

1988

## The Fate of the Cabinetmaking Trade in Williamsburg, Virginia in the Post-Revolutionary Period

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The Fate of the Cabinetmaking Trade in  
Williamsburg, Virginia in the Post-Revolutionary Period

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A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of  
American Studies

The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree of  
Master of Arts

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by

Linda A. Hildreth

1988

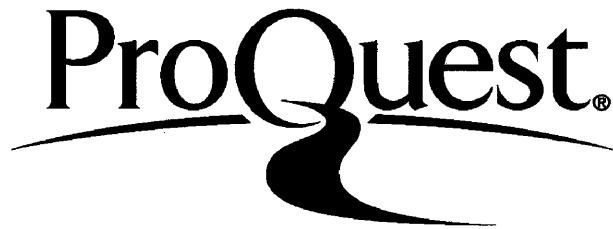
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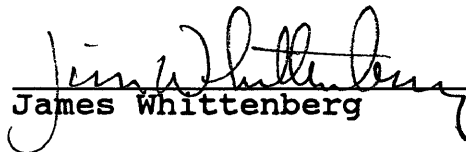


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Approved, May 1988



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## ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to assess the nature and extent of the cabinetmaking trade in Williamsburg, Virginia in the post-Revolutionary period.

Prior to the Revolution, Williamsburg served as the capital and as the political, cultural and social center of the colony. Wealthy planters and politicians, as well as local public institutions, patronized Williamsburg craftsmen, including the cabinetmakers who had established a very fine school of cabinetmaking during this period.

In 1780 the capital of Virginia was moved from Williamsburg to Richmond. Many of the cabinetmakers, finding fewer customers for their furniture and services left Williamsburg to seek employment elsewhere or turned to other professions. Those who persisted faced new competition from local carpenters who occasionally produced furniture or made furniture repairs. More important, in the late eighteenth century, cabinetmaking developed into an industry in the northern urban areas. Williamsburg cabinetmakers thus found further competition from northern cabinetmakers who shipped large quantities of inexpensive, yet fashionable furniture to the south. By the end of



the first quarter of the nineteenth century, only a single cabinetmaker served Williamsburg, a situation in stark contrast to the earlier flourishing cabinetmaking trade in the city.

The Fate of The Cabinetmaking Trade in  
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Post-Revolutionary Period

## INTRODUCTION

From 1699 to 1780 Williamsburg served as the capital of Virginia, the wealthiest and most populous of the British North American colonies. As Virginia's political, legal, educational, social, and to a large degree economic center, Williamsburg attracted hundreds of influential politicians, lawyers, merchants and interested citizens. Many of these became part of Williamsburg's permanent population of 3,000 inhabitants.<sup>1</sup> Hundreds more filled the town periodically throughout the year during the legislative sessions of the House of Burgesses and during the various convenings of the General Court, the Court of Oyer and Terminer and the Hustings Court. The Court of James City County also brought local citizens to the capital. Merchants and tradesmen profited from the constant influx of customers, some wealthy, others less so. These "Public Times" served to acquaint visitors and townspeople alike with the latest news, gossip and fashions from abroad, and Williamsburg craftsmen were quick to provide suitable goods for their clientele.

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<sup>1</sup>Wallace B. Gusler, Furniture of Williamsburg and Eastern Virginia, 1710-1790 (Richmond, Virginia: Virginia Museum, 1979), p. 2.

Williamsburg cabinetmakers found the capital, with its political, economic and social atmosphere, an attractive place in which to practice their craft. Wallace Gusler, in Furniture of Williamsburg and Eastern Virginia, 1710-1790, has shown that an important and flourishing cabinetmaking center existed in Williamsburg before the Revolution and that Williamsburg cabinetmakers enjoyed a wide patronage. Orders came from all parts of Virginia including Alexandria, Culpeper, Charlottesville, and Blackstone. Wealthy clients included such men of refined tastes as Thomas Jefferson, George Washington and Robert Carter of Nomini Hall.<sup>2</sup> That furniture produced by Williamsburg cabinetmakers has been found so far afield demonstrates that these craftsmen were not catering solely to local patrons, but were considered capable of producing the most fashionable goods to be found at that time in Virginia. Gusler has demonstrated that the furniture produced by the Williamsburg cabinetmakers Peter Scott (1694-1775), Anthony Hay (?-1770), and Benjamin Bucktrout (?-c.1812) closely followed the finest English construction and closely paralleled English styling.

The purpose of this thesis is to discover what happened to this fine cabinetmaking school in the period following the Revolutionary War, when the capital was moved to Richmond. Once its legislative functions were

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<sup>2</sup>Gusler, pp. 2-5.

removed, Williamsburg no longer served as a political or social center. In many ways, Williamsburg became a small rural village, although it continued to serve as the courthouse town for James City County.

Considering its flourishing state in the period prior to the Revolution, Williamsburg cabinetmaking in the post-Revolutionary period initially appeared to be an ideal topic for study. However, data on cabinetmakers in Williamsburg after the Revolution was difficult to locate.<sup>3</sup> No account books for any Williamsburg cabinetmakers survive, and information on cabinetmakers and the extent of their activity in the community could only be gleaned through the financial records of their clients, both private and public. These records are meager, and instead of providing a general picture of production in the town, show the biases and needs of particular customers. In addition, these sources cannot reveal a cabinetmaker's total quantity nor types of production. The author was able, however, to examine the meticulous financial records of Judge St. George Tucker. Wealthy and well-respected, he moved with his family to Williamsburg in 1789 and lived there until his death in 1827. Additional principal resources include the accounts of Williamsburg lawyer Richard Corbin, the Auditor's Records for the Public Hospital in Williamsburg

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<sup>3</sup>While Gusler focused his research on a study of the material objects themselves, this author chose to base her research on available documentary evidence.

for the years 1803 to 1822, and the Bursar's Accounts for the College of William and Mary (1804-1819).<sup>4</sup> Each of these sources are frustratingly vague and unspecific.<sup>5</sup>

Another source of frustration is the lack of available records on commerce between American coastal cities. Existing records are so scattered and incomplete that it is impossible to determine the exact amount of furniture exports and imports to and from the various ports. However, through a study of notices in newspapers advertising furniture available "for the export trades" or advertisements, particularly in southern newspapers, for furniture "just imported" from such northern cities as Philadelphia and New York, an idea of the extent of

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<sup>4</sup>Papers of St. George Tucker, Tucker-Coleman Papers MS, Special Collections, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia; First Auditor's Office, Records Concerning the Care of the Insane, Eastern Lunatic Hospital, Accounts and Receipts, 1803-1823 MS, Auditor's items 152, 274, Virginia State Library, Richmond, Virginia; William and Mary College Papers, MS, Special Collections, Swem Library, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia, hereafter cited as William and Mary College Papers.

<sup>5</sup>See, for example, the record of payment to Samuel Beall for £124 in 1786 "for articles imported" for the newly rebuilt President's House. "Statement Showing the Expenses of Rebuilding the President's House, 1785-1786." Entry for payment to Beall dated June 12, 1786. William and Mary College Papers, Folder 13A, MS. One yearns to know what kinds of goods (as well as from where and from whom) were imported by Beall. Often, the lack of descriptive evidence (such as type of wood used, number of drawers, height, and amount of decoration) in the financial accounts and receipts frustrates any direct comparisons in terms of cost, quality and style between furniture produced in Williamsburg and in the major urban centers.

furniture production outside Williamsburg can be gleaned.

Trade statistics on the importation of furniture from Great Britain into Virginia also remain elusive, as import and export records for the United States were inadequately maintained before 1821.<sup>6</sup> Records of imports for the years 1790 to 1820, while showing the total values of U.S. imports, do not specify what articles were imported.<sup>7</sup> Thus, it is difficult to determine what percentages of new furniture were shipped into Williamsburg from northern cities, imported from Great Britain, or produced in Williamsburg. Once again, however, newspaper advertisements and financial records of Williamsburg residents show that the importation of furniture from Great Britain into Virginia continued to some degree after the Revolution.

In spite of the above limitations, a picture of the cabinetmaking trade in Williamsburg in the post-Revolutionary period does develop, one that contrasts not only with the earlier flourishing condition of the trade in colonial Williamsburg, but also with contemporary conditions in the major urban centers. During this period cabinet-

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<sup>6</sup>Roy G. D. Allen and J. Edward Ely, ed., International Trade Statistics (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1953), p. 269.

<sup>7</sup>U.S. Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970, Bicentennial Edition, II (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce, 1975), 876.

making, particularly in New York and Philadelphia, emerged from the small shop trade and entered into an early industrial phase. This modernization of the furniture industry occurred not only through the implementation of power machinery, but through the reorganization of hierarchical relationships within the shop (with the breakdown of the apprenticeship system and the emergence of the master as entrepreneur rather than as teacher and paternal figure), the adoption of labor agreements and guidelines in the form of price books, increased production and the expansion of markets through improved transportation systems.<sup>8</sup>

A large portion of the increased output was geared towards trade to distant cities and states, often as venture cargo to the south, as well as to the West Indies and even sometimes to Europe.<sup>9</sup> Cabinetmakers in the south soon found themselves in competition with the northern "manufactories" which could ship out great quantities of low-priced furniture designed in "the most approved modern fashion."<sup>10</sup> Indeed, some southern cabinetmakers found

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<sup>8</sup>Ian M.G. Quimby, ed., The Craftsmen in Early America (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1984), pp. 5-6.

<sup>9</sup>Mills Brown, "Cabinetmaking in the Eighteenth Century," unpublished research report (Williamsburg, Virginia: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1959), p. 24. See also Mabel Munson Swan, "Coastwise Cargoes of Venture Furniture," Antiques, April 1949, p. 279.

<sup>10</sup>Charles F. Montgomery, American Furniture: The Federal Period (New York: Bonanza Books, 1978), p. 448.



themselves advertising their work by claiming that they could "produce cabinetwork equal to any of the Northern Towns."<sup>11</sup>

Ian Quimby, in the introduction to The Craftsman in Early America, states:

Any serious treatment of the craftsman in early America . . . has to take into consideration the fact that the traditions of preindustrial society were disintegrating under the impact of New World conditions and those technological and commercial changes that we call the industrial revolution-- even in the eighteenth century.<sup>12</sup>

In a small rural town, as Williamsburg became after 1780, changes in the cabinetmaking trade affected greatly the cabinetmaker's craft. This thesis will therefore examine the growing industrialization of the cabinetmaking trade in the major urban centers and its impact on the cabinetmakers and their customers in Williamsburg in the post-Revolutionary period.

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<sup>11</sup>Milton Independence, May 6, 1819, as quoted in James H. Craig (comp.), The Arts and Crafts in North Carolina, 1699-1840 (Winston-Salem, North Carolina: Old Salem, Inc., 1966), p. 195, No. 1145.

<sup>12</sup>Quimby, Craftsmen, pp. 5-6.

## Chapter I

### WILLIAMSBURG AFTER 1780

In April 1780 the capital of Virginia was moved from Williamsburg to the small trading city of Richmond, located near the falls further up the James River. Throughout the eighteenth century, spokesmen for the expanding western counties demanded that the General Assembly move the capital to a more centrally located position, one which would be more accessible to the growing western population. Although these early petitions had failed, the Revolutionary War and the imminent threat of British invasion by sea forced the General Assembly to approve the removal of the capital to Richmond in 1779. The Assembly found that the danger of invasion "may be avoided and equal justice done to all the citizens of this Commonwealth by removing the seat of government to the town of Richmond, in the county of Henrico, which is more safe and central than any other town situated on a navigable water . . ." <sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Henry M. Ward and Harold E. Greer, Jr., Richmond during the Revolution, 1775-83 (Charlottesville, Virginia: University Press of Virginia, 1977), p. 38. See also Virginus Dabney, Richmond: The Story of a City (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1976), pp. 25-26.

Politicians, lawyers, wealthy planters, merchants, tavern keepers and tradesmen followed the removal of the capital and the state courts to Richmond. The city quickly doubled in population, expanding from approximately 600 inhabitants in 1779 to 1,031 in 1782.<sup>2</sup> The massive influx of people into the town far exceeded available accommodation, as revealed in the following report of Betsy Ambler, daughter of the State Treasurer, Jaquelin Ambler, upon her arrival in Richmond from Yorktown in 1780:

We arrived on the evening of the second day at this famous Metropolis; for so we may call it, as all heads of our departments, like ourselves, have arrived here in safety. But where we are to lay our weary heads Heaven knows; so recently has it become a place of any consequence that accommodations cannot be found for one half the people who are necessarily brought here. It is indeed a lovely situation, and may at some future period be a great city, but at present it will scarce afford one comfort in life.<sup>3</sup>

Richmond grew quickly, however, into a capital city. The Marquis de Chastellux noted that "the seat of government having been removed from Williamsburg, [Richmond] is [sic] become a real capital, and is augmenting every day."<sup>4</sup> By 1786 Richmond boasted a population of 1,800 inhabitants (half of these slaves), with 280 houses (as

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<sup>2</sup>Ward and Greer, p. 8.

<sup>3</sup>"Letter from Betsy Jaquelin Ambler to Mildred Smith," 1780, The Atlantic Monthly, 84 (1899), 536-537.

<sup>4</sup>Marquis de Chastellux, Travels in North America in the Years 1780, 1781, and 1782, 2 vols. (London, 1787), as quoted in Ward and Greer, pp. 54-55.

compared with 230 in Williamsburg), covering an area of 1.08 square miles.<sup>5</sup>

While Richmond grew as the capital and trading center for goods to and from the western counties, Norfolk, to the east of Williamsburg, became the chief point of transshipment of goods out of Virginia.<sup>6</sup> In 1795 La Rochefoucauld described Norfolk as

the only port of the southern part of this great State, for boats of 100 or 120 tons only can go to Petersburg and Richmond. The products of those places . . . are sent by barges to Norfolk, whence they are exported. Thus, this port practically monopolizes the commerce of all Virginia from the Rappahannock, and that of North Carolina well beyond Roanoke.<sup>7</sup>

When British shipping became tied up by the Napoleonic Wars which broke out in Europe in 1792, Norfolk traders quickly assumed a large portion of the commerce between the British West Indies and North America. Norfolk also joined other American ports in the carrying trade between America and Europe during these wars.<sup>8</sup> This increase in trade greatly stimulated Norfolk's economic growth, attracting to the city large numbers of merchants, tavern keepers, and artisans, particularly those involved

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<sup>5</sup>Dabney, pp. 31-32.

<sup>6</sup>Thomas J. Wertenbaker, Norfolk: Historic Southern Port, 2nd ed. (1931; rpt. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1962), p. 83.

<sup>7</sup>La Rochefoucauld, Voyage dans les Etats-Unis (Paris, 1799), IV, 258, as quoted in Wertenbaker, p. 76.

<sup>8</sup>Wertenbaker, pp. 84-85.

in the shipbuilding trades.<sup>9</sup>

Despite its natural advantages to become one of the finest port cities on the Atlantic coast, Norfolk never became a serious rival to the larger and more successful ports of New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, where greater capital resources assured tighter control over on the trans-Atlantic and intercoastal trades.<sup>10</sup> Nevertheless, Norfolk remained an important commercial city for Virginia. It served the Virginia and North Carolina interiors as an entrepôt where coastal packets carried the western agricultural produce, particularly wheat and tobacco, to northern and European markets.<sup>11</sup> Coastal packets also delivered to Norfolk goods including furniture imported from Europe, as well as goods manufactured in the northern cities which would be further distributed in packets sent from Norfolk up the Chesapeake tributaries.<sup>12</sup>

With the steady growth of Norfolk, which attracted many merchants and artisans, and with the establishment of Richmond as the seat of government, Williamsburg was no longer the political, educational and social center of a

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<sup>9</sup>Wertenbaker, pp. 85-86.

<sup>10</sup>Wertenbaker, p. 156. See also Robert Greenhalgh Albion, The Rise of New York Port, 1815-1860 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970), pp. 374-375.

<sup>11</sup>Packet, or packet boats were generally passenger books that also carried mail and cargo on regular schedules.

<sup>12</sup>Albion, pp. 137-140.

great colony; instead it became the simple courthouse town for James City County. A German traveler visiting Williamsburg in 1783 observed that while Williamsburg was "among the handsomer towns of America," it had lost its earlier vitality:

Williamsburg is now a poor place compared with its former splendor. With the removal of the government, merchants, advocates, and other considerable residents took their departure as well, and the town has lost half of its population . . . The merchants of the country round about were accustomed formerly to assemble here every year, to advise about commercial affairs and matters in the furtherance of trade. This also has come to an end. Thus, like so many older ones in Europe, do cities in this new world lament for the uncertain fate of a past glory.<sup>13</sup>

The Reverend Jedidiah Morse, in The American Universal Geography, painted a dismal picture of Williamsburg in 1787:

Everything in Williamsburg appears dull, forsaken and melancholy--no trade--no amusement, but the infamous one of gaming--no industry, and very little appearance of religion. The unprosperous state of the college, but principally the removal of the seat of government, have contributed much to the decline of this city.<sup>14</sup>

Many visitors to Williamsburg in the post-Revolutionary period commented on the decaying state of

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<sup>13</sup>Johann David Schoepf, Travels in the Confederation [1783-1784] from the German of Johann David Schoepf, tr. and ed. by Alfred J. Morrison, Philadelphia, 1911, II, 78-81, as quoted in Jane Carson (comp.), We Were There: Descriptions of Williamsburg, 1699-1859 (Williamsburg, Virginia: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1965), pp. 71-74.

<sup>14</sup>Jedidiah Morse, The American Universal Geography, 2 vols. (Boston: 1793), I, pp. 550-551, as quoted in Carson, 81.

the town's buildings. In 1786, Onley Winsor wrote to his wife in Providence, Rhode Island that "all the public buildings, except the Mad House, are in a decaying situation, as most of the Private buildings, business haveing [sic] almost entirely left this place since the removal of the Government."<sup>15</sup> And in 1804, William T. Barry, a law student at the College of William and Mary, wrote the following description of Williamsburg:

The houses in general in this town are not built of durable materials, and none of them have been built with a view to architectural fame. The prospect which they present now is gloomy and melancholy: everything seems on the decline; "desolation has saddened all the green;" . . . many of the houses have tumbled down into ruins. I never walk the streets without experiencing the most gloomy sensations; but it is a kind of pleasant melancholy, that the mind rather courts than despises. It is a dignified pleasure that is always excited in the mind when viewing the vestiges of departed grandeur.<sup>16</sup>

In 1823, Williamsburg continued to present a scene of abandonment and decay. Another William and Mary student wrote to his sister:

There is nothing here that would interest you in the least, unless you would be amused with falling walls and decaying houses. This spot, on which so many noble actions have been performed, now presents

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<sup>15</sup>Onley Winsor, Letter from Alexandria, dated November 18, 1786, printed as "Note about Williamsburg," William and Mary Quarterly, 2nd series, XVIII (April, 1937), 238.

