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Delaware Valley slatback chairs: A formal and analytical survey

Bacon, John Mark, M.A.
University of Delaware, 1991

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DELAWARE VALLEY SLATBACK CHAIRS:
A FORMAL AND ANALYTICAL SURVEY

by

John Mark Bacon

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 1991

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A FORMAL AND ANALYTICAL SURVEY

by

John Mark Bacon

Approved:  
Robert F. Trent, M.A.
Professor in charge of thesis on behalf of the Advisory Committee

Approved:  
James C. Curtis, Ph.D.
Director of the Winterthur Program in Early American Culture

Approved:  
Carol E. Hoffecker, Ph.D.
Acting Associate Provost for Graduate Studies
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# Table of Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>List of Tables</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Figures</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td>ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 1 - Past Research and Current Goals</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 2 - Methodology</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 3 - Formal Typology</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 4 - Formal Analysis</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 5 - Quantitative Analysis</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 6 - Formal and Ethnic Origins</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epilogue</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tables</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figures</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix A - Formal Typology</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix B - Variants</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix C - Checklist</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix D - Extra-Regional Slatback Chairs</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix E - Related Seating Forms</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix F - Collections Surveyed</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF TABLES

Table 1 Inventories of Daniel Jones and William Davis . . . 96
Table 2 Worksheet data for armchair in figure 9 ........ 97
Table 3 Average measurements and ratios for non-variant
type IA armchairs .......................... 98
Table 4 Average measurements and ratios for non-variant
type IA side chairs .......................... 99
Table 5 Average measurements and ratios for type II and
type III chairs ............................... 100
Table 6 Average measurements and ratios for selected late
Baroque and Fussell-Savery chair types .. 101
Table 7 Average measurements and ratios for non-variant
type IB chairs ............................... 102
Table 8 Measurements and ratios for selected
extra-regional slatback chairs .......... 103
Table 9 Average rear-post scribe line measurements for
selected chair types ......................... 104
Table 10 Average post, stretcher, and arm measurements
for selected chair types ..................... 105
Table 11 Average measurements and ratios for selected
variant types (excluding rockers) ....... 106
LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1  "Village Tavern" and "Blindman's Buff" ........................ 108
Figure 2  Figures 107 and 108 from Luke Vincent Lockwood, Colonial Furniture in America .............................. 109
Figure 3  No. 419 from Wallace Nutting, Furniture of the Pilgrim Century ............................................ 110
Figure 4  Nos. 426 through 429 from Wallace Nutting, Furniture of the Pilgrim Century ....................... 111
Figure 5  "Johannes Kelpius" ........................................... 112
Figure 6  6-slat cabriole-leg armchair .................................. 113
Figure 7  4-slat armchair ................................................. 114
Figure 8  Map of the Delaware Valley region .......................... 115
Figure 9  5-slat armchair .................................................. 116
Figure 10 Worksheet .......................................................... 117
Figure 11  5-slat commode armchair ..................................... 118
Figure 12  4-slat armchair with rockers ......................... 119
Figure 13  6-slat cabriole-leg side chair ...................... 120
Figure 14  5-slat side chair .............................................. 121
Figure 15  3-slat side chair .............................................. 122
Figure 16  5-slat armchair with cased loose seat .............. 123
Figure 17  4-slat armchair with uncased loose seat ........... 124
<p>| Figure 18 | 5-slat armchair with two decoratively-turned front stretchers | 125 |
| Figure 19 | 5-slat armchair with 'rakt' back | 126 |
| Figure 20 | 5-slat side chair with flatwise, blocked front seat rail | 127 |
| Figure 21 | 5-slat side chair with blocked front posts | 128 |
| Figure 22 | Child's high armchair and armchair | 129 |
| Figure 23 | 5-slat armchair with 'horsebone' feet | 130 |
| Figure 24 | 5-slat side chair with multiple variations | 131 |
| Figure 25 | Provenance map | 132 |
| Figure 26 | Couch | 133 |
| Figure 27 | Bannister-back side chair | 134 |
| Figure 28 | Bannister-back side chair | 135 |
| Figure 29 | 5-slat armchair | 136 |
| Figure 30 | 5-slat side chair | 137 |
| Figure 31 | 5-slat armchair | 138 |
| Figure 32 | 3-slat side chairs (pair) | 139 |
| Figure 33 | Windsor high-back armchair | 140 |
| Figure 34 | &quot;Mary O'Donnell&quot; and &quot;Ann Proctor&quot; | 141 |
| Figure 35 | 5-slat armchair | 142 |
| Figure 36 | 5-slat armchair | 143 |
| Figure 37 | 5-slat armchair | 144 |
| Figure 38 | Advertisement from 11 June 1798 | 145 |
| | Albany Gazette | |
| Figure 39 | 4-slat side chair | 146 |
| Figure 40 | 3-slat side chair with rockers | 147 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>2-slat side chair</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>3-slat side chair</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>5-slat armchair</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>5-slat armchair with 'rakt' back</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>5-slat armchair</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>5-slat armchair with rockers</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>5-slat armchair with rockers</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>5-slat side chair with rockers</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Figure 5 from J. Ritchie Garrison et al., <em>After Ratification: Material Life in Delaware, 1789-1820</em></td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Diagram of type IAla armchair (number 9)</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>5-slat armchair with multiple variations</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Plate 58 from Bernard Cotton, <em>The English Regional Chair</em></td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Figures NW316-19 from Bernard Cotton, <em>The English Regional Chair</em></td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Figures NW 330-33, NW346 from Bernard Cotton, <em>The English Regional Chair</em></td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Plate 22 and figures NW63-64 from Bernard Cotton, <em>The English Regional Chair</em></td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>4-slat side chair</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>5-slat armchair with 'rakt' back</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>&quot;Twins&quot;</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ABSTRACT

This thesis analyzes extant Delaware Valley slatback chairs and discusses the formal and ethnic origins of this slatback tradition and its evolution over time. A large body of extant chairs is identified and suggests a formal typology. This typology serves as datum; formal, behavioral, and quantitative analyses further define specific groups of chairs and their relation to the tradition as a whole. Two basic chair types and significant variants relate to temporal, geographical, and market changes. Fully-arched slatback chairs start as a popular type and eventually become folk products, while flat-bottomed slatback chairs represent another response to the same changes in the popular seating market. Finally, in the context of related regional and European seating, Delaware Valley slatbacks appear to be the products of a fusion tradition, combining English and Germanic formal elements into a distinct, American regional tradition.
"Blindman's Buff," like many other paintings by John Lewis Krimmel, presents a useful interpretation of an early nineteenth-century interior (figure 1, bottom). Krimmel (1786-1821), born and trained in Württemberg, Germany, came to Philadelphia via London in 1809. The paintings he produced in the Philadelphia area are among the earliest genre scenes in American art, notable for their realistic representation of both people and objects of the period.¹ "Blindman's Buff" is literally filled with both people and objects. Krimmel carefully delineates a Windsor-style chair with rockers in the right foreground; a wooden wash tub, iron pot, and broom fill the left foreground. A four-slat side chair is depicted behind these objects along the left-hand side of the painting. This chair has plain, round posts and stretchers, presumably turned; decorative turning is limited to the finials on the rear posts. The four slats

¹ Milo M. Naeve, John Lewis Krimmel: An Artist in Federal America (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1987); "Blindman's Buff" illustrated as No. 5, p. 75 and as color plate (un-numbered).
have arched top and bottom edges, with the top slat worn
below the level of the finials. The seat appears to have a
thin cushion or other covering over a rush bottom. The
depiction is remarkably precise and comparable to extant
slatback chairs of this form. Moreover, Krimmel has used
the front of the top slat for his signature "I. L. Krimmel"
and the slat below for the date "1814." Thus the painting
provides a realistic and dated representation of a generally
anonymous seating form, the rush-bottom slatback chair.

This and other Krimmel genre scenes also allow one to
view competing seating forms available in the Philadelphia
area during the early nineteenth century. And as Krimmel
follows in the long tradition of depicting middling or
rustic scenes in his genre paintings, the seating furniture
might be described as middling or common. In this light,
the juxtaposition of the Windsor and slatback chairs in
"Blindman's Buff" is telling. The Windsor has fresh
polychrome decoration and a human occupant; the slatback is
worn (cf. top slat), occupied by a basket, and grouped with
utilitarian objects. The viewer might conclude that the
Windsor is the newer, preferred form of seating by this
comparison. Other genre scenes by Krimmel illustrate
interiors with seating furniture exclusively in the Windsor
style. "Village Tavern" dated May 1814 is a good example,
with earlier (late eighteenth-century) Windsor chairs at the table and a newer example (c. 1810) to the left (figure 1, top). Finally, Krimmel's work provides a visual record of several types of common seating furniture in the Philadelphia area and suggests that by the 1810s the Windsor chair had become dominant.

This last conclusion is supported by other forms of documentation, notably probate records and account books. Nancy Goyne Evans presents a concise overview of this material in her 1970 article, "Unsophisticated Furniture Made and Used in Philadelphia and Environs, 1750-1800." She states, "The popularity of the rush-bottomed chair during most of the eighteenth century cannot be overestimated. It is the chair most commonly listed in inventories both in the city and the surrounding rural areas until the 1780s and 1790s [when Windsors begin to predominate]. It found a place in the households of rich and poor alike."

Goyne Evans documents numerous craftsmen as the makers and/or owners of rush-bottom chairs, both in Philadelphia and the surrounding area. The descriptions of these chairs suggest variety in the choice of the number of slats, style

---

of legs and backs, and finish. Moreover, the inventories of chairmakers Daniel Jones (d. 1766) and William Davis (d. 1767) suggest that rush-bottom chairs were made in large numbers by individual shops (table 1). With regard to the location of these objects in domestic interiors, Goyne Evans notes, "From the parlor to the kitchen, from the bedchamber to the garret, there was no area in the home where a rush-bottomed chair might not be found." The form was ubiquitous, crossing economic, social, and political boundaries in the Philadelphia area.

Goyne Evans is unable to firmly attribute any extant chairs to the makers identified, with the exception of the examples labeled by William Savery of Philadelphia. Instead, she suggests that at least some of the references may refer to chairs with arched slats and turned front and rear posts (like the example depicted by Krimmel). She does relate extant rush-bottom chairs with cabriole legs to Solomon Fussell, whose account book notes chairs with "crookt feet." But given the documentary evidence, Goyne Evans simply captions an illustration of a six-slat armchair as "maker unknown. Delaware Valley, 1740-1800" (her figure 2). This caption appears reasonable but leads to several questions. What constitutes the Delaware Valley? Did the slatback tradition begin before 1740 and continue after
1800? Are there no firmly documented and/or labeled rush-bottom chairs extant that correspond to any or all of the types described in the records? How might documented examples help to refine the geographical and chronological parameters suggested? How might analysis of undocumented examples support or further this refinement? This thesis will attempt to answer these questions and to place the "Delaware Valley" slatback chair in a more precise framework.
Chapter 1
PAST RESEARCH AND CURRENT GOALS

The slatback chair has been studied since the beginning of American furniture scholarship. In his pioneering survey on colonial furniture (first published in 1901), Luke Vincent Lockwood illustrates two five-slat armchairs which he dates to the mid-eighteenth century, describing the example in figure 108 as "the Southern type" (figure 2, right). He notes further, "The arms are high and cut much like those of the wainscot chairs, and the chair is original throughout." He contrasts this with the example in figure 107, which he describes as being "in the pattern most often found in New England" (figure 2, left). One might argue that the slatback Lockwood describes as "New England" may in fact be from the mid-Atlantic region, but he does provide the first illustration and description (if brief) of the type.

Wallace Nutting illustrates and discusses similar examples in his two 1920s surveys. In the 1924 revised edition of _Furniture of the Pilgrim Century_, Nutting describes No. 419 as "a very good example of the Pennsylvania arch slat back chair, to show characteristic features" (figure 3). He continues, "The slats are shaped both below and above. The arms are cut away by square incisions and there is left a thin section between the front and the back posts. This is an almost unvarying rule. Also the front spindle [stretcher] is always in decorative turning. Almost always the feet of these chairs have been cut off. The good types should have enlarged balls [ball feet] of a greater diameter than the post above, a kind of reversed mushroom." The date range he places on this and related chairs falls in the 1700-50 period. While Nutting's "characteristics" and dates appear limiting and deterministic, they represent the first attempt to define the type.

Nutting also illustrates several six-slat chairs, noting that these are "rare and much sought [after]." Nos. 426, 428, and 429 represent other variations (figure 4).

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No. 426 has rockers, which according to Nutting "are never original." No. 428 has elaborately shaped ("handsomely cusped") slats, solid arms, and what appear to be biaxially-turned rear posts. Another detail on this chair is the block at seat level on the front stiles; without explanation, Nutting asserts, "We may regard this as a refinement over ... plain posts." The description of no. 429 exemplifies the mix of aesthetic judgement and determinism that mark Nutting's work. The chair is offered with an apology:

...as we seek to confine this book to the turning period. Nevertheless, the chair is so rare and good, having its original feet, that we cannot resist it. The ball and ring stretcher and the cabriole leg mark the Queen Anne period. The scrolled board nailed about the rush seat imparts a pleasing finish which indicates a date later than those we have hitherto illustrated.

Provenance is also important to Nutting; no. 429 came from "a Pennsylvania farmhouse, where it had always been and where it was found by the Owner: Mr. J. Stodgell Stokes."

Stokes and Francis Brinton, owner of four of the other chairs illustrated including no. 428, were collectors in the Philadelphia area; Nutting evidently used their collections to define "Pennsylvania" types.

All of these chairs are republished in Nutting's 1928 Furniture Treasury, with few alterations to the captions. Several other forms are added: four- and five-slat side
chairs, and a six-slat cabriole-leg side chair. Nutting describes two of the side chairs (nos. 1897-98) as "Pure Delaware Valley Type," the first use of that term found in a major publication. Thus, by 1928 Nutting had illustrated and briefly described numerous variations of the "Delaware Valley" slatback, providing the groundwork for a larger typological study. Authors of subsequent articles and guides often follow Nutting's format, illustrating and defining the characteristics of "Pennsylvania" or "Delaware Valley" slatback chairs in the same manner.5

Wilson Lynes's "exploratory" two-part article, "Slat-Back Chairs of New England and the Middle-Atlantic States: A Consideration of Their Derivation and Development," expands on the information provided by Nutting.6 Lynes writes:

The eighteenth-century slat backs of Pennsylvania, southern New Jersey, Maryland, and Delaware are distinct in design from the contemporary Northern product, and are known as the "Pennsylvania" type. There seems to be no valid reason for this appellation, as the chairs are not exclusively indigenous to the Quaker State. I shall refer to


them as the "Central" type.

Lynes proceeds to illustrate and define chairs of the "Central" type much like those published by Nutting. But he allows for examples with "partial or complete omission of post and stretcher turning" and for chairs that appear to mix "Northern" (i.e., New England and New York) and "Central" traits, notably those from "central" New Jersey. Lynes also lists "Variants," noting examples with cabriole legs, loose seats, unusual turnings and/or slats, and unusual woods. Finally, Lynes attempts to discuss "European prototypes." He finds English and Dutch antecedents for the "Northern" type, expecting this result given that region's relatively homogeneous population. He continues:

The region of manufacture of the Central type of slat back contained a more heterogeneous population than New England. In Pennsylvania, the important racial elements were German, English, Scotch, and Irish; in southern New Jersey, English, Dutch, and Swedish; in Maryland, English. A careful search of the limited pictorial and written sources at my command and correspondence with foreign museums and collectors have resulted in the location of but few European specimens at all resembling the American Central chairs. These examples are from England.

The outline drawing of an English side chair dated "Stuart Period" but in a form that "seems to have been usual for many years" is compared with a chair of the "Central" type (his figures 34 and 11, respectively). Thus Lynes offers both a larger definition of the region and the form and
locates at least one possible European prototype.

More substantial research on "Delaware Valley" slatbacks emerges from early studies on Philadelphia-area furniture and its makers. The first of these and among the most influential is Mabel Crispin Powers's 1926 article, "The Ware Chairs of South Jersey." Powers traces the personal and professional history of Maskell Ware (1776-1855), illustrating a large group of slatbacks attributed to Maskell and his sons, five of whom became chairmakers working in or near Roadstown in Cumberland County, New Jersey. The attributions are based on family histories; Powers visited various Ware descendants, including Maskell's great-grandson George, who was still making chairs in Roadstown in 1926. Powers documents the persistence of the slatback tradition through the nineteenth century in this area. Her attributions and discussion of turning styles provide a framework within which to analyze similar chairs from "South Jersey;" inevitably though, the term "Ware chair" has been misused in numerous instances.

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8 Subsequent articles and books repeat and expand upon Powers's research, with emphasis on biographical information. See: Margaret E. White, *Early Furniture Made in New Jersey* (Newark: Newark Museum, 1958), pp. 18-19; Sara Carlisle Watson and Richard Joslin King, *American Craftsmen: The Ware Chairmakers* (1s.1.): [s.n.], c. 1970); Deborah Dependahl Waters, "Wares and Chairs: A Reappraisal of the Documents," *Winterthur Portfolio* 13 (1979), pp. 161-73; and
William Hornor begins the process of using documentary evidence to discuss rush-bottom chairs in his 1935 Blue Book on Philadelphia furniture. He is the first of many scholars to refer to the c. 1705 portrait of Johannes Kelpius painted by Dr. Christopher Witt (figure 5). This portrait depicts Kelpius in what Hornor calls "a typical arched slat-back, rush-bottom armchair with rather nicely turned arm-posts, plain tapered feet, and thin straight stretchers." Elsewhere, Hornor compares the characteristic form of the slatback to late Baroque seating forms and suggests that the "Yorkshire 'ladder-back'" may also have been influential. He continues by presenting numerous dated references to chair attributes, relying heavily on probate records and account books. The attributes include framed seats to support close stools, "rakt backs" or biaxially-turned rear posts, and a large variety of colored finishes. Hornor outlines the variety of slatbacks available in eighteenth-century Philadelphia, but only illustrates one, a five-slat "crookt foot" or cabriole-leg armchair (his pl.


Hornor documents the ascendance of the Windsor form both in inventories and craftsmen's accounts, suggesting that by 1760 Windsors had "outstripped the rush-bottom chairs in popularity," at least in Philadelphia. While this assertion may be disputed, Hornor's documentation suggests further avenues for research. Nancy Goyne Evans's 1970 article "Unsophisticated Furniture," discussed above, expands and refines many of Hornor's observations. The documentary approach has been adapted in most recent publications (notably catalogs) that include "Delaware Valley" slatback chairs.¹⁰

Larger studies of the type have been published in the last decade, addressing the traditional art historical questions of dating and authorship as well as the more general subjects of craftsmanship, regionalism, and ethnicity. The most important of these are two articles by Benno Forman. The first, "Delaware Valley 'Crookt Foot' and

Slat-Back Chairs: The Fussell-Savery Connection,

thoroughly analyses the 1738-51 ledger of Philadelphia
chairmaker Solomon Fussell and relates this record and
labeled chairs by Fussell's apprentice William Savery to a
group of cabriole-leg ("crookt foot") slatback chairs.11

Goyne Evans hints at this "Fussell-Savery connection" in her
1970 article, and Hornor quotes from the ledger in his 1935
Blue Book. But Forman's analysis leads him to attribute an
extant group of cabriole-leg slatback armchairs to Fussell's
shop and to date them c. 1735-50 (figure 6; similar example
in figure 4, lower right). The attributions, based on both
documentary and stylistic grounds, appear tenable.

Further, while one may disagree with many of the minor
points Forman discusses (e.g., is his figure 4 from
Lancaster?), his discussion of the nature and scale of
Fussell's urban shop is illuminating. The Fussell shop
produced chairs in large numbers and subcontracted both
turning and assembly work to other shops. Between September
1739 and March 1739/40, Hugh O'Neal was credited with making
almost 4000 lists of various sorts for Fussell, as well as
for framing and bottoming dozens of chairs. Like the
inventory records of Daniel Jones and William Davis (see

11 "Delaware Valley 'Crookt Foot' and Slat-Back Chairs:
The Fussell-Savery Connection," Winterthur Portfolio 15:1
(Spring 1980), pp. 41-64.
table 1), the Fussell ledger suggests that related Philadelphia shops produced large numbers of chairs, often in conjunction. Forman concludes that Fussell, O'Neal, and Davis "and the men they trained made a great many of the turned chairs known for years only as 'Delaware Valley Chairs.'"

But Forman has larger issues in mind; namely, the formal and ethnic origins of the "crookt foot" slatback. He quickly identifies the c. 1705 portrait of Kelpius as a key document in this search (figure 5). Illustrating an extant chair that resembles the one portrayed, Forman notes the difficulty of accurately dating slatback chairs. He continues, "The portrait of Kelpius, however, suggests that this style first took root in Germantown, and, in fact, all of the subsequent Delaware Valley turned chairs derived from the Germanic tradition share further attributes in addition to those visible in [the portrait]." Forman lists the attributes as posts that taper from bottom to top, "inverted cones" beneath "round feet," and an incised line (or lines) around the midsection of the turned baluster or vase of the arm support. Thus Forman describes as Germanic many of the basic elements observed by previous authors. He asserts that while Fussell's own origins are hard to trace, there were several turners in Germantown of Germanic origin who
may well have made chairs like that in the Kelpius portrait. Further, Forman suggests that Fussell may have apprenticed to one of these craftsmen, Jacob or Peter Shoemaker. Peter Shoemaker is known to have emigrated to Germantown c. 1685 from the Quaker settlement at Kriegsheim, near Worms, Germany. Thus Fussell, if he was not German himself, may have learned the Germanic tradition as an apprentice.

Forman goes on to suggest that the form of the "crookt leg" slatback and related rush-bottom chairs ultimately derives from cane- and leather-bottom chairs imported from Boston c. 1730-35. This appears to be a reasonable assertion with the artifactual and documentary evidence given, but only accounts for a small portion of Fussell's production. Forman notes:

Ironically, we cannot make the leap from Fussell's slat-back chairs with crooked feet in the 'best' style to the ordinary slat-back side chairs with turned feet that were the mainstay of his shop. None of the surviving slat-back chairs can be shown to have been made from the same patterns as the crooked-leg examples, which would allow us to identify the maker confidently.

Forman illustrates a chair that "should look something like" Fussell's ordinary production (figure 7), but he is finally unable or unwilling to attribute it to Philadelphia or to ascribe less than a 35-year span for its possible date of manufacture.

Forman reiterates the larger points of this argument in
a subsequent article, "German Influences in Pennsylvania Furniture." The Germanic origin is presented directly:

Unquestionably the most far-reaching and totally accommodated form of furniture introduced into colonial America by German craftsmen is the arched-top, slat-back, rush-bottom chair. This form, generally known to us today as the Delaware Valley slat-back chair, was likely first made in Germantown...

Forman restates the evidence in a concise manner, noting that non-Germanic chairmakers produced examples in the "Germanic slat-back manner in Philadelphia." He expands this by alluding to the Ware family tradition and asserting that slat-backs are "the ubiquitous turned chair of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, and the Shenandoah Valley." However, Forman notes that it is impossible to ascribe any of the slat-back chairs to Pennsylvania German craftsmen. Lack of documentary evidence accounts for part of this problem, but a more fundamental issue emerges: before the Revolution, Pennsylvania Germans used benches more commonly than chairs. Forman concludes that while certain records allude to rush-bottom chairs being made and used by Pennsylvania Germans, "chairs are not frequently itemized in [their] inventories prior to 1770, and for this reason we cannot state with certainty that many of the

surviving slat-back chairs from the counties primarily settled by Germans predate the Revolution."

The last assertion poses many questions and suggests that Forman's analysis of the formal and ethnic origins of the Delaware Valley slatback chair is inadequate. The Germanic influence is traced largely on the basis of the Kelpius sketch and the rare cabriole-leg variant. Does the chair in the Kelpius portrait relate to any extant chair from Kriegsheim or elsewhere in Germany? Are there examples that link the depicted chair with later eighteenth-century examples? Did Germanic craftsmen in fact produce slatback chairs either on their own or in the shops of Anglo-Americans like William Savery? Or are the chairs the product of a fusion tradition, combining Germanic and Anglo-American characteristics (as the cabriole-leg examples appear to)? Or are the chairs wholly Anglo-American?

