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THE GLEN-SANDERS COLLECTION.

UNIVERSITY OF DELAWARE (WINTERTHUR PROGRAM),
M.A., 1981

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FURNITURE IN UPSTATE NEW YORK, 1760-1840:

THE GLEN-SANDERS COLLECTION

By

Anne Ricard Cassidy

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 1981

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FURNITURE IN UPSTATE NEW YORK, 1760-1840:

THE GLEN-SANDERS COLLECTION

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It is unusual that such a substantial local collection could withstand the ravages of family separations and deaths over almost two hundred years. The extraordinary nature of the Glen-Sanders collection is indeed a gift to any student seriously interested in tracing local patterns of taste and trade in a study of New York furniture. Such a study would have been difficult, however, without the guidence and assistance of many individuals who have shared a special excitement over the potential offered by this material. To these individuals I am greatly indebted.

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INTRODUCTION

Perhaps because it is still in its initial stages the study of the furniture crafts of eighteenth and early nineteenth century New York seems to be dominated by recognition of a few prominent urban craftsmen. That some knowledge of these individuals is currently available is perhaps the result of historical accident. More often than not, the names of those craftsmen whose newspaper advertisements and labels remain today are so frequently and exclusively relied upon that it suggests only a dozen artisans supplied the entire market of mobillary equipment from which city- and country-dwellers alike of New York could choose. Such a limited notion of furniture production in New York does not account for inter-colonial trade or for the necessary existence of a large number of competent wood-craftsmen, both within and without the major trade and manufacturing centers, who failed to advertise their services in a medium other than the physical products of their work, or whose commercial advertising methods did not survive the passage of time.

Previous studies of New York furniture have confined research efforts, for the most part, to New York City and Albany, where documentary records survive in greater quantities.

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They suggest that important families of the upper Hudson Valley purchased their furniture from New York and/or Albany cabinetmakers. Implied by this hypothesis is an inadequate local market for both furniture manufacture and trade.

The pioneering groundwork for the study of New York furniture was laid by Joseph Downs and Ruth Ralston in the 1934 "Loan Exhibition of New York State Furniture," assembled at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.[1] For the first time furniture belonging to families of the Hudson Valley, Manhattan, and Long Island was assembled for study. In his introduction to the exhibition, Joseph Downs outlined some of the characteristic details of design and construction which recur repeatedly on forms with a New York provenance. He did, however, caution against making regional attributions "because of the fact that 'Hudson's River' has always provided an easy waterway for export from Manhattan."[2] This implied that important up-river families, such as the Livingstons, Van Rensselaers and Schuylers, would have imported their fine furniture from stylish New York City shops rather than relying with confidence upon the skills and knowledge of local craftsmen.

Further information about New York City furniture production was provided by the Museum of the City of New York's exhibition, "Furniture of New York Cabinetmakers," in 1956.[3] The emphasis of this exhibition was upon construction charac-

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teristics, particularly of furniture produced by local, New York City craftsmen. Again, however, the difficulty of locating documented models for comparison with the numerous "thought to be 'New York'" examples was acknowledged:

> The Museum had hoped to exhibit only the work of local artisans, but since few pieces of furniture are signed and the workers moved about, it has been impossible to confine the early period of the exhibition to New York City pieces alone.[4]

The first major work dealing with the furniture of Albany and the upper Hudson-Mohawk River region was produced by the Albany Institute of History and Art in 1962.[5] Although attempting to provide an outline of furniture produced in the upstate area, this study was beset with the difficulty of locating examples that could be documented or attributed to specific Albany craftsmen.

> Although the majority of pieces in this catalogue were made in New York City, some of them doubtless originated in Albany. Specific points of difference remain to be determined.[6]

This inability to distinguish between what was made by New York City craftsmen and what upstate craftsmen were producing points to a serious gap in the study of New York furniture. It suggests that perhaps some fine examples of the furniture crafts in New York are being ignored. Thus, valuable clues to a more complete understanding of New York furniture are missing.

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The most recent study of furniture in upstate New York, Cherry Hill, by Roderic H. Blackburn, has also emphasized New York City and more generalized "New York" attributions rather than attempting to identify local products.[7] Although not a deliberate omission, this tendancy to generalize New York furniture neglects important aspects of local furniture preferences, and it cannot provide an accurate definition of the furnishings with which upstate residents lived.

To obtain a more accurate understanding of the furniture crafts in New York, this study examines a body of furniture purchased by several upstate New York families during the last half of the eighteenth century and into the first half of the nineteenth century. The furniture originally was owned by the Elmendorf, Glen, Sanders and Van Rensselaer families, and it was consolidated among the members of those families who lived in the towns of Albany and Schenectady.[8] By determining the furniture that was available to these families and who was involved in its production, information about the furniture crafts supported by the inhabitants of this upstate area can be derived. In addition, determining the places of origin and the craftsmen involved in producing this furniture will shed light on the area's patterns of furniture trade and manufacture. This information should begin to fill some of the gaps which currently hamper the understanding of New York furniture production and consumption

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outside of New York City.

The genealogy of the Glen-Sanders family reveals a rather complicated series of intermarriages among members of families who were both socially and politically prominent in early New York.[9] Surprisingly, these numerous intermarriages did not result in a general dispersal of family possessions among increasingly fragmented branches of later generations. Instead, much of the furniture, silver and ceramics owned by collateral branches of these families was consolidated during the nineteenth century.[10] This rich and varied collection of several upstate families offers valuable insight to the furniture preferences and patronage patterns of colonial and republican New Yorkers living outside of New York City.

The first link between the Glen and Sanders families was formed in 1739, when Deborah Glen (1721 - 1786) of Scotia married John Sanders I (1714 - 1782) of Albany. Because Deborah was at that time the only direct heir to the Glen estate, the married couple made their residence at Scotia. It is possible that some of the Glen furniture descended from Deborah Glen Sanders and John Sanders I.

John and Deborah Glen Sanders had four children: Maria, Elsie, John II, and Margarita. John Sanders II (1757 - 1834) reinforced the tie between the Glen and Sanders families when he married his cousin, Deborah Sanders (1758 - 1798) of

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Albany, who was the daughter of John Sanders I's brother, Robert (1705 - 1765). Additional furniture at Scotia may have come from the estate of Robert Sanders, whose 1765 will divided his estate equally among his five children.[11]

Robert Sanders's eldest daughter, Maria (1749 - 1830), married Philip Van Rensselaer (1747 - 1798) of Cherry Hill, Albany, in 1768. Some of the Sanders and Van Rensselaer furniture assembled through this marriage remained at Cherry Hill, but a portion was willed to Philip's daughter, Elizabeth (1771 - 1798), who married Peter Edmund Elmendorf II (1764 - 1835) of Albany in 1793. Their daughter, Maria (1796 - 1869), inherited furniture branded PVR and PEE.[12] She married Peter Sanders (1792 - 1850), son of Deborah and John Sanders II, in 1824, and moved to Scotia in 1834.

In 1869 the Scotia estate was divided between Peter and Maria Sanders's two sons, Peter E. (1827 - 1898) and Charles P. (1824 - 1891). In that same year, Charles P. Sanders added to his share of the movable estate by purchasing items from the estate of Sarah Sanders Van Rensselaer (1783 - 1869) of Albany.[13] Five years later, Jane Livingston Ten Broeck Sanders bought the estate interests of both her husband (Charles P. Sanders) and her brother-in-law (Peter E. Sanders), thus reuniting the movable estate of Scotia that had been divided in 1869 and bringing together under the Scotia roof the items which currently comprise the Glen-

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Sanders collection.[14]

Residing at Scotia (c. 1660 - 1713), the estate built on the north bank of the Mohawk River near Schenectady by Alexander Lindsay Glen, members of the Glen family intermarried with the Sanderses, Van Rensselaers, Schuylers, Ten Broecks and Lansings of Albany; the Elmendorfs of Ulster County and Albany, and the Livingstons of Livingston Manor, on the east bank of the upper Hudson River.[15] The furnishings acquired for Scotia, whether by purchase or inheritance, reflect the social and economic status of these prominent Hudson Valley families, and as such offer not only an index of taste preferences prevailing outside of New York City, but also an understanding of the local crafts and craftsmen who helped satisfy the demands of their patrons.

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II. FURNITURE OF DEBORAH GLEN SANDERS (1721-1786) AND JOHN SANDERS I (1714-1782)

In contrast to Britain's development of American colonies for settlement, New Netherland was settled by the Dutch in the seventeenth century initially for exploitation of a trade market in natural resources. Capitalizing upon the Indian fur trade as well as the lucrative commercial markets for lumber and grain, the Dutch established their first settlements along the main commercial route, the Hudson River. Permanent settlements developed slowly in this seventeenth century wilderness, and the process was continually undermined by threats--both real and imagined--of Indian attack.

Albany, one hundred and fifty miles north of Manhattan on the west bank of the Hudson River, was settled in the mid-seventeenth century as a trading post by merchants in the Dutch West India Company. Offered commercial privileges and protection under the city charter granted to it in 1686 by Governor Thomas Dongan, Albany and its merchant class continued to prosper. In June of 1749, when Swedish naturalist Peter Kalm visited Albany on his travels throughout the American colonies, he described it as a thriving settlement engrossed

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in trade.

> The situation of Albany is very advantageous in regard to trade. The Hudson River, which flows close by it, is from twelve to twenty feet deep. . . . Albany carries on a considerable commerce with New York, chiefly in furs, boards, wheat, flour, pease, several kinds of timber, etc. There is not a place in all the British colonies, the Hudson's Bay settlements excepted, where such quantities of furs and skins are bought of the Indians, as at Albany.
>
> The greater part of the merchants at Albany have extensive estates in the country, and a great deal of wood. If their estates have a little brook, they do not fail to erect a sawmill upon it for sawing boards and planks, with which commodity many yachts go during the whole summer to New York, having scarce any other lading than boards.
>
> The extensive trade which the inhabitants of Albany carry on, and their sparing manner of life, . . . contribute to the considerable wealth which many of them acquire.[1]

Among the merchants of Albany were Robert (1705 - 1765) and John Sanders (1774 - 1782), sons of Barent Sanders (1678 - 1757), who was mayor of Albany from 1750 - 1754.[2] Robert was a successful Indian trader and merchant, and his younger brother John began his career in commerce under the tutelage of his brother's business. In 1739 John Sanders married Deborah Glen (1721 - 1786), the only child and heir of Colonel Jacob Glen (1691 - 1762) of Scotia, an estate on the north bank of the Mohawk River just outside of the township of Schenectady.[3] To set up their household, the married couple moved fifteen miles west of Albany to the township of Schenectady.

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Settled in the 1660s as a patent outside of the Manor of Rensselaerwyck, the Schenectady township was primarily an agricultural community, taking advantage of the fertile flatlands adjoining the Mohawk River to produce wheat and corn crops. Lumber was also an important commodity in this community; it was both exported and used in the construction of river batteaux which plied the westward commercial route along the Mohawk River.

John Sanders continued his mercantile activities in Schenectady, and was involved not only in the importation of goods to serve the local market, but also the transshipment of goods westward from Albany to frontier settlements in the interior of the colony. He counted among his clients Sir William Johnson of Fort Johnson and Johnson Hall, and during (and following) the Revolution helped to supply the needs of the American army in western outposts such as Oswego.[4] That he was also involved in commercial speculation, in conjunction with larger New York City merchant houses, seems to be indicated as well.[5] This is perhaps not surprising, considering his experience with the wide-ranging commercial interests of his brother Robert, and also considering that his investments were handled through the firms of Cornelius, Richard and Robert Ray, who were cousins of the Sanderses.[6]

An undated agreement among John Sanders's papers describes an arrangement in which an unspecified number of

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"Subscribers" were to deposit forty thousand pounds in a joint stock account to be applied to "Trade, Privateering, or otherwise for the joint . . . profit of the Subscribers." This account was to be administered by Cornelius Ray, New York merchant. Although undated, this partial--or draft--agreement seems to fall within the context of John Sanders' activities about mid-century, c. 1750 - 1765. It is followed by additional receipts for monies paid to the Rays during the 1750s and 1760s.[7]

Richard and Robert Ray also acted as New York buying agents for several upstate merchants, including John Sanders. In a receipt dated October 23, 1756, they acknowledged receiving from John Sanders "the sum of twelve hundred and twenty six pounds four shillings which [they had] in trust for him and promise[d] to dispose of the same as he shall hereafter Direct and order us to do."[8] This sum was most probably added to his account, against which he could charge the purchase and shipment of goods from New York City for re-sale in the Schenectady area.

The household receipts of Deborah Glen and John Sanders are rather sparse; however, they do offer some beginning insight to upstate patterns of taste and purchasing preferences from the mid- to late eighteenth century. Although specific documentation is lacking, it is possible that Deborah Glen brought to her new household, as part of

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her dowry, several Glen family pieces. It is even more likely that Glen furniture was inherited by Deborah when her parents both died in August of 1762. Unfortunately, however, beyond suggestive speculation, very little is actually known about the earlier and original furnishings of Scotia.

Immediately after their marriage, Deborah and John Sanders moved to Schenectady, where they resided for the next twenty six years. For the early years of their marriage, no receipts for furniture remain. The earliest receipt for furnishings of any kind is dated October 11,1749. This is a bill to John Sanders from Robert and Richard Ray of New York for a variety of nine mirrors, "2 large looking glasses @ 8/; 1 smaller ditto, [@] 5/; and 6 small ditto @ 2/6."[9] Although it is possible that these were purchased for domestic use in the Sanders' home, it is more likely that some or all of the looking glasses were purchased for local retail.

In August 1762, Deborah Sanders' parents died, and much of the movable estate at Scotia was willed to Deborah as only child and sole heir. The house and real estate, however, were deeded to Deborah's uncle, John Glen, of Albany and cousin, John Glen, Jr., of Schenectady.[10] It was not until 1765, when Deborah and John Sanders purchased the estate interests of her uncle and cousin for ₤ 4,000 and became sole owners of Scotia, that the couple returned to the Glen family home.[11]

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In October 1762, shortly after inheriting Scotia furnishings, John and Deborah Sanders "bo^{t} from W^{m}tillow -- 12 read Dagg foot chears" for £ 7-0-0.[12] This early bill from a member of the extended New York City chairmaking family, although peculiar in its terminology, probably records the purchase of a dozen trumpet-turned, slipper foot side chairs, with solid vase-shaped splats and yoked crestrails, painted or stained red. They may have been similar in appearance to the pair of side chairs branded J J L (Jacob Jacobse Lansing of Albany) which are now part of this collection. (See Figure I.)

