to meet such requirements. R. W. Symonds' study of provincial English furniture determined that:

The trade of the looking-glass maker was primarily a London trade and it is doubtful whether any but the most ordinary looking glasses were made outside London in the first three quarters of the eighteenth century.43
Since looking glasses could be easily imported, and London craftsmen protested when the colonies developed their industries, Americans did not master these trade techniques before their English counterparts. Jonathan Askew must have followed instructions, because Logan's comment on receipt of the glass was casual:

... My wife is generally pleased of late with what thou hast done for her. The Glass I think is a good one & she likes ye flannel."

£2:18:0 was later paid for "Looking Glass from J. Askew". The eight months between order and receipt shows how closely colonials could follow London fashions if the English agent sent new stock.

The cargoes other merchants received and sold also included furniture. The stock was selected in response to the colonists' needs and desires. The goods "Still Remaining" from a cargo in Francis Richardson's accounts exhibit the odd variety of merchandise that resulted:

Still Remaining of my Cargoes
4 doz 4 pr Mens Stockins
2 doz Gays deto
10 pr Wimins deto
4 Round Tea Tables
12 Doz Mens & Wimns Gloves

The account book of an unidentified merchant for the years 1694-1699 records several transactions, but the purchases and sales of furniture do not relate. Robert Elvar supplied "4 Caane Chayars att 12s 6d" in 1695, but "6 rush leather Chayars" were sold to Isaac Norris for £7:4:0 in 1696, and four of the same at £1:0:0 to William Coolman.
in 1698. The cane chairs were probably for the merchant's own use. The names of known chairmakers do not appear in his accounts, nor is there indication that the leather chairs were imported. Further information was not found on Robert Elvar or William Coolman.

The Women's Monthly Meeting probably did not go through a middleman in 1697 when they paid 12s "for a New Table with a draw in it to keep they the womens Book in." Craftsmen in Philadelphia could have made any of these pieces, but positive documentation is lacking.

After beds, chairs and tables were the basic elements of house furnishings. Chairs were present in quantity, and an impressive variety of forms. Those owned by Christopher Taylor in 1685 (see p7) example the diverse types which were used in many houses. Within the succeeding three years, canvas, wanded, leather, oak, and walnut forms also are mentioned. The problem is to correctly interpret the descriptions, and determine cost relationships. For example, in 1688 Anna Salter owned: "2 wooden large Chaires...6s", "4 smaller ditto...6s", "2 leather Chairs" and a "wanded Chair...4s". The last was probably a turned chair with a woven seat of willow strips, but may have been another form. The amount invested in chairs is not adequately represented by the appraisal, for there were also "4 turkey worke cushons" worth 8s to distribute among them. The common use of cushions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries parallels the practice of
extravagant bed hangings; both employed fabrics to cover wooden frames for ornament as well as function.

James Claypoole was more than commonly concerned with furniture in his will made in 1687. Besides distributing his bedding (which was a frequent practice) and giving his wife "household Goods for the Common and necessary furniture of One Roome," he bequeathed his daughter eighteen "high chairs" and six "low ones," and to his son "his writing cabinett." The subsequent inventory establishes some valuable price relationships. Three of Claypoole's beds (without bedsteads) were worth £17:10:0. A high leather chair is valued at 6s, a low one at 5s, and a leather stool at 4s, while cane chairs were each 10s and a cane couch was 20s. The appraisers (John Claypoole and Francis Cooke) also called some chairs "old"—only five years after the city's founding. They probably meant simple chairs with a good deal of wear, but they might also have meant old in form or fashion. The valuations are more significant when compared with those for case pieces; two cabinets were worth 8s and 10s, an oak chest of drawers 15s and a scrutoire 20s.

Rush, flag, matted, turned, cedar, "groaning", "childs", "fiare", and green chairs were described before 1700. "Framed" (6 for 45s), "ordinary" (2s each), "Shalloone" (1s 6d each) and bass (2s) chair forms were listed first between 1700 and 1715. Only the first known listing of a type is specifically marked, but these
recurred. Whatever the type, style, or quality, Philadelphians did not lack chairs. The number in a house is often surprising, although the four dozen leather chairs (8s each) listed as a group in 1723 are unusual. Those may have been meant for sale, but this was not the case for fourteen other chairs in the parlour or the sixteen in the back chamber.51

Sets of two to six chairs of a single type are common, but single chairs, especially if "arm" or "elbow," or of a rather special nature, are also frequent. In the eighteenth century combinations, or sets, of side and arm chairs became normal. Several kinds of chairs were listed in most inventories. Different types were sometimes grouped, as the "10 turkey work with 2 cane" chairs (all 144s) listed in 1699.52 The description of all seventeen of watchmaker Abel Cottey's chairs as "Bass Bottom" was a singular instance.53

Preference for a variety of seating is illustrated in Logan's accounts, which also strengthens the supposition that these were sets of matching chairs. In 1718 Logan took the following goods from the cargo of the Richmond for his own use:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 fine Walnut Chairs &amp; 1 Elbow ditto</td>
<td>11:6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 black Chairs at 6s, 2 Elbow ditº at 9s</td>
<td>3:12:0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 black Couch</td>
<td>1:2:0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Dressing Boxe</td>
<td>1:10:0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Arch'd black Looking Glass</td>
<td>2:11:0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Swinging Glass with a draw</td>
<td>1:7:0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Cane Chairs at 5s 6 Dº at 4s &amp; 1 Elbow 8s</td>
<td>3:2:0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>29:17:0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

54

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The double prices recorded probably indicate the difference in value between British sterling and Pennsylvania currency, a relationship of two to one. Since these chairs were less costly than those purchased earlier (see p. 30) they may have been simpler, or less fashionable. The importation of walnut chairs in both instances is especially interesting as walnut was one of the many woods Pennsylvania exported. If indeed the colonists received manufactures of this raw material, it is a sound example of mercantile theory in practice.

The prices of imported, and inventory-listed chairs should be compared. Though valuations varied, many chairs, without descriptive notations, were appraised at one shilling. Six "Turkey work Chairs" worth £1:0:0 (the usual price of a couch) each in 1697 were the most expensive found in an inventory. Rush, wooden, and undescribed chairs constitute most of the group of chairs worth one to four shillings. Four to twelve shillings each is the range of most of the leather, cane and walnut chairs evaluated.

The walnut chairs imported by Logan in 1712 averaged more than 20s. In 1702 a widow in Newcastle left six walnut chairs valued at 5s each, as were a yeoman's in 1707. By 1709 those of a Philadelphia potter were worth 8s 6d apiece, and in 1713 a baker's were 9s each. The quality obviously did not match Logan's. Time elapsed between such purchases and inventory appraisals, but neither age or inflation due to importation fully explain the discrepancy in price. It is likely that
the tradesmen's chairs were of local manufacture, which did not meet the English standard because of economic strictures, or, though this is doubtful, the colonial craftsmen's inability.

Known references to maple chairs demonstrate the manufacture of chairs in Philadelphia, and the time-lag between the introduction of a form and its appearance in an inventory. The shop goods of joiner Charles Plumley, inventoried in 1708, included "6 Carved Maple Chairs" all £3:0:0, but an "Elbow & 6 Maple Chairs" valued at £1:0:0 were not listed in another inventory until 1724.\textsuperscript{59} Inventories also, of course, continue to contain old forms, without always indicating their changed status. Although the symbolic significance of the chair had certainly diminished, an inventory in 1719 still identified a chair worth only 6s as a "Great Chair," and another "Great Arme Chaire wood" (both undoubtedly panel backed forms) valued at £1:0:0 was listed in 1727.\textsuperscript{60} This explains the value of dated purchases, or a "new" designation in inventories.

The impracticability of making absolute statements on the basis of inventories, taken by different people at different times, is further shown by comparison of the valuations made of John Tatham's estate after his death in 1700, to that of his widow who died in childbirth in January, 1701. The total estate was devalued from £3,765:18:3 to £3,407:2:0. The Burlington house contained a set of six camlet covered chairs, two of which were elbow (arm) chairs, a
dozen turkey work, and a dozen cane chairs. Moved from the "esq's Closet" to the "Parlour," the turkeywork chairs declined from £9:0:0 to £7:0:0 in value, and the "new" cane chairs valued at £18 in John's "Dyneing Roome" were re-grouped with a "Cane Couch & Quilt" for only £15. Elizabeth Tatham's appraisers also found the camlet chairs in the lodging room were "worn," and thus worth £2 rather than £3:12:0.61 In either case, the chairs are representative of the property of a comparatively small group of wealthy people. William Valicott had only benches to sit on in 1700, and this simple, inexpensive form of seating was probably used by a large mass of people.62 A middle-class butcher who died the same year had a quite standard variety of seating: six leather, four "old Large", "5 painted flagg", and "3 old flagg" chairs, plus "2 Joint Stools."63

Philadelphia society had secured its position and was enjoying prosperity in the New World by 1715, which is probably the reason for the more frequent references to furniture discernable after that date. Most of the kinds of furniture mentioned before 1730 were already in use. New forms had been quickly adapted, but older fashions remained popular. Cane chairs for example, are found in quantity, variety, and many price ranges well after 1730. James Logan "p[d] Cap't Torver for 1 doz Cane Chairs at 14 S ps & 2 Armed ditto at 20s 6d ps" in 1717.64 A set of six with an elbow or arm chair was most common, but twelve were not rare. Jonathan Dickinson was especially fond of this type, for forty-four (side) and twenty-six elbow cane
chairs were listed on his inventory in 1722. Isaac Leader, "mariner," had a set of "6 Cane Chairs & l Elbow" worth £3:00:00 in each his parlour and back chamber, and "6 Stickback Caine Chaers, l Elbow D°" worth £2:15:00 in the front chamber. The latter name poses intriguing questions: were these banister back chairs, and how many are listed simply as "cane" chairs in other inventories? Either greater age or more ordinary style could explain the difference in valuations. Though "Elbow" (i.e. armed) chairs are not always separately described, when they were listed with a set of chairs, as the above, they were assumed to match the side chairs.

Perhaps Quaker edicts influenced Logan to temper his desires in a request to a friend in London in 1718 for:

8 handsome but plain new fashion'd Cane Chairs of about 11 or 12 S & 2 Arm Chairs of ye same for a chamber.

These were probably the "8 Walnut Cane Chairs at 11s & 2 Elbow at 15s" that were recorded in his accounts for 1719. The combination of materials particularly noted here illustrates why wood analysis cannot be an absolute determinant of where furniture was made, for these may have been of American walnut which had been exported to England.

There was also a furniture trade among British colonies in the New World. In 1720 Nathaniel Allen wrote a friend in the Bermudas:

I would desire thee to send 3 red Sedar Chairs with White Straw Bottoms and of the newest fashion.
Inches high in the Seate with Low Backs they being for a friend of ours would desire thee to Send the cost of them in particular Whether they come to more or less than that particular Cask of flour. 69

Three inventories list "Bermuda" chairs, but all were taken before 1720.70 Those chairs were the property by merchants, one of whom had immigrated from the Barbadoes in 1699, and whose three chairs were called "old" in 1708.71 Whether these were a particular style of chair, or had simply been made there cannot be stated, but they were probably cedar panel-back chairs, similar to seventeenth century "wainscot" chairs.

Leather chairs ranked second only to cane in popularity. In an order of 1725 James Logan, always particular about expenses, specified that the "6 handsome Leather Chairs" he wanted be about 7s each.72 The first and only "rusia" chairs, twelve at 10s each in 1708, were probably of Russian leather, first mentioned in 1696.73 In 1708, twelve other leather chairs were 8s each. In 1714 leather covered a couch valued at 30s.74 Each of the six "High Rush (sic) Leather Chairs" in the same room were worth 15s, compared to "five old Chairs of Leather & Rush bottom's", 2s 5d each, and "Six cloth Coll'd Turkey work Chairs", all 36s, elsewhere in the house.74 In 1718 six leather chairs in a tailor's front chamber were worth the 7s Logan specified, and a set of six in a parlour in 1729 were worth 10s each.75 The price of Cane chairs averaged slightly higher, but examples of both more expensive and less costly pieces are common.
The variety within these types must have been considerable, and combinations occurred for Logan paid 6s each for "making leather Seats to 6 Cane Chairs" in 1726.76

Several more new descriptive terms were used before 1730. Blacksmith David Giffing had "Six old Stuf Chairs" and tailor William Boulding "9 Course Chairs" in 1717.77 "Stuf" refers to a fabric covering, usually of wool, but "course" might mean a form, though probably also a fabric. "Two Easie Chairs £8:0:0" left in 1717 mark a major innovation.78

The easy chair is significant because it symbolizes the new concept of comfort in a society hitherto limited to removeable cushions, and straightbacked cane or "Cromwellian" type chairs. It also represents a considerable investment in an unnecessarily luxurient form. An easy chair in 1722 was valued at £2:0:0, although that of a sadler in 1724 was just 10s.79 Jonathan Dickinson kept his easy chair in the best chamber, where it was valued with "12 cushions Court Squab 3 pillows all flower'd Satin" at £20:0:0, so the use of removeable cushions did not stop and upholstery remained the real concern.80 The squab and cushions were for a cane couch and "12 Elbow Cane chairs" at 22s [each]. The pillows may have been for the couch or the "2 Cane Stools" worth 20s.

Seating, in cane and other materials, was apparently sometimes made in suites. Stools and couches, more evident after 1715,
were usually noted in conjunction with chairs. If listings such as "2 Dozen Cane Chairs & 4 Stools" all for £8:8:0 mean all were the same material, stools of cane were the most popular type. The first specific identification is among the contents of a "Little Room" in 1719: "A Spice Box Close Stool & 2 Cane Stools & Looking glass & Picture" were all valued together at £2:0:0.

Couches are usually listed with a "squab," even with forms of less valuable material. "A black bass Couch and squab" at 20s and "6 bass Chairs" at 30s were located in a blacksmith's "best lower room" in 1717. One pound (20s) seems to be a standard valuation for a couch, although John Askew was credited £2:5:0 in sterling for the cane couch he sent James Logan from London in 1727. The better quality or higher fashion of imported goods is again implied by comparison of the £3:7:6 this couch was apparently worth in Pennsylvania currency with the lower values of the inventory listings mentioned above. On the same day the couch was purchased Logan paid "for Plush for a Couch bed &c 4 1/4 yds at 8s...£1:14:0" Such entries evidence continued practices (i.e. the lavish use of textiles) on new forms (such as couches), but do not document the innovations which must have been occurring in styles.

In 1712 Margaret Cooke bequeathed these useful items:

Unto my Grand Daught' Katherin Vauhan...5 Cane Chairs...a Black Wallnuutt Table...& a Spice Box All
which household Goods Shall be Delivered Unto the
Said Katherin Att her Marage or the Age of twenty
one Yeares

Tables of many descriptions were in use, but the most frequent inventory notation is "oval." Cedar, oak, black walnut and pine were used, sometimes in combination, as a "Small pyne table Oak frame" [2s] in 1694, or "1 small Table wth a Olivewood Leafe" [18s].

Earlier types which could be dismantled (table "boards" and tables with frames) continued in use, but more sophisticated side, folding and sideboard forms, sometimes in painted or inlaid elegance, were present before 1700.

A slate table, designed for use with foods and beverages, is mentioned in 1693, and another in 1699 was worth 30s. Six slate tables are listed in inventories between 1715 and 1730, but the only individual valuation was 15s in 1724. Other types are puzzling. "Spanish" tables were listed in 1687 for 10s, and in 1698, an old one for 5s. "Dutch" tables were valued at 5s in 1717 and 1723.

These terms could refer to style, origin, or a particular method of decoration; the first may have had what are presently called "Spanish" feet, but this is conjecture.

Tables could be had for any price from sixpence up. Size, wood, form, condition, and decoration were all factors. Examples of the considerable variety of styles and prices listed before 1700 include:
"Oval" tables were preferred in the eighteenth century, but long, round, and square forms, and more specialized types were also in use. The lodging room in the Tatham house contained a "Cedar Table & Callico Carpet" valued at £2:0:0 and "1 rich Ollave inlaid Table & 2 Stands" at £4:10:0.93 The latter may have been imported, but there were olivewood veneers in the shop of Philadelphia joiner Charles Plumley when he died in 1708.94 It is more probable Plumley produced the 15s type of "inlaid Table" in 1714 than the Tatham's elaborate form.95

Logan had several kinds of tables in his house. A "Scollop'd falling table...12s," probably a style with shaped drop leaves,96 was purchased a year after these five in 1718:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>£ s d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Hangore Table</td>
<td>0:15:0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Japand Oval Table</td>
<td>0:15:0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Smallest plain</td>
<td>0:12:0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 folding Oval Small</td>
<td>1:0:0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The most important entry is the "Japan'd Oval Table." It is the first furniture piece found with this decoration. The value of a "Japan'd Cabinet" in Edward Shippen's house in 1711 is not known, so the size cannot be conjectured. Japanned ornamentation is not uncommon after 1715, but is generally noted on smaller objects, such as looking glasses or boxes. William MacPherson Hornor states that in 1727 Ralph Assheton owned:

One Japan Cabinet, One Japan Card Table, front chamber
One old Japan Card Table, parlor
old Japan Tea Table, Back parlor.

This inventory has been lost, so the value of these articles is unknown, but they suggest the amount of ornamental furniture in one home, and the social pastimes of Philadelphia.

Other interesting table descriptions include a unique "Walnut Sliding Stool & Table in one" in 1713, and a "Small Turned Table with Drawer" which James Mills of Chester County kept in his "little roome by the street" in 1704. The notation "with a drawer" may have a hidden significance. In a survey of later seventeenth century English furniture Margaret Macdonald Taylor observes that:

Plainer tables fitted with drawers, and obviously intended for use rather than show,... were supported on the tapered baluster leg which had now superseded the spirally turned support. The legs were connected by shaped stretchers, and a finial was placed at the crossing or other salient point.

Tables with drawers may, therefore, be dressing, as well as dining... 

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forms. This type is specifically identified twice on a pipemaker's inventory in 1711, once with a small dressing box for £1:0:0.101

The most difficult problem of interpretation will probably never have a satisfactory solution: are tables listed in connection with case pieces simple tables, dressing tables or perhaps stands or frames? Sometimes the connection and usage is fairly clear, for instance, a "Table & drawers with a desk covered with Green Linsey... 9s," followed immediately by "a book called ye X an [Christian] Quaker...5s" and a "p cell of books 13 In number...6s."102 Present nomenclature would probably designate this a desk and frame. Group listings could mean the items were a set, or could just have been an expedient method of making the inventory; usage and meaning may have varied according to the practice of each appraiser. "A Chest of drawers, another Chest and table £2:0:0" owned by a potter-glassblower in 1709 may not have been connected, but a relationship between these items is more substantially suggested by two listings in 1711.103 The probability that "1 Chest of Drawers...£5 and Table...30s" in a merchants's best chamber were a matched high chest and dressing table is suggested by "a Black Walnut Chest & Black Walnut Dressing Table £2:0:0" owned by a pipemaker.104

Samuel Carpenter, identified by appraisers as a merchant of Bristol, Bucks County, was also treasurer of the province.105 Among the interesting furniture found in his house in 1714 were: a half dozen
turkey work chairs "wth black walnut frames," three black walnut
and one pine bedstead, two "old fashioned" oak chests of drawers,
A black walnut chest of drawers (50s), cedar chest (30s) and escre-
tore (20s). Of particular interest here, are a "Cedar Chest" and
"a small wallnut Chamber table," appraised together at 30s, and "one
Square Chamber table wth a Ceddar upperpart & Carp" valued at 12s. These provoke the conclusion that even during the period certain de-
scriptive terms were applicable to different forms, but do not illumi-
nate what they may have been. A chamber table with an "upperpart" may
mean a high chest, but this is not certain. It is probable that the
56s "Walnutt Chamber Table" in 1712 was a dressing table, and it was
listed just after a 160s Chest of Drawers. Similarly both chamber
table (18s) and chest of drawers (30s), found in the 1727 parlour of
Francis Rawle were of black walnut. These imply a connection not
suggested in the Carpenter inventory.

The varied nature of the furnishing grouped together further
complicates correct interpretation. Either a table or, more commonly,
a chest of drawers often head listings which contain dressing boxes,
looking glasses, chairs, spice boxes, and other forms; this problem
will be discussed further with chests of drawers.

A rich widow kept a looking glass with each of the two dressing
tables she owned in 1717. She had also been outfitted for an increasing-
ly popular social custom--tea drinking. The tea table served a specific
and useful function, but Sarah Quary's "Tea Table and Stand" worth 16s were luxury items in that they were non-essential. Elaboration of design and ornament often evidence fashionable interest; the desk form, for instance, was developed so that it exceeded the requirements of a writing surface. Since tea drinking had at first been limited to the wealthy, the ownership of such an object was an express statement of wealth and prestige. The presence of chamber, dressing, and tea tables indicate that colonials attempted to follow the latest trends of their economic peers in England. Two walnut tea tables were listed in Philadelphia as early as 1686.

James Logan charged 5s for "l hand Tea Table" in 1718, Richardson 4s for a "Tea Board" in 1719. These may have been trays, rather than tables, for Richardson sold a "Tea Table" for 12s 6d, the same price charged for "tables" elsewhere in his accounts. The confusion of terms may reflect the use of a tray with a specific stand, as the first table cited, or the "Tea Table and fframe...£2:5:0" in Jonathan Dickinson's best parlour.

Inventory listings provide evidence of the custom of displaying the tea service on the table. For example, in 1719, "2 Tea Tables & furniture were valued at £1:15:0, and a "Tea Table c China Ware" at £1:10:0." The exceptional value of Dickinson's table and service (£18:07:0) probably prompted this itemization in 1722:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sett large Tea Cups &amp; Saucers</td>
<td>£2:0:0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sett Small D°</td>
<td>£1:18:0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D° Bason</td>
<td>£0:9:0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar Cop 9 milk pot 12s &amp; 3 large saucers 6s</td>
<td>£1:7:0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Dishes 12 plates edged and 2 Basons</td>
<td>£5:0:0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China Bowl Stand</td>
<td>£1:0:0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 doz. Courser China plates at 36/p. Doz.</td>
<td>£3:12:0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 China Chocolate Cups</td>
<td>£0:6:0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 fine earthen plates &amp; 12 Saucers sorted</td>
<td>£0:10:0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In contrast, a physician's "Tea Table 40 ps China ware & Stand in 1720 were all worth £4:0:0.¹¹⁶

Perhaps some of Dickinson's dishes were scattered over the "Mohogany Chest Drawers and Table" (£7:10:0), "6 foot Table ditto" (£5:0:0), "4 foot D°" (£2:5:0), also in the room.¹¹⁷ These were the first mahogany tables found in use, though the wood was mentioned earlier. The status indicated by these possessions is substantiated in the notes of historian Robert Proud:

Jonathan Dickinson came from Jamaica, with his wife and family, in the latter part of the year 1696. He was one of the people called Quakers, a merchant of considerable fortune, and possessed a large estate, in Philadelphia, where he lived after his arrival aforesaid. He was intrusted with a great share of the administration of justice in Pennsylvania, being both the Speaker of the Assembly, and Chief Justice of the province. He bore a generally good character, was universally much beloved, and died in the year 1722.¹¹⁸

Dickinson's £1017:15:10 worth of household goods, perhaps at his property on the east side of Front Street below Chestnut, were appraised by John Cadwalader and Edward Roberts. Another four foot, and a five foot, mahogany table, plus two oval types of "ab 4 foot...
"2:0:0" and "ab 3 foot...£1:7:6" were in the house. The "shopes Warehouse" held a "Mohogany Oval Table...£1:10:0" along with "11 Mohogany planks Each 11 foot long 5 inches Thick and 2 foot wide" worth £24:4:0. Two other sets of sets of mahogany chests of drawers and table were valued at £7:10:0, a third at £4:10:0.119 Their style, and whether they were high chest and dressing tables, remains in question.

The origin of these larger items was not discovered, though Dickinson bought some "Joyners Ware" ("2 Close Stools and 1 Desk 12s p" and "1 Case with 15 bottles...£1:5:0") from James Logan.120 It may be significant that joiner Abraham Hooper, who bequeathed his wife a mahogany case of drawers in 1707, bought mahogany plank from Dickinson in 1701. Dickinson imported mahogany into Pennsylvania, specifically for joiners, at an early date, and the extraordinary amount of mahogany furniture in his house provokes the conclusion that Philadelphia furniture craftsmen quickly became adept with that wood.121

Case pieces, chests, chests of drawers, desks, etc., were important in the Philadelphia home. The number of chairs and tables does not diminish, but their relative importance lessened in the eighteenth century. This reflects the new trend observed by Margaret Macdonald-Taylor in England with the restoration of Charles II:

The taste for luxury and display so typical of the Court...naturally spread among other classes of people, who imitated the wealthy to the best of their more modest
There was indeed almost a revolution in the general way of life. This naturally found expression in furniture and now many pieces destined for special use appeared which had hitherto been lacking. Chief among these newcomers were chests of drawers in which people could keep their clothes with more convenience. There was also an early form of bureau for writing at and for keeping papers and documents in handy fashion, besides cabinets fitted with very small drawers... It also became necessary to have a glazed bookcase in which to assemble a small library. 122

Chests of drawers in a great range of woods and prices were common in Philadelphia even in the earliest years. These were customarily fitted with scarves, as illustrated by "One pr Cedar Chest drawers & Cloth" at £5:10:0 listed in 1707 and a "Chest of drawers wrought Cloth" in the Tatham inventory. 123 An oak chest of drawers worth 20s, and a "Cedar Chest ditto and Box" valued at 40s in 1685 indicate a shifting emphasis in fashion, or perhaps utilization of the materials available in the colonies. 124 Ruth Matzkin concluded that the value of chests of drawers between 1682 and 1710 averaged 15s to 20s each. 125 The diminished regard for oak (the prestigious wood of the early seventeenth century) may be judged by a "chest of drawers Oak" valued at 12s in 1693, and an "old Oake Chest of Drawers...9s" in 1696. 126 An oak chest was not termed "old Fashioned" until 1714, and was still valued at £3:0:0. 127 An "old fashion Chest of drawers" listed in 1697, seems to signify that the new "William and Mary" style was established by that time in Philadelphia. "An old Fashioned Chest of Drawers & black Table & Dressing box" valued at £4:0:0 in a merchant's "corner" front chamber may be compared to the "new Chest draws and
table" worth £4:0:0 in a brewer's house in 1722.128

The not infrequent inventory notation of "broken" suggests the reason relatively few pieces survive from this period. Furniture was expected to last, however, as substantial construction and legacies such as this one of a Bristol county yeoman suggest:

...and my will is that After my wifes Decease affors^ the Chest of Drawers that She now hath Be Delivered to my Daughter Esther to her use during her life and After her Decease to her Eldest Daughter to be by her freely enjoyed.129

An "Old ffa sh 0 English Chest Drawers" was still worth 70s in 1716.130 A mahogany "Chest w th Drawers" in a best chamber of 1722 though "old fashioned" was worth 60s.131 This wood was not mentioned in an inventory until 1711, when a shipwright's chest of drawers was appraised at 80s.132 An unusual "black Cherry tree Chest Draws" in 1708 was valued at 50s. It was the property of joiner Charles Plumley, who also left "1 Walnut case Drawers not finished...£1:16:0" in his shop.133 Walnut, the most popular furniture wood in England from 1660, was used in a Philadelphia chest of drawers by 1688, when a "case of black walnut drayers" was valued at 35s.134 That soft woods were disguised is evidenced by an "old painted fir chest of drawers"worth 20s in 1697.135

Some case pieces had quite remarkable value. An "Ollivewood Chest of Drawers & Cloth...£7:10:0" was listed in 1697, and was followed the next year by a "pr of Olivewood Drawers & Stand...£10:0:0."136 Philip Richards also owned "1 pr ffine in Laid Drawers & Glass" valued at £18:0:0, besides a "Chest of Drawers black Wallnut" at £3:0:0.137
The value of a "flowered Chist of Drawers & Looking glass and ollive dressing box" in 1708 is not known, so the sophistication of this ornamentation is uncertain. Two chests of drawers "Inlaid" and two dressing boxes, one English walnut, worth £10:0:0 in 1713 were probably quite stylish.

The major question with such articles is whether they were American products or imported. Philadelphia joiners had the wood and the tools to make such an object. Significantly, an "old England" chest of drawers was inventoried in 1702, and in 1712 a merchant bequeathed his granddaughter an "English Chest of drawers," so case furniture was being brought from England. Even if the finer pieces were imported rather than produced in the colonies, their presence, and the large investment they represent, testify to an unprovincial quality in Philadelphia taste. The only specific stylistic description found was of a "Walnut Chest w^th Drawers on balls...30s" in 1722, which certifies the use of a particular element, but does not permit definitive statements on the styles favored.

Doubtless not all colonists were fashion conscious, adaptations and simplifications were encouraged by both economics and distance, but most settlers strove for the best they could afford. Anthony Morris paid £11:0:0 Pennsylvania currency for a "Chest of Drawers & Table" worth £4:17:0 in sterling in 1717. About the same year Francis Richardson charged £4:5:0 "To a pr of Chisterdrawrs."
"Chests" were more frequently listed than "chest of drawers." The lowest evaluation generally given a chest of drawers was 10s, therefore, chests valued at less than 10s were not considered in this study unless distinguished by some description because they were probably simple, boxlike storage pieces. "Deale" chests were listed four times before 1700 for 3s to 8s; cedar and pine chests were each mentioned three times for 5s to 8s. "Danzick", framed, and fir chests were also listed. One pine chest "with drawers" (8s) was itemized in 1711. The description "with drawers" or more specifically "two drawer" was also used with chests worth more than 10s. These chests may either have been bureau forms, or blanket-type chests with drawers underneath.