<sup>16</sup>William Taylor Barry, "Letters of William T. Barry," William and Mary Quarterly, 1st series, XIII (October, 1904), 107-116.

nothing to engage the imagination, but the  
recollection of what it once was . . .<sup>17</sup>

Visitors found it difficult not to compare  
Williamsburg in its new position as a rural courthouse  
town with its former status as the wealthy capital of  
Virginia and the residence of royal governors. Even  
Williamsburg's staunchest defender, St. George Tucker,  
found himself reminding his old friend and former  
Williamsburg neighbor, Dr. Phillip Barraud, then a resi-  
dent of Norfolk, of "the days of other times, when  
surrounded by a Host of your 'old Cronies,' in this now  
deserted Village, you gave Life and spirits to us all  
. . ."<sup>18</sup>

Nevertheless, despite decaying buildings, the  
departure of a large portion of its inhabitants and the  
subsequent reduction in its trade, Williamsburg remained  
renowned for its fine and genteel society. This society  
continued to form the basis of the private customers of the  
Williamsburg craftsmen in the post-Revolutionary period.  
A Williamsburg gentlemen reported to a friend in Savannah  
in 1786: "Deprived of our importance as a city, still its  
individuals are easy with dignity. Ease, sociability, and

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<sup>17</sup>William H. Garland, "Letter to his sister,  
November 6th, 1823," William and Mary Quarterly, 2nd series,  
XI (1931), 136-137.

<sup>18</sup>St. George Tucker, Letter to Dr. Phillip Barraud,  
April 16, 1827, Barraud Family Papers, Folder 3, Special  
Collections, Swem Library, College of William and Mary,  
Williamsburg, Virginia.



poverty are the characteristic [sic] marks of its people."<sup>19</sup> Issac Weld also found Williamsburg society in 1796 quite respectable:

The town contains about twelve hundred inhabitants, and the society in it thought to be more extensive and more genteel at the same time than what is to be met with in any other place of its size in America.<sup>20</sup>

One young student at the College of William and Mary found Williamsburg society very lively, especially compared with that in his native Louisa County, Virginia:

The few [inhabitants] with whom I have become acquainted, I find polite and agreeable. The people generally of this place appear extremely gay and extravagant. There have been not less than four balls, since I came to town, & there will be another this week. To one, who has spent his live [sic] in Louisa, where a ball is almost a phenomenon, this must appear the height of extravagance . . .<sup>21</sup>

Certainly there appears to have been a great deal of socializing in Williamsburg. Mrs. Lelia Tucker, the second wife of St. George Tucker, wrote to her stepdaughter, Frances Coalter, the following account of her active social

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<sup>19</sup>"Extract of a letter from a gentleman in Williamsburg to his friend in Savannah, dated September 8, 1786," Gazette of the State of Georgia, Savannah, 26 October 1786. Reference from the research files of the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

<sup>20</sup>Issac Weld, Travels through the States of North America, and the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, during the Years 1795, 1796, and 1797, 4th ed. (London: 1807), 2 vols, pp. 165-168, as quoted in Carson, p. 92.

<sup>21</sup>Chapman Johnson, Letter to David Watson, Louisa County, Virginia, 19th December 1799, Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, vol. 29, p. 266. MESDA reference.

life around 1808:

There prevails a perfect rage for dinner visiting at this time. On Tuesday I dined with Mrs Andrews with a snug party of all the Careys & Mrs Cocke. On Wednesday with Mrs. Gatcliffe where we had a large company. Yesterday I was invited to Col. Careys to join a party of some young people but I begged to be excused. Today at Mrs Hendersons, tommorrow at Mrs Greenhow's & on Sunday to Mrs Prentice . . . Maria Savage & Sally Brown with their beaux, Mr Boudin & Mr Henry have just left us.<sup>22</sup>

Even a sophisticated visitor from the growing "metropolis" of Richmond remarked in 1812 that he was:

much pleased with what I saw of the society in Williamsburg which consists almost entirely of Widows and Maidens--there are several old respectable families who keep alive the genuine spirit of social intercourse without adulterating it with Scandal or the fashions--at least I saw no such Mixture--I could have staid [sic] there with pleasure several days longer. . . .<sup>23</sup>

Thus, while Williamsburg was no longer bustling with the same kind of activity found there in the pre-Revolutionary period, it still retained a sense of its own importance. The society remained genteel and people continued to meet during local court days. While trade had diminished, it was not eliminated, and craftspeople and merchants continued to supply goods to the townspeople.

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<sup>22</sup>Lelia Carter Tucker, Letter to Frances Coalter, c. 1808, as quoted in Mary Haldane Coleman, St. George Tucker: Citizen of No Mean City (Richmond, Virginia: The Dietz Press, 1938), p. 145. Punctuation as in Coleman.

<sup>23</sup>Samuel Mordecai, Letter to his sister, Miss Ellen Mordecai, Warrenton, North Carolina, 25 May 1812, Folder 14, William and Mary College Papers, Special Collections, Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

Williamsburg cabinetmakers, though severely reduced in number, helped satisfy their customers' furniture needs. Merchants also supplied furniture shipped from the north or abroad to Williamsburg customers. This supply of furniture, however, especially mass-produced furniture from the major urban centers, competed with the local cabinetmakers' trade and had a great impact on the fate of cabinetmaking in Williamsburg.

## Chapter II

### GROWTH OF MAJOR URBAN CENTERS AND THE INDUSTRIALIZATION OF THE CABINETMAKING TRADE

While Williamsburg was being transformed from an active capital city into a small court-house town, most of the United States found itself in a period of rapid economic and social expansion. Immediately following the Revolution, America suffered from widespread inflation caused by war-time disruptions in population and production, loss of established markets and credit sources, by the depreciation of capital resources and lack of new investment, as well as by the issuing of large amounts of paper money by the state governments.<sup>1</sup> By the 1790's, however, with the outbreak of war in Europe, America bustled with activity in the carrying trade between America and Europe, and to the West Indies. The increased demand for goods abroad and at home stimulated the American economy out of its period of post-war inflation. The level of new activity was particularly high in the seaport cities, especially in Boston,

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<sup>1</sup>James A. Henretta, The Evolution of American Society, 1700-1815 (Lexington, Massachusetts: D.C. Heath and Company, 1973), pp. 159-161.

Philadelphia, New York, and Baltimore.<sup>2</sup>

The expanding business activities of these seaport cities attracted many people from the countryside. Between 1790 and 1840, all four major cities grew at a rate far above the 33 to 36 percent national population growth. In Philadelphia, the flourishing carrying and re-export trades bolstered its earlier languishing shipbuilding and housing construction trades, attracting many workers to these particular activities.<sup>3</sup> New York especially witnessed tremendous growth during this period. From a population of 20,000 just after the Revolution, it grew to over 30,000 inhabitants in 1790, 45,000 in 1795 and to 60,000 in 1800. A large percentage of this increase was due to the influx of immigrants, particularly French, Irish, Scottish and English, but many more came from the rural areas surrounding the city.<sup>4</sup> In Baltimore, the population surged from 13,503 in 1790 to 62,738 in 1820. Like the other major cities, most of Baltimore's growth was tied to the expansion of markets, both in Europe and in the newly opened Western

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<sup>2</sup>Henretta, Evolution, p. 192.

<sup>3</sup>Billy G. Smith, "The Material Lives of Laboring Philadelphians, 1750 to 1800," William and Mary Quarterly, Third Series, 38, No. 2 (1981), 187.

<sup>4</sup>Wendell D. Garrett, "The Matter of Consumers' Taste," in Country Cabinetwork and Simple City Furniture, ed. John D. Moore (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1970), p. 223.

territories of America, for manufactured goods.<sup>5</sup>

New York, with its favorable geographic position as an excellent port city, led all other cities in both the export and domestic trades. Between 1795 and 1810 New York handled one-third of the nation's foreign commerce and one-half by 1825. By 1810 it also controlled 25 percent of the nation's coastal trade.<sup>6</sup> Howard Rock further explains New York's rise as the nation's largest urban center:

Together with its excellent deepwater harbors and the finest hinterlands in the nation (including those areas bounded by Newark Bay, Long Island Sound, and 150 navigable miles of the Hudson River), Gotham possessed local officials and farsighted merchants with "more entrepreneurial clarity" than any other American city. The state, too, encouraged growth, regulating standards of cargo and passing a general incorporation law in 1811 that fostered the appearance of sixty-six acts of incorporation in that year alone. Consequently the metropolis surged ahead of other seaports to become the country's commercial center, the "hub of inter-urban commodity flow."<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>Charles G. Steffen, "Changes in the Organization of Artisan Production in Baltimore, 1790 to 1820," William and Mary Quarterly, Third Series, 36, No. 1 (1978), 103.

<sup>6</sup>Howard B. Rock, Artisans of the New Republic: The Tradesmen of New York City in the Age of Jefferson (New York: New York University Press, 1979), p. 238.

<sup>7</sup>Rock, Artisans, p. 238, quoting Alan R. Pred, Urban Growth and the Circulation of Information: The United States System of Cities, 1790-1840 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1973), p. 139, and Edmund P. Willis, "Social Origins of Political Leadership in New York City from the Revolution to 1815," Ph.D. diss. Berkeley, 1967, pp. 97-98, 113, 119.

The expanding economy in all of these cities directly influenced the artisan trades. Growing populations increased demands for goods and services. Quantity production was encouraged by improvements in communications and transportation, and by the removal of British restrictions on production.<sup>8</sup> In addition, the concentration of capital in these major cities assured the financial backing necessary for expanding businesses.

The expansion of domestic industries was particularly encouraged after the Revolution as a means of adding economic independence to political independence.<sup>9</sup> While early tariffs on imported goods were initially intended to generate revenue, many people, particularly artisans, saw these tariffs as an opportunity to develop domestic industries.<sup>10</sup> The end of the eighteenth century witnessed an increase in the number of artisan advertisements in which less mention was made of foreign imports and greater emphasis was placed on American manufactures.<sup>11</sup> A cabinet and chairmaking firm in Baltimore

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<sup>8</sup>Rock, Artisans, pp. 238-239.

<sup>9</sup>Susan H. Myers, "The Business of Potting, 1780-1840," in The Craftsman in Early America, ed. Ian M.G. Quimby (New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1984), pp. 190-191; see also Henretta, Evolution, p. 193.

<sup>10</sup>Myers, pp. 190-191 and Smith, "Material Lives," p. 198.

<sup>11</sup>Rita Susswein Gottesman, comp., The Arts and Crafts in New York, 1777-1799: Advertisements and News Items From New York City Newspapers, II (New York: The

offered the following encouragement for American manufacturing in the Maryland Journal in 1790:

Bankson & Lawson . . . respectfully inform their customers, and the Public in general, that they mean, with the Assistance of those Friends to American Manufactures, to extend that useful and necessary Branch, being aided by the Legislature of the United States. They flatter themselves, the Importation of Furniture from abroad, will be discontinued, and that suitable Encouragement will be afforded them, whose Exertions shall ever be made to render Satisfaction to their Employers.<sup>12</sup>

In 1802 a New York cabinetmaker made a similar statement in the Republican Watch-Tower:

An elegant Side Board, with pedestals, vase, knife cases, plated schools, [sic] and candle-branches, will be finished and exhibited for sale on the first of November next. The disposition manifested on the part of the public to encourage the American Artist and Manufacturer, has induced the Subscribers to exert himself to furnish this specimen of Cabinet Furniture. . . . C. Christian Cabinet-Maker, No. 73 Broad-street.<sup>13</sup>

As the marketplace expanded, so did opportunities for many craftsmen, particularly for masters in various trades. The colonial period had witnessed what economic historian John Commons calls the "retail-order phase" of

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New-York Historical Society, 1954), viii.

<sup>12</sup>Maryland Journal (Baltimore), February 12, 1790, as quoted in Alfred Coxe Prime, comp., The Arts and Crafts in Philadelphia, Maryland and South Carolina, 1786-1800: Gleanings from Newspapers, II (n.p.: The Walpole Society, 1933), 167.

<sup>13</sup>Republican Watch-Tower (New York), October 16, 1802, as quoted in Rita Susswein Gottesman, comp., The Arts and Crafts in New York, 1800-1804: Advertisements and News Items from New York City Newspapers, III (New York: The New-York Historical Society, 1965), p. 139, No. 329.



American economic development, in which a small shop with a master and one or two journeymen and apprentices produced goods on order as "bespoke-work," while keeping a small stock of ready-made goods on hand.<sup>14</sup> Indeed, this type of small shop enterprise survived into the nineteenth century, even in cities. However, with the expansion of markets, together with the removal of British restrictions and easier access to greater credit, many masters found themselves changing roles from craftsmen to entrepreneurs. Many operated, as Howard Rock describes, as "either small-scale men of commerce seeking wider commercial outlets, as local contractors seeking mercantile connections, or as agents of speculative investors, supplying merchants with goods and services."<sup>15</sup>

Those masters who continued to run their own shops found that to be competitive they had to develop more efficiently organized businesses and cost-effective methods of production and marketing.<sup>16</sup> They contracted for labor and supplies, often managing and operating shops involving

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<sup>14</sup>John R. Commons et al., History of Labour in the United States (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1918), I, 56; Patricia E. Kane, "Design Books and Price Books for American Federal-Period Card Tables," in The Work of Many Hands: Card Tables in Federal America, 1790-1820, ed. Benjamin Hewitt, Patricia E. Kane and Gerald W.R. Ward (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1982), p. 48.

<sup>15</sup>Rock, Artisans, p. 246. See also Ian M.G. Quimby, ed., The Craftsman in Early America (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1984), pp. 12-13.

<sup>16</sup>Rock, Artisans, p. 246.

a great deal of specialization among their workers as well as subdivisions of the production processes.<sup>17</sup> These entrepreneurial masters also oversaw the transport, the insuring, and the sale of the finished product, often in distant markets. Because of this type of managerial function, masters' relationships with their workers in these enterprises shifted from being paternalistic to more impersonal.<sup>18</sup>

The trend from small craftshop to large enterprise in the cabinetmaking trade actually began earlier in the eighteenth century. The Philadelphia chairmaker, Solomon Fussel operated a sizable business as early as 1738, and eventually went into merchandising after many years as a craftsman.<sup>19</sup> Listed in the shop inventory of Daniel Jones, another Philadelphia chairmaker, upon his death in 1766, were more than 125 finished chairs.<sup>20</sup> Following the Revolution, many cabinetmakers, aspiring to the merchant

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<sup>17</sup>Polly Anne Earl, "Craftsmen and Machines: The Nineteenth-Century Furniture Industry," in Technological Innovation and The Decorative Arts, ed. Ian M.G. Quimby and Polly Anne Earl (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1974), p. 307.

<sup>18</sup>Rock, Artisans, p. 246.

<sup>19</sup>Nancy Goyne Evans, "Unsophisticated Furniture Made and Used in Philadelphia and Environs, ca. 1750-1800," in Country Cabinetwork and Simple City Furniture, ed. John D. Moore (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1970), pp. 165-166 and Charles F. Montgomery, American Furniture: The Federal Period (New York: Bonanza Books, 1978), pp. 12-13.

<sup>20</sup>Evans, pp. 165-166.

class, achieved great success as entrepreneurs. The New York cabinetmaker, Duncan Phyfe, was particularly successful, employing at the height of his career more than a hundred workers.<sup>21</sup> Many of these men were employed to perform only very specialized tasks, such as veneering or glazing.<sup>22</sup> Where earlier such specialized work was sent out to shops handling only such tasks, Phyfe combined all the specializations under one roof.

Not all masters were as successful as Phyfe, however. Many were forced to give up their financial independence to work as foremen in larger mercantile-oriented enterprises. Although salaries for these foremen were generally decent, these craftsmen no longer received any profits, these being turned over to the owner who was not necessarily a cabinetmaker or artisan himself. Many masters, unable to survive in the increasingly competitive market, simply went bankrupt.<sup>23</sup> Others, however, were able to maintain themselves with their traditional small shop practices, usually catering to their own local neighborhood clientele.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>21</sup>Nancy McClelland, Duncan Phyfe and the English Regency, 1795-1830, 2nd ed. (1939; rpt. New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1980), p. 123.

<sup>22</sup>Rock, Artisans, p. 239.

<sup>23</sup>Rock, Artisans, pp. 247-248.

<sup>24</sup>Rock, Artisans, p. 151.

### Chapter III

#### DEVELOPMENT OF LARGE-SCALE FURNITURE PRODUCTION AND THE DOMESTIC "EXPORT" TRADE

Craftsmen in rural communities like Williamsburg in the late eighteenth century faced growing competition from their increasingly industrialized counterparts in the northern urban centers.<sup>1</sup> Production changes in craft shops in these centers led to increased out-put at lower cost. The development of cheap and efficient transportation especially encouraged large-scale production by reducing shipping costs.<sup>2</sup> New markets for manufactured goods were opened by the construction of canals and by the increase in inter-coastal shipping packets. The growth in the number of daily newspapers also aided the development of large-scale manufacturing by informing merchants and craftsmen

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<sup>1</sup>Stephen Mayer, "People v. Fisher: The Shoemaker's Strike of 1833," New York Historical Society Quarterly, 62, No. 1 (1978), 11.