These chairs represent a major purchase among the remaining Sanders household receipts. Their purchase may indeed be related to the inheritance from Deborah's parents of a large, oval, cherry dining table with slipper feet (see Figure II), a table long associated by family tradition as a Glen piece which descended through the marriage of John Sanders and Deborah Glen.[13]

Only three bills for furniture and furnishings remain from the period during which Deborah and John Sanders actually lived at Scotia (1765 - 1786), and these reflect the addition of major furniture items chosen from local as well as New York City tradesmen. For ten pounds in February 1768 John Sanders purchased what must have been a substantial "chist upon chist of Draws" from John Trotter, a Schenectady

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merchant.[14] Unfortunately, no chest-on-chest with which this bill may be tied remains among the known family collections. The price paid for the chest was considerable, and although the example is no longer extant, one may speculate that its appearance was in the "newest fashion." Equally disappointing is the fact that the cabinetmaker's name is not recorded on this bill. John Trotter was a local merchant who imported household as well as commercial items.[15]

In 1773 a "mahogany chist on chist and tea table" were purchased for £ 18 from the shop of Samuel Prince, "at the sign of the Chest of Drawers, In William Street . . . New York."[16] That these two items of furniture are not listed and priced individually on the bill may signify that they were not custom-made, but rather were chosen from stock already on hand in Prince's shop.[17] The combined cost of these two items and the fact that they were made of mahogany suggest that they were made "in the modern taste," and may indeed have been comparable in both workmanship and ornament to other known examples of furniture documented to Samuel Prince.[18]

That furniture was continually renewed and repaired during the period of its ownership by individual family members is everywhere apparent among the surviving Glen-Sanders bills and receipts. In 1775, Elbert Willett, an upholsterer and merchant of Albany, provided John Sanders with

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Leather for chair bottom & wings	0-16-0
225 small & 100 large brass nails	7-0
1¼ lb livery lace & 3 lb nails	3-6
wool & hay for cushions of Black tack [?]	5-0
lining chair[,] making cushions	1- 4-0
	£ 2-19-0[19]

Although reupholstery of a wing-chair is implied by this bill, no chair fitting that description remains with the collection, nor does such an item appear among later sales and bequests of furnishings among family members. Considering the quantities of brass tacks and livery lace listed, and considering the modest cost of the leather for this chair, it is possible that this bill refers to an upholstered "back stool" rather than a formal wing or easy chair. Side chairs with upholstered seats and backs--back stools--were not an unknown form in New York. At least one upholsterer in New York City advertised "back stool chairs finished in the genteelest and newest taste," in the 1770s.[20] Even earlier, stuffed, or upholstered, high-backed armchairs with slipper feet were produced in New York, apparently in sets,[21] and although less likely, this enigmatic bill may refer to the reupholstery of an older chair of this type.

The documented additions to Scotia furnishings made by John Sanders and Deborah Glen are not numerous. Nevertheless the few purchases which are documented reflect significant improvements to the body of furniture with which this upstate family lived during the eighteenth century. If the twelve chairs

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purchased from William Tillow in 1762 were, in fact, from among the body of Hudson Valley-type vase-splat side chairs so often associated with New York families, it would appear that this purchase was entirely in keeping with a prevailing regional (and perhaps peer-associated) taste preference. The purchases of two expensive chests upon chests and a tea table in the late 1760s and early 1770s reinforce this thesis of style-consciousness.

That the majority of these documented purchases are receipted to New York City craftsmen would seem to confirm a pattern of local awareness of and interest in the products of an urban style center. Not all of the receipts reflect New York City trade, however. Purchases from local merchants and a dependence upon local craftsmen for furniture renewal and repair also are reflected in the documentation for the period of John Sanders and Deborah Glen. These patterns persisted through later generations of Scotia residents.

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III. FURNITURE OF JOHN SANDERS II (1757-1834) AND DEBORAH SANDERS/ALBERTINA TEN BROECK (1758-1798) (?-1840)

Of the eleven children born to Deborah Glen and John Sanders between 1740 and 1764, only five survived infancy and early childhood and lived to maturity. The only surviving son, John II (1757 - 1834), inherited the Scotia estate upon the deaths of his parents in 1782 and 1786, respectively.[1] On February 24, 1777 he married his first cousin, Deborah Sanders (1758 - 1798) of Albany, the youngest daughter of Robert Sanders, merchant,[2] and they settled at Scotia as John Sanders II assumed his father's estate and commercial interests.

John Sanders II was particularly active in the development of the Scotia estate. The surviving documentation for his tenure at Scotia records numerous changes in furnishings as well as physical alterations to the interior and exterior of the Scotia mansion. It is during John II's period of residence at Scotia that one finds the most information about local craftsmen serving Albany and Schenectady residents, local patterns of trade with other urban centers, as well as the ineffable aspect of style-consciousness

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in upstate communities.

Prior to Deborah Glen Sanders' death in 1786, John Sanders II and his wife apparently added very few furnishings to Scotia. Between the time of his marriage in 1777 and 1786, bills to John Sanders II reveal instead an overriding interest in the ordinary affairs of managing the Scotia estate; work which often involved the skills of local carpenters and joiners.

John W. Hall (1746 - 1784), a Schenectady carpenter who apprenticed to Samuel Fuller during the building of Johnson Hall for Sir William Johnson in 1763, performed numerous miscellaneous tasks on the Scotia estate in 1783.[3] Like members of the Dominy family of East Hampton, Long Island, and certainly other rural craftsmen, he supported himself by engaging in a full range of craft and agricultural work within a local community that could not support him full-time as a master builder.[4] Reconciling his accounts in January 1784, John Sanders II recorded Hall's various activities at Scotia for the previous year, which included

a day carpenter's work,	£0- 5-0
2 days cuting lumber for the mill	0-10-0
1 day at the mill	6-0
2 days with slay and horses	8-0
to coffin for my son	20-0
	[£2- 9-0] [5]

The last sober entry refers to the death of John Sanders' infant son, Robert (1781 - 1783), in late October

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of 1783, and reflects one of the more common products requested of rural craftsmen. Again, in 1786, upon the death of his mother, Deborah Glen Sanders, John Sanders II purchased a coffin from a local carpenter. A bill from Nicholas Veeder to John Sanders, paid in 1788, lists accounts for the previous five years, including

1786	To making a coffin for his mother	£2- 0-0
	To seven inch white pine boards for the rough chest	5-3[6]
		[£2- 5-3]

Among the few furnishings which Deborah and John Sanders II added to Scotia prior to Deborah Glen's death were several items which were purchased from New York City merchants. In early September 1784 John Sanders II bought two "mahogany knife cases @ 64/," and one "sett plated cruets" for six pounds, ten shillings, eight pence from James Rivington, New York bookseller and merchant.[7] Ten days later, he ordered a mahogany bedstead from the firm of Carter and Tiller, also New York merchants, for £ 9.[8] In January 1785, he was billed at Albany by Marte Beekman for freight charges on the shipment of merchandise from New York which included

To freight	1 Looking [glass] @ 10/	L0-10-0
	1 mahogany bedstead	0- 3-0
	1 box bottles	0- 5-0
	1 trunk d[o]	0- 5-0
	1 small hamper	0- 2-0
	1 large bag Feathers	0- 2-6
	1 kagg wine	0- 1-0
	1 Pair Hamerons	0- 0-9

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1 jarr of reasons [raisins?]
and tea kettle 0- 1-0

£3- 4-9[9]

It is possible that the mahogany bedstead included in this bill for freight charges from New York was the bed purchased from Carter and Tiller earlier in the fall. That this bedstead may have been relatively modest in terms of ornament may be extrapolated from comparisons with other bills of sale for beds from craftsmen throughout the colonies during this period. A 1796 bill from Philadelphia cabinetmaker Jacob Wayne to Captain Joseph DaCosta records "[one] high post bedstead 2 post Maho^{y} £ 6-0-0."[10] The standard charge established by Philadelphia cabinetmakers in 1796 for a plain high post mahogany bedstead was £ 9-0-0.[11]

That John Sanders II also may have patronized merchants and craftsmen in other colonies in addition to New York is suggested by a letter to him from his cousin, Robert Ray, dated "Albany, 13th Jan^{y} 1789."

> I had some thoughts of visiting you with my Wife pr the bearer Mr. Rensselaer, but my wife finally declined, said she was not well enough to go so far from home. -We have no farther news since you was here, of our goods at Baltimore as the late Severe weather has put a stop to all traveling, no Post comes in. -Aaron Van Schaick left this place in the morning as Mr. John J. Beekman arrived at home, from Schenectady in the evening, for Baltimore. . . .[12]

Unfortunately, the referernce to "goods at Baltimore"

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is not explained in later accounts, and the exact nature of the materials cannot be determined. However, they may have included furnishings for Scotia and/or local retail. The importance of this reference is derived from the fact that it records at least one order from a Schenectady resident and merchant for goods produced or sold in a distant colonial commercial center. It points to broader patterns of ordinary trade engaged in by residents of this upstate New York community than were formerly acknowledged.

In 1793 John Sanders' wife Deborah died, and John again engaged the services of a local cabinetmaker for the necessary arrangements. A bill dated May 2, 1794 from Elbert Willett, Jr. to John Sanders records Willett's making, in 1793, a mahogany coffin for £ 9, one chest for 30 shillings, three additional chests at 30 shillings each, and finally, three chests costing 32 shillings each.[13] Although no location is noted on the bill, Elbert Willett, Jr. was apparently working in Albany and then later in Troy, approximately eight miles northeast of Albany on the Hudson River. In January and July of 1802 and 1803 he advertised in the Troy newspaper, The Northern Budget:

> Elbert Willett, Jr.
>
> CABINET & CHAIRMAKER
>
> River-street, next door south of Mr. Yvonnet's store, carries on the above business in its various branches. He is well stocked with a

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> large supply of excellent Mahogany and Cherry, and the best workmen from the City of New-York. As to the strength, elegance and fashion of his workmanship, he is willing to submit to the judgement of those who may please to favor him with a call.
>
> He returns his sincere thanks to his friends and the public for former favours, and wishes a continuance of their patronage.
>
> All orders in his line will be gratefully received, strictly attended to, and executed with neatness and dispatch.[14]

John Sanders' modest order for several chests and a coffin in 1793 obviously is not highly representative of the skills later advertised by Willett, however the order does suggest early local recognition of the quality of cabinetwoods used and work performed in Willett's shop. This aspect is reinforced by the fact that John Sanders II chose an out-of-town cabinetshop to make his wife's coffin, specifically ignoring the skills of local carpenters in Schenectady who previously had provided him with competent work of this nature. It is important to note as well that, in spite of his advertised skills in the areas of fine cabinetwork and chairmaking, Willett was also supporting himself by performing one of the more ordinary tasks of the local economy.

The nature and appearance of the seven chests included in this same bill are unknown. It is possible that they were related to funerary preparations such as the packing of the deceased's clothing and personal effects, but that cannot

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be determined on the basis of the remaining documentation. No chests which remain in this collection seem to bear any direct relation to this bill.

Elbert Willett, Jr.'s advertisement is revealing of two additional aspects of the furniture crafts of upstate New York during the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth centuries. First, the mention of specific cabinetwoods, while not unusual in period advertisements, does provide an indication of local taste preferences which extended beyond the mere availability of a local wood. The reference to cherry, in addition to mahogany, suggests that it was, indeed, considered one of the finer cabinetwoods and that it was highly favored in the Albany area. The complete absence of walnut among the listed cabinetwoods is significant. In New Jersey and Pennsylvania, as well as in many of the southern colonies, walnut rivalled mahogany as the most popular cabinetwood. Urban craftsmen generally offered goods in mahogany, walnut, cherry and maple, and seemed to indicate that the woods listed were in descending order of popularity and price.[15] The emphasis upon cherry, and its displacement of walnut as a popular cabinetwood in the upper Hudson Valley, suggests not only the plentiful supply of a local cabinetwood, but also a conscious regional taste preference.

Several years prior to the appearance of Willett's advertisement, an Albany cabinetmaker also emphasized the

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popularity of cherry in area cabinetwork. Amos Broad advertised the availability of ". . . mahogany and cherry tables of all kinds" at his shop on State Street in 1796.[16] A year earlier his newspaper advertisement included a notice that "the highest price in cash is given for any quantity Cherry stuff, that is well seasoned," indicating that he was buying supplies of cherry to satisfy a rather strong market demand.[17]

In addition to the specific notation of popular local cabinetwoods, Elbert Willett, Jr.'s advertisement also reflects an awareness, on the part of a local cabinetmaker, of the need to compete with the quality and variety of goods produced and exported by New York furniture shops. His reference to having "the best workmen from the City of New-York" is clearly meant to impress potential customers and assure them of fashion and style in anything they may have wished to order from his shop. It also acknowledges a locally established trade with New York merchants and cabinetmakers that Willett and others were attempting to divert.

Following his wife's death in 1793, John Sanders II turned to other matters, and temporarily ceased his extensive activities with regard to improving the furnishings at Scotia. In November 1801, however, he married Albertina Ten Broeck of Clermont in Columbia County.[18] This seems to coincide with a renewed interest in up-dating the interiors

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of Scotia and purchasing furniture in the newer, classical style.

In June of 1800 John Sanders began purchasing substantial amounts of neo-classical plaster ornament, apparently in an effort to re-decorate interior architectural features of Scotia. A lengthy bill from New York City composition manufacturer George Andrews reads like a dictionary of vocabulary for the new style, including among its entries listings for:

Larger Urn Tablet N° 2	£0- 9-0
2 rich strawberry friezes	14-0
2 vazes for blocks	4-0
8 lengths Vitruvian Scrowl [scroll]	8-0
9 lengths d° drapery, larger	5-0
* * * *	
Fruit basket tablet N° 3	7-6
2 wheat festoons	6-6
* * * *	
Appollo &c tablet N° 5	10-6
2 inch friezes with figure centers	13-0
* * * *	
2 urns for blocks	3-6
N° 6 tablet 2 friezes	18-0[19]

That the remodelling of Scotia continued is made clear by two additional bills. One, from Albany architect, Richard Allanson, lists

Two patteras	£0- 1-6
18 leaves for necks of columns	0- 6-0
18 leaves for necks of Columns [second entry for same]	0- 6-0
amount of Carpenters work from July 5, 1801 to Septm 18, 1802	£350-14-0[20]

The second bill records Sanders' 1802 purchase of "four chimney pieces [for] £ 10-0-0" from William Hannagan, an

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Albany carpenter.[21]

It is important to note that these efforts to refurbish Scotia in the "classical style" occurred at the turn of the nineteenth century, and that they involved both local craftsmen and merchants from New York City. Such major changes in Scotia's interiors were coincident with, and perhaps partially a result of, Sanders' second marriage. At the same time, however, the remodelling reflects John Sanders' awareness and ready acceptance of the most recently introduced style. This active interest in the new fashion was as quickly and as extensively expressed in new furnishings purchased for Scotia beginning in 1800.

In 1800 John Sanders II had purchased a mahogany dining table for the sum of seven pounds, ten shillings from Jeremiah Knowles, a Schenectady cabinetmaker.[22] Apparently the quality of workmanship on this table was sufficient to warrant additional business for this Schenectady cabinetmaker. In January of 1802, shortly after his own wedding and at about the time of his daughter Elizabeth's marriage to William Anderson, John Sanders II commissioned an extensive order of furniture from Knowles. Dated January 11, 1802, the bill included

To a large mahogany dining table	£ 7- 0-0
a pair of card tables	10- 8-0
casters to d°	1- 4-0
an easy chair	6-10-0
a lucette [a Lady's lace loom]	1- 4-0
a Side Bord	23- 0-0

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a Cherry Bord [illegible] workman for the new house	0- 7-0
10 Mahogany chairs @ £ 4 each	40- 0-0
2 Mahogany chairs w/arms @ 5-4-0	10- 8-0
A Mahogany knife Tray	0-12-0
	£ 100-13-0[23]

On the reverse of this bill is the notation, "Jeremiah Knowles bill of furniture made for my daughter Eliza," which in all likelihood refers to the fact that much or all of this furniture was a wedding gift from John Sanders II to his daughter.[24]

Although most of the furniture included in this bill has been alienated from the collection and one no longer is able to document the appearance of a substantial body of Knowles' work, the documentary evidence provided by the bill itself is important. First, it documents the types of furnishings considered proper for setting up a new household. It also identifies and dates the local manufacture of some of the newer furniture forms--particularly the sideboard--associated with the new, Federal style in America.

The prices which Knowles charged Sanders for the items included in this bill are comparable to those charged by New York City cabinet- and chairmakers for some of the finer products of their shops.[25] Although not described in any detail, the chairs and dining table listed above may indeed have been comparable to the set of chairs and tables purchased in 1793 from New York City cabinetmaker, Robert Carter, by Peter E.