John Moll owned a 12s "large painted" chest and a 60s walnut chest of drawers in 1701. "Chests" ranged in price from 10s to 50s. Two were of wainscot, others were of oak, pine, cedar, and walnut. Wainscot and walnut chests were valued at 20s and 30s in 1709. Thirty shillings seems an excessive valuation if the cedar chest in 1701 was without drawers, but must be compared with a "Case of Red Cedar Drawers" valued at £5:0:0 in 1711, and a "Cedar Case of draws and Table d’o" at £8:0:0 in 1714. Despite high evaluations, all "chests" were not chests of drawers. The appraisers of a 1705 estate recorded: "1 large Chest" at 45s, "1 Chest of drawers" at £3:5:0, connotating two different forms. Two chests of drawers, each 30s and two chests, each 10s, in a 1728 estate were surprisingly of "Irish Oake."
The listing of a "table chest... £2:0:0" in 1698 might have meant two separate pieces, possibly the first such close linkage of these two forms in Philadelphia, or a type of chest not recognized now. It seems significant that this usage appears just one year after a chest of drawers was described as "old fashion" (see p. 52). Surely these two listings are positive evidence that the "William and Mary" style was in general use in Philadelphia.

The value of an inventory depends on the kind of appraiser. Sometimes they were very thorough, and recorded even the trivia, as an old pine chest in 1714 which had: "a Little beas Wax, oringe peel, & some odd things in it," but they did not define or describe that which was obvious to them. A "parte of a Chist of drawers & frame" valued at 6s, "1 low frame for a Chist" at 4d and "1 Chist of drawers & frame & prell of trunpery in y° upper drawer" at 10s, on an inventory in 1688 quite clearly refers to what are commonly called high chests, but was this the case for a "part of an old Chest Drauurs...5s" in 1708? Was a "pr Wainscot chest Drawers" valued at £1:5:0 a set of two pieces? A "Great Chamber" in 1701 contained:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>£  s  d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Stand Chest Drawers Delivered BW</td>
<td>3: 0:0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Ditto w'feet</td>
<td>2:15:0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Walnut Table w' 2 drawers</td>
<td>2: 5:0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Small Dressing box</td>
<td>1:10:0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first could be interpreted as a stand and a chest, a stand for the chest, or a type of chest, the second entry could either mean a chest of drawers with the feet as one piece or refer to a frame with feet.
Since this was a bedroom, the table with two drawers was probably a dressing table.

The dressing box, frequently grouped with other pieces, was sometimes an elaborate form. The Tathams owned fine examples, one being:

inlaid Olive, with 2 square & 3 Essenes bottles with silver screws and a good large looking glass, fifty shillings.

Another "Japan dressing box" was accompanied by:

1 Japan looking Glass, 4 small Japan boxes, 1 Japan Pin-cushion, and 3 Japan brushes.157

Dressing boxes were used as early as 1687. In that year a merchant and a "gentleman" each had boxes worth 8s. The "gentleman" also owned "1 Biger dressing box & powder box at 10s."157 Another box, in 1694, appraised with "part of an old Chest of Draws," was also 10s.158 In 1713 a dressing box was listed with "a Chest of Draws and Cabinet" all valued at £4:0:0.160

"Cabinets" probably refer to the forms termed "spice chests" today. They are usually listed with tables or chests on which they probably stood. A "cabinet" could also be a larger object. In 1711 a "Japan'd Cabinet & black painted Table" were combined in the "widow's Chamber" of Edward Shippen's house.161

Though there was probably no actual connection, looking glasses were often listed with tables or chests of drawers. Inventories such
as that of a merchant's best chamber in 1706, suggest a common grouping, if not a suite arrangement:

1 Wallnutt Tree Chest of Drawers £6:0:0
1 Wallnutt Table & Dressing box & 2 Pewder boxes
Large Looking Glass £10:0:0

These are helpful guides to room arrangement and usage, but raise the question of whether such pieces matched each other.

Chests and tables, frequently of walnut and cedar, often were listed together. Cedar pieces were appreciated, for the combination of chest and table were valued at £5:0:0 in 1717, £7:10:0 in 1718, and £9:10:0 in 1720.\(^\text{163}\) With the last piece appraisers also itemized "3 p^r of sheets & Table Linen in the drawers" at £8:0:0 as well as "Glasses & Earthenware over y^e drawers & Chimney p^C" worth 16s. Walnut, though valuable, was generally not this highly appraised. A "Walnut Chest w^th Drawers & Table" was worth £2:10:0 in 1722.\(^\text{164}\) In 1720 Martha Waite left:

...unto the said Johanna [Biles, her daughter] my best Bed with its Furniture and the Wallnut Chest of Drawers and Table which are called hers together with my Spice Box. And I Give and Bequeath unto my Daughter Phoebe my next best Bed and Furniture with my Cedar Chest of Drawers.\(^\text{165}\)

The inventory catalogued "1 Cedar Chest Draws table & Cloth Something wore...£7:10:0," and "1 Walnut Chest Draws, table & 1 Looking Glass...£7:10:0."\(^\text{165}\) In summary, the chests of drawers found in almost every inventory were often listed in conjunction with tables. Supplementary listings record the use of dressing clothes and the placement of
dressing boxes, ceramics, glass, and waxware on these pieces, either for storage or for ornament.

Other types of case pieces include desks, escritoires, presses and cupboards. Specific reference to desks occurred in 1693 and 1696. Valuations under 3s denote slant top box forms. A "Blak walnut dest & feet" worth 24s in 1699 must have been a more sophisticated form. A "walnut desk" was valued at 30s in 1705, and a "Walnut Tree Desk Inlaid...£5:0:0" ornamented a parlor of 1706. In contrast "1 old Oaken Desk & old Table & old Chest" were all 10s in 1711. John Tatham kept "A writing desk with drawers" worth £1:0:0 and a £50:0:0 "Library of Books" in his "closet" in 1700. Another desk in the dining room was listed with a "covering" at his death, but was listed without it on Elizabeth's inventory. Other writing desks were mentioned in the 1720's, and a reading desk was found in 1719. The desk was one of the few cases forms mentioned on an import record. Logan received one in 1718, and Samuel Powell paid £1:11:6 for "a Desk", according to a London invoice dated 1717.

The comparatively late mention of a "desk" is not surprising when tables supplied a satisfactory writing surface, but it is necessary to consider a wider scope of terms. Two "cabinets," on the inventory of James Claypoole who willed his son George a "writing cabinet" in 1687, were valued at only 8s and 10s. Appraisers also listed a "scretore...20s," however, which may have been the article...
Claypoole referred to. In 1687 a merchant's "Scriptore" was appraised at £6:0:0, but terminology varied for in 1698 an old "Scretore" was worth only 12s. In most cases, the term probably referred to a drawered desk, sometimes with a "cabinet" or bookcase above. A "Large Oval Table & Scrutore and Carpet" valued at £8:10:0 partly furnished mariner James Boyden's "Front room below Stairs" in 1714. His "2 Punch bowls of Lignum vitez with covers," (a turner's product), were given the surprising value of 15s each.

Scutoires were owned by people in many professions. Charles Plumley was the only joiner with one among his own possessions. In 1719 a merchant kept his "Escrutore" in the lower front room, and his "Reading Desk" in a "Back Chamber." Despite Dickinson's mercantile interests, the only desk form listed in 1722 was an "Old Broken Escrutore wch Joseph Claims" still worth £2:0:0. A merchant in 1723 and a saddler, in 1724 each owned two escritoires, but neither inventory mentioned where they were used, although the merchant might have kept one at his plantation. Those owned by two widows in 1717 reflect the great price range, for the "Escriptore... £1:7:6" of Barbara Wright must have been a mere shadow of Sarah Quary's £10:0:0 example. The most highly valued "Sreetdoor" was in a physicians parlor of 1729 at £12:0:0.

The correct interpretation of some listings is difficult. Although an "Escutore" worth £3:5:0 and "An Excrutore Frame" at 8s in 1716 were separated by a number of unrelated listings, the
connection seems definite. But were an "Escrutore & Table... £5:0:0" in 1719 or "a Japand Escreetore & Table" fitted together or merely convenient groupings? It can be said that ornamentation was not limited to elaborate forms. A widow's inventory taken in August, 1724, listed "a Scrutore" valued at £14:0:0 and "an Inlaid Scrutore" at £1:5:0. Considering the difference in valuations, the appraisers must have disregarded a substantial difference in form to use the same term for both items.

In 1722 a merchant's "Looking Glass Scrutore, 1 Glass broke" was worth £8:0:0. This desk and bookcase form might have been similar to a bonnet-topped example now exhibited at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, (Plate 17). Possibly this had a flat top, as there was 18s worth of "Earthen & Glassware in y° Bowfett & Escretore head."

Another merchant, who drew his will Dec. 4, 1723, left:

` unto him my Sd Son William...the other of my clocks & Scrutores vizt that which hath the Book Case Together with the Books to it.`

The items "particularly given" were not listed on the January inventory, but this was probably a sophisticated form.

The 6s "old stand and Cupboard of drawers in y° Kitchin" of a Sussex county "Gentleman" in 1687 was the only use of the term "cupboard" found before 1700. This might have been what would presently be called a "press cupboard," or an ordinary chest of drawers. Several cupboards were noted in the eighteenth century. A cupboard
and table in the Tathams' kitchen in 1700 were valued at £1:0:0. In 1701 a walnut cupboard and a "Small Box & ye frame it Stands on" were 18s while a cupboard in a 1714 parlor was 15s. A "Corner Cupboard" discovered in 1717 had the nominal value of 10s in contrast to a "Cabinet" at £1:0:0. Another cabinet made of oak was worth £1:5:0 in 1727. A merchant in 1723 kept one corner cupboard at his plantation, and another in the north back parlor of his town house, each worth 15s. A "Japann'd Corner Cubboard" valued at £4:0:0 was in the parlor, with "A Large Jappan'd Lookinglass" at £6:0:0. Japanned ornament was also noted on a corner cupboard in 1719, but that one was only worth £1:0:0. The mariner who owned it, however, was interested in interior settings. He hung his wall with "A Chimney ps Glass... £4:0:0, "1 Looking glass & 2 pr glass Sconces... £16:0:0," and specifically placed "Earthen & Glass furniture on ye mantle ps & Cubboard head." Another case piece, "A Painted Press" at £1:15:0, did not have this extra embellishment.

Presses were another type of storage unit. "1 Press of Walnut wood" valued at £5:0:0" was located in a baker's chamber in 1701, and walnut was mentioned again in 1724. A "Cloaths" press listed in 1719 was worth 25s, but another in 1722 was only valued at 12s. Dickinson's two "Mohogany Cloaths Press", one at the stairhead and one in the front parlor, were each £5:0:0.
Smaller items included spice chest, cradles, hat boxes, bottle cases, stands and screens. Spice boxes were common. The first listed in 1685 was 5s, which seems a standard valuation, although one in 1687 was only worth 1s 6d, and another in 1698 was 9s.196

A form of the ubiquitous "stand" can be found on most inventories. In 1685, "a Stand for a Bason" was listed with the "Close Stool Case, but more often stands were undistinguished by either description or valuation. The "Wallanutt" Stand valued at 6s in a parlour of 1686 is one of the first times walnut furniture was mentioned in Pennsylvania.198 Walnut was listed again in 1703, and two "pine blakent" [blackened] forms were recorded in 1711.199 A "Japann'd Stand...10s" and an interesting stand for a china bowl were in Dickinson's 1722 inventory.200 A carpenter, whose total estate was £88:8:6 in 1724 was the proud possessor of "Window Curtains pictures Japann'd Stand & Cup," all for 7s 6d.201

One of the refinements of interior furnishings used in England after the restoration:

was the use of moveable screens, either to keep off draughts or to mitigate the heat of the fires. 202

Three of these screens were recorded in Philadelphia before 1700, and they were more common in the eighteenth century. One located in a "hall" was valued at 30s in 1686.203 A widow owned a 20s black walnut screen in 1692 and a joiner another in 1711.204 A "broaken Mahogany Skreen" valued at 2s was left in 1708.205 The screen in
1693 "containing six folds" at 20s indicates their form. The six leaf type was mentioned again in 1706, and "A Screen with 4 leaves covered...4s" was described in 1710. An interesting "Large old Landskip Skreen" (worth 16s) served in the Tathams' long gallery. Perhaps the unusual (and enigmatic) "wheat Skreen," valued at 15s was kept in a back garret in 1719 because it was old or out of fashion. A "Good Leather Screen" valued at £2:0:0 in 1724 was listed with an undescribed screen worth only 3s; an "Oil Cloth Screen," grouped with a "Book frame," was 6s. The forms of screens obviously varied greatly in size and material.

The sum of information on furniture used in Philadelphia implies certain interests and trends in the years 1685 to 1730 such as: the popularity of walnut, the increasing amount and elaboration of furniture, the greater interest in comfort, and the use of new forms keyed to meet social demands rather than practical need. Accounts show that tables and case pieces, as well as chairs, were imported in greater numbers than has been suggested. The "William and Mary" rather than the "seventeenth century" style was probably the major mode in Philadelphia from its founding. The date of the introduction of "Queen Anne" type pieces was not positively indicated. In whatever style, houses, even in early Philadelphia, were often elaborately furnished.

Some inventories in the post-1730 period were also examined, usually those of joiners who worked before 1730 but died later, and of
people who ordered or purchased furniture in the earlier period. These later inventories are not representative, but rather chance samples. The forms found mentioned for the first time are from a small group of material, and may not be the earliest listings available, but offer some interesting supplements on the furniture of the earlier period, and substantiate the idea that, however fashion conscious and up to date some Philadelphians were, old styles also lingered on. Moreover, economics, and a provincial location continued to hinder the construction of furniture forms as fine and fancy as the highest fashion in London. Even when styles did change, ideas reflected the continuation of early patterns. John Reynell's order to London in 1738 curiously echoes that of Logan twenty years before:

A Handsome plaine Looking Glass for my Self. Cost about £4:0:0 and 2 raised Japan'd Black Corner Cupboards, with 2 Doors to each, no Red in 'em, of the best Sort, but Plain.

Either by choice or necessity, a tailor who died in 1731 did not have the most up-to-date furnishings; his house still contained "1 old Wainscote Chest" valued at £1:0:0 and "6 old Turkey work Chairs" at only 5s apiece. A valuable "Chest of Drawers and Table" worth £4:10:0 indicates that his furniture was acquired over a long time span as would be true for most people. Six "Turkey Work'd" Chairs valued at 10s in a 1755 inventory are evidence that colonists clung to favorite pieces.
Though the property was not evaluated, one of the most interesting accounts is that for "goods belonging to Mr. John Penn... tooke June 1734." So poorly penned and imaginatively spelled as to sometimes defy deciphering, it contained a wide selection of forms. Samplings include: in the parlor, a "drooned" dressing table, and "Childs Chear;" in the Drawing room, "1 greate chear 4 Cane small Cheares;" hall, "6 large woodin Chears 6 small ditto 1 ould fashioned square table, ye pictore a large Elds hedd;" kitchen chamber, "1 scrutore full of writings 1 writinge deske;" over the pantry, "4 Chears with blew covers;" over the hall, "6 New bag bottomd Cheeres a New dressin table with 3 draws;" over the parlor,"a half heded blow bedstedd, 5 turke workte Chears, a large lether chear;" and, finally, another "half heded bedsteed an ould blew curtings an ould roling bedsted." A true example of eclecticism. The bedsteads are particularly interesting, the "half Headed" bedstead had not been mentioned earlier. This was probably a type with a short tester at the head of the bed, sometimes called a crane-headed or press bedstead. The "rolling" type must mean a trundle bed. The conjunction of scrutore and desk was found earlier, but in that instance it was a "book desk."

The combination left by Robert Osburn, "Esq," in 1736 was definite: "A Desk & Book Case & a parcell of Books... £20:0:0. This must have been a desk and bookcase in the modern sense, and
probably what was earlier termed a scrutoire. The later term also continued in use. In 1742 William Fishbourne, a merchant, had two "Glass Door Escrutore," one valued at £17:0:0, the other at £5:10:0. He also owned "2 Windsor Chairs." He owned "Six Cane Chairs, 2 Elbo Ditto, a Card Table, Tea table & Badgamon table" valued at £6:16:0 in Osburn's house, show that cane chairs were not only used, but fashionable as they were placed with tables designed for social functions. These tables indicate a class with time, and inclination for pleasure, and disinclined to Quaker concepts of "plainness."

Shopkeeper Francis Knowles, who had supplied James Logan with a screen for £5:0:0 in 1717 owned these interesting items in 1739: "a low bedsted, and English oak Desk" at 35s, "a Press & 90 bound books" at £3:0:0, "Mahogany Tea Table & Small Japan D°," and a "Walnut Couch with a leather bottom and Damask Squab" all for £2:15:0, and an "old Cane Couch Plush Squabb and Pillow" at £1:5:0. The most important forms were "a low Walnut Chest Draws & Cloth" worth £2:0:0 and "a low Chest Drawers & 2 Dressing boxes." The particular use of "low" as identification meant the appraisers felt it necessary to distinguish these chests from what are now called "high chests." John Knowles, an innholder, owned "pair of hight black walnut Chest of Draws" with "1 Walnut Table & 1 Spice box" worth £3:10:0 at his death in 1745.

The form of "a long Chest with draws" remains obscure, but a press owned by carpenter John Knowles in 1744 was specifically "to
Knowles' ownership of joiner's tools, make these items, and the notation of "Sweet Gum" for a table, important. John Jones, joiner, left a "Maple Chest of Drawers £3:0:0" the same year. Twenty years previous this wood was only mentioned in chairs.

"Joyner" Jacob Levering of Roxborough Township continued to use older styles himself, for his household "8 high Back arch Chairs" valued at £2:16:0 in November, 1753.

Joiner Joseph Claypoole drew his will on January 18, 1738, and made very definite bequests:

I give Devise and bequeath unto my Son Josiah Claypoole all my working tooles and Implements of working tooles with all my stock of Stuff planes boards Scantlin Locks Drops Scutchins Springs and Nails in whatsoever belonging to my Trade with all my plate and household goods now in my possession. ...unto my Son James Claypoole, ...my Maple cabbent and black walnut writing desk...unto my Daughter Edity, ...my black walnut Drawers case upon case and ye largest Cedar Chest in ye back room.

Besides the interesting furniture forms, especially the "case on case" (double chest or chest on chest), this will records the continued use of old brasses, perhaps for replacements, and the broad scope of woods and forms.

Seventeenth century styles were probably almost out of use among Philadelphia craftsmen by the late 1730's. An advertisement in the Pennsylvania Gazette on May 18, 1738 supports this supposition:

...Mr. Joseph Claypoole, Joyner, has left off his Trade; and has given his Stock and Implements of Trade to his Son the Subscriber, who has removed
from his Shop in Walnut-Street to the Joyners Arms in Second-Street, ... where all Persons may be supplied with all Sorts of Furniture of the best Fashion; as Desks of all Sorts, Chests of Drawers of all Sorts, Dining Tables, Chamber Tables, and all Sorts of Tea Tables and Sideboards. 225

Claypoole's will and advertisement show how a craft was passed on and perpetuated in a family. Josiah must have disappointed his father (whose inventory was not taken until May, 1744), for in November 1739 he was indicted for stealing "1 piece of fine Cambrick £8:0:0" and:

9 Silver Tea Spoons...36s, 1 pr Silver Sugar Tongs...
5s, 1 Silver Tea (Shamier?)...7s, Six Silver Tea Spoons...20s, Three Large Silver Spoons...£2:2:0 and one pair Silver Sugar Tongs...10s. 226

Josiah apparently successfully evaded any pursuit and fled to Charleston where he advertised himself as a joiner in the South Carolina Gazette in March, 1740. 227 Now that the forms and types of furniture found in early Philadelphia homes have been established, it is necessary to consider the craftsmen who may have fashioned them, and to bring the tradition of furniture making in Philadelphia, exampled by the Claypooles, into sharper focus.
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CHAPTER III

Craftsmen of a New Commonwealth

In a letter to James Harrison on October 6, 1685, William Penn wrote:

Here comes a Dutchman, A Joyner and a Carpenter that is to work one hundred and fifty days, and pay me £5 or £7 that country money there for £7 sterling lent him by me here--Let him wainscot & make tables and stands for some of the rooms, but chiefly help on with the Out-houses, because we shall bring much furniture.¹

The articles Penn thought most necessary in furnishing, and the specific plan to bring in furniture, are interesting, but the nationality of the craftsman he sent is especially significant. After a study of late seventeenth century English Walnut furniture, Symonds and Ormsbee concluded:

At this period the craft of furniture making in England was undoubtedly, to a large extent, in the hands of Dutchmen, who were highly gifted as designers and cabinetmakers.²

There was thus in early Philadelphia a craftsman who might have been extremely skilled, and who certainly represented a different tradition than that of the English joiner. R. W. Symonds continued:

It is a notable fact, however, that the English walnut furniture still retained an insular character, . . .
These Dutch immigrants, although they employed their own methods of construction and workmanship, invariably adapted the design of the furniture they produced to suit the taste and needs of the English market. What was true for London, however, was not necessarily the case in the provinces; it may be that the Dutchman was not under as much pressure to change his style as he would have been in England—especially since there was a large German settlement in the Philadelphia area.

Fashion rather than tradition might have encouraged the Dutchman to modify his designs, for English tastes changed in the seventeenth century, and new styles were received with special enthusiasm as the restored monarchy of Charles II stimulated fresh treatments. Changed attitudes in morals and politics were reflected in art and furnishings. Ralph Fastnedge summarized:

Fashionable post-Restoration furniture represented a break with tradition and was the work of new craftsmen . . . employing new techniques . . . and new woods—in particular, walnut. The popularity of walnut originated because of its unusual burls, which were most effectively employed as veneers. This caused the need for a new type of craftsmen because cabinet-makers, not joiners, produced veneered work. These men made the carcass of a form in one wood, then applied a thin sheeting of another wood, rather than constructing the whole in solid materials. Perhaps the abundance of walnut in Pennsylvania made use of veneers unnecessary, or perhaps old styles and traditions retained a stronger hold in the colonies, because the
men known to have been furniture makers in Philadelphia before 1730, were seldom called "cabinet-makers" but were commonly termed joiners or turners.

In an enumeration of the colony's assets in 1691 Philadelphia's tradesmen were characterized as:

sufficient House-Keepers, . . . [who] live gallantly;
. . . besides many Families of Labouring People and Sawyers that live happily.  

The list of craftsmen included: nine master carpenters, a clock and watchmaker, a "Joyner," and one "Cabinet-maker." The number of master carpenters is of interest because some carpenters did joiners' work. The "little Table Carpenters work" in a butcher's kitchen in 1694 was probably made by a carpenter.  

Penn called his Dutch craftsman both carpenter and joiner, and one wonders if the "henery Gibs," whose room was apparently over the "Carpenter's Room" at Pennsbury, was a craftsman, and what kind.

The clock maker cited above was probably Abel Cottey, who was listed among some immigrants in 1682, and who died in 1711.  

The identity of the others is harder to establish. Abraham Hooper, James Chick, and Robert Tate were termed joiners in probate records, and all were listed on a Philadelphia tax list of 1693.  

Hooper, who came from Bridgewater, Somerset, was termed a "Cabinett Maker" in 1682, but he may not be the man referred to. Craftsmen may have been present who did not pay the 1693 tax, and of whom the narrator was
unaware. Although William Carter, a turner, and John Budd, an up-
holsterer, paid the tax, neither of their trades were listed. 
Omissions from either list are understandable because Philadelphia 
grew so rapidly.

None of Philadelphia's seventeenth century craftsmen were 
natives of Pennsylvania, but migrated from different places and repre-
sented a variety of backgrounds. If the home towns of these English 
men could be determined the English antecedents for some American 
practices might emerge. R. W. Symonds commented on this in a study 
of provincial English, versus London craftsmen.

In the provinces the joiners lingered on, . . .Whilst the 
cabinetmaker was late in making his appearance. The 
difference in design between the provincial furniture of 
one district and that of another was particularly apparent 
in chairs. In the eighteenth century in the Northern 
Counties of England. . .Chairs were made with round stump 
back legs, and a usual feature of construction was for the 
tenons of the side seat rails to penetrate the uprights of 
the back. This peculiarity of stump back legs and tenons 
is shared by the contemporary Philadelphia chair.9

It might be possible to establish even earlier relationships if enough 
biographical information is discovered about the craftsmen.

Although each immigrant brought different methods to the new 
city, they had all been trained under the master-apprenticeship system, 
a system which they reinstituted in the colony in order to pass their 
skills on to the next generation. Thus individual techniques were both 
perpetuated, and, over a long span of time, amalgamated to create a 
set of Philadelphia characteristics. It naturally took time for
craftsmen to build a sufficient trade to require an apprentice, and, as indentured servants were available, the need for a helper was easily filled without the obligations which apprenticeship involved. The status of assistants, whether they were apprentices, journeymen, or simply servants, is often difficult to distinguish. "Isaac" still had 18s worth of "time to serve", and "David" 12s when joiner Charles Plumley died in 1708. They were probably working off indentures to Plumley, but might have been apprentices in an unofficial sense. Even contemporaries confused the terms. John Sherburne advertised for a run-away apprentice, and a run-away servant-joiner in 1726, and another "Servant Man and joyner" in 1728. The latter two men were probably what are termed journeymen, but that is not certain.

Although custom served to establish the apprenticeship method of the homeland, official regulations took longer to formulate. Philadelphia's City Council apparently ignored the training system until revenues became a question in September, 1716:

The price of Indenture for Apprentices within this City being now under Consideration, It is agreed and order'd that three Shillings be paid to the Town Clerk for ye Indenture, and one Shilling and sixpence to the Recorder for the Inrolment.

This pronouncement marks the changing character of the city; the organization of trades and a new "first generation" of Americans meant workmen trained in Philadelphia, rather than in England or Europe, were possible.
Generalizations on early Philadelphia furniture production are especially difficult to make as documentation on most of the craftsmen and their activities is fragmentary, even when available. Sometimes a single reference establishes a man's existence and trade. Some of these men may not have lived in the Philadelphia area, but merely have stopped for a short time to visit friends or rest before proceeding into the country. An alphabetical listing of the names discovered in this study, and the known information has been compiled (Appendix II), but chronological consideration of some of these men complements the story of Philadelphia's development.

Furniture craftsmen were present at the city's founding. Joiner John Tibby, a "first purchaser" of 1681, was a member of the first Petit Jury formed in 1682. He may have come from London where a number of names which correspond to those of Philadelphia craftsmen are found in the joiner's company records. They may not be the same people, but it seems possible that the "John Tibby" who died in Philadelphia in 1687 could have been the "John Tibby" who received his freedom from London joiner Wilts Byfield on June 1, 1668, after the standard apprenticeship terms of seven years. What furniture Tibby made in Philadelphia cannot be proved, but he was engaged in the trade. The appraisers of his estate called him a joiner, and among his goods were 19s worth of red cedar, "10 pound of Glue at 1s pr pound," and "Working Tools" worth £5:19:6. One of the appraisers of the goods left John's widow, Elizabeth, was joiner Richard Gove, so the valuations given the
goods are probably trustworthy. The inevitable close association of craftsmen in the small city is demonstrated by the frequent practice of one joiner assessing another's estate. Abraham Hooper, for example, helped appraise John Fellow's estate in 1697, and in 1707 Hooper's estate was evaluated by joiner Charles Plumley.

Hooper identified John Fellow as a joiner, but a 1682 ship's list called him a "Cabenett Maker." Fellow's wide selection of tools permits either interpretation (Appendix V), as well as the designations "Turner" and "chaimaker." He was active until his death as his inventory included these goods:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To stuff partlie wrought for an oval table</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To stuff for 3 side tables partlie done</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To one case of drawers partlie made</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To 2 chests partlie made &amp; one box</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One dozen chair frames</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Though joined chairs were common, the term "frame" probably indicates these were without upholstery. Fellows could either have done his own upholstery work, or been in partnership with a member of that craft.

Philadelphia accounts identify John Budd as an upholsterer, but do not define his work or put it into relationship with that of the joiner. Daniel England, for example, termed Budd an upholsterer in a 1702 receipt, but it was for money transferred from James Logan, rather than for a bill of his own. Budd called himself an "upholsterer" when he made his will in 1704, and mentioned "intending to take
a Journey into Maryland. A 1694 account termed him a joiner, however, so he might have made the bedsteads and chair frames he covered.

Fellow's occupation is probably most accurately termed that of "joiner," for any of the items left unfinished could be constructed in that method. His stock of hardware suggests the diversity of his products (Appendix III). He had locks for chest of drawers and dressing boxes, coffin fixtures, and "8 bed screws" at 2s. Coffin making must have furnished the joiner's most reliable and consistent source of income, because coffin hardware is a significant feature of most inventory listings. Bed screws prove colonial joiners were not working in the earlier seventeenth century tradition of beds of framed construction (which were not easily dismantled).

The Philadelphia craftsman obtained English nails, screws, drawer pulls, and other furniture making supplies from local merchants. James Claypoole was a canny tradesman who kept in close touch with his customers' demands. In a 1684 order to Edward Haistwell in England he specified:

no window glass nor lead, but Iron is much wanted, and nayls very much vizit 6d 8d 10d a Tunn of each sort would quickly sell, I conclude.

Most of these nails were probably used for construction in the expanding city, where there must also have been a demand for furniture. James Logan needed window glass as well as nails for his new house.
He admonished Nehemiah Champion in 1728:

Pray be careful that the nails be tough, small and well drawn, those from London generally are finer and less clumsy than yours [in Bristol], but those called clasp headed they say are always of good Iron and well made and accordingly bear a somewhat better price. 23

Nails were a general necessity, but most people would not have required decorative furniture hardware.