Forman himself provides a model for a fusion tradition in his epilogue. He suggests that the distinct form of many Philadelphia Queen Anne chairs is due to the use of Germanic flatwise seat construction in an otherwise Anglo-American product. Might not this type of influence lead to the common form of Delaware Valley slatback chairs, rather than any particular Germanic prototype or craft tradition?
Other recent studies have sought to use slatback chairs as part of a larger cultural analysis. Hugo Freund has written a series of articles on the folkways of "Pennsylvania" style rush-bottom, slatback chairs, particularly those of southern and central New Jersey.\textsuperscript{13} In the last of these articles, Freund defines the type in the same manner as Lynes, using a chair attributed to Maskell Ware for reference (figure 21). Freund does not define the "Pennsylvania" style, nor does he attempt to "chart [its] chronological changes through time." Rather, he attempts "to address the issue of what one can say about the culture that envelops" the style, "to breathe a little life into these chairs." He uses chairs in the "Pennsylvania" style as part of a network analysis for southern New Jersey, concentrating on the chairmaking process as a form of social interaction or network, one that transcends ethnic identity and community affiliation.

As part of this analysis, Freund outlines "the current thinking on the origin of the Pennsylvania style." Freund

questions Forman's conclusion, noting its reliance on the Kelpius portrait sketch and the lack of extant German prototypes. Freund also discounts a Dutch or Anglo-Dutch origin, concentrating instead on the "English connection" (again recalling Lynes). Here, he finds numerous prototypes, especially in Lancashire examples, but with significant differences in "the front feet." Freund concludes, "If the Lancastershire [sic] chairs have a German or Continental connection, this remains a research question. It would seem that the chairs that Forman examines are a combination of German and English styles."

Overall, Freund's analysis provides useful insights into larger social issues, but it relies on the work of well-documented (e.g., the Wares) and living craftsmen. Freund "breathes life" into their chairs, but his method can only suggest what earlier craftsmen thought about their products and how they used them as part of social networks. Moreover, one might argue that while the Ware craftsmen and their followers in southern New Jersey are true folk craftsmen, conservative and localized, many pre-1800 craftsmen participated in a popular tradition, with a larger regional and extra-regional base. Solomon Fussell and other Philadelphia chairmakers were businessmen; a significant percentage of their production was exported to the South and
the West Indies. Thus, Freund discusses craftsmen's reaction to the "Pennsylvania" tradition, rather than their participation in it.

This thesis will investigate the early products of the tradition and attempt to define its parameters, "filling in" the picture that Forman and other scholars have begun. As in those studies, the focus will be on the chairs themselves, rather than their role in society. A good social history is possible only with a more thorough knowledge of the objects; the "current thinking" on Delaware Valley chairs appears exploratory at best. The primary written documentation has largely been identified and analyzed, but there is currently no typological or other study that addresses the entire tradition. Three basic questions will be addressed:

1. What constitutes the Delaware Valley slatback tradition? Related questions include: What is the Delaware Valley? What are the basic parameters of the slatback form? What are the date and geographical ranges for the tradition? Was the tradition initially or primarily urban? At what points may have production shifted to suburban or rural centers? Therefore, is this a popular or folk tradition or both?
2. Can a chronology of formal development be obtained by careful observation of extant chairs and the introduction of non-formal data such as histories of ownership and documentation of production and usage? What might proportional and quantitative analyses of extant chairs reveal? Can they isolate "un-Delaware Valley" characteristics or suggest chronological sequences? Can they isolate and define urban production and/or individual shop traditions?

3. Did the basic form spring from a specific group of settlers and later assume a regional prominence? Was the Delaware Valley tradition Germanic in origin, as Forman suggests? Or was it a fusion tradition as certain English chairs might suggest? How can one assess this question on the basis of extant and/or documented German and English chairs?
Chapter 2

METHODOLOGY

The questions posed at the conclusion of the previous chapter introduce several methodological problems. Defining the parameters of the region and the form in order to isolate a sample for study is the first; determining what analyses or other methods should be applied to this sample is the second. Finally, the results of these analyses need to be interpreted and synthesized in an attempt to answer the questions posed. Regional and formal definitions pose few problems compared to determining a useful approach to the study sample. The generally simple form of the slatback chairs and their lack of applied decoration limit analytical possibilities and preclude an iconographic study. Instead, analyses of the manufacture of the chairs and their overall form may be more rewarding. This chapter discusses the methods proposed for these analyses and the definition of the study sample.
Geographical and social definitions of the Delaware Valley differ from source to source. A comprehensive physical definition may include the region that drains into the Delaware River lying between the Delaware Water Gap in the north to Cape Henlopen in the south. Contemporary demographic criteria define "Greater Philadelphia" as the eleven-county area surrounding Philadelphia proper. This defines a region that extends at least thirty miles from central Philadelphia in any direction and reaches into three states. This definition corresponds generally with that described by cultural geographer Wilbur Zelinsky as the "circum-Philadelphia area." Zelinsky compares this to the "Pennsylvania subregion," a "core area" lying inland, primarily in the Susquehanna Valley, that is marked by its "Teutonic element." The circum-Philadelphia area "is sharply set off from the Pennsylvania subregion in terms of ethnic composition, settlement morphology, architecture, and probably other ways..." The ethnic composition is largely British, with strong Welsh and Quaker elements. Philadelphia itself serves as another core and links the two subregions. Henry Glassie also describes the inland area as an important "folk cultural source area," but does not

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compare it to the area immediately surrounding Philadelphia.\textsuperscript{15}

The term "southeastern Pennsylvania" is often used to describe the inland or combined regions, but both Zelinsky and Glassie suggest that the Delaware Valley may be distinguished from the subregion to the west and northwest. For this study, Zelinsky's definition of the circum-Philadelphia area is used to describe the Delaware Valley, with the inclusion of the immediately adjoining areas in New Jersey and Delaware. This area includes what are now Philadelphia, Bucks, Montgomery, Chester, and Delaware Counties, Pennsylvania; Mercer, Burlington, Camden, Gloucester, and Salem Counties, New Jersey; and New Castle County, Delaware. Northampton, Lehigh, Berks, Lebanon, Lancaster, and York Counties, Pennsylvania— the bulk of the "Pennsylvania subregion"— form a secondary study area. Kent and Sussex Counties, Delaware; Cumberland and Cape May Counties, New Jersey; and the Eastern Shore counties of Maryland are included in the secondary study area because of their historically strong economic and cultural ties to Philadelphia and the Delaware Valley (figure 8).

The basic parameters for chairs to be included in the

study are derived from the various articles cited in Chapter 1 and from a survey of slatback chairs in the collection of the Winterthur Museum. Chairs included have turned front and rear posts that taper from top to bottom, the back posts plain turned between the finial and taper or foot; slats that arch along at least one edge and have a horizontal bow; a rush or splint seat; and turned stretchers. This definition is purposefully broader than most of those previously cited, and some extra-regional chairs may be included in the sample. As Glassie notes, "the squatty, simple slat-back chairs of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries, which lacked [decorative] turnings except for finials, were essentially the same throughout the eastern United States." Study examples were identified through a survey of public and private collections in the area described above. Additional examples were located in major collections outside the area and through written and pictorial sources. The survey yielded approximately 300 individual chairs and sets of chairs.

The armchair illustrated in figure 9 possesses all of the features most commonly found in the sample. The posts and stretchers of the chair are turned from maple, which is

16 Pattern in Material Folk Culture, pp. 228-29.
also used for the sawn arms and slats. Scribed lines are used to place elements along the front and rear posts, as well as for embellishment of decorative turnings. The turned elements are joined with circular mortise and tenon joints; the slats are placed in thin rectangular mortises in the rear posts. The only pins on the chair are wooden and are found at the rear of the top slat on each rear post and at the sides of the arm; wet-dry joinery holds the other joints secure. The chair now has a clear finish and a modern rush bottom or seat. The rear posts have decoratively turned finials and a simple taper at foot level. The front posts have several decorative turnings: ball feet, urns just below seat level, and vasiform arm supports with conical stops to the arms themselves. The arms have a rounded grip at front; dip in the middle; and end with an arrow-like section to the rear post. Notches on the lower edge of the arm correspond to the dipped section. Two plain-turned stretchers are found on either side and one at the rear; the single front stretcher is decoratively turned. The slats have arched upper and lower edges and are

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graduated in size from bottom to top. The slats bow towards the rear; this bow is purposefully created through the use of a slat rack or press.

Turned elements are the dominant features of this and other chairs in the sample. Virtually all of the structure of the chair and most of its decoration depends on the turned elements. Construction is simple and uniform, and this example, like the vast majority of extant chairs, has lost its original painted finish. Moreover, except for the occasional use of hickory for slats and stretchers or of "curly" maple for posts, the majority are turned entirely from soft maple. Only the precise form and disposition of the turned elements and of the slats appear to be variable. These variations are one subject of analysis. How they affect the overall form of a single chair or group of chairs is another. Both visual and quantitative analyses appear necessary, but how should these be structured? Should they be limited to internal or formal data derived solely from the chairs? How might non-formal data aid a visual or quantitative analysis?

Two chair studies address these questions and provide models which may be adapted for this study: *Hearts & Crowns: Folk Chairs of the Connecticut Coast, 1720-1840* by Robert Trent and "The Artifact as Historical Source Material: A
Comparative Study of Philadelphia Chippendale Chairs" by Philip Zimmerman. Both studies deal with a sizable sample defined by regional and other parameters.¹⁸

Trent's study applies art historical theory to the study of vernacular chairs, specifically the theories developed by Henri Focillon and his student George Kubler. In their view of the evolution of artifacts over time (as described by Trent), a "prime object" or prototype is changed by later artisans as the result of "challenges" or stimuli from within and without their society. Trent employs this model to explain the formal evolution of Connecticut vernacular chairs, starting with a prime object, a c. 1720-30 armchair attributed to Thomas Salmon of Stratford, and noting formal changes in later chairs by other artisans brought about by the "challenges" of the Queen Anne and later metropolitan styles. Subtle changes over time, such as the gradual attenuation of turnings, result from "drift." More abrupt changes, often the result of a misreading or exaggeration of the prime object, result from "clubbing." With the effects of "drift" and "clubbing"

over time and with different artisans, significant formal changes occur. The high percentage of provenanced and attributed chairs helps Trent to chart a complete evolution for the 1720-1840 period. Documentary records, notably chairmakers' account books, are used to further refine the dating and attributions.

Trent also performs proportional and structural analyses of two chairs and suggests that they employ complex proportional systems or scansions, a term he borrows from the analysis of poetic meter. He concludes, "Any future comments on the 'poor' proportions of rural chairs will have to take such systems into account and compare them carefully with their supposed urban prototypes. One has to respect the creative abilities of the old-time turners; they were thinking, not merely reacting, to aesthetic developments from outside their area."

Zimmerman's study provides a useful contrast to Trent's in both subject matter and approach. Zimmerman limits his study to joined chairs in the metropolitan Chippendale style attributed to Philadelphia. But rather than address the art historical issues of form and style, he instead aims to interpret the chairs as the products of competitive businesses. In this manner, the study attempts to move away from reliance on "subjective judgements" for the comparison
and relation of objects (as in Trent's study) towards the use of quantifiable or otherwise measurable data. Zimmerman specifically proposes to use a behavioral model of workmanship, building on the work of David Pye. Pye, in *The Nature and Art of Workmanship* (1968), identifies two kinds of workmanship, those of "risk" and "certainty." Zimmerman adds a third, the workmanship of "habit," which he defines as "a template of action lodged in the mind of the worker."

Interestingly, Zimmerman gives as an example the work of a turner, "who may turn hundreds of stretchers or lists in a matter of days and weeks." The uniformity of these stretchers (if they are in fact meant to be uniform) results from the workmanship of habit if no regulating tool or jig is used. The workmanship of habit then becomes a function of predictability; predictability in turn supposes the recurrence of a precise type of work and of a uniform piece of work. This contrasts with the workmanship of certainty implied by the use of a strike pole or stick to lay out the elements of a chair on the post. Zimmerman continues, "If the nails on a strike pole match the verge marks on turned-chair posts, or if the location of all verge marks is identical among a group of turned chairs, then it follows that there is a common origin for all the objects."
Zimmerman uses patterns, both actual and behavioral, and measurements to test the workmanship model for his sample. The actual patterns or templates he chooses are those for the characteristic pierced splat and ears of the Chippendale-style chair back. Behavioral patterns include the location and type of joints and other elements. Zimmerman compares this data and defines several related groups of chairs. Further, he asserts that their parts are largely standardized and interchangeable, suggesting one method by which formal and stylistic changes may interact. But no definite pattern emerges, suggesting constant change over time and between and within shops.19

The models presented by Trent and Zimmerman suggest at least two possible approaches for the analysis of the Delaware Valley slatback tradition. This study will apply both the formal and behavioral models to the chairs. Trent's sample appears similar to that under study (i.e., not metropolitan, from a relatively large region, and varying widely in date). A formal analysis of the type Trent presents would construct a framework in which to place and date the study sample. But the workmanship model is also compelling; as noted above, turning largely determines

the form and style of the chairs and documentary evidence suggests that at least some were made in large numbers if not mass produced. The turned elements are readily measurable, allowing for comparisons of workmanship of habit. The use of strike poles on the chairs allows for an investigation of the workmanship of certainty; patterns were probably used for the slats and arms as well. Moreover, documentary evidence and modern scholarship suggest that these chairs were made and used in an urban context. Analysis of their workmanship may help to determine which if any forms represent the urban production. This may in turn suggest which forms represent the popular, regional type and which are localized, folk types, if such a division exists.

A worksheet was generated in order to record data for the analyses proposed (figure 10). This worksheet has spaces for all chair elements; brief verbal descriptions are followed by detailed measurements of each significant feature. Measurements in inches were taken with a tape measure and a vernier caliper; one-eighth of an inch was chosen as the smallest calibration for recording purposes. For example, the section for the front post of the armchair in figure 9 describes each of the decoratively turned elements from the foot to the arm support and contains measurements of each of these elements and the plain turned
areas between (see table 2 for complete measurements of this chair). The scribe lines on the posts were measured using the line at seat level as datum. Other scribe lines and marks were recorded, along with the location and type of pins. Slats and arms were measured and traced. Notes were taken on aberrant construction, significant finish evidence, general condition, and seat type. Finally, all available non-formal information was collected, notably provenances and other histories and attributions. Ownership or registration information was noted, and the chair received a study number.

The recording process followed the guidelines described above, but with a few alterations. In practice, the front, left, and rear sides of each chair were measured in their entirety; the right side was measured only if it differed significantly from the left. Other streamlining of the measuring process was implemented uniformly, so that only half of the measurements on the worksheet were actually recorded. Similarly, tracing of the sides of the arms proved difficult due to rounded edges and other factors. Slats and seat casings or skirts were traced only when useful for specific comparisons. Slat traces were found to have limited usefulness, given variable initial bowing and differential wracking of posts. Wear, especially that on
feet, was noted, but no attempt was made to rectify measurements to approximate original heights. More cursory measurements and descriptions were made for chairs with significant damage or replacements. Study photographs were taken as needed.

Chairs in accessible locations were recorded and photographed as described above; over 150 chairs were surveyed in this manner. The other 150 examples form a study group. Many of these were accessible but significantly altered; others were unavailable for study but useful for basic comparative purposes. (Appendix F lists the collections surveyed that contain study chairs).

Children's and other out-of-scale seating furniture that otherwise falls within the parameters described for Delaware Valley slatbacks form part of this larger group. All regional slatback chairs included in the sample are listed in Appendix C, which contains available general measurements and observations. Two additional study groups were established. The first contains extra-regional slatback chairs representing other formal traditions and serves as a control group (see Appendix D). The second contains objects from the Delaware Valley and elsewhere that have related forms and/or turning (see Appendix E).
Chapter 3
FORMAL TYPOLOGY

The large number of chairs in the sample and the lack of systematic documentation of the Delaware Valley slatback type argue for the creation of a classification system. A system based on overall form attempts to break the sample down into coherent divisions for application of the analytical models discussed in the last chapter. This formal typology also isolates groups of identical or similar chairs, which may be compared directly through the data collected. Appendix A lists the types observed for armchairs and side chairs in the primary survey and study groups. While some armchairs and side chairs are close in form and turning style, they are considered separately for ease of comparison and organization. Primary divisions for both armchairs and side chairs relate to three basic elements: the posts, front stretchers, and slats. Posts, especially the front post or leg, vary in overall form and amount of decorative turning (if any). Stretchers exhibit a similar variation in form as well as number and placement;
slats vary in number and shape. These factors are reflected in the typology.

Three basic armchair types emerge. The first includes chairs with turned front legs, one or two turned front stretchers, and three to six slats (types IA and B). The other two include chairs with cabriole front legs (type II) and commode chairs with joined board skirts (type III). The cabriole and commode chairs are significant formal types, but their numbers do not comprise a large percentage of the total armchair sample. Further, there are few variations within the cabriole and commode types; all examples have five to six slats and similar stretcher or skirt configurations (figures 6 and 11).

The numerically superior turned-leg type exhibits stronger variation in the form and number of both stretchers and slats. Two important sub-types emerge. The first generally has a single turned tripartite front stretcher and four to six fully arched slats (type IA, figure 9). The second generally has two plain-turned front stretchers and four to five arched slats with flat bottoms (type IB, figure 12). Significant numbers of chairs from either sub-type vary from this pattern, notably in slat form. But the distinction is useful and further supported by the differing amounts of decorative turning on the front legs. The single
tripartite front stretcher, fully-arched slat chairs have two to four decoratively-turned elements on the front leg: a turned foot, arm support, and additional urns or other decorative turnings between these. The two plain-turned front stretchers, flat-bottom slat chairs have one or two decoratively-turned elements: a turned arm support and sometimes a turned foot. Figures 9 and 12 provide a useful comparison between these important sub-types of the armchair sample. (As discussed below, the presence of rockers is a formal variation; however, rockers predominate in type IB armchairs, so that the example in figure 12 is typical).

The side chair typology largely follows that suggested for armchairs. Two basic types emerge, the turned- and cabriole-leg types (types I and II). The latter again represents a small and consistent group of chairs with few variations (type II, figure 13). The turned-leg type divides into two sub-types like those described for the armchairs. The most common sub-type has a single, turned tripartite front stretcher and three to six fully-arched slats (type IA, figure 14). This sub-type contrasts with that having two plain-turned front stretchers and two to four flat-bottom slats (type IB, figure 15). Again, there is a corresponding lack of decoratively-turned elements in the second sub-type; several of the chairs have tapers.
instead of discretely turned feet.

Significant formal and stylistic variations help to further refine the typology presented in Appendix A. Appendix B lists the chairs with significant formal and stylistic variations from the basic types described. Four elements account for the majority of formal variations in armchairs: biaxial turning of the rear posts (figure 19); presence of a loose seat, cased or uncased (figures 16 and 17); presence of a second tripartite turned front stretcher (figure 18); and presence of rockers (figure 12). Side chairs also have rockers, but the two most significant formal variations found for side chairs are related to seat-level construction. The first involves the use of a flatwise, blocked front seat rail (figure 20). The second involves the use of blocked front posts at seat level in conjunction with a cased seat (figure 21).

Formal variants account for a quarter (24%) of the total sample and function as an important control, as they contain notable changes in construction and workmanship. Many of the rockers do not appear to be original to the chairs, but their presence has resulted in measurable changes in the chairs overall form and proportions. The chairs with rockers comprise roughly half of the total number of formal variants. The armchairs with cased loose
seats employ rectangular mortise and tenon joints, a seat construction technique not otherwise observed in the sample. Similarly, the flatwise, blocked front seat rail departs from the normal rail-into-post construction. (These variations will be compared to more common techniques in the analysis of workmanship in Chapter 5). However, the number of chairs with multiple variations and the small sizes of the groups with shared variations suggest that while the overall number of variants is significant, they do not represent basic types. Instead, they are notable sub-types, such as seat construction variants, or exceptions that reinforce the basic typology presented in Appendix A. The same can be said of the children's seating observed (see Appendix B). Aside from the obvious difference in scale and proportions, children's chairs have the same elements, construction, and decorative turning found in full-scale examples (figure 22, top and bottom).

A number of stylistic variations are useful to further refine the basic formal types described in Appendix A and the formal variants described above. Three elements account for these variations in both armchairs and side chairs: turning of front posts (notably feet); decorative casing of seats; and shape of slats. Like the formal variants, these stylistic variants are useful in identifying discrete
groupings of chairs with similar features rather than in altering the basic typology. Two significant groupings emerge: armchairs with turned, offset "horsebone" feet (figure 23) and side chairs with decorative seat casing (figure 24; this chair also has a formal variation).

Several conclusions may be drawn from the general typology and variants described in Appendices A and B. First, the basic armchair and side chair types correspond and may be related to the form of the front posts or legs. The commode armchairs represent a notable type, but are not significant in comparison with the overall sample. Similarly, the cabriole-leg armchairs and side chairs represent only a small percentage of the total sample. These chairs may be more usefully analyzed as a variation of the turned-leg type; with the exception of the sawn front legs, their overall forms correspond to the larger sample. Second, the form and number of the front stretcher(s) are more important in establishing formal types than the form and number of slats. Finally, two broad correlations describe the majority of the chairs in the sample. One group of chairs has a single decoratively-turned front stretcher and four to six fully-arched slats, while the other has two plain-turned front stretchers and three to five slats with flat bottoms. The chairs in figures 9 and
14 become paradigms for the first group, while those in figures 12 and 15 become paradigms for the second.

The divisions created by the formal typology suggest other hypotheses concerning the entire Delaware Valley tradition. First, the uniformity of the two major types may indicate that well-established models were successfully adapted for large-scale production. The large number of similar chairs may result from intense production in a relatively short period of time or from the retention of a standard form over a longer period. Second, the correlations noted above may reflect temporal and/or geographic variation in production. For example, chairs with single front stretchers and fully-arched slats might represent an initial, urban type whose production was centered in Philadelphia, while the chairs with two plain-turned front stretchers might characterize later, rural production. Third, the formal and stylistic variants (including the cabriole-leg and commode chair types) form cohesive groups. Might they be the products of individual shops? Do they represent either specialized urban production or rural adaptation? All of these hypotheses and questions explore two basic issues: the nature and scale of production of the chairs and their formal evolution over time. These will be the subject of the next two chapters.
Chapter 4

FORMAL ANALYSIS

A formal typology can only suggest temporal and geographical change. Formal data analyzed in conjunction with non-formal data may start to develop a framework in which chairs may be located chronologically and geographically. The formal analysis presented in Robert Trent's *Hearts & Crowns* provides a good working model (discussed in Chapter 2). But several major problems must be noted. First, Trent's sample is truly folk in character, the production of small shops for a localized market. This contrasts with the large-scale, urban production of at least a portion of the Delaware Valley slatback sample. Second, and related to this, very few of the chairs surveyed for this study have firm provenances or other associated historical data. The majority of documented chairs have nineteenth-century histories and come from areas outside of Philadelphia. Figure 25 illustrates the latter point and the geographical spread and concentrations of provenanced chairs.

43
The lack of Philadelphia histories is surprising given the numerous documentary references to the manufacture and use of slatbacks in the city proper throughout the eighteenth century. Forman notes, "The Fussell account book reveals that, contrary to popular notions, slat-back chairs in colonial America were made in urban areas as well as in the country. Without such chairs, the majority of city dwellers would have nothing to sit on in their parlors, and the servants of the elite could never have relaxed in the kitchen or their employers in the nursery."20 The accounts of John Cadwalader with William Savery illustrate the last point. Between 1770 and 1772, Savery charged Cadwalader for nineteen upholstered walnut chairs along with at least eight rush-bottom chairs. Among the latter were "a 4 Slatt Low Chair" or nursing chair, "a Culerd Childs Chair," and an unspecified set of six. Savery later charged Cadwalader for "bottoming 7 Kitchen Chairs," suggesting one probable use

20 "Delaware Valley 'Crookt Foot' and Slat-Back Chairs," p. 49.
for the large set previously ordered. Slatbacks were also used in public buildings; in December 1760, chairmaker Thomas Ackley billed provincial authorities £3.0.0 for "12 Rush bottom Chairs for the State House" (the State House is now known as Independence Hall). Ackley was paid for a second set of twelve chairs in 1761.