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Elmendorf, John Sanders' Albany neighbor and acquaintance.[26] (See Figures III and IV.) One may suggest, then, that Albany and Schenectady residents and furniture craftsmen were, by 1800, familiar with the components of the new, Federal style, and that there was a local demand for such new furniture.

The sideboard, listed above for the amount of twenty three pounds, may be one of the few items remaining in this collection which represent the work of a local craftsman. (See Figure V.) Long held by family tradition to be the sideboard owned by John Sanders II, it more recently has been reattributed to generalized New York City craftsmanship on the basis of the quality of "[its] workmanship and design."[27] This judgement presumes a rather limited development of tastes and capabilities on the part of both clients and craftsmen on the local level of communities geographically removed from major style centers, a presumption which may not be entirely justified. In the Albany-Schenectady area in particular, frequent communication and trade with New York City merchants and suppliers provided a broader base both for local residents' awareness of style changes and for their active participation in such changes.

A new furniture form introduced to American artisans and clients in the 1790s, the sideboard served as a functional addition to formal dining settings and as an interior ornament which visually expressed the principles of geometry

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underlying neo-classical cabinetwork. First listed in the 1793 edition of the Cabinet-Makers' London Book of Prices, the sideboard did not appear in American price books until 1795 (Philadelphia) and 1796 (New York).[28] The Journeymen Cabinet and Chair Makers' New-York Book of Prices, 1796, listed a price of nine pounds twelve shillings for the simplest version of this case piece, and even at that, it was one of the more expensive items of furniture listed.[29] The quantity and quality of ornamentation as well as the enlargement of the cabinet's structure could increase the price considerably.

That John Sanders II paid the substantial price of twenty three pounds for the Knowles sideboard strongly suggests a sophisticated and highly ornamented cabinetpiece. Unfortunately, because no other cabinetpieces of Knowles' work are known with which this sideboard might be compared, this attribution must remain one that is tentative, but certainly possible.

In 1804 John Sanders II was again a patron of Knowles' shop; this time purchasing a "field bedsted [with] sacking bottom" for eleven dollars.[30] This bill may refer to a bed which has survived in this collection and which has four fluted maple posts and a white pine headboard. (See Figure VI.)

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A previous study, perhaps reflecting the prevailing bias toward New York City attributions, suggested that this bed may have been purchased in 1793 from Robert Carter of New York City by Peter E. Elmendorf. A bill from Carter to Elmendorf, dated 28 August, lists "one Field Bedsted Mahogany Post, £ 5-0-0, and one [field bedstead] common post, £ 3-0-0."[31] The assumption underlying this attribution is that "common post[s]" refers to a bed made of any wood--including maple--other than mahogany. In fact, however, a careful investigation of period price books indicates that a "common" bedstead, or one that generally was the least expensive model offered, would have been made of white wood (pine). Extra features, adding to the cost of a bed, included posts "made of hard wood or mahogany."[32]

The maple and pine field bedstead, here attributed to Jeremiah Knowles, is relatively simple in design and execution. However, the high quality of workmanship shown in the careful stepping of the posts to receive a mattress and in the fluting of both outside edges of the foot- and head-posts is consistent with the level of work exhibited in the "Knowles" sideboard.

John Sanders continued to patronize local craftsmen until 1830, when his health failed and he ceased most of his activities within the community. Although few major purchases were made after the order from Jeremiah Knowles, the bills

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and receipts remaining for the period 1805 - 1830 reveal a continuing demand for the skills of local craftsmen for both the fabrication of new furniture items and the repair of furniture already at Scotia.

In September 1808, John Sanders II paid Isaac Ledyard for a breakfast table which he had made for Sanders' daughter, Catherina.[33] Ledyard advertised in 1805 that he had

> . . . commenced the CHAIRMAKING at his house in State Street [Schenectady], where he intends keeping constantly on hand a neat assortment of
> WINDSOR AND BAMBOO CHAIRS
> painted, striped and gilt in the newest fashions--
> He hopes as he has employed the best workmen, to give general satisfaction, and merit public patronage.[34]

Because this collection currently lacks any example which may be related to this bill, and because Ledyard advertised himself as a chairmaker, it is difficult to guess what might have been the appearance of this breakfast table. Ledyard's specialty in the production of windsor and bamboo-turned chairs suggests that the table may have been quite simple, with turned legs; quite possibly it had a decorative painted or grained finish.[35]

That the furnishings of Scotia included additional painted "fancy" and windsor chairs is documented by later receipts to local craftsmen. In 1809 John Winant of Schenectady billed John Sanders II for "painting and tip[p]ing 22 setting chairs."[36] In 1829, Sanders paid Caleb Lyon for various

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repairs to a total of seven windsor setting chairs.[37]

Bills for other furniture repairs reveal the names of additional local craftsmen. On May 24, 1810, John Sanders paid $15.50 to Elisha Taylor of Schenectady "for repairing [a] chair."[38] That Taylor may also have been a general merchant is suggested by a later bill to Sanders for the purchase of sundry merchandise.[39] Beyond an 1840 directory listing, very little additional information is known about Taylor.

In 1811, John Tunnahill of Schenectady billed Sanders $10.00 for the repair of a sideboard.[40] This bill may refer to repairs to the attributed Knowles sideboard above.

In 1825 and 1829 John Sanders had several small accounts with John Lassells of Schenectady. One receipt records a "trundle bedsted" by Lassells for $4.00. Later receipts indicate that this carpenter also performed minor refinishing and repair tasks on Scotia furniture, including "mending and scraping a table ($1.25), and mending a cradle ($.25)."[41]

John Sanders' purchases of furnishings and interior appointments during his tenure at Scotia are significant for the established patterns of taste and trade which they reveal. With few exceptions, Sanders patronized local and Albany craftsmen and merchants. He gained from them a wide variety of goods and services, ranging from ordinary household and

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furniture repairs to the extraordinary workmanship exhibited by the attributed Knowles sideboard. Part of a local socio-political elite, Sanders obviously was well aware of style and fashion changes in colonial urban centers. He participated in these changes, and apparently was satisfied that local craftsmen were vitally interested in mastering the new styles and eminently capable of producing works equal in style, price and workmanship to those of their urban competitors.

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IV. LATER SCOTIA FURNISHINGS

In 1834, upon the death of John Sanders II, Scotia was inherited by Peter Sanders (1792 - 1850), the youngest child of John Sanders II and Deborah (Sanders) Sanders. Ten years earlier, Peter had married his cousin, Maria Elmendorf (1796 - 1869), daughter of Peter Edmund Elmendorf and Elizabeth Van Rensselaer of Albany, and granddaughter of Maria Sanders Van Rensselaer, the only sister of Peter Sanders' mother, Deborah.[1] This marriage reinforced the interconnection of the Scotia families and the families of Cherry Hill in Albany.[2] As a result of the intermarriages between these two families, several pieces of furniture which originally were part of the furnishings of Cherry Hill in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, were moved to Scotia during the 1830s by Peter and Maria Sanders. Because Maria Sanders' father, Peter Edmund Elmendorf (1764 - 1835) was a local contemporary of John Sanders II, and because many of the furnishings originally acquired by him were also incorporated into the Scotia mansion, it was deemed important to review his surviving papers for comparative study as well as for additional documentation of the work of local craftsmen.

Peter Edmund Elmendorf II of Ulster County, New York,

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married Elizabeth Van Rensselaer of Albany in 1793, and settled into a house on Pearl Street [Albany] which Elizabeth had inherited from her maternal grandfather, Robert Sanders.[3] In September of 1793, Peter Elmendorf bought two looking glasses from William Wilmerding, a New York City importer and merchant.[4] Because many of Peter Elmendorf's furnishings were brought to Scotia, it is thought that a mirror remaining in the collection may be one of the two purchased from Wilmerding in 1793. (See Figure VII.) That Wilmerding was primarily a merchant, rather than a looking-glass maker is attested to by his advertisement.

> William Wilmerding corner of BroadWay and Dye-street,
> Has for Sale,
> a large and elegant assortment of gilt and wooden framed
> LOOKING GLASSES
> and a variety of other articles of the latest importation, which he is determined to sell on the lowest terms.[5]

Other mirrors attributed to Wilmerding's shop (some with New York histories of ownership) reinforce the hypothesis of Wilmerding's selling imported mirrors, and they suggest as well that some of the mirrors which he may have imported and sold were of American--but not New York--manufacture. A mirror descending from Mrs. Kilian Van Rensselaer of Albany, which was billed from Wilmerding's shop, has been considered the basis upon which to attribute to Wilmerding a labelled looking glass from a Wilmington, Delaware merchant, John White.[6] In fact, however, comparison of the Van Rensselaer mirror with other examples labelled from Philadelphia makers, John Elliott,

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Sr., and John Elliott, Jr., suggests that the Van Rensselaer mirror is actually of Philadelphia origin and that Wilmerding may have imported looking glasses from Philadelphia and other domestic centers as well as from England.[7] The frame of the mirror in the Glen-Sanders collection is not similar to those made in Philadelphia by the Elliotts, and its exact origin remains obscure.

Although Peter Elmendorf may have patronized the shops of other New York merchants and craftsmen, only one other purchase of furniture from a New York cabinetmaker is documented. In a bill from Robert Carter, New York cabinetmaker, dated 28 August 1793, Elmendorf is billed for the purchase of

10 mahogany chairs @ 66/	£ 33- 0-0
2 Do w/trim @ 87/	8- 0-0
2 mahogany dining tables	10- 0-0
2 mahogany breakfast tables	5- 0-0
one Easy chair	5- 0-0
One Field bedsted, Mahogany post	5- 0-0
one Do , common post	3- 0-0
one long post bedsted	3-10-0
one Cheary breakfast table	1-10-0
	£ 74- 4-0
2 Benches given in Stars and Casters	14-0
	£ 74-18-0[8]

Of the items included in this bill from Robert Carter, fourteen can be accounted for in the inventory of Peter E. Elmendorf's personal estate taken shortly after he died.[9] Other items may have been given to his daughter, Maria, at the time of her marriage to Peter Sanders in 1824.

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When her father died in 1835, Maria Elmendorf Sanders inherited his estate, including his personal property and furnishings. Much of this inheritance was brought to Scotia, and eleven items remain in the collection which can be traced to the bill from Robert Carter: six mahogany side- and two arm-chairs with shield backs, two plain mahogany dining tables, and one mahogany breakfast table. (See Figures III, IV, VIII.)[10]

Beyond his extensive purchases of New York City-made furniture in the year of his marriage, Peter Elmendorf also patronized local, Albany craftsmen for additional items as well as for furniture repairs. James Linacre of Albany was frequently called upon to repair furniture for Peter Elmendorf, for his mother-in-law, Maria Van Rensselaer, and for John Sanders II of Scotia.

In 1795 Linacre repaired a tea chest and vinegar cruet for John Sanders II. Although this repair work was modest, also included on the bill is an entry for a "mahogany Inlaid clock case [@] £ 13-0-0."[11] The description of the clock case and its price suggest that it may indeed have been a fine piece, reflecting the decorative vocabulary of geometric veneers and inlays popular during the 1790s.

Peter Elmendorf's accounts with James Linacre (and later, his brother, Isaac) reflect the broader spectrum of ordinary work performed by a local cabinetmaker. Most of

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the surviving bills record numerous repairs to family furnishings.

25 May 1796	for repairing a bedsted	0-4-0
7 April 1798	To rockers for a chair	0-3-0
24 Mar 1803	to repairing a dining table	0-5-0
7 Dec 1803	to a cradle mending	0-3-0
8 Dec 1806	To repairing a tabel [table] and cut[t]ing the corners	0-6-0[12]

The last curious entry, for repairing a table and cutting the corners, is thought to refer to a small mahogany breakfast table which remains in this collection. (See Figure IX.) Most probably much earlier in date than 1806, this table is embellished with a pierced cross-stretcher whose design apparently was inspired by Plate LIII of Thomas Chippendale's The Gentleman and Cabinet-maker's Director.[13] Although the identity of the cabinetmaker responsible for this breakfast table is unknown, James Linacre's later repair and alteration of it are uniquely documented.

Other entries reveal the variety of miscellaneous tasks performed by this family of local cabinetmakers, and undoubtedly others as well.

11 Dec. 1802	[to] hanging 3 glasses & repairing; a fals[e] till in chest	0-2-0
24 Mar. 1803	To a bedsted put[t]ing up	0-1-6
8 Decr 1806	To repairing a stove	
	To a board fram[e]d for the fierplace [fireplace]	0-4-0[14]

And finally, like most other local carpenters and cabinetmakers, James Linacre also made coffins. In April 1798,

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Peter E. Elmendorf ordered a mahogany coffin at £ 10-0-0 from Linacre.[15] It is most probable that this coffin was made for Peter Elmendorf's wife, Elizabeth, who died in the spring of 1798.[16]

Unfortunately, beyond this documentation of the type of work which James Linacre performed as a local cabinetmaker, very little else is known of his actual work. The first Albany directory of 1813 lists him as a cabinetmaker residing at 41 Steuben Street, with a warehouse at 70 Market Street (now Broadway), but obviously his early work pre-dates this entry.[17] Linacre is listed as a cabinetmaker until 1830-31, and presumably was working up through that time. Beginning in 1817, and continuing up until 1835, Albany directories also include an entry for James Linacre, Jr., cabinetmaker, at addresses which differ from those of James, Sr.[18]

Thomas Linacre, possibly a relative of James, Sr., is also listed as a cabinetmaker in the 1813 directory, and he continues to be listed as a cabinetmaker through 1834. In 1835 he is listed as a pattern maker.[19] No bills from Thomas Linacre are among the Glen-Sanders manuscripts.

Isaac Linacre, whose bill to Peter Elmendorf for repairs to a table is dated April 26, 1811, is not listed in any directory until 1831, when he appears at the same address as the widow of James, Sr.[20] It is not known why Isaac Linacre,

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who continued James Sr.'s cabinetmaking business, is neglected by Albany directories until 1831.

The Linacres clearly were the primary recipients of the various Elmendorf furniture repair accounts, however they were not the only local shop[s] patronized by this family. During the first decade of the nineteenth century, Albany chairmaker, James Chestney, repaired several windsor and cottage chairs for Peter E. Elmendorf. In 1803 Elmendorf paid for "bottoming [and] mending 5 common chairs;" and in 1805 Chestney was paid for "cutting off and bottoming 2 Cottage chairs."[21] Although no known examples from Chestney's Albany Chair Manufactory have descended in this collection, the documentary evidence points to the importance, for both craftsman and client, of repair and refurbishing work performed on the local level. Throughout the first three decades of the nineteenth century Chestney advertised not only fancy, cottage, sewing, rocking, and windsor chairs and settees, but also his willingness to repair, rebottom, paint and regild old chairs.[22]

Like his contemporary John Sanders II, Peter E. Elmendorf made major furniture purchases in New York City and supplemented those new furnishings with occasional additions made by local cabinet and chairmakers. Furniture repairs and alterations and coffinmaking were among the ordinary tasks performed by local craftsmen, and additional documentation for these activities is found among Elmendorf's household

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receipts. As a result of these similarities, the furniture originally purchased by Peter Elmendorf, which was subsequently inherited by his daughter Maria Sanders and brought to Scotia in 1835, reflects much of the same socio-economic context as the furnishings which were purchased specifically for Scotia by earlier family members.

The household receipts of Peter and Maria Sanders reveal a continuation of what appear to have been established traditions of furniture acquisition among Scotia residents. Shortly after their marriage in 1824 they purchased from Wheaton and Davies, New York City fancy-chair manufacturers, a set of one "dozen curly maple chairs" for $35.00.[23] Although six maple fancy chairs remain with the collection (see Figure X), an attribution of them to the shop of Wheaton and Davies must remain tentative in light of the presence of another bill for "9 maple chairs" made by Schenectady chairmaker Watson Dunham for Peter Sanders' father (John II) in 1830.[24] No documented examples from either the New York City firm or the Schenectady chair shop are known with which the remaining Glen-Sanders chairs can be compared and the attribution stands unresolved.