Furniture mounts were introduced in England when types and construction of furniture diversified in the second half of the seventeenth century. The most common type:

were of drop-pear shape depending from a single rosette, and were usually accompanied by cartouch shape escutcheons to the keyhole. Handles and escutcheons were normally of brass. 24

Such hardware was not commonly used in provincial areas until late in the seventeenth century, and many American forms also continued to be fitted with wooden pulls. Nevertheless, brass mounts were sometimes used earlier, and Philadelphia craftsmen apparently had little trouble obtaining them. Merchant William Frampton carried "12 brass drops...2s in his shop in 1686, and James Claypoole had "5 scutcheons" at two-pence each in 1687. 25

The hardware of Edward Stanton, a Bucks County joiner who died in 1689, is especially interesting. It included:

26 pair of Side-hinges, & 22 pair of dovetail, & about 5000 of nayles and about 7000 of Trunk nayles & Chair nayles & drops and locks, & Couch Chains...£5:0:0. 26
His "drops & locks" imply that Stanton was making "William and Mary" style furniture. The presence of "couch chains" must mean that he was producing the forms usually called daybeds today, and chair nails could be upholsterer's tacks. Unfortunately, the "shopp-book" also listed on his inventory is not available to substantiate that Stanton was truly working in the new style. Shop books usually recorded what was made, for whom, and what it cost, but no Philadelphia joiner's account book from this period is known.

Estate appraisers were not always as descriptive as Stanton's; nevertheless, various records show that craftsmen enjoyed a wide selection of hardware (Appendix III). Merchants primarily stocked hardware for craftsmen, though other people probably required replacements. The type of hardware available was largely determined by those who supplied the merchant. Colonial tradesmen sometimes complained that they were sent goods unwanted in London, so the fastidious craftsman may not always have been satisfied.

Drops, handles, scutcheons, hinges and locks were frequently mentioned hardware forms. One of the finest selections found in Philadelphia records is that with which James Fox stocked his plantation shop in 1701:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4 1/2 Dozen Wrought Drops at 2s6d</td>
<td>£ 5 11:3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 1/2 Dozen Plain Ditto at 2s6d</td>
<td>0:6:3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 1/2 doz Drawer Rings at 2s6d</td>
<td>0:11:3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Elsewhere drops were described as "wrought," "plain," "Old fashioned Damnified," "solid," "bell," "common," "solid" or "joynt solid," "small hollow," and "brass." Merchant Redman had brass knobs as well. Except for those specifically intended for use on coffins, handles were not listed until 1722 when Thomas Stapleford purchased a "mens hearted" variety in lots of two dozen. Possibly these were also for use on coffins. The presence of "Locks, Drops, Scutcheons, sprigs and Nails" in joiner Joseph Claypoole's inventory of 1744 shows that the demand for drops, either because of popularity or fragility, continued.

Merchants also furnished glue, glue pots, beeswax, varnish, and similar supplies. Penn's "glew pot" may have been similar to that Joseph Moxon described in Mechanick Exercises in 1703:

commonly made of good thick Lead, that by its Substance it may retain heat the longer, that the Glew Chill not (as Work-men say when it cools) when it is to be used."

Philadelphians used a great deal of glue; Charles Plumley, for example, stocked seventy-six pounds of it. Moxon also explained the use of some other supplies:

a piece of Seal-skin or Dutch Reeds (whose outer Skin or Filme somewhat finely cuts) [is held] pretty hard against theWork [in turning] and so makes it smooth enough to polish.

Hard Wood they polish with Bees-wax, . . . Then they set a Gloss on it with a very dry Woollen Rag, lightly smear'd with Sallad Oyl.
All these materials were available in the colonies. Pennsbury stocked a "small pasell of Linsetoyle in a Hogshead;" —John Fellows left "2 lb of Bees wax...ls8d" in 1694, and Thomas Stapleford, another joiner, purchased "4 large fish skins" (also used for sandpaper) in 1719. Stapleford also traded with James Logan for three gallons each of "best hard varnish," and "shining varnish," and six varnishing brushes.34

The material most necessary to the joiner, however, was wood. None was listed in Edward Stanton's 1689 inventory, but "frame," "hand," "pitt," and "cross carfe" saws, axes, an adz, and a froe—all basic woodworking devices, among his tools imply that he received it in an unfinished condition.35 John Fellows' stock of pine, cedar, oak and walnut (Appendix IV) was in log, board, plank and scantling forms.36 This variety would probably have made a London craftsman envious. The changes in furniture styles in the late seventeenth century caused the cabinet-maker to become an artist-craftsman, "actively conscious of wood both as a decorative and constructional material."37

Walnut, prized because of its fine grains and textures, was the most popular wood in England after the restoration. The veneers which permitted the best use of unusual markings caused the significant trade to shift from turners and joiners to cabinet-makers, so it is not surprising that craftsmen were so aware of differences in wood.
Walnut was not the only wood used. Moon indicated some of the kinds employed in England:

The soft wood Turners use is commonly either Maple, Alder, Birch, Beech, Elm Oka, Fir, &c. 38

Pennsylvania was bountifully stocked with the best quality woods; Penn gave the Free Society of Traders this list in 1683:

The Trees of most note are, the black Walnut, Cedar, Cyprus, Chestnut, Poplar, Gumwood, Hickery, Sassafrax, Ash, Beech, and Oak of diverse sorts, as Red, White, and Black; Spanish Chestnut and Swamp, the most durable of all: of All which there is plenty for the use of man. 39

The abundance Penn remarked on encouraged the common and conspicuous use of materials that were precious in the Old World. Two Swedish pastors, in Philadelphia between 1700 and 1702, were impressed by churches with "pews made of cedar, and a pulpit of walnut," or where the "entire chancel and the pulpit are of black walnut, intricately turned." 40

These woods were quickly employed by furniture makers (Appendix IV), so the Philadelphia craftsman had a selection comparable to his fashionable London colleague. This gave him the advantage of his provincial English counterpart with whom he may often be profitably compared. In England:

A feature of furnituremaking ... was the large number of woods employed by the London cabinetmaker, whereas the provincial maker was restricted in his range of material because of the limited stocks of veneers and cabinet woods held by the local timber merchant. In seaport towns where timber was brought from abroad, the local cabinetmakers were

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in a better position than those living in inland towns where, apart from local-grown timber, all supplies had to be transported by road to the timber merchant.41

Since Philadelphia was a port, the joiner there suffered none of these difficulties, he had only to pay the price. Although hardware had to be imported, it is more transportable than wood, hence the Philadelphian was not as hampered as were his associates in remote areas of England.

John Gloag remarked on another major transition in wood usage:

Furniture craftsmen began to work with a new, tractable material, mahogany, or Jamaica wood, as it was then called. It appears to have been first used by Wollaston, a London cabinet-maker, who was commissioned by Dr. William Gibbons (1694-1728), probably in the early 1720's.42

Mahogany was available before this, although not yet in fashion in England. It was not only imported, but used specifically for furniture in Philadelphia much earlier. In 1698 Jonathan Dickinson requested his brother Caleb:

\[\text{to have some wood sent as Und^F Mentioned for several persons heare have a dependence on me for some woods for their Several Uses: for Joyners & Millwrights.}^43\]

He made this list:

\[
\text{A Few fine woods for ye Joyners & Some Mohogany & { ? } in board or Plank for Chest of Drawers & Tables & quarters for Frames, [also] . . . Lignum Vita for Turners Bastard Lignum Vita & Bully Tree--for Loggs & Round ffor Millwrights.}^43
\]

The importance and profitability of the matter was stressed in a second letter:

\[
\text{In my last mentioned some peticular Sorts of woods, all wch would Turn to good acct Especially Lignum Vita for}
\]
Dickinson continued to import woods. An account on March 15, 1717 noted:

14 Mahogany planks 10 feet long 20 Inches broad and from 3 to 4 Inches thick; 107 p's bully tree 2 feet Long to square 3 Inches . . .from pepper plantation.45

Philadelphians imported woods from areas other than the West Indies because the olivewood used in some furniture came from Africa, India or Southern Europe. Most items of exotic woods were probably imported from England, but, since a Philadelphia craftsman had "A parcell of Olivewood & other Veinarys" in 1708, furniture makers in the colonies were able to obtain and use these woods.46

"Joyner" James Chick who died in 1699 apparently was satisfied with native woods, and stocked some of his walnut on the Brandywine Creek.47 Chick may have expanded his activities to furniture making when he reached the colonies, because the Arch Street Meeting in Philadelphia received him as "James Chick, Carpenter" from Callumpton, Devon, in 1683. He is known to have made a coffin for Joseph Wright in 1697/98, and "work unfinished" was left in his shop. The hardware listed among his goods suggests that he was actively making furniture. Appraisers noted:

Sundry Chest lox and Drawer lox and other things of Iron and Brass belonging and usefull to the trade of a Joyner.50
There is more positive documentation of the furniture production of some other craftsmen. The single piece of furniture definitely documented as made by a Philadelphia joiner before 1730 is a fall front desk which bears the brand "Edward Evans 1707." Evans was working in Philadelphia by 1702, and continued until at least 1714. He purchased land in 1719, but his will does not seem to exist, so whether he remained in Philadelphia is questionable. His "Joyners Work" done in 1702 is especially significant as it was for Lt. Governor Andrew Hamilton who had presided over the Common Council from November, 1701.

Evans had accounts with two other principal figures in the colony, Isaac Norris and James Logan. The Norris accounts are for work on houses and ships. Of more interest are Logan's 1714 entries of payment to Evans for: "an Oval Table...52s 6d & a Stand...9s." Inasmuch as Evans worked for such distinguished persons, it seems probable that his craftsmanship was well regarded. No case pieces are mentioned in these records, but it is unlikely that he would have purchased sixteen dozen drops just for the single or double drawers of a table.

"Joyner" Abraham Hooper died the same year Evans made the fall front desk, and craftsman Charles Plumley a year later. The differences in the information available on these men explain why the history of furniture production during this period can only be partially reconstructed. The first record of Hooper's activities was not for joinery, but "for Selling Strong Liquors without a License"
in 1695. He evidently established his own sobriety, as he was allowed to continue his sales "til after the General Meeting," and in 1702 served as a jury foreman.

Hooper purchased three sizes of coffin handle in 1698, but there seems to be no record of his craft work. In 1686 he married Philitia Green at the home of John Moon—a substantial citizen who in 1688 left "1 large case of oken drayers...£1:0:0," and the first "Case of black walnut drayers...£1:15:0" found on a Philadelphia inventory. Hooper stocked both these woods. Hooper's bequest of a "Mahogeny Case of drawers & Spice Box" to his wife in 1707 is significant, it is the first mention of mahogany case piece in Philadelphia. Hooper probably made these objects since he purchased sixteen mahogany planks from Dickinson in 1701. Charles Plumley, together with Joseph Shippen, apparently appraised Hooper's estate in a hurry, because the inventory form was abbreviated. Principal items were "Shop tools" at £22:16:11, and "Household good & shop-goods" grouped for £240:16:02.

In contrast, practically all the information known about Charles Plumley comes from a long and detailed inventory taken December 15, 1708. No reference was found which mentioned his trade, and no traces of his personal life were discovered. A Philadelphia account book records his name in 1698, and he purchased some land in January, 1707. Though three houses were listed on the inventory, Plumley's estate was but two-thirds that of Hooper. The inventory
does not state Plumley's trade, but evidences that he was a furniture craftsman. Saws, turning tools, planes and veneering screws identify him as a turner, joiner, and cabinet-maker. Plumley was fortunate to possess such a complete assortment (see Appendix V), because those craftsmen who did not bring sufficient tools with them, or who were just starting in the trade, did not have a selection immediately available.

On the basis of their inventories, merchants did not generally stock tools, and very few sales were discovered. In 1722 Joseph Redman had an assortment for joiners and other craftsmen:

\[
\begin{align*}
6 \frac{1}{2} \text{ Doz Plain Irons at } & 3s \quad 0:19:6 \\
14 \text{ Saw Setts } & 4 \text{ Steel Compasses } \\
4 \text{ Marking Irons } & 10 \text{ Penales } 12 \text{ Aulis} \\
\text{prcell wimble bitts} & 0:4:0 \\
11 \text{ Doz of Sockett Chissells Gouges } @ 7s & 3:17:0 \\
47 \text{ Caikng Irons} & 0:15:8 \\
50 \text{ Doz. Gimblets at } & 12d \\
\end{align*}
\]

In the same year Samuel Powell received a shipment of tools which included several implements used by joiners:

\[
\begin{align*}
9 \text{ p}^\text{F} \text{ hollows } & \text{ & Rounds } \quad 0:15:0 \\
3 \text{ p}^\text{F} \text{ slit deal groving plains} & 0:6:0 \\
6 \text{ p}^\text{F} \text{ whole deal } & \text{ & Table d}^\text{C} \\
7 \text{ Bed Plains} & 10d \\
\end{align*}
\]

The inventories of craftsmen (Appendix V) show them to have been well supplied, however, so they must generally have come prepared, or have made special orders not noted in accounts.
Plumley's tools indicate a diversity of product which is proved by his unfinished goods:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Walnut Table framd</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Pine Table</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Sett Gum bedstead pillows at 2s4d</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 Sett Sydes and Ends at 2s4d</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 parcelle of Walnut &amp; Pine Ends</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 black Carved Chair frames</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Walnut Case Drawers not finished</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Carved Maple Chairs</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plumley apparently enjoyed using unusual woods; this is the first maple furniture mentioned and he owned the olivewood veneers already cited. These veneers, seventy-six pounds of glue, and "6 Veneering Screws" are the supplies of a cabinet-maker, not a joiner. Turning implements, including "10 Ivory Turning Tools," and "carved" chair frames suggest Plumley had many skills.

The variety of forms Plumley was capable of fashioning, is enlarged by the hardware stocked for specific use on chests, chests of drawers, dressing boxes, desks, scrutoires, and clock cases (Appendix III). This demonstrates the usefulness of a complete inventory, for each element confirms and magnifies the others. Similarly the "Sorted hinges & drops scutcheons nails &c" worth £17:17:9 on John Harrison's inventory also taken in 1708 establish that he was more than a "house carpenter." Harrison's house was better furnished than Plumley's, but his tools were not itemized, so his work is problematical.
Not all joiners were as prosperous as Plumley and Harrison. Thomas Hulbart's estate amounted to only £35:17:2. His outstanding debts disclose his source of wood, and the customs that accompanied business transactions:

Item. To Saml Hollingsworth for Wallnut boards bot by the testator of him. £9:9:0
Item. To Benja Moulder for Sawing boards &c for ye testator £2:0:0
Item. To Paul Saunders for Rum for ye testator's Sawyers £0:3:9

Richard Gove drew his will in 1707:

Intending (If the Lord permitt) in a short time to Imbark for Barbadoes & afterwa ds for Europe. How he could afford such a trip, and whether business or pleasure took him from the colony—if he went, is a mystery. When he died in Philadelphia in 1710 almost half of his £24:11:0 estate was household goods. Some of Gove's background is known. A "Richard Gove" married Bridget Chilston in the Broadstreet Meeting House, Plymouth, England, in 1676. In 1685 the Gwyned (Pennsylvania) Monthly Meeting Book records that Richard Gove, James Fox, and Francis Rawle were among the first founders of Plymouth Township. For some reason Gove's Chestnut Street lot, next to chairmaker Solomon Cresson, was not included on his inventory, which may explain his small estate. Gove bequeathed his son-in-law Henry Mitchell, a Bucks County joiner, working tools "with all my Boards and Pieces of Wood belonging thereto." The latter probably were the "wrought and unwrought" things, possibly unfinished furniture, mentioned by the appraisers.
Quaker joiner William Till, one of those who appraised Gove's estate, immigrated with his sister from Whitegreave in 1700.\textsuperscript{73} Till married Ann Warder in Philadelphia in 1703, and in 1711 she inherited his substantial estate including a comfortably furnished £300:0:0 house.\textsuperscript{74} Till's trade was not cited in other references, but it is designated in his will and inventory. Appraisers' inconsistencies are demonstrated in that they consolidated "his working Tools of all Sorts Stuff unwrought &c." at £30:0:0, but carefully itemized his stock of wood, which only totalled £18:5:2:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wood Type</th>
<th>Footage</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pine Boards</td>
<td>1178</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Sedar Board</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walnut Board</td>
<td>574</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahogany Board</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahogany Scantling</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red-Sedar Board</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cherry Tree-board</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pear-Tree board</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oak Scantling 4 by 5</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0 75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Curiously, except for a "Walnut Oval Table...15s," the only wood identified in furniture in Till's house was a chest of drawers, square table, two stands and hat case, all "pine Black't." He was apparently content with less expensive materials himself, but was prepared to supply whatever his customers wished.

Extraordinary amounts or luxurious forms of furniture were not generally found in joiners' homes. Inventories were sometimes distorted, however, because specially bequeathed property or goods were not assessed. This may be the reason no furniture at all was
listed with £4:4:0 worth of "Wearing Apparil" and an £8:0:0 "Chest of Joyners working tooles compleat" which comprised the major portion of Moses Parker's £15:4:7 3/4 estate. 76

Joiners cannot be assumed to have made all, or any of the furniture found in their houses. Most craftsmen could produce almost any form, but they probably had some work done by the craft's specialists. Peter Baynton might be an example of such a craftsman, for he was principally paid for altering and assembling bedsteads (see Appendix II). 77 As much an upholsterer as a joiner, he could have done work for other joiners, who in turn may have supplied his case pieces.

Unfortunately, the account identifying "Cheermaker" specialist John Fleetson is not for new chairs, but for "mending" and "bottoming" work. 78 Sometimes as many as four people worked on chairs in the seventeenth century. A turner made legs and stretchers, a joiner the frame, a carver provided ornamentation, and, possibly, an upholsterer added seat or back. By the eighteenth century, chairmaking had become a separate profession, although turners continued to make most of the cheaper chairs. Chairmakers in London often were in partnership with a joiner, and only cane chairmakers commonly established separate shops. 79

In 1715, the major furnishings of joiner John Crosswhitt were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>£ &amp; d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Press Table &amp; Spice Box</td>
<td>3:15:0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Walnut Chairs</td>
<td>1:0:0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 6 Chairs &amp; Cheaque</td>
<td>3:0:0</td>
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</table>
He also owned "1 large Look Glass, 1 Swing D° & Pictures", valued at £4:0:0, but basically he had the necessities for sitting, eating and sleeping. The single definite case form requiring a joiner's skill in the house was the chest of drawers, so the "Press p[art] made" worth 15s in his shop may have been for his own use.\textsuperscript{80} The press is a cupboard form, generally used for storage of lines. The "Press Table" of the inventory may mean a press and table, or a type of table not presently identified. Crosswhitt's clothing worth approximately one-half that of his tools, relates his estate to that of joiner Moses Parker (who had no furniture).

More definite parallels exist between joiner John Widdifield, who died in 1720, and turner Jacob Shoemaker, who died in 1722. Both Old World immigrants left their goods and tools to their sons. They were active members of the new colony, contributing to its development as a distinct community, though still maintaining old customs.

The Philadelphia Meeting received Widdifield, a bachelor Yorkshireman from the Thirsk Monthly Meeting in 1705.\textsuperscript{81} He married Mary Lawrence in 1707/08, so his son John was still a minor and could not have been practicing the trade when his father died.\textsuperscript{82} Widdifield made coffins for Isaac Norris, and sold "an oval table...45s and walnut screen...10s" to James Logan in 1717.\textsuperscript{83} Besides family connections with his homeland, he still owned land at Newcastle-on-Tyne when he died.\textsuperscript{84}
By 1693 Jacob Shoemaker, a German who came from Maine as a servant of the Frankfort Company, was Sheriff of Germantown. A convert to Quakerism, he, his wife Margaret and their children, transferred from Abington to Philadelphia Monthly Meeting in 1715. This did not mean he had abandoned his German heritage, for in 1700 Pastorius recorded:

As for my domestic establishment, I very much wished to arrange it in the good high German Manner and Jacob Shuemacher and the Old Swiss are very serviceable to me toward this purpose.

Practical considerations, however, caused most of the Germans to request naturalization. Pastorius and Shoemaker were among the first to receive it in 1709. In 1722 Jacob left his son Jacob timber and tools connected with his "Trades of Turning and Wheelmaking." Thus craft traditions were transferred to and perpetuated in America as basis for a new establishment.

Joiner Henry Frogly's name was mentioned in Philadelphia in 1717, but his origins and the time of his arrival are unknown. He and John Read advertised a lottery for a "large new brick house" in 1720. Frogly called himself a "Joyner" in his will, and one entry on the 1723 inventory was "a Body of a Pair of Chist of Draws" valued at £1:0:0. Timber and brasses but no tools were listed, probably because Frogly had provided for their dispersal:

And it is my Desire that all my working Tools shall be valued as soon as conveniently may be after my decease by two Workmen to be chosen by my Executrix—And I Give
Thus Frogly helped to establish a craft, if not a family tradition in Philadelphia.

Joiners were still immigrating from the Old World. A 1723 advertisement announced:

Deserted the 21st of this Instant June, from the Ship Richard and Mary at Philadelphia, One William Meredith, by Trade a Joyner, of about 21 years of Age, ... he was said to take the New-York road, he carried with [sic] but two joyners planes ... .

Joiners were as liable to be vagabond or disreputable elements in the community as members of another profession. Joseph Claypoole, Jr., was not the first to find it easier to procure another's property than to produce his own. Edward Scull, Jr., admitted a freeman in 1717, was either unsuccessful or simply untrustworthy. In 1718 the Grand Jury charged that:

Edward Scull late of the City of Philad Joyner ... the Goods & Chattles of one David Sherin then & there being found then & there did feloniously Steal take & Carry away Agt an Act of the General Assembly.

Jewelry and money (from Spain and Portugal, as well as England) exceeding £16:0:0 in value was itemized, but Scull (or his namesake) successfully transferred himself to Charleston, South Carolina, where he became a chairmaker.

More common, and less serious, were legal difficulties of the joiners over failure to pay debts. The men involved were not necessarily
either incapable or lazy. William Branson was indicted for owing
Henry Wassy £6:15:5, and John Colley the considerable sum of £60:0:0,
but supplied James Logan with a number of packing chests, and:

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<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>£</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A Bedstead and Sacking Bottom</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cornishes for the Bed and 3 Windows</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frames for 5 Maps at 3s</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frames for 5 Prints at 2s abated</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
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</table>

Branson also made furniture for Nathaniel Allen including a square
table, six "common" chairs and an arm chair. There was more than
one William Branson, the name is entered on burial records in both
1723 and 1557, and in some cases their activities overlapped. These
"William Bransons" may have been related. Father-son partnerships
were not infrequent, but account usually omitted senior and junior
designations even if the persons used them, so just who did what is
often uncertain. Examples are William Fisher and Aaron Goforth.

William Fisher came from Rosse Monthly Meeting, Hereford, in
1684, and married Bridget Hodgikins in 1686. This Fisher was
probably the "joyner" listed in 1685, and who died in 1728. A
"William Fisher" who worked on the Norris house in Sassafras Street
in 1711 was denoted as "Jr.," but his trade was not designated.
Either Fisher could have used carpenter's tools bought in 1722, but
Fisher, junior, was not necessarily a joiner.

Aaron Goforth already had a wife, son, and two daughters
when he immigrated from Southwark, England in 1712. The Goforths,
father and son, appear to have been partners in ship and joinery work.
Goforth, senior, was called either carpenter or joiner, and in one case was designated a carpenter and paid for "Joynery Work." Neither Goforth is known to have made furniture, but the senior Goforth drew his will as a joiner in 1736, and John Willet was apprenticed to Goforth, junior, to learn that trade in 1728, so they were adaptable, and probably capable craftsmen. Unfortunately craft ability could not relieve the religious difficulties Goforth senior related to a friend in 1724:

...ffriends as they are called of ye 7 day meeting is Mightily Incesed Against me: ...Accordingly they came...[with a writte admonition] to Advise him [Goforth] not to preach or pray in our publick meetings... they have abused me most grossly caling me an Imposter A Devil A deceiver A Cheate: & yt I Am possessed with an evil Spirit & Such like: I think I ought to have satisfaction: I brought a good Certificate with me: & I have behaved my Selfe since I came this year without rebuke: ...I stay from ye Meetings & I dare not come until ye Matter be ended for as sure as I come So Sure is ye fire of wrath blown up Against me: and envy Who can Stand against it.

1. Goforth, senior, may have gotten along with all his family either.

All "Books Wearing Apparel and Working Tools" were left to his two sons-in-law, but, unless he had already received a legacy, nothing was given to Goforth, junior.

References to "John Jones" are especially confusing because there were several persons with this name, and accounts rarely identify them by trade. The type of purchases are not necessarily indicative, for a mahogany plank one "John Jones" purchased from Dickinson in 1701 might not have been for furniture. In 1704/05 Nehemiah Allen did
identify as a joiner the "John Jones" who made a "Chest of drawers
to my son Nathaniel." References in 1707 and 1714 are to a joiner who was probably the patient of John Kearsley, but they do not docu-
ment furniture production. The 1744 inventory of John Jones, joiner, itemized neither tools or woods, but listed a "Maple Chest of Drawers" at £3:0:0. In contrast, an untitled "John Jones" who died in 1746 left "Oak and Walnut Boards" (oak was no longer fashionable, but was used for such things as table gates), and a "Set of Planes," besides woodworking and "Sundrey Carpenter Tooles." Thus at least one, and possibly more than one, man called John Jones produced furniture in Philadelphia between 1700 and 1740, but a more specific statement would require further documentation.

Because they were working earlier, some people who died after 1730 must be considered. Their histories often demonstrate the con-
tinuation of craft traditions. James Booarman of "Lower Dublin,
Philadelphia County" composed his will as a "yeoman," but in it he bequeathed:

"...All my Carpenter & Joyners Tools or implimts unto
my Brother in law Griffith Lewis of the Great Valey in
the County of Chester & province afsd Yeo: To hold to
him his ( . ? ) & assigns forever to his & their own
proper use & behoof."

An undescriptive appraiser in 1732 duly valued an "old Whipsaw and
Sundry Carpentry, Joyners and Turners Tools and Instruments" at £4:7:0. The bequest is a significant illustration of the expanding geographic
area of family-craft a farmer might have had carpenter's and even
joiner's tools, turning implements are generally the sign of a trained craftsman.

Matthew Robinson and Caleb Ranstead were turners, who worked in Philadelphia from the beginning of the eighteenth century. Robinson declared his intention to marry Sarah Powell on Oct. 29, 1697, and did so in 1698, before his admission as a freeman in 1705. He left his son Richard "working Tools and the Implements and Utensils" of his trade. These were not included in the inventory taken at his death in 1743. Twenty-two of the fifty chairs that were appraised were "Rush" chairs, a type fashioned by turners, worth from 1s to 3s apiece.

Ranstead married Mary Warder in 1707, and drew his will fifty years later. Between 1714 and 1718 Ranstead sold Isaac Norris "1 Childs Chair," and "6 Chairs low back at 4s3d," and was paid 2s for "Mending 3 Chairs bot of Whitehead." Ranstead also produced the "wooden ware" which James Le Torte's wife requested of James Logan in 1719. The income from these smaller items was supplemented by larger enterprizes, such as that contracted with Richard Hill on June 15, 1728:

The sd Ranstead undertakes to build or cause to be built for the sd Hill A certain dwelling House . . . The sd House to be compleatly finished off Workman life wth the best Materials.

Few other facts about Ranstead are known, except that in 1740 widow Mary Ruller and bricklayer Edward Williams were charged with assault:

in & upon one Caleb Ranstead in the peace of God & our sd Lord the King. . . [they] did beat Wound &
evilly Entreat so that his Life it was greatly dispaired & other harms to him the sd Caleb then & there did bring to the great Damage of the sd Caleb.\textsuperscript{120}

He must have recovered, for when he formulated his will he was:

\textquote{...shortly to embarque on Shipboard with Intention to ( ? ) to the parts of Great Britain and desirous to settle my Worldly affairs in the best manner.} \textsuperscript{121}

Other furniture makers also lived long lives. Thomas Stapleford, a chair-frame-maker, was "late of Boston" and "now of the Town and County of Philadelphia in the Province of Pennsylvania," when he sold land "near the Fort Hill in Boston" to John Vickers. He was cited, as was Hooper, for selling liquor without a license in 1695.\textsuperscript{122} Nevertheless, he settled into the community, was paid in 1711 "for work done," and was working on Christ Church when admitted a freeman in 1717.\textsuperscript{123} By that time his craft activities had expanded, because in the same year he charged James Logan 50s for two tables and a bedstead.\textsuperscript{124} Stapleford supplied Logan and various other people with coffins which cost from 12s, for "y\textsuperscript{e} Servant boy" in 1718, to 40s, for Daniel Harrison in 1729.\textsuperscript{125}

His considerable expenditures for many kinds of hardware (see Appendix III) connotate a considerable trade, even if evidence of what he produced is scanty. He must have made case furniture, though only "presses" made for Logan and the items mentioned in his will can be cited. It is known that Stapleford worked on ships for Isaac Norris, but the reason for £14:0:0 worth of credit from the Governor is conjectural.\textsuperscript{126}
A continued preference for older materials is documented in Stapleford's will, made in 1739. He left:

unto my Daughter Elizabeth . . . a Maple Chest of Drawers & Chamber Table & Tea Table Varnished and half a dozen of Cane Chairs All to be finished at the Charge of my Estate by my Executors.\textsuperscript{127}

Cane chairs, used in Philadelphia from 1685, are found regularly on inventories well after 1730. Powell's Purchase of "4 doz. Cane Chairs" for £26:8:0 in 1732, Stapleford's will, and Nicholas Gale's advertisement of "Cane Chairs of all Sorts made after the best & newest Fashion" in 1734, attest that such chairs were not necessarily out-of-style heirlooms.\textsuperscript{128} Stapleford purchased "3 doz. Cane for Chairs" from Britain in 1721, so the chairs fashioned for his daughter were not a singular group.\textsuperscript{129} Cane chairs may not have been the highest fashion, but their use continued. Solomon Fussell charged 8s3d for mending "2 Kane armchairs" in 1747.\textsuperscript{130}

Their use at this late date was not limited to the American colonies. A General Description of Trades (a guide for choosing a profession), published in London in 1747, included chairmaking--with a pertinent remark on "Cane-chair-makers:"

Though this Sort of Houshold Goods is generally sold at the Shops of the Cabinet-makers for all the better Kinds, and at the Turnors for the more common, yet there are particular Makers for each.