Even more frustrating than the lack of Philadelphia provenances is the lack of a "prime object" or prototype from which the tradition may be shown to have developed. The earliest extant document is the portrait of Kelpius seated in a slatback chair (figure 5). As discussed above, Forman asserts that this portrait documents the origin of the Delaware Valley slatback in late seventeenth-century Germantown. Unfortunately, no extant chair can be documented to a Germantown shop for the period in question. Several extant chairs have many of the same features as the


one portrayed — plain rear posts with "mushroom" finials and front posts with vasiform arm supports — but lack a second rear stretcher and fully-arched slats (figure 43). In fact, these chairs appear to be at least a half-century later in date than the c. 1705 portrait, as discussed below. The idea of a prime object is compelling, but no single extant object (or image) appears to function as such.

The lack of documented chairs and a convincing prime object limits any formal analysis, removing the objective framework of dated and/or provenanced objects to which undocumented chairs may be compared. Forman reconstructs such a framework with his reading of the Fussell account books. But this reconstruction is limited; Forman precisely documents the cabriole-leg chairs, but is unable to make a definitive statement about the more common forms (see discussion in Chapter 1). Indeed, any formal study of the slatback tradition must rely largely on subjective, visual analysis. The following qualitative analysis compares turning style, slat form and style, and overall form. Documented chairs and documentation of production are referenced whenever possible, and the rationale for the results presented employs the model presented by Trent. Thus, even without a prime object, the effects of drift and clubbing are noted, along with the larger challenges posed
by changes in metropolitan style and the production and marketing of seating in the Delaware Valley.

Slatback chairs are closely related to other seating forms attributed to the Delaware Valley that date stylistically to the eighteenth century. The rush-bottom couch is a well-known regional form often dated to the pre-1750 period (figure 26). Couch stretchers commonly have the same dimensions and elements found on the front stretcher of slatback chairs (compare figures 9 and 26). Hornor notes several instances of couches en suite with chairs, including a c. 1746-47 bill from Solomon Fussell listing two couches along with twelve four-slat chairs, six three-slat chairs, and six five-slat chairs. But Hornor also notes a 1769 reference to the production of "13 Rush bottom Chairs, & 1 Couch," indicating that the rush-bottom couch persisted beyond 1750.23 The 1766 inventory of Daniel Jones lists "About 100 of Chair & Couch Rails..." (table 1). Extant rush-bottomed couches suggest that the form is relatively stable, and all examples located have bannister backs (see Appendix E, IC1-6). Thus, instead of indicating that slatbacks with similar turnings predate 1750, the couch evidence suggests that both seating forms reference late

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23 Blue Book, p. 58.
Baroque turning styles but continued to be produced after mid-century.

The relationship between slatback chairs and bannister-back and cane chairs is less direct but equally compelling (see Appendix E, IB1-3). A set of c. 1720-30 bannister-back side chairs with a history of ownership in the Gill family of Haddonfield, New Jersey has turnings related to other late Baroque chairs but also to those found in the slatback tradition (figure 27). With the exception of the bannister back and carved crest rail and the use of walnut, these chairs have the same elements found in the slatback tradition. The same is true of another extant late Baroque bannister-back side chair (figure 28). Turned from maple and rush-bottomed, this chair comes the closest to being a prototype for the slatback form. Interestingly, Forman attributes this chair to a Scandanavian craftsman or shop in New Castle County and assigns it a c. 1720-50 date.²⁴

The evidence presented by these and related examples suggests that the slatback form developed in the 1720-40 period, adapting both the overall form and turning style of

²⁴ American Seating Furniture, 1630-1730: An Interpretive Catalogue (New York: W.W. Norton, 1988), number 74, pp. 331-32. Gill family chair illustrated as plate 461 in Hornor, Blue Book; a related armchair is listed as IA in Appendix E.
other late Baroque seating forms.\textsuperscript{25} These forms were produced under several influences. "Boston chairs" of prototypical Anglo-American, late Baroque form were being imported and copied by Philadelphia craftsmen such as Plunket Fleeson. The heterogeneous population of the Delaware Valley is reflected in forms such as the rush-bottomed bannister-back discussed above. The increasingly cosmopolitan character of Philadelphia itself and its varied furniture trade may have shaped a prime style for rush-bottom seating that fused disparate formal and workmanship traditions, rather than following any single tradition or prototype. Charles Dorman notes, "These pieces carried the marks of Swedish, Dutch, English, and German-trained craftsmen. Because of the admixture of cultures, a regional style appeared that eventually became representative of the Philadelphia area."\textsuperscript{26} The situation in c. 1720-40 Philadelphia was not like that in Stratford, Connecticut, where the work of one maker may be shown to have spawned a whole seating tradition.

\textsuperscript{25} This date range is supported by architectural turning in Philadelphia-area houses of the period, notably that of stair balusters; see Reed Laurence Engle, "Historic Structure Report: Stenton" (unpublished report, 1982), illustration 16, p. 66 for a comparison of period stair baluster profiles.

\textsuperscript{26} "Philadelphia Furniture," p. 122.
Documentary evidence of early production underlines this fact and suggests other characteristics of the slatback tradition. First, early regional production was not limited to Philadelphia. The 1737 inventory of the estate of Darby "joyner" Joseph Hibberd lists 160 unfinished "stave" or slatback chairs: "Twenty two five stave Chairs, thirty two three stave Chairs [and] one hundred & six four stave'd Chairs." This listing indicates that the chairs were being mass produced for a popular, regional market. Second, a significant percentage of slatback production was exported. As early as the 1720s, Philadelphia merchant Peter Baynton listed "slat chairs" in one of his cargoes destined for the West Indies via South Carolina. The tradition was also spread through the movement of craftsmen. William Hayes, "Chair-maker from Philadelphia," advertised in the 22 September 1747 issue of the Maryland Gazette that he made "all sorts of Rush-bottom Chairs" in his new Annapolis location. Hayes' wording matches that on the label of his Philadelphia contemporary, William Savery; their respective

production may also have been quite similar. The slatback trade prefigures the mass export of Windsor or "Philadelphia" chairs later in the eighteenth century.\(^\text{30}\)

Thus the children's slatback chairs depicted by Charles Willson Peale in two Baltimore portraits dated 1789 and 1791 may be either Delaware Valley or Maryland products (figure 34).\(^\text{31}\)

But the first extensive documentation of the slatback form is found in the 1738-51 account books and ledgers of Solomon Fussell, the Philadelphia chairmaker. These documents mention a wide variety of slatbacks, from two-slat side chairs to six-slat armchairs, with significant variations in form and decorative finish. Forman has matched extant cabriole-leg chairs with descriptions in the accounts, making these the earliest datable group. That they are not the first is suggested by the other citations in the accounts. It appears more likely, as Forman asserts, that the "crookt foot" is an element derived from Boston chairs to create a more fashionable (and expensive) slatback


line. The cabriole-leg chairs may thus be viewed as an adaptation of the earliest slatback form.

These earliest slatbacks may have resembled several extant groups of armchairs and side chairs. These groups are characterized by bold turnings and fully arched slats; five-slat examples predominate, but four- and six-slat examples are also found (figures 9, 29, and 30). The turnings are crisp and defined: the front stretcher vases have rounded bellies and thin necks; the feet, urns, and finials are also well defined. The tapering of the rear posts is marked; along with the arched, graduated slats, this increases the visual height of the chairs. Thus the chairs present a convincing turned adaptation of fashionable late Baroque seating forms.

Armchairs vary according to the form of the turned arm support. One group has a vase surmounted with a conical stop (figure 9), the other two superimposed vases (figure 29). The cabriole-leg type relates to these forms, but the arm support is distinctly squatter due to the use of a sawn leg and the transitional turned base directly above it (figure 6). Interestingly, the backs of the cabriole-leg chairs, especially side chairs, are among the tallest in the overall sample, both visually and physically (figure 13). The Fussell account book indicates that these chairs were
being made at the middle of the century. This and the other
groups noted may be dated c. 1720-70 and probably represent
the types first produced on a large scale in Philadelphia
shops.

The transformation of the early type may be seen in
other groups of chairs. In the largest of these groups, the
same basic elements may be seen, but the turnings are not as
well defined; again, five-slat chairs outnumber the four-,
six-, and three-slat examples found (figures 31 and 14).
The turning outlines the entire vase or baluster, rather
than defining its parts; this attenuation of the original
pattern may be attributed to drift through repetition. The
elements and overall form of the earlier chairs were
retained but gradually altered in this manner. This
evolution may reflect the retention of standard forms within
chairmaking shops, that were then adopted, with slight
alterations, by succeeding generations of artisans and
apprentices. The perceived drift may also reflect the
production of these chairs in shops outside of central
Philadelphia, where significant populations in county seats
and market towns supported chairmaking shops. A pair of
three-slat side chairs attributed to Alexander Chambers of
Trenton, working c. 1763-80, documents this phenomenon and
attests to the regional spread of the style (figure 32).
A related group of armchairs and side chairs exhibits similar drift, in conjunction with a simplification of the front posts or legs (figure 7). The front post turnings in this group have the same elements found on the turned legs of Windsor chairs attributed to Philadelphia, c. 1740-80 (figure 33). This correlation is not surprising as the two types of chairs were made in the same Philadelphia shops, such as that of Josiah Sherald who advertised as a "rushbottom and Windsor Chair maker" in 1762. Based on this evidence and the noticeable change in turning style, these groups may be dated to the c. 1750-1800 period. Moreover, they suggest that significant urban production continued throughout this period.

Many of the formal variants may be dated to this period as well. Some, like the armchairs with loose seats, are direct alterations of common forms (compare figures 16 and 31). The loose seat, like the cabriole leg, is simply imposed on the standard slatback form. But this alteration is not accidental; instead, like the cabriole leg, it appears to be a turner's response to a formal challenge, in

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this case the loose seat employed in metropolitan Queen Anne
and Chippendale style seating. But the forms of the loose-
seat chairs suggest different basic approaches to this
challenge. The chairs with cased loose seats have square
mortise and tenon joined seat rails similar to the
metropolitan prototypes (figure 16). The seat lists on the
other chairs are simply lowered and squared off to receive
the loose seat (figure 17).

Side chairs with variant seat construction relate to
non-variant chairs that may be dated to the c. 1750-1800
period as well. A comparison of two five-slat side chairs
with flatwise, blocked front seat rails illustrates the
effect of clubbing in this period (figures 20 and 24). The
first chair relates closely to the non-variant form, with
similar drift evident in the turning (compare figures 20 and
14). The second chair has exaggerated turning on the front
legs and stretcher along with decorative seat casing that
accentuates the blocked front seat rail. The rear posts and
secondary stretchers are thinly turned, further emphasizing
the turnings below the front seat rail (figure 24). This
exaggeration or clubbing illustrates one method by which the
basic types evolved over time. This and related chairs are
idiosyncratic adaptations of the regional type, probably the
work of a small, non-urban shop for a local market (thus not
found in large numbers or across a wide area). The same statement may be made for a group of armchairs with notable stylistic variations (figure 35). The turning here is exaggerated in style and amount; the unusual slats repeat and magnify the outline of the opposing vases in the front stretcher.

Less dramatic but noticeable clubbing appears in other armchairs and side chairs that may be dated to the c. 1750-1800 period. These include non-variant examples with bold and/or unusual turning and arms (figure 36), as well as chairs with double front stretchers (figure 18) and turned horsebone front feet (figure 23). Whether these examples represent the idiosyncratic work of one shop or maker and/or an urban-rural division is difficult to determine; however, they do serve to underline the popular nature of the basic slatback form through the second half of the eighteenth century.

The first widespread use of flat-bottomed slats may also date to this period. Such slats are typical in other regions (especially New England and New York), but do not appear on the earliest Delaware Valley forms. Instead, they are seen on chairs with simplified front posts (figure 37) and other Delaware Valley groups that date to the c. 1750-1800 period (figure 35). The flat-bottom slat is most often
found on chairs with two plain-turned front stretchers (figures 12 and 15), the earliest examples of which probably date to the c. 1750-1800 period. With regard to the Fussell account evidence, Forman writes, "Slat-back chairs with 'turnd frunts' (turned front stretchers), specifically mentioned only in a few instances, cost nothing extra, which suggests that they were a normal feature on the slat-back chairs but probably not on the common chairs."33

The 1766 inventory of the estate of Philadelphia chairmaker Daniel Jones concisely lists the types of chairs being made at mid-century (table 1). The Jones inventory identifies chairs with turned fronts and arched slats, as well as "Childrins" and "Cais'd" chairs among others. Because "Plain chairs four Slats" are listed as being worth 3s each while chairs with "four Slats plain Backs & turn'd fronts" are worth 3s3d apiece, one might conclude that "plain" chairs lacked decoratively-turned front stretchers, an option that added 3d to the price of a chair. Further, if chairs with "four Slats & turnd fronts" not identified as "plain" are each worth 3s6d, the extra 3d may indicate that they have arched slats. Chairs with "five Slats arch'd & turn'd fronts" were worth 3s9d each, only 3d more.

33 "Delaware Valley 'Crookt Foot' and Slat-Back Chairs," p. 44. Hornor interprets this evidence differently; see Blue Book, p. 293.
If this basic economic rationale holds, Jones's shop was producing both basic slatback sub-types identified in this study. The "five Slats arch'd & turn'd fronts" notation corresponds to type IA1a (see figures 14, 30) and "four Slats & turned fronts" may correspond to type IA1b (see figure 7 for an armchair example). Similarly, "Plain chairs four Slats" may correspond to type IB2a (see figures 15 and 42 for related three-slat examples), while "four Slats plain Backs & turn'd fronts" may correspond to type IA2b (see figure 37 for a related armchair example). Less explicit inventory notations allow for less certainty. Chairs with "three Slats Coullour'd" worth 3s each might be either type IA or IB; the more expensive "Cais'd Chairs" might correspond to several extant types (see figure 21 for one example); and the inexpensive "Childrins Chairs" might be related to the armchair in figure 22. But one may state with some certainty that chairs with plain-turned front stretchers and/or flat-bottomed stretchers were in production by the 1760s and probably before.

However, documented examples of this basic type date to the nineteenth century; this type appears to be a later form or adaptation of the popular tradition. This and other changes in the slatback tradition are related to the rise of the Windsor chair. By 1800 and perhaps even as early as the
1780s, Windsors had replaced slatbacks as the most important popular seating form in the Delaware Valley. First introduced in the middle of the eighteenth century in Philadelphia, Windsors were produced largely by the same turners and chairmakers responsible for the bulk of slatback chair production (several joiners also made Windsors, however). Hailed as the "Philadelphia chair," Windsors gradually displaced rush-bottom chairs in both domestic and public settings, including the State House. The transition from rush-bottom to Windsor production may be seen in the careers of three Philadelphia artisans, two of whom have already been mentioned. Solomon Fussell was the master of Thomas Ackley; both men were turners who are known to have specialized in rush-bottom seating. However, when the latter's son John B. Ackley (b. 1763) went into business, he specialized in Windsor-chair manufacturing, as most Philadelphia turners had by the 1790s. In 1799, seventeen chairmakers working exclusively in the Windsor style were listed in the Philadelphia trade directory.3*

The rise of the Windsor coincides with several changes

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in slatback production. First, fully-arched slatbacks persist, but increasingly as non-urban and localized, folk products. Second, the plain-turned front stretcher, flat-bottom slat chair type emerges as a popular, region-wide response to the challenge of the Windsor.\(^{35}\) The simplicity and squared form of this type may also respond to the challenge of neoclassical style. This assertion is impossible to prove, but these simple slatbacks relate to contemporary, overtly classicizing fancy chairs. In any case, like many period Windsor and fancy chairs, the simplest slatbacks lack strong regional characteristics.\(^ {36}\)

An 11 June 1798 advertisement in the Albany [NY] Gazette illustrates this (figure 38). The slatback chair depicted corresponds to documented Delaware Valley examples (e.g., figure 39) as well as other Mid-Atlantic and New England examples (see Appendix D, chairs B2 and B4).

In the Delaware Valley this chair type becomes the dominant slatback form in the early nineteenth century (figures 12 and 15). Documented examples are found

\(^{35}\) Only one chair was located that literally combined features of the slatback and Windsor traditions; see Appendix E, chair IIIB.

throughout the region and in significant numbers, suggesting that it was a popular rather than a folk form. The simplicity of the form, with decorative turning limited to arm supports and rear post finials, lends itself to large-scale production. And without the time and expertise required to produce a tripartite front stretcher and other decorative turnings, these chairs could be produced cheaply enough to compete with Windsors and fancy chairs in the popular market.

The most common armchair and side chair forms have three to five slats with a flat lower edge and a compound-curved upper edge. A c. 1820-35 four-slat armchair with rockers with a Salem County, New Jersey history illustrates this type (figure 12); similar three- and four-slat examples with Gloucester County, New Jersey and Bucks County, Pennsylvania histories have also been located. Various extant two- to four-slat side chairs correspond formally and stylistically to the armchairs noted. These include a pair of four-slat chairs with a Frankford, Pennsylvania history (figure 39), and a three-slat chair descended in the Billmeyer family of Germantown (figure 40); these chairs may be of Philadelphia manufacture. Some chairs of this type were used in public buildings, such as the very plain two-slat example said to have come from the Newton Friends
Meeting House in Camden County, New Jersey (figure 41).

A distinct stylistic variation of the basic form involves the use of a continuously-arched upper slat edge and a suppressed-ball-on-ringed-cylinder finial. This variation is found in both armchairs and side chairs with three to five slats (figures 42 and 43). Several of these have histories in Bucks and Delaware Counties, Pennsylvania, as well as Burlington and Camden Counties, New Jersey. This geographic range and noticeable stylistic differences suggest that this variation is not the work of a single shop or chairmaking center. For example, one particular group of chairs has slats with moulded lower front edges; this detail and the finial turning relate to other groups of chairs with unusual slats (compare figures 42 and 35). Biaxially-turned rear posts characterize yet another group (figure 44). This sub-group and the larger stylistic variation may derive from a specific ethnic seating tradition; this possibility will be discussed in the Chapter 6.

After 1800, the single tripartite front stretcher, fully-arched Delaware Valley slatback chair becomes a folk product. Formal analysis of fully-arched examples from this period reveals two seemingly contradictory trends. While significant drift and/or clubbing may be noted in the attenuation or boldness of the turned elements, the overall
form and proportions of later chairs do not vary dramatically from pre-1800 examples. Certain documented chairs suggest a "fossilization" of the form, exhibiting few changes from others dating up to fifty years earlier. Thus, a c. 1810-20 five-slat armchair attributed to Nathan Slaughter (b. 1784) of Milford, Delaware may be compared directly with five-slat armchairs dating to the second half of the eighteenth century (figure 45; compare to figure 31).

Other chairs manifest a progressive attenuation of the turned elements and suggest a time frame for this process. A group of related c. 1820-40 five-slat armchairs with Bucks County, Pennsylvania histories presents one phase of this evolution (figure 46). Notable on these chairs are the attenuated front stretcher, arm supports, and finial (the latter becoming more vertical, almost football-shaped); the relative horizontality of the slats; and the use of rockers. But their overall forms do not differ markedly from earlier five-slat examples (compare figures 46 and 29). A similar analysis may be made for the c. 1840-60 five-slat armchair with a Salem County, New Jersey history (figure 47) and the contemporary five-slat side chair with a Germantown history (figure 48). The extreme attenuation of both the decorative and plain turning on these examples and the purposeful retention of the basic form are characteristic of southern
New Jersey and other late, folk production. In this manner, the late Baroque slatback form persisted into the twentieth century.

The slatback tradition then continued into the modern era with a mixture of popular and folk production and corresponding formal types. The division between these modes of production and types ceases with the rise in fancy-chair production in the second quarter of the nineteenth-century. On the one hand, folk production of fully-arched slatbacks continued into the early twentieth century, notably in southern New Jersey and other rural areas in the Delaware Valley region. Thus, William Ward of Bridgeville, Delaware was producing chairs in the third quarter of the nineteenth-century comparable to the type Krimmel depicted in the 1810s (figure 1, bottom).37 Other mid-century production attempted to combine elements of the earlier slatbacks and newer fancy chairs. An interesting pair of turned chairs from Sussex County, Delaware illustrates one possible result, a chair with an eighteenth-century front and nineteenth-century back (figure 49). By the middle of

37 Ward chair illustrated as number 11 in Plain and Ornamental: Delaware Furniture, 1740-1890 (Wilmington: The Historical Society of Delaware, 1984); see discussion of Ware family and other southern New Jersey chairmakers in Chapter 1.
the century, however, fancy chairs and Windsors claimed an overwhelming share of the popular seating market. Slatback production was increasingly limited to localized, non-urban markets; the era of pure folk production had begun.
Chapter 5

QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

The typology and formal analysis divide the sample into discrete groups of similar chairs; furthermore, they attempt to relate individual chairs and the groups to each other and to a geographical and chronological framework. Quantitative analysis of related groups of chairs may help to check and refine the framework suggested. For example, one may compare the proportional ratios of fully-arched chairs over time to determine if their overall form remains constant. One may also start to explore proportional relationships between the two basic forms of chairs; how are they related if at all? Finally, quantitative analysis may be useful as the basis for a discussion of workmanship and how this affects and/or augments the suggested typological and formal framework.

Proportional analysis of Delaware Valley chairs yields mixed results. Interesting and even elegant ordering systems may be found for particular chairs, but few
compelling overall patterns emerge. These patterns are most often in the form of ratios independent of absolute measurements and of each other; thus, no single unit or building block appears to be the key to the structure of the chairs.

Quantitative analysis of an armchair illustrates these points. The armchair in figure 9 is representative of the most common extant type--type IA--and has little wear and no formal or stylistic variations. Close analysis of the chair reveals that its back posts below the finial may be divided into eight equal units, with three below the seat and five above. Further, the arm intersects the rear post exactly two units above seat level if the same system is used. The seat has a simple, proportional plan, the back and depth being roughly equal, the front a third again as large (figure 50). Unfortunately, the post and seat systems appear to be independent of each other; their units, when quantified, are not related. Thus, while the post system suggests that the seat height from ground may be key, this measure does not appear to determine the layout or dimensions of the seat. Similarly, the seat measurements appear to have no direct relation to the post.

These measurements and their relationships suggest that two, independent ratios were employed in the production of
this chair, rather than a structuring system based on a repeated unit. This is consistent with the chair's construction: the front and rear posts would have to be turned to match closely enough for the correct placement of stretchers and slats, but the width of the chair is not necessarily dictated by the form or proportions of the posts. Instead, an acceptable seat height and seat width could be determined independently of each other. These measurements could then be used to generate the specific form of the posts and seat through the application of standard ratios. In this manner, the chair's structure reflects pragmatic concerns—comfortable seat height and width—rather than complex proportional relationships. A similar argument may be applied to the type IA side chair in figure 14.

Tables 3 and 4 list average measurements and ratios for all non-variant type IA armchairs and side chairs, as well as selected ratios based on these measurements. The data in the two tables show that the chairs in figures 9 and 14 are prototypical. Therefore, the analysis above may be generalized to all chairs of their respective types. Statistical analysis of type IA armchairs and side chairs also suggests that certain ratios apply regardless of the number of slats. The average measurements and ratios vary
significantly, but within a defined range and with small standard deviations, suggesting that the individual types are inter-related and coherent.\textsuperscript{38}

Several relationships may be noted. First, while overall height and back post height vary depending on the number of slats, measurements of seat plan and seat height fall within the same range for all type IA1 and most type IA2 chairs. These chairs share the same seat plan, with a seat front to seat back ratio of 1.33:1 for armchairs and 1.25:1 for side chairs. Second, tables 3 and 4 suggest that the ratio of the back post height to the seat height in both armchairs and side chairs, regardless of the number of slats, is between 2.6-2.8:1. This range approximates the 8:3 (2.67:1) ratio noted for the back post to seat height of the five-slat armchair in figure 9, but its applicability to four- and six-slat examples suggests a more general rationale: the ratio may simply have been developed to produce back heights and overall proportions similar to

\textsuperscript{38} The small sample sizes for certain chair sub-types are not suited for accurate statistical analysis. For samples with one or two chairs, statistical data has limited meaning and may only suggest conformance or divergence with larger trends. Further, this analysis does not involve basic tests for significance given the sample problems and the relatively small total number of chairs. The basic conclusions stated were confirmed with the above reservations by Chandra Reedy, Scientific Advisor, Winterthur/University of Delaware Art Conservation Program, June 1990.
those in late Baroque chairs. The statistical analysis of selected late Baroque chairs presented in table 6 generally supports this statement, but indicates that type IA slatbacks do not literally repeat late Baroque proportions.