If Peter and Maria Sanders made additional purchases of furniture between 1824 and the date of their moving to Scotia in 1834, no records of such remain. Beginning in 1834, however, and continuing through the 1840s, these residents of Scotia turned to craftsmen in the immediate vicinity for

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miscellaneous items of furniture as well as for various repairs. Following a pattern of purchasing that was similar to the patterns established earlier by Scotia residents, Peter Sanders relied upon the available local skills of Glenville residents. In 1834 he purchased a sofa for $30.00 and a sideboard for $40.00 from Asa Taylor.[25] And in 1836, he purchased a maple dressing table, wash stand and work stand from George Haight, also of Glenville.[26] Both cabinetmakers remain unidentified, lacking documentation beyond the Sanders receipts.

Few additional purchases of furniture were made by Peter and Maria Sanders after 1840. Peter Sanders died in 1850, and his wife, in 1869. Upon the death of Maria Sanders, most of what now comprises the Glen-Sanders collection was divided between her two sons, Peter Edmund and Charles P. Sanders. Evidencing an extraordinary sense of historical continuity, this later generation of Sanderses sought to reunite most of the furnishings which earlier had filled Scotia and which had been dispersed gradually among various family members.

Charles P. Sanders initiated this movement in 1869, when he purchased the estate of his aunt, Sarah (Sanders) Van Rensselaer. This purchase brought back to Scotia items which Sarah had inherited from her parents, John Sanders II and Deborah (Sanders) Sanders, and it added to the Scotia estate items which had come into Sarah's possession through her husband, Peter S. Van Rensselaer, son of Philip Van Rensselaer of Cherry Hill.

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(See Appendices A and D.)

Charles Sanders' wife, Jane Livingston Ten Broeck, completed the effort to return to Scotia the furnishings of its earlier residents. In 1874 she purchased the Scotia-related estate of her brother-in-law, Peter Edmund Sanders, and brought those items back into the mansion. (See Appendix E.) The furnishings assembled by Charles P. and Jane Sanders during the last third of the nineteenth century remained intact as a collection within Scotia for almost one hundred years, until the death of their grandson, J. Glen Sanders, in 1961.

Sensitively respecting the family's tradition of preserving the entirety of the Scotia estate, Sanders' executors sold the assembled collection of furnishings intact to a private collector. In 1964 the entire collection was in turn sold to Colonial Williamsburg and, with few exceptions,[26] remains there today as an extraordinary record: not only of the possessions and taste preferences of seven generations of a single family, but also of the existence of a viable local cabinetmaking tradition in upstate New York.

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V. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE GLEN-SANDERS COLLECTION

The Glen-Sanders families have left a voluminous tangible record of their activities in both artifactual and documentary forms. Certainly the relative completeness of the family's surviving records offers itself as a reason for further in-depth study. However, there are conclusions which can be drawn from these materials that have particular importance to the study of New York furniture, craftsmen and patrons.

By examining the evidence of these families, it is possible to gain insight to patterns of taste and style followed in the upper Hudson-Mohawk River area. The Glen-Sanders family represents a meld of some of New YOrk's wealthiest and most prominent families. Through travel, commercial and social contacts they were exposed to cosmopolitan tastes and style changes occuring in the major colonial and European centers. For this upstate community, this conglomerate of families formed a recognizable cadre of tastemakers, and as such, it offers significant information concerning the furniture taste preferences of an up-river population that was geographically removed from the urban style center of New York City.

Although few receipts for furnishings purchased prior

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to 1750 are found within this collection, the Tillow chairs and Samuel Prince chest-on-chest and tea table acquired for Scotia by John and Deborah (Glen) Sanders during the 1760s and 1770s reflect a local awareness of and apparent dependence upon the products of an urban style center. Local craftsmen were supported by the demand for a variety of more ordinary tasks, such as house and furniture repair, coffin-making, and furniture maintenance (including reupholstery and repainting).

Beginning in the 1780s, the efforts of John Sanders II to remodel and refurnish his parents' home reflect a continued awareness of style changes. The full impact of the innovative neo-classical style was introduced to Scotia in the new furnishings and interior decorations which John Sanders II purchased between 1785 and 1829. Outside of the few items which he purchased from New York City merchants in 1784 and 1785, however, the balance of furnishings added to Scotia reflects the work of local craftsmen.

Substantial purchases of the work of Schenectady cabinetmaker Jeremiah Knowles were made between 1800 and 1804; numerous other local cabinet- and chairmakers received Sanders' patronage between 1800 and 1829. The surviving furniture in this collection which can be related to these purchases evidences a much stronger local craft market than before had been recognized--one that was capable of competing with the quality of furniture design and construction readily available in more

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urban style centers such as New York.

That local furniture craftsmen were aware of the need to compete with the products of their New York City contemporaries is made apparent by the unified voice of their advertisements, claiming a "quality of [work] which will be found equal to any in the state," and which "shall not be exceeded by any in [Albany] or in the city of New-York."[1] In addition, the advertisements of Elbert Willett, Jr. and Amos Broad, articulating an up-river preference for cherry furniture, suggest, along with the documentation of John Sanders II's extensive local purchases, that by the turn of the nineteenth century local cabinetmakers were indeed competing on their own terms with furniture exported from New York City.

Local craftsmen were not patronized exclusively, however, and the evidence presented by the Glen-Sanders families reveals a continuing series of furniture trade patterns with New York City merchants and cabinetmakers. The strength of the ties to New York City work, however, declined over successive generations as the capabilities of local craftsmen developed to the extent that they could successfully challenge the work of their urban competitors.

Additional craft documentation for New York furniture offered by this study provides important information regarding the specific furniture crafts and artisans supported by residents

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of upstate New York. This evidence brings to light the names and types of craft production of otherwise "unknown" furniture craftsmen, such as Robert Carter of New York City, Jeremiah Knowles and Isaac Ledyard of Schenectady, and the Linacres of Albany.

The evidence of the Glen-Sanders collection challenges the traditional hypothesis that important up-river families of New York depended upon New York City craftsmen for their finest furniture and upon local craftsmen only for repairs to such "imports." The documentation reviewed here offers instead the thesis that patterns of furniture-making and furniture purchases in at least one upstate community achieved a balance between local and urban style-center products. It suggests increasingly strong support for local work on the part of important and influential patrons, support which included not only pedestrian furniture renewals and repairs but also fine furniture equal in design and workmanship to competitive urban products.

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FOOTNOTES

INTRODUCTION

[1]Metropolitan Museum of Art, A Loan Exhibition of New York State Furniture, (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1934).

[2]Ibid, p. xii.

[3]V. Isabelle Miller, Furniture by New York Cabinet-makers, 1650 - 1860, (New York: Museum of the City of New York, 1956).

[4]Ibid, p. 9.

[5]Albany Institute of History and Art, New York Furniture Before 1840, (Albany: Albany Institute of History and Art, 1962).

[6]Ibid, p. 15.

[7]Roderic H. Blackburn, Cherry Hill: The History and Collections of a Van Rensselaer Family, (Albany: Historic Cherry Hill, 1976).

[8]For a more complete genealogical description of how these families intermarried, and which pieces of furniture changed hands as a result, see Appendices A and E.

[9]See "Genealogy of the Glen-Sanders Family," Appendix A.

[10]See "Abstract of the Will of Robert Sanders, Albany 1765," Appendix B; "Inventory, Estate of Peter Edmund Elmendorf, Albany, 1836," Appendix C; "Estate Sale: Sarah Van Rensselaer, 1869," Appendix D; and "Estate Sale: Peter Elmendorf Sanders, 1874," Appendix E.

[11]See "Abstract of the Will of Robert Sanders, Albany, 1765," Appendix B.

[12]See "Inventory, Estate of Peter Edmund Elmendorf, Albany, 1836," Appendix C.

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[13]See "Estate Sale: Sarah Van Rensselaer, 1869," Appendix D.

[14]See "Estate Sale: Peter Elmendorf Sanders, 1874," Appendix E.

[15]Helen W. Reynolds, Dutch Houses in the Hudson Valley Before 1776, (New York: Holland Society of New York, Payson and Clarke, Ltd., publishers, 1929), pp. 79 - 81. Colonial Williamsburg, Department of Collections, The Glen-Sanders Collection From Scotia, New York, (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg, 1966), pp. 5 - 6. For a more complete outline of intermarriages, see "Genealogy of the Glen-Sanders Family," Appendix A.

II. FURNITURE OF DEBORAH GLEN SANDERS (1721 - 1786) AND JOHN SANDERS I (1774 - 1782)

[1]"Journey of Peter Kalm, June 13 - 21, 1749," as quoted in Joel Munsell, The Annals of Albany, (Albany: Joel Munsell, 1869), I pp. 56-57. In this excerpt from Kalm's travel journal it is also noted that

> All the yachts which ply between Albany and New York, belong to Albany. They bring from Albany boards or planks, and all sorts of timber, flour, pease, and furs, . . . They come home almost empty, and only bring a few merchandizes with them, among which rum is the chief.

Kalm also noted the predominance of white pine among the lumber exports of Albany:

> The white pine is found abundant here, in such places where common pines grow in Europe. I have never seen them in the lower parts of the province of New York, nor in New Jersey and Pennsylvania. They saw a vast quantity of deal from the white pine on this side of Albany, which are brought down to New York, and from thence exported.

[2]Jonathan Pearson, Contributions for the Genealogies of the First Settlers of the Ancient County of Albany, From 1630 - 1800, (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1978, reprint of Albany edition, 1872), p. 95.

[3]Ibid, p. 95.

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[4]New York State Education Department, Calendar of Sir William Johnson Papers (Albany: New York State Education Department, 19). H. M. McConville Library, Schenectady County Historical Society, Schenectady, N. Y. Manuscripts: Military Documents.

[5]An undated agreement among the papers of John Sanders outlines one of his ventures in commercial speculation:

> Whereas we the Subscribers have agreed to deposit into the hands and care of Cornelius Ray a Joint Stock or Sum of at least Forty thousand pounds to be by him disposed of and applied to and for such uses and purposes as he shall from time to time deem necessary or expedient either in Trade, Privateering, or otherwise for the Joint use and Profit of the Subscribers. The said Forty thousand Pounds to be divided into twenty shares, and so in proportion for what larger Sum may be subscribed; each Subscriber to have the Liberty of subscribing for as many Shares as he may think proper. The Subscribers are to bear and Pay all the Costs, charges, and expenses during the time he is attending the said business, and particularly the purchasing of a Horse for the use of the Company. The said Cornelius Ray when thereunto requested by a majority of the Subscribers is to render a Just and true State and account of the disposal and application of the Capital and Profits, all which are to be equally divided between them after deducting and allowing to the said Cornelius Ray, at the rate of Ten Pounds pr Cent on the Profits for his trouble and care in transacting the Business. Butt in case of any loss, it is also equally to be born between the Subscribers.

Glen-Sanders Manuscript Collection, microfilm reel 15, New-York Historical Society, New York, New York.

[6]Robert and Richard Ray, New York, to John Sanders, Merchant, Schenectady, (undated fragment, possibly 1773-1783) Glen-Sanders Manuscript Collection, microfilm reel 15, New-York Historical Society, New York , New York. This letter discusses yard goods enclosed, price per bushel of wheat, difficulty of obtaining [black] powder; and is signed, "Sincerely your loving Kinsmen, Robert and Richard Ray."

[7]Receipts, John Sanders to Richard and Robert Ray, Glen-Sanders Manuscript Collection, microfilm reel 15, New-York Historical Society, New York, New York.

[8]Ibid.

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[9]Ibid.

[10]Jonathan Pearson, Contributions for the Genealogies of the Descendants of the First Settlers of the Patent and City of Schenectady, From 1662 - 1800, (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1976 reprint of Albany edition, 1873), p. 78. Jonathan Pearson, Contributions For the Genealogies of the First Settlers of the Ancient County of Albany, From 1630 - 1800, (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1978 reprint of Albany edition, 1872), p. 95.

[11]Ibid.

[12]Bill, William Tillow to John Sanders, New York, October 7 [?] 1762, Glen-Sanders Manuscript Collection, New-York Historical Society, New York, New York.
The Tillou [w] family of turners and chairmakers worked in New York City from at least the 1760s up through 1801. In 1775, the shop of William Tillou on Maiden Lane burned to the ground and a collection was initiated for his relief and the rebuilding of his business. Rita Gottesman, The Arts and Crafts of New York, 1726 - 1776, (New York: New-York Historical Society, 1938), pp. 117-118. Other members of this family listed in New York City directories include: Francis, w. 1789-1801 as a "turner and rush bottom chairmaker;" John, w. 1799-1800 as a cooper; Peter, w. 1791 - 1798 as a "turner and rush bottomed chairmaker;" Vincent, w. 1789-1801 as first, a windsor chairmaker (1789-1793) and later as a "rush bottomed chairmaker;" and William, w. 1791-1795 as a turner and chairmaker.

[13]Colonial Williamsburg, Department of Collections, The Glen-Sanders Collection From Scotia, New York, (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg, 1966), p. 16.

[14]Bill, John Trotter to John Sanders, Schenectady, Feby:13:1768, Glen-Sanders Manuscript Collection, microfilm reel 15, New-York Historical Society, New York, New York.

[15]Colonial Williamsburg, Department of Collections, The Glen-Sanders Collection From Scotia, New York, (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg, 1966), p. 13. Trotter is also mentioned in the Papers of Sir William Johnson during the 1760s and 1770s. The Papers of Sir William Johnson, VIII, p. 711.

[16]Receipt, Samuel Prince from John Sanders, New York, October 6, 1773, Glen-Sanders Manuscript Collection, microfilm reel 17, New-York Historical Society, New York, New York.

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[17]In 1775, Prince advertised that:

> [H]e has on hand, for sale, a parcel of the most elegant furniture, made of mahogany, of the very best quality, such as chest of drawers, chest upon chest, cloath presses, desks, desks and bookcases of different sorts, chairs of many different and new patterns, beuro tables, dining tables, card tables, breakfast tables, tea tables, And many other sorts of cabinetwork. . . ."

The New-York Gazette and the Weekly Mercury, February 6, 1775, as quoted in Rita Gottesman, The Arts and Crafts of New York, 1726 - 1776, (New York: The New-York Historical Society, 1938), p. 116.

[18]Charles F. Hummel, A Winterthur Guide to American Chippendale Furniture, (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1976), pp. 12 - 13. Two dressing chests bearing the label of Samuel Prince are now in the collections of the H. F. duPont Winterthur Museum in Winterthur, Delaware; they may be suggestive of the style and ornament of the chest-on-chest ordered by John Sanders I in 1773. I am grateful to Charles F. Hummel for bringing this information to my attention. For illustrations of the two Winterthur examples, see Hummel, A Winterthur Guide to American Chippendale Furniture, pp. 26 - 27.

[19]Bill, Elbt Willett to Mr. John Sanders, Albany, 19th Sept 1775, Glen-Sanders Manuscript Collection, microfilm reel 17, New-York Historical Society, New York, New York.

[20]Charles F. Hummel, A Winterthur Guide to American Chippendale Furniture, (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1976), p. 24; Joseph Downs, American Furniture: Queen Anne and Chippendale Periods, (New York: Bonanza Books edition of Viking Press edition, 1952), pl. 17, 161, 162, 164.

[21]Ibid, Downs, American Furniture: Queen Anne and Chippendale Periods, pl. 17, 161, 162, 164.