The Cane-chair-makers not only make this Sort, (now almost out of Use) but the better sort of matted, Leather-bottomed, and Wooden Chairs, of all which there is great variety in Goodness, Workmanship and Price; . . .
The white Wooden, Wicker, and ordinary matted Sort, commonly called Kitchen-chairs, and sold by the Turners are made by different Hands, but are all inferior Employs. Those covered with Stuff, Silks, &c. are made and sold by the Upholsterers. A change of emphasis which started in the mid-seventeenth century was an accomplished fact in mid-eighteenth--the employer mentioned was the cabinet-maker, not the joiner. In contrast, the turner's role remained much the same; he continued making chairs into the nineteenth century. Styles went out of fashion, but lingered on, and customs were discarded slowly even in London.

Although he is not known to have trained craftsmen, Stapleford, whose working period closely parallels that of this study, evidences many of the characteristics of Philadelphia craftsmen working up to the mid-eighteenth century. Already trained in his craft when he immigrated, he came to Philadelphia with pre-established ideas and methods. He worked for a number of men and expanded his operations to meet their demands, doing most of the things connected with the wood-working crafts. A cabinet-maker by implication, his identification as a joiner and chairmaker is positive. He exemplifies how rather rigid and often specialized functions in the Old World were fused and diversified in the New.

Finally, Stapleford's was reliance upon English sources (via Philadelphia merchants) for his tools and hardware demonstrates the basic dependence on the mother country. Purchases such as "4 doz.
Solid Drops" in 1728 serve to illustrate the forms Stapleford favored, and the fashions which were being perpetuated.\textsuperscript{132} The style of the "Maple Chest of Drawers & Chamber Table" he gave his daughter is disputable, but they were not definitely old fashioned. Craftsmen worked simultaneously in both old and new styles, and the inventory of Stapleford's estate is not available to give further clues. Similarly, the character and extent of the furniture trade in Philadelphia is still only partially known, despite the intriguing indications of how the craftsmen worked and what they made.
CHAPTER IV

Philadelphia Furniture: The First Fifty Years

Ideally a study or history of furniture links written documents to actual surviving chairs, tables, chests of drawers, or other pieces of furniture. When particular forms were first in use and where they were made are questions answered conclusively only with dated or documented examples. Unfortunately, no furniture can be directly connected with an inventory entry made in Philadelphia before 1730; furthermore only a single piece of furniture in a pre-Queen Anne style is known with a Philadelphia maker’s identifying mark.

A goal of this thesis was to determine the salient characteristics of furniture made in Philadelphia before 1730. Because study of the furniture made in America during this period has just begun, regional distinctions cannot yet be positively defined, or recounted in terms of exclusive absolutes. Nevertheless, certain stylistic and constructional features appear repeatedly on furniture of probable Philadelphia origin and will be discussed here. To allow easy comparison, the chairs, tables, desks and chests of drawers chosen for illustration are all at the end of this chapter.

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It is important to remember that not all the furniture used in Philadelphia was produced in the city. The colonists' ordered furniture and their sensitivity to style change is evident in requests for the "newest fashion." The importation of furniture in new styles gave Philadelphia craftsmen the opportunity to learn what was being made elsewhere, and to create their own versions for Pennsylvania customers. However, at least one order for chairs in the "newest fashion" was sent to Bermuda. According to Katharine McClinton, "Bermuda Cedar Furniture" lagged behind English styles by about twenty years. Her description of the chairs made in Bermuda during the period of this study shows that one of several styles might have been desired:

The earliest chairs had closed or paneled backs, corresponding to English oak wainscot chairs of the seventeenth century. Later came the banister-back type, with a shaped top rail. Also mentioned in seventeenth-century lists are "chair with cushion in back," "caine chairs," and chairs with seats of cane, straw, woven basswood strips, or needlework. These early styles, in cedar, continued to be made in Bermuda down to the middle of the eighteenth century. ... The tall Charles II chairs of England were also copied in Bermuda cedar, but the style was modified, and no ornate carving was used. The legs of Bermuda cedar chairs took the bulb or spool-turned form and the typical Spanish foot of the English chairs of the period. The introduction of the cabriole leg and the center splat marked the transition to Queen Anne.²

A chair made in Bermuda of red cedar, and with a woven seat similar to the type which the Pennsylvania order specified, is illustrated in Plate 1, but may not be the style which was sent in 1720. The turnings and block-ended stretchers are unlike Pennsylvania models; the
shape of the banister back follows a popular outline. The feature which significantly distinguishes the chair from Pennsylvania types, however, is the use of cedar.

The late seventeenth century, the initial stage of this study, is called the "Age of Walnut" by furniture collectors in England. Walnut was the most widely used wood in "William and Mary" style furniture in Pennsylvania, where it remained popular for later eighteenth century styles. The almost universal use of walnut in the late seventeenth century was a constant factor in an era when many changes of style and practice occurred in English furniture. Margaret Macdonald-Taylor, for instance, noted that:

Single chairs as well as armchairs were more common . . . the settee proved a welcome innovation, and the day-bed with its structure following chair design was in common use.5

R. W. Symonds further states:

The chairs, originally, were made in sets comprising, probably, two armchairs and six or twelve single chairs.4

In Pennsylvania also chairs were numerous, and a couch was mentioned as early as 1693.5 Though some people owned just one or two chairs, many had sets of six, and several had large numbers.

Leather chairs and cane chairs were the most frequently listed types in inventories. Thomas Masters owned five dozen leather chairs in 1723; a year earlier Jonathan Dickinson possessed seventy cane chairs.6 Nevertheless, Cane chairs that can be identified as having been made in Philadelphia are rare. The cane chair illustrated in Plate 2 is thought to have been the property of Governor Thomas Lloyd,
but the type of turnings used on the arm supports and legs are rarely found on Pennsylvania chairs.\(^7\) They are, however, similar to a stool with a Logan family history.\(^8\) The kind of elongated vase turnings found on a leather armchair (Plate 3) occur more frequently, as do the blocks (instead of flattened balls) into which the stretchers are mortised. Stretchers are often tapered, rather than being block-edged like the central stretcher of the leather chair. This may be the mark of a turner's (instead of a joiner's) product, and not a regional characteristic. The arched crest rail was used on other kinds of chairs (Plate 4) as well. The leather armchair shown in Plate 3 looks comfortable, but appraisers noted that Francis Rawle had fitted his "with a Cushion" when they valued it at 30s in 1727.\(^9\)

Walnut was the most frequently listed chair wood in Philadelphia inventories; chairs of oak and cedar were mentioned, and a surviving side chair and easy chair (Plates 5, 6) are maple. Carved maple chairs were appraised among one joiner's goods in 1708, but were not listed again until 1724.\(^10\) The side chair shown in Plate 4 matches the inventory annotation of a "high back arch" chair.\(^11\) The seat of this chair is woven of rush. Rush, flag (another term for rush), bass, and matted bottoms were all used on Philadelphia chairs before 1692. Though the identification of "stickback" might be stretched to include a chair with this style of back, the inventory which used the term specified a cane chair, and probably referred to a banister back form.

Seating furniture was often fitted with cushions; some forms were "covered" or upholstered. Inventories listed chairs of serge,
There was frequent mention of "turkey work" chairs, but no example of this coarse material in imitation of Turkish carpets has been found on the seat of a chair thought to have been made in Philadelphia. Easy (upholstered) chairs were used in Philadelphia before 1717. The lines of the high-backed, wing chair shown in Plate 5 are so sophisticated that one might overlook the numerous stretchers of the underbracing which indicate an early eighteenth century date. Nevertheless, the shaping and execution of the turnings, and especially the "Spanish" feet are evidence of a refined workmanship.

Philadelphia inventories listed tables in many different woods, in several shapes and sizes, and for diverse purposes. Chamber and dressing tables contributed to a more elegant fashion of living, as did ornamental japanned and inlaid forms. Side or sideboard tables, slate tables, and tea tables filled social functions. Certain identifying terms, such as "Dutch," "Spanish," and "Hangore," await definition. The single most frequent descriptive term was "oval."

Before 1730 turning ornamented the legs and stretchers of both tables and chairs. The turnings of tables found in the middle colonies generally seem bolder and more robust than those on tables made in New England. Table turnings often relate to those on chairs and the legs of some case pieces. The turnings of the swinging or gate legs of the table illustrated in Plate 6 are characteristic. There are commonly one or two drawers in the frame under the drop leaf.
top of such tables. "Large walnut oval" tables, probably similar to this one, were specified in inventories of 1705, 1711, and 1716 at 50s, 35s, and 40s.\textsuperscript{15}

A "large folding table" was appraised at the remarkable sum of 90s in 1699.\textsuperscript{16} "Folding" seems to imply a kind of top which doubles over in the manner of later eighteenth century card tables, rather than one with drop leaves. This type of table also had a gate leg. The extraordinary turnings of the heavy legs of a walnut and oak folding table with a Chester County history (Plate 7) may mark it as one of the earliest Pennsylvania tables.

In contrast, the slim turned legs of the desk-on-frame illustrated in Plate 8 echo the shaping of chair stretchers. Frequently the term desk was applied to a simple slant-topped box, but sometimes such boxes were set on a special frame. Scruitories, another form of desk, were occasionally listed with a "frame."\textsuperscript{17} In contrast to the example illustrated, some English desks-on-frame connect turned legs like those on dressing tables and high chests (Plates 13, 14, 15) with cross stretchers. This simple desk (Plate 8) is set rather awkwardly in the frame, but arched pigeon holes, shaped dividers, and the details of molding and turning show that it was made by a skilled craftsman.

Differences of quality naturally caused valuations to vary, but a wide diversity of styles is also suggested by the fact that the
term "desk" was applied to objects worth as little as 2s 6d, and as much as 100s.18 The more expensive desks may have been a bureau type with slant front. One such desk, "supposedly made for the Richardson Family of Philadelphia," is illustrated in Plate 9, but there were several Richardson families in the city.19 The scalloped skirt and five ball feet (instead of the usual four) of the desk in the Winterthur collection are also found on a desk in the Garvan collection, but ornamental and structural details of the two are dissimilar.20 One "Black walnut desk & feet" (ball feet?) was valued at 24s in 1699.21

The sturdy form of these desks is more closely related to the "chest of drawers," found in almost every Philadelphia inventory, than to a desk-on-frame. One of the few known pieces of Pennsylvania furniture in the earlier seventeenth century fashion has geometrically panelled drawer fronts and extended stiles which form the feet (Plate 10). The drawers are not grooved for side supports on which to slide open. Instead, the drawer bottoms rest on simple supports on each side, in the manner of later seventeenth century dressing tables and the lower cases of high chests. The drawers are of different heights, but they are not arranged in the graduated order usual in later chests of drawers. Drop brasses, rather than the earlier type of wooden pull, were used on this chest. The present style of handle may have been an early replacement because of the fragility of such drops.22 Therefore, despite the early seventeenth century appearance of this chest, constructional techniques show that it was not made before the last part of the century.
A number of surviving chests of drawers in the later "William and Mary" style have ball feet. In 1701, shop-keeper Margaret Beardsley's "great chamber" held: "1 Stand Chest Drawers" valued at £3:0:0, and "1 Ditto [chest of drawers] wth feet" at £2:15:0. The first chest may have been similar to Plate 10. The second entry might have meant a chest with ball feet, like that illustrated in Plate 11. A walnut chest "on balls" was specifically listed on the inventory of carpenter Thomas Bradford in 1722. The illustrated example (Plate 11) has an unusual flared bottom molding, and lacks the double half-round moldings which were commonly applied between drawers. Probably made in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, the graduated drawers of this chest are separated by dust boards (interior pieces of wood which separate the drawers from one another). These were used in many Pennsylvania case pieces.

The chest-on-frame (Plate 12) is another early form, a rare one in Philadelphia where only one inventory listed a "Chist of drawers & frame." That such a chest was only valued at 10s in 1688 may suggest that it was old and out of style. A "part of a Chist of drawers & frame," also in Widow Anna Salter's inventory, was valued at 6s. In 1701 another widow stocked "Drawer Rings," perhaps similar to the unusual pulls on the chest-on-frame illustrated in Plate 12, for customers such as joiner James Chick. "Ring Brass Drops" were also listed on a 1734 inventory. The shaped stretchers and moldings at the top and mid-line of the chest are stylistically later...
features than the vase and bobbin turnings, and the plain lower case with a single long drawer.

Such combinations represent the developments in later seventeenth century furniture noted by English writers. Margaret Macdonald-Taylor focused on the change from early case furniture of a quite "solid type with rather coarse moldings," to the kind with "more graceful designs with more subtle outlines." The latter style was already established in England by the time of the earliest migration to Pennsylvania, and it is possible that idiom was used in Philadelphia from the time of its founding. It may be observed, for example, that the older fashion of fielded side panels (as in Plate 12) are not found on Philadelphia "William and Mary" style high chests (as in Plate 15).

Furniture makers would probably have failed in Philadelphia if they had allowed older traditions to dictate the forms and guide the style of the furniture they fashioned. The tools, hardware, and woods owned by the furniture craftsmen during the city's first fifty years suggest that their products were diverse and well-made, but how well these men adapted the newer styles was dependent on whether they could use traditional techniques or were required to employ new skills. Some people undoubtedly preferred to remember and perpetuate earlier fashions in any case, but many settlers are known to have consistently attempted to keep up with the "newest fashion." The general economic level of Philadelphia society precluded the manufacture of the "high" fashion furniture such as the nobility required in England, but there
was sufficient prosperity to encourage a craftsman to develop and expand his abilities to produce a reasonable imitation of the latest vogues.

Comments on style in references to furniture in Philadelphia are as exceptional as remarks on the wood used in the construction are common. Walnut, cedar, oak and mahogany were all used for chests of drawers; olivewood (probably as a veneer) cherry and pine are also mentioned. The chest of drawers and desk illustrated, and other examples that will be shown, are all of walnut. Walnut chests usually valued around 40s, were listed frequently. The most expensive was worth 120s, and none were less than 20s.\(^{29}\) Chests were generally highly valued: the unusual olivewood examples were 140s to 200s; five of seven cedar chests were more than 80s.\(^{30}\) Even an "old fashioned" chest of drawers in 1697 (perhaps similar to Plate 10) was worth 40s.

Because of the lack of specific documentation, and the diverse characteristics of surviving furniture, high chests and dressing tables are difficult to summarize as a group. Inventory entries of simple "chest of drawers" may be divided into two groups on the basis of their appraised values: the majority of valuations ranged between 30s and 50s; a smaller number of chest of drawers were valued at 90s to 200s. The latter group may have been high chests. The fact that chest of drawers and tables were often listed together provokes the hypothesis that these were matching high chests and dressing tables in the "William and Mary" style. The first listing of the more expensive
type of chest of drawers (at 120s) was in 1702. Examples of the chests complimented by a table were particularly noted in walnut for 120s in 1720, "black" for 50s in 1722, and "new" for 80s the same year. Most of the mahogany groups listed around 1722 were 150s.

There are several features of construction and style which seem to be common, though not exclusive to, Pennsylvania case pieces. Drawers in dressing tables and in the lower section of high chests, for example, are usually separated by a space one and one-half to two and one-half inches wide. Even the smaller drawers are often fitted with a pair of brasses. Turnings, moldings, and visible elements are generally stylistically in the "William and Mary" fashion, but some earlier seventeenth century construction methods were used. The craftsman could make the furniture so that it appeared to be in the "newest" fashion, but he continued to use the methods of construction he had learned during his apprenticeship. Thus Philadelphia craftsmen did not immediately adapt the changed techniques that accompanied stylistic modifications in England. R. W. Symonds states:

In the early walnut furniture of the time of Charles II the drawer bottoms were nailed to the bottom edges of the drawer sides, and the drawers had no runners, but from the time of William and Mary [1688] onwards, the bottoms were let into rabbits glued on to the bottom of the drawer to act as runners.

Instead of being rabbed, the majority of drawer bottoms in early Philadelphia furniture were nailed onto the sides, and bottom runners (extra strips applied to the drawer) were generally not used. Drawer
bottoms run from back to front, and fit over the sides. The upper
gedge of the side is usually flat, and the sides are dovetailed to
the front. The back of the drawer is occasionally fitted on the ends
of the sides and nailed, but more often is dovetailed.

Drawers in bureau forms are often separated from each other
by whole or partial dividers. In dressing tables and high chest
bases the drawers are not so separated, and rest on slides which are
mortised into the case—but these slides do not pierce through the
backboard. Drawer fronts fit flush within an opening normally
surrounded with double half-round molding. This type of molding, ori-
ginally used to protect the edges of veneered furniture from damage,
was used as an ornamental device in Pennsylvania (no veneered
Pennsylvania furniture from this period has yet been identified). The
extra bead of wood outlining the skirt, originally meant to secure
the veneers, was also retained as ornament.

The decorative arcading of the apron (or frieze) of "William
and Mary" case furniture employs various combinations of semi-circles
and ogee curves. The use of three simple semi-circles, the earliest
form of arcading, has not been observed on Pennsylvania examples.
This supports the supposition that the craftsmen had already worked in
the "William and Mary" style when they immigrated, and had generally
progressed beyond the simpler motifs. Semi-circles were used on either
side of the central arch on the front, and two were sometimes paired
to make an inverted scallop on the side, but these outlines are not
common on Philadelphia furniture. Those case pieces with semi-circular cut-outs also tend to have single half-round moldings around the drawer openings instead of the slightly later double arch molding usually found on Philadelphia furniture.36

Features common to the case furniture of Philadelphia and the surrounding area are illustrated on the uniquely documented dressing table shown in Plate 13. The date "1724" inlaid in the top of this table is probably the year that it was made. Below the top is a molding, which forms the upper edge of the drawer openings. The use of a concave molding in this position seems to be a characteristic Pennsylvania feature. Two ogee arches flank the central arch (a semicircle supported on either side by ogee curves) of the apron. The sides of the case are also cut with a depressed ogee arch—a feature found on case pieces of this style from many areas. The legs of this table have "cup and trumpet" turnings distinctive to early furniture from the Philadelphia area. The cups flare out sharply beneath a vase turning instead of rounding (like an inverted tulip), and there is a deep inward cut separating them from the lower trumpet turning. The trumpets are not usually interrupted by another vase turning before the flange which fits the leg to the stretcher. Square-ended stretchers, crossing to form double ogee arches, are common, but have many variations.

Three dressing tables are known with arcades similar to those on the dressing table illustrated in Plate 14.37 Here the central ogee
arch is supported on either side by an arc separated by a straight "break." The flanking ogee arches are repeated on the sides. The legs of this table do not have cup turnings. Consequently, the trumpet turning has a smoother outline, although the upper slope is articulated in such a way that it resembles a cup compressed onto the trumpet. In other examples the lines of the trumpet are simplified, and the vase turnings above are less bulbous, just as the ball feet are generally smoothly rounded, instead of having a ribbed contour. The aprons of these tables are the same height, but larger, more nearly square side drawers in one table (Plate 14) forced the depression of the flanking ogee arches.

The dressing table illustrated in Plate 14 is matched by a high chest, shown in Plate 15. Both descended through the Norris family of Philadelphia. As is usually true, the lower case of the high chest is wider than the dressing table, hence the separation of the lower drawers is proportionally greater. The moldings at the juncture of upper and lower case of a Pennsylvania high chest are often nearly flat and relatively broad. The cornice moldings are quite simple, pleasantly flared, and of moderate height. The extra molded platform on the top of this high chest is probably not original.

The torus molding commonly used in New England to front a concealed drawer at the top of chests is not usual on Pennsylvania chests, but was used on the fall front desk illustrated in Plate 16. That desk bears the brand "Edward Evans 1707," but its ownership prior to
about 1800 is not known. It is not usually possible to judge the relative concurrency of Philadelphia and English styles, but the Evans desk (probably called a scrutoire) of 1707 may be compared with an English bureau cabinet of the 1685-1700 period. Margaret Macdonald-Taylor described this as:

composed of a plain chest-of-drawers surmounted by a flat-topped upper portion which had a fall front.

Two side-by-side drawers set over two full length drawers, as in the lower case of Evans' desk, is a common organization on Philadelphia chests. This drawer arrangement was also used for the chest-on-frame (Plate 12), the slant front desk (Plate 9), and another scrutoire (Plate 17). The high chest (Plate 15) has a variation of three side-by-side over three full length (also used on a desk-on-frame in a private collection similar to Plate 13), but no one arrangement can be cited as standard.

Evans' handling of several strong elements (flared cornice, fielded front panel, interior arrangement) in his interpretation of the English form is evidence of fine craftsmanship. This "fall front" type of desk was not specified on a Philadelphia inventory taken before 1730. In 1719 joiner Thomas Stapleford did purchase sets of "writing desk locks" with locks "for the fall," but a slant front which folded down could also have been called a fall.

Philadelphian James Claypoole bequeathed a "writing cabinet" (an alternate term for bureau cabinet) in 1687. This was apparently
subsequently evaluated as a scrutoire. The term scrutoire, spelled in a multitude of ways, was mentioned twenty-five times on inventories made before 1730. Many were probably desk and cabinet or bookcase forms with either slant or fall fronts. Claypoole's was the first scrutoire listed, and had a standard value of 120s. Eight scrutoires were worth 40s or less, the others ranged from 45s to 240s.

Several variations of scrutoire were used in Philadelphia. One bequest made in Philadelphia in 1723 specified a type with "glass doors," and perhaps referred to one similar to that illustrated in Plate 17. This walnut desk has an upper cabinet with arched, mirror fronted doors. In the interior of the cabinet, twenty-four pigeon holds surround drawers, spaces for ledgers, and a central shelf with an arched head. The interior of the desk was made of tulip (poplar). The heavy drawer sides and crude dovetailing do not reflect the desk's refined exterior styling. The form of this Philadelphia example is very similar to some English scrutoires thought to have been made between 1710 and 1715. These scrutoires are also described by Margaret Macdonald-Taylor:

The upper portion, or cabinet, usually had a double hooded cornice over two doors with curved tops which opened upon a fitted interior. This consisted of a small central cupboard surrounded by drawers and tall narrow compartments for ledgers, with or without pigeon holes in addition.

Thus some Philadelphia furniture, while it may have been simpler in form or fashion, was current with English styles.
The record of clocks owned by early Philadelphians, as shown by an inventory study (Appendix VI), offers some interesting information, and reinforces several of the conclusions about furnishings reached in this study. Nineteen clocks, valued from 6s to 200s, and thirty-four clocks and cases, valued from 40s to 450s, were listed before 1730. All the clocks, with and without cases, mentioned in the seventeenth century were owned by merchants—indicating the mercantile character of the society. After 1700, when the economy had been developed and diversified (among other reasons), clocks were found among the goods of a variety of craftsmen and some farmers. The relative frequency of such an unnecessary, and generally expensive item demonstrates Philadelphia's general prosperity; the wide range of economic and social status of the men who owned them corresponds with the cosmopolitan character of Philadelphia society brought out by the study of furniture in use. Most Philadelphians seem to have furnished their houses with an awareness of decoration and style and to the limit of their resources. Two-thirds of those owning clocks left estates valued at more than £400, but the richest men did not always have the most expensive clocks. While poorer settlers did enjoy as many refinements, ownership of stylish and decorative furnishings, even when expensive, was not confined to the very wealthy.

Philadelphians could obtain clocks made in the city itself. Abel Cottey was probably the first clockmaker to work in the city. Peter Stretch, John Copson, and Francis Richardson were other early craftsmen.
Cottey had "A Wheele Ingin with sundry tools," valued at £15:0:0 in 1711, so he was not reliant on merchants to obtain parts for him from England, but could fashion them himself. Craftsmen who did not manufacture their own fittings were not necessarily ill-equipped, however. The inventories of joiners show that, although hardware and other supplies for furniture making had to be imported, they were available in Philadelphia. The ability of the craftsman, not the limitations of his materials, determined the quality of the product.

The clock illustrated in Plate 18 has the name "Francis Richardson" engraved on the face. It is not an elaborate example, but it demonstrates competent and cultivated craftsmanship. The relatively plain style of the dial, and the lack of carving on a flat-topped case with a bold base and cornice suggest that it was made during the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Inasmuch as Richardson was a goldsmith, he may not have made these works himself, but have simply engraved the works made by clock-makers. He may then have fitted them in a case, obtained from a joiner, before he sold them. Richardson apparently did not buy furniture from his customer-joiners. John Widdifield and Thomas Stapleford, neither of whom is known to have owned a clock. William Till and Henry Frogly were joiners who owned clocks, but they are not known to have made cases. Joiner Charles Plumley stocked clock case locks, but he did not own a clock when he died in 1708.

The information on clock manufacture in Philadelphia is incomplete, as is the documentation for other furniture. Nevertheless,
the interdependence and development of the crafts in early Philadelphia are indicated by the diverse nature of Richardson's activities. Just so the kinds and variety of woods, tools, and hardware which the joiners owned, and the furniture they left unfinished when they died, are positive declarations of a high standard of craftsmanship. Though details may be lacking, it is obvious that an active trade and a high quality of furniture work, characteristic of Philadelphia in later years, were traits developed from the city's founding.
PLATE 1
Side Chair, Eighteenth Century
Bermuda Cedar
Tucker House, St. George, Bermuda
PLATE 2

Armchair, 1700-1720
Walnut and cane
Henry Francis DuPont Winterthur Museum
Accession: 55.130

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PLATE 3

Armchair, 1700-1720
walnut and leather
OH: 49 7/8"; OW 24 3/4"; OD 23 3/4"
Henry Francis duPont Winterthur Museum
Accession: 54.518

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PLATE 4

Side Chair, 1715-1735
Maple (Acer Pennsylvanicum) and rush
OH: 43 3/8"; OW: 19 1/4"; OD: 15 7/8"
Henry Francis duPont Winterthur Museum
Accession: 54.520
PLATE 5

Easy Chair, 1720-1740
Maple
OH: 43 3/8"; OW: 19 1/4"; OD: 15 7/8"
Henry Francis DuPont Winterthur Museum
Accession: 66.1309
PLATE 6
Gateleg Table, c. 1690
Walnut
OH: 28 3/4"; OW: (closed) 23 1/8" (open)
73 1/8"; OD: 60 3/4"
Philadelphia Museum of Art
Accession: 22-76-1
PLATE 7
Gateleg (Folding) Table, 1675-1710
Walnut and oak
OH: 31 5/16"; OW: 60 1/2"; OD: (open) 47 3/8"
Henry Francis duPont Winterthur Museum
Accession: 54.94
PLATE 8
Desk-on-Frame, 1715-1740
Maple (soft), poplar, pine
OH:38 1/8"; OW: 28"; OD:17 1/8"
Henry Francis duPont Winterthur Museum
Accession: 58.2981
PLATE 9

Desk, 1700-1725
Walnut, hard pine, tulip, white oak
OH: 42 3/8"; OW: 40 3/4"; OD: 22"
Henry Francis duPont Winterthur Museum
Accession: 58:561

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PLATE 10

Chest of Drawers
Walnut
OH: 44"; OW: 45 1/2"; OD 23 1/4"
Philadelphia Museum of Art
Accession: 69-133-1
PLATE 11

Chest of Drawers, 1700-1725
Walnut, white cedar, hard pine
OH: 34 5/8"; OW: 36 1/2"; OD: 22 3/8"
Henry Francis duPont Winterthur Museum
Accession: 58.1023

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PLATE 12
Chest-on-Frame, 1680-1720
Walnut and pine
Private collection of Mr. and Mrs. Blagojevich
PLATE 13
Dressing Table, the date "1724" inlaid in top
Walnut inlaid with birch
OH: 30"; OW: 40 1/4"; OD: 23 3/8"
Philadelphia Museum of Art
Accession: 40-16-28
PLATE 14

Dressing Table, c. 1700
Walnut
OH: 29"; OW: 33 5/8"; OD: 21 1/2"
Philadelphia Museum of Art
Accession: 28-7-13
PLATE 15

High Chest, c. 1700
Walnut
OH: 42 1/8"; OW: 42 1/8"; OD: 23 3/16"
Philadelphia Museum of Art
Accession: 28-7-12
PLATE 16

Fall Front Desk, branded "Edward Evans 1707"
Walnut, white cedar, red pine
OH: 66 1/2"; OW: 44 1/2"; OD: 20"
Colonial Williamsburg
Accession: 1958-468
PLATE 17

Secretary Desk, 1700-1725
Walnut and poplar
OH: 90" OW: 40"; OD: 22 1/2"
Philadelphia Museum of Art
Accession: 63-33-1
PLATE 18
Tall Case Clock, c. 1725
clock face engraved "Francis Richardson"
Walnut
OH: 73"; OW: 18"
Philadelphia Museum of Art
Accession: 25-60-1
FOOTNOTES TO PREFACE


2Arthur W. Leibundguth, "Philadelphia, Artisans, Crafts and Trades, 1730-1760" (University of Delaware, unpublished Master's Thesis, 1963). Though furniture forms were not a primary concern of this study, the detailed treatment of craftsmen would have made an extension of this study redundant.


4Ruth Matzkin, "Inventories of Estates in Philadelphia County, 1682-1710" (University of Delaware, unpublished Master's Thesis, 1959). This study surveys all the furnishings found in Philadelphia homes, including textiles, metalwares, ceramics, and furniture. It contains tables of these articles, and a statistical analysis of their occurrence.
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER I

NOTE: The number of inventories, wills and administrations used made the adaption of a shortened form of citation seem practical. After the initial citation, these records are identified by the year they were filed, and the number assigned them in the Philadelphia Office of Wills and Administration papers. Appendix I is a full listing of the records consulted, by year and number, with the names, occupations, and total estate valuations of the persons in question.


4"Extracts from the Letter-Book of James Claypoole," PMHB, X (1886), 197. Hereafter cited as "Claypoole Extracts".


6Penn, "Some Account," 209.


8"Letters from Pennsylvania," IV, 198.


123
10 Francis Daniel Pastorius, "Positive Information From... Pennsylvania, 1684," Narratives, 408.

11 "Interesting Letter of Morgan Evan, 1714," PMHB, XLII (1918), 176-177.