As expected, the proportions of cabriole-leg and commode chairs relate more closely to those for type IA chairs (table 5; compare to tables 3 and 4). The perceived height of cabriole-leg side chairs may be related to their above-average seat heights rather than exaggerated proportions (in fact, the ratio of back post to seat height is on the low side) as well as to their slightly more tapered seat plans. With the exception of their slightly larger seats, the ratios for cabriole-leg and commode armchairs vary only slightly from those for type IA chairs. This fact supports the typological and formal relationships noted previously. A comparison of the proportions of cabriole-leg slatbacks with those of bannister-back chairs with similar cabriole legs, the Fussell-Savery type, indicates that the latter have begun to approximate the proportions of high-style Queen Anne and Chippendale chairs (table 6). The Fussell-Savery armchairs retain some late Baroque proportions (notably the back post to seat height ratio), but both the overall measurements and ratios for
side chairs are notably smaller than those for the corresponding slatbacks. Only the fronts of the cabriole-leg slatbacks reference the new styles; their backs retain their late Baroque height and relatively narrow width.

Type IB armchairs have ratios almost identical to those noted for type IA. Table 7 documents this fact, but also indicates the markedly lower seat height to back post height ratios of type IB side chairs with three and two slats compared to both type IA and other type IB examples. These side chairs reinforce the observation that an acceptable seat height is more important than any particular proportional system. The same statement may be made for one of the three-slat type IA side chairs (figure 32), where the back post to seat height ratio of 2.31:1 is well below the 2.61:1 average for all non-variant type IA side chairs. Two- and three-slat chairs then employ different ratios, but the ratios are consistent for each sub-type.

In conclusion, virtually all non-variant chairs appear to be structured around the measurements of the seat height and seat width, which appear to be independent of each other. The seat and posts are then scaled from these measurements by means of relatively fixed ratios. These ratios vary little within a given type, suggesting little if any change in proportions either between shop traditions or
over time. Indeed, a comparison of early and late type IA armchairs suggests that the ratios do not vary significantly; rather, formal variations such as rockers and stylistic changes such as attenuated or clubbed turning often distinguish later examples (compare figure 9 with figures 45 and 46).

The relatively fixed ratios also suggest that the chair types suggested were produced as part of a popular, regional workmanship tradition. The same basic structural "formula" was adhered to by both urban and rural shops for the production of particular chair types over time. Folk production results simply from the continued production of certain types (notably type IA arm- and side chairs) after another slatback type or completely different chair type has come to dominate the popular seating market. In other words, chairs of a given type vary little, while the context of their production varies more widely. The same may be said for the popular seating of other regions, and table 8 suggests that slatback chairs from other regions are comparable to the types identified for the Delaware Valley (see also Appendix D). However, with the exception of the simplest forms, quantitative analysis may distinguish extra-regional chairs from Delaware Valley examples.
The data in tables 3 through 7 suggest that the Delaware Valley slatback types listed in Appendix A have a relatively fixed, predictable form. This supposition agrees with the documentary evidence of mass production and their turned nature. But are the chairs solely the products of workmanship of habit? Or is the predictable form of individual types partly or wholly the result of workmanship of certainty, i.e., the result of using a regulating tool or tools? How might workmanship of certainty help to identify urban vs. rural production and individual shop traditions?

Forman suggests that such divisions are marked:

In addition to the minimal, even rough, manipulation of materials or the overly exuberant designs and distinctive approach to proportion visible in rural or village furniture, we can often observe extremely careful workmanship lavished on pieces of furniture that originated in the same places. We also know that urban workmanship and design were often shoddy, that the commercial designs that often sold best required a compromise between materials and workmanship which allowed them to be sold at an attractive price...39

While the basic construction of the chairs offers little opportunity for comparisons, the consistent use of scribe lines on the posts offers a quantifiable measure of the workmanship of certainty. In addition, several formal variations involve significant construction changes that may

39 "Delaware Valley 'Crookt Foot' and Slat-Back Chairs," p. 49.
help to answer the questions posed above.

Table 9 lists average rear-post scribe line measurements for the most common chair types. The averages demonstrate that armchairs have slats placed higher on the post than side chairs of corresponding type (corroborating height data in tables 3, 4, and 7). More importantly, the standard deviations suggest that the placement of the slats closest to the seat is significantly more variable than the placement of the upper slats and finial. The latter averages are much closer in percentage terms to those observed for the overall forms (compare to tables 3, 4, and 7). Thus there is significant variation in the placement of slats along the back posts; no single scribing stick or formula appears to have been used. By contrast, the averages for the side stretchers below the seat are notably consistent for all chair types, both side and arm. This fact underscores the primacy of a comfortable seat height in the design and layout of the chairs.

The intervals between average measurements are also informative. These figures demonstrate the method by which chairmakers manipulated slat placement to increase the visual height of chair backs, notably by constricting the space between the first and second slats. The numerical differences do not follow any particular pattern, but
instead suggest that scribe sticks may have been laid out using simple measures of eighth-, quarter-, and half-inches. Finally, analysis of the measurements of the scribe lines on the rear posts suggests that related but not identical sticks were used by slatback makers and shops. The stick allowed for "certain" or uniform placement of slats, seat, and stretchers in order to insure reasonable alignment, but it did not necessarily enforce a single, acceptable placement.

The placement of arms and single front stretchers offers an interesting contrast. Of the twenty-four non-variant type IAla armchairs in the sample, five have scribe lines on the rear post for arm placement. The average distance of these lines from those for the seat lists is 10.82 inches with a standard deviation of .69 inches. The other nineteen chairs have arms that average 11.07 inches above the seat, with a standard deviation of 1.29 inches. These figures suggest that while the actual placement of the arms is identical, the use of scribe sticks or the workmanship of certainty is close to twice as accurate as the visual placement, even if the front post turning is used as a guide for placement. Single front stretchers are almost never scribed to the front posts or legs of chairs (unlike double front stretchers). Instead, they appear to
be placed roughly half the distance between the seat and floor level, a simple and effective instance of the workmanship of habit. In this manner, slightly variable seat heights and/or front stretchers would not necessitate alteration of a scribe stick. Similarly, the front stretcher could be moved in accordance with decorative seat casing or other seat-level variations and/or unusual front feet. (Notably, scribe lines for a single front stretcher are uniformly found on type II or cabriole chairs).

But the best examples of workmanship of habit are found in the turnings themselves. Table 10 lists the average diameters of major turned elements as well as average overall arm measurements. The back post measurements suggest two uniform tapering systems: one each for armchairs and side chairs. The front post measurements demonstrate a similar uniformity at seat level, but at foot or taper level, type is more important than the armchair or side chair distinction. Side stretcher diameter is markedly uniform for all chair types. Finally, front stretchers vary by type and slightly though significantly by arm or side form. The turnings support the documentary evidence of mass production and an accompanying standardization of parts and their production. The arm measurements are equally uniform; presumably they resulted from the use of accepted patterns.
Forman concludes, "In short, 'design' meant standardizing shapes for production, and this implied uniformity of production to specific tolerances, which in turn permitted stockpiling parts that would allow interchangeability of options. The Fussell ledger and [chairs attributed to the Fussell shop] suggest that in an urban shop such as Fussell's, and countless ones before, the principles of 'modern' production were well understood and used." This statement may certainly be applied to the shops of Daniel Jones and William Davis (see table 1) and those of craftsmen they trained.

But this standardization appears to cross the urban-rural divide as well. This underlines the regional nature of the slatback tradition and suggests that the form and measurements of non-variant chairs do not vary over time or between places of manufacture. Analysis of variant chairs may be useful in discussing the differences between urban and rural products. Table 11 lists quantitative data for selected variant types. When compared to the data for non-variant chairs of the same type, the variants show only minor changes in both overall measurements and ratios. For example, five-slat side chairs with flatwise, blocked front

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"Delaware Valley 'Crookt Foot' and Slat-Back Chairs," p. 51.
seat rails have slightly wider seat front than non-variant examples, but are otherwise very similar (compare type IIA2a in table 11 and type IAla in table 4). Side chairs with vertical posts blocked at seat level compare even more closely with non-variant examples (compare type IIB2a in table 11 and type IAla in table 4).

In these side chair variants the basic type is not changed. Instead it is slightly altered to suggest the framed seat found on more expensive joined chairs (see figures 20 and 21). The blocked-post variant compares closely to the cabriole-leg type, itself an alteration designed to compete with joined chairs (compare figures 21 and 13). But in the variants discussed, only minor changes in workmanship are involved: the production and placement of the flatwise seat rail and the retention of a vertical block. Thus the form, style, and workmanship of these variants are consistent with those of non-variant chairs of their type.

The same can be said for the two armchair types with seat-level construction variations (compare types IIC1* and IIC3* in table 11 with types IA1a and IA1b in table 3). The use of rectangular mortise and tenon seat frames significantly alters the simple joinery normally employed, but without a corresponding change in the form itself.
variation simply allows the slatback to have a loose seat set within the frame (compare figures 16 and 31). Commode chairs with joined board seat frames extend this idea, but with a significant changes to the form and to the amount of non-traditional workmanship (see figure 11). The imposed loose seat variant does little more than lower the seat lists and necessitate the construction of a loose seat (figure 17).

Simple quantitative analysis of the seat-level construction and other variants does not clarify the urban-rural divide. The strongest suggestions of unusual and perhaps rural workmanship in these chairs comes from a combination of quantitative and formal analyses. Chairs that combine and/or exaggerate formal and stylistic variations often have measurements and workmanship that do not conform to the standardized nature of slatback production. Multiple variations require design and workmanship changes that would significantly slow production and might in fact render products economically inviable in the popular market. In this context, the cabriole-leg type may be seen as a successful if not mass-produced variation, while the commode type probably never went into stock production. Non-formal evidence suggests that the latter may in fact be the production of smaller, non-urban shops.
A comparison of examples of several variant types demonstrates the larger point. The side chair in figure 20 differs little from non-variant examples of its type (see figure 14). But the chair in figure 24 with the same formal variation -- a blocked, flatwise front seat rail -- also has significant stylistic variations. These include both the amount and style of turning (note the decorative turning at the base of the rear posts) and the elaborately-shaped decorative seat casings. In this instance, the stylistic variations are further emphasized by the marked thinness of the posts and stretchers. Taken together, these changes suggest an idiosyncratic and probably non-urban adaptation of the variant side chair type. A similar difference may be observed in two armchairs with "rakt backs" or biaxial rear posts. The armchair in figure 19 relates directly to non-variant examples of its type (see figure 31). But the example in figure 51 is significantly taller than average and has unusually shaped slats and arms. Further, it incorporates a second formal variation, the use of a second decoratively-turned front stretcher (also note the second rear stretcher). The chair is probably the work of a maker or shop within the Delaware Valley tradition, but one working on its periphery.
Quantitative analysis helps to establish the regional nature of the tradition and to further compare chairs of the same and/or different type(s). The average measurements and ratios found and their relative consistency support the assertion that the basic forms of these types do not vary substantially over time. Their "designs" remained suited for easy and profitable production until and beyond the rise of Windsor and fancy chairs. With the use of simple regulating tools such as the scribe stick and the mass production and stockpiling of parts, large numbers of a uniform product could be produced. Type IB chairs in particular, with their plain-turned stretchers and flat-bottom slats, required very little specialized workmanship, and thus could compete with other popular seating forms. Formal variations normally involve only slight quantitative and workmanship changes. Significant changes are most often noted in conjunction with other formal and stylistic variations, suggesting idiosyncratic and perhaps non-urban manifestations of the tradition.
Chapter 6
FORMAL AND ETHNIC ORIGINS

The foregoing analyses identify two dominant slatback types that compose the Delaware Valley tradition. The formal analysis relates these types to other turned forms in the region and suggests that they reflect its heterogeneous population. Once in production, the forms vary only slightly and then through the nature of their production and changes in the popular seating market. But the formal analysis does not locate a primary object (or objects) nor does it fully explain the existence of two basic types. Specifically, while fully-arched or type IA slatbacks have been long identified as Delaware Valley products, less distinctive type IB chairs have been described as generic to the entire Atlantic seaboard. The quantitative analysis demonstrates that the two basic types are related and may be differentiated from extra-regional products. But do the two basic types share similar formal and/or ethnic origins? If not, may distinct origins be found for either type? Or are they, like the population of the region, heterogeneous and
thus the product of a fusion tradition?

As discussed in Chapter 1, current scholarship offers two views. Benno Forman argues that the Delaware Valley slatback is the most pervasive form introduced by Germanic craftsmen into colonial America. Hugo Freund and others suggest that the chairs relate more directly to the English tradition, with some Germanic influence evident. Notably, the conclusions of both "schools" pertain solely to fully-arched type IA chairs. How might the formal and ethnic origins of type IB chairs affect these conclusions?

With the full range of slatbacks attributed to the Delaware Valley in mind, a reevaluation of extant and documented European chairs was undertaken in order to answer the questions posed. Several results emerged. First, the production of no single European chairmaking tradition compares directly to that observed for the Delaware Valley as a whole. Second, English chairs and specifically those from the North West compare most closely to individual type IA chairs and groups of chairs. Third, other English chairs but especially German and Dutch chairs compare more closely to individual type IB chairs and groups of chairs. Fourth, several exceptional chairs in the Delaware Valley sample relate directly to European examples.
The lack of a directly comparable tradition and the apparent division between the two basic types suggests that Delaware Valley chairs are the product of more than one formal and ethnic tradition. Only the North West English tradition comes close to incorporating a majority of the forms and individual features found in both Delaware Valley types. Turning style and details differ, but the formal relationships are clear (compare side chairs in figure 53 with figures 14 and 20; armchair in figure 54 with figure 37). However, two aspects of the North West tradition should be pointed out. First, its products are dated largely to the c. 1770-1840 period. Second, it may be a fusion tradition itself (as Freund points out). Together, these factors suggest that the North West English tradition parallels rather then precedes and/or engenders that of the Delaware Valley.

Individual chairs and groups of chairs from the North West English tradition compare closely to Delaware Valley examples, notably type IA chairs with fully-arched slats. Bill Cotton dates one such Lancashire/Cheshire group to the

41 This and following observations on English chairmaking tradition based on Cotton, The English Regional Chair and inspection of chairs in the Cotton collection, June 1989. Cotton and others have also noted the strong relationship between joined chairs from the North West and Pennsylvania wainscot chairs; see Forman, American Seating Furniture, pp. 138-43; nos. 21-33, pp. 154-78.
c. 1700-1840 period. The earliest example he dates c. 1700-40 (figure 52), noting that it "shows the massive turned uprights and legs often found in early vernacular chair examples, and has turned finials reminiscent of those incorporated in Carolean chairs. The ladder [slat] shape and front rail turning are found in late 18th and early 19th century examples of chairs from this region..." Cotton describes one of these later groups (figure 53) as having "crescent shaped ladders.... Chairs in this group also either have straight decoratively turned front legs, or bulbous turned legs with pad feet, which suggests [sic] a rudimentary form of the cabriole leg." Cotton attributes this last and related groups to Lancashire and dates them c. 1770-1840.

The Lancashire/Cheshire group is noteworthy, but if the suggested sequence is accurate, this tradition appears to parallel rather than prefigure the development of type Delaware Valley IAl. The same relationship develops between chairs with single front stretchers and flat-bottomed slats from the two traditions. The armchair and side chairs in

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*2 The English Regional Chair, fig. NW10, p. 318 (also appears as pi. 58, p. 369); see also figs. NW11, NW268, pp. 318, 394.

*3 The English Regional Chair, p. 405; group composed of figs. NW314-23, pp. 405-07.
Figure 54 resemble type IA2a and IA2b examples and have turned elements, slats, and stretcher configurations closely related to various other Delaware Valley types. Again, these chairs are attributed to the Lancashire region and dated c. 1770-1840.

The North West tradition lacks one important variant, however. A chairmaking tradition in Lincolnshire, centered in the town of Spilsby, "produced a range of ladder back chairs including one variant with square cornered [sawn] cabriole front legs, a design which is unique within the English tradition" (figure 55, top). Cotton continues, "The possibility of design influences between Lincolnshire and the East Coast of America is strongly supported, since many emigrant movements took place from the North East Midlands... during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries." Again though, the date range given for these chairs is c. 1780-1840; the related Fussell-Savery tradition appears to have preceded it by a half century.

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See Cotton, The English Regional Chair, figs. NW71, NW 289, pp. 342, 399, respectively, for arm support and front stretcher turning profiles found on Lancashire slatbacks. Other English chairs that resemble type IA2 examples include several West Midlands examples dated c. 1820-60; see pl. 38, p. 289 and fig. WM49, p. 306.

The English Regional Chair, figs. NE176-95, pl. 22, pp. 149-55; quotes from pp. 149, 152. The Lincolnshire tradition also includes several chairs dated c. 1770-1820 comparable to type IA2 examples; see figs. NE194, NE196-98, pp. 155-56. Cotton illustrates the unique study cabriole
Only a few English chairs compare to type IB examples; the products of Continental traditions provide a much better comparison. Interestingly, the closest English examples again come from the North West and are dated to the c. 1770-1840 period (figure 55, bottom). Dutch and German examples are more numerous and incorporate several stylistic details that relate directly to the Delaware Valley tradition, notably the use of a prominent decoratively-turned finial (see figures 56-57; compare to English "nipple" finial, figures 53-55). Dutch examples have the basic characteristics of type IB, but are distinguished by the use of four turned feet and two rear stretchers. Moreover, they are often extremely tall and have biaxial rear posts. This is especially true of Dutch examples dating to the eighteenth century; like Delaware Valley slatbacks, they

armchair (number 147) as fig. NE188, p. 154. In this context, with its unusual front stretcher turning and second rear stretcher, it could be attributed either to the Lincolnshire tradition or to a Delaware Valley shop with direct relations to England. The unique study side chair with a turned cabriole leg (number 2) may also be British; it compares closely to examples attributed to the West Midlands and dated c. 1820-60, figs. WM59, WM62, p. 308.
incorporate late Baroque proportions. Finally, the Dutch examples help to place the form and style of both Delaware Valley types into a larger pan-Atlantic cultural context.

Northern German chairs, notably those from Lower Saxony, compare more directly with specific groups of type IB Delaware Valley chairs. Lower Saxon chairs dated to the c. 1780-1820 period are especially close to contemporary Delaware Valley examples (compare figures 56 and 57 to figures 42 and 43). Both groups have slats with a series of grooved lines along the straight lower edge and complex turned finials (the chair in figure 35 has similar features on a different form). Numerous other examples of this form, often without the grooved lines, have Lower Saxon and other North German provenances; many of the armchairs have biaxial rear posts (see figure 57). However, aside from a few chairs from the Westerwald region, no other central or southern German examples were found to compare closely to either type IB (or IA) Delaware Valley examples.\(^6\)


\(^7\) See Alexander Schöpp, *Alte deutsche Bauernstuben und Hausrat* (Elberfeld: by the author, 1921), pls. 33, 45; Konrad Hahm, *Deutsche Bauernmöbel* (Jena: Eugen Diedrichs Verlag, 1939), pls. 2, 9; Heinrich Ottenjann, *Alte Deutsche
Forman mentions and illustrates the northern German tradition, but discusses it only as it relates to type IA Delaware Valley chairs (as well as cabriole-leg types) and to the use of a 'rakt back' or biaxial rear posts.\(^*\) Comparison of figures 57 and 44 appears to support his thesis that 'rakt backs' in Delaware Valley examples are another sign of Germanic influence. However, numerous English chairs have the same feature, including several of those otherwise comparable to Delaware Valley types (see figure 55, bottom).\(^*\)9 Similarly, the armchair in figure 51 combines and exaggerates many of the features of the Lancashire armchair in figure 53 (the distinct slat shape and turning style) with the pronounced rake and finial common in German armchairs, like the example in figure 57 (also note the form of the arms).

Finally, one may conclude that there is a notable relationship between various European chairmaking traditions and that of the Delaware Valley. The Delaware Valley

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\(^*\) "Delaware Valley 'Crookt Foot' and Slat-Back Chairs," pp. 51-58, figs. 7, 14.

\(^*\) Cotton, The English Regional Chair, figs. NW58, NW60-61, NW314-15, pp. 336-37, 405. See also late Baroque armchair A, Appendix E, which is related to the side chair in figure 27 and has biaxially-turned rear posts.
slatback tradition appears to be a fusion tradition, with identifiable Germanic and Anglo elements. Forman's assertion that the chairs were first made in Germantown and are basically Germanic is impossible to prove (or to fully refute) and ultimately misleading. Type IA chairs instead appear to combine late Baroque proportions (from England via the Continent) with Anglo-American turning and some Germanic features; if nothing else, these chairs are Anglo-American. More interesting is the possibility that type IB chairs result in part from the direct transference of Germanic traditions to the Delaware Valley. The c. 1750-1800 period marks not only the ascendance of the Windsor, but also the absorption of the first large-scale Germanic immigration to Pennsylvania. Might some type IB Delaware Valley slatbacks be the work of immigrant Germanic craftsmen? If yes, how do they affect the development of this common type?

EPILOGUE

The questions posed at the end of the last chapter are not easily answered. Other evidence suggests that ethnicity may not be of primary importance in the formation or retention of the tradition. In a study of southeastern Pennsylvania, James Lemons asserts, "Many commentators on life in early Pennsylvania have stressed language and national origin, but ... these were less relevant to people's action on the land than was previously thought. Religious distinctions, however, were of considerable importance." This generalization may not apply to the manufacture or use of seating, but it does remind one that the circum-Philadelphia area was predominantly Anglo-American and Quaker during the period studied. Notably, the Shoemakers, Fussell, Savery, and numerous later chair makers

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51 For instance, lists of Germanic craftsmen active in Philadelphia do not contain any turners or chairmakers from Lower Saxony; see Caldwell, "Germanic Influences on Philadelphia Early Georgian Seating Furniture," Appendix II, pp. 115-25.

were Quaker. Apprenticeships were served within the sect, and the Society of Friends even maintained a chair manufactory to rent in the late eighteenth century. In addition, historic photographs document the use of type IB slatbacks in various meeting houses throughout the region (see also figure 41). These facts have little bearing on the formal origin of the slatback tradition (unless one agrees with Forman's thesis), but may help to explain its relative stability and the inter-relation of different workshops.

Henry Glassie suggests that the formation and persistence of common types illuminates larger cultural assumptions. In a study of Delaware Valley vernacular houses and farm plans, he uncovers two basic types for each. In both cases, the basic types arise from differing ethnic origins (English vs. Continental) and have numerous variations resulting largely from practical considerations. Glassie concludes:

The critic might react differently to an eighteenth-century farmhouse and a modern rambler ..., but there are no more basic eighteenth-century farmhouse types in the Delaware Valley than there are different house models in many subdivisions. ... The eighteenth-century average guy in the Delaware Valley was an

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individualist but a conformist—a wary adventurer. He felt anxious in his adjustment to the changing times and chose to appear modern while acting conservatively. He cared more for economics than for aesthetics. He does not sound unfamiliar.  

Delaware Valley slatback chairs were similarly comforting, with their predictable, economical form and styling. Like the houses and farm plans, the chairs entered into the vernacular, both urban and rural. This is literally illustrated in the paintings of John Lewis Krimmel (see figure 1) and in two of the Birch prints of Philadelphia first issued in 1799. In the views of Second and Third Streets at Market Street, slatback chairs become street furniture, part of everyday life.  