III. FURNITURE OF JOHN SANDERS II (1757 - 1834)

[1]Jonathan Pearson, Contributions For the Genealogies of the Descendants of the First Settlers of the Patent and City of Schenectady, From 1662 - 1800, (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1976 reprint of Albany edition, 1873), pp. 156-157. The "Genealogy of the Glen-Sanders Families" contained in Colonial Williamsburg, Department of Collections, The Glen-Sanders Collection From Scotia, New York is inaccurate,

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lacking a complete listing of the children of Deborah Glen Sanders and John Sanders who lived to maturity: Maria (1740 - 1794), Sarah (1743 - 1788), Elsje (1752 - 1797), John (1757 - 1834), Margarita (1764 - 1830).

[2]Ibid, Pearson, Contributions For the Genealogies of the Descendants of . . . Schenectady, From 1662 - 1800, pp. 156-157.

[3]Receipt, John Sanders to John W. Hall, 1784, Jan[y] 29, Glen-Sanders Manuscript Collection, microfilm reel 16, New-York Historical Society, New York, New York.

[4]Charles F. Hummel, With Hammer in Hand: The Dominy Craftsmen of East Hampton, New York, (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia for the H. F. duPont Winterthur Museum, 1968), pp. 215-221, Appendix B, PP. 351-406.

[5]Receipt, John Sanders to John W. Hall, 1784, Jan[y] 29, Glen-Sanders Manuscript Collection, microfilm reel 16, New-York Historical Society, New York, New York.

[6]Receipt, John Sanders to Nicholas Veeder, Feby 12, 1788, Glen-Sanders Manuscript Collection, microfilm reel 17, New-York Historical Society, New York, New York.

[7]Bill, James Rivington to John Sanders, New York, Sept 16, 1784, Glen-Sanders Manuscript Collection, New-York Historical Society, New York, New York.

[8]Bill, Carter and Tiller to John Sanders, New York, Sept 16, 1784, Glen-Sanders Manuscript Collection, New-York Historical Society, New York, New York.

[9]Bill, Ten Eyck and Beekman to John Sanders, New York, Jany 1785, receipted Albany, Jany 1785, Glen-Sanders Manuscript Collection, New-York Historical Society, New York, New York.

[10]Charles Montgomery, American Furniture: The Federal Period, (New York: The Viking Press, 1966), pp. 65-66, notes to figure 7.

[11]Ibid.

[12]Robert Ray to John Sanders, Albany, 13th Jany 1789, Glen-Sanders Manuscript Collection, microfilm reel 15, New-York Historical Society, New York, New York.

[13]Receipt, Edward (sic) Willett, Junr. from John Sanders, May 2, 1794, Glen-Sanders Manuscript Collection,

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microfilm reel 16, New-York Historical Society, New York, New York.

[14]Advertisement, Elbert Willett, Jr., The Northern Budget, Troy, N. Y., July 13, 1802. Rice Library, Albany Institute of History and Art, Albany, N. Y.

[15]Charles F. Montgomery, American Furniture: The Federal Period, 1788 - 1825, (New York: The Viking Press, 1966), pp. 28-37. Mr. Montgomery discusses the importance of the identification of cabinetwoods as a process to aid regional attributions of furniture. I am indebted to Nancy E. Richards for emphasizing to me the significance of this information.

[16]The Albany Gazette, July 21, 1796 - October 21, 1796, Rice Library, Albany Institute of History and Art, Albany, N. Y.

[17]Ibid, December 28, 1795.

[18]Jonathan Pearson, Contributions For the Genealogies of the First Settlers of the Patent and City of Schenectady, 1662 - 1800, (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1976 reprint of Albany edition, 1873), pp. 156-157. Colonial Williamsburg, Department of Collections, The Glen-Sanders Collection From Scotia, New York, "A Genealogy of the Glen-Sanders Families." See also, Appendix A.

[19]Bill, George Andrews to John Sanders, New York, June 17, 1800, Glen-Sanders Manuscript Collection, New-York Historical Society, New York, New York.

[20]Receipt, John Sanders, Esq. to Richard Allanson, Aug. 8 - Nov 18, 1801, Glen-Sanders Manuscript Collection, microfilm reel 16, New-York Historical Society, New York, New York.

[21]Receipt, Judge Sanders to Will[m] Hannagan, Albany, January the 15th 1802, Glen-Sanders Manuscript Collection, microfilm reel 17, New York-Historical Society, New York, New York.

[22]Bill, Jeremiah Knowles to John Sanders, Schenectady, 4th Novr 1800. Glen-Sanders Manuscript Collection, microfilm reel 16, New-York Historical Society, New York, New York.

[23]Ibid. Bill, Jeremiah Knowles to John Sanders, Schenectady, Jany 11 1802.

[24]Ibid.

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[25]The Journeymen Cabinet and Chair Makers' New-York Book of Prices, (New York: T. and J. Swords, 1796), The New-York Book of Prices for Cabinet and Chair Work Agreed Upon by the Employers, (New York: Southwick and Crooker, 1802), The New-York Revised Prices for Manufacturing Cabinet and Chair Work, (New York: Southwick and Pelsue, 1810).

[26]Bill, Robert Carter to Peter Edmund Elmendorf, New York, 28 Aug 1793. Glen-Sanders Manuscript Collection, microfilm reel 17, New-York Historical Society, New York, New York. Colonial Williamsburg, Department of Collections, The Glen-Sanders Collection From Scotia, New York, (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg, 1966), p. 22. Charles F. Montgomery, American Furniture: The Federal Period, 1788 - 1825, (New York: Viking Press, 1966), p. 110, discusses a chair, perhaps from an identical set, which is now in the collections of the H. F. duPont Winterthur Museum.

[27]Ibid, The Glen-Sanders Collection From Scotia, New York, p. 21.

[28]The Cabinet-Makers' London Book of Prices, and Designs of Cabinet Work, London, 1793. The Journeymen Cabinet and Chair-Makers Philadelphia Book of Prices, Philadelphia, 1795. The Journeymen Cabinet and Chair Makers' New-York Book of Prices, (New York: T. and J. Swords, 1796).

[29]Ibid, The Journeymen Cabinet and Chair Makers' New-York Book of Prices, (New York: T. and J. Swords, 1796).

[30]Receipt, John Sanders Esqr to Jere. Knowles, Dec. 12, 1804, The Glen-Sanders Manuscript Collection, microfilm reel 15, New-York Historical Society, New York, New York.

[31]Colonial Williamsburg, Department of Collections, The Glen-Sanders Collection From Scotia, New York, (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg, 1966), p. 20. Bill, Robt Carter to Mr. Elmendorf, New York, 28 Aug. 1798, Glen-Sanders Manuscript Collection microfilm reel 17, New-York Historical Society, New York, New York.

[32]Charles F. Montgomery, American Furniture: The Federal Period, 1788 - 1825, (New York: Viking Press, 1966), p. 27. Mr. Montgomery suggests that the definition of "common" is more likely to be an inexpensive wood such as pine.

As late as 1810, The New-York Revised Prices For Manufacturing Cabinet and Chair Work (New York: Southwick and Pelsue, 1810) continued this distinction, suggesting a price of 18 shillings for "A Field Bedstead Made of white wood . . .," and 6 shillings extra for the same "when made

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of hard wood or mahogany." pp. 53-54. Joinery of hardwoods to softwoods--"hard wood posts to white wood rails"--also incurred extra cost.

[33]Bill, Isaac Ledyard to John Sanders, Sch't [Schenectady], 19th Sept. 1808, Glen-Sanders Manuscript Collection, microfilm reel 15, New-York Historical Society, New York, New York.

[34]The Western Spectator Or, Schenectady Weekly Advertiser, Schenectady, New York, August 23 - November 22, 1805. H. M. McConville Library, Schenectady County Historical Society, Schenectady, New York.

[35]Charles F. Hummel, With Hammer in Hand: The Dominy Craftsmen of East Hampton, New York, (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia for the H. F. duPont Winterthur Museum, 1968), p. 341. From 1793 - 1823 Nathaniel Dominy IV of East Hampton, Long Island also made a series of simple, inexpensive breakfast tables for local patrons. Prices varied from an average of £ 1-10 shillings to £ 2-16 shillings, within the same range as the $4.50 which John Sanders II paid Isaac Ledyard for this breakfast table. The products of these two local craftsmen certainly reflected similar craft traditions (turning) as well as a comparable local market.

[36]Bill, John Winant to John Sanders Esqr, Schenectady, May 22 1809, Glen-Sanders Manuscript Collection, microfilm reel 17, New-York Historical Society, New York, New York.

[37]Bill, Caleb Lyon to John Sanders, Esqr., December 1 - 8, 1829, Glen-Sanders Manuscript Collection, microfilm reel 17, New-York Historical Society, New York, New York.

[38]Receipt, Jno. Sanders to Elisha Taylor, Schenectd [Schenectady], May 24, 1810, Glen-Sanders Manuscript Collection, microfilm reel 17, New-York Historical Society, New York, New York.

[39]Receipt, Honable Jno. Sanders to E. Taylor, Aug. 5th 1818, Glen-Sanders Manuscript Collection, microfilm reel 17, New-York Historical Society, New York, New York.

[40]Receipt, Mr. John Sanders to John Tunnahill, Schenectady, January 8th 1811, Glen-Sanders Manuscript Collection, microfilm reel 16, New-York Historical Society, New York, New York.

[41]Receipt, Mr. Sanders to Jno Lassells, July 4th 1825, Receipt, Mr. Sanders to John Lassells, March 20, 1829, Glen-Sanders Manuscript Collection, microfilm reels 16, 17, New-York

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Historical Society, New York, New York.

IV. LATER SCOTIA FURNISHINGS

[1]See "Genealogy of the Glen-Sanders Family," Appendix A. Colonial Williamsburg, Department of Collections, The Glen-Sanders Collection From Scotia, New York, (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg, 1966), pp. 6-7. Roderic Blackburn, Cherry Hill: The History and Collections of a Van Rensselaer Family, (Albany: Historic Cherry Hill, 1976), p. 18.

[2]Earlier, Peter Sanders' sister Sarah had married Peter S. Van Rensselaer of Albany, son of Philip and Maria Van Rensselaer of Cherry Hill. See "Genealogy of the Glen-Sanders Family," Appendix A.

[3]Jonathan Pearson, Contributions Toward the Genealogies of the Descendants of the First Settlers of Albany County, From 1630 - 1800, (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1978 reprint of Albany edition, 1872), p. 46.

[4]Rita Gottesman, The Arts and Crafts of New York, 1726 - 1776, (New York: New-York Historical Society, 1938), p. 142. Although he changed his address frequently, Wilmerding is listed in New York City directories between 1789 and 1801; first as a "looking glass store," and later as a merchant.

[5]Charles F. Montgomery, American Furniture: The Federal Period, 1788 - 1825, (New York: Viking Press, 1966), p. 260. New York Daily Gazette, August 13, 1789, as quoted in Gottesman, The Arts and Crafts of New York, 1726 - 1776, p. 142. Charles F. Hummel, A Winterthur Guide to American Chippendale Furniture, (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1976), p. 100.

[6]Joseph Downs, American Furniture: Queen Anne and Chippendale Periods, (New York: Bonanza Books reprint of Viking Press edition, 1952), pl. 267.

[7]Ibid, pl. 266. Charles F. Hummel, A Winterthur Guide to American Chippendale Furniture, (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1976), pl. 92-93.

[8]Bill, Robert Carter to Peter Edmund Elmendorf, New York, 28 Aug 1793, Glen-Sanders Manuscript Collection, microfilm reel 17, New-York Historical Society, New York, New York.

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[9]See "Inventory, Estate of Peter Edmund Elmendorf, Albany, 1836," Appendix C. Items which relate directly to this bill are marked by an asterisk (*).

[10]Colonial Williamsburg, Department of Collections, The Glen-Sanders Collection From Scotia, New York, (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg, 1966), pp. 12-14, 21-22.

[11]Bill, James Linacre to Mr. Sanders, Albany, February 8th 1795, Glen-Sanders Manuscript Collection, microfilm reel 16, New-York Historical Society, New York, New York.

[12]Bill, Jas Linacre to Mr. Elmendorf, Albany, 25 May 1796; bill, Jas Linacre to Mr. Elmendorf, Albany, April 7th 1798, bill, Jas Linacre to Mr. Elmendough (sic), Albany, Mar 24th 1803; bill, Jas Linacre to Mr. Elmendorf, Albany, Dec. 7, 1803; bill, Jas Linacre to Mr. Elvendaw (sic), Albany, Decr 8- 1806; Glen-Sanders Manuscript Collection, microfilm reel 15, New-York Historical Society, New York, New York.

[13]Thomas Chippendale, The Gentleman and Cabinet-makers' Director, 3rd edition, London, 1762, pl. LIII.

[14]Bill, James Linacre to the widow Van Rensselaer (Mrs. Philip), Albany, Dec 11, 1802; bill, Jas Linacre to Mr. Elmendough (sic), Albany, Mar 24th 1803; bill, Jas Linacre to Mr. Elvendaw (sic), Albany, Decr 8- 1806; Glen-Sanders Manuscript Collection, microfilm reel 15, New-York Historical Society, New York, New York.

[15]Bill, James Linacre to Mr. Elmendorf, Albany, April 7th 1798; Glen-Sanders Manuscript Collection, microfilm reel 15, New-York Historical Society, New York, New York.

[16]Jonathan Pearson, Contributions Toward the Genealogies of the Descendants of the First Settlers of the Ancient County of Albany, From 1630 - 1800, (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., reprint of Albany edition, 1872), p. 46. Colonial Williamsburg, Department of Collections, The Glen-Sanders Collection From Scotia, New York, (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg, 1966), pp. 6-7. Roderic Blackburn, Cherry Hill: The History and Collections of a Van Rensselaer Family, (Albany: Historic Cherry Hill, 1976), pp. 7-18.

[17]The Albany Directory, Containing About Two Thousand Names, Arranged in Alphabetical Order; Being A Tolerably Correct Account of the Taxable Inhabitants Within The City. Joseph Fry, (Albany: Websters and Skinners, June 1, 1813); subsequent directories for Albany, various editors, up to 1831--see Bibliography for individual directory information.

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[18]Ibid, 1817 - 1835.

[19]Ibid, 1813 - 1835.

[20]Ibid, 1831 - 1835.

[21]Bill, Jas Chestney to P. E. Elmendorf, Esqr., Albany, 7 Nov 1803; bill, James Chestney to Peter E. Elmendorf, Esqr., Albany, 19th Novr 1805; Glen-Sanders Manuscript Collection, microfilm reel 15, New-York Historical Society, New York, New York.

[22]Advertisement, James Chestney, Albany Chair Factory, The Albany Register and Albany Directory for 1816, J. Fry, (Albany: Packard and Van Benthuysen, June 10, 1816); The Albany Directory for the Year 1820, B. Pearce, (Albany: Packard and Van Benthuysen, 1820), T. V. Cuyler's Albany Directory for 1824, (Albany: E. & E. Hosford, 1824).

[23]Bill, Wheaton and Davies to Mr. Peter Sanders, New-York, May 12th 1824, Glen-Sanders Manuscript Collection, microfilm reel 16, New-York Historical Society, New York, New York. Wheaton and Davies advertised as "Mahogany fancy chair, and sofa manufacturers, No. 153 Fulton St., New-York."

[24]Colonial Williamsburg, Department of Collections, The Glen-Sanders Collection From Scotia, New York, (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg, 1966), p. 24. Wheaton and Davies advertised "an elegant assortment of Curl'd Maple, Plain Painted and Ornamented, Landscape, Conversation and Rocking Chairs, Settees, Sofas, Lounges, Music Stools &c. all of the Newest Fashion," in 1817, seven years prior to Peter Sanders' purchase of a set of fancy chairs. That W. L. Dunham was working in Schenectady as early as 1830 is documented by the bill debited to John Sanders II; it is not known for how long prior to Sanders' order Dunham was working as a chairmaker. He continued to work, and was listed as Watson L. Dunham in the Schenectady Directory and City Register, for 1841 - 2, (Schenectady: J. & W. H. Riggs, 1841).