<sup>2</sup>Thomas J. Schlereth, "Artisans and Craftsmen: A Historical Perspective," in The Craftsman in Early America, ed. Ian M.G. Quimby (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1984), p. 40. For the effect of transportation on craftsmen's trades in Baltimore, see Charles G. Steffen, "Changes in the Organization of Artisan Production in Baltimore, 1790 to 1820," William and Mary Quarterly, Third Series, 36, No. 1 (1979), 103. For Philadelphia, see Bruce Laurie, "'Nothing on Compulsion': Life Styles of Philadelphia Artisans, 1820-1850," Labor History, 15 (1974), 337-338.

of market conditions abroad and in the rural areas.<sup>3</sup>

Despite this growth in large-scale manufacturing in the north, large-scale furniture production was a relatively young industry in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Notwithstanding the overwhelming commercial success of some city cabinetmakers (such as Duncan Phyfe), many urban masters maintained small, traditionally run shops, with only one or two journeymen or apprentices.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, most manufacturing continued to be carried on outside of the major urban areas. Alexander Hamilton observed in his "Report on Manufactures" that outside the major northern cities (Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore) was "a vast scene of household manufacturing" where rural citizens produced shoes, clothing and other necessities, "in many instances, to an extent not only sufficient for the supply of the families in which they are made, but for sale, and even in some cases, for exportation."<sup>5</sup> While by 1820 12 percent of America's workers were engaged in manufacturing and construction (28 percent in all non-agricultural occupations), only 3.7

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<sup>3</sup>Howard B. Rock, Artisans in the New Republic: The Tradesmen of New York City in the Age of Jefferson (New York: New York University Press, 1979), pp. 237-238.

<sup>4</sup>Rock, Artisans, p. 155.

<sup>5</sup>Alexander Hamilton, "Report on Manufactures," in his Papers on Public Credit, Commerce, and Finance, ed. Samuel McKee, Jr., 2nd ed. (1934; rpt. New York: The Liberal Arts Press, 1957), p. 222.

percent of the total population resided in the four major cities and their suburbs.<sup>6</sup> These figures show that despite the high output by urban manufacturers, a large amount of manufacturing still took place outside the cities.

In contrast to the widespread use of steam-powered machinery in many heavy industries by the 1820's, such as lumber sawmills for plank and veneers, cabinetmaking shops continued to employ less expensive human-powered machinery, for example, lathes and mortising machines, well into the nineteenth century.<sup>7</sup> Furniture production, especially the production of fine furniture, remained a predominantly handcraft industry. By the 1830s and 1840s, however, the change from a craftsman's individual creation of a single piece of furniture from start to finish to mass production had become more widespread.<sup>8</sup> The mass production of clock parts by Eli Terry and chair parts by Lambert Hitchcock helped to lead the way for the production of furniture in large quantities.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>David Montgomery, "The Working Classes of the Pre-Industrial American City, 1780-1830," Labor History, 9, No. 21 (1968), 4.

<sup>7</sup>Polly Anne Earl, "Craftsmen and Machines: The Nineteenth Century Furniture Industry," in Technological Innovation and The Decorative Arts, ed. Ian M.G. Quimby and Polly Anne Earl (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1974), p. 316; Charles F. Montgomery, American Furniture: The Federal Period (New York: Bonanza Books, 1978), p. 32; Laurie, p. 339.

<sup>8</sup>Earl, p. 309.

<sup>9</sup>Montgomery, American Furniture, pp. 17-18.

The number of workers in craftshops also remained small through the first part of the nineteenth century. Bruce Laurie found in his study of Philadelphia artisans that while shop sizes in 1850 averaged around ten workers, the median per shop was slightly less than four workers.<sup>10</sup>

Although a larger portion of American manufacturing took place outside of the major urban centers, and while most shops utilized human, rather than steam-powered machinery and the average shop size remained small, the larger, more efficient, quantity- and profit-oriented shops had an important and widespread effect on furniture production in the United States. Entrepreneurial masters employed new cost-effective techniques to increase sales. These techniques included the use of semi- and unskilled wage labor, the bringing of specialists (such as veneerers, carvers, upholsterers, and gilders) all under one roof, and later the adoption of power-driven machinery. As Patricia Kane has noted, "[s]elf-employment, hand tools, and small workshops continued to dominate the scene, but the foundations of a new order were being laid."<sup>11</sup>

In conjunction with commercial expansion many master entrepreneurs employed aggressive marketing

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<sup>10</sup>Laurie, p. 339; Earl, p. 316.

<sup>11</sup>Patricia E. Kane, "Design Books and Price Books for American Federal-Period Card Tables," in The Work of Many Hands: Card Tables in Federal America, 1790-1820, ed. Benjamin Hewitt, Patricia E. Kane and Gerald W.R. Ward (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1982), p. 49.

techniques, including the use of newspaper advertisements. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, newspapers (including dailies, weeklies and monthlies) had greatly increased in number. New York alone had ten daily newspapers, each containing advertisements of craftsmen.<sup>12</sup>

In many of these advertisements cabinetmakers solicited the public to inspect their "ware-rooms" or warehouses where they kept on display "a variety of fashionable and well made mahogany furniture" ready to be sold "on the most reasonable terms."<sup>13</sup> In London, furniture had been displayed in warehouses as early as 1723. London cabinetmaker Robert Hodson advertised that "At Hodsons Looking Glass and Cabinet Warehouse in Frith Street Soho" there was a "ready made great variety of all sorts of Furniture . . ."<sup>14</sup> As the eighteenth century progressed, advertisements of furniture warerooms were commonly found

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<sup>12</sup>Rock, Artisans, p. 158. Rita Gottesman, in her selection of craftsmen advertisements in New York newspapers between 1800 and 1804, lists 1200 such commercial notices. Rita Susswein Gottesman, comp., The Arts and Crafts in New York, 1800-1804: Advertisements and News Items from New York City Newspapers, III (New York: The New-York Historical Society, 1965), hereafter cited as Gottesman III.

<sup>13</sup>Weekly Museum, June 22, 1793, as quoted in Rita Susswein Gottesman, comp., The Arts and Crafts in New York, 1777-1799: Advertisements and News Items From New York City Newspapers, II (New York: The New-York Historical Society, 1954), p. 113, No. 349; hereafter cited as Gottesman II.

<sup>14</sup>Ambrose Heal, The London Furniture Makers (1953; rpt. New York: Dover Publications, 1972), pp. 80, 85, as quoted in Kane, p. 48.



in England. In America, however, probably because of the smaller size of most cabinetmaking enterprises, few advertisements mentioned furniture warehouses prior to the Revolution. Thereafter, however, many were advertised in most of the major cities' newspapers.<sup>15</sup>

By the last quarter of the eighteenth century, American newspapers also carried advertisements for the sale of ready-made furniture. For example, George Houghton of Philadelphia gave notice in 1778 that ". . . as he is going to decline the Cabinet Making business, he is determined to sell all his ready made Joiners Work on very low terms, or will exchange for other goods."<sup>16</sup> With the establishment of large commercial enterprises, the production and selling of ready-made furniture expanded in the major urban centers. The New York cabinetmakers, Elbert Anderson and Sons, advertised the following in 1803:

The subscribers have now on hand at their ware-room, no. 3, Courtland-street, an extensive assortment of Cabinet Furniture, which they with confidence warrant as made of the best seasoned wood and first workmanship.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>Kane, p. 48.

<sup>16</sup>Pennsylvania Evening Post, March 30, 1778, as quoted in Alfred Coxe Prime, comp., The Arts and Crafts in Philadelphia, Maryland and South Carolina, 1721-1785: Gleanings from Newspapers, I (n.p.: The Walpole Society, 1929), p. 171; hereafter cited as Prime I.

<sup>17</sup>Morning Chronicle, January 7, 1803, as quoted in Gottesman III, p. 136, No. 322. Duncan Phyfe also labelled his furniture as being from his "Cabinet Warehouse." Nancy McClelland, Duncan Phyfe and the English Regency, 1795-1830, 2nd ed. (1939; rpt. New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1980), pp. 159-160.

Many craftsmen, while advertising ready-made furniture for sale, also solicited traditional "custom" orders. Fenwick Lyell, a New York "Cabinet and Chair Maker," advertised in 1797 that he had for sale at his "Wareroom, No. 46 Beaver Street . . . a large and elegant assortment of Furniture, made after the Newest and most approved fashions . . ." He added that as "he employs a number of good workmen, and has on hand a large stock of well-seasoned Mahogany and other Stuff, he therefore hopes to give general satisfaction to those who will be pleased to favour him with their custom . . ." <sup>18</sup> The cabinetmaking partnership of Seabury Champlin and Thomas Burling, advertised "fashionable and well made Mahogany furniture" for sale in their "Ware Room" in 1793, claiming that "Particular orders will be attended to in such a manner as to merit future favours." <sup>19</sup>

Despite the continuation of the traditional production of furniture made to order, the convenience of buying ready-made furniture was an especially attractive selling point. The following advertisement of the New York cabinetmaker, Thomas Burling, is particularly illustrative of this concept:

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<sup>18</sup>New York Gazette and The General Advertiser, March 22, 1797 (advertised through 1979), as quoted in Gottesman II, p. 123, No. 385.

<sup>19</sup>Weekly Museum, June 22, 1793, as quoted in Gottesman II, p. 113, No. 349.

Thomas Burling Cabinet and Chair maker, at the Sign of the Chair . . . has opened a Ware Room of Mahogany and other Furniture, on a more extensive plan than heretofore; and for the convenience of strangers and others, who may resort to or settle in this city, he means to keep an assortment where they may be supplied on the shortest notice. . . .<sup>20</sup>

The notion of a warehouse, in which a large quantity of ready-made furniture was kept on hand for sale to a casual customer, went hand in hand with large-scale furniture production. The increased use of the term wareroom or warehouse in America was concurrent with the use of the word "manufacturing" to denote quantity production within a shop.<sup>21</sup> Chairs had been produced to some degree in large quantities during the eighteenth century.<sup>22</sup> Nevertheless, with the development of a wage-earning supply of labor (consisting of semi- and unskilled workers) and the opening of distant markets through improvements in transportation, the idea of a craftsman's shop as a "factory" became more common. In 1786 George Olive and Andrew Gifford advertised that they had opened

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<sup>20</sup>Daily Advertiser, March 16, 1787, as quoted in Gottesman II, p. 111, No. 342.

<sup>21</sup>Kane, p. 48. The term "manufactory," it should be noted, does not appear in American advertisements until after the Revolution.

<sup>22</sup>Solomon Fussell of Philadelphia, for example, had been engaged in a rather sizeable chairmaking business. Nancy Goyne Evans, "Unsophisticated Furniture Made and Used in Philadelphia and Environs, ca. 1750-1800," in Country Cabinetwork and Simple City Furniture, ed. John D. Morse (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1970), p. 165.

in New York a

Furniture Manufactory, in all its various branches, viz. Cabriole Chairs, Soffas [sic], Settees, Window Stools, Burjar [Bergere?] Chairs, Libraries, Commodes, Toilets, Pembroke Sideboard Tables, Wine Keepers, Biddies [Bidets?] &c. &c. . . .<sup>23</sup>

In 1795 William Harris of Baltimore placed the following notice in the Maryland Journal concerning his cabinetmaking business:

The subscriber . . . takes this method to inform . . . the public in general, that he has removed his manufactory to Frederick-street, on the south side of Market-Street, . . . where he intends to keep a constant supply of good materials, and workmen, and to carry on the above business in its various branches, with neatness and dispatch. . . .<sup>24</sup>

A large portion of furniture produced in these "manufactories" and then placed for sale in "Ware Rooms" was also produced for the wholesale trade and often shipped to distant markets.<sup>25</sup> Throughout the eighteenth century furniture was shipped from the northern cities to the south, the Caribbean, South America, and even Africa.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>Independent Journal; or, General Advertiser, April 12, 1786, as quoted in Gottesman II, p. 125, No. 392.

<sup>24</sup>Maryland Journal (Baltimore), February 12, 1795, as quoted in Alfred Coxe Prime, comp., The Arts and Crafts in Philadelphia, Maryland and South Carolina, 1786-1800: Gleanings from Newspapers, II (n.p.: The Walpole Society, 1933), p. 181; hereafter cited as Prime II.

<sup>25</sup>Kane, p. 48; Rock, Artisans, p. 239.

<sup>26</sup>Mills Brown, "Cabinetmaking in the Eighteenth Century," unpublished research report (Williamsburg, Virginia: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1959), pp. 24-25; Mabel Munson Swan, "Coastwise Cargoes of Venture furniture," Antiques, April 1949, p. 279.

With concentration of capital resources in the major northern cities, particularly New York and Philadelphia, and to a lesser extent, Baltimore, and with the development of large-scale furniture "manufactories," furniture became an important part of the shipping and export trade. Many cabinetmakers sought distant markets for their goods advertising, "All orders from the town and country, will be thankfully received and diligently attended to."<sup>27</sup> Some cabinetmakers joined together to send cooperative shipments of furniture abroad, such as Elijah and Jacob Sanderson who, together with Josiah Austin, formed a cooperative furniture company in Salem, Massachusetts.<sup>28</sup> These cabinetmakers entrusted cargoes of furniture to ships' captains with instructions to sell wherever the best price could be found. In December, 1788, the schooner Ruth, "bound to South Carolina and any of the other Southern States" contained the following cargo from the Sanderson/Austin cooperative:

4 clocks with mehogany Cases. 1 Mehogany Desk book case, 1 ditto Desk, 1 ditto Bureau, 6 Black Walnut Desks & Book Cases, 4 ditto 4 ft tables, 2 Burch ditto, 1 Mehogany Clawfoot Bedstead Compleat, 1 ditto plain, 6 Burch 3 1/2 ft tables, 4 Burch side tables, 2 ditto card tables, 3 ditto breakfast tables, 4 oak plain bedsteads, 3 Black Walnut Swell'd Desks, 2 Burch Desks, 4 Maple Desks, 18 Burch Chairs, 1 Back Gammon Board & men, 2 Swell'd mehogany desks, 3 plain ditto, 7 ditto cherrytree,

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<sup>27</sup>Baltimore Daily Repository, May 18, 1793, as quoted in Prime II, p. 180.

<sup>28</sup>Swan, p. 279.

3 Swell'd mehogany bureau, 6 mehogany 4 ft tables, 4 Burch cardtables, 2 Swell'd Mehogany Card Tables, 2 Swell'd Mehogany Desks & Bookcases, 6 Mehogany Bedsteads compleat, 2 Mehogany Card Tables, 1 easy chair, 12 Burch chairs, 6 Black chairs, 3 Burch breakfast tables, 36 common chairs, 1 Mehogany lightstand, 1 Mehogany stand table.<sup>29</sup>

This cargo of furniture was eventually sold in Charleston, South Carolina, some pieces by private sale, the rest at auction.<sup>30</sup>

Auctions of northern-produced furniture in southern markets could be quite competitive. The following account by a ship's captain illustrates the large quantity of furniture shipped to the south in the post-Revolutionary period and the keen competition for buyers. Captain Elias Grant wrote to the Sandersons in Salem from Richmond, Virginia on April 11, 1803 that:

[T]he goods are not sold as yet Part of them are sold I have tried them twice at Vendue but sold Little and what is Sold is Very Lo I don't no Jest the price not so much as I wish But they will be Sold this week. I expect as I shall try all in my power to get them Sold the Reason they don't sell their is been a Vessell from New York with furniture & sold Very Lo but I shall do the best I can for your Enterest there is no way of selling goods here but by Vendue. . . .<sup>31</sup>

In addition to consigning furniture to ships' captains to sell at auction, cabinetmakers also sold their furniture

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<sup>29</sup>Invoice dated December 13, 1788 from the Sanderson Papers, Essex Institute, as quoted in Swan, p. 280. Spelling as in Swan.

<sup>30</sup>Swan, p. 280.

<sup>31</sup>Sanderson Papers, Essex Institute, as quoted in Swan, p. 280. Spelling and punctuation as in Swan.

outright by wholesale to merchants as well as to ships' captains.<sup>32</sup>

A large quantity of export furniture was sent to southern markets in the packet ships which plied the coastal waters on regular runs. Proximity to shipping facilities was an important advantage for cabinetmakers as illustrated by an advertisement placed in a New York paper in 1798:

To Cabinet Makers. Anyone wishing to fix themselves into one of the first stands in the city, have now an opportunity by taking the subscribers business as he carried on the business[;] . . . he is certain it is well worth the attention of any one as wishes to follow the same, as there is always employment for about ten men, the situation being so near the shipping adds greatly to its advantage. . . . George Shipley No. 197 Water street Between beekman [sic] & Burling Slip.<sup>33</sup>

Cabinetmakers sold furniture as ships' cargo throughout the post-Revolutionary period. The large and prosperous New York firm of Windsor chair makers, Thomas and William Ash, with whom St. George Tucker of Williamsburg was a customer, while advertising in 1785 that they had for sale at their Ware-House "a great number of very neat Chairs and Settees, some of which is very elegant," also wished to "Beg leave to return their sincere thanks to the Gentlemen of this city and state, and particularly to the Captains of Vessels, for the many favours they have received, and would beg the continuance of their

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<sup>32</sup>Swan, p. 279.

<sup>33</sup>New-York Daily Advertiser, July 9, 1798, as quoted in Gottesman II, p. 127, No. 397.

commands."<sup>34</sup> Other Windsor chair makers also advertised chairs for sale at wholesale prices to ships' captains. G. Leggett of New York advertised in 1786 that "Captains of vessels or other gentlemen inclining to purchase a number, may be supplied on very reasonable terms, for cash or produce."<sup>35</sup> A New York "Trunk, Brush and Windsor Chair Manufacturer," advertised that "Masters of vessels and others may be supplied with Windsor chairs of all kinds at the shortest notice."<sup>36</sup>

Some Windsor chairmakers boasted of their manufactories' production capabilities. Thomas Hays, a New York "Windsor and rushbottom Chair maker," claimed that "Masters of Vessels or Merchants can be supplied with from 1 to 1000 chairs in one hour."<sup>37</sup> Chairmaker James Hallet advertised in 1801 that he had "For Sale 5,000 windsor chairs of various patterns, prepared for a Foreign market of the very best materials and workmanship."<sup>38</sup> In a later

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<sup>34</sup>The New-York Packet (supplement), March 3, 1785 (advertised through 1787), as quoted in Gottesman II, p. 110, No. 338.

<sup>35</sup>The Daily Advertiser, March 30, 1786, as quoted in Gottesman II, p. 123, No. 384a.

<sup>36</sup>The Diary; or Evening Register, August 30, 1794, as quoted in Gottesman II, p. 115, No. 355.

<sup>37</sup>The Daily Advertiser, April 8, 1801, as quoted in Gottesman III, p.144, No. 347.