The folk production and use of slatbacks continued into this century, notably in southern New Jersey. This, along with scholarship and the antiques marketplace, have firmly lodged the slatback tradition in both the historical and modern consciousness of the region. Thus it is fitting that Jamie Wyeth, scion of the modern regional painting tradition, should collect slatback chairs and feature them

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in his work (figure 58). However one should not be mislead by the romanticized view presented by Wyeth and many scholars; Delaware Valley slatback chairs are first and foremost inexpensive seating, not folk "art." It is with this understanding and consideration of the framework suggested in this thesis that a social history of the tradition should begin.

The following decimal conversions were consistently used for the inch-measurement data in the tables: 1/8 equals .12, 3/8 equals .37, 5/8 equals .62, and 7/8 equals .87. Averages and standard deviations are expressed in decimal not fractional terms.
Table 1 — Inventories of Daniel Jones and William Davis

Following are excerpts from the inventories of Daniel Jones and William Davis, Philadelphia chairmakers. The Jones inventory is dated 16 June 1766; the Davis inventory is dated 20 July 1767. The original documents are located in the Municipal Archives of the City of Philadelphia; the transcriptions are from Nancy A. Goyne, "Furniture Craftsmen in Philadelphia, 1760-1780: Their Role in a Mercantile Society," (unpublished master's thesis, University of Delaware, 1963), pp. 207-210.

**Daniel Jones inventory**

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<th>Description</th>
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<th>d</th>
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<td>23 Plain chairs four Slats at 3/ pr piece</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 four Slats plain Backs &amp; turn'd fronts at 3/3 pr piece</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 five Slats turn'd fronts &amp; archd at 3/9 pr</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 four Slats &amp; turn'd fronts 3/6 pr</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 White Chairs at 2/ pr</td>
<td>1.16</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 Childrins Chairs at 1/6 pr</td>
<td>1.16</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Cais'd Chairs at 5/ pr</td>
<td>1.10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Seated Chairs at 4/ pr</td>
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<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Arm Chairs at 4/ pr</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 five Slats arch'd &amp; turn'd fronts, Blue at 3/9 pr</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 three Slats Coullour'd at 3/ pr</td>
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<td>8 Old Chairs at 1/6 pr</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 Couches at 20/ pr</td>
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<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>About 2000 of Chair Lists at 1/3 pr Hundred</td>
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<tr>
<td>About 100 of Chair &amp; Couch Rails &amp; feet at 1/ pr Dozen</td>
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<td>4</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sundry feet &amp; Caisins for crook Back Chairs</td>
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<td>About 2000 Slats at 2/ pr Hundred</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>About 300 Bundles of Rushes at 10/ pr Hundred</td>
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**William Davis inventory**

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<th>Description</th>
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<td>6 Unfinish'd Chairs</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 finish'd 3 Slat Chairs &amp; 2 Do unfinish'd</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>the Bottoming of 7 Chairs</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Slat Presses and a Lather [?]</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 feet Maple Plank 26 Couch Rails</td>
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<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000 Bundles of Rushes at 10/ p hundred</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800 of Chair Lists at 3 p hundd</td>
<td>2.14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>450 Slats at 3/ p hd</td>
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<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 Children Chair Lists and Slats</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Dozen of Chair Rails</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0</td>
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Table 2 — Worksheet data for armchair in figure 9

5-slat armchair, study number 9 (Winterthur Museum 59.2381); all measurements in inches. Abbreviations: OH = overall height; OW = overall width; OD = overall depth or diameter; OL = overall length.

OH: 45 3/4 OW: 25 OD: 18 1/4 Layback: slight, less than 1
Left back post (right back post same)
OH: 45 3/4 finial (OH x OD): 2 3/4 x 1 1/2
OD at base of finial: 1 1/2
OD at taper: 2 OH of taper: 2 OD at ground: 1
comments: finial double scribed; taper slightly worn

Left front post (right front post same)
OH: 26 foot (OH x OD): 2 5/8 x 2 1/4 OD at ground: 7/8
2 "blocks" (OH X OD): 9 X 2 1/8 and 3 5/8 x 1 3/4
2 "turnings" (OH X OD): 2 3/4 x 1 3/4 and 8 X 1 3/4
comments: single-scribed foot, cone below worn; lower block double scribed and tapered to foot; single-scribed urn for lower turning; double-scribed vase with conical stop to arm for upper turning.

Left arm (right arm same)
OL: 17 1/4 OW: 2 OD: 1 7/8
OH from seat at front: 11 1/4 at back: 10 1/2
comments: double undercut with rounded front and arrow to post; pinned to side at front only

Front stretcher
OH (from ground): 8 3/4 OL: 20 3/4 OD: 2 1/2
comments: tripartite form with opposing conical stops and double-scribed vases flanking a single-scribed disc

Side and rear stretchers
OL: 14 (side), 15 (rear) OD: 1 (side and rear)
comments: plain turned, scribed on both front and back posts, side stretchers on right side pinned to posts as part of consolidation for insect damage

Seat
OW front: 24 1/2 OW back: 18 3/4 OD: 16 7/8 OH seat: 16 1/4
comments: replaced rush seat; seat lists scribed on posts

Slats
OD: 3/4 horizontal bow: 1 1/2
comments: fully arched and graduated; tops scribed on posts
Scribing on posts (with seat level as datum)
base of finial: 27 slat 5: (26 5/8) slat 4: 20 3/4 slat 3: 15 1/4 slat 2: 10 slat 1: 5 1/4 arm support: 1 7/8
front foot: 13 3/8 rear taper: 13 7/8
comments: slat 5 not scribed on post
general comments: turnings and slats maple; no finish evidence; rear stretcher probable replacement
Table 3 -- Average measurements and ratios for non-variant type IA armchairs

All measurements in inches, types listed in Appendix A. Abbreviations: \( n \) = number of chairs; \( \delta \) = standard deviation; \( \text{OH} \) = overall height; \( \text{OW} \) = overall width; \( \text{OBP} \) = overall back post; \( \text{OFP} \) = overall front post; \( \text{OSB} \) = overall seat back; \( \text{OSF} \) = overall seat front; \( \text{OSD} \) = overall seat depth; \( \text{ASH} \) = actual seat height.

### a. overall measurements

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<th>( \delta )</th>
<th>( \text{OW} )</th>
<th>( \delta )</th>
<th>( \text{OBP} )</th>
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### b. seat measurements

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Table 4 — Average measurements and ratios for non-variant type IA side chairs

All measurements in inches, types listed in Appendix A. Abbreviations: n = number of chairs; δ = standard deviation; OH = overall height; OW = overall width; OBP = overall back post; OFP = overall front post; OSB = overall seat back; OSD = overall seat depth; ASH = actual seat height.

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c. ratios

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Table 5 — Average measurements and ratios for type II and type III chairs

Armchair types designated with *; all measurements in inches, types listed in Appendix A. Abbreviations: n = number of chairs; 6 = standard deviation; OH = overall height; OW = overall width; OBP = overall back post; OFP = overall front post; OSF = overall seat front; OSB = overall seat back; OSD = overall seat depth; ASH = actual seat height.

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c. ratios

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Table 6 — Average measurements and ratios for selected late Baroque and Fussell-Savery chair types

Suffix A refers to armchairs, B to side chairs; all measurements in inches, types listed in Appendix E.
Abbreviations: n = number of chairs; 6 = standard deviation; OH = overall height; OW = overall width; OBP = overall back post to crest rail; OFP = overall front post or leg; OSF = overall seat front; OSB = overall seat back; OSD = overall seat depth; ASH = actual seat height; n/a = not applicable.

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c. ratios

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Table 7 — Average measurements and ratios for non-variant type IB chairs

Armchair types designated with *; all measurements in inches, types listed in Appendix A. Abbreviations: n = number of chairs; 6 = standard deviation; OH = overall height; OW = overall width; OBP = overall back post; OFP = overall front post; OSF = overall seat front; OSB = overall seat back; OSD = overall seat depth; ASH = actual seat height.

a. overall measurements

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Table 8 -- Measurements and ratios for selected extra-regional slatback chairs

Suffix A refers to armchairs, B to side chairs; type refers to Appendix A; * designates chairs with variant feature(s) defined in Appendix B; measurements in inches, chairs listed in Appendix D. Abbreviations: # = chair number; OH = overall height; OW = overall width; OBP = overall back post; OFP = overall front post; OSF = overall seat front; OSB = overall seat back; OSD = overall seat depth; ASH = actual seat height.

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Table 9 -- Average rear-post scribe line measurements for selected chair types

Armchairs designated with *; type IB2b* are rockers, all others non-variant; all measurements in inches, types listed in Appendix A. Measurements a through f represent the distance from the seat scribe line to the scribe lines for the tops of slats 1-5 and the bottom of the finial, respectively; g and h represent the distance from the seat scribe line to the scribe lines for side stretchers 1 and 2, respectively (see figure 50). Abbreviations: n = number of chairs; ó = standard deviation; n/a = not applicable.

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<th>ó</th>
<th>g</th>
<th>ó</th>
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Table 10 — Average post, stretcher, and arm measurements for selected chair types

Armchairs designated with *; type IB2b* are rockers, all others non-variant; all measurements in inches; types listed in Appendix A. Abbreviations: n = number of chairs; $\sigma$ = standard deviation; bp = back post; fp = front post; df = diameter at base of finial; ds = diameter at seat; dt = diameter at taper or foot; ss = side stretcher; fs = front stretcher; od = overall diameter; a = arm; ol = overall length; ow = overall width; n/a = not applicable.

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Table 11 -- Average measurements and ratios for selected variant types (excluding rockers)

Armchairs designated with *; all measurements in inches, types listed in Appendix B. Abbreviations: n = number of chairs; δ = standard deviation; OH = overall height; OW = overall width; OBP = overall back post; OFP = overall front post; OSF = overall seat front; OSB = overall seat back; OSD = overall seat depth; ASH = actual seat height.

a. overall measurements

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FIGURES

More complete information on chairs illustrated may be found in Appendices C (for slatbacks) and E (for related seating forms). Basic overall measurements are given for those chairs not included in the appendices.
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108-165

University Microfilms International
APPENDICES
APPENDIX A: FORMAL TYPOLOGY

Study chairs are indicated by bracketed number, e.g., (143). Underlined number signifies rockers, e.g., 55; bold number signifies formal variant, e.g., 81; refer to Appendix 2 for more information on formal variants. Stylistic variants and child's chairs are also listed in Appendix 2.

ARMCHAIRS

I. turned front legs
   A. with two to four turned elements; turned, tripartite front stretcher(s); and
      1. arched slats
         a. five slats
            numbers 9, 10, 11, 12, 18, 22, (24), 33, (40), 54, 55, 57, 69, 70, 81, (83), (84), 105, 120, 125, (126), 129, 138, 140, 141, (143), 150, 154, (160), 170, 186, 189, 191, 192, 195, 196, 197, 199, 200, 203, 208, 211, 212, (220), (252), (253), (254), (255), (256), (257), (258), (259), (260), (268), (271), (273), (274), (286), (287)
         b. four slats
            numbers 7, 21, 50, (56), (61), 65, 75, 76, 77, 137, 162, 171, 201, (261), (262), (263), (264), (285), (305), (306), (313)
         c. six slats
            numbers 25, 27, 52, (144), 146, 168, 207, (265), (267)
      2. arched slats (flat bottoms)
         a. five slats
            numbers 5, 45, (60), 86, (157), 161, 172, 177, 184, 206, (269), (270), (315)
         b. four slats
            numbers 87, (128), 165, (307)
         c. six slats
            numbers 6, (67), (266)
         d. three slats
            number (279)
B. with one or two turned elements; two plain turned front stretchers; and
1. arched slats
   a. five slats
      numbers 78, 145, (272), (277), (278)
   b. four slats
      number (283)
2. arched slats (flat bottoms)
   a. five slats
      numbers (68), 103, 133, 166, 173, 185, (275), (276), (294), (295), (296)
   b. four slats
      numbers 38, 51, 79, 93, 96, (114), 134, 163, 167, 194, (280), (281), (282), (284), (297)
   c. three slats
      number 164
II. cabriole front legs; single turned front stretcher; cased seat; and
A. sawn leg and arched slats
   1. five slats
      numbers (82), (89), (108), (115), (289), (290)
   2. six slats
      numbers 1, 59, 63, (291)
B. turned leg and five arched slats (flat bottoms)
   number (147)
III. commode chairs with joined board seat frame and
A. five arched slats
   number 74
B. five arched slats (flat bottoms)
   numbers 53, 174

SIDE CHAIRS
I. turned front leg with
   A. three or two turned elements; turned tripartite stretcher(s); and
   1. arched slats
      a. five slats
         numbers 3, 8, 13, 14, 15, 23, (29), 30, (34), 44, (47), (48), (49), 62, 64, 66, 73, (90), 91, 97, 101, (102), (106), 109, 111, (112), 113, 117, (118), (122), 123, 131, 132, (136), 142, 148, 149, (151), (153), 156, 158, 176, 178, (183), 187, 188, 198, (202), 205, 210, (214), (215), (216), (217), (218), (219), (221), (222), (223), (224), (233), (237), (239), (240), (245), (246), (288), (298), (299), (310)
b. four slats
   numbers 16, 35, (36), (37), (42), (88), 92, 94, 100, 104, 107, 124, (130), 175, 179, 190, 213, (225), (226), (227), (228), (229), (230), (231), (232), (238), (243), (244), (247), (312)

c. six slats
   numbers (46), 110, (159), 204, 209, (235), (236), (251)

d. three slats
   numbers 119, 169, (234)

2. arched slats (flat bottoms)
a. five slats
   numbers 139, (293)
b. four slats
   numbers (241), (242)

B. two or less turned elements; two plain turned front stretchers; and
1. arched slats
   a. four slats
      numbers 80, 181
   b. three slats
      numbers (71), 182

2. arched slats (flat bottoms)
a. four slats
   number 116
b. three slats
   numbers 39, 43, 58, (95), 155, 180, 193, (248), (249), (311)
c. two slats
   numbers 41, (250)

II. cabriole front leg; turned tripartite front stretcher; and
A. sawn leg, arched slats
   1. five slats
      numbers 99, 135
   2. six slats
      numbers 72, 98, (121), (292)

B. turned leg, four arched slats
   number 2
APPENDIX B: VARIANTS

FORMAL VARIATIONS

An asterisk signifies a chair with more than one variation, e.g., 172*.

I. biaxial turning of rear posts
   A. arm chairs
      1. five arched slats
         numbers 22*, 150, (273)
      2. five arched slats (flat bottoms)
         number 172*, 173
      3. four arched slats (flat bottoms)
         numbers (128), 134
   B. side chair, four arched slats
      number (37)

II. seat-level construction
   A. with flatwise, blocked front seat rail
      1. armchair, five arched slats
         number 81*
      2. side chairs
         a. five arched slats
            numbers 3, 13, 14, 73, (106), 109, 111, 131,
               132, 176, 188, (237), (288), (298)
         b. four arched slats
            numbers 181, 213, (238)
         c. three arched slats
            number 182
         d. six arched slats
            number (235)
   B. front post blocked at seat level, cased seat
      1. armchair, five arched slats
         number (274)
      2. side chairs, arched slats
         a. five slats
            numbers (90), 97, 113, 178, 210, (239), (310)*
         b. six slats
            number 204
C. loose seat-- all armchairs
1. five arched slats, rectangular mortise and tenon seat rails, seat within
   numbers 78, 105, (115), 125, 203, (271), (272)
2. four arched slats, rectangular mortise and tenon seat rails, seat within
   number (285)
3. four arched slats, round mortise and tenon seat rails, seat imposed
   numbers 76, 137, 162, (313)

III. second tripartite front stretcher
A. arm chairs
   1. five arched slats
      numbers 22*, 81*
   2. five arched slats (flat bottoms)
      number 45, 172*, (315)
   3. four arched slats
      numbers (56), (61), 65
   4. three arched slats (flat bottoms)
      number (279)*
B. side chairs, four arched slats
   numbers (243), (244)

IV. rockers
A. arm chairs
   1. five arched slats
      numbers (40), 54, 55, 138, 189, 196, 197, (254),
         (256), (257), (278), (287)
   2. five arched slats (flat bottoms)
      numbers 103, 161, 166, 184
   3. four arched slats (flat bottoms)
      numbers 51, 79, 93, (114), 163, 165, 194, (282)
   4. four arched slats
      numbers (283)
   5. six arched slats
      numbers 27, 52, 146, 168
   6. three arched slats (flat bottoms)
      numbers 164, (279)*
B. side chairs
   1. five arched slats
      numbers 156, 158, (218), (245), (246), (310)*
   2. four arched slats
      number 130
   3. three arched slats (flat bottoms)
      number 155
STYLISTIC VARIATIONS

I. turning of front posts
   A. turned, offset "horsebone" feet
      1. armchairs with five arched slats
         numbers 120, 138, (192), (268)
      2. side chair with five arched slats
         number 149
   B. turned "crookt" legs
      1. side chair with four arched slats
         number 2
      2. child's armchair with three arched slats
         number (4)
   C. swelled bottom front post
      1. armchairs with five arched slats
         numbers 18, 57, 154
      2. side chairs with five arched slats
         numbers 13, 14, 109, 131, 132, 148, (237)
   D. carved (and applied?) Spanish or brush foot
      five slat side chair
      number (288)

II. decorative casing of seats
   A. armchair with six arched slats
      number 27
   B. side chairs with five arched slats
      numbers 13, 14, 109, 131, 132, (136), (237)

III. variant slat shape
   A. armchairs with five double-ogee curve topped,
molded, flat bottomed slats
      numbers 5, (60), 86, (315)
   B. complex curves on both top and bottom edges
      1. six slat armchair
         number (267)
      2. five slat armchair
         number (273)
      3. five slat side chairs
         numbers 8, (240)
      4. four slat armchair
         number (305)
   C. continuously arched slats
      1. five slat armchair
         number 81
      2. five slat side chair
         number (288)
   D. armchair with five flat end, arched center slats
      number 22
CHILDREN'S CHAIRS

I. high armchairs
   A. cf. type IBl (two plain turned front stretchers and fully arched slats)
      1. three slats
         numbers (19), (28), (85), (300), (301)
      2. four slats
         numbers (20), (26), (31), (32)
   B. cf. type IB2 (two plain turned front stretchers and arched slats with flat bottoms)
      1. four slats
         numbers (302), (308)
      2. three slats (see also figure 34, right)
         number (304)

II. armchairs
    cf. type IA1 (single turned front stretcher and fully arched slats), three slats (see also figure 34, left)
    numbers (4), (17), (303)

III. side chairs
     cf. type IA1 (single turned front stretcher and fully arched slats)
     1. four slats
        number (127)
     2. three slats
        number (314)
APPENDIX C: CHECKLIST

Survey numbers follow the format used in Appendix A: study chairs are in brackets; chairs with rockers are underlined; and formal variants are in bold numerals. The following information is recorded (when available) for each chair: brief description; attribution; place of manufacture and date; type and variant type; basic measurements; collection; comments; and figure number. Type notations refer to the information in Appendices A and B. Measurements are overall height by overall width by overall depth; width is to arm for armchairs and seat for side chairs unless otherwise specified; depth includes layback and/or bow of slats. Collection registration numbers given when available; DAPC numbers refer to images in the Decorative Arts Photographic Collection, Winterthur Museum Library. Comments include publication history, unusual features and/or materials, and comparisons to other chairs surveyed.

1 6-slat cabriole-leg armchair
attributed to the Solomon Fussell shop
Philadelphia, c. 1735-50
type IIA2
44 7/8 x 25 1/2 x 21 1/2
Winterthur Museum 52.236
illustrated in Forman, "Delaware Valley 'Crookt Foot' and Slat-Back Chairs," fig. 2, p. 417 and "German Influences in Pennsylvania Furniture," fig. 51, p. 104 figure 6

2 4-slat cabriole-leg side chair
Delaware Valley (?), c. 1750-1800
type IIB
40 1/2 x 19 1/8 x 21 1/4
Winterthur Museum 56.40.2
unique full-size form; comparable turned "crookt" leg found only on one other non-English chair in sample, child's armchair number 4; illustrated in John Kirk, American Furniture & the British Tradition to 1830 (1982), fig. 761
3  5-slat side chairs (6)
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
  type IAla, variant type IIA2a
  44 1/4 x 18 1/8 x 16
  Winterthur Museum 57.1367.1-.6

4  3-slat child's armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
cf. type IAl
  16 5/8 x 10 5/8 x 9 3/8
  Winterthur Museum 58.1017
  unusual turned legs (cf. number 2)

5  5-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
  type IA2a
  44 1/2 x 23 1/2 x 23 1/2
  Winterthur Museum 58.2980
  compare to numbers 60, 86, and 267
  figure 35

6  6-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
  type IA2c
  46 3/8 x 23 x 23 3/4
  Winterthur Museum 59.2329 (DAPC 64.1058)
  compare to number 67

7  4-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
  type IAlb
  43 1/4 x 25 1/2 x 22
  Winterthur Museum 59.2331 (DAPC 64.1062)

8  5-slat side chair
Delaware Valley (?), c. 1750-1800
  type IAla
  45 1/8 x 18 1/4 x 16
  Winterthur Museum 59.2332 (DAPC 64.1501)
  unusual chair, compare to number 273; illustrated in
  Nutting, Furniture of the Pilgrim Century, no. 422

9  5-slat armchair
probably Philadelphia, c. 1720-70
  type IAla
  45 3/4 x 25 x 18 1/4
  Winterthur Museum 59.2381
  see table 2 for complete measurements and observations
  figures 9, 50
10  5-slat armchair
    probably Philadelphia, c. 1720-70
    type IAla
    45 1/2 x 24 1/2 x 21 1/2
    Winterthur Museum 59.2382 (DAPC 65.2026)
    figure 29

11  5-slat armchair
    Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
    type IAla
    44 3/4 x 24 1/4 x 24
    Winterthur Museum 59.2383

12  5-slat armchair
    Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
    type IAla
    43 3/8 x 23 3/4 x 20 1/2
    Winterthur Museum 59.2386
    compare to number 191

13  5-slat side chair
    possibly Chester or Delaware County, c. 1750-1800
    type IAla, variant type IIA2a
    46 x 20 1/4 x 21
    Winterthur Museum 59.2401
    one of a group of similar chairs, compare to numbers
    14, 109, 131, 132, and 237; illustrated in Forman,
    "German Influences in Pennsylvania Furniture," fig. 53,
    p. 105
    figure 24

14  5-slat side chair
    possibly Chester or Delaware County, c. 1750-1800
    type IAla, variant type IIA2a
    45 1/2 x 19 3/8 x 22 1/2
    Winterthur Museum 59.2402
    compare to numbers 13, 109, 131, 132, and 237

15  5-slat side chair
    probably Philadelphia, c. 1750-1800
    type IAla
    44 1/8 x 19 3/4 x 16
    Winterthur Museum 59.2499
    illustrated in Forman, "German Influences in
    Pennsylvania Furniture," fig. 52, p. 105
    figure 14
16 4-slat side chair
probably Philadelphia, c. 1750-1800
type IA1b
40 1/2 x 18 1/4 x 17 3/4
Winterthur Museum 59.3819

(17) 3-slat child's armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1850
cf. type IA1
28 1/2 x 15 1/2 x 11 1/4
Winterthur Museum 64.822 (DAPC 65.2780)
figure 22, bottom

18 5-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1800-50
type IA1a
43 3/4 x 22 1/2 x 17 1/2
Winterthur Museum 65.1886 (DAPC 65.2740)
unusual front post turnings, slats, and overall size

(19) 3-slat child's high armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1800-50
cf. type IB1
38 1/2 x 15 3/8 x 14 1/4
Winterthur Museum 65.2034 (DAPC 65.2727)
turned arms

(20) 4-slat child's high armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1850
cf. type IB1
35 x 15 3/4
Winterthur Museum 67.692 (DAPC 64.1685)
figure 22, top