13 Ibid., 128.

14 Complete room by room inventories are rare. One or two of the principal rooms, such as the "front chamber" or "shop", were noted frequently, but less important rooms were not differentiated. Sometimes the number of rooms may be deduced from the order of the listing, i.e. furniture followed by ceramics, fireplace equipment, etc., and then the sequence repeated, but these only support vague estimations.

15 Matzkin, "Inventories of Estates," see Preface note 4.


17 City of Philadelphia, Office of Wills and Administration Papers, Inventory, MS 26, 1685. Hereafter wills, inventories and administrations will be cited by assigned number and year.

18 Inventory, MS 31, 1686.


20 Ibid., 15.


22 Hubertis M. Cummings, "An Account of the Goods at Pennsbur... Manor" PMHB, LXXXVI (1962), 397-416. This is a transcription of the inventory taken in 1687, now deposited at the Pennsylvania Bureau of Land Records, Department of Internal Affairs (manuscript number: PP 8-3). Hereafter cited as "Pennsbury Account," 1687.
Penn did not actually return to Pennsylvania until September, 1699, when he lived for a time with Samuel Carpenter in the Slate Roof House, on Chestnut and Second Streets. He left the colony on Nov. 3, 1701, and did not return. He died in England, July 30, 1718.

Robinson served as Deputy Master of Rolls, Clerk of the Philadelphia Courts, Registrar General, and Provincial Secretary.


Gabriel Thomas, "An Historical and Geographical Account of Pennsylvania and of West-New-Jersey" (1698), Narratives, 346. Gabriel Thomas was a Quaker from Wales, who came to Pennsylvania in 1681. The Tathams' house is known to have been forty feet long, contained more than twelve rooms, and to have had a sheet lead roof.

Connoisseur's Complete Period Guides (as extracted from Randle Holme's Academy of Armory, published in Chester, England), 322.

MSS Inventories of John and Elizabeth Tatham, Society Miscellaneous Collection (photostats), HSP. Hereafter cited as Tatham Inventories, 1700/01.

Inventory, MS 202, 1711.

Inventory, MS 41, 1701. Chairs and table together were worth £13:0:0.

Will and Inventory, MSS 6, 1705. These papers are filed together; the differences in spelling probably do not signify different people.

Inventory, MS 83, 1706.
35 Albert Cook Myers, Quaker Arrivals at Philadelphia, 1682-1750: Being a List of Certificates of Removal Received at Philadelphia Monthly Meeting of Friends, 2nd ed. (Baltimore, 1957), 3.

36 Inventory, MS 83, 1708.

37 Inventories: MS 103, 1694; MS 160, 1697.

38 Administration, MS 20, 1693; Inventories: MS 47, 1688; MS 139, 1696; MS 157, 1697; MS 214, 1699; MS 218, 1699; MS 219, 1699.


40 Inventory, MS 41, 115.

41 Inventories: MS 81, 1716; MS 201, 1720. A question which should be considered is whether pictures without glass were hung on the walls.

42 Philadelphia, American Weekly Mercury, No. 19, April 28, 1720.

43 Ibid., No. 191, August 23, 1723.

44 Ibid., No. 199, October 3, 1723.

45 Inventory, MS 105, 1717.

46 Inventory, MS 195, 1720.

47 "The Estate of Jonathan Dickinson (1663-1722)," PMHB, LIX (1935), 420-429. This transcription of an inventory at the HSP is incomplete. It lists the household goods, but not property or shop goods. The manuscript was consulted, and will hereafter be cited as Dickinson Inventory, 1722.

48 Inventory, MS 330, 1724.
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER II

1Matzkin, "Inventories of Estates," passim.
2Will & Inventory, MSS 34, 1687.
3"Pennsburry Account," 1687.
5Inventory, MS 53, 1698.
6Inventory, MS 113, 1717.
7MS Inventory of John Moon, 1688, Joseph Downs Memorial Manuscript Library. Hereafter cited as Moon Inventory, the manuscript collection as Downs Library. Definitions, unless otherwise stated, are taken from the Oxford English Dictionary.
8Inventory, MS 42, 1701.
9Logan referred to England as an upholsterer, but his inventory, taken in 1717 (MS 108) calls him a merchant. Moon's trade is not designated on his inventory, and he was called a merchant when he married.
10Inventory, MS 84, 1692.
11Inventory, MS 104, 1694.
12Inventories: MSS 219, 229, 214, 1699.
13Inventory, MS 229, 1699. This bed was worth 11s with three curtain rods and cords.
14If references to "furnishings" (i.e. metalwares, ceramics, etc.), as well as furniture, were included, this number would be considerably greater.

127
16 Will, MS 253, 1712.
17 Inventory, MS 181, 1710.
18 Inventory, MS 157, 1719.
19 Tatham Inventories, 1700/01.
20 Inventory, MS 143, 1704.
21 Inventory, MS 176, 1716.
22 Inventory, MS 220, 1711.
23 Inventory, MS 228, 1711.
24 Inventory, MS 113, 1708.
25 Inventory, MS 79, 1702.
26 Inventory, MS 34, 1706.
27 Inventory, MS 271, 1722.
28 Inventory, MS 159, 1719.
29 Thomas Coates, MS Ledger, 1705-1726, HSP, 4. Hereafter cited as Coates Ledger.
30 Inventories, MS 316, 1724; MS 157, 1727.
31 James Logan, MS Ledger, 1720-1727, MSP 89 (July 26, 1727), and 46 (July 28, 1725).
33 Logan Account Book, 245. Logan Ledger, 98.
34 "Two Early Letters from Germantown," PMHB, LXXIV (1960), 231.
36 Logan Account Book, 25.
37 Ibid., 259 & 262. Logan's listing of sterling totals was not included because they obscur and confuse the entry without giving pertinent information. Five stivers equal one shilling.

38 Inventories: MS 302, 1723; MS 113, 1717.

39 Logan Account Book, 267, 268, & 349.

40 Ibid., 279 (May 29, 1718) & 375 (May 7, 1718).

41 Ibid., 283.

42 James Logan, MS Letterbook, HSP, 7. Hereafter cited as Logan Letterbook.


44 Logan Letter Book, 35 (undated, between October 23 and 30, 1718).

45 Logan Account Book, 35.

46 Francis Richardson, MS "His Book," Downs Library, 40. Hereafter cited as Richardson, "His Book."


49 Inventory, MS 47, 1688.

50 Will & Inventory, MSS 34, 1687.

51 Inventory, MS 302, 1723.

52 Inventory, MS 219, 1699.

53 Inventory, MS 244, 1711.

54 Logan Account Book, 247.

55 Inventory, MS 160, 1697.
56 Logan Account Book, 25.

57 Inventories: MS 98, 1702; MS 60, 1707.

58 Inventories: MS 131, 1709; MS 272, 1713.

59 Inventories: MS 113, 1708; MS 309, 1724.

60 Inventories, MS 159, 1719. Administration, MS 73, 1727.

61 Tatham Inventories, 1700/01/

62 Inventory, MS 32. 1700.

63 Inventory, MS 37, 1700.

64 Logan Account Book, 230.

65 Dickinson Inventory, 1722. This is an unusual relationship. Usually there was one elbow chair to 6 or 12 side chairs.

66 Inventory, MS 169, 1719.


68 Logan Account Book, 347.

69 Allen Letterbook, September 7, 1720.

70 Inventories: MS 32, 1686; MS 229, 1699; MS 83, 1708.

71 Inventory, MS 83, 1708.

72 Logan Letter Book, to J. Askew, 399.

73 Philadelphia Account Book: 168, Inventory, MS 83, 1708. Russia leather is "a very durable leather made of skins impregnated with oil distilled from birch bark, extensively used in book-binding." (OED)

74 Inventory, MS 1, 1714.

75 Inventories: MS 129, 1718; MS 139, 1729.

76 Logan Ledger, 89.

77 Inventories: MSS 106 & 109, 1717.
78 Inventory, MS 113m, 1717.
79 Inventories: MS 257, 1724 & MS 314, 1724.
80 Dickinson Inventory, 1722.
81 Inventory, MS 113, 1717.
82 Inventory, MS 169, 1719.
83 Inventory, MS 106, 1717. Bass is the inner bark of a tree.
84 Logan Ledger, 20.
85 Ibid., 89.
86 Will, MS 253, 1712.
87 Inventory, MS 121, 1694; Administration 20, 1693.
88 Administration, MS 20, 1693; Inventory MS 214, 1699.
89 Inventory, MS 309, 1724.
90 Inventories: MS 34, 1687; MS 179, 1698.
91 Inventories: MS 113, 1717; MS 302, 1723.
92 Administration, MS 20, 1693. Inventories: MS 47, 1688; MS 84, 1692; MS 121, 1694; MS 157, 1697; MS 182, 1698; MS 218, 1699.
93 Tatham Inventories, 1700/01.
94 Inventory, MS 113, 1708.
95 Inventory, MS 2, 1714.
96 Logan Account Book, 399.
97 Ibid., 299.
98 Hornor, Blue Book, 12.
99 Inventories: MS 277, 1713; MS 139, 1704. Note: "c" below the line of print means "with" from the Latin "come".
100 Margaret Macdonald-Taylor, English Furniture: from the Middle Ages to Modern Times (New York, 1965), 76.
Samuel Carpenter arrived very early in the province, and was one of the most considerable traders and settlers in Pennsylvania; where he held offices in the government; and through a great variety of business he preserved the love and esteem of a large and extensive acquaintance. His great ability, activity and benevolent disposition of mind, in diverse capacities, but more particularly among his friends, the Quakers, are said to have rendered and distinguished him as a very useful and valuable member, not only of that religious society, but also of the community in general. Proud, The History of Pennsylvania in North America, II, 60n.

The poor condition of this manuscript renders certain parts almost illegible; therefore, this listing may have been mis-interpreted.

Logan Account Book, 270; Richardson, "His Book," 27.

Richardson, "His Book," 32 and 40.

Dickinson Inventory, 1722.

Inventories: MSS 169 & 173, 1719.

Dickinson Inventory, 1722.

Inventory, MS 201, 1720.

Dickinson Inventory, 1722.

Proud, II, 118-119 n.

Dickinson Inventory, 1722.
120 Logan Account Book, 262 & 266.


122 Macdonald-Taylor, 17.

123 Inventory, MS 64, 1707; Tatham Inventories, 1700.

124 Inventory, MS 26, 1685.

125 Matzkin, 32.

126 Administration MS 20, 1693. Inventory, MS 139, 1696.

127 Inventory, MS 1, 1714.

128 Inventories: MSS 257 & 253, 1722.

129 Will, MS 155, 1719.

130 Inventory, MS 82, 1716.

131 Inventory, MS 271, 1722.

132 Inventory, MS 228, 1711.

133 Inventory, MS 113, 1708.

134 Moon Inventory, 1688.

135 Inventory, MS 157, 1697.

136 Inventories: MS 160, 1697; MS 182, 1698.

137 Inventory, MS 182, 1698.

138 Hornor, 30.

139 Inventory, MS 277, 1713.

140 Inventory, MS 79, 1702. This chest was valued at 40s, in comparison to an undescribed chest worth 60s. Will, MS 248, 1712. The only chest appraised on the inventory (same MS number), was 50s.

141 Inventory, MS 271, 1722.

142 Logan Account Book, 247. This chest may have been among goods Logan received four years earlier.
Richardson, "His Book," 2 (no date).

Inventories: MS 34, 1687; MS 47, 1688; MS 218, 1699.

Inventory, MS 210, 1711.

Inventories: MSS 2 & 154, 1719; MS 233, 1721; MS 211, 1722; MS 42, 1701.

Inventory, MS 52, 1701.

Inventory, MS 602, 1709.

Inventories: MS 46, 1701; MS 217, 1711; MS 8, 1714.

Inventory, MS 2, 1705.

Administration, MS 73, 1727.

Inventory, MS 182, 1698.

Inventory, MS 1, 1714. Chest and "odd things" were worth 12s.

Inventories: MS 47, 1688; MS 83, 1708.

Inventory, MS 83, 1708.

Inventory, MS 2, 1701.

Inventories: MSS 34 & 37, 1687.

Inventory, MS 103, 1694.

Tatham Inventories, 1700/01.

Inventory, MS 285 1/2, 1713.

Hornor, 12.

Inventory, MS 34, 1706.

Inventories: MS 96, 1717; MS 132, 1718; MS 195, 1720.

Inventory, MS 271, 1722.

Will and Inventory, MSS 210, 1720.
166 Administration, MS 20, 1693; Inventory, MS 139, 1696.

167 Inventory, MS 214, 1699.

168 Inventory, MS 34, 1706.

169 Inventories: MS 2, 1705; MS 220, 1711.

170 Tatham Inventories, 1700/01.

171 Inventories: MS 309, 1724, MS 127, 1729 & MS 173, 1719.


173 Will and Inventory, MSS 34, 1687.

174 Inventories: MS 157, 1687; MS 179, 1698.

175 Inventory, MS 8, 1714.

176 Inventory, MS 113, 1708.

177 Inventory, MS 173, 1719.

178 Dickinson Inventory, 1722.

179 Inventories: MS 314, 1724; MS 302, 1723.

180 Inventories: MSS 98 & 113, 1717.

181 Inventory, MS 139, 1729.

182 Inventories: MS 81, 1716; MS 173, 1719. Hornor, 12.

183 Will & Inventory, MSS 314, 1724. In the will, dated October, 1723, Philip James, a sadler about to depart for Great Britain, left all his estate to his "dear & Tender Mother Esther Shippne."

184 Inventory, MS 257, 1722.

185 Will, MS 302, 1723.

186 Inventory, MS 37, 1687.

187 Tatham Inventories, 1700/01 (see that of Elizabeth).
Inventories: MS 52, 1701; MS 16, 1714.

Inventory, MS 113, 1717.

Inventory, MS 57, 1727.

Inventory, MS 302, 1723.

Inventory, MS 173, 1719.

Inventories: MS 41, 1701; MS 313, 1724.

Inventories: MS 173, 1719; MS 257, 1722.

Dickinson Inventory, 1722.

Inventories: MS 26, 1685; MS 34, 1687; MS 182, 1698.

Inventory, MS 26, 1685.

Inventory, MS 31, 1686.

Inventory, MS 125, MS 216, 1711.

Dickinson Inventory, 1722.

Inventory, MS 317, 1724.

Macdonald-Taylor, 18.

Inventory, MS 31, 1686.

Inventories, MS 84, 1692; MS 216, 1711.

Inventory, MS 83, 1708.

Administration, MS 20, 1693.

Inventories, MS 34, 1706; MS 152, 1710.

Tatham Inventories, 1700/01.

Inventory, MS 173, 1719.

Inventories: MSS 314 & 316, 1724.

Tolles, Meeting House and Counting House, 128.

Joseph Webb, MS Inventory, 1731, Downs Library. Hereafter Webb Inventory.
213 Mary Webb, MSS Will, Inventory & Receipt, 1755, Downs Library.

214 John Moore, MS Daybook, 1710-1717, Phineas Bond Section, Cadwalader Collection, HSP, 24.

215 Inventory, MS 314, 1724.

216 Inventory, MS 8, 1736.

217 Inventory, MS 5, 1742. Quaker William Fishbourne, a native of Philadelphia, served as treasurer, and was mayor from 1719 to 1721.

218 Inventory, MS 8, 1736.

219 Logan Account Book, 206; Inventory, MS 132, 1739.

220 Inventory, MS 151, 1745.

221 Inventory, MS 67, 1744.

222 Inventory, MS 79, 1744.

223 Inventory, MS 74, 1753.

224 Will and Inventory, MSS 81, 1744.

225 Philadelphia Pennsylvania Gazette, No. 493, May 18, 1758.

226 Philadelphia County Court Papers, MSS Indictments, 1717-1790, HSP, Nov. 10 & 21, 1739. Hereafter cited as Indictments.

227 Charleston South Carolina Gazette, March 22, 1740.
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER III

1 "Fisher Copies," 14.


3 Connoisseur's Complete Period Guides, 321.


5 Inventory, MS 106, 1694.

6 "Pennsbury Account," 1687.

7 Hornor, Blue Book, 3. Inventory MS 244, 1712.


10 Inventory, MS 113, 1708. No furniture craftsmen with these first names were found to be working between 1710 and 1730.

11 American Weekly Mercury, No. 355, Oct. 6, 1726; No. 541, May 7, 1730.


13 Ibid., II, 41.


15 Inventory, MS 53, 1688.

17. Inventory, MS 104, 1694.


19. Inventory, MS 146, 1704.


21. Inventory, MS 104, 1694.


25. Inventories: MS 31, 1686; MS 34, 1687.

26. Administration, MS 97, 1689.

27. Inventory, MS 41, 1701.


29. James Bonsall, MS Account Book, 1722-1727, HSP, 42. Hereafter cited as Bonsall Account Book. The shape or meaning of "men's hearted" has not yet been determined.

30. Inventory, MS 81, 1744.


32. Inventory, MS 113, 1708.

33. Moxon, 213.


35. Administration, MS 97, 1689.

36. Inventory, MS 104, 1694.

38 Moxon, 198.


42 Gloag, lii.

43 Dickinson Letter Book, dated "2.25.1698."

44 Ibid., dated "3.14.1698. Lignum Vitae is a: "Wood from the West Indies with a dark brown and black streaky figure; used to some extent in seventeenth century furniture, in the solid and for veneer." (Macdonald-Taylor, 281).

45 MSS Logan Papers, in Society Collection, HSP, dated Mar. 15, 1717.

46 Inventory, MS 113, 1708. The veneers were valued at 1:16L0.

47 Inventory, MS 228, 1699.

48 Myers, *Quaker Arrivals*, 11.

49 Hornor, 13.

50 Inventory, MS 228, 1699. This hardware was worth £10:19:4.

51 Hornor, 3.

52 Philadelphia Account Book, 2.

53 Norris Ledger, 93 & 168. Logan Account Book, 98.

54 Logan Account Book, 9.

55 Philadelphia Court of Common Pleas, MS Court of Quarter Session Minutes, 1695, HSP, 31-32. Hereafter cit. 4 as Quarter Session Minutes.


59. Will, MS 46, 1707.

60. Dickinson Ledger, 15.

61. Inventory, MS 46, 1707.


63. Inventory, MS 113, 1708.

64. Inventory, MS 217, 1727.

65. Powell Collection, Commercial Correspondence, 1683-1747, HSP, item dated August, 1727.

66. Inventory, MS 113, 1708.

67. Inventory, MS 73, 1708.

68. Inventory, MS 178, 1710.

69. Will & Inventory, MSS 81, 1710.


72. Inventory, MS 53, 1688.

73. Inventory, MS 81, 1710., Myers, 29.

74. Hinshaw, II, 668. Inventory, MS 216, 1711.

75. Inventory, MS 216, 1711.

76. Inventory, MS 119, 1717.

77. Hornor, 26.


80 Inventory, MS 50, 1715.

81 Myers, 37.


84 Inventory, MS 209, 1720.

85 Pastorius, "Positive Information..." Narratives, 402.

86 Hinshaw, II, 649.


88 Minutes, II, 493.

89 Will, MS 272, 1722.

90 MSS Petitions and Arbitrations, 1700-1809, Society Miscellaneous Collections, Box 5-C, HSP, 18.

91 American Weekly Mercury, No. 35, August 18, 1720.

92 Will & Inventory, MS 295, 1723.

93 American Weekly Mercury, No. 184, June 20, 1723.

94 Hornor, 4. An "Edward Scull," possibly the father of joiner Edward Scull, immigrated from Cork, Ireland, in 1707 (Hinshaw, II, 645), and newspaper advertisements under the name after the indictment show that another Edward Scull continued to work in Philadelphia.

95 Indictments, 1715-1790, June 10, 1718.

96 South Carolina Gazette, No. 467, Mar. 7, 1743.

97 Indictments, 1697-1732., October 26, 1709 & Oct. 20, 1713. Logan Account Book, 22. The forms Branson manufactured are interesting to compare with those on Peter Baynton's bill, cited in Appendix II.

Hinshaw, 523.

Hornor, 3.

Norris Ledger, 168.

Bonsall Account Book, 38.

Myers, 52 & 64.

Norris Ledger, 246.


MS Letter, Swarthmore Miscellaneous Manuscripts, Friend's Historical Library, from Aaron Goforth to Ebenezer Larde, dated April 15, 1724.

Will, MS 433, 1736.

Dickinson Ledger, 27.

Nehemiah Allen, MS Account Book, 1698-1736, HSP, 104.


Inventory, MS 79, 1744.

Inventory, MS 116, 1746.

Will & Inventory, MSS 288, 1732.


Will & Inventory, MSS 16, 1743.


Norris Ledger, 206.

Logan Ledger, 353.
119 Hill Estate, XVIII, 28.

120 Indictments, 1715-1790, 190 & 198.

121 Will, MS 321, 1757.

122 Suffolk County (Massachusetts), Deeds (Boston, 1888), IV, 270. Quarter Session Minutes, 31.


124 Logan Account Book, 245.

125 Ibid., 312. Administration, MS 17, 1729.


127 Will, MS 30, 1739.


129 Logan Ledger, 34.

130 "Franklin Furniture," PMIB, XL (1916), 121.

131 Symonds, Furniture Making, 77.

132 Reynell Ledger, 2.
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER IV

1Allen Letterbook, Sept. 1720, quoted in text, p. 40.


3Macdonald-Taylor, English Furniture, 18.

4Symonds and Ormsbee, Antique Furniture, 40.

5Administration, MS 20, 1693.

6Inventory, MS 302, 1723. Dickinson Inventory, 1722.

7Thomas Lloyd was the man whose seat Patrick Robinson appropriated. See p. 9.

8Raymond V. Shepherd Jr. "James Logan's Stenton: Grand Simplicity in Quaker Philadelphia," University of Delaware, (unpublished Master's Thesis, 1968) Fig. 25. The stool is owned by the H.S.P.

9Administration, MS 73, 1727.

10Inventories: MS 113, 1708. MS 309, 1724.

11Inventory, MS 74, 1753.

12Inventory, MS 169, 1719.

13Inventories: MS 26, 1685; MS 152, 1709; MS 106, 1717; MS 109, 1717. Tatham Inventories 1700/01.

14Inventory, MS 113, 1717.

15Inventories: MS 6, 1705; MS 216, 1711; MS 81, 1716.

16Inventory. MS 219, 1699.

17Inventories: MS 81, 1716; MS 173, 1719.

145
Inventories: MS 139, 1699; MS 34, 1706.

Henry Francis duPont Winterthur Museum, Registrar's card, 58.561.

The desk in the Garvan Collection (Yale University Art Gallery, 1930.2323) is made of walnut, pine and tulip. OH: 43 3/4"; OW: 38 7/8" OD: 9 3/4".

Inventory, MS 214, 1699.

The outline of the earliest set of brasses was too obscured to warrant their restoration. Despite the many early characteristics of this chest, it may have been made in the first quarter of the eighteenth century.

Inventory, MS 42, 1701.

Inventory, MS 271, 1722.

Another chest of drawers in the Winterthur collection (66.702) with double half-round moldings and ball feet documents that older styles continued in use since the date "1737" is inlaid in the front of one drawers. The chest is walnut. OH: 43 1/2"; OW: 42 3/8"; OD: 21 3/8".

Inventory, MS 47, 1688.

Inventories: MS 42, 1701; MS 387, 1734.

Macdonald-Taylor, 19.

Inventory, MS 34, 1706.

Inventories: MS 160, 1697; MS 182, 1698. MS 64, 1707; MS 96, 1717; MS 169, 1719; MS 210, 1720; MS 217, 1711.

Inventory, MS 157, 1697.

Inventories, MS 84, 1702.

Inventories: MS 194, 1720; MS 257, 1722.

Dickinson Inventory, 1722.

36 Semi-circles and half-round moldings were used on a walnut
dressing table in the collection of the Philadelphia Museum of Art
(25-69-1), a miniature high chest given by Maria Dickinson Logan to
the Pennsylvania Historical Society (X-56), and a high chest in the
Garvan Collection (1930.2311). The central arcade, and the way the
drawers are inset (half-round molding running up to the top and an
extra piece of wood intervening between drawer and the top, instead
of a molding) are the same on dressing table and spice chest. De-
spite the characteristics vertical separation between the drawers
Pennsylvania furniture, the high chest may not be from the Philadelphia
area. The principle wood is butternut, not generally found in
Pennsylvania furniture, and the half-round molding is handled awkwardly
(though the drawers are managed better than the dressing table or
spice chest), and goes around the case on the side. Cup and trumpet
leg turnings, which have an extra ball beneath the trumpet, are also
uncharacteristic of Pennsylvania forms. (See Hornor, plates 4 and 14.)

37 There are similar chests in a private collection, and in
the Collections of Winterthur (56.38.143) and Yale (1930.2056).

38 The last private owner of the desk, now at Colonial
Williamsburg (1958-468), was Mrs. Robert Wilberforce, who inherited
it from her father Schyler N. Warren. There is another inscription
in the desk: "Revd. E. Grant/Bedford/W. Chester Co./New York" The
Rev. Grant was pastor of the Presbyterian church in Bedford from 1804
until his death in 1812. Apparently it was inherited by Mrs. Abraham
Schyler Neilson (the Rev. Grant's sister), the great-grandmother of
Mrs. Wilberforce. References: John M. Graham, II, "An Early Philadelphia
worksheet. There is a similar cedarwood secretary, laid with birch and
walnut (1690-1700) at the Museum of the City of New York.

39 Macdonald-Taylor, 216. Illustration in Ceshinsky and Hunter,
English Furniture, 164 (right).

40 Logan Account Book, 348.

41 Inventory, MS 34, 1687.

42 Will, MS 302, 1723. An example with similar exterior styling,
but wood-panelled doors, is in a private collection.

43 Macdonald-Taylor, 215-216. Illustrated in Ceschinsky and
Hunter, 202 (right).

44 Carolyn Wood Stretch, "Early Colonial Clockmakers in
45 Inventories: MS 216, 1711; MS 295, 1723.


47 Inventory, MS 113, 1708.
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149


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Inventories
Wills
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Trent, William. Ledger, 1703-1708, Am 948.
Usher, Patient. Ledger, Cadwalader Collection, Thomas Cadwalader Section.
APPENDIX I: INVENTORIES

The list of the inventories of Philadelphia residents, filed between 1685 and 1758, used in this thesis. The listing is by year filed, and the number assigned at the Philadelphia Registrar of Wills. Information in subsequent appendices is often identified with these figures. 

This listing includes the available information on occupation and total estate valuation.

(Note: Three dashes, i.e.,---, mean the inventory or will did not contain the pertinent data.)

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<td>1685 26 Taylor, Christopher</td>
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<td>1686 31 Frampton, William</td>
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<td>1688 47 Salter, Anna</td>
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<td>94:2:1</td>
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<td>1688 53 Tibby, Elizabeth</td>
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<td>1689 97 Stanton, Edward</td>
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<td>90:18:0</td>
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<td>1692 84 Eckley, Sarah</td>
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<td>1693 20 Whitpaine, Zechiah</td>
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<td>1694 103 Pickering, Charles</td>
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<td>1694 104 Fellows, John</td>
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<td>161:8:8</td>
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<td>1694 106 Britwen, William</td>
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<td>1694 118 Waddy, Henry</td>
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<td>473:8:7</td>
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<td>1694 121 Salway, William</td>
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<td>1696 139 Day, John</td>
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<td>A88  Waite, John</td>
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*This inventory is filed under Bonsal's name, but his goods are not listed.*
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APPENDIX II: CRAFTSMEN

An alphabetical checklist of all the craftsmen known to have been connected with furniture making, and all the information about them presently available. This list includes those formerly supposed to have been furniture makers, though recent research has sometimes revealed that they were not. It is not a complete list of upholsterers or clockmakers; information on these trades was not consciously or consistently gathered. The "Notes" list the relevant source materials. Birth (b.) and death (d.) dates are recorded, if known, as are the total valuation of the individual's estate at death (T.V.), and the valuation of their tools, when these were separately itemized.

ARMITAGE, BENJAMIN: Joiner

T. V. Tools:
Joiner Benjamin Armitage owed Humphrey Morrey £40 in 1723.

Notes: MSS Bills and Receipts, 1721-1754, Shippen Family Papers, HSP, 3.

ARMITT, JOSEPH: Joiner

d. July 30, 1747

T. V. Tools:
Joseph Armitt was the son of Thomas Armitt. A Quaker, he was listed as a "joyner" when he married Elizabeth Lisle on November 9, 1738. Stephen Armitt, also a joiner, and his wife Sarah were witnesses. Joseph was probably quite prosperous, as he purchased a gold locket worth £1:15:6 and an "arch Clock & Case" at £17:8:0 in January 1740. Neither records of his craft activities, or an inventory of his estate have been found. He provided for his wife and two daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, but did not mention tools or furniture in his 1747 will.

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Stephen Armitt was working in 1726 when he purchased "4 doz hand Saw File," and six pounds of nails. Although not truly a craftsman of the period of this study (most records of his work are in the 1740's), his accounts record that he turned table frames and "ornament balls" (probably the vestigial drops found on dressing tables, etc.) in 1743. An order for furniture brasses which included "hollow Brass drops," in 1739 suggests that he was still working with elements of the turn of the century style when "Queen Anne" features must have been common.

He was worked up to his death in 1752. On Dec. 21, 1751, he willed his wife, Sarah, all the household implements, etc.:

...at her own disposal Excepting what pieces of furniture were made in my workshop for Sale, and now in my dwelling house or Shop And Also except the Tools Utensils Imple-
ments Stuff and furniture belonging to my Trade. These were to be sold to satisfy claims on the estate, and were not inventoried.

Baker, Joshua: Joiner

Isaac Norris credited Joshua Baker, "Joyner," for work at the Norris plantation, and billed him for several items including glue in 1713. The Philadelphia Meeting received a "Joshua Backer" from the
Waterford (Ireland) Monthly Meeting in March, 1713—the same month the Norris account started. That Joshua Backer (sic) and his wife were granted certificates in 1726.