<sup>38</sup>The New York Gazette and General Advertiser, October 22, 1801, as quoted in Gottesman III, p. 143, No. 344.



advertisement Hallet announced: "A large allowance made to those who have may have orders for exportation."<sup>39</sup>

Windsor chairs were not the only form of furniture made for shipment, as illustrated by the Sanderson/Austin cooperative sale of furniture in Charleston in 1788. Cabinetmakers also advertised cabinetwork for sale as ships' cargoes. Thomas Timson sold both cabinet furniture and Windsor chairs, advertising in 1792 that "masters of vessels or others may be supplied with mahogany furniture or Windsor Chairs of any kind or number, on very low terms for cash or produce."<sup>40</sup> Cocks & Co., a Philadelphia cabinetmaking and upholstering firm, ran a notice in the Federal Gazette in 1797 claiming that "Gentlemen, merchants, and masters of vessels, may be supplied with all sorts of [cabinet and upholstery work] for exportation, as a large and general assortment will always be kept on hand."<sup>41</sup>

Some cabinetmakers made appeals to customers living outside their cities or to those from particular regions. Samuel Walton, a cabinet and chairmaker in Philadelphia advertised in 1795 that "orders from gentlemen in any of the United States, or West India Islands, will be gratefully

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<sup>39</sup>Morning Chronicle, October 2, 1802 (advertised through 1804), as quoted in Gottesman III, p. 144, No. 345.

<sup>40</sup>The Diary; or, London's Register (New York), May 11, 1792, as quoted in Gottesman II, pp. 128-129, No. 403.

<sup>41</sup>Federal Gazette (Philadelphia), August 5, 1797, as quoted in Prime II, p. 173.

acknowledged, punctually attended to, and forwarded with the utmost expedition."<sup>42</sup> The New York cabinetmaking firm of Gifford & Scotland specifically solicited southern customers, advertising in 1791 that "Orders from the country, and from the southern states (by whom they have been much favor'd) are clearly attended to."<sup>43</sup>

Furniture shipped from the north to the south was advertised for sale in southern newspapers. As early as 1766 Philadelphia Windsor chairs were advertised for sale in The South Carolina Gazette in an advertisement that is also interesting for its description of the diverse forms of the Windsor chair:

Imported from Philadelphia . . . . A large and neat assortment of Windsor Chairs, made in the best and neatest manner, and well painted, high back'd, low back'd, sack back'd, and settees or double seated, fit for piazzas or gardens, childrens dining and low chairs. Also of Walnut of the same construction.<sup>44</sup>

After the Revolutionary War, the number of advertisements of northern furniture for sale in southern newspapers increased. An advertisement for a public auction of Philadelphia furniture in Charleston, South Carolina in 1790 is illustrative of many such advertisements:

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<sup>42</sup>Pennsylvania Mercury, September 9, 1785, as quoted in Prime I, p. 184.

<sup>43</sup>New-York Daily Gazette, April 29, 1791, as quoted in Gottesman II, p. 119, No. 369.

<sup>44</sup>The South Carolina Gazette, June 23, 1766, as quoted in Prime I, pp. 188-189.

On Tuesday Next . . . will be sold by David Denoon & Co. A Quantity of new elegant Furniture--Just arrived from Philadelphia, consisting of the articles under mentioned, viz: One dozen mahogany chairs covered with satin haircloth, One dozen do. with canvas, Two circular card tables, One Pembroke, One commode chest of drawers with a compleat Ladies Dressing drawer, and one plain ditto. Conditions: Cash.<sup>45</sup>

Southern cabinetmakers found it necessary to combat this northern competition by encouraging support of local craftsmen. Lewis Bond, a Tarboro, North Carolina cabinetmaker, made the following appeal:

Those who feel disposed to encourage Cabinet-making in their State, will please call and examine for themselves, and those who doubt of fashionable furniture being made in this State, by a native citizen, will also please call and have their doubts removed.<sup>46</sup>

An auctioneer of furniture made by an unknown Virginia cabinetmaker similarly encouraged support of local cabinetmakers:

Sales at Auction This Day, The Most Superb Assortment of Furniture that was ever exhibited in Petersburg, . . . The articles are of the most fashionable sort, entirely new, and completed of the best materials and by the most complete Workmen in the U. States. They are of Virginia Manufacture, and the pride of Virginia will not suffer them to be sacrificed.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>45</sup>Charleston City Gazette and Advertiser, January 30, 1790, as quoted in Prime II, pp. 203-204.

<sup>46</sup>Free Press (Tarboro), March 10, 1827, as quoted in James H. Craig, comp., The Arts and Crafts in North Carolina, 1699-1840 (Winston-Salem, North Carolina: Old Salem, Inc., 1966), pp. 215-216, No. 1266.

<sup>47</sup>American Star, Petersburg, Virginia, 18 October 1817. Reference from the research files of the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, Winston-Salem, North

B.C. Gillott of Wilmington, North Carolina advertised in 1816:

The subscriber offers for sale in Duck street . . . An assortment of Furniture equal in quality to that which he has sold in this town for several years past, and cannot fail of being preferred to the trash that is shipped here to be sold at auction.<sup>48</sup>

The Windsor chairmaking firm of Vosburgh & Childs pointed out the practical advantages of buying locally-made furniture:

A few minutes reflecting will convince a discerning public how far preferable Chairs must be manufactured in the state, warranted to be both well made and painted with the best materials, to those that are imported, which are always unavoidably rubbed or bruised, and nine times in ten are bought at auction.<sup>49</sup>

Other cabinetmakers sought customers by making favorable comparisons of their furniture to furniture made and shipped from the north:

The subscriber informs his friends and the public, that he has moved his shop into the new building lately erected by Joel Brown . . . , where from the excellence of the materials he has on hand and the experience of his workmen, he flatters himself that he will be able to furnish as elegant and

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Carolina; hereafter such references cited as MESDA reference.

<sup>48</sup>Cape-Fear Recorder (Wilmington), November 4, 1816, as quoted in Craig, p. 189, No. 1096.

<sup>49</sup>Hall's Wilmington Gazette (North Carolina), February 9, 1797, as quoted in Craig, p. 153, No. 798.

fashionable furniture as ever was imported from the North.<sup>50</sup>

Abraham Pope, a cabinetmaker in Milton, North Carolina, placed a similar advertisement in 1819, appealing to "the inhabitants of North Carolina and Virginia" and claiming that "he can produce Cabinetwork equal to any of the Northern Towns. . . ." <sup>51</sup> Furniture was also advertised as being made in styles identified with certain northern cities. Thomas Reynolds, a Warrenton, North Carolina cabinetmaker, claiming that his cabinetwork was made "after the most approved modern Fashions," announced:

The Subscriber has provided himself with the best materials, and has in his employ a complete Master Workman which authorizes him to assure his friends that all kinds of business in his line shall be executed a la mode New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, &c. or after any manner they may think proper to direct. Orders will be thankfully received and promptly attended to.<sup>52</sup>

Some southern cabinetmakers even hired journeymen cabinet and chairmakers from the north. The following advertisement, placed by a Charleston cabinetmaker in 1797 in a New York paper, reveals not only the desirability of northern-trained craftsmen but also an awareness of London furniture price books:

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<sup>50</sup>Advertisement of Alexander Ross, North Carolina Star (Raleigh), April 10, 1818, as quoted in Craig, p. 192, No. 1122.

<sup>51</sup>Milton Intelligencer, May 6, 1819, as quoted in Craig, p. 195, No. 1145.

<sup>52</sup>North Carolina Star (Raleigh), April 12, 1811, as quoted in Craig, p. 175, No. 993.

Wanted from 8 to 15 Journeymen Cabinet and Chair-Makers, to go to Charleston, South Carolina where they will receive generous encouragement. . . .

I hereby oblige myself to pay to any good workman [sic], who is capable of doing the general run of Cabinet-work seventy-five percent of advance on the New London book of Cabinet prices, published in 1793. I will also advance the passage money for whoever chuses [sic] to come in the above Line; and find work for any, or all, of the above number, for 6, 9, or 12 months; board, or find them it at 3 1/2 dollars per week. The money for the work shall be paid weekly, or when each job is finished. Charles Watts, Cabinet-Maker, Charleston.<sup>53</sup>

The shipment of furniture from the northern cities, as well as the migration of northern cabinetmakers to the south, affected profoundly the southern cabinetmaking trade. Not only were cabinetmakers forced to defend their work in terms of quality and stylishness, but they also had to compete in price. Henry Jocelin, a cabinetmaker in Wilmington, North Carolina, advertised that

He proposes to conform his prices for Furniture, &c. to those, charged by Cabinet-Makers in New York, for like articles; and depending, not on capital, but industry, for the support of his business, he will expect like pay; that is, prompt payment: for on that, will, principally, depend his success.<sup>54</sup>

This advertisement is especially revealing, for it not only suggests the greater accessibility to capital resources available to urban cabinetmaking firms, but also the keen competition which kept prices lower in the cities. These

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<sup>53</sup>The Diary, January 28, 1797, as quoted in Gottesman II, pp. 130-131, No. 410.

<sup>54</sup>Wilmington Gazette, May 15, 1804, as quoted in Craig, p. 163, No. 891.

lowered prices were passed on in the wholesale and shipping trade, forcing local craftsmen to match such prices.

Another North Carolina cabinetmaker acknowledged the need to compete with both urban prices and urban styles:

William Manning, Cabinet Maker, Informs his friends and the public, that he has just returned from New York, with a full supply of Materials for carrying on his business. And has also made himself acquainted with the newest fashions from the best work-shops in that City. He is determined to attend strictly to his business, and keep only such workmen as will enable him to warrant all work done in his shop. He is also determined to work on the same reduced prices as they do in New-York, for Cash only. . . .<sup>55</sup>

Virginia, like other southern states, imported a large amount of furniture from the north, and to a lesser degree, from Great Britain. Mills Brown, in his research report on cabinetmaking in Williamsburg during the eighteenth century, found that after 1765 the shipping notices in the Virginia Gazette show numerous shipments of northern furniture to Virginia, while there are few notices of any clearances of ships leaving Virginia carrying furniture.<sup>56</sup>

Mabel Swan's research on coastwise venture cargoes of furniture reveals that Virginia was a frequent destination for these shipments throughout the eighteenth

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<sup>55</sup>Edenton Gazette, September 29, 1807, as quoted in Craig, pp. 172-173, No. 971.

<sup>56</sup>Brown, p. 104.

century.<sup>57</sup> The following list, adapted from a British customs report on furniture "imported and exported from seaports on the Coast of North America, the islands of Newfoundland, Bahamas, Coastways between 5th of Jan. 1769 to 5th of Jan. 1770" illustrates the large amount of furniture sent to the southern colonies, especially Virginia, as compared with shipments to northern cities. The number of chairs shipped to Virginia is particularly noteworthy:<sup>58</sup>

<u>Furniture Imported</u>	<u>Chairs</u>	<u>Bureau Desks</u>	<u>Tables</u>
Salem	14	0	1
Boston	107	5	9
Massachusetts Bay	121	5	10
Rhode Island	125	1	11
New Haven	219	1	1
New York	168	3	3
Philadelphia	29	6	4
Maryland	784	74	68
Virginia	879	45	35
North Carolina	619	78	39
Charleston	281	26	8
South Carolina	315	48	13
Savannah	66	22	4
Beaufort	55	4	9
Georgia	126	29	18

Although Swan does not indicate whether the British customs report differentiated between American-made furniture or furniture of British origin, one thing is very clear: a far greater amount of furniture was shipped to the southern

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<sup>57</sup>Swan, pp. 278-279.

<sup>58</sup>British Customs Report, Massachusetts Historical Society, as cited in and adapted from Swan, p. 279.



colonies than to the northern colonies.

From the same customs report, figures on furniture shipped from the various American ports in 1769-1770 are indicative of the large surplus of furniture manufactured in the northern cities. In contrast, Virginia exported no furniture at all during the same period.<sup>59</sup>

<u>Furniture Exported</u>	<u>Chairs</u>	<u>Bureau Desks</u>	<u>Tables</u>
Salem	448	2	60
Boston	828	25	41
Massachusetts Bay	1,288	27	102
Rhode Island	588	9	66
New Haven	6	0	0
New York	65	0	10
Philadelphia	768	0	5
Maryland	7	0	2
Virginia	0	0	0
North Carolina	18	0	1
Charleston	106	6	3
South Carolina	106	6	3
Savannah	0	0	0
Beaufort	0	0	0
Georgia	0	0	0

The above list reflects the pre-Revolutionary War dominance of the Boston/Massachusetts Bay cabinetmaking schools.

According to the customs records, New York and Philadelphia had not yet entered vigorously into the furniture export trade as of 1770, with the exception of the exportation of Philadelphia-made chairs.

After the Revolution, the volume of furniture shipments from the north to the south increased, and as

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<sup>59</sup>British Customs Report, as cited in and adapted from Swan, p. 279.

previously discussed, the sale of furniture in the south became an important aspect of many urban cabinetmakers' enterprises. Unfortunately, the shipping records for American coastwise trading after the Revolution were poorly maintained and only scattered evidence is available.<sup>60</sup> In addition, furniture was rarely specified by form, only by value in shipping reports. The extent of the volume of furniture shipments from the north to the south, and to Virginia in particular, however, can be gleaned through an examination of newspaper advertisements announcing the arrival of vessels from various northern parts carrying shipments of furniture for sale. The following entry in the account book of David Evans, a Philadelphia cabinetmaker, illustrates that Virginia was a specific destination for venture cargoes of furniture. On April 8, 1786, Evans noted that he had

ship'd on Board the Sloop Betsy, Jno Morrison Master, 1 High Post poplar Bedsted [sic] Staind with Sacking Bottom & cornice which Said Master is to Dispose of to the best advantage for his accounts in Virginia the Danger of the Sea Excepted & Remit the Neat Proceeds to me [per] first safe conveyance.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>60</sup>Robert Greenhalgh Albion, Square Riggers on Schedule: The New York Sailing Packets to England, France, and the Cotton Port (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1938), p. 49. See also Allan R. Pred, Urban Growth and the Circulation of Information: The United States System of Cities, 1790-1840 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1973), pp. 123-131.

<sup>61</sup>Account Books of David Evans, 1784-1806, as quoted in Evans, pp. 172-173.

Richmond and Norfolk, as Virginia's major ports, received these cargoes of furniture. Through a thorough examination of the records of newspaper advertisements maintained by the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts (MESDA) of furniture imported and sold in these two cities, it appears that more furniture was brought into Richmond than Norfolk, and that the sales of New York-manufactured furniture exceeded sales of furniture made in other major urban centers such as Boston or Philadelphia. Most of the imported furniture was sold at auction through auction firms. One Richmond auctioneer, however, sought to avoid the aspersions sometimes cast against the quality of furniture sold in this manner. He advertised in January, 1817, that the furniture he was to auction, made by New York cabinetmaker, John L. Everett, was "warranted to be of the first rate workmanship, and materials, and made for customers, and not intended to have been sold at auction."<sup>62</sup>

Northern prices, however, were considered an advantage in selling furniture shipped from the north. The same New York cabinetmaker, John L. Everett, advertised in late 1816 that he had furniture for sale at Mr. Larkin Taylor's store in Richmond, made "of the newest fashions" and "all of which he will dispose of as low as they can

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<sup>62</sup>Advertisement of Larkin Taylor, Auctioneer, Richmond Commercial Compiler, 18 January 1817. MESDA reference.

be bought in New York."<sup>63</sup> Daniel Gregory advertised in 1817 that he had received off the Schooner Ann & Mary "a general assortment of fashionable FURNITTURE [sic], from N. York, which he will warrant to be of the best materials and workmanship and which he intends selling at the manufacturers' prices."<sup>64</sup> A later, similar advertisement by Gregory states that he would sell a shipment of New York furniture, including Windsor and fancy chairs, "at the New-York retail prices."<sup>65</sup>

Furniture was not only shipped to Virginia as venture cargo by cabinetmakers, merchants and ships' captains, it was also commissioned from northern cabinetmakers' by southern customers. In 1806, Oakley Philpotts of Richmond sent the following order for furniture to Samuel Payson, a Boston cabinetmaker:

Dr Sir being in Want of Some Firneture I take the Liberty to Request you to forward by first Vesele for this place the articles as pr memo below  
 ----- that is to say  
 One Bed Stead of the Same make of Isaac Whites  
 One Bureau Such as I.W. Bot of you Say the front to be Veeneard with Sattin Wood with Same Kind Knobs  
 One pr Card Tables Such as I had of you,  
 one Wash Stand, one pr Dining Tables Common Size the Side Board you can Send also as pr agreement  
 ----- Should you not have those articles on

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<sup>63</sup>Richmond Commercial Compiler, 28 December 1816. MESDA reference.

<sup>64</sup>Richmond Commercial Compiler, 17 November 1817. MESDA reference. MESDA's reference files list Gregory as a possible furniture warehouseman.

<sup>65</sup>Richmond Commercial Compiler, 8 September 1817. MESDA reference.

hand you may purchase them your Self or hand this to Mr Thomas White & Request him to purchase them for me I shall allow either or you to Draw on me for the amt at 60 Days Sight or pay you in flour at the 60 Day price as you please which Shall be shiped pr the Vesell that you Ship the firneture in  
Please to send them as Low as possible & make the freight before they are shiped . . .

Yours with Respect  
Oakley Philpotts<sup>66</sup>

This letter is interesting for several reasons. First, it documents the patronage of a northern craftsman by southern customers on a continuing basis; second, it reveals that a customer could be both very specific and very vague at the same time about the kind of furniture he wanted, (e.g., "one Wash Stand"); and third, it demonstrates that the concept of furniture kept "on hand" was an acknowledged practice.

England continued to be another, although lesser, source of furniture for Virginians, even after the Revolution. Prior to the Revolution, the great Virginia plantation owners purchased English goods through their English factors with credit from their tobacco sales in England. Many of these planters situated their homes along the river banks which afforded easy access to ships carrying cargoes of imported goods.<sup>67</sup> Sumpter Priddy, however, in his introduction to Gusler's Furniture of

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<sup>66</sup>Letter from Oakley Philpotts to Samuel Payson, Richmond, March 28, 1806, as quoted in Montgomery, American Furniture, p. 16. Spelling and punctuation as in Montgomery.

<sup>67</sup>Brown, pp. 98-103.

Williamsburg and Eastern Virginia, maintains that imported furnishings could not fulfill the needs or desires of Virginians.<sup>68</sup> Virginians still turned to their local cabinetmaker for most of their household furnishings.