21 4-slat armchair
possibly Philadelphia, c. 1750-1800
type IA1b
42 1/2 x 24 3/4 x 20
Winterthur Museum 67.761
illustrated in Goyne Evans, "Design sources for windsor
furniture," fig. 3, p. 283; compare to number 264
22 5-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IA1a, variant types IA1 and IIIA1
50 x 23 x 24 1/2
Winterthur Museum 67.778
unusual chair with multiple formal variations and
unusual slats; compare to numbers 172 and 173
figure 51

23 5-slat side chair
probably Philadelphia, c. 1750-1800
type IA1a
44 3/8 x 18 1/2 x 16
Winterthur Museum 67.1174

(24) 5-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IA1a
46 1/4 x 24 x 26
Winterthur Museum 67.1345

25 6-slat armchair
possibly Philadelphia, c. 1750-1800
type IA1c
44 3/4 x 21 x 21 1/2
Winterthur Museum 67.1725

(26) 4-slat child's high armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1850
cf. type IB1
43 1/4 x 15 5/8 x 16
Winterthur Museum 60.395
illustrated in Antiques (April 1981), pl. XII, p. 883

27 6-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IA1c
47 1/2 x 25 (26 rockers) x 23 (32 rockers)
Winterthur Museum 70.198
unusually bold turnings and decorative seat casing;
illustrated in Bert and Ellen Denker, The Rocking Chair
Book (1979), fig. 17, p. 28

(28) 3-slat child's high armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1850
cf. type IB1
38 1/8 x 11 1/4 x 13
Independence National Historical Park 8260
(DAPC 75.1090)
(29) 5-slat side chair
attributed to George Ware
Cumberland County, New Jersey, c. 1870-1930
type IAla
43 1/2 x 17 3/8 x 19
Winterthur Museum 75.525

30 5-slat side chair
attributed to William Savery
Philadelphia, c. 1745-80
type IAla
43 7/8 x 18 1/2 x 17 1/4
Winterthur Museum 85.115
descended in the Savery family

(31) 4-slat child's high armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1850
cf. type IBl
not measured
Daniel Boone Homestead 74.02.44

(32) 4-slat child's high armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1850
cf. type IBl
41 1/4 x 14 (17 feet) x 17
Tyler Arboretum 87.11.1

33 5-slat armchair
possibly Philadelphia, c. 1720-70
type IAla
46 3/4 x 21 1/2 x 20
Winterthur Museum 59.3640

(34) 5-slat side chair
possibly Philadelphia, c. 1750-1800
type IAla
42 x 19 1/4 x 18
Winterthur Museum 59.3757

35 4-slat side chair
Delaware Valley, c. 1780-1850
type IAlb
44 1/4 x 18 x 16 1/4
Winterthur Museum 59.3763
all four feet turned (only one other example known, number 251), also note unusual front stretcher; however, all other elements typical
(36) 4-slat side chair
   possibly Philadelphia, c. 1720-70
   type IA1b
   40 1/2 x 19 1/4 x 16 3/4
   Winterthur Museum 59.3770

(37) 4-slat side chair
   Delaware Valley (?), c. 1780-1850
   type IA1b, variant type IB
   41 x 20 1/4 x 18 1/2
   Winterthur Museum 59.3783
   unique example of side chair with biaxial rear posts;
   this along with ring turning of rear posts between
   slats suggests that this chair is either a unique
   variant or extra-regional

38  4-slat armchair
   Delaware Valley, c. 1800-50
   type IB2b
   45 1/2 x 25 1/4 x 19 1/2
   Winterthur Museum 59.3793

39  3-slat side chair
   Delaware Valley, c. 1800-50
   type IB2b
   38 x 18 1/2 x 18
   Winterthur Museum 59.3815
   illustrated in Antiques (April 1981), pl. XVI, p. 885
   figure 15

(40) 5-slat armchair
   Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
   type IA1a
   46 1/4 x 22 1/2 x 17 1/4 (seat depth)
   Winterthur Museum 71.564

41  2-slat side chairs (2)
   Delaware Valley, c. 1800-50
   type IB2c
   31 1/2 x 19 3/4 x 20 1/2 (both)
   Winterthur Museum 59.3858, 3861
   illustrated in Antiques (April 1981), pl. XI, p. 882

(42) 4-slat side chair
   possibly Philadelphia, c. 1720-70
   type IA1b
   38 1/2 x 18 1/4 x 17 1/2
   Winterthur Museum 71.606
43 3-slat side chair  
Delaware Valley, c. 1800-50  
type IB2b  
35 1/4 x 18 1/4 x 17 1/2  
Winterthur Museum 67.279

44 5-slat side chairs (2)  
possibly Philadelphia, c. 1720-70  
type IAla  
43 5/8 x 18 3/4 x 17  
Winterthur Museum 67.1726.1, .2

45 5-slat armchair  
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800  
type IA2a, variant type IIIA2  
49 1/2 x 24 x 25  
Winterthur Museum 58.3264  
figure 18

(46) 6-slat side chair  
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800  
type IAlc  
42 1/2 x 18 x 14 1/4  
Winterthur Museum 71.565

(47) 5-slat side chair  
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800  
type IAla  
40 3/4 x 18 1/2 x 14  
Winterthur Museum 71.566

(48) 5-slat side chair  
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800  
type IAla  
45 3/8 x 19 1/4 x 14 1/2  
Winterthur Museum 71.567

(49) 5-slat side chair  
Delaware Valley, c. 1800-50  
type IAla  
40 x 17 x 14 (seat depth)  
Winterthur Museum 71.572

50 4-slat armchair  
possibly Philadelphia, c. 1750-1800  
type IA1b  
43 1/2 x 22 1/4 x 22  
Winterthur Museum 59.3649  
illustrated in Antiques (April 1981), pl. XII, p. 883

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51 4-slat armchair
probably southern New Jersey, c. 1820-35
type IB2b
44 x 24 (25 1/2 rockers) x 20 (33 rockers)
private collection (DAPC 76.144)
Salem, New Jersey provenance
figure 12

52 6-slat armchair
probably southern New Jersey, c. 1800-50
type IA1c
46 3/4 x 21 3/4 x 20 (30 rockers)
Salem County Historical Society F-115
Salem County, New Jersey provenance

53 5-slat commode armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IIIB
44 1/2 x 25 x 19
Salem County Historical Society F-365
compare to numbers 74 and 174 (especially latter)

54 5-slat armchair
attributed to Thomas Ware
Woodstown, New Jersey, c. 1840-60
type IA1a
44 3/4 x 21 1/4 x 20
Salem County Historical Society F-379
Salem County, New Jersey provenance
figure 47

55 5-slat armchair
probably southern New Jersey, c. 1750-1850
type IA1a
40 1/2 x 23 3/4 (25 1/2 rockers) x 19
Hancock House
Cumberland County, New Jersey provenance

(56) 4-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IA1b, variant type IIIA3
45 1/2 x 24 1/8 x 16 1/8 (seat depth)
Wadsworth Atheneum 1926.427 (DAPC 87.195)
illustrated in Antiques (October 1984), fig. 9,
p. 867
57 5-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IA1a
47 x 22 1/4 x 22
Heritage Center of Lancaster County 79.96
Lancaster County, Pennsylvania provenance; illustrated in Antiques (May 1979), pl. I, p. 986

58 3-slat side chair
Delaware Valley, c. 1800-50
type IB2b
38 1/4 x 18 1/2 x 17
Camden County Historical Society 83.1.16

59 6-slat cabriole-leg armchair
probably Philadelphia, c. 1730-70
type IIA2
44 1/2 x 26 1/2 x 23
private collection (DAPC 79.861)
illustrated in Nutting, Furniture of the Pilgrim Century, no. 429 and Nutting, Furniture Treasury, no. 1903

(60) 5-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IA2a
46 3/8 x 23 x 21 1/2
unlocated
illustrated in Northeast Auction catalog, May 1990, lot 454, p. 30; compare to numbers 5, 86, and 267

(61) 4-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1780-1850
type IAlb, variant type IIIA3
44 3/4 x 22 x 21 1/2
Heritage Center of Lancaster County 80.127

62 5-slat side chairs (2)
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IA1a
44 1/4 x 18 1/4 x 16
private collection

63 6-slat cabriole-leg armchair
probably Philadelphia, c. 1730-70
type IIA2
43 3/4 x 24 x 22
Metropolitan Museum of Art 1979.305
compare to number 291
64 5-slat side chair
possibly Philadelphia, c. 1750-1800
type IA1a
44 7/8 x 19 x 17
Yale University Art Gallery 1963.7
illustrated in Kane, 300 Years of American Seating Furniture, no. 19, pp. 45-46

65 4-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1800-50
type IA1b, variant type IIIA3
41 1/4 x 19 1/2 x 19
Yale University Art Gallery 1930.2042
turned arms, other turnings unusual as is the braided seat; illustrated in Kane, 300 Years of American Seating Furniture, no. 18, p. 44

66 5-slat side chairs (2)
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IA1a
45 3/4 x 18 5/8 x 17 (for 62.1191)
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 62.1190, 1191
illustrated in Randall, American Furniture in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, no. 141, pp. 179-181

(67) 6-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IA2c
46 3/4 x 23 x 19 1/2
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 31.40
compare to number 6; illustrated in Randall, American Furniture in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, no. 142, pp. 180-81 and Fairbanks and Bates, American Furniture, p. 312 bottom

(68) 5-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1780-1850
type IB2a
43 3/4 x 25 3/4 x 20
Philadelphia Museum of Art 56-40-3

69 5-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IA1a
44 1/2 x 23 3/4 x 20 1/2
Philadelphia Museum of Art 69-284-14
70  5-slat armchair  
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800  
type IAla  
45 1/4 x 24 1/4 x 21  
Philadelphia Museum of Art 69-284-15  
illustrated in Garvan, The Pennsylvania German Collection, no. 7, p. 37

(71) 3-slat side chair  
attributed to William Ward  
Bridgeville, Delaware, c. 1850-75  
type IB1b  
38 (others not given)  
private collection  
illustrated in Deborah Depenthal Waters, Plain and Ornamental: Delaware Furniture 1740-1890 (1984), no. 11

72  6-slat cabriole-leg side chairs (2)  
probably Philadelphia, c. 1730-70  
type IIA2  
45 3/4 x 21 3/8 x 18  
Chester County Historical Society 38/76 Fchr 34, 35  
Chester County provenance; illustrated in Margaret Schiffer, Furniture and Its Makers of Chester County, Pennsylvania (1966), fig. 116 and Margaret Bleecker Blades, Two Hundred Years of Chairs and Chairmaking: An Exhibition of Chairs from the Chester County Historical Society (1987), no. 22, fig. 11, pp. 14, 26 figure 13

73  5-slat side chairs (2)  
possibly Chester County, c. 1750-1800  
type IAla, variant type IIA2a  
46 x 19 3/4 x 17  
Chester County Historical Society 50/76 Fchr 121, 122  
Chester County provenance; illustrated in Schiffer, Furniture and Its Makers, fig. 116 and Blades, Two Hundred Years of Chairs and Chairmaking, no. 21, fig. 12, pp. 14, 26 figure 20

74  5-slat commode armchair  
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800  
type IIIA  
49 x 22 x 18  
Historic Fallsington 66.278 (DAPC 76.1245)  
compare to other two commode chairs, numbers 53 and 174
75 4-slat armchair
probably Philadelphia, c. 1720-70
type IA\textsubscript{1}B
42 7/8 x 24 1/2 x 19
private collection (DAPC 77.336)

76 4-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IA\textsubscript{1}B, variant type IIC\textsubscript{3}
47 1/8 x 24 3/4 x 20
private collection (DAPC 77.335)
compare to numbers 137, 162, and (313); feet altered

77 4-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IA\textsubscript{1}B
43 5/8 x 22 x 22
private collection (DAPC 78.1550)
Lewes, Delaware provenance; compare to number 262

78 5-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1780-1850
type IB\textsubscript{1}A, variant type IIC\textsubscript{1}
46 3/4 x 22 3/4 x 19
private collection (DAPC 77.390)
unusual example combining arched slats, two plain-turn round front stretchers, and a loose seat; compare to commode armchair number 74

79 4-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1780-1850
type IB\textsubscript{2}B
43 1/4 x 22 (24 1/2 rockers) x 20 (29 rockers)
John Woolman Memorial (DAPC 74.5293)
Mount Holly, New Jersey provenance

80 4-slat side chair
Delaware Valley, c. 1800-50
type IB\textsubscript{1}A
42 1/2 x 18 1/2 x 17
Camden County Historical Society 83.1.18

81 5-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IA\textsubscript{1}A, variant types IIA\textsubscript{1} and IIIA\textsubscript{1}
44 3/8 x 22 (seat) x 21
Independence National Historical Park 12605
unique example of armchair with flatwise, blocked front seat rail; double front stretchers, unusual slats
(82) 5-slat cabriole-leg armchair
probably Philadelphia, c. 1730-70
type IIaA1
not measured
private collection

(83) 5-slat armchair
probably Philadelphia, c. 1720-70
type IAaA1
not measured
private collection

(84) 5-slat armchair
possibly Philadelphia, c. 1750-1800
type IAaA1
not measured
private collection

(85) 3-slat child's high armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1800-50
cf. type IB1
not measured
Historical Society of York County
turned arms; illustrated in Antiques (September 1970),
p. 443

86 5-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IA2a
45 3/8 x 24 1/4 x 20 1/2
private collection
compare to numbers 5, 60, and 267

87 4-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IA2b
44 x 25 3/4 x 20
Independence National Historical Park 1026

(88) 4-slat side chair
probably Philadelphia, c. 1720-70
type IA1b
41 3/8 x 18 1/4 x 16 3/4
illustrated in Venable, American Furniture in the Bybee
Collection, no. 17, pp. 40-41
(89)  5-slat cabriole-leg armchair
     probably Philadelphia, c. 1730-70
     type IIAl
     46 x 26 x 18 (seat depth)
     Bayou Bend Collection B.66.24
     illustrated in David Warren, Bayou Bend: American
     Furniture, Paintings and Silver from the Bayou Bend
     Collection (1975), no. 211, p. 116

(90)  5-slat side chairs (2)
     Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
     type IA1a, variant type IIIBa
     45 1/4 x 18 1/4 x 22
     Bayou Bend Collection B.58.148.1, 2
     illustrated in Warren, Bayou Bend, no. 212, p. 116

91  5-slat side chair
     possibly Philadelphia, c. 1720-70
     type IA1a
     43 1/2 x 18 1/4 x 18
     Independence National Historical Park 6882

92  4-slat side chair
     Delaware Valley, c. 1780-1850
     type IA1b
     42 3/4 x 18 1/2 x 16 1/2
     Historical Society of Delaware 1971.2.3

93  4-slat armchair
     Delaware Valley, c. 1780-1850
     type IB2b
     42 3/4 x 24 x 20 (31 rockers)
     Independence National Historical Park 6225

94  4-slat side chair
     Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
     type IA1b
     40 7/8 x 17 3/4 x 19
     Historical Society of Delaware 1980.2.1

(95)  3-slat side chair
     possibly southern New Jersey, c. 1800-1900
     type IB2b
     38 1/2 x 18 1/4 x 17
     New Jersey State Museum 68.198
96. 4-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1780-1850
type IB2b
43 x 23 1/4 x 20
Independence National Historical Park 6298

97. 5-slat side chair
attributed to Maskell Ware
Cumberland County, New Jersey, c. 1790-1820
type IAla, variant type IIB2a
44 3/4 x 19 x 17 1/2
Newark Museum 62.102
illustrated in Antiques (June 1966), p. 872 and Freund,
"'Pennsylvania' Style Slat-Back Rush-Bottom Chairs,
fig. 2, p. 55; similar to chair in c. 1850 print of Ware family, see Watson and King, American Craftsmen,
pp. 6-7
figure 21

98. 6-slat cabriole-leg side chair
probably Philadelphia, c. 1730-70
type IIA2
44 3/4 x 19 1/4 x 17 1/2
private collection (DAPC 77.1947)

99. 5-slat cabriole-leg side chair
probably Philadelphia, c. 1730-70
type IIA1
43 1/2 x 19 1/4 x 17 1/2
Philadelphia Museum of Art 23-10-1 (DAPC 65.6)

100. 4-slat side chairs (2)
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IAlb
42 3/4 x 18 x 15 (for 68-118-22)
Philadelphia Museum of Art 68-118-21, 22

101. 5-slat side chair
possibly Philadelphia, c. 1720-70
type IAla
44 1/2 x 18 1/4 x 17
Independence National Historical Park 7564

(102) 5-slat side chair
possibly Philadelphia, c. 1720-70
type IAla
44 3/4 x 18 x 17
private collection (DAPC 77.392)
103  5-slat armchair  
Delaware Valley, c. 1800-50  
type IB2a  
43 x 23 1/2 (24 1/2 rockers) x 21 (34 rockers)  
Historic Fallsington 66.10.1

104  4-slat side chairs (2)  
possibly Philadelphia, c. 1720-70  
type IAlb  
42 x 18 3/4 x 18  
private collection (DAPC 76.168)

105  5-slat armchair  
probably Philadelphia, c. 1750-1800  
type IAla, variant type IICl  
44 1/4 x 24 1/4 x 20  
Historic Fallsington 71.2.3  
compare to numbers 125 and 203  
figure 16

(106)  5-slat side chair  
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800  
type IAla, variant type IIAla  
42 1/4 x 18 3/4 x 17 1/2  
Independence National Historical Park

107  4-slat side chair  
possibly Philadelphia, c. 1720-70  
type IAlb  
41 x 18 x 17  
Independence National Historical Park 2607

(108)  5-slat cabriole-leg armchair  
probably Philadelphia, c. 1730-70  
type IIAl  
not measured  
private collection

109  5-slat side chair  
possibly Chester or Delaware County, c. 1750-1800  
type IAla, variant type IIA2a  
45 1/4 x 19 x 18  
private collection  
compare to numbers 13, 14, 131, 132, and 237
110 6-slat side chair  
possibly Philadelphia, c. 1720-70  
type IA1c  
43 x 18 1/2 x 18  
private collection

111 5-slat side chair  
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800  
type IA1a, variant type IIA2a  
45 1/4 x 19 3/4 x 17  
private collection

(112) 5-slat side chair  
possibly Philadelphia, c. 1720-70  
type IA1a  
not measured  
private collection

113 5-slat side chair  
possibly Philadelphia, c. 1750-1800  
type IA1a, variant type IIB2a  
45 1/4 x 18 1/2 x 16 1/2  
private collection

(114) 4-slat armchair  
attributed to William Savery  
Philadelphia, c. 1740-80  
but more likely Delaware Valley, c. 1780-1820  
type IB2b  
42 1/2 x 25 x 16  
unlocated (DAPC 64.1766)

(115) 5-slat cabriole-leg armchair  
attributed to the Solomon Fussell shop  
Philadelphia, c. 1735-50  
type II1A1, variant type II1C1  
not measured  
private collection (DAPC 66.2457)  
illustrated in John T. Kirk, Early American Furniture  
(1970), fig. 23, p. 37 and Forman, "Delaware Valley  
'Crookt Foot' and Slat-Back Chairs," fig. 12, p. 56

116 4-slat side chair  
possibly Philadelphia, c. 1800-50  
type IB2a  
38 1/8 x 18 3/4 x 16  
Philadelphia Museum of Art 28-7-115  
Morris family, Philadelphia provenance  
figure 39
117 5-slat side chair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IAla
44 x 17 7/8 x 18
Old Barracks Museum 22.5.3

(118) 5-slat side chair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IAla
44 x 17 7/8 x 18
Old Barracks Museum 22.5.4
similar to number 117 but with replacements

119 3-slat side chairs (2)
attributed to Alexander Chambers
Trenton, New Jersey, c. 1765-90
type IAld
38 x 18 1/2 x 17
Old Barracks Museum 32.3.3.1,2
descended in the Chambers family
figure 32

120 5-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IAla
44 1/4 x 24 3/4 x 21
Chester County Historical Society 76 Fchr 120
illustrated in Blades, Two Hundred Years of Chairs and Chaismaking, fig. 1, p. 4; compare to numbers 138, 268
figure 23

(121) 6-slat cabriole-leg side chair
probably Philadelphia, c, 1730-70
type IIA2
45 1/2 x 19 x 15 (seat depth)
private collection
illustrated in Margaret Schiffer, Arts and Crafts of Chester County, Pennsylvania (1980), p. 98 left

(122) 5-slat side chair
possibly Philadelphia, c. 1720-70
type IAla
44 1/2 x 18 1/4 x 15
private collection
illustrated in Schiffer, Arts and Crafts, p. 98 right
123  5-slat side chairs (2)
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IAla
42 3/4 x 18 1/2 x 18 1/2
private collection

124  4-slat side chair
Delaware Valley, c. 1780-1850
type IAlb
41 x 18 x 16
Daniel Boone Homestead 74.02.11

125  5-slat armchair
probably Philadelphia, c. 1750-1800
type IAla, variant type IIC1
44 1/2 x 23 1/2 x 20
Daniel Boone Homestead 74.02.19
compare to numbers 105 and 203

126  5-slat armchair
possibly Philadelphia, c. 1750-1800
type IAla
46 3/4 x 23 3/4 x 20
Daniel Boone Homestead 74.40

127  4-slat child's side chair
attributed to John Dubois
Gloucester County, New Jersey, c. 1840-60
cf. type IAl
25 1/4 x 14 1/2 (16 rockers) x 12 1/2 (22 1/2 rockers)
Gloucester County Historical Society

128  4-slat armchair
Delaware Valley (?), c. 1750-1850
type IA2b, variant type IA3
49 1/2 x 23 x 28
Daniel Boone Homestead 74.02.42
unusual combination of roughly turned front posts and
stretchers with hewn (?) biaxial rear posts that are
octagonal in section; compare to numbers 172 and 173

129  5-slat armchair
possibly Philadelphia, c. 1720-70
type IAla
42 1/4 x 23 1/4 x 20
Daniel Boone Homestead 74.7
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Type and Description</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>130</td>
<td>4-slat side chair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Delaware Valley, c. 1780-1850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>type IA1b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>38 3/4 x 16 x 27 (rockers)</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Moravian Museum 137</td>
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<td>Bethlehem, Pennsylvania provenance; illustrated in <em>Bethlehem of Pennsylvania</em> (1968), p. 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131</td>
<td>5-slat side chair</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>possibly Chester or Delaware County, c. 1750-1800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>type IA1a, variant type IIA2a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>45 5/8 x 19 1/2 x 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>private collection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>illustrated in <em>Antiques</em> (April 1983), p. 736; compare to numbers 13, 14, 109, 132, and 237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132</td>
<td>5-slat side chair</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>46 x 19 1/2 x 21</td>
</tr>
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<td>private collection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>compare to numbers 13, 14, 109, 131, and 237</td>
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<td>133</td>
<td>5-slat armchair</td>
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<td>Delaware Valley, c. 1780-1850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>type IB2a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>42 1/2 x 25 3/4 x 22</td>
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<td>Peirce-du Pont House, Longwood Gardens SW-6-79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chester County, Pennsylvania provenance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134</td>
<td>4-slat armchair</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Delaware Valley, c. 1780-1850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>type IB2b, variant type IA3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>44 x 22 3/4 x 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135</td>
<td>5-slat cabriole-leg side chair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>probably Philadelphia, c. 1730-70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>type IIA1</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>45 x 18 3/4 x 18</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Monmouth County Historical Association 78.13.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>136</td>
<td>5-slat side chair</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>type IA1a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>not measured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Monmouth County Historical Association decorative seat casing</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
137 4-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IA1b, variant type IIC3
Monmouth County Historical Association
compare to numbers 76, 162, and 313
figure 17

138 5-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IA1a
43 3/4 x 24 1/2 x 29 (rockers)
New Jersey State Museum 82.8.1
compare to numbers 120, 192, and 268; probably had
horsebone feet (cf. number 120) before rockers

139 5-slat side chair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IA2a
41 1/4 x 18 1/4 x 17
New Jersey State Museum 70.118

140 5-slat armchair
possibly Philadelphia, c. 1750-1800
type IA1a
45 x 22 1/2 x 22
Independence National Historical Park 6620
initials "A F A" carved on top of left arm

141 5-slat armchair
probably Philadelphia, c. 1750-1800
type IA1a
45 x 25 3/8 x 21
Independence National Historical Park 7809
figure 31