Notes: Norris Ledger, 176. Hinshaw, II, 457.

BAYNTON, PETER: Joiner

T. V. Tools

Peter Baynton is included on the basis of the bill quoted by Hornor; no other records of his activities before 1730 were found. Hornor cites a reference to Baynton in 1710, and states that he died in 1742 (this was probably not joiner Peter Baynton).

Most of the work Bayton did from Aug. 6, 1725 to August 10, 1726, was concerned with bedsteads:

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<td>1726 June 25</td>
<td>To putting up a bedsteed</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augst 10</td>
<td>To a bedsteed</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The bill is interesting because it shows the amount of work involved in installing a bed, and how the frames were adapted to the users' needs or desires.
Baynton was also a merchant who frequently advertised in the Pennsylvania Gazette, and the American Weekly Mercury. The goods sold at the lower end of Front Street included:

"Very good Red Leather Chairs, the newest Fashion; fine Elanders Bed-Ticks, and Sundry European Goods."

In 1739, this add appeared:

PETER BAYNTON gives Notice to All Persons that have any Accounts open against him, that they come and settle with him; and those that are indebted to him are desired to pay him forthwith or they will be proceeded against as the law directs, he purposing to depart the Province in a very short Time.

Evidently he carried out this plan, as neither will nor inventory have been discovered.


BEAKES, WILLIAM, JR:

d.

T. V. Tools

The first most considerable English Settlement in Pennsylvania proper is said to have been near the lower falls of the river Delaware, in Bucks County;...Among the names of the inhabitants here, either at this time, or soon after, appear to be... William Beakes.

This was probably the same "William Beakes" who asked for, and received permission of the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting to marry Elizabeth Worreloe in 1689/90. It may either have been Beake's son by an earlier marriage, or an unrelated person, who was an apprentice to joiner William Till in 1711, but a furniture craftsman by this name was not found to be working before 1730.

BETSON, THOMAS: Carpenter
d. 1737
T. V.
Tools

Thomas Betson called himself a "Carpenter" in his will of 10 November, 1736. No record of his tools exists to show that he was more than that. Dr. Kearsley, however, called the "Thomas Betson" of his debt book a "Joyner," so he may also have done that work.

One "Thomas Betson," (possibly the person Stephen Betson granted the freedom of the London Joiner's Company in October, 1700) freed apprentice John Betson, in London, in July, 1711. If this man immigrated, it was not discovered.


BIRD, JOHN: Carpenter
d.
T. V.
Tools

Three men named John Bird became members of the London Joiner's Company in the period pertinent to this study. The most likely (although improbable) possibility is that "John Bird" who received his freedom from Edward Brandon on Oct. 6, 1702. The other two were freed in 1676 and 1692. In Philadelphia, John Bird, carpenter, became a freeman on May 27, 1717.

John Bird is best titled "packing case maker." James Logan's accounts show that he frequently made chests used in packing the furs sent to England. In one instance he was paid for his work at the rate of three shillings a day. He cannot be credited with any identifiable household furniture. Unless another craftsman had the same name, he remained active into old age, because a "John Bird" purchased a number
of tools in 1743, including a turning-gouge, chisel, and a set of scribes. He worked off the price of the tools by turning "18 pinns & six nobbs," and "8 doz 9 Sickle handles at 8d p doz."


BLAKE, EDWARD: Turner
d.
T. V. Tools

A first purchaser from London in 1681, he may not have immigrated.

Notes: Hornor, 2.

BOOARMAN, JAMES: Yeoman
d. 1732
T. V. £233:15:6 Tools: £4:7:0

James Booarman titled himself a yeoman when he wrote a will on August 15, 1732, but in the text identified himself as a craftsman:

Item, I Give and Bequeath All my Carpenter and Joyners Tools or Impliments unto my Brother in law Griffith Lewis of the Great Valley in the County of Chester & province afsd Yeo.

This inventory, taken on Jan. 22, 1732/33 listed husbandry implements at 16:0:0 but also recorded: "an old Whipsaw and Sundry Carpentry, Joyners and Turners Tools & Instruments... £4:7:0," and £3 worth of boards and scantling.

Notes: Will & Inventory, MSS 288, 1732.

BOYER, THOMAS: Turner
d.
T. V. Tools
Boyer was termed a turner when he paid £2:2:0 for a coverlet and pair blankets in 1694. This may have been the person involved in a transaction with James Logan on 8 mo. 8, 1713: "Cash Dr to ye Prop & Trustees recv'd of Tho: Boyer P G. Dakeyne £25:0:0."


BRANSON, WILLIAM: Joiner
d.
T. V. Tools

William Branson married Elizabeth Warreloe in 1690. He was indited for debts in 1709 and 1713, but was admitted a freeman on May 27, 1717. In 1711 Branson was called a "Joyner" in two account books. James Logan paid £4:7:0 for

A Bedstead and Sacking Bottom, Cornishes for the Bed and 3 windoes, frames for 5 maps, and frames for 5 Prints.

Three years later a square table and "6 Common & 1 Arme chaire" cost Nathaniel Allen £2:19:0. Though there are continued references to Branson as a "Joyner," further mention of furniture was not found. He made numerous packing chests for James Logan from whom he purchased many "boards," and eight pounds of nails from Bristol in 1719. Paint, white lead and priming brush were obtained from Isaac Norris.

The multiple account references which continue as late as 1754 are confused and often obscure, so there may have been more than one "William Branson." Burial records but neither wills or inventories exist for 1723 and 1757.

BUDD, JOHN: Upholsterer
d. 1704
T. V. Tools

John Budd termed himself an "Upholsterer intending to take a journey into Maryland..." when he made his will in February, 1701/02, and James Logan made the same designation, but an account running from 1694-98 identified him as a "Joiner." Neither of the two John Budds who received their freedoms from the London Joiner's Company were likely to have been this person. Either John or his brother Thomas might have owned the property Penn referred to when he established Philadelphia as a port:

as also the Swamp between Budd's buildings and the Society-hill, shall be left open and common for the use and service of the said city and all others.

Thomas, a cooper, died in Philadelphia in 1699, when joiner Charles Plumley witnessed the will, and John and "Jno. Budd Junr" took his inventory. John's will mentions two other brothers, one in Ireland, the other in West Jersey. The latter is important as the Friends in Burlington thought that a John Budd should oversee work on the Francis Colling Meeting House in 1689. John helped to appraise Elizabeth Fox's estate in 1702, but no record of his work was found.


CART, JOSHUA: Yeoman and Joiner
d. 1716
T. V. £86:15:5 Tools: £2:4:6

One "Joshua Cart" served an apprenticeship in London, and received his freedom from William Fowles in December, 1680. If this was the man who came to Philadelphia, he was not very successful, for
Cart's debts of £90:0:0 outweighed his £86:15:5 estate. Luckily for his wife, Sarah, the chief creditor was her brother.

Cart was in Philadelphia by 1711 when he witnessed William Till's will. Isaac Norris recorded that John Carte worked at his plantation in 1713/14. Cart purchased "Material & c. P[er] Joyners" worth £22:0:0, however, so Norris may have supplied some of the "Carpenter's and Joyners" tools found on the inventory (see Appendix V). The inventory termed him a "yeoman," but the estate administration called him a "joyner."


CARTER, WILLIAM: Turner

d.

T. V.

A first purchaser in 1681, from Wapping, Middlesex. Carter is identified as a joiner by Hornor, but the only reference to this man was found in an unidentified account book, where he had an account from 1695-1700. He purchased hinges, nails, and locks, besides "one file at 9d and one carvg tool 2s." Carting and supplying wood were the only specific jobs recorded.


CHATHAM, JOSEPH: Chairmaker

d.

T. V.

Tools

"Mentioned 1 mo., 16, 1715."

Note: Hornor, 2.
CHICK, JAMES: Carpenter and Joiner
d. 1699


The Philadelphia Monthly Meeting records note:

James Chick, Carpenter, unmarried, a member by conviction, from meeting at Callumpton, County of Devon, England, dated 12 mo. 25, 1683. The certificate was applied for at the meeting of Callumpton 10 mo. 24, 1683, by Richard Styling on ye behalf of one James Chick Carpenter (who was formerly his Servant and hath since Transported himself into Pennsylvania).

Except for the £4. coffin made for Joseph Wright in 1697/98, there seems to be no record of James Chick's work in this country. He was active until his death, for his inventory listed:

Sundry Chest lox and Drawer lox and other things of Iron and Brass belonging to and usefull to the trade of a Joynner.

Working tools, and "work unfinished" were in his shop. He had wood in his shop, and a stock of walnut boards and planks on Brandywine Creek. His house on the lot "under the Bank" worth £80:0:0, was adequately furnished. Chick was bothered by £59:4:6 in debts, "many of which are desperate," perhaps because various customers still owed him £51:5:0.

Notes: Myers, 11; Hornor, 13; Inventory, MS 228, 1699; Inventory, MS 42, 1701.

CLAYPOOLE, JOSEPH: Joiner
d. 1744

T. V. £206:9:0 Tools:

Joseph Claypoole immigrated to Philadelphia with his family in 1683. It is possible he learned the joiner's trade in America under the direction of Charles Plumley. If so he was one of the first American trained craftsmen working in Philadelphia.
The first mention found of his name, in John Moore's Daybook Sept. 2, 1710, did not note his trade, and was for cash paid on order of Edward Evans. He bought "garlix" from Moore in 1716. Claypoole fashioned packing chests for Logan in the 1712-1714 period but he was also paid 30s "for a ovel Table." Norris did not purchase furniture according to the 1713-19 accounts, but he did supply Claypoole with a dozen "plain Iron" for 10s 6d. James Bonsall succinctly debited himself £18:4:3 "for Joinery" done by Claypoole in 1725, but Allen noted that the £3:5:0 he paid was "for a coffin." This coffin would not have been as stylish as the "Mahogony Coffin of ye Best Fashion" for which Claypoole charged the "Executors of ye Estate of Capt Richard Hill deceased" £5:05:0 in 1729. He also claimed £3:0:0 "to work & Stuf for one hundred & twenty holes for Papers of ye Estate". The Hill estate recorded several transactions concerned with Claypoole's apprentice, Willet.

Claypoole made his will in January, 1738, bequeathing his tools, wood and hardware to son Josiah. The bequest must have been fulfilled before his death in 1744, for the Pennsylvania Gazette advertised on May 18, 1738 that Joseph had given up; the trade, but that Josiah would satisfy any customers "with all Sorts of Furniture of the best Fashion" at his new second street location. Josiah had the advantage of;

the largest and oldest Stock of Timber, of the Produce of this Country and the West-Indies of any in this Province, some of which having been in Piles near 25 Years; he has likewise a Parcel of choice curl'd Maple.

Josiah must have already been a proficient craftsman, for Nathaniel Allen not only paid him for "9 Pictures Sent to John Hawes of Antequa," but for a "pr of chest of Drawers of Walnutt for Moley" (a ship?) in all, £8:0:0. Joseph did not leave all his goods to Josiah, however. A "maple cabbenet and black walnut writing desk" was given to son James, and "black walnut Drawers case upon case and ye largest Cedar chest" to a daughter, Elizabeth. The inventory listed this furniture:
£ 3 d
A Black Wallnut Desk 4:10:0
A Large Oval Table 1:15:0
A Case of Drawers Case on 4:10:0
2 Chamber Tables 1:18:0
2 Tea Table 1:10:0
A Maple Cabinet 5:10:0
2 large Cedar Chests 4:0:0
A Wallnut Book Frame 0:2:6
18 Chairs @ 2s6d £2:5:0 A SpiceBox £1:10:0
A Small Oval Table 12s Doe Trough A Joint Stool 4s

The high value given the pieces might indicate Joseph had made them, certainly they were goods of the first quality. The pieces listed on Joseph's sister's inventory in 1727 make an interesting comparison. There two cedar chests are valued at 8s and 12s, a "Chest Drawer £1:5:0," "Spice box 3s 9d," and, most interesting, an "Oak Cabinett £1:5:0" [Could this be a court cupboard?]. She also had numerous chairs and three couches. We do not know if Joseph made any of those pieces, but Mary must not have been as interested in furnishings as the time span alone cannot account for the price differences, and she was well off. (T. V.: £575:9:11 1/2) Joseph's furniture represented an unusually high proportion of the estate, which could imply it was of his own manufacture.


CLONE, RICHARD Joiner

T. V. Tools:

Clone came from Nantwich, Cheshire, as did John Maddock, on the Endeavour in 1683.

Notes: PMHB, VIII, 331. Hornor, 3.
COATS, JOHN: Carpenter
d. 1728
T. V. Tools

No support was found for the identification of Coates as a joiner, but a March 26, 1714, reference termed him a carpenter, and he declared that trade in his will.

Notes: Hornor, 3. Will (Administration), MS 92, 1728.

COFFEN, ABRAHAM: "Cabinet-Maker"
d.
T. V. Tools

Coffen arrived in Philadelphia in 1682, but no evidence was found of his work in Philadelphia. Perhaps he did not remain in the city.

Notes: Hornor, 3.

COOK, WILLIAM: Joiner
d.
T. V. Tools

Dr. John Kearsley stated that Cook was a joiner in his records.

Notes: Kearsley Debt Book, 29.

COWPER, JOHN: Clockmaker
d.
T. V. Tools

This craftsman arrived in Philadelphia in 1716.

Note: Hornor, 3.
COXE, ISRAEL: Joiner
d.
T. V. Tools:

Made a freeman in 1717, Coxe probably moved to Talbor County, Maryland.
Note: Hornor, 3.

CRESSON, JAMES: Chairmaker
b. 1709, d.
T. V. Tools:

Son of chairmaker Solomon Cresson. Records of his activity before 1730 were not discovered.
Note: Hornor, 3.

CRESSON, SOLOMON: Chairmaker
d.
T. V. Tools:

Solomon Cresson arrived in Philadelphia in 1696, and married Anna Watson at the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting in 1702. He served in the rather difficult office of constable. On one occasion "going his round at night" in 1702, Cresson:

entered a tavern to suppress a riotous assembly, and there found John Evans, Esq., the governor, who fell to beating Cresson.

Evans was apparently a robust personality, who resented being interfered with. Cresson was still constable when a second encounter occurred in 1708. He discovered:
a very riotous assembly in a tavern, immediately ordered
them to disperse, when John Evans, Esq., Governor of the
Province, happened to be one of them, and called Solomon
in the house and flogged him very severely, and has him
imprisoned for two days.

He was a craftsman as well, for in December, 1705, it was
ordered that:

the Treasurer pay to Solomon Cresson 10s. for the making
of 12 Watchman's Staves and 2 Constables Staves; and also
3 s. to Enoch Story for the painting of three Constables
Staves.

Norris paid him 30s for making eight chairs, but the £47:2:0 worth
of "Wares" Cresson gave in exchange for nails, lead, etc., were not
specified. He also supplied James Logan with six chairs, possibly a
better product than Norris received, as they were 5s each.

Cresson traded with Abigail Stanton (to whom he owed £1:3:4
in 1714), and perhaps had supplied some of the seating in her home:

6 Cain Chairs £1:10:0
7 Bass Bottom'd Chairs £0:16:0
4 D° 0:8:0
2 Small Rush Bottom'd Chairs 0:3:0

Cresson lived late into the eighteenth century. His later activities
are discussed by Scharf and Wescott, but fall beyond the scope of this
study.

Notes: Hornor, 3. Hinshaw, II, 497. Thomas Scharf and Thompson
Wescott, History of Philadelphia, 1609-1884 (Philadelphia,
1884), II, 170; I, 96. Watson, I, 59. Norris Ledger, 35,
80. Logan Account, 16. Inventory, MS 2, 1714.

CROSSWHITT, JOHN: Joiner
d. 1716
T. V. £431:5:7 (house £180) Tools: £15:0:0
"A Press p^ made 15s" is the only evidence of how John Crosswhitt utilized the stock of walnut and pine, and scutcheons, drops, tacks, coffin squares and coffin handles listed in his inventory.

Crosswhitt may have had an improvident nature, as he was indited for debts in 1707, 1713, and 1714/15. He left his wife and four children a respectable estate of £431:5:7, however, including a house worth £180 "in ye front Street in ye tenure of Samson Cary."


EAGLESFIELD, BERNARD: Joiner
d.
T. V. Tools

Bernard Eaglesfield was listed in an account of 1724. Two bottles of varnish purchased from Isaac Norris in 1726 were the only things related to the trade of "Joyner," claimed in his will.


ELVAR, ROBERT: Chairmaker
d.
T. V. Tools:

Elvar was credited with "4 Caane Chayars at 12s 6d ps" in 1695.

Note: Philadelphia Account Book, 77.

EMLEN, CALEB: Chairmaker
b. 1699, d. 1748
T. V. Tools:
The son of a Philadelphia inn-keeper, Caleb Emlen may be the first Philadelphia born and trained furniture craftsman. The person who trained him is not known. James Bonsall did not enter his account until 1728, but Emlen was probably working prior to that. Emlen had a shop lot "being fifteen feet front on Chestnut Street to ye middle of an Alley," and another lot, "adjoining ye last devised Shop and lot wherein Plunket Fleeson dwells." The Pennsylvania Gazette carried this advertisement on Aug. 1, 1730:

PLUNKETT FLEESON, Upholsterer, lately from London and Dublin, at the Sign of the Easy Chair near Mr. Hamilton's in Chesnut-Street; makes all Kinds of Upholsterers Work after the best Manner: Where any Person may be furnish'd with Feathers, Bed-ticks, Blankets, Sacking-Bottoms, &c, at the most reasonable rates.

Emlen contributed to the city's development by training apprentices as late as 1745, when he assigned his apprentice, John Hill, to joiner Joseph Armitt for the remainder of a term which started in 1741. Emlen may have arranged the transfer because of age, but it illustrates the close connection between the trades of joiner and chairmaer.

Emlen had no son to pass his trade on to. He gave: "all my Working Tools of Every Sort unto John Miller," (his nephew) and bequeathed:

all my Chair Stuff unto my Sarah Creson and my Will is that all my Stock of boards and Timber now lyin in ye Yard where Plunket Fleeson lives may be Sold...I give my Pine boards & Scandling in ye Walnut Street Lot above described to be equally divided among my brothers George Samuel and Joshua.


EVANS, EDWARD: Joiner

d.

T. V. Tools
Evans is the most important craftsman of the pre-1730 period, because the fall-front desk with his brand, and the date 1707, is the earliest known labelled piece of American furniture. There are two "Edward Evans" in the London Joyner's Company records; one freed by William Job in 1674, and one released by Robert Casroyne in 1685.

The Edward Evans who worked in Pennsylvania could have been London trained, for the work which places him in Philadelphia is 1702 was done for Governor Hamilton. The £8:0:0 bill for "Joyners Work" was not necessarily for furniture, however. A detailed receipt for further work in the next month stated 16s were for a "packing chest," and only 7s were paid "on his own for Joyners work." He fashioned an "ovill Table" in 1703 valued at £2:10:0 for William Trent, who traded with him from 1703-1706. He was also patronized by James Logan, who purchased an oval table for 52s 6d, and a stand for 9s, as well as paying 14s 10d for "Sundry Jobs," in 1714. Evans purchased "6 Doz Drops" for 13s 6d in 1712. Norris accounts show his presence from 1709-1714, purchasing boards and skins as well as doing £12:0:0 of "Joyns Worke" on the sloop Charles. He was a patient of John Kearsley's and indebted to Abigail Stanton at her death in 1714. Among her things was an unusually expensive chest of drawers (70s), but there is no indication of who made it.


FARMBEROUGH, THOMAS: Chairmaker
d.
T. V. Tools

A first purchaser from London in 1681, Farmberough might have been the man who finished seven years of apprenticeship in London, in
October, 1667. He may not have immigrated, or at least not practiced his craft in this country.


FARMER, JOHN: Clock and Watch-Maker
d. 1724?
T. V. Tools

Hornor states that Farmer was working in Philadelphia from 1693. The will filed under this name has been "lost."

Notes: Hornor, 3. Will, MS 332, 1724.

FELLOWS, JOHN: Joiner
d. 1694
T. V. £161:8:8 Tools: 6:2:6

Though John Fellows was listed as a "Cabenett Maker" in 1682, his estate appraisers, one of whom was joiner Abraham Hooper, termed him a joiner. The distinction may have faded in the province, or even been resented by Hooper.

Fellows' inventory shows that, whatever his title, he was active in the craft until his death. His stock of wood included pine, cedar, oak, and walnut. A variety of tools (Appendix IV) indicate the many roles assumed by early craftsmen, either by preference or necessity. Many planes, a glue pot, and beeswax, indicate he made case pieces in his shop, where chests, a case of drawers, and box, only "partlie made," were listed. The turning tools were probably used for the legs of the unfinished bedstead, oval table, side tables, and possibly "one dozen Chair frames." Locks, handles and other hardware was listed (Appendix III), including the inevitable coffin handles.
An intriguing question is posed by the lack of any personal furniture. If the inventory was complete, and his heir's portions had not been extracted (specific grants were not made in his will), he had only two beds and five chairs. Fortunately, enough other people desired furniture to keep him engaged in the craft.

Notes: Hornor, 3. Inventory, MS 104, 1694.

FISHER, WILLIAM: Joiner

b. d.

T. V. £42:7:0 Tools

William Fisher of Rosse Monthly Meeting, Hereford County, England, arrived in Philadelphia with a certificate dated Aug. 6, 1684. Fisher probably married Bridget Hodgkins in 1686, and Tabitha Janney in 1709, but Fisher "Jr." was more likely to have made the 1727 declaration of intention with Mary Pace.

The purchase of "4 White's Handsaws; 26 Inches Whet & Set with Handles & Screws" in 1722 denote active participation in a woodworking trade by either, or both Fishers. Fisher, senior, was cited as a joiner in 1685, and junior worked on Norris' house on Sassafras Street in 1711. It was probably Fisher, junior, who became a freeman, as a carpenter, on May 13, 1717.


FLEETSON, JOHN: Chairmaker
d.

T. V. Tools

John Fleetson charged Nathaniel Allen 1s 6d apiece for "Bottoming of 6 Chears" in 1720, but did not specify the materials use. Fleetson
was given the distinctive, and restricted, title of "Cheer Maker", demonstrating that specialization of trade was part of the system in early Philadelphia. Allen required further "mending" and "bottoming" for his chairs, but no new chairs were purchased during the 1720-1729 period of the account.

Note: Allen Account Book, 33.

FLOWER, DANIEL: Carpenter
d.
T. V. Tools

Flower came to Pennsylvania on the Unicorn out of Bristol in 1685. He married Sarah Fincher at the home of William Herewood in Philadelphia in 1697. The same year merchant Robert Ever's estate recorded: "To Daniel Flower in Carpenters work ... £6:1:8 He was admitted a Freeman as a carpenter on May 27, 1717. Dr. John Kearsley called him a joiner, but other references do not identify his trade, and his purchases provide no clues. He did make packing chests for James Logan in 1719 and 1721.


FORDHAM, JOHN: Chairmaker? Upholsterer?
d.
T. V. Tools

John Fordham was paid for "2 Stool frames 1:2:0" in 1731.

Note: Hill Estate, XVIII, 90.

FOREMAN, ALEXANDER: Turner
d.
T. V. Tools
Foreman was admitted a freeman in 1717, and was working in 1718.

Notes: MCC, 130. Hornor, 3.

FROGLEY, HENRY: Joiner
d. 1723
T. V. £39:16:0 Tools

And it is my Desire that all my Working Tools shall be valued as soon as conveniently may be after my decease by two Workmen to be chosen by my Executrix--And I give the same Tools unto my Apprentice Abraham--He paying unto her [Frogly's wife] the one-half part of such Valuation in Ready Money for the Same.

Henry Frogly's wishes were probably carried out, for no tools were listed in the inventory, Dec. 24, 1723. Other remnants of Frogly's trade were appraised: "To a Body of a Paire of Chist of Draws," £1:0:0 "To a Parsell of Lumber," 10s "To a Parsell of Brass", 10s. The inventory is unusual in several ways. Two clocks and cases, worth £20:0:0, were a major portion of the £39:16:0 estate.

Frogly's name occurred in an unidentified account book in March, 1717, and he became a freeman, as a joiner, in May of that year.

He and John Reade announced a lottery in the American Weekly Mercury for a "large new brick house", size 15' x 26', of two stories, in 1720.


GAMBLE, THOMAS: ?
d.
T. V.
Thomas Gamble was apprenticed to Thomas Stapleford in 1722. A "Thomas Gamble" died in 1730 (wife, Anna), but trade or tools were not mentioned in the inventory.

Notes: Hornor, J. Administration, MS 48, 1730.

GO FORTH, AARON: Joiner
d. 1736
T. V. Tools

Aaron Goforth immigrated from Southwark, England in 1711. He brought with him his wife, grown son (Aaron, junior), and a daughter; all had been members of the Horsleydown Meeting. Another daughter did not join her family until 1714/15.

Goforths, senior, and junior, began working immediately; both became freemen-joiners of Philadelphia, May 20, 1717. As a "senior" or "junior" designation was frequently omitted, it is often impossible to tell which man did the work recorded. The Goforths often worked on ships (and perhaps were really more carpenters), but they adapted themselves to the requirements of the work. Goforth, senior, was cited as a "Carpenter" when working on the ship Mary, but was paid for "Joynery Worke." "Iron Ware" purchases of three planes and one stock lock are not sufficient to clarify their work. However, Goforth, senior, called himself a joiner in his will, and John Willet was apprenticed to Goforth, junior, in 1728 to learn the joiner's trade.

Craftsmen naturally were faced with problems unrelated to their trades. Aaron (senior?) wrote a friend of some religious difficulties in 1724, when he had been forbidden to preach for a period:

...they have Abused me most grossly calling me an Imposter A Devil A de civer A cheate: & y t I am possesed with an evil Spirit & Such like: I t ink I ought to have Satisfaction. I brought a good Certificate with me: & I have behaved my Self since I came here. I stay from ye Meetings & I dare Not come untill ye Matter be ended for as sure as I come so sure is ye fire of wrath blown up Against me: and envy, who can stand against it.

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Goforth, senior, died in 1736, and left:

'all my Books Wearing Apparrel and Working Tools Unto
my two Sons in Law Richard Allen and Thomas Campbell.

Perhaps he felt Goforth, junior, was securely settled, or perhaps they
had quarrelled, for there were no legacies to junior. Possibly some­
thing happened to Goforth, junior, because Claypoole took over an
apprentice named John Willet in 1729, and it is unlikely two men of that
name were joiner's apprentices at the same time.

Notes: Hinshaw, 533. Myers, 64. MGG, 127. Norris Ledger, 246,
316. Hill Estate, XVIII, 25. Letter, "4 mo. 15, 1736,"
Miscellaneous MSS, Friends Historical Library, Will, MS
433, 1736.

GOVE, RICHARD: Joiner
d. 1710

In 1676 Richard Gove married Bridget Chilston at the Broadstreet
Meeting in Plymouth, England. Gove arrived in Pennsylvania on Dec. 16,
1685, aboard the Desire from Plymouth. The Gwyned Monthly Meeting
(Pennsylvania) Records state that James Fox, Francis Rawle, and Richard
Gove were among the founders of Plymouth Township, Pennsylvania, in
1685. All later moved to Philadelphia. Gove must have been resettled
by 1688, when he helped appraise joiner William Tibby's estate. In
1698 he married again, at the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting. Gove owned
a northside lot on Chestnut Street, bordered by that of chairmaker Solomon
Cresson.

The evidence in his inventory seems to be the only record of
Gove's craft activity. He had written a will in 1707, before he left
for the Barbadoes and Europe, in which he left all his working tools,
and all "Boards and Pieces of Wood belonging thereto" to his son-in-law,
Henry Mitchell. The boards and timber in the inventory were described as "wrought and unwrought," and there was a good listing of tools (Ap. V.). Joiner William Till, one of the appraisers, might have been responsible for this itemization. The valuation of the tools outweighed that of his household goods. Turning tools and a lathe show that joiners were not limited to the strict confines of that craft. Many plane substantiate Gove's practice of the joiner's art, and the combination of glue, glue pot and vices are cause for speculation on cabinet-making (i.e. veneered or inlaid work).


HARRISON, DANIEL: Joiner
d.
T. V. Tools

Daniel Harrison was a joiner by Dr. John Kearsley's account, but if this is the man Stapleford made a coffin for in 1729, he was not so identified.

Notes: Kearsley Debt Book, 39. Administration, MS 17, 1729.

HARRISON, JOHN Carpenter
d. 1708
T. V. £722:5:3 Tools £68:4:0

John Harrison was simply termed "house carpenter: on the inventory taken in April, 1708, but this seems slighting to a man who had "Sorted hinges & drops, scutcheons, nails, &c. worth £17:17:9. Harrison's tools made up a substantial part of his estate. The major portion of his property was naturally land, but Harrison also enjoyed
rather luxurious furnishings. Two cases of drawers, drawered dresser, walnut and pine chests, clock and case, and sixteen diverse chairs were the major pieces, plus turkey-work cushions, carpet, etc. It is not possible to state whether he fashioned any of the furniture himself.

Note: Inventory, MS 13, 1708.

HARRISON, JOSEPH
Carpenter
b.  
d. 1734

T. V.
Tools

A Joseph Harrison is found in Philadelphia by 1707, when he was presented for refusing to watch. Harrison did more than £40:0:0 worth of work for James Logan from 1716 to 1717, most of it on houses and plantations. In 1718 £4:10:0 was paid for "a Press" and £4:15 0 for a bottle rack, however, so he was a talented carpenter. Harrison gave that as his trade when he advertised for a missing apprentice in the American Weekly Mercury in 1732.

Neither will nor inventory stated Harrisons trade. His "Shop & back Room" contained indeterminant articles, but two sets of bed screws, wimble bitts, brass nails, moulding planes, and a parcel of "ring brass drops," were among the articles listed in the "back chamber."


HAZLENUT, JOSHUA:  
Carver

d.

T. V.
Tools

Identified by Isaac Norris as a "carver", Hazlenut bought
paints and sundries in 1712.