In a move to protect and encourage American manufacturing, Congress passed in 1789 an ad valorem tax on certain imported goods, including a 7 1/2% tax on all imported furniture.<sup>69</sup> By 1801 the tax was raised to 15% and by 1807 it was increased to 19 1/4% if furniture was brought over in foreign vessels. While Howard Rock claims that the effect of such duties was minimal,<sup>70</sup> it is likely that a tariff of almost 20% (reaching 33% by 1822 on all imported manufactured wood) would diminish to some degree the quantity of imported furniture. Unfortunately, trade statistics on the importation of furniture from England into Virginia, like data on intercoastal trade in the post-Revolutionary period, are scarce and incomplete.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>68</sup>Sumpter Priddy, III, Introd., Furniture of Williamsburg and Eastern Virginia, 1710-1790, by Wallace B. Gusler (Richmond, Virginia: Virginia Museum, 1979), p. xviii.

<sup>69</sup>Rock, Artisans, pp. 171-172.

<sup>70</sup>Rock, Artisan, p. 172.

<sup>71</sup>J. Edward Ely, discussing the historical development of foreign trade statistics, observes that

[t]he United States may be said to have had an adequate set of import and export statistics only since about 1821. Prior to that time no information was compiled on the amount of imports of articles which were free of duty upon

Newspapers advertisements and notices, as well as financial and business records of Williamsburg residents, however, reveal that furnishings continued to be imported from England into Virginia in the post-Revolutionary period. Indeed, as soon as the war was over, advertisements for the sale of English furniture reappeared in Virginia newspapers. In 1784 the Richmond firm of John Barrett and Co. advertised that they had

just Imported in the Ship Virginia Hero, from London, A large and general assortment of Dry Goods, which they will sell by wholesale or retail, on the most reasonable terms for cash or tobacco. They have likewise a compleat assortment of the most fashionable Mahogany Furniture.<sup>72</sup>

In 1787, James Warrington, also of Richmond advertised that he had just imported from London "a general assortment of European and East-India Goods" consisting of yardgoods, hats, gloves, saddlery, perfumery, pewtery,

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importation into the United States. No value figures were compiled on imports subject to specific rates of duty and the dollar value for imports subject to ad valorem rates of duty, although apparently accurate, was compiled only as a total with no information on how much of each commodity was imported. Existing figures on the total dollar value of imports during the years 1795 to 1801 were apparently estimated at the time by the Secretary of the Treasury, and the figures for 1790-1794 and from 1802-1820 were apparently estimated many years later.

Roy George Douglas Allen and J. Edward Ely, ed., International Trade Statistics (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1953), p. 269.

<sup>72</sup>Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser, Richmond, 15 May 1784. MESDA reference.

stationary, law books, firearms, jewelry and hardware.

In addition Warrington had imported

Compleat setts of Mahogany Dining Tables, with circular end [sic] on Frames. Sopha's. Secretary Book Cases. Elegant celleret Side-Board Sweep-Fronts. Neat Mahogany Wine coolers, Octagon and Saxagon [sic] Looking Glasses. Knife Cases, Backgammon Tables. Tea Caddy's.<sup>73</sup>

As the end of the eighteenth century drew near, however, fewer advertisements for English furniture appeared in Virginia newspapers. While MESDA resources reveal a number of such advertisements in the 1780's, they appeared less often into the nineteenth century, possibly because of the increased tariffs imposed on imported furniture. Indeed, these advertisements reveal that most of the furniture imported from England in the nineteenth consisted of unusual or technical types of furniture. For example, in 1802, a Mr. Bowler of Richmond advertised that he had just imported and had for sale, among an assortment of goods including prints, shoes, and gentlemen's suspenders, "AN ELEGANT ASSORTMENT OF Fancy Japan'd Chairs, of superior kinds, and Settees to match" as well as "A Superb painted Bedstead."<sup>74</sup> In Norfolk, the firm of Balls & Woodis imported "seven square

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<sup>73</sup>Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser, Richmond, 11 October 1787, also in Virginia Gazette and Independent Chronicle, Richmond, 6 October 1787. MESDA reference.

<sup>74</sup>The Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser, Richmond, 28 April 1802, also in The Virginia Argus, Richmond, 28 April 1802. MESDA reference.



Pianofortes" and "Two New Patent Cabinet [Pianofortes]," from England for sale in 1815.<sup>75</sup> Prior to 1761 George Washington bought numerous pieces of English furniture, primarily from the London cabinetmaker, Philip Bell. He confined his later English purchases, however, to a terrestrial globe ordered from London in 1790, and a harpsichord, ordered in 1793.<sup>76</sup> St. George Tucker, according to his surviving financial accounts, did not order any furniture from England in the post-Revolutionary period, restricting his English purchases to such items as bed coverings, kitchen fireplace fittings, carpets and floor cloths.<sup>77</sup> Nevertheless, as discussed below, St. George Tucker, like other Williamsburg customers, both private and public, made numerous purchases of furniture from craftsmen working outside of Williamsburg.

It is not clear whether these purchases were made by Williamsburg customers out of a desire to own fashionable goods from more cosmopolitan areas, or whether they were made because of the local cabinetmakers' inability to keep up with customers' demands either in

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<sup>75</sup>Norfolk & Portsmouth Herald, 15 November 1815. MEDSA reference.

<sup>76</sup>Helen Meggs Fede, Washington Furniture at Mount Vernon (Mount Vernon, Virginia: The Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union, 1966), pp. 12-22, 43-45, 53.

<sup>77</sup>Papers of St. George Tucker, Accounts and Receipts, Tucker-Coleman Papers MS, Special Collections, Swem Library, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia.

terms of quantity, quality, cost or style. Whatever the reasons for such purchases, however, Williamsburg cabinetmakers in the post-Revolutionary period could not escape the effects of this competition.

## Chapter IV

### WILLIAMSBURG CABINETMAKERS AND THEIR CUSTOMERS

Despite Williamsburg's status as an important cabinetmaking center in eastern Virginia in the pre-Revolutionary period, its significance greatly diminished in the years following the Revolution. While Williamsburg society may have remained genteel, its size was greatly reduced by the capital's removal to Richmond. Nevertheless, cabinetmakers did not entirely vanish from the Williamsburg environs. Some cabinetmakers chose to remain in Williamsburg despite being forced to earn a living in another trade. Others stayed for a time, but then moved on to find their fortunes elsewhere. The surviving evidence, however, reveals that one cabinetmaker, John Hockaday, was able to make a living as a cabinetmaker in Williamsburg for a number of years.

The financial records that reveal transactions by Williamsburg customers with local cabinetmakers are sparse. The available evidence consists of the records of St. George Tucker, judge and professor of law at the College of William and Mary; Richard Corbin, a Williamsburg lawyer who bought and refurnished the house known today as Bassett Hall in 1794-1796; Robert Anderson, a merchant who later

set up shop in Yorktown; and Robert Waller, another Williamsburg attorney.<sup>1</sup>

The financial records of the local public institutions, the College of William and Mary and the Public Hospital, also reveal transactions with local cabinetmakers. The Public Hospital, however, had few cabinetmaking needs, and the College was in a period of stagnation, even decline, after being used as a hospital for the French soldiers during the Revolution. Through the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, there are numerous reports of the dwindling number of students at the College; indeed, by 1824 there was a proposal to move the College to "a situation more salubrious, to a population more dense, and where the demands for literary instruction are likely to induce into fuller and more complete operation, the large funds of that institution."<sup>2</sup> A likely choice for this removal, as for the capital, was Richmond. The proposal was defeated but the College barely survived the early part of the nineteenth century.

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<sup>1</sup>Tucker-Coleman Papers, Special Collections, Swem Library, College of William and Mary; Richard Corbin Papers, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation; Robert Anderson Papers, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation; and Robert Waller Papers, found in Blow Family Papers, Special Collections, Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

<sup>2</sup>Report of the Committee of Schools and Colleges on the Subject of the Removal of the College of William and Mary, January 28, 1825, printed report, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 15.

From the records of these private and public customers, a list, although short, of the cabinetmakers working in Williamsburg in the post-Revolutionary period may be compiled. See Appendix A. The following discussion will briefly sketch the varied careers of the nine known cabinetmakers who chose to make Williamsburg their home, for however short a period of time. The career of John Hockaday, however, is discussed in greater length since he remained in Williamsburg for a longer amount of time and because the surviving records document his career in far greater detail than for any other cabinetmaker working in Williamsburg in this period.

Of the cabinetmakers working in Williamsburg before or during the Revolution, only one, Richard Booker, appears to have continued his cabinetmaking trade in Williamsburg after the Revolution. Nevertheless, Booker's post-Revolution production was small. Booker first advertised in the Virginia Gazette in 1773 that "Journeymen Cabinetmakers, who understand their Business, will have good Encouragement by applying immediately to me, near Williamsburg."<sup>3</sup> According to a similar advertisement of 1775, Booker went into partnership with John Crump, at

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<sup>3</sup>Virginia Gazette, Williamsburg, Purdie & Dixon, 11 November 1773. Reference from the research files of the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, Winston-Salem, North Carolina; hereafter such references cited as MESDA reference.

least for a short time.<sup>4</sup> While Booker continued to live in Williamsburg into the nineteenth century, his cabinet-making activities appear to have ended sometime during the 1790's. At this time, Booker turned to other vocations; he is recorded as making a phaeton carriage for Richard Randolph in 1790 for £25 and in 1792 he opened tavern.<sup>5</sup>

While there are no records of furniture produced by Booker in the 1780's, Booker did provide St. George Tucker with several pieces of furniture during the 1790's, including a stand for a case in 1790, four mahogany posts for a cradle, two walnut rails and a tester for a bedstead and a large pine bookcase for Tucker's stepson, John Randolph.<sup>6</sup> See Appendix D. Booker also repaired an inkbox and several chairs and tables and stuffed a sofa for Tucker between 1791 and 1793. See Appendix E. In 1792 Booker provided the Williamsburg builder-contractor, Humphrey Harwood, with a candlestand for fifteen shillings and a

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<sup>4</sup>Virginia Gazette, Williamsburg, Pinckney, January 19, 1775. MESDA reference. See also Brian Gordineer, "The Richard Booker Shop, 1773-1820," unpublished independent research paper (Williamsburg, Virginia: Department of History, College of William and Mary, n.d.), p. 24.

<sup>5</sup>Richard Randolph to Neile Buchanan, September 1, 1790, Box 16, Tucker-Coleman Papers MS, Special Collections, Swem Library, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia.

<sup>6</sup>Receipt dated November 1791, Box 91, Papers of St. George Tucker, Accounts and Receipts, Tucker-Coleman Papers MS, Special Collections, Swem Library, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia; hereafter cited as SGT papers.

half-dozen walnut chairs for six pounds, all of which was credited by Harwood to his account with Booker.<sup>7</sup> See Appendix D. Harwood was involved in building Booker's ordinary, and these pieces of furniture were probably used as partial payment for Harwood's work. In opening his ordinary, Booker followed in the footsteps of another Williamsburg cabinetmaker, Anthony Hay.<sup>8</sup> The final reference to Booker's cabinetmaking activities is an entry for repairs to a mahogany chair for St. George Tucker on February 11, 1793.<sup>9</sup>

Like Booker, Benjamin Bucktrout worked as a cabinet-maker in Williamsburg before the Revolution. Bucktrout first set up shop in 1766 producing a large quantity of very fine furniture before Revolution.<sup>10</sup> The last record of his cabinetmaking activities, however, was in 1775, when he advertised in the Virginia Gazette that he continued to carry on the business of cabinetmaking in Williamsburg, "Where Ladies and Gentlemen may be supplied, with any sort

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<sup>7</sup>Entry dated October 24, 1792, Humphrey Harwood Ledger C, fol. 63, Humphrey Harwood Ledgers, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

<sup>8</sup>Wallace B. Gusler, Furniture of Williamsburg and Eastern Virginia, 1710-1790 (Richmond, Virginia: Virginia Museum, 1979), p. 62.

<sup>9</sup>Receipt dated February 11, 1793, Box 91, SGT papers.

<sup>10</sup>Gusler, pp. 63-65.

of Cabinet Work, in the best and neatest Manner."<sup>11</sup> In 1771 Bucktrout began to import and sell "paper hangings" (wallpaper), and advertised that he would "neatly paper" rooms.<sup>12</sup>

By 1774 Bucktrout had become a retail merchant, advertising the following variety of goods for sale:

Fine Bottled Porter, Taunton Beer, Gloucester Cheese, . . . Kendal Cottons, Plain and Striped Blankets, . . . Patterns for Mens Surtout Coats, . . . Mens fine and coarse hats, Velvet bound Hats with Roses, Mens Boots, Womens and Childrens Leather Shoes, Mens Gloves, . . . Guns, Silver mounted and plain Pistols, Saddles complete, . . . Wool and Playing Cards, Horn Lanthorns, Plaistering Trowels, . . . Pepper, Allspice, Ginger, Paper Hangings for Rooms, Best Durham Mustard, Blue and White Water Jugs, Chamber Pots, . . . Sage and Balm Tea Pots, Coffin Furniture, Hair Seating for Chairs, Matrasses, . . . Salt, &c. &c.<sup>13</sup>

Bucktrout placed a similar advertisement in the Virginia Gazette in 1777.<sup>14</sup> Between 1777 and 1779 he served as purveyor to the Public Hospital.<sup>15</sup> In 1779 Bucktrout left Virginia, having been accused of being a Tory, but returned

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<sup>11</sup>Virginia Gazette, Williamsburg, Dixon & Hunter, 4 February 1775; also in Purdie, 4 February 1775. MESDA reference.

<sup>12</sup>Virginia Gazette, Williamsburg, Purdie & Dixon, 9 May 1771. MESDA reference.

<sup>13</sup>Virginia Gazette, Williamsburg, Purdie & Dixon, 27 October 1774. MESDA reference.

<sup>14</sup>Virginia Gazette, Williamsburg, Dixon & Hunter, 21 February 1777.

<sup>15</sup>Mills Brown, "Cabinetmaking in the Eighteenth Century," unpublished research report (Williamsburg, Virginia: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1959), p. 144.



to Williamsburg by 1782.<sup>16</sup> During the 1790's Bucktrout was once again engaged in a variety of activities including repairing umbrellas and wallpapering rooms, although cabinetmaking does not appear in the records to have been one of them. In 1804 Bucktrout was appointed town surveyor, serving until his death in 1813.<sup>17</sup> Bucktrout apparently prospered in these various occupations, for in 1812 he was listed as owning eight and one-half lots in Williamsburg.<sup>18</sup>

James Honey was another cabinetmaker who worked in Williamsburg before the Revolution and who remained in the city until his death in 1787. Honey and his partner, Richard Harrocks, first advertised in Williamsburg in 1776:

Honey and Harrocks, cabinetmakers, Williamsburg, beg leave to acquaint the publick [sic], that they carry on the said business in all its branches; they likewise make Flax Wheels and Check Reels, and also Stock Guns in the neatest manner . . . Good encouragement will be given to a couple of Journeymen who will be Liked the better if they are acquainted with Turning. An Apprentice is also wanted.<sup>19</sup>

In 1782 Honey went out on his own as a cabinetmaker, advertising that he wished to "inform the public in general, and his friends in particular, that he has on hand a large

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<sup>16</sup>Brown, p. 114.

<sup>17</sup>Brown, p. 146.

<sup>18</sup>Brown, p. 148.

<sup>19</sup>Virginia Gazette, Williamsburg, Purdie, 14 June 1776. MESDA reference.

quantity of Mahogany, Walnut, and other materials, fit for carrying on his business more extensively than ever." He advertised at the same time for a journeymen cabinetmaker.<sup>20</sup> It appears likely that the cabinetmaking trade did not prove to be profitable for Honey since by 1783 had begun to advertise for housejoiners.<sup>21</sup> From this date until he died in 1787, there are no further references to Honey as a cabinetmaker, nor are there any accounts in the records examined showing any payments to Honey for either furniture or furniture repairs. In 1784 Honey was referred to as a housebuilder in a bill of injunction in a lawsuit between Alison Armistead and James Anderson. At that time Honey was involved in building a house for Anderson in Norfolk.<sup>22</sup> This evidence suggests that a cabinetmaker in Williamsburg in the early post-Revolutionary period was unable to support himself in the cabinetmaking trade, and like Bucktrout and Booker, turned to another occupation in order to make a living. Although there are simply not enough surviving records to tell a complete story, the fact that three of Williamsburg's cabinetmakers found it either necessary or desirable to turn to other forms of employment is a strong

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<sup>20</sup>Virginia Gazette, or Weekly Advertiser, Richmond, 2 March 1782. MESDA reference.

<sup>21</sup>Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser, Richmond, December 13, 1783.

<sup>22</sup>Bill of injunction dated January 2, 1784, Robert Anderson Papers, Business Suits, Folder 123, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

indication that the formerly flourishing cabinetmaking trade in Williamsburg declined rapidly after the capital moved to Richmond in 1780.

Rookesby Roberts first appeared in Williamsburg records around 1788.<sup>23</sup> Booker was possibly a journeyman or apprentice under Richard Booker, for the 1793 account of Booker to St. George Tucker for mahogany posts for a cradle and two walnut bed rails (in addition to numerous repairs), is signed for by Rookesby Roberts.<sup>24</sup> By 1794, however, Roberts worked as a cabinetmaker on his own, for in that year he provided Richard Corbin with a mahogany knifebox for twelve shillings.<sup>25</sup> See Appendix F. Between January, 1794 and January, 1795, Roberts repaired a number of pieces of furniture for St. George Tucker, including repairs to three mahogany chairs, a wash hand stand, a dressing box, and a tea board, for a total of £1.5.6.<sup>26</sup> See Appendix G. In April, 1795, Roberts made a walnut coffin for St. George Tucker's son for £2.10.0.<sup>27</sup> Roberts provided Tucker with

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<sup>23</sup>Rookesby Roberts, in "Williamsburg People File," unpublished research material, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation; hereafter cited as Williamsburg People File.

<sup>24</sup>Receipt dated February 11, 1793, Box 91, SGT papers.

<sup>25</sup>Receipt dated December 6, 1794, Folder 14, Richard Corbin Papers, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation; hereafter cited as Corbin papers.

<sup>26</sup>Receipt dated January 29, 1795, Box 91, SGT papers.