[25]Bill, Asa Taylor to Peter Sanders, Nov. 17 1834; bill, George Haight to Peter Sanders, Glenville, Augst 5th 1836; Glen-Sanders Manuscript Collection, microfilm reels 17 and 16, New-York Historical Society, New York, New York. Other local bills for furniture repair include one from Martina Sharp of Glenville, April 25, 1836, for "bottoming" an unspecified number of chairs; and another from James Caw, Glenville, March 7th 1839, for clock repairs and work done on the Scotia house.

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[26]Ibid, bill, George Haight to Peter Sanders, Augst 5th 1836.

[27]Expressing a strong local desire to have some portion of the Glen-Sanders collection return to Schenectady, The Schenectady County Historical Society in 1973 negotiated the purchase and return of a sizable portion of the ceramics, two portraits and twelve items of furniture. This sub-collection of Glen-Sanders furnishings is now part of the permanent collections of the Schenectady County Historical Society, 34 Washington Avenue, Schenectady, New York.

V. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE GLEN-SANDERS COLLECTION

[1]Advertisement, Bates and Johnson FANCY AND WINDSOR CHAIR MANUFACTORY, The Albany Directory, for 1819, B. Pearce, (Albany: Packard and Van Benthuysen, 1819). Advertisement, Gerrit Visscher, Fancy Chair Factory, Klinck's Albany Directory, for the Year 1822, (Albany: E. & E. Hosford, 1822).

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FIGURE I

Side chair, one of a pair; maple; New York, 1750 - 1775. Turned stiles and legs, raised pad feet, vasiform splat, yoked crestrail. Branded J J L (Jacob Jacobse Lansing). (Courtesy, Colonial Williamsburg.)

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FIGURE II

Dining table; cherry, oak, white pine; New York, 1740 - 1760. Family tradition suggests that this table may be one of the few original Glen family furnishings of Scotia to have survived and to have become part of the collection through the marriage of Deborah Glen and John Sanders. (Courtesy, Colonial Williamsburg.)

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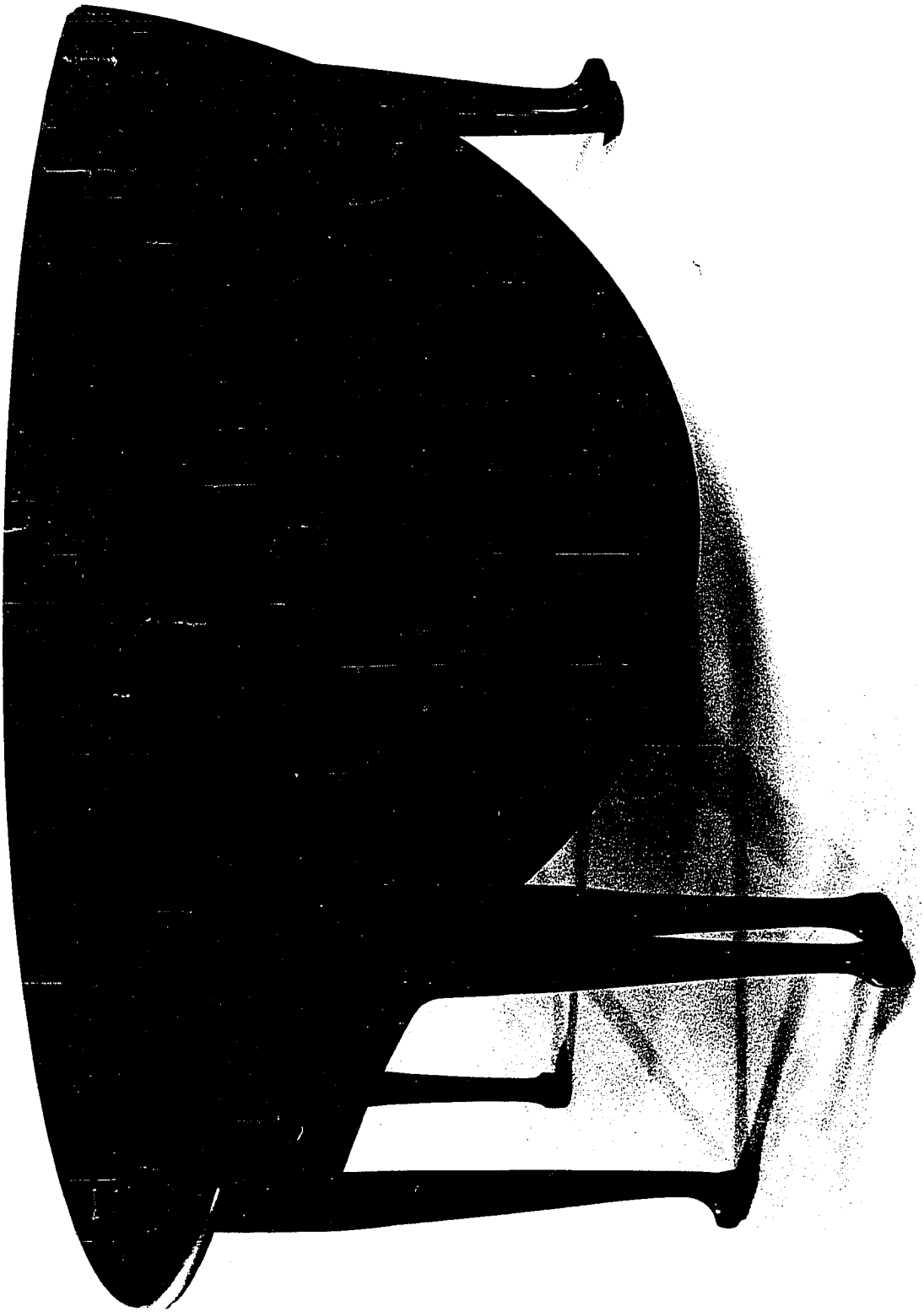

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FIGURE III

Arm chair, one of a set of two arm and six side chairs; mahogany, ash, white pine and tulip poplar; New York City, 1793. Purchased from New York City cabinetmaker, Robert Carter, by Peter Edmund Elmendorf of Albany. (Courtesy, Colonial Williamsburg.)

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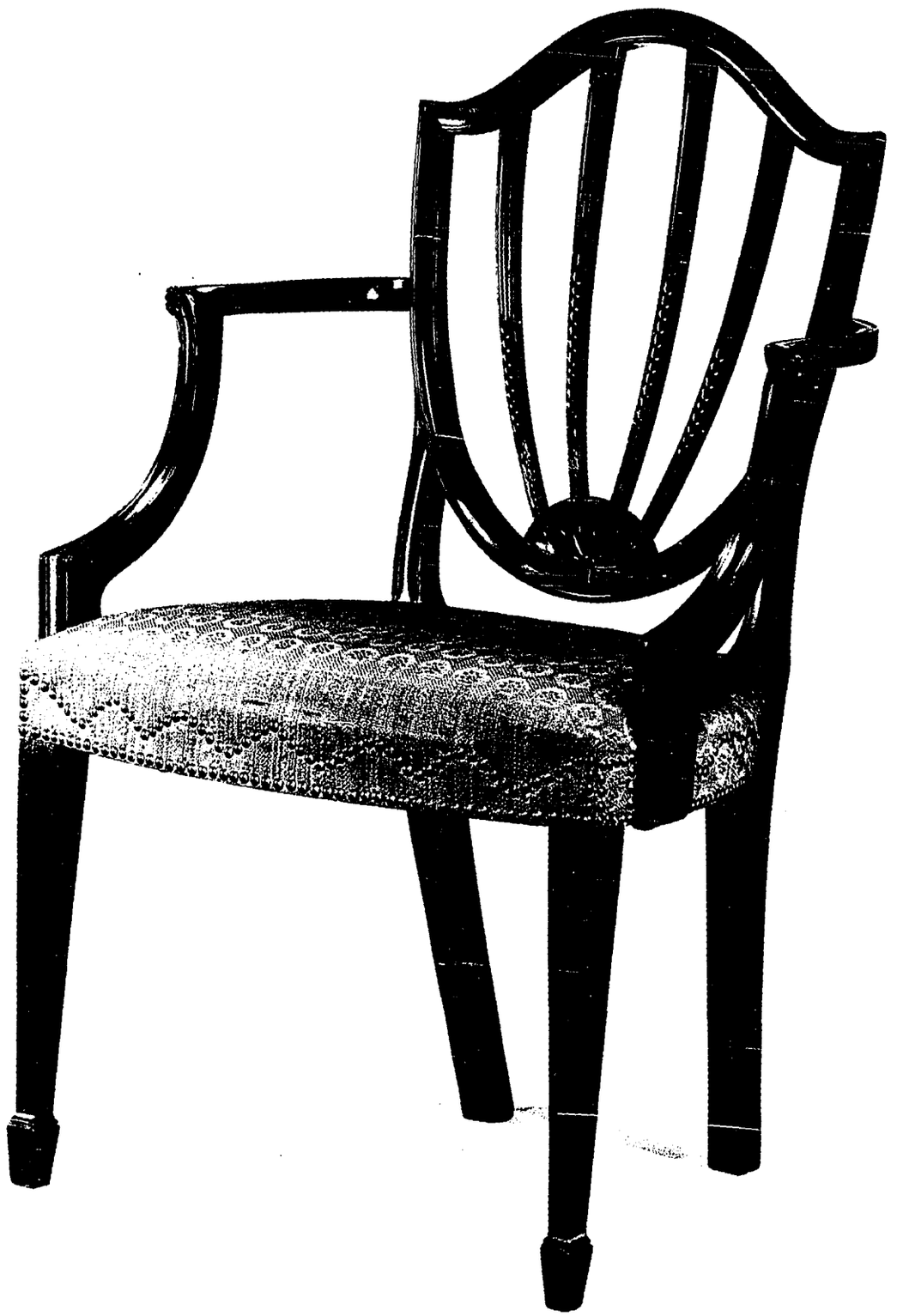

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FIGURE IV

Dining table, one of a pair; mahogany, white pine, and maple; New York City, 1793. Purchased from New York City cabinet-maker, Robert Carter, by Peter Edmund Elmendorf of Albany. (Courtesy, Colonial Williamsburg.)

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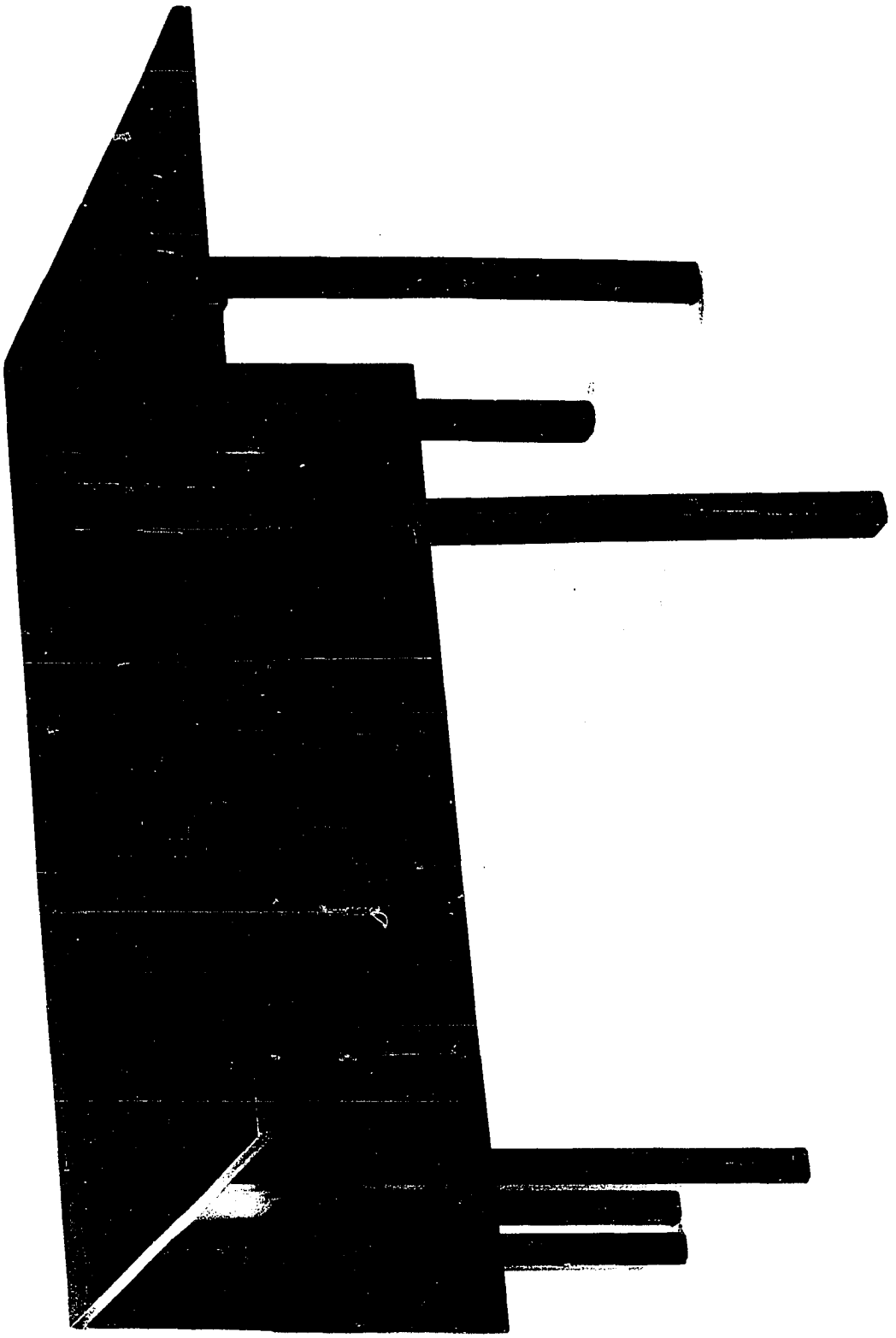

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FIGURE V

Sideboard; mahogany, white pine, tulip poplar, ash and inlays of satinwood and ebony; possibly Schenectady, 1801 - 1802. Attributed to Jeremiah Knowles, Schenectady cabinet-maker, whose January 1802 bill to John Sanders listed, among other items, a "Side Bord" for £ 23. (Courtesy, Schenectady County Historical Society. Photograph courtesy, Colonial Williamsburg.)