142 5-slat side chair
probably Philadelphia, c. 1720-70
type IA1a
44 x 18 7/8 x 18
Independence National Historical Park 4914
figure 30

(143) 5-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IA1a
47 x 24 3/8 x 19
Independence National Historical Park
(144) 6-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IA\text{alc}
not measured
Henry Ford Museum & Greenfield Village 28.15.2
arms moved up and medial braces installed, other
alterations; illustrated in Comstock, American
Furniture, no. 35

145 5-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1780-1850
type IB\text{la}
45 3/4 x 24 x 20
Hagley Museum and Library C30.1-1

146 6-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1780-1850
type IA\text{alc}
53 1/2 x 21 1/2 x 20 (29 rockers)
Daniel Boone Homestead 74.02.33
unusually tall back; illustrated in John Shea, The
Pennsylvania Dutch and Their Furniture (1980), p. 49

(147) 5-slat cabriole-leg armchair
Delaware Valley (?), c. 1730-1800
type IIB
not measured
private collection
illustrated in Forman, "Delaware Valley 'Crookt Foot'
and Slat-Back Chairs," fig. 4, p. 50 and Cotton,
English Regional Chair, fig. NE188, p. 154

148 5-slat side chair
possibly Philadelphia, c. 1750-1800
type IA\text{la}
44 3/4 x 18 1/4 x 18
Independence National Historical Park 6604

149 5-slat side chair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IA\text{la}
44 3/8 x 18 1/2 x 17
State Museum of Pennsylvania 66.9.2
unique example of turned horsebone feet on a side
chair; compare to armchair number 120

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150 5-slat armchair
possibly Philadelphia, c. 1750-1800
type IAla, variant type IAl
43 x 21 3/4 x 23
State Museum of Pennsylvania 75.10
illustrated in Forman, "Delaware Valley 'Crookt Foot' and Slat-Back Chairs," fig. 13, p. 57
figure 19

(151) 5-slat side chair
possibly Philadelphia, c. 1720-70
type IAla
44 5/8 x 18 1/4 x 14 (seat depth)
State Museum of Pennsylvania 63.4.1

(152) 4-slat side chair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IAlb
40 1/2 x 17 x 17
State Museum of Pennsylvania 63.24
illustrated in Shea, The Pennsylvania Dutch and Their Furniture, p. 49

(153) 5-slat side chair
possibly Chester County, c. 1750-1800
type IAla
43 7/8 x 18 1/8 x 14 3/8 (seat depth)
Art Institute of Chicago 1976.296
walnut as primary wood; Chester County, Pennsylvania provenance; illustrated in The Antiquarian Society of the Art Institute of Chicago: The First One Hundred Years (1977), no. 163, p. 139

154 5-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IAla
48 x 23 1/2 x 24 1/2
Brooklyn Museum 35.1039-1
illustrated in Donald C. Peirce and Hope Alswang, American Interiors: New England & The South (1983), p. 4

155 3-slat side chair
possibly Philadelphia, c. 1800-50
type IB2b
34 7/8 x 19 x 17 1/2 (22 rockers)
Germantown Historical Society 935
Germantown provenance
figure 40
156 5-slat side chair
Delaware Valley, c. 1800-50  
type IAla  
38 1/4 x 20 x 22 (rockers)  
Germantown Historical Society 978  
Germantown provenance  

(157) 5-slat armchair  
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800  
type IA2a  
unlocated  
compare turnings with those of numbers 5, (60), and 86; illustrated in Maine Antiques Digest (November 1990), p. 11-A  

158 5-slat side chair  
possibly Philadelphia, c. 1840-60  
type IAla  
40 3/4 x 18 (20 3/4 rockers) x 15 (27 1/2 rockers)  
Germantown Historical Society 2526 (1984.76)  
Germantown provenance  
figure 48  

(159) 6-slat side chair  
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800  
type IAlc  
50 3/4 x 18 1/2 x 17  
private collection  
illustrated in Nutting, Furniture Treasury, no. 1907  

(160) 5-slat armchair  
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800  
type IAla  
44 1/2 x 25 1/4 x 21  
private collection  

161 5-slat armchair  
probably southern New Jersey, c. 1800-50  
type IA2a  
47 3/4 x 22 1/2 x 20 (33 rockers)  
Gloucester County Historical Society  

162 4-slat armchair  
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800  
type IAlb, variant type IIC3  
45 1/2 x 25 x 20  
Gloucester County Historical Society  
compare to numbers 76, 137, and 313
163  4-slat armchair
attributed to John DuBois
Gloucester County, New Jersey, c. 1825-50
type IB2b
41 1/2 x 22 1/2 (25 3/4 rockers) x 19 (31 1/2 rockers)
Gloucester County Historical Society (DAPC 77.529)
Gloucester County provenance

164  3-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1780-1820
type IB2c
42 3/8 x 23 1/4 (25 3/8 rockers) x 20 (31 rockers)
Gloucester County Historical Society
initials "ID" branded on arms; Gloucester County, New Jersey provenance

165  4-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1800-50
type IA2b
41 1/2 x 21 x 30 1/8 (rockers)
Hershey Museum of American Life 75.3.45

166  5-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1800-50
type IB2a
43 x 23 1/2 x 34 1/2 (rockers)
Hershey Museum of American Life 75.3.42

167  4-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1780-1820
type IB2b
43 1/2 x 22 5/8 x 19 1/2
Camden County Historical Society 83.1.12
compare to number 185

168  6-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1850
type IA1c
42 x 23 1/4 (25 1/4 rockers) x 19 (29 rockers)
Camden County Historical Society 83.1.2

169  3-slat side chair
possibly southern New Jersey, c. 1800-50
type IA1d
33 x 16 3/4 x 16
Camden County Historical Society 83.1.59
170 5-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IA\textsubscript{Ala}
48 3/4 x 24 3/4 x 21
Metropolitan Museum of Art 1975.310
figure 36

171 4-slat armchair
possibly Philadelphia, c. 1720-70
type IA\textsubscript{Alb}
44 x 23 1/2 x 21
Wright's Ferry Mansion 80.19
illustrated in Antiques (December 1982), pl. IX, p. 1247

172 5-slat armchair
Delaware Valley (?), c. 1750-1800
type IA\textsubscript{A2a}, variant types IA\textsubscript{A2} and IIIA\textsubscript{2}
54 x 25 1/2 x 26
Wright's Ferry Mansion 82.5
exceptional chair turned from walnut; double, tripartite stretchers on all four sides and biaxial rear posts with turned feet; compare to numbers 22, 128, and 173; Joseph Kindig, Jr. suggests that this and related chairs are from Berks County, c. 1750-70

173 5-slat armchair
Delaware Valley (?), c. 1750-1800
type IB\textsubscript{A2a}, variant type IA\textsubscript{A2}
49 x 27 1/4 x 27
Wright's Ferry Mansion 85.2
figure 44

174 5-slat commode armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IIIB
47 1/2 x 26 1/4 x 19
Wright's Ferry Mansion 76.6
compare to numbers 53 and 74; illustrated in Antiques (December 1982), pl. XII, p. 1250
figure 11

175 4-slat side chair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IA\textsubscript{Alb}
41 x 18 1/8 x 17
Wright's Ferry Mansion 76.37
illustrated in Antiques (December 1982), pl. IX, p. 1247
176  5-slat side chair  
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800  
type IAla, variant type IIA2a  
46 x 19 3/4 x 16  
Wright's Ferry Mansion 77.71

177  5-slat armchair  
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800  
type IA2a  
45 1/2 x 24 1/2 x 22  
Wright's Ferry Mansion 79.13  
illustrated in Antiques (December 1982), pl. XIV,  
p. 1251  
figure 37

178  5-slat side chair  
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800  
type IAla, variant type IIB2a  
44 1/4 x 18 7/8 x 18  
Wright's Ferry Mansion 76.36

179  4-slat side chair  
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800  
type IAlb  
40 1/2 x 18 3/4 x 18  
Wright's Ferry Mansion 76.38

180  3-slat side chair  
Delaware Valley, c. 1780-1820  
type IB2b  
38 x 18 x 15 1/2  
Tyler Arboretum 87.11.10  
figure 42

181  4-slat side chair  
possibly Delaware County, c. 1800-50  
type IBlb, variant type IIA2b  
42 1/2 x 18 1/8 x 15  
Tyler Arboretum 87.11.6  
Delaware County, Pennsylvania provenance; compare to  
number 182

182  3-slat side chairs (6)  
possibly Delaware County, c. 1800-50  
type IBlb, variant type IIA2c  
35 3/4 x 18 1/8 x 15 1/2 (for 86.2.10)  
Tyler Arboretum 86.2.5-.10  
Delaware County, Pennsylvania provenance; compare to  
number 181
(183) 5-slat side chair  
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800  
type IAla  
44 5/8 x 17 1/2 x 16  
Tyler Arboretum  
typical example, but slats are flat on both sides and appear to be replacements

184 5-slat armchair  
Delaware Valley, c. 1800-50  
type IA2a  
43 1/2 x 24 (26 rockers) x 19 1/2 (33 rockers)  
Tyler Arboretum 87.4.35

185 5-slat armchair  
Delaware Valley, c. 1780-1820  
type IB2a  
44 1/2 x 22 3/4 x 24  
Tyler Arboretum 86.3.8  
compare to number 167  
figure 43

186 5-slat armchair  
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800  
type IAla  
45 1/2 x 27 1/4 x 22  
private collection

187 5-slat side chair  
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800  
type IAla  
43 3/4 x 18 1/4 x 19  
private collection

188 5-slat side chairs (2)  
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800  
type IAla, variant type IIA2a  
44 1/4 x 18 1/2 x 17 (for both)  
Dietrich American Foundation 8.1.2.829-1,2

189 5-slat armchair  
possibly Bucks County, c. 1780-1850  
type IAla  
44 x 23 3/4 (24 3/4 rockers) x 20 (33 rockers)  
Mercer Museum 13435  
Bucks County, Pennsylvania provenance; compare to number 256; illustrated in Antiques (July 1957), fig. 3, p. 60
203

190 4-slat side chairs (5)
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IA1b
43 x 18 1/2 x 19 (for 8736)
Independence National Historical Park 8736-8740
spint seats; illustrated in Dorman, "Philadelphia Furniture," fig. 107 left, p. 131

191 5-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IA1a
44 1/2 x 24 1/2 x 21
Independence National Historical Park 8734
compare to number 12; illustrated in Dorman, "Philadelphia Furniture," fig. 107 right, p. 131

192 5-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
3-slat side chair
Delaware Valley, c. 1800-50
type IB2b
39 x 18 x 17
Independence National Historical Park 5210

194 4-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1780-1820
type IB2b
44 x 24 (24 1/8 rockers) x 22 (30 1/2 rockers)
Mercer Museum 11070
Bucks County, Pennsylvania provenance

195 5-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IA1a
49 1/2 x 24 1/2 x 21
Mercer Museum 13436
Bucks County, Pennsylvania provenance

196 5-slat armchair
possibly Bucks County, c. 1820-40
type IA1a
44 1/2 x 22 3/4 x 20 (33 rockers)
Mercer Museum 15671
figure 46
197  5-slat armchair  
attributed to George Child  
Bucks County, Pennsylvania, c. 1830  
type IAla  
40 1/4 x 23 (24 rockers) x 20 (32 rockers)  
Mercer Museum 26010  
compare to number 196

198  5-slat side chairs (5)  
possibly Philadelphia, c. 1750-1800  
type IAla  
43 3/4 x 19 x 16 1/2 (for 6600)  
Independence National Historical Park 6599-6603

199  5-slat armchair  
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800  
type IAla  
43 3/4 x 22 1/2 x 19  
Independence National Historical Park 1027

200  5-slat armchair  
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800  
type IAla  
43 3/4 x 23 x 23 1/2  
Independence National Historical Park 7565

201  4-slat armchair  
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800  
type IAlb  
42 3/4 x 23 1/2 x 20  
Independence National Historical Park 6605  
Bucks or Montgomery County, Pennsylvania provenance

(202)  5-slat side chair  
possibly Philadelphia, c. 1720-70  
type IAla  
42 3/4 x 19 1/4 x 18  
Independence National Historical Park 4939

203  5-slat armchair  
probably Philadelphia, c. 1750-1800  
type IAla, variant type IIC1  
44 x 23 3/4 x 21  
Ephrata Cloister 65.38  
compare to numbers 105 and 125
204 6-slat side chair  
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800  
type IA1c, variant type IIB2b  
45 3/4 x 19 1/2 x 17 1/2  
Chester County Historical Society 1987.782

205 5-slat side chair  
possibly Philadelphia, c. 1720-70  
type IA1a  
45 x 18 1/2 x 17 1/2  
Chester County Historical Society 1987.784

206 5-slat armchair  
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800  
type IA2a  
44 3/4 x 24 1/4 x 21 1/2  
Chester County Historical Society 1987.785

207 6-slat armchair  
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800  
type IA1c  
47 x 24 1/2 x 22  
Chester County Historical Society 1987.792

208 5-slat armchair  
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800  
type IA1a  
46 x 24 3/4 x 21  
Washington Crossing State Park 81.4.1  
Bucks County, Pennsylvania provenance

209 6-slat side chair  
possibly Philadelphia, c. 1720-70  
type IA1c  
44 3/4 x 18 1/4 x 17 1/2  
Trent House Association

210 5-slat side chairs (2)  
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800  
type IA1a, variant type IIB2a  
45 x 18 1/2 x 17 (for 62.10.2)  
Trent House Association 62.10.1,.2

211 5-slat armchair  
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800  
type IA1a  
45 1/2 x 24 x 20  
Delaware Bureau of Museums and Historic Sites 49.14
212  5-slat armchair
attributed to Nathan Slaughter
Milford, Delaware, c. 1810-20
type IAla
45 1/2 x 23 1/2 x 21
Delaware Bureau of Museums and Historic Sites 51.139
figure 45

213  4-slat side chairs (2)
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IAhb, variant type IIA2b
41 1/2 x 19 x 17 (for Fchr 65)
Chester County Historical Society 76 Fchr 65, 66

(214)  5-slat side chair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IAla
43 x 17 1/8 x 14 (seat depth)
unlocated (DAPC 78.1964)

(215)  5-slat side chair
possibly Philadelphia, c. 1720-70
type IAla
unlocated
illustrated in Nutting, Furniture Treasury, no. 1897

(216)  5-slat side chair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IAla
unlocated

(217)  5-slat side chair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IAla
unlocated (DAPC 84.605)

(218)  5-slat side chair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
38 3/4 x 18 3/4 x 29 (rockers)
unlocated (DAPC 77.391)

(219)  5-slat side chairs (2)
possibly Philadelphia, c. 1720-70
type IAla
unlocated (DAPC 73.420)
(220) 5-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IAla
unlocated
illustrated in Sotheby's sale catalog 5680, January 1988, lot 420

(221) 5-slat side chair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IAla
unlocated

(222) 5-slat side chair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IAla
44 7/8 x 18 1/2 x 15 1/4 (seat depth)
private collection (DAFC 77.389)
primary wood cherry (not tested)

(223) 5-slat side chair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IAla
43 1/2 x 18 1/2 x 17
Chester County Historical Society 1987.783

(224) 5-slat side chair
Delaware Valley, c. 1800-50
type IAla
43 1/2 x 18 3/8 x 16
Chester County Historical Society 1987.1035

(225) 4-slat side chairs (2)
possibly Philadelphia, c. 1720-70
type IAlb
41 1/2 x 19 1/2 x 15 (seat depth) (for Fchr 101)
Chester County Historical Society Fchr 101, 102

(226) 4-slat side chair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IAlb
41 1/4 x 18 x 17 1/2
Chester County Historical Society 1987.790

(227) 4-slat side chair
Delaware Valley, c. 1800-50
type IAlb
41 1/4 x 17 3/4 x 17
Camden County Historical Society 83.1.10
(228) 4-slat side chair
Delaware Valley, c. 1780-1850
type IA I Alb
40 x 19 x 15 (seat depth)
Lehigh County Historical Society 30.3.3

(229) 4-slat side chairs (2)
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IA I Alb
unlocated

(230) 4-slat side chair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IA I Alb
unlocated
illustrated in Nutting, Furniture Treasury, no. 1898

(231) 4-slat side chair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IA I Alb
43 1/4 x 18 x 20 3/4
Newark Museum 62.168
illustrated in Antiques (June 1966), p. 872

(232) 4-slat side chair
possibly New Jersey, c. 1800-75
type IA I Alb
40 1/2 x 17 3/8 x 16
Historical Society of Haddonfield

(233) 5-slat side chairs (2)
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IA I A
unlocated
illustrated in Sotheby's sale catalog 5680, January 1988, lot 1294

(234) 3-slat side chairs (2)
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IA I d
33 3/4 x 20 1/4 x 15 1/2 (seat depth)
unlocated
a pair of cut-down 4- or 5-slat chairs, otherwise typical Delaware Valley examples; illustrated in Dean Failey, Long Island is My Nation (1976), no. 93, pp. 78, 80

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(235) 6-slat side chair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IAalc, variant type IIA2d
not measured
Philadelphia Museum of Art 23-23-36 (DAPC 65.7)

(236) 6-slat side chair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IAalc
unlocated
illustrated in Nutting, Furniture of the Pilgrim Century, no. 423

(237) 5-slat side chair
possibly Chester or Delaware County, c. 1750-1800
type IAala, variant type IIA2a
45 1/2 (others not given)
unlocated
very close to numbers 13, 14, 109, 131, and 132, but lacking decorative seat casing; illustrated in Antiques (March 1979), p. 422

(238) 4-slat side chairs (2)
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IAlb, variant type IIA2b
41 x 19 x 15 1/2 (for 1987.991.1)
Chester County Historical Society 1987.991.1,.2
East Bradford Township, Chester County, Pennsylvania provenance

(239) 5-slat side chairs (2)
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IAala, variant type IIB2a
unlocated (DAPC 68.5046)

(240) 5-slat side chair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IAala
unlocated
illustrated in Nutting, Furniture Treasury, no. 1894

(241) 4-slat side chair
Delaware Valley, c. 1800-50
type IA2b
not measured
Camden County Historical Society 83.1.9
(242) 4-slat side chair  
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800  
type IA2b  
42 x 16 1/4 x 14 1/4 (seat depth)  
unlocated (DAPC 76.197)

(243) 4-slat side chair  
Delaware Valley, c. 1780-1850  
type IA1b, variant type IIIB  
not measured  
Historical Society of York County 64-175  
illustrated in Antiques (September 1970), p. 445

(244) 4-slat side chair  
Delaware Valley, c. 1780-1850  
type IA1b, variant type IIIB  
unlocated  
illustrated in Antiques (November 1974), inside back cover

(245) 5-slat side chair  
Delaware Valley, c. 1800-75  
type IA1a  
38 5/8 x 17 1/2 x 28 (rockers)  
Historical Society of Haddonfield

(246) 5-slat side chair  
Delaware Valley, c. 1800-75  
type IA1a  
not measured  
Monmouth County Historical Association

(247) 4-slat side chair  
Delaware Valley, c. 1800-50  
type IA1b  
40 1/2 x 18 x 17  
Bartram's Garden 59.148

(248) 3-slat side chair  
Delaware Valley, c. 1800-50  
type IB2b  
37 3/4 x 18 3/4 x 16  
Camden County Historical Society 83.1.14

(249) 3-slat side chair  
Delaware Valley, c. 1800-1900  
type IB2b  
37 3/4 x 18 x 17 1/2  
private collection
(250) 2-slat side chair
probably southern New Jersey, c. 1800-50
type IB2c
31 1/2 x 18 1/2 x 15
Camden County Historical Society 75.12
originally used in the Newton (Camden County) meeting house, later in the Haddonfield meeting house
figure 41

(251) 6-slat side chair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IA1c
unlocated
four turned feet; illustrated in American Antiques (1974), number P0479

(252) 5-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IA1a
44 3/4 x 23 3/4 x 21
Independence National Historical Park 8573

(253) 5-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IA1a
44 1/2 x 23 3/4 x 21 1/2
Chester County Historical Society 1987.786

(254) 5-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IA1a
44 x 24 3/4 (25 3/8 rockers) x 20 (31 rockers)
Washington Crossing State Park 54.46

(255) 5-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1720-70
type IA1a
not measured
private collection (DAPC 76.569)
Orange County, Virginia provenance; illustrated in Forman, "Delaware Valley 'Crookt Foot' and Slat-Back Chairs," fig. 9, p. 53

(256) 5-slat armchair
possibly Bucks County, c. 1780-1850
type IA1a
unlocated
compare to number 189; illustrated in Peter Dorty, Chairs (1972), p. 90
(257) 5-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
  type IA\textsubscript{a}
  unlocated
  illustrated in Nutting, *Furniture of the Pilgrim Century*, no. 426
  figure 4, upper left

(258) 5-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
  type IA\textsubscript{a}
  42 (others not given)
  private collection (DAPC 83.52)

(259) 5-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
  type IA\textsubscript{a}
  unlocated
  illustrated in Lockwood, *Colonial Furniture in America*, fig. 108, p. 154
  figure 2, right

(260) 5-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
  type IA\textsubscript{a}
  unlocated
  illustrated in Sotheby's sale catalog, January 1986, lot 573

(261) 4-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
  type IA\textsubscript{b}
  unlocated
  illustrated in Sotheby's sale catalog, January 1986, lot 572

(262) 4-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
  type IA\textsubscript{b}
  unlocated
  very close to documented chair number 77

(263) 4-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
  type IA\textsubscript{b}
  unlocated
(264) 4-slat armchair  
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800  
type IA1b  
44 x 24 1/4 x 20 1/2  
Independence National Historical Park 6486  
illustrated in Forman, "Delaware Valley 'Crookt Foot' and Slat-Back Chairs," fig. 17. p. 60  
figure 7

(265) 6-slat armchair  
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800  
type IA1c  
unlocated  
illustrated in Nutting, Furniture of the Pilgrim Century, no. 421

(266) 6-slat armchair  
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800  
type IA2c  
45 1/4 x 24 x 21  
private collection

(267) 6-slat armchair  
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800  
type IA1c  
unlocated  
turnings relate closely to numbers 5, 60, and 86; slats unusual, compare to number 305

(268) 5-slat armchair  
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800  
type IA1a  
44 1/4 x 24 1/4 x 21 1/2  
Chester County Historical Society Fchr 18  
compare to numbers 120, 138, and 192; illustrated in Antique Collecting (March 1978), p. 23

(269) 5-slat armchair  
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800  
type IA2a  
unlocated  
illustrated in Antiques (August 1974), p. 167

(270) 5-slat armchair  
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800  
type IA2a  
not measured  
Landis Valley Farm Museum
(271) 5-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type I\text{A}a, variant type I\text{IC}1
unlocated
illustrated in Sotheby's sale catalog, January 1987, lot 1300

(272) 5-slat armchair
stamped "W. Cox"; attributed to William Cox
Philadelphia, c. 1767-96
type I\text{B}1a, variant type I\text{IC}1
unlocated (DAPC 64.1186)

(273) 5-slat armchair
Delaware Valley (?), c. 1750-1800
type I\text{A}a, variant type I\text{A}1
unlocated
unique armchair of this form, unusual block at seat level and slat shape found on only to one other (side) chair, number 8; illustrated in Nutting, Furniture of the Pilgrim Century, no. 428 and Furniture Treasury, no. 1893 figure 4, lower left

(274) 5-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type I\text{A}a, variant type I\text{IB}1
unlocated
unique example of an armchair with this variation; illustrated in Northeast Auction sale catalog, November 1989, lot 604

(275) 5-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1800-50
type I\text{B}2a
50 5/8 x 27 1/4 x 26
Mercer Museum 4638
unusually large scale, but otherwise typical; Bucks County, Pennsylvania provenance

(276) 5-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1800-50
type I\text{B}2a
44 1/2 x 24 x 22
Historical Society of York County 65-250
illustrated in Antiques (September 1970), p. 442
(277) 5-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1800-75
type IBl1a
47 1/4 x 26 3/4 x 17 1/2 (seat depth)
unlocated (DAPC 78.1943)