<sup>27</sup>Receipt dated April 4, 1795, Box 91, SGT papers.

another walnut coffin, this time for £1.16,0, in September, 1795.<sup>28</sup> See Appendix R. The same bill from Roberts to Tucker included the only other piece of cabinetwork made by Roberts for which there is any record, besides the mahogany knifebox. This was a walnut clothes press made in April 1795 for £8. The bill also included several furniture repairs. See Appendices F and G. No other cabinetwork or other type of work is recorded as having been performed by Roberts after this bill, although based on the additional occupations of other Williamsburg cabinetmakers, he may have engaged in other activities. The Colonial Williamsburg Research Department's "Williamsburg People File" records Roberts in Williamsburg as late as 1796, at which time he is mentioned in the Mutual Insurance Policy of Robert Andrews.<sup>29</sup> His whereabouts after this date are unknown.

Several other cabinetmakers made very brief appearances in Williamsburg at the end of the eighteenth century. Their work, however, consisted mainly of furniture repairs. Between July 15th and September 3rd 1793 William Cardwell repaired a number of pieces of furniture for St. George Tucker, including several chairs and a washstand, for a total of £0.11.3.<sup>30</sup> See Appendix H. Cardwell may

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<sup>28</sup>Receipt dated November 10, 1795, Box 91, SGT papers.

<sup>29</sup>Rookesby Roberts in Williamsburg People File.

<sup>30</sup>Receipt dated September 3, 1793, Box 91, SGT papers.

not have found Williamsburg to his liking, for there are no further references to him in any of the records examined. Sampson Avard also made a very brief stop in Williamsburg. On August 5, 1800 Avard charged St. George Tucker £0.7.6 for the repair of five chairs.<sup>31</sup> See Appendix H. There are no further references to Avard after this date. Both Cardwell and Avard may well have been itinerant cabinetmakers, planning to remain in Williamsburg for only a short time before moving on. It is possible, however, that they simply could not find enough business in Williamsburg to support themselves without changing occupations and so moved on.

Charles Hyland also worked in Williamsburg for only a brief time during the 1790's. The first reference to Hyland is for a number of furniture repairs he made for Mrs. St. George Tucker in November, 1796. See Appendix J. His repairs included altering a four foot mahogany table, putting a new foot on a table, and cleaning both tables, for a total of thirteen shillings.<sup>32</sup> In May, 1797, again for Mrs. Tucker, Hyland put a new foot on another table, put some "tets" [testers?] on a bedstead, and mended both a chair and a wash hand stand.<sup>33</sup> Hyland was hired again

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<sup>31</sup>Receipt dated August 5, 1800, Box 92, SGT papers.

<sup>32</sup>Receipt dated November 1796, Box 91, SGT papers.

<sup>33</sup>Receipt dated May 1797, Box 92, SGT papers.

to repair the Tucker furniture in 1798.<sup>34</sup> See Appendix J. Sometime between June 1797 and June 1798 Hyland entered into a partnership with William Durfey. These two men were paid £0.17.9 by St. George Tucker in 1797 to mend a chariot blind, to glue and pin a chair, and to make a "Neat Walnut Coffin for Child."<sup>35</sup> See Appendices J and R. The partnership, however, made only one piece of furniture for St. George Tucker. In June 1798, Hyland and Durfey charged Tucker eighteen shillings for a "walnut Case with mouldings round it."<sup>36</sup> See Appendix I. Hyland disappears from the records after this date, and Durfey appears only twice more. He made a walnut coffin for John Walker in April, 1799 and another walnut coffin in September of that year for Tabitha Walker, daughter of John Walker.<sup>37</sup> See Appendix R. It is likely these craftsmen, following the examples of Cardwell and Avard, left Williamsburg to seek their fortunes in a more promising town.

John Hockaday was the most active and the most important cabinetmaker in Williamsburg during the post-

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<sup>34</sup>Receipt dated February 18, 1798, Box 92, SGT papers.

<sup>35</sup>Receipt dated September 3, 1797, Box 91, SGT papers.

<sup>36</sup>Receipt dated June 30, 1798, Box 92, SGT papers.

<sup>37</sup>Estate of John Walker, payments to Durfey made in April and September 1799, estate settled January 6, 1802, York County Wills and Inventories, 23, 1783-1811, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, p. 596.

Revolutionary period. Hockaday does not appear as a cabinetmaker until 1800, however, there are numerous references to a John Hockaday from New Kent County serving in the Revolutionary War. He is first mentioned when, as a 1st Lieutenant under Captain Thomas Massey of New Kent, he subscribed to the Articles of War, was sworn in, and received his Continental Commission in the 6th Regiment at a meeting of the Committee of Safety of Virginia held in Williamsburg on March 23, 1776.<sup>38</sup> Hockaday camped in the vicinity of Williamsburg, where the 6th Regiment engaged in camp and military training. The 6th Regiment was eventually ordered to march to the north, and was finally posted at Perth Amboy in New Jersey under the leadership of General Washington.<sup>39</sup> In 1783 John Hockaday became a captain of the Virginia troops serving in the Continental Line.<sup>40</sup> In 1789, Hockaday, now a major, was summoned before the Justices of New Kent County to attend the court martial of Colonel John Bacon, a summons which Hockaday defied and was accordingly fined.<sup>41</sup> Hockaday had refused

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<sup>38</sup>"Excerpt from the Journal of the Committee of Safety of Virginia," Calendar of Virginia State Papers, 8 (1890), 134.

<sup>39</sup>Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, 21, No. 2 (1913), 184-185.

<sup>40</sup>Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, 2, No. 3 (1895), 241, 247.

<sup>41</sup>"Letter from the majority of the Justices of New Kent County to Governor Beverly Randolph, May 1, 1789," Calendar of Virginia State Papers, 4 (1884), 601-602.

to show at court because he had been passed over for an appointment to a new commission, while Bacon had been court-martialed for failing to accept a higher commission.<sup>42</sup>

By 1800 John Hockaday had set up shop as a cabinetmaker in James City County outside of Williamsburg. He advertised that year for a run-away apprentice named William Heath but apparently thought very little of his apprentice for he offered a mere one-cent reward for his return.<sup>43</sup> Hockaday again advertised in 1806, this time stating that he was a cabinetmaker in Williamsburg and was "desirous of employing three or four journeymen in his branch of business."<sup>44</sup> This advertisement reveals that by this date Hockaday's business was successful enough to support a number of journeymen. By 1806 Hockaday was an important fixture as a craftsman in Williamsburg, especially since no other cabinetmakers are recorded working in Williamsburg at that time.

The first documentation of any cabinetmaking activity by Hockaday was in 1805, when Hockaday made a

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Order of Court of New Kent County, May 1, 1784.

<sup>42</sup>"Letter from Colonel John Bacon to Mr. Thomas Meriwether, New Kent, May 4, 1789," Calendar of Virginia State Papers, 4 (1884), 604-605.

<sup>43</sup>The Examiner, Richmond, 18 February 1800. MESDA reference.

<sup>44</sup>The Virginia Gazette and General Advertiser, Richmond, 26 November 1806. MESDA reference.



mahogany chest of drawers for £6.18.0 for Robert Waller.<sup>45</sup> See Appendix K. That same year, Hockaday made repairs to a number of pieces of furniture for Waller, including repairs to a stand and a round mahogany folding table, and charged Waller for "workeing [sic] over and polishing said [folding] table."<sup>46</sup> See Appendix L.

Hockaday appears to have begun his long-standing relationship with St. George Tucker in 1805 when he repaired a seating chair and a folding table for Tucker.<sup>47</sup> See Appendix L. The first piece of furniture recorded as made by Hockaday was a "paper press of Colourd [sic] black Walnut" (probably stained to look like Mahogany), which was commissioned by St. George Tucker in 1805.<sup>48</sup> See Appendix K. In November, 1805 Tucker also commissioned the following pieces of furniture from Hockaday:

One mahogany wardrobe	£25.00 for both
One mahogany chest of drawers	pieces
One walnut Book press	9.0.0
One mahogany cabinet	3.6.0 <sup>49</sup>

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<sup>45</sup>Receipt dated 13 November 1804-7th January 1805, Robert Waller Papers, Group VI, Box 1, Folder 9, in Blow Family Papers, Special Collections, Swem Library, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia; hereafter cited as Robert Waller Papers.

<sup>46</sup>Receipt dated 13 November 1804-7th January 1805, Robert Waller Papers, Group VI, Box 1, Folder 9.

<sup>47</sup>Receipt dated January 15, 1805, Box 93, SGT papers.

<sup>48</sup>Receipt dated May 1805, Box 93, SGT papers.

<sup>49</sup>Receipt dated November 15, 1805, Box 93, SGT papers.

Between 1805 and at least until 1812, Hockaday continued to make and repair furniture for St. George Tucker. See Appendices K and L. Hockaday also performed a number of "odd jobs" around the Tucker house, such as providing and putting up window boards, repairing a carriage backblind, putting springs on doors, putting up a hanging cupboard, and putting cords into windows.<sup>50</sup> See Appendix L.

Without additional financial accounts of other Williamsburg citizens, it is difficult to ascertain the extent of Hockaday's production. Based on the Tucker accounts, however, and in addition to Hockaday's advertisement for three or four journeymen in 1806, Hockaday apparently enjoyed a steady and relatively successful cabinetmaking business. Unlike other Williamsburg cabinetmakers such as Richard Booker, Benjamin Bucktrout, or James Honey, Hockaday did not change his occupation, but was able to support himself as a cabinetmaker, although he supplemented his income by occasionally performing odd jobs and by selling produce from his farm, which will be discussed below.

Between the years of 1812 and 1815, however, there are few references to any cabinetmaking done for St. George Tucker and unfortunately no other surviving records provide

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<sup>50</sup>Receipts dated from 1805-1812, Boxes 93-95, SGT papers.

information about cabinetmaking during this period. One explanation is that Tucker's papers are less complete for this period, another is the interruption in trade caused by the War of 1812 and the fear of a British invasion in Williamsburg. During this period Hockaday did step out of his role as cabinetmaker to aid Tucker in the removal of Tucker's belongings from Williamsburg in case of such an invasion. On August 29, 1814, Hockaday wrote the following letter to St. George Tucker who sought safety in Warminster, Virginia, at the home of his daughter and son-in-law:

Respected Friend

. . . From a letter Received from thy wife holding out the Idea of Removing thy goods up the Country and no alarm as to the enemy being in the neighborhood of Williamsburg we thought proper to postpone the Removeing the Bulk or main part of thy goods untill we Could procure thy advise or on that effect--though I have proceaded to Carry to my house the Bails of Beds thy presses and papers also a box of plate and should there appear to be a greater necessity I shall use my utmost indeavour to save all that I can should thou think proper to have thy goods Removed up the Country . . . We heard on the 27th inst of the Enemy being at the City of Washington and destroying all the publick property in that place which has given great alarm and we have not been yet able to Learn their rout from Washington . . .<sup>51</sup>

Hockaday apparently did move Tucker's belongings, for in

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<sup>51</sup>John Hockaday to St. George Tucker, 29th August 1814, Box 33, SGT papers. Original spelling retained. Note the use of the words "thy" and "thou" in the above letter. It is highly likely that Hockaday was a Quaker, for in 1819 several Hockadays, including Sarah Hockaday, B.B. Hockaday (possibly Hockaday's son, Benjamin B.), and John F. Hockaday, attended a Quaker wedding in Weyn-Oke (known today as Weyanoke) in Charles City County, Virginia. "A Quaker Wedding," William and Mary Quarterly, Second Series, 8, No. 2 (1828), 135-136.

November, 1814, Hockaday received \$30.00 for moving and storage expenses.<sup>52</sup> Hockaday received an additional \$20.00 in February, 1815 for the "safekeeping of [Tucker's] household goods committed to [Hockaday's] care."<sup>53</sup>

Hockaday made only one more piece of furniture, a black walnut hanging press for St. George Tucker in 1815, before moving to Lynchburg in 1817.<sup>54</sup> See Appendix K. On June 30, 1817, Hockaday announced he was selling his farm and moving west:

The subscriber, desirous of removing to the Western County, wishes to sell his Plantation in James City County, four miles above Williamsburg. It is in a good state of cultivation, and very desirable to any person wishing to avail himself of the benefits of William & Mary College, or the excellent Female Academy in that place, for the Education of his children, being not more than an hour's pleasant walk (or a short ride) from Williamsburg. This Tract contains Three Hundred and Seventy Acres, with a Convenient and neat Dwelling House thereon, pleasantly situated, a Kitchen, Barn, and a number of other necessary Out-Houses in good repair. It has the advantage of a good Well of excellent Water in the yard, and a good Spring within a reasonable distance of the house. There are on the premises, a number of bearing Apple and Peach Trees, a young Orchard of one hundred choice Apple Trees, carefully selected from Bailey's Nursery, just beginning to bear, and a variety of other choice fruit trees. It is also well stocked with Oak Fire-Wood and Timber for plantation uses; lies sufficiently level, and produces well in Wheat and Corn. It contains a considerable quantity of valuable meadow ground, which can be easily

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<sup>52</sup>Receipt dated November 12, 1814, Box 94, SGT papers.

<sup>53</sup>Receipt dated February 27, 1815, Box 95, SGT papers.

<sup>54</sup>Receipt dated June 22, 1815, Box 95, SGT papers.

reclaimed. Any person disposed to purchase, may be accommodated on reasonable terms.--Apply at the Beacon Office, or to

John Hockaday,  
on the premises.<sup>55</sup>

Hockaday made no mention in this advertisement of a cabinetmaking shop or other similar facilities on the premises. Since there are few surviving records for James City County, it is difficult to determine whether Hockaday owned this farm and a separate cabinetmaking shop in Williamsburg. John Hockaday does appear on the Williamsburg Personal Property Tax Lists between the years 1804 and 1807. In 1804 Hockaday was assessed no personal property tax, but is listed as having four white males over sixteen years old (possibly including several journeymen or apprentices) under his domain. In 1805 he added two Blacks over sixteen years old, as well as one horse, mare or colt, and was assessed \$1.00 for his personal property. By 1806 Hockaday had three white males and two Blacks all over sixteen listed by his name. He also owned an additional horse, mare or colt as well as a four-wheel riding carriage and was assessed \$6.12 for his possessions. In 1807, the last year he appears on the Personal Property Tax Lists, Hockaday had only two white males over sixteen living with him, although he now owned four Blacks and three horses, mares, or colts. His riding carriage was no

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<sup>55</sup>American Beacon and Commercial Diary, Norfolk, 30 June 1817, emphasis in original. MESDA reference.

longer listed. His personal property tax for 1807 was \$2.12.<sup>56</sup> Hockaday's name, however, does not appear on the Land Tax Lists for the city of Williamsburg for these same years. It is possible, therefore, that Hockaday either leased a shop in Williamsburg, or maintained a shop somewhere near Williamsburg in James City County, for which county there are no surviving Personal Property Tax Lists or Land Tax Lists. It is difficult to ascertain Hockaday's relative economic status with respect to other Williamsburg citizens based on the Williamsburg Personal Property Tax Lists. Since the lists show only personal property owned in Williamsburg and not outside of the city, and since the Land Tax records do not reveal that Hockaday owned any land in Williamsburg, it is likely that such assessments were based on only a portion of Hockaday's entire wealth.

Hockaday evidently supplemented his cabinetmaking income with the sale of produce from his farm. In 1804 he received \$25.80 from the College of William and Mary for a delivery of corn.<sup>57</sup> In 1808 Hockaday charged St. George Tucker eighteen shillings for a barrel of cider, "the

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<sup>56</sup>Williamsburg City Personal Property Tax Records, 1804-1807, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

<sup>57</sup>Entry dated December 24, 1804, Folder 255, William and Mary College Papers, Bursar's Accounts, Accounts of Receipts and Expenditures, Special Collections, Swem Library, College of William and Mary; hereafter cited as Bursar's Accounts, WM.

barrel to be returned [sic]."<sup>58</sup> Hockaday's son, Benjamin, supplied Tucker with seven barrels and one and a half bushels of corn for \$24.33 in 1817, shortly after his father left Williamsburg for Lynchburg.<sup>59</sup> See Appendix L. While there are no other references to Hockaday's supplying of produce to Williamsburg citizens, it is unlikely that these were isolated incidents. In addition to farm produce, Hockaday also supplied customers with plank, possibly cut from trees on his plantation. He provided the College with plank on two occasions in 1808 and 1809.<sup>60</sup> Hockaday also sold plank to St. George Tucker in 1808.<sup>61</sup> See Appendix L.

Despite the apparent success of his cabinetmaking business and farm, Hockaday moved to Lynchburg in 1817, possibly because the demand for cabinetmaking in Williamsburg had declined after the War of 1812, or perhaps because of increased competition from shipments of urban-produced furniture into Williamsburg. Hockaday may have also felt that there were greater opportunities for an experienced cabinetmaker in the developing western counties of Virginia. In December, 1817 Hockaday became partners

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<sup>58</sup>Receipt dated January 8, 1808, Box 94, SGT papers.

<sup>59</sup>Receipt dated December 15, 1817, Box 96, SGT papers.

<sup>60</sup>Entries dated September 1808 and January 12, 1809, Folder 255, Bursar's Accounts, WM.

<sup>61</sup>Receipt dated July 21, 1810, Box 94, SGT papers.

with a cabinetmaker by the name of Parks in Lynchburg, advertising that they were looking for two or three journeymen cabinetmakers.<sup>62</sup> By 1819, however, Hockaday was once again working on his own, apparently after a brief respite from the cabinetmaking trade. He advertised the following in the Lynchburg Press in January, 1819:

The subscriber respectfully informs his friends and the public generally, that he has again commenced the Cabinet Business, at his New Ware Room, nearly opposite the Franklin Hotel, where he has for sale a general assortment of furniture, made of the best materials, and by the first rate workmen (Journeymen only). Those wishing to purchase articles in his line of business, are requested to come and examine his Furniture, As he is determined to sell at the lowest prices for cash, or exchange for Corn, Wheat, Flour or Tobacco. All orders from Town or country thankfully received, and punctually attended to. Furniture packed to go any distance in the country free of charge, and in the best manner.

Hockaday added that "three or four boys will be taken as apprentices to the above business."<sup>63</sup>

The language of this advertisement indicates that Hockaday imitated the entrepreneurial cabinetmaking shops of the northern cities. Hockaday did not restrict himself to "bespoke" work, but kept a ready supply of furniture on hand in his "Ware Room." By moving to Lynchburg and setting himself up as a merchant producer rather than as a traditional maker and repairer, Hockaday surely sought

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<sup>62</sup>Daily Compiler, Richmond, 22 December 1817. MESDA reference.