Note: Norris Ledger, 345.

HEAD, JOHN: Joinder

b.

d.

T. V. Tools

Head was received from Mildenhall Monthly Meeting (Suffolk County, England) to the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting in 1717. He bought locks and hinges from Bonsall in 1728. He died Oct. 6, 1754, but his will has been lost.


HOOPER, ABRAHAM: Joiner

d. 1707

T. V. £685:18: 3 1/2 Tools £22:16:11

Abraham Hooper married Philitia Green, a "spinster" on March 3, 1686, at the house of John Moon in Philadelphia. He was prosperous enough to pay £10 towards the purchase of five-hundred acres of land on Sept. 10, 1687. There he was termed a joiner, and noted as being from Bridgewater, Somerset. In 1695 Hooper and eight others (including joiner Thomas Stapleford were presented "for Selling Strong Liquors without a Licence." Evidently Hooper was able to convince the Grand Jury of his own sobriety, however, for he was allowed to continue his sales "til after the General Meeting." He was, himself, foreman of a jury in 1702.

Hooper paid for three sizes of coffin handles "By Sundrey
worke dun to this 11th 6mo 1698". He often appraised estates. His estate, inventoried by upholsterer Joseph Shippen and joiner Charles Plumley, included, "Shop tools" valued at £22:16:11, and a stock of "Walnut, Cedar, Pine and Oak" at £54:11:9 1/4. Native woods were not his only materials, for Dickinson supplied him with sixteen mahogany planks in 1701. This interesting fact becomes important when considered with a legacy to his "last" wife of "one Mohogeney Case of drawers & Spice Box which is in her own Roome more than her thirds."


HOUSEMAN, JOHN: Upholsterer
d.
T. V. Tools

John Houseman bought a great deal of cloth, especially harratine and garlix, from both Bonsell and Logan in the years 1717-23. He was paid £13:14:9 "for making a bed & 2 stools" in 1720. Perhaps he was unsuccessful in Philadelphia, for in June, 1722, he advertised:

John Houseman, Upholsterer, in Market Street, Philadelphia, leaving off Trade and going for England, will Sell what Goods he has very reasonable; consisting chiefly of Standing Beds, Feather Beds, Quilts, Blankets, Stuffes for Curtains, Chairs, Looking-Glasses, Couches, &c. All Persons indebted to him are desired to come and make up their accounts, and those who have any Demand on him may come and Settle the Same.


HUBBARD, ROBERT: Joiner
b.
d.
Hubbard was admitted as a freeman May 6, 1717 for 5s 6d.

Notes: MCC, 122. Hornor, 3.

Hudson, John:

d. 1731

John Hudson married Abigail Skelton in Philadelphia in 1715, and became a freem an in 1717. He was probably not the man of a Nov. 8, 1698 London reference:

John Judson Appr ffrancis Parker Citizen and Baker of London for 7 years per Ind dat 5 Oct 1691 was admitted into the freedome [of the London Joiner's Company] by act of Comon Councell being a Carver by trade and by consent of the said ffrancis here in Court.

He died in 1731.


Hulbart, Thomas

b. 

d. 1710 (178)

The only information found on Thomas Hulbart was in the papers of his estate. His inventory taken on Oct. 8, 1710, contained a "Seder table and a inlad stand...12s," although the rest of the furniture was very meagre. It is a possibility that these were made by Hulbart and intended for sale, but no other table was listed.
The most tangible evidences of his trade were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>£ s d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To 700 feet of black walnut at 12p</td>
<td>4:4:0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To 372 feet of poplar bords 6p</td>
<td>1:2:4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To three pare of bedstids only</td>
<td>0:12:0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To All his working tules belonging</td>
<td>3:0:0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The itemized lumber is especially important as the sources of some of Hulbart's supply is known. His wife, Deborah, was obliged to settle these debts:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>£</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To Sam' Hollingsworth for Walnut</td>
<td>9:9:0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boards bot' by the testate of him</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Benja Moulder for Sawing boards</td>
<td>2:0:0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&amp;c for ye testator</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Paul Saunders for Rum for ye</td>
<td>0:3:9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>testator's Sawyers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At the inventory rate, Hulbart must have purchased 1575 feet of board from Hollingsworth--too great an amount for his work to have been confined to bedsteads.

Notes: Hornor, 4. Inventory, MS 178, 1710.

**HUMFRITS, JOSEPH:** Joiner

d.

**T. V.**

Tools

Humfrits became a freeman May 27, 1717.

Notes: Hornor, 4. MCC, 131.

**JOHN, DAVID:** Joiner

b.

d.

**T. V.**

Tools
A documentary reference of 1722 terming David John a joiner was not discovered. A 1756 will does not list a trade, and "a hand-saw a hatched and other Carpenter tools" valued at 13s were items owned by many farmers.

Notes: Hornor, 4. Will & Inventory, MSS 293, 1756.

**JONES, EDMUND:** Cabinetmaker

d.

T. V. Tools

Edmund Jones, cabinetmaker, became a freeman on May 20, 1717. He was called a joiner in 1718. There is a will under the name in 1727.

Notes: MCC, 125. Hornor, 5. Will, MS 11, 1727 (lost)

**JONES, JOHN** Joiner

d. 1744

T. V. £315:5:0 Tools

John Jones was a common name in early Philadelphia. The problem of identifying which was the "joyner" of several account books, and whether the untitled "John Jones" of others was the same, is complicated, when not impossible. One "John Jones" bought a mahogany plank from Dickinson in 1701, but this does not mean he was a joiner. The John Jones of Allen's accounts was a joiner, for he is identified, and credited with a Chest of drawers to my Son Nathaniel." The value of the chest is obscured. Other references to John Jones, joiner, were for debts, and in other merchant's accounts which do not specify any work he did.

A John Jones, joiner, died in 1744, but neither wood or tools were assessed. Possibly he was too old to practice his trade. Unimpressive
furniture worth (not including the beds) £6:06:0, and a valuable "Maple Chest of Drawers" at £3:0:0 were listed.

Complications are created by an untitled "John Jones" who died in 1746. He left his cousin "one black Walnut Cubbard," and had among his possessions, "Oak and Walnut Boards," a "Set of Planes," woodworking, and "Sundry Carpenter Tooles."


JUESON, JOSEPH: Turner
d.
T. V.
Tools:

Jueson was made a freeman in 1717.

Notes: MCC, 128. Hornor, 4.

KEIM, JOHANN: Turner
d.
T. V.

Keim emigrated in 1707, and died in 1754.

Note: Hornor, 4.

KINGSTEAD, Joiner
d.
T. V.

Kingstones craft was identified by John Kearsley. (LIX, 64).

Note: Kearsley Debt Book, 64.
KINGSTON, JOSEPH: Joiner
d.
T.V.
Kingstone became a freeman May 6, 1717.
Notes: Hornor, 4. MCC, 122.

KNOWLES, JOHN: Carpenter
d.
T.V.
Tools:

Knowles cannot be positively identified as a joiner, but Philadelphia accounts do include him as a carpenter from 1704 (when he became a freeman) until his death in 1744. The Dublin Monthly Meeting granted him the requisite certificate for marriage in 1705. He had accounts with Kearsley, Bonsall and Norris. In 1712, James Logan noted:

\[ Jn^{o} \text{Knowles of Philadelphia Carp}^{t} D^{c} \text{for a Lott in Walnut Street Sold him for 40 clear of all Charges} \& 8/10 \text{over for Some over measure viz 6 Inches Granted more than agreed for.} \]

He witnessed joiner Moses Parker's will and later in 1717 helped appraise his property. Knowles and his wife, Anne, transferred to Abington Monthly Meeting in 1720.

Knowles' 1739 will was made in Oxford Township. None of the detailed instructions pertain to furniture. He gave land to each of his five daughters, and 350 acres to his son John, as well as other goods. Anne also was well settled, as John was to provide her income, and she had the use of "the new part of my s\text{d} dwelling House \& Privilege of the kitchen \& Copper \& Still therein. . . during
her Life". Knowles inventory did not contain lavish furniture, the most expensive single item was "a Press to hang Cloth in £1:10:0. His "Carpenters & Joyners Tools" were valued at £9:8:2. "Coffin Handles" worth £2:19:0 show he also supplied the product most consistently demanded of the joiner.


Leech, John: Joiner?

T. V. Tools:

Leech may have been a joiner, however references to him are not clear. His name was mentioned in the estate of Mary Harrison, which debited him for a bedstead, (etc.) £8:0:0, a "Case of Drawers... £2:0:0" and "4 Chairs each 2s." Logan paid him for a bed and bolster "w 87 # at 13 1/2...£6:14:1" in 1718. Elizabeth Coates bought four chairs of him in 1721, but he could have simply been a merchant. Leech purchased £4:4:8 worth of wax in 1735.


Levering, Jacob: Joiner

d. 1753

T. V. £594:01:0 Tools:

Jacob Levering paid to become a freeman in Philadelphia on May 20, 1717. He lived in Roxborough Township. One of his Bibles was in German and the other in Dutch, so it is probable he was not of English background. Tools were not mentioned in the inventory
which included "Walnut and poplar Boards and planks" valued at £10:15:0 and "Bedsted sides and posts" at 16s as well as "3 paire of Coffin handles" at 3s 6d. He also left "8 high Back arch Chears," the year before Chippendale Director was published.

Notes: MCC, 126. Inventory, MS 74, 1753.

**LLOYD, THOMAS:** Joiner

d.

**T. V.** Tools:

Lloyd was working in 1722-23.

Note: Hornor, 4.

**MADDOCK, JOHN:** Joiner

d.

**T. V.** Tools:

Maddock immigrated from Cheshire, England in 1683 (with Richard Clone), and married Margaret Kent in 1690. Other listings do not mention his trade.


**MOORE, WILLIAM:** Turner

d.

**T. V.** Tools:

Mason became a freeman in 1717, and was referred to in 1720. He was, perhaps, the member received in Philadelphia from the Stafford Quarterly Meeting (in England) in 1705.

MILTON, JOHN: Joiner
d.
T. V.
Tools:
Milton became a freeman of Philadelphia May 27, 1717.
Notes: Hornor, 4. MCC, 128.

MITCHELL, HENRY: Joiner
Mitchell was the lucky craftsman of Bucks county to whom
Richard Gove (his father-in-law) left his tools in 1710.
Note: Will, MS 181, 1710.

MOORE, WILLIAM: Joiner
d.
T. V.
Tools
Moore, a bachelor, was received at the Philadelphia Meeting
from Waterford (Ireland) Monthly Meeting in 1713. Two months after
he arrived he declared an intention to marry Mary Knight. He was
admitted a freeman in 1717, and was a patient of John Kearsley. A
"William Moore" is known to have died Dec. 23, 1732.
Church Burial Records.

MULLARD, ROBERT: Carver
b.
d.
T. V.
Tools
Mullard became a freeman on May 6, 1717. Logan paid for his work on the ship Susanna in 1722. His lot on Mulberry Street was put up for sale in the American Weekly Mercury on Aug. 2, 1722, and his name appeared again in 1726.


NASH, JOHN: Joiner
d.
T. V. Tools:

Nash was working for Samuel Lewis in 1717. A will made by a "John Nash" in Upper Dublin Township in 1727, was that of a "Yeoman," and tools on the inventory were of indefinite nature.

Notes: Hornor, 4. Will & Inventory, MSS 40, 1727.

OSBOURNE, ROBERT: Joiner
d.
T. V. Tools:

Osborn's trade was identified in a legal transaction involving his wife, Mary, in 1729.

Note: Indictments, 1715-1790, Sept. 1, 1729.

PARKER, MOSES
d. 1717
T. V. £15:4:7 3/4 Tools: £8:0:0

Joiner Moses Parker's wife, Mary, came from Twickenham, Middlesex county, but his native area is not certain. "A Chest of Joyner's working tools compleat" work £8:0:0 accounted for more than half his estate, indicating the importance of a craftsman's tools in his life.
Parker was also conscious of appearance, for his "Wearing Apparil" was worth £4:4:0.

Notes: Hornor, 4. Will & Inventory, MSS 119, 1717.

PLUMLEY, CHARLES:

d. 1708

T. V. £389:16:6 Tools £19:16:8 1/2

Charles Plumley's purchase of a piece of plush from an anonymous merchant in 1698 may be the first documentation of his presence. He witnessed Thomas Budd's will in 1699, and served on a Grand Jury in 1702 before purchasing land from Richard Hill in January, 1706/07. None of these references identify his trade.

Hornor called Plumley a carver, turner, cabinet-and chair-maker. Though the inventory made of Plumley's goods is very complete, it did not designate a trade. Plumley possessed an assortment of woodworking tools (Ap. V) which substantiate Hornor's identification, and a quantity of unfinished work confirms his analysis:

1 Walnutt Table framd £1:0:0
1 Pine Table £0:5:0
7 Sett Gum bedstead pillows at 2/4 £0:16:4
15 Sett Sydes and Ends at 2/4 £1:15:0
2 black Carved Chair frames £0:18:0
1 Walnut Case Drawers not finished £1:16:0
6 Carved Maple Chairs finished £3:0:0
A parcell of Wheelwolke not finished £1:10:0

This is the first known listing of the use of maple in Philadelphia furniture; the question is, who did the carving? Wheelwork, as coffin-making, was a trade sideline. Jacob Shoemaker also had wheel-making tools.

Besides native Pennsylvania woods, Plumley had mahogany, and "A parcell of Olive wood & other veinarys" valued at £1:16:0. These last, with the 76 pounds of glue and "6 Veneering Screws" prove that Plumley was truly a cabinetmaker. Thus even though wood was profusely available, certain types were imported to achieve special effects, and fashion encouraged the American joiner to use London construction techniques. Plumley's hardware shows that he made desks, sreetores,
dressing boxes, chests and clock-cases. An awareness of style must have prompted the descriptive notation "old fashioned" scutcheons."

Plumley's own furniture was uniformly finished:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 black Cherry tree Chest Draws</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 black Strellore</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 black Cane Chairs</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Leather Chairs</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The only finishing agent among his shop goods was two quarts of varnish, no paint. Plumley must have enjoyed the qualities of different woods, for this is also the first known use of cherry. He certainly represented a sophisticated type of craftsman, and his presence in Philadelphia is an interesting comment on the colony's cultural status.


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PRATT, ABRAHAM: Joiner

d.

T. V. Tools:

Abraham Pratt may have been in Philadelphia in 1690. A will for an "Abraham Pratt" was made in Dublin Township in 1709, recording a wife, Jane, and four sons, but not a trade. The inventory gave no further clues.

Note: Hornor, 4. Will & Inventory, MSS, 146, 1709.

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RANSTEAD, CALEB: Turner
d. 1757

T. V. Tools:

Caleb Ranstead was designated by trade in a memorandum dated June 15, 1728.
That it is agreed by & between Caleb Ransted of the City of Philadelphia in the province of Pensilvania Turner of the one part and Richard Hill of the sd City Esq' of the other part—Viz. The sd Ransted undertakes to build or cause to be built for the sd Hill a certain dwelling House. . . The sd House to be compleatly finished off Workman like in the best Materials.

This demonstrates the varied roles encompassed under seemingly restrictive trade titles, and the entrepeneaur status assumed by craftsmen who accepted commissions for things they themselves might not actually produce. Accounts of 1714-18 state Ransted paid for merchandise by producing a "childs chair," "bedpins," and "six lowback chairs," as well as "Mending 3 Chairs bo't of Whitehead." Another succinct credit is simply for "Wooden Ware" in 1719.

In 1740 Mary Ruller, a widow, and Edward Williams, a brick-layer:

in & upon one Caleb Ransted. . .an Assault did make. . .did beat Wound & Evilly Entreat so that of his Life it was greatly dispaire & other harms to him the sd Caleb then & there did bring to the great Damage of the sd Caleb.

It is possible that this same Caleb Ransted, "reported married to Rachel Pratt" in 1731, had married Mary Warder in 1707. Ransted, the turner, left wife Rachel a third of his estate. "A lot on the east side of front street and other land was given to his son William. He designated himself a "Turner," and stated the reason for writing a will in 1754:

being shortly to embarque on Shipboard with Intention to ? to the parts of Great Britain and desirous to settle my Worldly affairs in the best Manner.

ROBINSON, MATTHEW: Turner  
d. 1743  
T. V.  

Matthew Robinson "late of Philadelphia" married Sarah Powell at the Philadelphia Meeting in 1698. Nevertheless, according to City Council minutes, he was made a freeman of Philadelphia on April 9, 1705. His name also was mentioned in 1711. A 1718 reference cites his name and trade in connection with his wife, Sarah so he must have returned to the Philadelphia area.

His trade practice remains questionable as records of his work were not found. He did, however, purchase fifty-three pounds of "Bully Tree" from Dickinson for 5s 8d in 1702. Robinson wrote his will as a "Turner" in 1743, and bequeathed "all and Singular of my working Tools and the Implements and Utensils of my Trade of what kind or nature soever" to his son Richard. These tools were not inventoried, but more than £9:0:0 worth of chairs, many of which could have been made by a turner were listed:

(6 chairs)  
One Caine Chair  
four Rush bottom Chairs  
nine Rush chairs  
six Cain Chairs  
Twelve Leather Chairs  
twelve Rush Chairs


SANDERS, RICHARD: Carpenter  
d.  
T. V.  

Tools:  
Sanders made numerous packing chests for James Logan in the
1720's, and sold land on second street in 1722. His furniture production cannot be established.


SCULL, EDWARD (JR.): Joiner
d.
T. V. Tools:

Edward Scull was admitted as a freem an of Philadelphia on May 27, 1717. According to John Moore's daybook, "Edw^ Scull" filled an unspecified order for John Humphreys in 1714. There were probably two Edward Sculls, possibly a father and son, working in Philadelphia. It was probably Scull, senior, who advertised lime for sale in 1720.

"Edward Scull late of the City of Philad^ Joyner" had been indicted June 10, 1718, for the £16:05:00 worth of the "Goods & Chattles of one David Sherin" which he "did feloniously Steal take & Carry away ag^ an Act of General Assembly. In 1743 a South Carolina Gazette advertisement placed a merchant; "in King Street, near Mr. Edward Scull's Chairmaker." Josiah Claypoole also moved to Charlestown after troubles similar to Scull's in 1739.


SHEPARD, SAMUEL: Joiner
d.
T. V. Tools:

Shephard made his will June 9, 1707, but it was not proved until 1717. He did not bequeath tools or furniture. His brothers all
lived in the Barbadoes.

Note: Will, MS 95, 1717.

SHERBURN, JOHN: Joiner

d. 1734
T. V. Tools:

Both Sherburne's wife and daughter were named Rebeccah. His 1734 will recorded that he owned a plantation in New Jersey. Sherburne (or Sherbourne) was an active craftsman, if not a likeable one. Both a servant, "Joyner John Spring," and an apprentice, John Evans, ran away in 1726. Another "Servant Man' and "joyner," Neal M'Coy (a Scotchman) deserted him in 1728.


SHIERS, GEORGE: Upholsterer?

d.
T. V. Tools:

Shiers immigrated from the Brigghouse Monthly Meeting of Yorkshire in 1715. In 1716 he married Deborah Painter from Chester County at the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting. John Kearsley did not state his patient's trade, and other listings indicate he was a merchant rather than a craftsman. He sold James Logan "a chair & Saws pan" in 1719. Shiers died before he paid the debt mentioned in Richard Clymer's estate in 1734.

Notes: Myers, 64. Kearsley Debt Book, 37. Petitions and Arbitra-
SHIPPEN, JOSEPH: Upholsterer?

b.

d.

T. V. Tools

Shippen supplied Jonathan Dickinson with a £5:0:0 quilt in 1701 and helped appraise Charles Plumley's estate (which contained "chiar frames") in 1708. John Moore paid him 10s for "Making a Squabb for a Couch" in March, 1711. One account with James Logan from 1712 to 1719 credits Shippen for bed curtains, bolsters, and similar goods. There are later transactions with John Cadwalader, Samuel Coates, and other merchants. Shippen did not die until 1741.


SHOEMAKER, ISAAC: Turner

b. 1699
d. 1732

T. V. £228:12:8 Tools

Isaac Shoemaker was born in Cresheim, Germany in 1669. He married Sarah Hendricks in 1678 and became Sheriff of Germantown in 1695-96. He bought forty-six gallons of linseed oil in 1726, and died in 1733. He did not bequeath any tools, and none were listed in the inventory of his estate. Undoubtedly his £112:0:0 "Plantation Situate in Germantown" had occupied most of his time.

Shoemaker had come to Philadelphia from Mainz, Germany, as a servant of the Frankfort Company. He arrived in Pennsylavnia on Aug. 20, 1683 aboard the America from London. In 1693 he was made Sheriff of Germantown. Shoemaker, a turner, had a role in Pastorius' intentions for his Pennsylvania settlement:

> for my domestic establishment, I very much wished to arrange it in the good High German manner and Jacob Shuemacher and the old Swiss are very servicable to me toward this purpose.

Some people thus made a definite effort to perpetuate old and native customs, rather than to establish new. Practicality forced adaptation, however, so Pastorius, Jacob, and Isaac and Peter, Shoemaker were among those on the Sept. 29, 1709 "Bill for naturalizing the Germans... an Act for the better Enabling of Divers Inhabitants of the Province of Pennsylvania., To Hold and Enjoy Lands, Tenants and Plantation in the same Province." Jacob, senior, his wife Margaret, and children (Thomas, Jacob and Susanna) transferred from Abington the the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting in 1715.

Jacob Shoemaker made this valuable bequest in 1722:

> Also I give and bequeath unto my Son Jacob all my Turning tools and all other the Tiber Materials Utensils & Tools belonging to the Trades of Turning and Wheel Making

"Turning tools and Timber" were worth £19:19:6 of a £86:05:0 estate. Even more important is the effort to establish a family craft tradition.

SHOEMAKER, PETER:  Turner  
d. 1740  
T. V. 1029:0:0  Tools:  
  Peter Shoemaker arrived in Philadelphia Oct. 12, 1685. He probably immigrated because he was one of the early Quaker converts among the Mennonites of Kresheim, the Palatinate (Germany). He served as burges of Germantown in 1696, 1704, and 1707. He only disposed of land in his 1740 will and so may not have been active in his trade.  
Notes: PMHB, IV, 22. Hornor, 4. Will, MS 184, 1740.  

SHORE, JOHN:  Upholsterer?  
d.  
T. V.  
  Tools:  
  John Shore sold James Logan a bed for £9:10:0 in 1713.  
Note: Logan Account Book, 44.  

SLEIGHTON, HENRY:  Turner  
d.  
T. V.  
  Tools:  
  Sleighton was a London craftsman among the first purchasers of 1681, and possibly did not immigrate.  
Note: Hornor, 4.  

STANTON, EDWARD:  Joiner  
d. 1689  
T. V. £90:18:0 (land £33:0:0)  Tools: £8:4:0  
  The inventory of Edward Stanton, a "joyners" of Bucks County was taken "20th 7mo, 1689." Stanton and Fellowes (a Philadelphia
joiner) show the advanced development of the joiners' craft in early Philadelphia, although Stanton's tools (Ap. V) show he probably prepared his own wood. No lumber is contained in the inventory, and the smaller tools must have been grouped in two chests, valued at £1:14:6 and £1:06:0. Stanton also possessed a "Shopp-Book," so a record was kept of the work done, even if, as it seems, none have survived.

Stanton's hardware is especially significant:

To six (lbs?) of Glue
To 26 pair of Side-hinges, & 22 pair of dovetail, & about 500 of nyls
and about 7000 of Trunk nayles & Chair nayles & drops & locks, & Couch Chains £5:0:0
To two half pieces of girt-webb, and some more nayles. 8s

These indicate the production of rather sophisticated pieces which could have been in an up-to-date style as "ouch chains mean familiarity with relatively new-fashion forms. The inclusion of glue suggests the possibility of veneered work.

Note: Administration (Inventory), MS 97, 1689.

STAPLEFORD, THOMAS: Joiner
d. 1739
T. V.

Tools:

Thomas Stapleford, "Chair Frame maker", "late of Boston and now of the Town and County of Philadelphia in the Province of Pennsylvania" sold land "near the Fort hill" in Boston to Joseph Vicars in September, 1695. Stapleford attracted attention his first year in Philadelphia by selling liquor without a license. John Moore credited him £1:03:7 "in part for work done" on Sept. 14, 1721, and Stapleford did further work for him in 1714. He was admitted as a freeman for 5s 6d on May 6, 1717, when he was working on Christ Church. That same year James Logan debited his household account in Stapleford's favor "for a large
Oval Table...£3:15:0, a large Pine Table...25s, and a Pallet Bed­
stead...25s'’. Logan also purchased boxes and presses. As James
Logan was able to choose from the best, Thomas Gamble probably felt
lucky to become the apprentice of such a worthy craftsman in 1722.
Logan also purchased a coffin for 20s in 1717, and another for "ye
Servt boy...12s" in 1718. The entry of 'To a Coffin from Thos
Stapleford is not unusual in estate records. Usually Stapleford's
work as that "By the Governor's Ord'' and "done in the house'' of
Isaac Norris was not described.

Stapleford was also a merchant. The American Weekly Mercury
announced a sale at Stapleford's house at the lower end of second
street in 1738.

Womens and Girls Stays, Pepper, white and brown Buckram,
Sundrey Sorts of Silver, Orace, light coloured Sewing Silk,
Stay Trimmings, and Sundry Sorts of Thread, and many other
Sorts of Goods too long here to mention, all very Cheap
for Ready Money.

The supplies Stapleford purchased from other merchants were in­
dicative of the volume and variety of his joiner's work. England was
the ultimate source of the supplies, for Logan mentioned that a 1719
sale was all of merchandise received by the vessel Crawford and Annis.
It included (Ap. III), finished nails, bed screws and wood screws,
and black butt hinges. The sophistication of Stapleford's work is
suggested by "4 Large ffish Skins at 4s" and "6 Varnishing Brushes,"
and the forms of his product by "6 Setts of Writing Desk Locks each
hath 4 Fill and 1 Lock for the ffall." Stapleford also traded with
Francis Richardson, James Bonsall and James Reynell. Materials in­
cluded necessities: an "oyl Ston" and "hand Saw", glue, nails, screws
and lead; finishing products: "best hard varnish," "Shining ditto," and
"tinn'd Tacks," and decorative elements: brass handles and shutters,
Drops", purchased in 1728, might indicate a continued customer preference,
or, perhaps, the craftsman's reluctance to change his style. They could
also have been used for replacements. A 1722 purchase had also included solid drops, as well as "mens hearted Handles," (not yet identified) "small Lash knobs" and "bell Drops."

Stapleford's persistent manufacture of older fashions is also implied in a 1721 purchase "of Merch. from Britain for 3 doz Cane for Chairs." This may have been mending material. However, his 1739 will bequeathed:

```
"unto my Daughter Elizabeth...a Maple Chest of Drawers & Chamber Table & Tea Table Varnished and half a dozen of Cane Chairs all to be finished at the Charge of my Estate by my Executors.
```

An inventory does not exist to supply further clues, so it is impossible to determine the form of these chairs. The continued use of the fashionable material of an earlier style does suggest that, however up to date and accomplished Stapleford was when he arrived in Philadelphia, isolation from the mainstream of London fashion, and, probably, the provincial taste of the majority of his customer's, had affected his trade activity by the time of his death. Still, these chairs may have been in the "Queen Anne" fashion, but with cane back and seats, since Nicholas Gale advertised "new fashion cane chairs" in 1734.


TATE, ROBERT: Joiner

d.

T. V. £38:0:0 Tools:

1697 and 1721 documentary references for Robert Tate were not rediscovered but the name is on the Philadelphia County tax list of
1693. John Moore noted it twice in 1716.

Robert Tate, "joyner," made his will on Dec. 6, 1727, but was only concerned with the dispersal of his land. He lived on the West side of Strawberry Alley (as did joiner John Widdifield). William Branson was one of his "Trusty Friends & Relations," No mention was made of tools, but the account of his estate included: "Black Walnut plank & board with other Lumber" at £25, indicating his active trade participation. It may be that some items were not appraised because they were regarded as the property of his sons, still minors.

Notes: Hornor, 5. PMHB, VIII, 91. Moore Daybook, June 6, Sept. 11, 1716. Will, MS 74, 1727.

THOMAS, EVAN: Joiner
d.

T. V.

Tools:

Evan Thomas, "Joyner," owed Dina Davis, widow, a debt of £48:0:0 in 1707, and was charged for the assault of Edward Buckley in 1715. He was, however, admitted as a freeman of Philadelphia in May, 1717. He was also a patient of John Kearsley's. A "yeoman" who died in 1722 was probably not the same person. Another "Evan Thomas" was buried in 1725.


THOMAS, JOHN: Joiner
d.

T. V.

Tools:

According to John Moore, John Thomas, "Joyner," was in Philadelphia in 1715. A "John Thomas" did receive his freedom of the Joyner's Company in London, on April 1, 1701.
John Tibby was a first purchaser of 1681 and on the first Petit Jury formed in Philadelphia in January, 1682. He could have been the craftsman apprenticed to London joiner Wilts Byfeild in 1660, and given his freedom in London in 1668. Twenty years later joiner Richard Gove and two others assessed the Philadelphia goods Tibby's left his widow at £91:12:0, so he was not exceptionally prosperous. In fact, the Women's Monthly Meeting thought it necessary to give Elizabeth 6s in 1691.

Tibby's tools were valued at £5:19:6, but very few supplies at hand: "10 pound of Glue" and "Red Cedar...19s", so he may not have been active due to age or ill health. He owned some interesting furniture, although it cannot be stated that he manufactured it. "A box with 7 drawers...8s" probably referred to what is commonly called a spice cabinet today, but "A table board with a drawer...12s" could represent a number of different forms. The "Caniped bedstead" valued at 10s seems rather elaborate in comparison to the other furnishings, but could have been a quite simple form. Besides, the bed and its furnishings, often represented a surprisingly large portion of a man's wealth.