(278) 5-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1780-1850
type IBl1a
44 3/4 x 22 3/4 (23 1/2 rockers) x 20 (31 1/2 rockers)
Chester County Historical Society 1987.1038

(279) 3-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1780-1850
type IA2d, variant type IIIA4
40 1/2 x 22 1/2 x 30 (rockers)
Philadelphia Museum of Art 69-284-16
turned from walnut; unusual arms and only one of front
stretchers tripartite, two rear stretchers;
illustrated in Garvan, The Pennsylvania German
Collection, no. 4, p. 36

(280) 4-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1780-1820
type IB2b
42 1/4 x 25 x 21
Historical Society of York County 64-140

(281) 4-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1780-1820
type IB2b
44 x 25 3/4 x 21 1/2
Monmouth County Historical Association
illustrated in Antiques (September 1952), p. 205

(282) 4-slat armchair
possibly southern New Jersey, c. 1800-50
type IB2b
41 1/4 x 33 1/4 (34 1/4 rockers) x 30 (rockers)
Historical Society of Haddonfield 21-53
extremely wide seat, but otherwise typical;
Haddonfield, New Jersey provenance

(283) 4-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1780-1850
type IB1b
42 1/2 x 23 3/4 (24 3/4 rockers) x 30 (rockers)
Historical Society of Haddonfield
(284) 4-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1780-1850
type IB2b
42 1/4 x 24 1/2 x 17 1/2 (seat depth)
unlocated (DAPC 77.561)
Elkton, Maryland provenance

(285) 4-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1800-50
type IA1b, variant type IIC2
42 1/8 x 23 3/4 x 18 1/4 (seat depth)
Yale University Art Gallery 1930.2616
loose seat and rails probably replacements;
illustrated in Kane, *300 Years of American Seating Furniture*, no. 20, p. 46

(286) 5-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1800-75
type IA1a
unlocated
illustrated in Nutting, *Furniture of the Pilgrim Century*, no. 419
figure 3

(287) 5-slat armchair
possibly southern New Jersey, c. 1800-75
type IA1a
45 x 21 1/4 (23 rockers) x 31 (rockers)
Camden County Historical Society 83.1.26

(288) 5-slat side chair
Delaware Valley, 1750-1800
type IA1a, variant type IIA2a
unlocated
variant form combined with unusual slats (cf. armchair number 81) and unique instance of carved (and applied?) Spanish or brush feet; illustrated in *Antique Collecting* (March 1978), p. 24

(289) 5-slat cabriole-leg armchair
probably Philadelphia, c. 1730-70
type IIA1
unlocated
illustrated in Kirk, *American Furniture*, fig. 24, p. 37
(290) 5-slat cabriole-leg armchair
probably Philadelphia, c. 1730-70
type IIA1
unlocated (DAPC 69.1196)

(291) 6-slat cabriole-leg armchair
probably Philadelphia, c. 1730-70
type IIA2
unlocated
illustrated in Parke-Bernet sale catalog, January 1959, lot 693; compare to number 63

(292) 6-slat cabriole-leg side chair
probably Philadelphia, c. 1730-70
type IIA2
unlocated (DAPC 66.2551)

(293) 5-slat side chair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IIA2a
43 3/4 x 18 x 14 3/4 (seat depth)
New Jersey State Museum 82.8.2

(294) 5-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1780-1850
type IB2a
not measured
Valley Forge National Historical Park

(295) 5-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1800-50
type IB2a
46 1/4 x 22 1/2 x 18 1/2
Historical Society of York County 65-289
compare to number 185; illustrated in Antiques (September 1970), p. 442

(296) 5-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1800-50
type IB2a
45 1/2 x 20 x 20
Historical Society of York County 65-290
compare to number 185

(297) 4-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1780-1820
type IB2b
41 3/4 x 24 7/8 x 21
Independence National Historical Park 2341
(298) 5-slat side chair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1850
type IAa, variant type IIA2a
unlocated
illustrated in Antique Collecting (March 1978), p. 31

(299) 5-slat side chair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1850
type IAa
unlocated
illustrated in Antique Collecting (March 1978), p. 31

(300) 3-slat child's high armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1800-50
cf. type IB1
38 1/4 x 12 (18 1/2 feet) x 16
Monmouth County Historical Association
turned arms

(301) 3-slat child's high armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1800-50
cf. type IB1
40 x 12 5/8 x 24
Historical Society of Berks County (DAPC 77.337)
turned arms

(302) 4-slat child's high armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1780-1850
cf. type IB2
unlocated
illustrated in Nutting, Furniture Treasury, no. 2474

(303) 3-slat child's armchair
possibly Philadelphia, c. 1750-1850
cf. type IA1
not measured
Wyck Association
Germantown, Pennsylvania provenance; illustrated in Antiques (August 1983), p. 277

(304) 3-slat child's high armchair
possibly Philadelphia, c. 1780-1850
cf. type IB2
unlocated
Philadelphia provenance; illustrated in Tatum, Philadelphia Georgian (1976), fig. 62, p. 115
(305) 4-slat armchair  
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1850  
type IA1b  
not measured  
Metropolitan Museum of Art 34.100.27  
unusual turnings and slats (latter cf. number 267);  
Bucks County, Pennsylvania provenance; illustrated in  
Shea, *The Pennsylvania Dutch and Their Furniture*,  
p. 49

(306) 4-slat armchair  
Delaware Valley, c. 1800-50  
type IA1b  
not measured  
Grumblethorpe (Philadelphia Society for the  
Preservation of Landmarks)  
turned arms; illustrated in *Antiques* (August 1983),  
p. 298

(307) 4-slat armchair  
Delaware Valley, c. 1780-1820  
type IA2b  
not measured  
Peter Wentz Farmstead  
illustrated in *Antiques* (October 1982), pl. XII,  
p. 794

(308) 4-slat child's high armchair  
Delaware Valley, c. 1780-1850  

36 3/4 x 16 3/4 x 11 (seat depth)  
Independence National Historical Park 2194

(309) 3-slat clerk's side chair  
Delaware Valley (?), c. 1800-50 (?)  

39 1/2 x 17 x 14 (seat depth)  
Independence National Historical Park 4848  
unique form; modern?

(310) 5-slat side chair  
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800  

type IA1a, variant type IIB2a  
40 x 18 1/2 x 14 (seat depth)  
Independence National Historical Park 4934
(311) 3-slat side chair
Delaware Valley, c. 1780-1850
type IB2b
37 x 17 1/2 x 15 1/4 (seat depth)
Independence National Historical Park 13519

(312) 4-slat side chair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IA1b
not measured
Independence National Historical Park

(313) 4-slat armchair
Delaware Valley, c. 1750-1800
type IA1b, variant type IIC3
44 1/2 x 24 1/2 x 21
Grumblethorpe (Philadelphia Society for the Preservation of Landmarks)
compare to numbers 76, 137, and 162

(314) 3-slat child's side chair
possibly Philadelphia, c. 1750-1850
cf. type IA1
not measured
Wyck Association

(315) 5-slat armchair
Delaware Valley (?), c. 1750-1800
type IA2a, variant type IIIA2
unlocated
compare to numbers 5 (slats) and 45 (stretchers);
illustrated in Lockwood, Colonial Furniture in America, fig. 107, p. 154
figure 2, left
APPENDIX D: EXTRA-REGIONAL SLATBACK CHAIRS

Following is a checklist of extra-regional slatback chairs surveyed in the same manner as the primary (i.e., Delaware Valley) group and used as a control. Type and variant notations refer to those defined in Appendices A and B for the primary group; measurements are overall height by overall width by overall depth in inches; width is to arm for armchairs and seat for side chairs. Maple is the primary wood for all of the chairs listed. Table 8 presents further quantitative information on selected chairs.

A. armchairs

1. 5-slat armchair
   attributed to Ozias Buddington
   Fairfield, Connecticut, c. 1732-59
   cf. type IA2a, variant type IIIA2
   49 x 22 x 20 3/4
   Winterthur Museum 59.2327 (DAPC 64.1057)
   compare to numbers 45 and 172; illustrated in Forman,
   "Delaware Valley 'Crookt Foot' and Slat-Back Chairs,
   fig. 6, p. 51

2. 5-slat armchair
   stenciled mark reads "SHAKERS/ No 7/ TRADE MARK/
   MT. LEBANON. N.Y.", c. 1870-1910
   cf. type IB2a
   51 x 23 1/2 x 21
   Winterthur Museum 67.1686
   extremely attenuated and regular turnings, woven tape
   seat

3. 4-slat armchair
   possibly Virginia, c. 1750-1850
   cf. type IB2b
   43 1/4 x 21 1/2 x 21 1/2
   Winterthur Museum 59.2384
   relates generally to Delaware Valley type but with
   distinct differences in style and exact placement of
   turnings

221
B. side chairs

1. 4-slat side chair
   probably northern New Jersey, c. 1750-1800
   cf. type IA2b, variant types IB and IIIB
   44 x 20 3/4 x 21
   Germantown Historical Society 1015B
   rear posts biaxial, angle out above second side stretcher; compare front stretchers with numbers 243 and 244

2. 4-slat side chair
   New England, c. 1780-1850
   cf. type IB2a
   42 1/2 x 19 x 16 1/2
   Winterthur Museum 70.75
   Sturbridge, Massachusetts provenance

3. 4-slat side chair
   probably Quebec, c. 1770-1800
   cf. type IA1b, variant types IB and IIA2b
   38 3/4 x 20 x 20
   Winterthur Museum 88.55
   note biaxial rear posts with kicked out heels, lack of turned or tapered feet and button-turned finials, and continuously-arched slats; compare to numbers 181, 213

4. 3-slat side chair
   probably Bergen County, New Jersey, c. 1780-1850
   cf. type IB2b
   37 1/8 x 18 x 17 1/2
   Winterthur Museum 71.135 (DAPC 88.541)
   illustrated in Forman, American Seating Furniture, fig. 53, p. 117

5. 3-slat side chair
   attributed to Johnson family shop tradition
   Mecklenburg County, Virginia, c. 1825-50
   cf. type IB2b
   37 3/4 x 19 x 21
   Winterthur Museum 78.12

6. 2-slat side chair
   probably Halifax County, Virginia, c. 1866-75
   cf. type IB2c
   36 1/2 x 17 1/4 x 18
   Winterthur Museum 89.106
   made for Moses Hall, a black fraternal building in Halifax County; posts and stretchers shaved
APPENDIX E: RELATED SEATING FORMS

Following is a list of groups of as well as individual chairs related to the slatback tradition. Measurements are overall height by overall width by overall depth in inches; width is to arm for armchairs and seat for side chairs (unless otherwise noted). Unless otherwise stated, maple is the primary wood. Table 6 presents further quantitative information for the first two groups listed.

I. Late Baroque rush-bottomed, bannister-back seating forms

A. armchair
   Delaware Valley, c. 1720-40
   47 3/8 x 24 1/2 x 25
   Chester County Historical Society 76 Fchr 17
   London Britain Township, Chester County, Pennsylvania provenance; walnut; turned posts, the rear posts biaxial; two decoratively turned front stretchers, others plain; illustrated in Blades, Two Hundred Years of Chairs and Chairmaking, fig. 10, pp. 11, 25; similar example illustrated in Schiffer, Furniture and Its Makers, fig. 157; turning and form relate directly to side chairs BI (below)

B. side chairs

1. Delaware Valley, c. 1720-30
   48 1/2 x 19 x 18 (for 65.236B)
   Newark Museum 65.236A,B (pair)
   Haddonfield, New Jersey provenance; illustrated in Marvin Schwartz, Please Be Seated (1968), no. 11 figure 27

2. possibly New Castle County, c. 1720-50
   48 1/4 x 19 1/4 x 15 1/2
   Winterthur Museum 54.520
   illustrated in Forman, American Seating Furniture, no. 74, p. 331; related armchair (unlocated)
   illustrated in Maine Antiques Digest (October 1990), p. 26-D figure 28

223
3. Boston or Charlestown, Massachusetts, c. 1710-40
48 1/4 x 19 x 17 1/2
Winterthur Museum 57.530
posts only partially turned, rear posts biaxial;
single turned decorative stretchers on all sides,
flatwise front seat rail; illustrated in Forman,
American Seating Furniture, no. 67, p. 317

4. probably Delaware Valley, c. 1715-35
47 1/2 x 19 x 20 1/2
Winterthur Museum 55.731
posts only partially turned, rear posts biaxial;
two decoratively turned stretchers on three sides,
single in rear; flatwise front seat rail

C. couches

1. Delaware Valley, c. 1720-70
40 x 79 (lengthwise) x 24 5/8
Philadelphia Museum of Art 51-112-1
illustrated in Philadelphia: Three Centuries of
American Art, no. 17, pp. 21-22

2. Delaware Valley, c. 1720-70
37 x 69 1/4 (lengthwise) x 23 1/4
Wright's Ferry Mansion 76.7
figure 26

3. Delaware Valley, c. 1720-70
37 7/8 x 66 1/2 (lengthwise) x 23 1/4
Chester County Historical Society 1987.791
decoratively turned stretchers 18 3/4" wide,
directly comparable to those on type IA slatback
chairs

4. Delaware Valley, c. 1720-70
37 7/8 x 67 (lengthwise) x 24
Chester County Historical Society Fbd 5
Kennett Township, Chester County, Pennsylvania
provenance; decoratively turned stretchers 18 3/4"
wide but narrower than those found commonly on type
IA slatback chairs, compare to those in armchair A
and side chairs B1; illustrated in Blades, Two
Hundred Years of Chairs and Chairmaking, fig. 9,
pp. 12-13, 25
5. attributed to Daniel Sharpless  
Ridley Township, Chester County, c. 1730-75  
38 x 70 (lengthwise) x 23  
private collection  
illustrated in Schiffer, *Furniture and Its Makers*, fig. 89, pp. 213-14

6. Delaware Valley, c. 1720-80  
36 3/4 x 74 1/2 (lengthwise) x 23  
Winterthur Museum  
illustrated in Forman, "Delaware Valley 'Crookt Foot' and Slat-Back Chairs," fig. 18, p. 61

II. Fussell-Savery type chairs with solid back splats, sawn cabriole front legs; Philadelphia, c. 1730-70

A. rush- or splint-bottomed armchairs

1. 41 5/8 x 27 x 22  
Winterthur Museum 60.736  

2. 44 1/2 x 25 3/4 x 21 7/8  
Winterthur Museum 64.1523  
illustrated in Downs, *American Furniture*, no. 32  
and Forman, "Delaware Valley 'Crookt Foot' and Slat-Back Chairs," fig. 10, p. 55

3. 41 3/4 x 23 x 23 1/4  
Winterthur Museum 65.1920  
illustrated in Forman, "Delaware Valley 'Crookt Foot' and Slat-Back Chairs," fig. 20, p. 62

4. 40 7/8 x 28 x 22  
Winterthur Museum 67.803  
illustrated in Downs, *American Furniture*, no. 33  
and Forman, "Delaware Valley 'Crookt Foot' and Slat-Back Chairs," fig. 15, p. 59; splint bottom

5. 40 3/4 x 27 (feet) x 23  
Salem County Historical Society F-190

6. 41 1/2 x 27 1/2 x 23 3/4  
illustrated in Venable, *American Furniture*, no. 18, pp. 42-43
7. 42 1/2 x 24 3/4 x 17 1/2 (seat depth)
   Bayou Bend Collection 69.233
   illustrated in Warren, Bayou Bend, no. 213, p. 116

B. rush-bottomed side chairs

1. 40 3/4 x 20 1/8 x 19
   Winterthur Museum 67.793
   illustrated in Downs, American Furniture, no. 109

2. 40 3/4 x 20 3/8 x 20
   Winterthur Museum 67.794

3. 41 x 19 1/2 x 15 (seat depth)
   State Museum of Pennsylvania 64.10 (DAPC 65.1616)
   William Savery label on rear of stay rail

4. 40 1/8 x 20 1/4 x 19
   private collection (DAPC 64.1718)
   William Savery label on rear of stay rail; lower
   portions of all four legs replaced; illustrated in
   Hornor, Blue Book, pl. 462 and Forman, "Delaware
   Valley 'Crookt Foot' and Salt-Back Chairs,"
   fig. 1, p. 47

5. 40 1/2 x 19 1/2 x 21
   Chester County Historical Society Fchr 36

6. 40 1/4 x 21 1/2 x 15 3/4 (seat depth)
   Chester County Historical Society Fchr 62
   illustrated in Blades, Two Hundred Years of Chairs
   and Chairmaking, fig. 28, pp. 26-27

7. 39 3/4 x 21 1/2 x 19
   Chester County Historical Society Fchr 164
   illustrated in Blades, Two Hundred Years of Chairs
   and Chairmaking, fig. 14, pp. 16, 26

C. corner chairs with upholstered loose seats

1. 32 x 30 1/4 x 25 1/4
   Independence National Historical Park 15472
   primary wood walnut; commode chair; three
   partially turned legs, fourth sawn cabriole;
   joined board seat frame with deep skirts; compare
   to numbers 53, 74, and 174 and C2 (below);
   illustrated in Maine Antiques Digest (May 1990),
   p. A-8
2. 30 7/8 x 30 1/4 x 27 1/2
Monmouth County Historical Association
cf. C1 (above), but without deep skirts and with
two crossed, partially turned medial stretchers
connecting legs; compare columnar arm supports to
those of slatback commode numbers 53 and 174;
illustrated in Forman, "Delaware Valley 'Crookt Foot' and Slat-Back Chairs," fig. 19, p. 61

III. Other forms

A. Late Baroque leather chairs

1. armchair
   Delaware Valley, c. 1725-45
   49 7/8 x 23 1/8 (seat) x 17 7/8 (seat depth)
   Winterthur Museum 54.518
   walnut, front posts partially turned; single
decoratively turned stretchers on all sides and
one medial; related to Late Baroque rush-seated
side chair B2 and leather side chair 2;
illustrated in Forman, American Seating
Furniture, no. 82, pp. 352-54

2. side chair
   Delaware Valley, c. 1690-1720
   46 1/8 x 17 7/8 x 15 (seat depth)
   Winterthur Museum 54.519
   beech; both posts partially turned, rear post
biaxial; single decoratively tuned stretchers at
front, sides, and for medial, no rear stretcher;
related to Late Baroque rush-bottom side chair B2
and leather armchair 1; illustrated in Forman,
American Seating Furniture, no. 73, pp. 328-331

B. rush-bottomed armchair with "Windsor" back
   possibly Bucks County, c. 1780
   not measured
   Peter Wentz Farmstead
   Salfordville, Pennsylvania provenance; front posts,
stretchers, and seat consistent with type IA
slatback armchair, but back of chair has spindles
between posts and a shaped crest rail; illustrated
in Antiques (October 1982), pl. VIII, p. 792

C. rush-bottomed side chairs (2)
   Sussex County, Delaware, c. 1850-75
   private collection
   figure 49
APPENDIX F: COLLECTIONS SURVEYED

Following is an alphabetical listing of the collections surveyed that contain study chairs. Chair numbers without prefix refer to Appendix C; prefix EX refers to chairs in Appendix D; prefixes LB, FS, and OT (for other) refer to chairs in Appendix E. All chairs in private collections are placed under one heading, as are unlocated examples.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Collection</th>
<th>Number(s)</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Art Institute of Chicago</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Chicago, IL)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bartram's Garden</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Philadelphia, PA)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Bayou Bend Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Houston</td>
<td>89, 90, FSA7</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Houston, TX)</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Brooklyn Museum</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Brooklyn, NY)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bureau of Museums and Historic Sites, State of Delaware</td>
<td>211, 212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Dover, DE)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camden County Historical Society</td>
<td>58, 80, 167-69, 227, 241, 248, 250, 287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Camden, NJ)</td>
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<td>Chester County Historical Society</td>
<td>72, 73, 120, 204-07, 213, 223-26, 238, 253, 268, 278, LBA, LBC3, LBC4, FSB5-7</td>
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<tr>
<td>(West Chester, PA)</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Dallas Museum of Art</td>
<td>88, FSA6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Dallas, TX)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Daniel Boone Homestead, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission</td>
<td>31, 124-26, 128, 129, 146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Birdsboro, PA)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Dietrich American Foundation</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Chester Springs, PA)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ephrata Cloister, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Germantown Historical Society</td>
<td>155, 156, 158, EXB1</td>
</tr>
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<td>(Philadelphia, PA)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gloucester County Historical Society</td>
<td>127, 161-64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Woodbury, NJ)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Grumblethorpe, Philadelphia Society
   for the Preservation of Landmarks. 306, 313
   (Philadelphia, PA)
Hagley Museum and Library ................. 145
   (Wilmington, DE)
Hancock House, Office of New Jersey
   Heritage, State of New Jersey .... 55
   (Hancock's Bridge, NJ)
Henry Ford Museum & Greenfield Village. 144
   (Dearborn, MI)
The Henry Francis du Pont
   Winterthur Museum ................ 1-27, 29, 30, 33-
   (Winterthur, DE) 50, EXA1-3, EXB2-6,
   LBB2-4, LBC6, FSA1-4, FSB1, FSB2, OTA1,
   OTA2
Heritage Center of Lancaster County ... 57, 61
   (Lancaster, PA)
Hershey Museum of American Life ......... 165, 166
   (Hershey, PA)
Historic Fallsington, Inc. ................. 74, 103, 105
   (Fallsington, PA)
Historical Society of Berks County .... 301
   (Reading, PA)
The Historical Society of Delaware .... 92, 94
   (Wilmington, DE)
Historical Society of Haddonfield ..... 232, 245, 282, 283
   (Haddonfield, NJ)
Historical Society of York County ..... 85, 243, 276, 280,
   (York, PA) 295, 296
Independence National Historical Park . 28, 81, 87, 91, 93,
   (Philadelphia, PA) 96, 101, 106, 107,
   140-43, 148, 190-93,
   198-202, 252, 264,
   297, 308-12, FSC1
John Woolman Memorial ..................... 79
   (Mount Holly, NJ)
Landis Valley Farm Museum, Pennsylvania
   Historical and Museum Commission . 270
   (Lancaster, PA)
Lehigh County Historical Society ..... 228
   (Allentown, PA)
Longwood Gardens ......................... 133, 134
   (Kennett Square, PA)
Mercer Museum,
   Bucks County Historical Society .. 189, 194-97, 275
   (Doylestown, PA)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art ......... 63, 170, 305
   (New York, NY)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Monmouth County Historical Association</td>
<td>135-37, 246, 281</td>
<td>(Freehold, NJ) 300, FSC2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moravian Museum and Tours</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>(Bethlehem, PA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Museum of Fine Arts, Boston</td>
<td>66, 67</td>
<td>(Boston, MA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Jersey State Museum</td>
<td>95, 138, 139, 293</td>
<td>(Trenton, NJ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Newark Museum</td>
<td>97, 231</td>
<td>(Newark, NJ) LBB1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Barracks Museum</td>
<td>117-19</td>
<td>(Trenton, NJ)</td>
</tr>
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<td>Peter Wentz Farmstead</td>
<td>307, OTB</td>
<td>(Worcester, PA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philadelphia Museum of Art</td>
<td>68-70, 99, 100, 116</td>
<td>(Philadelphia, PA) 235, 279, LBC1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Salem County Historical Society</td>
<td>52-54, FSA5</td>
<td>(Salem, NJ)</td>
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<td>The State Museum of Pennsylvania</td>
<td>149-52, FSB3</td>
<td>(Harrisburg, PA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trent House Association</td>
<td>209, 210</td>
<td>(Trenton, NJ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Tyler Arboretum</td>
<td>32, 180-85</td>
<td>(Lima, PA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valley Forge National Historical Park</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>(Valley Forge, PA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wadsworth Atheneum</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>(Hartford, CT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington Crossing Historic Park</td>
<td>208, 254</td>
<td>(Washington Crossing, PA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wright's Ferry Mansion, The Louise Steinman von Hess Foundation</td>
<td>171-79, LBC2</td>
<td>(Columbia, PA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wyck Association</td>
<td>303, 314</td>
<td>(Philadelphia, PA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yale University Art Gallery</td>
<td>64, 65, 285</td>
<td>(New Haven, CT)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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