<sup>63</sup>Lynchburg Press, 18 January 1819. MESDA reference.



greater commercial success. Despite such efforts, however, Hockaday returned to Williamsburg just two months after this advertisement appeared in 1819, selling his stock of furniture at public auction. This stock included French and plain sideboards; secretaries with and without book cases; bureaus; dining tables in sets; breakfast and tea tables; candle and work stands; and mahogany and maple bedsteads.<sup>64</sup> While there is no evidence of the reason Hockaday decided to return to Williamsburg, it is possible he simply could not compete on a large enough scale with the furniture shipped to the south from the north.

Even before the sale in Lynchburg took place, Hockaday had apparently already moved back to Williamsburg, for on March 4, 1819 he charged St. George Tucker \$10.00 for a book press.<sup>65</sup> While Tucker's accounts are less complete during this period (1815-1827) than for the earlier part of the nineteenth century, his furniture needs had certainly become fewer since his children had grown and left home. Still, Tucker's accounts reveal that he paid Hockaday \$10.00 in 1821 for a small book press.<sup>66</sup> In 1822 Tucker paid Hockaday \$10.00 and \$11.00 for two additional

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<sup>64</sup>Lynchburg Press, 18 March 1819. MESDA reference.

<sup>65</sup>Receipt dated March 4, 1819, Box 96, SGT papers.

<sup>66</sup>Receipt dated March 23, 1821, Box 96, SGT papers.

bookcases.<sup>67</sup> There are no further references to Hockaday in any record examined after 1822. It is not clear, particularly without records for James City County, whether Hockaday decided to move once again, or to concentrate his energies in another occupation, or even if he died that year.

In addition to his work for private customers, Hockaday provided furniture and performed other cabinetmaking activities for Williamsburg's public customers. In 1805 he made a large pine table for \$6.00 for the Public Hospital.<sup>68</sup> Hockaday was also paid \$4.00 by the College in 1806 for repairing the college organ and \$7.81 for unspecified repairs made in 1808.<sup>69</sup> See Appendices K and L.

John Hockaday filled an important void in the crafts in Williamsburg during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Until he arrived in Williamsburg around 1800, no other cabinetmakers had been able to maintain a steady livelihood in cabinetmaking after the capital moved to Richmond in 1780. Craftsmen who had

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<sup>67</sup>Receipts dated February 28, 1822 and March 12, 1822, Box 96, SGT papers.

<sup>68</sup>Receipt dated September 20, 1805, Auditor's Item 152, First Auditor's Office, Records Concerning the Care of the Insane, Eastern Lunatic Hospital, Accounts and Receipts, 1803-1823, Virginia State Library, Richmond, Virginia; hereafter cited as Lunatic Hospital records.

<sup>69</sup>Entries dated July 19, 1806 and November 10, 1808, Folder 255, Bursar's Account, WM.

practiced the trade of cabinetmaking before the war, such as Richard Booker and Benjamin Bucktrout, found they could no longer support themselves in the trade and turned to other occupations. Other cabinetmakers, like Sampson Avard and William Cardwell, sought to ply their craft in Williamsburg during the 1790's, yet stayed for only a brief time. It is probable that these men simply could not support themselves as cabinetmakers in Williamsburg, and moved on to more active and prosperous towns. Perhaps Hockaday arrived in Williamsburg at just the right time; a new generation of Williamsburg residents had begun to furnish their own homes, and an important and wealthy customer such as St. George Tucker had chosen to make Williamsburg his home, requiring furnishings for his growing family. Perhaps too, Hockaday was more fortunate than other cabinetmakers. He maintained a working farm from which he could supplement his income from his cabinetmaking as well as provide food for his own family. Nevertheless, in spite of his exclusive position in Williamsburg in the early years of the nineteenth century, Hockaday, as revealed by his attempt to set up a "Ware Room" with ready-made furniture in Lynchburg, was probably affected by the growing industrialization of the cabinetmaking trade in the northern urban centers.

## Chapter V

### THE WILLIAMSBURG CABINETMAKERS' COMPETITION

With the removal of the capital to Richmond in 1780, Williamsburg cabinetmakers lost many of their customers. At the same time, these cabinetmakers faced growing competition from craftsmen working in other trades, particularly carpenters, and from cabinetmakers who shipped furniture to Virginia from the north and to a lesser extent, from abroad. Even before the Revolution, when Williamsburg served as the political and social capital of Virginia, its citizens often imported a variety of goods, necessities as well as luxuries. After the removal of the capital, Williamsburg citizens continued to purchase goods from both the north and Europe. While the volume of imported furniture from England diminished after the Revolution, the quantity of furniture shipped from the north to the south increased, as discussed in Chapter III.

The resources available concerning the importation of furniture and furnishings into Williamsburg in the post-Revolutionary period are limited to those surviving accounts and receipts discussed in the Introduction. St. George Tucker's accounts remain the most complete source

of information on imports into the town by a private citizen. According to his accounts and receipts, Tucker purchased goods from a number of cities, including New York, Philadelphia, Richmond, Norfolk and London. The receipts of attorney Richard Corbin also provide valuable insight into the quantity and types of goods manufactured outside and brought into Williamsburg after the Revolution.

St. George Tucker married Frances Bland Randolph, the widow of John Randolph, in 1778 and moved to the Randolph plantation known as Matoax, near Petersburg. Undoubtedly Matoax was well furnished by the time Tucker moved there to be with his new bride and her three children. Nevertheless, on a trip to New York with Frances in 1786, he purchased twelve Windsor chairs costing eleven shillings each and four children's Windsor chairs for ten shillings apiece from the well-known chairmaking firm of Thomas and William Ash.<sup>1</sup> As a seating form, Windsor chairs were almost universal in America, and were used in large quantities by almost every level of society. The inventory of furniture belonging to St. George Tucker, taken in 1828 after his death, lists no fewer than sixty

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<sup>1</sup>Receipt dated August 8, 1786, Box 89. Papers of St. George Tucker, Accounts and Receipts, Tucker-Coleman Papers MS, Special Collections, Swem Library, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia; hereafter cited at SGT papers.

Windsor chairs in addition to fourteen "straw-bottomed" chairs.<sup>2</sup>

In 1788, after his appointment to the General Court of Virginia, St. George Tucker moved to what is now known as the St. George Tucker House beside the Market Square in Williamsburg. He brought a large portion of the furniture from Matoax with him.<sup>3</sup> During the 1790's, he purchased furniture from such local Williamsburg cabinetmakers as Richard Booker and Rookesby Roberts while continuing to purchase furniture and furnishings outside of Williamsburg.

Although receipts for many of the goods themselves do not survive, the records do contain a number of receipts from the 1790's listing the cost of furniture freight from various places to Tucker's house in Williamsburg. See Appendix O. On July 18, 1790 Captain John Carter charged St. George Tucker £0.2.6 for the freight of a table, whose maker and place of origin are unknown.<sup>4</sup> In 1791 Tucker reimbursed his cousin, Donald Campbell, fifteen shillings for the freight of one and a half dozen chairs

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<sup>2</sup>"Inventory of Furniture belonging to Mrs. Tucker in Williamsburg, 1828," Box 97, SGT papers; hereafter cited as 1828 Inventory.

<sup>3</sup>Robert L. Scribner, "'Fort St. George': So the Judge's Children Called the House over which He Presided as 'Commander,'" Virginia Calvacade, 5, No. 2 (1955), 21-22.

<sup>4</sup>Receipt dated July 18, 1790, Box 90, SGT papers.

from Philadelphia.<sup>5</sup> Perhaps these are the "18 Windsor chairs" itemized in the 1828 inventory.<sup>6</sup> In 1791, along with the freight for "soal" and upper leather and sundry iron work, John Carter charged Tucker six shillings for the freight of a couch and three shillings for the freight of a settee and two chairs.<sup>7</sup> These goods may have come from Norfolk since the back of the receipt states: "Acct. for William Plume, Norfolk, 4th August 1791 for Soal Leather & Upper Leather--received by Capn Carter." The 1828 inventory lists one couch and two settees, along with two additional settees described as "strawbottomed."<sup>8</sup> In 1792 Tucker paid George Willis £0.3.4 for the freight of laths and chairs from Norfolk.<sup>9</sup> In the same year, he paid James Brown of New York £50 for "Trees and Beds ordered for Mr. Randolph" (probably one of Tucker's stepsons).<sup>10</sup> Brown was probably the supplier, not the cabinetmaker, for two years later Brown provided Tucker with carpeting and floor cloths from London, and a chariot

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<sup>5</sup>Receipt dated March 19, 1791, Box 90, SGT papers.

<sup>6</sup>1828 Inventory, SGT papers.

<sup>7</sup>Receipt dated August 10, 1791, Box 90, SGT papers.

<sup>8</sup>1828 Inventory, SGT papers.

<sup>9</sup>Receipt dated March 27, 1792, Box 90, SGT papers.

<sup>10</sup>Receipt dated November 5, 1792, Box 90, SGT papers.

from Philadelphia.<sup>11</sup> One freight charge from John Jones to Tucker in 1798 for the freight of a table for two shillings (along with the freight of two casks each of wine and brandy, oznaburgs, and two "packages") may be explained by a receipt from James Woodward, a Norfolk cabinetmaker.<sup>12</sup> On April 10, 1798, Woodward charged

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<sup>11</sup>Receipt dated November 1, 1794, Box 91; receipt n.d., Box 97; receipt dated 1792, Box 90, SGT papers.

<sup>12</sup>Woodward was no stranger to the exportation or sale of his furniture outside of Norfolk. In 1813 he advertised that he had come to Richmond from Norfolk to sell his furniture. According to the research files at the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts in Winston-Salem, North Carolina (MESDA), Woodward was a very active cabinetmaker in Norfolk between 1793 and 1839 when he died. His cabinetmaking activities appear to have been fairly extensive, as the MESDA files contain a large number of references to his advertisements for both furniture and coffins. In 1795 he advertised the following:

[James Woodward], Cabinetmaker, and Undertaker, . . . takes this method of informing [the Public] that he has launched into a more extensive line, than formerly, and has procured at a considerable expense, the best Workmen from Philadelphia and New-York, and from Europe, which will enable him to always have on hand At His Manufactory On the Main Street, near the New-Theatre. A great variety of elegantly finished Cabinet Work. Such as Chairs, Sideboards, Sets of Card, Pier, Pembroke, Tea and Dining Tables, elegant Sophas, Secretaries and Book Cases, Desks and Book Cases, Ladies Dressing Tables, Mahogany 4 post Bedsteads, Clock Cases with clocks or without, and a number of other articles. Country orders, however extensive, will be executed with punctuality and dispatch, at a short notice.

American Gazette and Norfolk and Portsmouth Public Advertiser, October 9, 1795, as quoted in Alfred Coxe Prime, comp., The Arts and Crafts in Philadelphia, Maryland and South Carolina, 1786-1800: Gleanings from Newspapers, II (n.p.: The Walpole Society, 1933), 202.



Tucker £5.4.0 for a "Round Corner Table with Casters" and £2.2.0 for two tea caddies.<sup>13</sup> Jones' freight bill is dated April 20.<sup>14</sup>

By the turn of the century, and certainly by 1805, St. George Tucker had begun to patronize the Williamsburg shop of cabinetmaker John Hockaday. Nevertheless, while Hockaday produced a relatively large amount of furniture for Tucker (as compared with any other Williamsburg cabinetmaker in the post-Revolutionary period), Tucker continued to purchase furniture, especially chairs, outside Williamsburg. See Appendix O. The large number of advertisements placed by Philadelphia and New York cabinet and chairmakers in the post-Revolutionary period indicate that chairs formed a large part of the furniture export trade to the south.<sup>15</sup> Surviving Tucker accounts do not reveal any commissions for chairs from a

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<sup>13</sup>Receipt dated April 10, 1798, Box 92, SGT papers.

<sup>14</sup>Receipt dated April 20, 1798, Box 92, SGT papers.

<sup>15</sup>This conclusion is based on an examination of the advertisements contained in Rita Susswein Gottesman, comp., The Arts and Crafts in New York, 1777-1799: Newspapers, II (New York: The New-York Historical Society, 1954); Gottesman, comp., The Arts and Crafts in New York, 1800-1804: Advertisements and News Items from New York City Newspapers, III (New York: The New-York Historical Society, 1965); Alfred Coxe Prime, comp., The Arts and Crafts in Philadelphia, Maryland and South Carolina, 1721-1785: Gleanings from Newspapers, I (n.p.: The Walpole Society, 1929); and Prime, comp., The Arts and Crafts in Philadelphia, Maryland and South Carolina, 1786-1800: Gleanings from Newspapers, II (n.p.: The Walpole Society, 1933).

local craftsman. In 1810 Tucker once again purchased chairs outside Williamsburg. On July 10, 1810, Henry Repiton charged Tucker \$2.00 for the freight and wharfage of twelve chairs, two of which were "elbow" chairs.<sup>16</sup> In 1819 Tucker paid William Stroud \$.37 1/2 for the wharfage of three dozen chairs.<sup>17</sup> Neither places of origin nor cabinetmakers of these chairs are known.

St. George Tucker bought many other goods from outside the city in addition to furniture. Some were supplied by Williamsburg merchants, such as Robert Greenhow and Robert Anderson, who stocked and sold European and American-made goods. Other goods came from merchants and tradesmen in other American cities, for example, an unitemized receipt notes payment to a D. Robertson in October, 1786 "for freight Sundries from N. York."<sup>18</sup> These charges may have possibly included the freight for the sixteen Windsor chairs ordered from Thomas and William Ash that August.<sup>19</sup> In 1790 Tucker paid his cousin, Donald Campbell, £0.7.3. for procuring a "Box China from N York."<sup>20</sup> Tucker also purchased a chariot in 1792 from

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<sup>16</sup>Receipt dated July 10, 1810, Box 95, SGT papers.

<sup>17</sup>Receipt dated November 19, 1189, Box 96, SGT papers.

<sup>18</sup>Receipt dated October 20, 1786, Box 90, SGT papers.

<sup>19</sup>Receipt dated August 8, 1786, Box 89, SGT papers.

<sup>20</sup>Receipt dated September 16, 1970, Box 90, SGT papers.

Philadelphia through James Brown for £173.50.<sup>21</sup>

St. George Tucker showed a particular fondness for English carpets, for in 1794 he ordered a large Wilton carpet with a border from Samuel Tomkins in London.<sup>22</sup>

Another order for a Wilton carpet, undated, gives a marvelous sense of the color scheme adopted by St. George Tucker, and illustrates the specificity used by a customer when ordering certain goods:

Mr Brown [possibly James Brown again] will be pleased to order an elegant Wilton carpet, of the dimensions underwritten, pompadour ground (without any black) & rich, gay colours, to be shipt from London by the earliest opportunity on Account & risque of St. George Tucker viz: A Wilton Carpet 17 ft. 4 In. by 12 ft. 10 Inches--2 side pieces, Ditto for the Jams of the Chimney--6 feet long by 2 ft. 4 In. each. 1 ps. of thick carpeting, of corresponding colours, to lie before the hearth, the ordinary size of such pieces--say 6 feet long.<sup>23</sup>

To ensure there would be no overcharge, St. George Tucker added that the "last carpet of the same kind which I imported cost 13 Guineas." He included with his order a sample of calico with which he wished to match the carpet. A different hand wrote on the same order that the ground of the carpet resembled that of the piece of calico included in the order, that is, of "rich colours, chiefly browns & yellows." In 1805 St. George Tucker again

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<sup>21</sup>Receipt dated April-May, 1792, Box 90, SGT papers.

<sup>22</sup>Receipt dated July 8, 1794, Box 91, SGT papers.

<sup>23</sup>Receipt undated, Box 97, SGT papers.

ordered carpeting from London, this time a Brussels carpet for £16.6.0 and a small fringed rug for £2.10.0 from Jones and Wakeman, "Carpet Manufacturers."<sup>24</sup> Tucker also purchased English floor cloths; in 1794 he received a large "Painted Floor Cloth" measuring 19 feet 6 inches by 15 feet 9 inches, costing £12.1.0, from Edmund Logwood of London and ordered by James Brown for Tucker.<sup>25</sup>

Despite a penchant for English carpets, Tucker also purchased a number of carpets in Richmond (which may have been English carpets imported by Richmond merchants). In November, 1798 Tucker bought a large carpet (30 3/4 yards) for £10.10.7 1/2 and an additional 20 yards of carpeting for £3.15.0 a few days later from Thomas Gilliat in Richmond.<sup>26</sup> In 1810 St. George Tucker bought "20 yds Suprfine Carpeting" for \$28.33 from the Richmond firm of Kirby Drake & Taylor.<sup>27</sup> That same year, Mrs. Tucker bought a carpet measuring 32 1/2 yards for \$35.20 from Ellis & Allen, also of Richmond.<sup>28</sup> Other items purchased outside of Williamsburg by St. George Tucker include a

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<sup>24</sup>Receipt dated August 22, 1805, SGT papers.

<sup>25</sup>Receipt dated November 1, 1794, Box 91, SGT papers.

<sup>26</sup>Receipts dated November 12, 1798, Box 92, and November 24, 1798, Box 92, SGT papers.

<sup>27</sup>Receipt dated October 9, 1810, Box 95, SGT papers.

<sup>28</sup>Receipt dated October 1, 1810, Box 95, SGT papers.

bathing tub for \$8.00 from the partnership of McPherson and McPhail of Norfolk in 1803 and a gilded picture frame for \$5.00 from James Thomson, also of Norfolk, in 1806.<sup>29</sup>

Although his records do not reveal any purchases of furniture from England, Tucker did order other English household goods. A complete set of bed "furniture" consisting of:

- 2 Flanders Bed Ticks
- 2 Bolsters & 4 Pillows
- 1 Tickin Matrass with Leather on one Side  
filld with best Curld hair
- 4 large Russian mats & blankets

came from Seddens, Sons & Shackelton of London for a total cost of £10 in 1790.<sup>30</sup> In 1791 he paid Cathne Sharpe of London £5.2.3 for the following kitchen fireplace fittings: a "Multiplying Kitchen Jack with Pullies, Standard, Stubs & Keys, Chain & Line Comps"; "1 Jack Weight & Slide"; and "2 Spits with Wheels fixed."<sup>31</sup>

The number of receipts for purchases made abroad, both in England and America, illustrates that Tucker did not or perhaps could not depend solely on Williamsburg merchants and craftsmen for his furnishings. Indeed, since his records probably do not contain receipts for all purchases made outside of Williamsburg it is likely

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<sup>29</sup>Receipts dated June 15, 1803 and June 4, 1806, Box 93, SGT papers.