According to the Stafford Monthly Meeting in England, William Till and his sister Rosamond immigrated from Whitegrave to Philadelphia in the spring of 1700, in:

Care of our friends Robert Heath & his wife who came along ye same voyage with them & allsoe to Ann Delworth an Inhabitant of your Country.

Three years later Till married Ann Warder of Philadelphia. Though his name is found in the Norris account a trade is not designated.

Till declared his profession when he settled his estate on his wife in 1711. Later these items were assessed: "his Working Tools of all Sorts Stuff unwrought &c... £30:0:0," "Locks Drops, Scuttgeons, Coffin handles, hinges &c... £20:0:0," and "Sundry pieces of Work begun & pd for." Till also had a good assortment of lumber on hand: Pine, cedar, red cedar, walnut, cherry, pear, oak, and mahogany (Ap. IV). Exclusive of his real property, these supplies represented more than one third of his possessions.

He lived in a comfortably furnished house, valued at £300:0:0, consisting of closet and kitchen, chamber, front chamber, next front chamber, back chamber, and 2 garrets. A £10:0:0 clock and case, "White Earthen Ware & Glasses upon the Mantle piece" valued at 11s, and a "servant's bed" indicate a life of comfort, if not luxury or ease.


VALECOT, JOHN: Cabinetmaker

T. V.

Tools:

Valecott may have been working in 1682.

Note: Hornor, 5.
WALKER, JOHN: Joiner
d.
T. V.

Tools:

Walker is referred to in the will of widow Anna Salter, made in 1688.

Note: Will, MS 47, 1688.

WARD, ANTHONY: Joiner and Clockmaker
d.
T. V.

Tools

Anthony Ward remains a mysterious personality. A 1715 reference to him is obscure. This interesting advertisement did appear in the American Weekly Mercury of Dec. 20, 1720:

Whereas some persons have falsely and maliciously reported, that Anthony Ward of this City, Clockmaker, is indebted considerably, particularly in one Debt Seven Hundred Pounds; Which Scandalous and false Report, being very injurious to the Said Ward, he doth therefore require all persons to whom he is any ways indebted to come and receive their just Demands before the First of January next: and all Persons Indebted to him are desired to ballance their Account, and such shall have three Months time after the Date hereof allowed for Payment.

Ward later—moved to New York.


WIDDIFIELD, JOHN: Joiner
b.
c. 1720
T. V.

Tools:

John Widdifield joined the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting in 1705. The 1703 letter from the Thirsk Monthly Meeting, in Yorkshire, said
"Has been Conversant amongst us a few years also Since he came Among friends." Later the Thirsk Meeting also confirmed his bachelor status on leaving England. Widdifield married Mary Lawrence in Philadelphia in 1707/08.

Although Widdifield's name occasionally appears in account books, few instances are connected with his trade. He purchased both paint and white lead in 1716, which might have been used for finishing, and supplied Norris with several coffins in exchange during the years of their account. Logan purchased an oval table and walnut screen in 1717. The £2:5:0 value of the table indicates exceptional quality. Widdifield was identified as a joiner when he became a freeman on May 6 of that year. His house in Philadelphia was on the south side of high street and the west side of Strawberry Alley--probably near Robert Tate's.

He retained strong ties with his homeland, as he owned land at Newcastle-on-Tyne, and mentioned a sister who still lived there in his 1720 will. He left timber, and other property to his minor son, John. The inventory of his goods has not survived. Mary remarried in 1724.


WILKINS, JAMES: Joiner

d.

T. V. Tools:

Wilkins became a freeman May, 1717.

Note: MCC, 133. Hornor, 5.
WILLSON, THOMAS: Joiner

T. V.  

Tools:

Willson's trade cannot be substantiated, but his name was found connected with that of William Till. He was probably the Thomas Willson who immigrated with his family in 1699.


WOOLEY, EDMUND: Carpenter

b.

d.

T. V.  

Tools:

Wooley was paid £2:5:0 for Joshua Cart's coffin in 1716, which does not mean he was a joiner. Richard Clymer's estate administrators specifically identified him as a carpenter in 1734. He was a better than average craftsman, however, for his bill to John Penn in 1735 was:

To drawing the Elevation of the Frount one End the Roof Balconey Chimneys and Garret of the State House With the fronts and Plans of the Two offises and Piarrs allso the Plans of the first and Second floors of the State House.

James Steel, another carpenter, (immigrated from Chichester, Sussex in 1702, died 1741) made payment in 1736.

Notes: Hornor, 5. Inventory & Estate, MSS 33, 1734. Accounts, Penn Manuscripts, I, 32.
## APPENDIX III: HARDWARE AND SUPPLIES

A chronological list of the hardware and craft-connected supplies found both in inventories and accounts. (Spelling modernized unless in quotes)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Items and Quantities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1686</td>
<td>(MS 31, Frampton)</td>
<td>12 brass drops, 2s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1687</td>
<td>(MS 34, Claypoole)</td>
<td>5 scutcheons, 10d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1687</td>
<td>(&quot;Pennsbury Account,&quot; partial list of the goods which were not evaluated)</td>
<td>8 stock locks, 3 pr large door hinges, 4 joiner's leather aprons, 15 pair of dove tails, 4 door bolts, 7 staples, 1 parcel of rings for doors, 1 firkin of spriggs and nails, 1 bagg of small spriggs, 1 parcel of glue, 1 small parcel of red lead, 2 spring locks, 1 fine stock lock, 2 spring latches, 1 glue pot, 2 pieces of clock line, &quot;almost&quot; 1/2 barre of nails old, 1/3 part of a barrel of rosin, 1/4 of a hundred of white lead, a small parcel of linseed oil in a hogshead, a parcel of white horn curtain rings (smith's shop), 1 pair large door hinges, 1 boult</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

216
1 stock lock
1 bolt and key
1 parcel of new spring locks
   hinges
   bolts
   door latches
   "and many other things all new"
1 door lock
1 firkin of red lead
1/4 of a barrel of spikes

1689 (MS 97, Stanton)

26 pair side hinges
22 pair dove tails
5000 of nails
1000 of trunk nails and chair nails
drops and locks
couch chains

1694 (MS 104, Fellows)

\[
\begin{array}{|l|c|}
\hline
\text{item} & \text{£ s d} \\
\hline
\text{a parcel of brass work for drawers} & 1:4:0 \\
\text{4 suits of locks for chests of drawers} & 1:8:0 \\
\text{3 dressing box locks} & 0:5:0 \\
\text{12 pair coffin handles} & 1:4:0 \\
\text{10 pair small ditto} & 0:10:0 \\
\text{1 parcel of squares for coffins} & 4:0:0 \\
\text{8 bed screws} & 0:2:0 \\
\text{6 inside chest locks} & 0:10:0 \\
\text{2 lb. bees wax} & 0:1:8 \\
\text{25 lb. of glue} & 1:5:0 \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

1695 (Philadelphia Account Book, 60 & 66, Carter)

\[
\begin{array}{|l|}
\hline
\text{item} & \text{quantity} \\
\hline
\text{pair hinges} & 1s \\
\text{3 stock locks} & \text{ } \\
\text{gate ditto} & \text{ } \\
\text{" hinges} & \text{ } \\
\text{" square staple} & \text{ } \\
\text{"hors" lock} & 0:3:6 \\
\text{large stock lock} & 0:6:0 \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]
### 1698 (Philadelphia Account Book, 46, Hooper)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>£ s d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 large pair coffin handle</td>
<td>0:6:0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 middle &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>0:8:4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 lesser &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>0:8:0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 1699-228 (MS, Chick)

"To Sundry Chest lox and Drawer lox and other things of Iron and Brass belonging and usefull to the trade of a Joyner... £10:19:4"

### 1700 (Tatham Inventories 1700/01)

1 parcel of brass drops (34 in all) £ 6 iron (all) £ 0:9:6

### 1701 (MS 41, Fox)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>£ s d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4 1/2 dozen wrought drops</td>
<td>0:2:6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 1/2 dozen plain ditto</td>
<td>0:2:6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 1/2 dozen drawer rings</td>
<td>0:2:6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 dozen &quot;scutcheon&quot;</td>
<td>0:2:6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sets of chest of drawer locks</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 set ditto</td>
<td>0:3:4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 rim lock</td>
<td>0:4:0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 1701-MS 42, Beardsley

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>£ s d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6 locks for chest drawers</td>
<td>0:3:0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 small out side box ditto</td>
<td>0:5:0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 inside ditto</td>
<td>0:7:0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32 Drops for Drawers</td>
<td>0:4:0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Dozen Bell Drops (both)</td>
<td>0:4:0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Brass &quot;Escutcheons&quot; at 2d each</td>
<td>0:1:0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Brass hanging hooks at 3d</td>
<td>0:0:6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 1705 (MS 3, Read)

30 coffin handles (6d ps)
1708 (MS 73, Harrison)

"Sorted hinges & drops
Scutcheons, Nails, &c." £17:17:9

1708 (MS 113, Plumley)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>76 lb. of glue</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 quarts varnish</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 door locks</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 oil stones</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 # beeswax</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pair chest hinges</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 pair chest hinges</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 double spring chest lock</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 outside box locks</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 pair coffin handles</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33 square ditto</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 pair dovetails</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 small chest locks</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 desk lock</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pair H hinges</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 old fashioned &quot;scutcheons&quot;</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 old fashioned &quot;Damified&quot; drops</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 &quot;La: brass Rings&quot; [large?]</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112 drops</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53 &quot;scutcheons&quot;</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 set chest drawers locks</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 rules</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17708 spriggs &amp; tacks 4/2ps</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pair box hinges smooth filed</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 pair clock ditto</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 dressing box locks</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 set scutoire locks</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pr X net door hinges, brass</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1711 (MS 216, Till)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>locks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drops</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scutcheons</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coffin handles</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hinges</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(all) £20:0:0

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1712 (Logan Account Book, 9 Evans)

6 dozen drops 2 doz. 21d
2 " 2s
2 " 3s £0:13:6

1715 (MS 50, Crosswhitt)

parcel "scutcheons & drops" 1:0:0
tacks 0:10:0
parcel coffin squares 1:5:0
coffin handles 1:10:0
locks 0:12:0
2 dozen locks
3 dozen coffin squares
some files &c. (all) 1:5:0

1716 (Norris Ledger, 222, Branson)

12 # white lead 0:9:0
paints, priming brush 0:10:0

1719 (Logan Account Book, Stapleford)

2 gross short plain bed screws at 32s 3:4:0
12 pair black butt hinges No. 1 0:5:0
" " " butt hinges No. 2 2 0:7:6
" " " butt hinges 3 0:10:6
12 dozen rivets for ditto 0:2:6
6 XXO ward chest locks 0:18:0
6 "Ess" bitts ditto 1:2:0
6 sets writing desk locks
4 fill & 1 lock for the fall 2:2:0
6 pair pin hinges for ditto 0:4:8
200 finished nails 0:0:10
24 wood screws for ditto 0:2:6
4 large fish skins 0:16:0
6 varnishing brushes 0:6:0

1720 (MS 195, Waite)

pewter curtain rings
### 1721 (Logan Ledger, 34, Stapleford)

- 3 dozen cane for chairs
- lead
- glue

### 1722 (Bonsall Account Book, 42. Stapleford)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 dozen mens hearted handles at 4s prime cost</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; No. 2 5s 6d</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 gross mens hearted squares at 6s 6d</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 gross 1 1/2 inch wood screws at 3s</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 gross short bed screws 6 inches</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 gross small lash knobs</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 gross of ditto</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 sets of desk locks at 4s</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 dozen suited till locks</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/2 gross of brass rings at 13d</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 gross of solid drops</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 gross of bell drops</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 gallons best hard varnish at 16s</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 gallons of shining ditto at 10s</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 # glue</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 W of tinned tacks</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 1722 (MS 257, Redman)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 dozen large H hinges at 10s</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 ditto &amp; 2 ditto smaller @ 5s</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 1/2 dozen H hinges at 12s dozen</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drops scutcheons &amp; brass knobs</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coffin squares</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 1722 (Dickinson Inventory, in store garret)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13 large &amp; 12 small spring belts</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 1/2 dozen box pullies for sashes</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;brass bush'd and pins&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 iron door latches</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>catches</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>staples</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
19 pair hinges
5 pair carpenters (?) squares at 3d
4 cupboardlocks and one key
1 ditto
4 stock locks
130 glue at 7d

1724 (Powell Day Book, Feb. 11)

12 sets of draw locks 3 to a draw
10 doz. common drops
5 doz. scutcheons

"1 moyder and 1 double loon"

1727 (Reynell Ledger, 1727-33, 1.)

4 sets desk locks
2 set drawer locks
12 pair hinges and screws
10 joint solid drops
4 doz. small hollow ditto

1728 (Reynell Ledger, 2 Stapleford)

3 sets drawer locks
3 dozen brass handles
10 brass shutters
1 dozen hasp hinges & scutcheons
4 dozen solid drops

(all) £ 2:13:6.

1728 (MS 91, Denham)

18 pair coffin handles

£ 0:12:0

1729 (Reynell Ledger, 7)

6 pair desk hinges

1729 (MS 127 Richardson)

26 clock case and 1 drawer lock
12 cupboard ditto

£ s d

0:14:0
0:6:6
1729 (Reynell Ledger, 3. Austin)

4 doz. solid drops "costers"
7 doz. ditto
8 1/2 doz. hollow drops
5 doz. ditto
6 dozen scutcheons
7 pair coffin handles
3 1/2 doz. brass knobs
6 1/2 doz. hallow drops

1734 (MS 387, Harrison)

two sets of bed screws
brass nails
8 locks
a parcel of ring brass drops
a parcel of spriggs
small nails "c scrues"
a parcel of hinges
plane iron
old tools

1739 (Penrose cashbook, 92, S. Armitt)

4 doz. hollow brass drops @ 10d
2 doz. handles @ 15d
3 handles
"fine with nutts & scrues" @ 6s
1 1/2 doz. scutcheons to them @ 3s

1744 (MS 81, Claypoole)

Locks
drops
scutcheons
spriggs
nails
APPENDIX IV: WOODS

A chronological list of the woods itemized in joiner’s inventories or related sources. (Spelling modernized unless in quotes)

1687 ("Pennsberry Account," in the joiner’s room)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>some wrought timber</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poplar boards</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;deale&quot;boards</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wrought and seasoned timber</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000 of plank</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000 of sawn timber</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200 of board</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3000 of clapboard</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1688 (MS 53, Tibby)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>red cedar boards</td>
<td>£0;19:0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1692 (MS 84, Eckley)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14 cedar logs</td>
<td>£0;14:0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at ls ps</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1694 (MS 104, Fellows)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14 pine logs</td>
<td>£4;5:0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 1/2 of round walnut logs</td>
<td>£6:10:0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>754 foot of pine boards</td>
<td>£3:0:0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>219 foot of walnut plank</td>
<td>£1:15:0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>240 foot of walnut boards</td>
<td>£1:8:6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64 foot cedar plank</td>
<td>£0:16:0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 foot walnut scantling</td>
<td>£0:7:7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144 foot pine scantling</td>
<td>£0:12:0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>361 foot of walnut &amp; cedar boards</td>
<td>£2:3:0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>350 foot of cut boards</td>
<td>£1:8:0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1698 (Allen Letterbook, April 25)

"Lignum Vita for Turners
Bastard Lignum Vita & Bully Tree
For loggs 6 Rounds
ffor MillWrights

A Few fine woods for ye Joyners & Some
Mohogany in board or Plank for Chest of
Drawers & Tables & quarters for Frames"

1699 (MS 228, Chick)

sundry sorts of boards and scantling amounting to as pr measure £73:13:0
sundry parcels of walnut plank and boards at Brandywine Creek supposed to be worth 15:0:0

1701 (Dickinson Ledger, 15 & 27.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16 mahogany plank</td>
<td>18:05:10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 mahogany plank @ 12 3/4</td>
<td>1:01:3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1702 (MS 105, Peterson)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>300 foot black walnut plank</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 plank oak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1707 (MS 46, Hooper)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Material</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>walnut</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cedar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>£54:11:9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1708 (MS 113, Plumley)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 mahogany plank 36 1/2 foot at 16d</td>
<td>2:8:8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 inch board ditto 48 foot at 6d</td>
<td>1:4:0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>311 large walnut scantling at 12s 6d</td>
<td>1:19:3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>457 foot small walnut scantling at 8s 4d</td>
<td>1:17:1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>734 foot walnut plank at 12s pr 100</td>
<td>6:4:9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2738 foot walnut boards at 15s p 100</td>
<td>20:10:8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2859 foot pine and oak boards at 8s pr</td>
<td>11:8:8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A parcel of olivewood and other veneers</td>
<td>1:16:0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Document Reference</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Units</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1710</td>
<td>(MS 178, Hulbart)</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>foot of black walnut at 12s pr 100</td>
<td>4:4:0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>372</td>
<td>foot of poplar boards 6s pr 100</td>
<td>1:2:4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1711</td>
<td>(MS 216, Till)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1178</td>
<td>pine boards</td>
<td>4:18:2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>116</td>
<td>16 cedar boards</td>
<td>0:15:0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>574</td>
<td>walnut board</td>
<td>4:17:0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>209</td>
<td>mahogany board</td>
<td>5:4:6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>42</td>
<td>mahogany scantling</td>
<td>0:17:6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>47</td>
<td>red cedar board</td>
<td>0:9:6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>cherry tree board</td>
<td>0:2:6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
<td>pear tree board</td>
<td>0:3:0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>oak scantling</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4 by 5</td>
<td>112 foot</td>
<td>1:10:0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1715</td>
<td>(MS 50, Crosswhitt)</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>foot walnut plank 25s pr 100</td>
<td>2:3:9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>110</td>
<td>foot board ditto at 12/</td>
<td>0:13:10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a parcel of scantling &amp; lumber</td>
<td>2:0:0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>600</td>
<td>foot of pine boards at 8s</td>
<td>2:8:0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1716</td>
<td>(MS 68, Cart)</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>foot of pine boards</td>
<td>0:5:0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1717</td>
<td>(Logan Papers, Society Collection, Mar. 15)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>mahogany planks 10 foot long 20 inches broad &amp; 3 to 4 inches thick</td>
<td>107 pieces bully tree 2 foot long to square 3 inches</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1722</td>
<td>(Dickinson Inventory)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>mahogany planks each 11 foot long 5 inches thick and 2 foot wide</td>
<td></td>
<td>24:4:0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>cedar scantling 14 foot long 5 inches square</td>
<td>0:14:0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>about 4500 foot scantling plank &amp; board</td>
<td>8:0:0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1746 (MS 116, Jones)
oak and walnut boards

1753 (MS 74, Levering)
walnut and poplar boards and planks
6 walnut logs

£ s d
10:15:0
1:12:0
APPENDIX V: TOOLS

A chronological list of the woodworking tools owned by furniture craftsmen, or recorded in account books. (Spelling modernized unless in quotes).

1687 ("Pennsbury Account," partial list)

1 large steel hand saw
1 large froe
1 small froe
2 drawing knives
5 engineered augers
1 adz
1 broad axe
2 socket chisels
8 files
1 "mattock"
1 large box of new tools, joiners
3 chest of joiners' tools
1 turning lathe
2 working benches

(Smith's shop)
2 large vices
1 nailer's hammer
1 flat smoothing iron
2 brand irons
2 "bowsprit" irons
3 nail molds
1 auger
1 nailing hammer
4 (?) files
1 old chisel
1 chest of joiner's tools all new
2 long augers

(carpenter's room)
1 hand saw
1 gouge
1 hammer
1 grindstone
3 augers
1 small branding iron
1 rasp
2 files
3 chisels
2 drawing knives
2 cooking irons
1 adz
2 froe
3 plains
1 molding plane
hollow plane
hand plane
1 froe plane
1 jack plane
1 fore plane
1 smoothing plane
1 plow plane
1 iron mandrel
1 iron square

1689 (MS 97, Stanton)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>frame saw</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cross &quot;carfe&quot; saw</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 adz</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pit saw</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chest of tools</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hand saw</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 augers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 gimlets</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 chisels</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a gouge (all)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 froe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 holdfast</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a drawing knife</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hammer (all)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 axes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 maul</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 wedges</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stone pick</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 hoes (a/l)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1694-104 (MS , Fellows)

3 turning chisels and one lath
6 saws £0:10:0
a parcel of turning tools £0:7:0
4 molding planes

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| Item                              | Quantity | Unit
|----------------------------------|----------|------
| 9 other planes                   | 9        | £    
| 9 plane irons                    | 5        | £    
| some old iron file               |          | £    
| chisels                          | 6        | £    
| 12 "fourmers"                    |          | £    
| 5 mortice chisels                |          | £    
| 3                                 |          | £    
| 7 gouges                         | 9:0      | £    
| 2 wimble bitts and some          |          | £    
| 1                                 |          | £    
| 1 drawing knife                  |          | £    
| 1                                 | 4:6      | £    
| augers                           |          | £    
| 2 mallets                        |          | £    
| 1 pr compasses                   | 3:6      | £    
| 2 gluing jointers                |          | £    
| large compass                    | 7:6      | £    
| glue pot                         | 3:6      | £    
| melting ladle                    |          | £    
| screw auger & a box              | 3:0      | £    
| small files                      |          | £    
| saw plate                        | 2:6      | £    
| hold fasts                       |          | £    
| plow                             | 6:0      | £    
| 2                                 | 1:6      | £    
| 2                                 | 5:6      | £    
| grind stones                      | 4:0      | £    
| frame saw                        | 15:0     | £    

1695 (Philadelphia Account Book, 66, Carter)

| Item                              | Quantity | Unit
|----------------------------------|----------|------
| file                             | 9:0      | £    
| "curvg" tools                    | 1:3      | £    
| gimlet                           | 0:5      | £    

1700 (MS 113, Plumley)

| Item                              | Quantity | Unit
|----------------------------------|----------|------
| 5 handsaws                       | 8:0      | £    
| 4 tennat saws                    | 16:6     | £    
| 3 ? saws                         | 1:6      | £    
| 33 forms and broad chissels      | 1:0      | £    
| 14 gouges                        | 6:0      | £    
| 5 morticed chisels               | 4:2      | £    
| 9 "Wyreable" bits                | 4:6      | £    
| 4 center bits 1 ? bit            | 5:0      | £    

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2 wimble stocks
  1 iron
  1 wood 0:4:6
1 drawing knife
2 hatchets 0:6:3
2 long planes
1 jack plane
2 switch blocks
3 smoothing planes new 0:12:0
1 jointer "yellow jaunders"0:7:6
ditto black 0:7:6
3 long plane 0:7:6
3 jack planes 0:4:6
3 strikeblocks 0:4:0
3 smoothing planes 0:3:0
5 hammers 0:7:0
3 raysors 0:3:0
1 morris plane 0:6:0
1 chalk rule 0:0:10
1 hand vice 0:2:6
3 gimlets 0:1:0
2 punches 0:0:4
2 saw setts 0:0:10
3 compasses 0:0:18
7 new plane irons 0:5:10
3 tooth plane ditto 0:2:6
1 saw plate 0:0:10
3 old paring chissels 0:0:15
2 new "Warning" brushes 0:2:0
7 plane irons 0:3:0
2 tooth plane ditto 0:1:8
1 pair callipers 0:1:6
1 pair pinchers 0:0:10
3 hasps 0:3:0
2 wood files 0:2:0
1 large frame saw
1 grindstone 0:7:0
6 veneering screws 0:6:0
4 wooden squares 0:2:8
2 ?
1 setting square 0:2:6
best bench 0:13:0
1 ditto 0:10:0
1 ditto 0:0:0
1 wheel and lathe 1:10:0
22 hollows and rounds 15d 1:7:6
9 OG's at 15d 0:11:3
6 bolexions 14d 0:7:0
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a &quot;sticle&quot; 15d</td>
<td>0:1:3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sash plane</td>
<td>0:1:3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 groove plane</td>
<td>0:1:3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 rabbit planes  2/6</td>
<td>0:7:6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 &quot;philistere&quot;2/6</td>
<td>0:5:0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pr inch</td>
<td>0:0:0</td>
<td>3/4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pr 1/2 inch</td>
<td>0:0:0</td>
<td>3/4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ploughs 6/8</td>
<td>0:13:4</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 &quot;revele&quot; plane</td>
<td>0:2:0</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 small cornice</td>
<td>0:3:0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 round smoothing planes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 hollow ditto</td>
<td>0:2:0</td>
<td>both</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 upright smoothing plane</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 half upright ditto</td>
<td>0:2:8</td>
<td>both</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 old chissels</td>
<td>0:6:8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 augers 15d</td>
<td>0:12:6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 screws &amp; ?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 turning gouges</td>
<td>0:8:0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 turning chissels</td>
<td>0:8:0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 ivory turning tools</td>
<td>0:8:0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 turning hooks</td>
<td>0:8:0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 iron turning &quot;mandrells&quot; at 5d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 iron &quot;holdfasts&quot;</td>
<td>0:4:6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 glue pots wt 41 lb.</td>
<td>0:12:7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 small vice</td>
<td>0:5:0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 pair ? bits</td>
<td>0:7:3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**1708-83 (MS Jones)**

1 smoothing plane
1 joiner's hatchet

**1710-181 (MS Gove)**

"His working tooles & Stuffe"

6 dozen square chissels
gouges

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item Description</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>carving tools</td>
<td>1:0:9</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 dozen turning tools</td>
<td>0:8:0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 gun rod bar ?</td>
<td>0:8:0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 augers</td>
<td>0:7:6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 wimble stocks</td>
<td>0:8:0</td>
<td>both</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 wimble bits</td>
<td>0:8:0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 dozen of files and rasps</td>
<td>0:7:0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 dozen planes &amp; plane</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>irons</td>
<td>1:4:0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td>£  s  d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 saws</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 small iron vices &amp; 1 wooden vice</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 screw augers &amp; boxes</td>
<td>0:15:0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>large pair pinchers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pair of shiers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>holdfast &amp; several other tools</td>
<td>1:13:0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 turning lathes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>large wheele</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>working bench</td>
<td>2:20:0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glue pot</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 lb. of glue</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 squares</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>several wooden tools</td>
<td>0:12:0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 pair of &quot;catton&quot; irons &amp; several odd tools</td>
<td>0:10:6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1716- (MS 216, Till)
"His working Tools of all Sorts" £30:00:0

1714 (Norris Ledger, 201, Stretch)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>£  s  d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 pair round pliers</td>
<td>0:0:16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>screw &quot;divids&quot;</td>
<td>0:3:0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1715 (MS 50, Crosswhitt)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>£  s  d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a lathe &amp; tools</td>
<td>0:15:0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grindstone</td>
<td>0:10:0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chest of tools</td>
<td>15:0:0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1716 (MS 68, Cart)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>£  s  d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 broad axe</td>
<td>0:3:0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adz</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hand hatchet</td>
<td>0:5:6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 augers</td>
<td>0:4:6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 hand saws</td>
<td>0:10:0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 plane irons</td>
<td>0:2:6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 carpenter's chisels</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 gouge</td>
<td>0:6:0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 mortising chisels</td>
<td>0:5:4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 &quot;fformers&quot; at 10d</td>
<td>0:1:8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1 old chisel  
old gouge 0:1:0
2 hand saw files at 6d 0:1:0
4 plow plane files at 6d 0:2:0
14 molding plane with
"Rabbit" plane irons 0:6:0.

1717 (MS 119, Parker)
"A Chest of Joyners working tooles compleat" £8:0:0

1722 (Dickinson Inventory)
10 draw knives 16d £ 0:15:0
6 1/2 round whip saw files 0:4:6
3 ditto tillers 0:4:6

1722 (Bonsall Account Book, 38, Fisher)
"4 Whites Handsaws: 26 Inches
whet & set with Handles & Screws at 7.6 sterl." £1:10:0

1722 (MS 272, Shoemaker)
"Turning tools and Timber" £19:09:6

1727 (Powell Commercial Correspondence, Aug. 22)
9 pr hollows /partial rounds/ 0:15:0
3 pr slit deal grooving planes 0:6:0
6 pr whole deal & table ditto 0:12:0
7 bed planes 0:5:10

1732 (MS 288, Booarman)
"An old Whipsaw and Sundrey carpentry, Joyners and
Turners Tools & Instruments £4:0:0"
APPENDIX VI: CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF CLOCKS FOUND MENTIONED IN PHILADELPHIA
INVENTORIES AND THEIR VALUATIONS (IN SHILLINGS).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>MS</th>
<th>VALUATION</th>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>MS</th>
<th>VALUATION</th>
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<tr>
<td>Clocks:</td>
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<tr>
<td>1685</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>10s</td>
<td>1709</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>240</td>
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<tr>
<td>1686</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>1709</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>240</td>
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<tr>
<td>1687</td>
<td>Pennsbury Account</td>
<td>? (brass)</td>
<td>1711</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>200</td>
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<tr>
<td>1687</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>1711</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>240</td>
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<td>1693</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>1712</td>
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<td>1693</td>
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<td>1713</td>
<td>277</td>
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<tr>
<td>1694</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>20 (old)</td>
<td>1715</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>180 (8-day)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1699</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>? (old)</td>
<td>1715</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1701</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>120 (pendulum)</td>
<td>1717</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>60</td>
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<tr>
<td>1702</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>1718</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>240 (pendulum)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>188</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>1718</td>
<td>144</td>
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<td>228</td>
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<td>1719</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1716</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>1717</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>200</td>
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<tr>
<td>1717</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1720</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>240</td>
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<tr>
<td>1718</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>200 (pendulum)</td>
<td>1720</td>
<td>195</td>
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<tr>
<td>1719</td>
<td>173</td>
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<td>1722</td>
<td>Dickinson</td>
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<tr>
<td>1722</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>90</td>
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<td>257</td>
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<td>1725</td>
<td>342</td>
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<td>271</td>
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<tr>
<td>1719</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>160</td>
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<td>295</td>
<td>400 (for two)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1696</td>
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<td>73</td>
<td>60 (old)</td>
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<td>Tatham Inventories</td>
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<td>1727</td>
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<td>1727</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>150</td>
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<td>1706</td>
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