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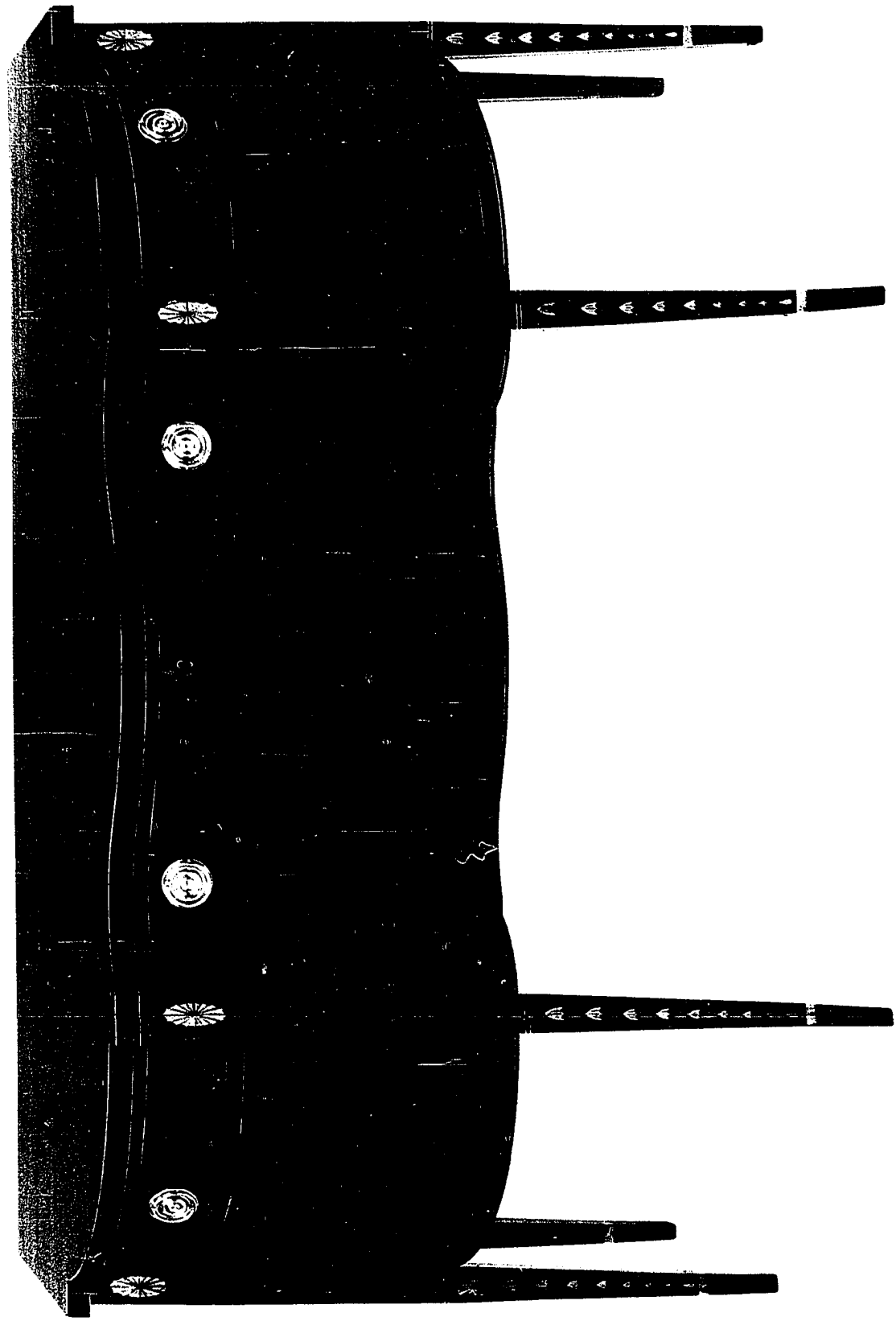

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FIGURE VI

Field bedstead; maple, white pine, ash and cedar; possibly Schenectady, 1804. Attributed to Jeremiah Knowles of Schenectady. (Courtesy, Schenectady County Historical Society. Photograph courtesy, Colonial Williamsburg.)

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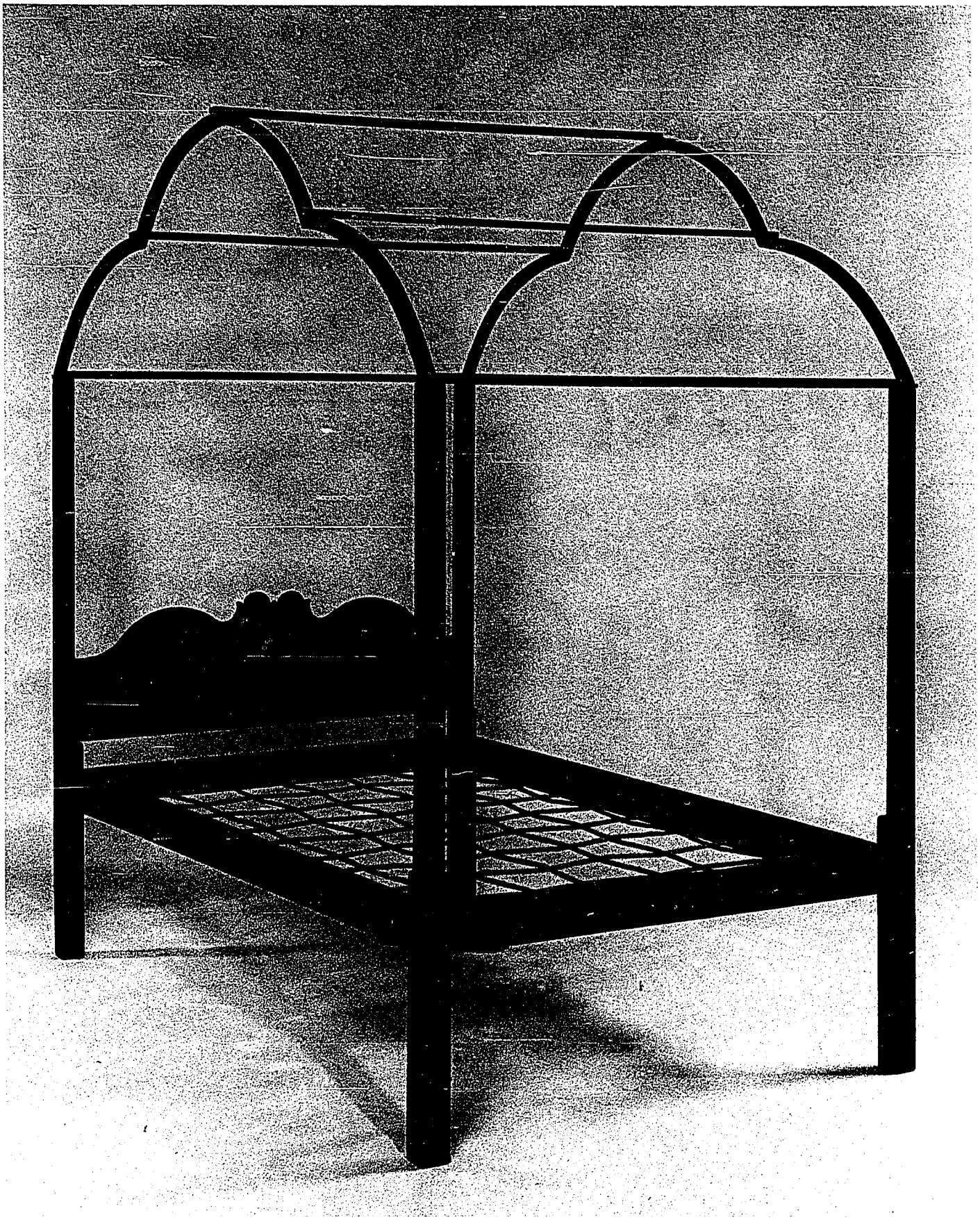

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FIGURE VII

Looking glass; mahogany veneer over pine, gesso, gilt; American or English, 1790 - 1793. One of two purchased by Peter Edmund Elmendorf from New York City merchant, William Wilmerding, in 1793. (Courtesy, Colonial Williamsburg.)

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FIGURE VIII

Breakfast table; mahogany, white pine, tulip poplar, and cherry; New York City, 1793. Branded P E E behind swing gate to left of drawer front. One of two mahogany breakfast tables purchased by Peter Edmund Elmendorf in 1793 from Robert Carter. Inherited by Maria Elmendorf Sanders upon the death of her father in 1835, the table was subsequently brought to Scotia. (Courtesy, Colonial Williamsburg.)

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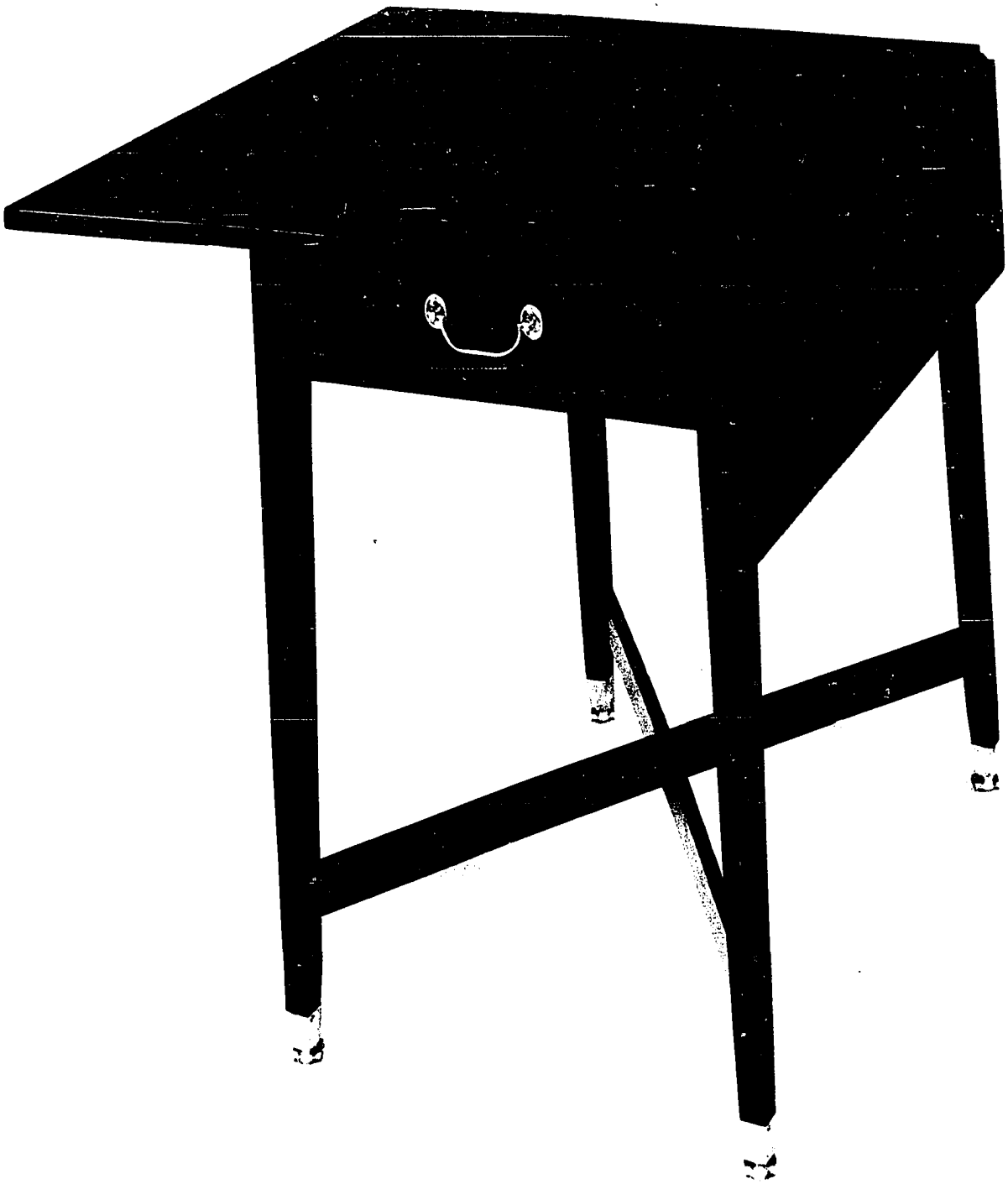

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FIGURE IX

Breakfast table; mahogany, tulip poplar; New York, 1765 - 1780. Although the original maker is unidentified, an 1806 bill to Peter Edmund Elmendorf from James Linacre of Albany records later repairs and alterations which included "cutting the corners." (Courtesy, Colonial Williamsburg.)

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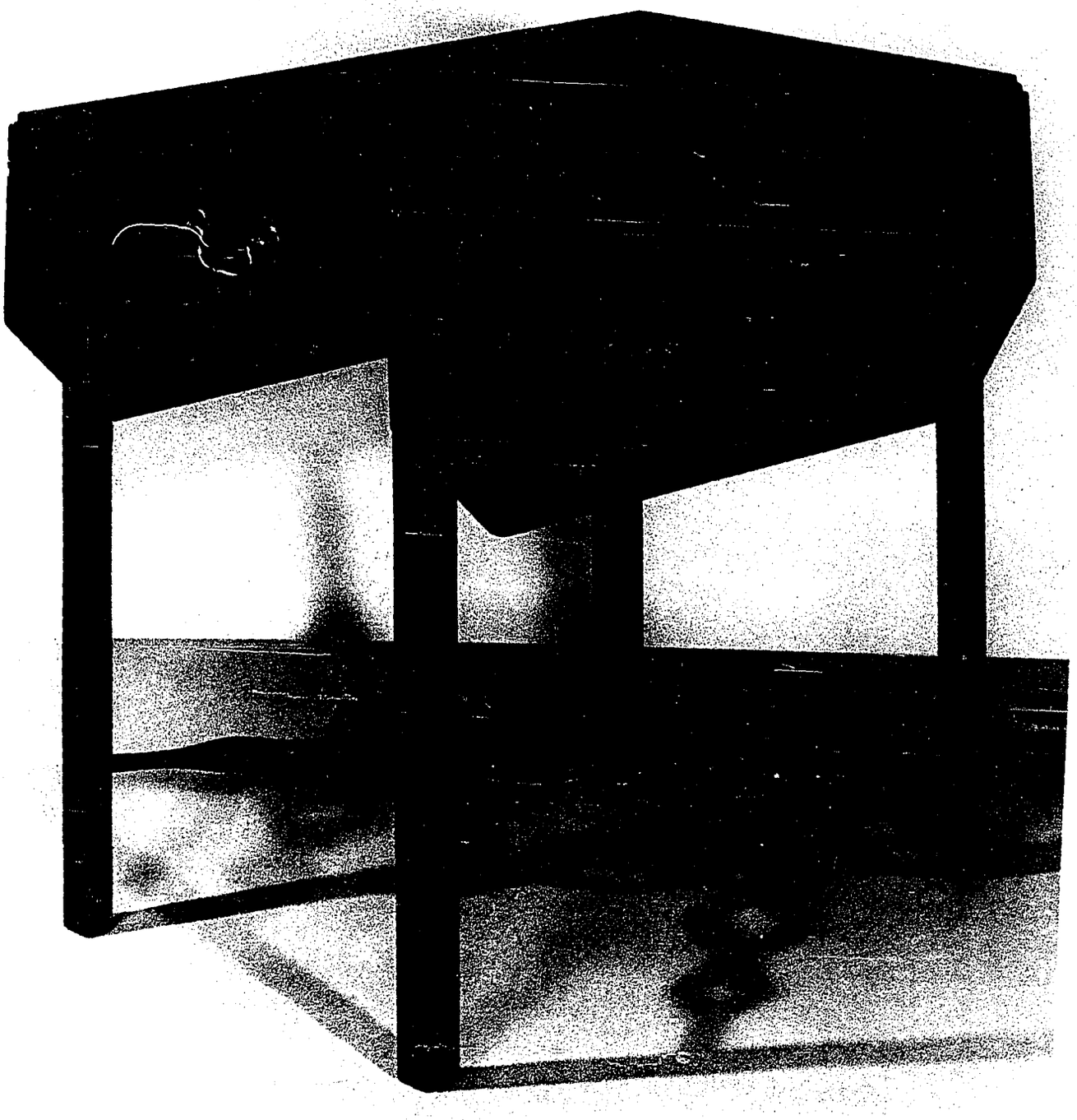

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FIGURE X

Side chair, one of a set of six; maple, ash; New York City or Schenectady, 1824 - 1830. Peter Sanders purchased a "dozen curly maple chairs" from Wheaton and Davies, New York City chairmakers, in 1824. His father, John Sanders, in 1830 purchased inie maple chairs from a local chairmaker, Watson Dunham. Because no documented examples from either chair shop exist, the attribution of the reduced set surviving in this collection remains unresolved. (Courtesy, Colonial Williamsburg.)

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APPENDIX A: GENEALOGY OF THE GLEN-SANDERS FAMILIES

ALEXANDER LINDSAY GLEN (c. 1610 - 1685)
m. Catherine Dongan, 1639

CHILDREN OF ALEXANDER AND CATHERINE (DONGAN) GLEN

1. Jacob Alexander (? - 1685)
   m. Catherina Van Whitbeck

2. JOHN ALEXANDER (1648 - 1731)
   m. Anna Peek (? - 1690), 1667
   m. "The Widow Wemp," 1691

CHILDREN OF JOHN ALEXANDER GLEN AND THE WIDOW WEMP

1. DEBORAH (1721 - 1786)
   m. JOHN SANDERS I (1714 - 1782), 1739

CHILDREN OF DEBORAH (GLEN) AND JOHN SANDERS I

1. Maria (1740 - ?)
   m. Johannes Beekman (1733 - 1802), 1759

2. Elsie (1752 - 1797)
   m. Myndert Schuyler Ten Eyck, 1774

3. Sarah (1743 - 1788)

4. JOHN II (1757 - 1834)
   m. DEBORAH SANDERS (1758 - 1793), 1777
   m. ALBERTINA TEN BROECK (? - 1840), 1801

5. Margarita (1764 - ?)
   m. Kilian K. Van Rensselaer, 1791

CHILDREN OF JOHN SANDERS II AND DEBORAH (SANDERS) SANDERS

1. SARAH (1783 - 1869)
   m. Peter S. Van Rensselaer (1778 - 1844), 1803

2. PETER (1792 - 1850)
   m. MARIA ELMENDORF (1796 - 1869), 1824

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3. Barent (1779 - 1854)
   m. Catalina Bleeker, 1810

4. Catherina (1785 - 1835)
   m. Gerard Beekman (1775 - 1833), 1810

5. Jacob Glen (1789 - 1867)
   m. Catherine M. Cox, 1847

6. Elizabeth (1777 - 1850)
   m. William Anderson

CHILDREN OF PETER AND MARIA (ELMENDORF) SANDERS

1. CHARLES P. (1824 - 1891)
   m. JANE LIVINGSTON TEN BROECK (1826 - 1896), 1846

2. PETER EDMUND (1827 - 1898)

CHILDREN OF CHARLES P. AND JANE (LIVINGSTON TEN BROECK) SANDERS

1. Leonard Ten Broeck (1848 - 1927)

2. CHARLES P. II (1856 - 1923)
   m. Anna Lee (? - 1936)

3. Livingston (1867 - 1919)
   m. Adelaide Ten Broeck (1872 - 1964)

CHILDREN OF CHARLES P. II AND ANNA (LEE) SANDERS

1. Douw (1882 - 1963)

2. J. GLEN (1892 - 1961)
   m. PEARL S. GREEN (1893 -), 1922

* * * * * *

ROBERT SANDERS (1641 - ?)
m. Elsje Barentse (1641 - ?)

CHILDREN OF ROBERT AND ELSJE (BARENTSE) SANDERS

1. BARENT (1678 - 1757)
   m. Maria Wendell (1677 - 1734), 1704

2. Helena
   m. Johannes Lansing (1675 - 1771), 1704

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CHILDREN OF BARENT AND MARIA (WENDELL) SANDERS

1. ROBERT (1705 - 1765)
   m. Maria Lansing (? - 1743), 1740
   m. ELIZABETH SCHUYLER (? - 1763), 1747

2. JOHN I (1714 - 1782)
   m. DEBORAH GLEN (1721 - 1786), 1739

CHILDREN OF ROBERT AND ELIZABETH (SCHUYLER) SANDERS

1. MARIA (1749 - 1830)
   m. PHILIP VAN RENSSELAER (1747 - 1798), 1768

2. DEBORAH (1758 - 1793)
   m. JOHN SANDERS II (1757 - 1834), 1777

CHILDREN OF JOHN SANDERS I AND DEBORAH (GLEN) SANDERS

(See GLEN genealogy above.)

CHILDREN OF MARIA (SANDERS) AND PHILIP VAN RENSSELAER

1. ELIZABETH (1771 - 1798)
   m. PETER EDMUND ELMENDORF (1764 - 1835), 1793

2. PETER S. (1778 - 1844)
   m. SARAH SANDERS (1783 - 1869), 1803

CHILDREN OF DEBORAH (SANDERS) AND JOHN SANDERS II

(See GLEN genealogy above.)

CHILDREN OF ELIZABETH (VAN RENSSELAER) AND PETER EDMUND ELMENDORF

1. Sarah (1793 - 1813)

2. MARIA (1796 - 1869)
   m. PETER SANDERS (1792 - 1850), 1824

CHILDREN OF MARIA (ELMENDORF) AND PETER SANDERS

(See GLEN genealogy above.)

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APPENDIX B: ABSTRACT OF THE WILL OF ROBERT SANDERS, ALBANY, 1765

In the name of God, Amen, I Robert Sanders of the City of Albany, merchant, being in good health and of sound mind. . . .

. . . [A]fter my Just Debts and funnerall Expenses be first paid and satisfied out of my personall Estate First I give to my only son Peter Sanders and to his Heirs and Assigns my Gold Watch my Gold Signet Ring, Two of my Guns he is to have his choice out of all my Guns, my Silver Beeker where my name stands on engraved. The one of my Silver Muggs, my large Silver Soup Spoon my large Duch Bible my Schricktoor Standing in my little Chamber and all my wearing appearall Linen and Woolen for his primogeniture.

Item. I give to my oldest daughter Maria my Negro-wench named /Brit/ my Silver Tankard whereon is Ingraved my own Fathers and Mothers name in a Cyphor, Six of my Silver Spoons, one of my Silver Salt Cellars her choice to take out of nine, my Diamond Ring, also one fourth part of my late wifes wearing appearall of Linnen and Woolen, To Hold to her my said daughter Maria her Execu$^{rs.}$ and Admin$^{rs.}$ and assigns.

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Item. I give to my Daughter Catherine my Gold Nec Chain of three Chain thick my Silver Mugg, one of my Silver porrangers Six of my Silver Spoons, one of my Silver Salt Cellars my Silver Wine Server, also one fourth part of my Wifes wearing appearall.

Item. To my daughter Deborah I give my Silver Tankard marked ML my Silver Teapot marked $R^{E}S$, Six of my Silver Spoons, my Silver Tumbler and also one fourth part of my Wifes wearing appearall.

Item. I give to my youngest Daughter Elizabeth my Silver Tankard with the letters RG cut in a Cyphor on the cover of it, my Silver Teapot marked CG also Six of my Silver Tablespoons and the other one fourth of my Wifes wearing appearall with one of my Silver Salt Cellars.

Item. That the residue and remainder of my personal Estate . . . [go] to my Five children [named] . . . each one a true and just Fifth part.

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APPENDIC C: INVENTORY, ESTATE OF PETER EDMUND ELMENDORF, ALBANY, 1836

A True and Perfect Inventory of all the personal property and effects of Peter Edmund Elmendorf late of the City of Albany, in the county of Albany, Deceased, made by Peter Sanders and John Sanders, the Administrators of the estate of the said deceased, with the aid and in the presence of Douw Fonda and David Pruyn, they having been previously appointed and sworn as Appraisers.

Done at the City of Albany in the said County of Albany, on this 24th day of Feby 1836.

[Signatures]

1	Floor matt in front parlor	7.00
1	Large looking glass in Front parlor	10.00
1	Mahogany card table in front parlor	5.00
12	Churmaple chairs in parlour	6.00
1	Portrait (Hooper Cummings), parlour	5.00
1	Landscape painting	3.00
4	plated Silver candlesticks	1.00
1	Fire Board	.25
2	Foot benches	.25
* 1	Mahogany tea table	4.00
7	small Pictures	1.75
1	small vase	1.00
2	Setts blinds 4 pieces	5.00
1	Blue desk	3.00
2	Blue chests & Papers of P. E. Elmendorf	5.00
1	small carpet and matt	.75
10	canes, Esopus whip, cowhide, being a lot	1.50
1	Foot stove	.12½
1	Pair bellows	.12½

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	1	Carpets old and worn	8.00
	1	Fire board	.12½
	1	Curmaple teatable, old	1.00
	2	glass lamps	
	2	plated candlesticks	1.00
	1	China sett of mantle ornaments	.25
	1	Clock	
	2	India rubber cloths	1.50
	1	China spitting cup	.25
	1	Glass d°	.12½
	1	Cloth brush, old	.01
	1	Fire carrier	.04
	1	cork screw	.04
	1	Kid Bagg	.04
	1	Fascett	.06¼
	1	Sand box	.06¼
	4	ink stands	.12½
	2	mousetraps	.12½
	1	large Crucible	
	2	Seed cup	.12½
	1	Oil Cloth, very old, in office	.50
	1	Writing desk Mahogany	5.00
	1	Looking Glass in office	2.50
	1	Sofa very old with cover, in office	1.50
*	1	Mahogany table, dinner, dwelling room	6.00
	1	Large map 1779 Province of New York, in office	5.00
	12	white bottomed chairs	2.25
	1	blue Table very old in office	.25
*	1	Cherry dinner Table in office	.50
	1	stove and Pipe, common box in office	1.50
	2	Pair tongues & shovel, old	1.00
	2	Hall carpets, 2 Stair carpets, very old	4.00
	1	hair brush	.12½
	1	Dusting pan	.12½
	1	Steelyard	.75
	1	Brass warming pan	.50
	2	Box oven stoves, pipe and stands, Phil.d.	16.00
	1	Earthern Cooler bottle	.50
	1	Hall Lamp, very old	.25
	1	Mahogany stand in dwelling room	2.50
	1	Soap stand in office	
	1	Looking Glass in best bed room	2.50
	1	Mahogany Bureau	5.00
	1	Carpet in best bedroom, very old	.50
	1	Mahogany toilet table	4.00
	1	Franklin stove and brass fender	3.00
	2	sett Brass hand irons	5.00
*	1	Mahogany Tea table	1.00
	6	Fancy chairs	1.50
	1	washbowl, pitcher & soapstand, appraised before	

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*	5 Bedsteads	10.00
	1 Step ladder	.37½
	1 wire fender in dwelling room	2.00
	1 Mahogany wardrobe	15.00
	1 Cherry wardrobe	5.00
*	8 Mahogany chairs	4.00
	1 Fire board	.25
	2 Muskets and 1 Bayonet	2.00
	2 china mantle jars	.37½
	1 Boot jack	.12½
	2 Powder horns and 2 powder flasks	2.00
	1 Bedwrench	.12½
	1 Horsepistol and 1 Guide pistol	.50
	21 steel stair rods	.25
	1 Cloths basket, wicker	.25
*	1 Mahogany Easy chair	1.00
	1 Mahogany checker board	1.00
	2 Mahogany Knives cases	3.00
	4 Decanter stands	.25
	1 Sand box	.06¼
	3 snuffers & 1 tray	.25
	1 Shott bagg & shott	.12½
	1 Infant sucking bottle	.25
	10 Dinner matts, broken sett	.37½
	China Ware [Itemized separately]	134.76
	Kitchen Utensils [Itemized separately]	39.50 3/4
	Library [Itemized separately, no cost given]	
	Old Lumber	
	1 Trunnell bed	.12½
	5 old chairs	.18 3/4
	1 old saddle bag	.06¼
	1 old sett harness	.50
	2 Mahogany dinner trays	.25
	1 Flour box	1.00
	1 Cherry stand, very old	.12½
	1 Hobby horse without legs	.25
	1 fringe loom, very old	.25
	3 chest, very ancient	1.50
	5 old fire buckets	.63½
	2 sett old blinds	.25
	2 sett old scales	.12½
	1 old large picture	.06¼
	1 shaving or dressing glass	.37½
	Carpenter's Tools	
	5 Hammers	1.00

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3	Pinchers	.25
1	mallet, 8 chisels, 2 screw drivers	1.00
1	tap boar and brad awl, five gimlets	.25
60	3/4 lbs old nails	.60 3/4
69	3/4 lbs old iron	.80 3/4
30	lbs brass and lead	.90
1	hatchet hammer	.37½
1	lumber awl, 1 spice mill	.25
5	old butcher knives	.05
1	pr. large silver paste buckles & box	2.00
1	bag gold leaf, gold scale & seed	.50
12	pr. gloves, 10 leather, 2 woolen	1.50
1	bag containing purse & 2 pr. garters, buckles, boxes, etc.	2.00
1	old silver bulls eye watch with case	4.00
1	dº without case	2.00
1	bag whistles, buckles, etc.	1.00
1	coarse & 2 fine combs	.25
1	silver spectacles	1.00
1	showing box, 1 case of surveyors instruments	1.62½
2	dn pocket handkerchiefs	.50
1	sm. bag of flints, 1 buckskin belt, 1 large fish line	.50
1	pr. gold sleeve buttons, 5 sm. gold coins	7.80
1	lot of quills, storage, necktruss, fishing tackle, wafer box & wafers, 1 strong rope	1.68¾
1	lot in till of blue chest: fishing tackle, boxes, etc.	.75
1	lot of medicien vials & box	.25
1	lot of garden seeds, berries, etc.	.18 3/4
	wearing apparel of deceased	25.00

Silver Plate [Separate inventory, not included]

Stocks, Bonds [Separate inventory, not included]

$13,224.84 3/4

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APPENDIX D: ESTATE SALE: SARAH (SANDERS) VAN RENSSELAER, 1869

November 9th 1869

C. P. Sanders

To Admrs. sale of goods etc. of S. Van Rensselaer, dec'd.

To	card table	4.50
2	pictures	.13
3	flag bottomed chairs	.50
2	Candlebras	1.00
2	Japan salvers	1.00
2	Hair cushions	1.25
2	small mugs	.15
3	Table cloths	4.55
1	Bureau with drawers	4.50
1	Washstand	2.55
	Sundries, pictures &c.	.95
1	Looking Glass	1.10
1	small tea table	2.30
14	pictures	1.45
2	flag bottomed chairs	.50
1	washstand, 2 bowls and pitcher	.75
2	chairs	.50
1	small looking glass	.35
1	pr Rose blankets	.50
2	pr plated candlesticks, etc.	2.50
1	Iron tray	.12
1	arm chair	.25
1	chest	.40
7	old chairs	1.75
1	yellow chest marked PSVR	.65
1	large brass kettle, etc.	6.00
1	clock	1.38
2	cane bottomed chairs	.50
1	Tea table and cover	3.00
6	chairs	.50
1	Table with casters	.75
7	knives and 5 forks, etc.	3.00

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sundries	6.50
2 pails	.20
1 copper boiler	.20
2 plated cake baskets	1.12
1 plated caster	.38
1 plated candlestand	1.40
1 cupboard with glass doors	5.00
1 large bureau	13.00
1 gold finger ring	1.13
	$80.28

Received payment from Charles P. Sanders. Eighty dollars and twenty eight cents. Dated

Decb. 21st 1870

John Sanders, Adm of S. Van Rensselaer.

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APPENDIX E: ESTATE SALE: PETER EDMUND SANDERS, 1874

Bill of sale of Peter [Edmund] Elmendorf Sanders' possessions to his sister-in-law, Jane Ten Broeck Sanders. Glenville, Schenectady County, New York, 1874.

SCHEDULE A

1 mahogany bureau
3 looking glasses
4 red cushioned chairs
1 large mahogany table
1 slender card table
1 green chest and contents
13 pictures
1 pine clothes press
6 flag bottomed curly maple chairs
5 black hair bottomed mahogany chairs
1 Liquor chest and bottles
1 carpet bag or satchel
1 wash stand
1 chest
1 box
6 mahogany parlour chairs
1 Claw foot mahogany table
1 sofa

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