<sup>30</sup>Receipt dated September 20, 1790, Box 90, SGT papers.

<sup>31</sup>Receipt dated July 4, 1791, Box 90, SGT papers.

that one has only a partial view of the extent of such purchases.

The accounts and records of Richard Corbin, while not nearly as extensive nor complete as those of St. George Tucker, show that Tucker was not alone in his purchases abroad. Corbin bought the house known today as Bassett Hall in Williamsburg from the estate of Colonel Philip Johnson who died in 1789. After purchasing Bassett Hall, Corbin employed George Garrett, a local Williamsburg carpenter, to refurbish both the inside and outside of the house.<sup>32</sup> Corbin had less use, however, for Williamsburg cabinetmakers. His only known local commission was a mahogany knifebox from the Williamsburg cabinetmaker Rookesby Roberts in 1794 for twelve shillings.<sup>33</sup> See Appendix F. During this period of refurbishing (1794-1796) his accounts reveal a large amount of furniture and other household furnishings purchased from other cities. See Appendix P. In November, 1794, Laurence Sink of Philadelphia billed Corbin for the following items:

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<sup>32</sup>Folders 14-15, Richard Corbin Papers, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia; hereafter cited as Corbin Papers.

<sup>33</sup>Receipt dated December 6, 1794, Folder 14, Corbin papers.

Boliction [?] front Sideboard	£20.0.0
2 Dining Tables @ £9.10.0 each [and]	
2 Ditto ends @ £6 each	31.0.0
Mahogany Bedstead	8.10.0
Set of Cornices for Ditto	3.7.6 <sup>34</sup>

In 1794, Samuel Swann of Richmond, who was probably a merchant rather than a cabinetmaker, provided Corbin with a number of pieces of furniture together with a large amount of yard goods. The bill included

2 Sophas	£28.0.0
10 Chairs @ 50/	25.0.0
1 p[air] Card Tables	9.0.0
1 Pembroke Ditto	3.0.0
12 Chairs @ 50/, 2 Arm Ditto @ 56/	32.16.0
1 Cabrioal [sic] Sopha	18.0.0
2 Beaur's [with] circular font & Colum [sic] Corners @ £11.0.0 ea.	22.0.0
1 Ditto circular front-plain	9.0.0
6 Winsor [sic] Chairs with [Mahogany] Arms @ 28/	8.8.0
12 Ditto Chairs plain @ 20/	12.0.0
1 Night Stool Chair	5.0.0 <sup>35</sup>

Solomon Cumbo, a local Williamsburg citizen, was evidently engaged to transport some of this furniture from Richmond to Williamsburg in June and August, 1794. Cumbo charged Corbin for the freight of two sofas, ten chairs and three tables and for the cartage of another

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<sup>34</sup>Receipt dated November 20, 1794, Folder 14, Corbin papers.

<sup>35</sup>Receipt dated May 10, 1794-August 19, 1795, Folder 15, Corbin papers. The yards goods provided by Swann included two "Sopha Slips" at fifteen shillings each and twenty-two "Chair Slips" for £0.2.6 each, as well as calico, dimity, ribbon, tape, thread, window curtains, white cotton, cord, and white "tausels."

sofa and twelve chairs.<sup>36</sup> Captain Alexander Massenburg, another Williamsburg citizen, billed Corbin in December, 1794 for the freight of two bedsteads, three tables and a desk, all from unknown places of origin.<sup>37</sup>

In November 1797, Corbin purchased a mahogany sideboard for £24.0.0 from George Taylor & Co. of Richmond.<sup>38</sup> In the following year he bought a writing desk from Wythe & Langley for £3.12.0.<sup>39</sup> It is difficult to determine whether George Taylor & Co. was the actual cabinetmaking establishment that made the sideboard, or whether it was a merchant or a supplier of furniture made by other cabinetmakers (possibly even northern cabinetmakers). Unfortunately, there were no published directories of Richmond tradesmen during this time (the first such directory was published in 1818). Wythe & Langley were probably merchants cabinetmakers for they also supplied Corbin with such yard goods as Florentine, casimer, linen, silk and twist, as well as a snuff box.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>36</sup>Receipt dated September 6, 1794, Folder 14, Corbin papers.

<sup>37</sup>Receipt dated December 17, 1794, Folder 14, Corbin papers.

<sup>38</sup>Receipt dated November 29, 1797, Folder 18, Corbin papers.

<sup>39</sup>Receipt dated December 31, 1798, Folder 21, Corbin papers.

<sup>40</sup>Receipt dated December 31, 1798, Folder 21, Corbin papers.



This evidence reveals that by the turn of the century the furniture trade was no longer confined to local cabinetmakers' shops, but was also carried on by merchants such as Wythe & Langley. Such merchant firms, expanding the range of goods sold, most likely purchased and sold furniture sent to them from northern entrepreneurial cabinetmakers in coastal trading packets. Many of these merchants probably displayed their wares, including furniture, in increasingly popular warehouses. Local cabinetmakers thus had to compete with those merchants and cabinetmakers who could display a large variety of ready-made furniture. Such a feature was likely to be very attractive to a customer who wished to make an immediate purchase, rather than to wait for a commission to be completed.

Corbin traveled to Philadelphia in July, 1794 and purchased additional household goods for his new home. He purchased from John Marshall a number of kitchen implements,<sup>41</sup> and from Benjamin Holland, Irish sheeting and a damask tablecloth.<sup>42</sup> From John Guest & Co. Corbin purchased two cotton counterpanes, and from James Gallagher a number of household goods, including two sets of china jars, a number of decanters, a dozen blue basons and one

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<sup>41</sup>Receipt dated July 1, 1794, Folder 13, Corbin papers.

<sup>42</sup>Receipt dated July 8, 1794, Folder 13, Corbin papers.

lamp.<sup>43</sup> Corbin seems to have spurned the local Williamsburg craftsmen and merchants and preferred to patronize outside merchants and tradesmen for almost all of his home furnishings.

Private citizens were not the only purchasers of furniture outside of Williamsburg. The accounts of the College of William and Mary, while revealing no payments to local cabinetmakers for furniture, do contain records of payments for a small amount of furniture from others. See Appendix Q. None of these records reveals, however, a cabinetmaker or place of origin. In 1810 George Lang, a local Williamsburg merchant, provided a half dozen chairs to the College for \$9.00.<sup>44</sup> In 1811 the College paid an unidentified source \$10.00 for a settee.<sup>45</sup> On July 6, 1825, the Society of William and Mary College resolved that the Bursar should "procure for the College two dozen chairs such as are used in the General Court Room in

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<sup>43</sup>Receipts dated July 8, 1794 and July 11, 1794, Folder 13, Corbin papers.

<sup>44</sup>Entry dated December 30, 1810, Folder 255, William and Mary College Papers, Bursar's Accounts, Accounts of Receipts and Expenditures, Special Collections, Swem Library, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia; hereafter cited as Bursar's Accounts, WM. Lang is listed as a Williamsburg merchant from 1789-1812 in the "Williamsburg People File," unpublished research material, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia; hereafter cited as Williamsburg People File.

<sup>45</sup>Entry dated February 25, 1811, Folder 255, Bursar's Accounts, WM.

Richmond . . ."46 These chairs are probably the same ones accounted for in the Bursar's statement for June 20, 1826 which lists a payment of \$133.00 for two dozen chairs and cushions.<sup>47</sup> Once again, the source of these chairs is not identified; however, it is likely they were obtained in Richmond since they were to be copies of those found in the Richmond courtroom.

In examining and analyzing the accounts specifying furniture and furnishings bought outside Williamsburg for use in Williamsburg, it is clear that the citizens of Williamsburg did not (or perhaps in many cases, could not) depend upon the local craftsmen for all of their needs. Even St. George Tucker, whose accounts show that he often patronized local cabinetmakers, occasionally turned to craftsmen in other cities for furniture. It is evident from the large number of chairs, settees and sofas purchased outside Williamsburg by both private and public customers, that seating furniture was not produced in Williamsburg in any quantity. Based on the surviving records of St. George Tucker, Richard Corbin and the College of William and Mary, these three patrons alone imported over 170 chairs, one close stool chair, four

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<sup>46</sup>"Book of the Proceedings of the Society of William and Mary College, 1817-1830," p. 209, William and Mary College Papers, Special Collection, Swem Library, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia.

<sup>47</sup>Entry dated June 20, 1826, Folder 256, Bursar's Accounts, WM.

settees, three sofas and one couch between the years 1786 and 1826. It is quite likely that Williamsburg cabinetmakers found it unprofitable to produce seating furniture. The records examined reveal only eight chairs made in Williamsburg between 1790 and 1825. Two "nice" chairs were made by the carpenter (note, not a cabinetmaker!) James Guthrie for the Public Hospital in 1817 and six walnut chairs were made by Richard Booker for Humphrey Harwood in 1792.<sup>48</sup> See Appendices D and M.

The livelihoods of Williamsburg cabinetmakers were affected not only by the importation of furniture from outside sources, but also by the purchase of furniture at estate sales. Newspapers often carried advertisements of public auctions of household furnishings such as the following:

To Be Sold, by public auction, in Williamsburg, on Wednesday the 19th of February next, the houses and lots of the late Mrs. Betty Randolph, deceased, together with a quantity of mahogany furniture, consisting of chairs, tables, mahogany and guilt [sic] framed looking glasses, and desks, a handsome carpet, a quantity of glass ware and table China, and a variety of other articles; also kitchen furniture complete.<sup>49</sup>

Another advertisement for the sale of household furnishings, this one held in Petersburg in 1800, reveals

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<sup>48</sup>Brian Gordineer, "The Richard Booker Shop, 1773-1820," unpublished independent research paper (Williamsburg, Virginia: Department of History, College of William and Mary, n.d.), p. 17.

<sup>49</sup>Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser, Richmond, February 15, 1783.

the kind of furniture sold at these auctions:

Public Vendue. On Thursday the 24th Instant, on the Premises, At Mr. William Barksdale's Dwelling-House (He being about to embark for Europe) will be offered for Sale, all the Household Furniture, and sundry other Articles, amongst which are-- Beds, Bedsteads, and Furniture thereto, Dining, Card, Dressing and Tea Tables, Mahogany and Windsor Chairs of different kinds, Settees and Side Board, an elegant Mahogany Wardrobe, Ditto Desk and Bookcase, Dressing Glasses, Chimney Ornaments, Table and Tea China in Sets.<sup>50</sup>

St. George Tucker occasionally purchased furniture and other household goods at public sales. He bought the following items at the estate sale of Samuel Beall in 1793:

13 Mahogany chairs with hair Bottom	£16.5.0
8 [Mahogany chairs with hair bottoms]	8.0.0
1 Japaned [sic] Cooler	0.16.0
1 Silver pudding Dish	10.10.0
1 Tin Sugar Canister bought by Mrs. Tucker	0.2.0 <sup>51</sup>

Furniture was also purchased by individual sale from one neighbor to another. From James Galt, St. George Tucker bought a bed for seven pounds in 1796.<sup>52</sup> A year later he purchased a clock for twenty-six pounds, also from Galt.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>50</sup>The Petersburg Intelligencer, July 15, 1800.

<sup>51</sup>Receipt dated July 8, 1793, Folder 91, SGT papers. Note further evidence that chairs were purchased from sources other than Williamsburg cabinetmakers.

<sup>52</sup>Receipt dated January 2, 1796, Folder 91, SGT papers.

<sup>53</sup>Receipt dated January 5, 1797, Folder 92, SGT papers.

Williamsburg cabinetmakers also faced competition from other local craftsmen, particularly carpenters, who produced pieces of furniture for such customers as St. George Tucker and the Public Hospital. See Appendix M. William Pigget, a carpenter who often worked on the St. George Tucker House, produced what may be identified, at least in terms of cost, as relatively important pieces of furniture for Tucker. During the 1790's Pigget made a bookcase and clothes press (the combined cost being five pounds) and a large press for three pounds.<sup>54</sup> Pigget also made a mahogany case for an inkstand for Tucker in 1792 for two shillings.<sup>55</sup> William P. Graves, another Williamsburg carpenter, made three bookcases costing \$2.25 in 1815 for Tucker.<sup>56</sup> Unfortunately, the receipt for the bookcases does not state whether they were moveable or built into the room, in which case they would fall under the realm of house-joinery.

Benjamin E. Bucktrout, the son of the cabinetmaker, Benjamin Bucktrout, made his living primarily as a carpenter. Occasionally, however, he made and repaired furniture. In 1824 he made two chamber tables of "stained

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<sup>54</sup>Receipts dated November 1792 and May 1793, Folder 90, SGT papers.

<sup>55</sup>Receipt dated August 23, 1792, Folder 90, SGT papers.

<sup>56</sup>Receipt dated June 1815, Folder 95, SGT papers.

wood" for St. George Tucker for \$6.00.<sup>57</sup> He also produced a double book press, made of walnut stained to look like mahogany, and built to exact specifications as ordered by St. George Tucker.<sup>58</sup> See Appendix T.

The Public Hospital, whose needs required little furniture, commissioned a few pieces of cabinetwork from local craftsmen, usually carpenters. John Bowden, a carpenter who worked at the Public Hospital between 1803 and 1817, made several pieces of "furniture" peculiar to the Public Hospital, such as a "ducking chair" for eighteen shillings in 1803 and a "Bath Chair" for £1.10.0 in 1816.<sup>59</sup> As noted earlier, the carpenter James Guthrie, who also worked on the Public Hospital, produced two "nice" chairs in 1817 for \$2.00 for the Hospital.<sup>60</sup> In 1819 Thomas Sands and James Guthrie made a table and also repaired a table for the Hospital for a total cost of \$4.00.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>57</sup>Receipt dated May 8, 1824, Folder 97, SGT papers.

<sup>58</sup>Receipt dated May 18, 1825, Folder 97, SGT papers.

<sup>59</sup>Receipts dated September 26, 1803 and February 27, 1816, Auditor's Item 152, First Auditor's Office, Records Concerning the Care of the Insane, Eastern Lunatic Hospital, Accounts and Receipts, 1803-1823, Virginia State Library, Richmond, Virginia; hereafter cited as Lunatic Hospital papers.

<sup>60</sup>Receipt dated March 1, 1817, Auditor's Item 152, Lunatic Hospital papers.

<sup>61</sup>Receipt dated March 3, 1819, Auditor's Item 152, Lunatic Hospital papers.

Several Williamsburg carpenters also earned income making furniture repairs, traditionally an important part of a cabinetmaker's livelihood.<sup>62</sup> See Appendix N. A customer was likely to use a carpenter to do odd jobs, including furniture repairs, especially if the carpenter was already performing other carpentry work around the house. St. George Tucker, for example, paid the carpenter David Middleton £2.2.6 in 1790 for mending a stand for a washbasin, a table and three chairs as well as for making and hanging two closet doors with moldings.<sup>63</sup>

William Pigget also made a number of furniture repairs in addition to the carpentry and occasional cabinetmaking he did for Tucker. In May, 1792, Pigget repaired a large press, and in August repaired a desk drawer and a looking glass frame while doing some carpentry in Tucker's dining room, fitting and hanging seven pairs of window shutters, and cutting a way for a door.<sup>64</sup> In a receipt for a large amount of carpentry done for Tucker between 1792 and 1793, Pigget charged for "worck [sic] done upon a cradle" and for the repair of a table

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<sup>62</sup>According to Charles Montgomery, furniture repairs and other related odd jobs accounted for 25% to 50% of the entries in some cabinetmakers' account books. Charles F. Montgomery, American Furniture: The Federal Period (New York: Bonanza Books, 1978), p. 423.

<sup>63</sup>Receipt dated May 12, 1790, Folder 90, SGT papers.

<sup>64</sup>Receipts dated May 2, 1792 and August 23, 1792, Folder 90, SGT papers.



bracket.<sup>65</sup> In 1800 Pigget charged Tucker £0.6.6 for "hanging some sashes" and three shillings for repairing a chest of drawers.<sup>66</sup> William Henley, another Williamsburg carpenter, charged Tucker for the repair of a desk bracket and the cutting of two doors and nailing a floor cloth.<sup>67</sup> See Appendix N.

Although coffins were traditionally another important source of income for cabinetmakers, in Williamsburg carpenters, rather than cabinetmakers, made the majority of coffins in the post-Revolutionary period.<sup>68</sup> According to the surviving records, John Hockaday did not produce a single coffin. Those coffins that were made by the cabinetmakers, however, tended to be made of walnut and were more expensive, such as those made in 1795 by Rookesby Roberts for St. George Tucker or those made by the partnership of Hyland & Durfey in 1797 and by Durfey alone in 1799. See Appendix R. These cabinetmakers only made coffins for private customers.

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<sup>65</sup>Receipt dated May 1793, Folder 90, SGT papers.

<sup>66</sup>Receipt dated January 12, 1800, Folder 92, SGT papers.

<sup>67</sup>Receipt dated 1795, Folder 91, SGT papers.

<sup>68</sup>For a discussion of coffin-making within the cabinetmaking trade, see Montgomery, American Furniture, p. 423 and Mills Brown, "Cabinetmaking in the Eighteenth Century," unpublished research report (Williamsburg, Virginia: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1959), p. 45.

Carpenters, however, also provided coffins for private customers. William Pigget made one for a child costing ten shillings for St. George Tucker in 1794<sup>69</sup> and one for John Moody for £1.15.0 in 1794.<sup>70</sup> See Appendix R. A reference in the York County Wills and Inventories to a coffin made by "Picket" in 1801 may refer to William Pigget.<sup>71</sup> John Bowden, who made over fifty coffins for the Public Hospital, received £1.16.0 in November 1803 from the estate of Miss Betty Carlos for "Making a neat pine Coffin with Mouldings" and £1.4.0 for bearing the coffin to the ground.<sup>72</sup> See Appendices R and S. Thomas Sands and James Guthrie also made coffins for Williamsburg's private citizens and the Public Hospital. See Appendices R and S. Between 1817 and 1822 the partnership of Sands & Guthrie made a total of twelve coffins for the Hospital.<sup>73</sup> Thomas Sands charged Robert Waller, a private patron, £1.16.0 for a coffin for Miss Patsy Harris in

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<sup>69</sup>Receipt dated January 1794, Folder 91, SGT papers.

<sup>70</sup>Estate of John Moody, payment for coffin made January 27, 1801, York County Wills and Inventories, 23, 1783-1811, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, pp. 635-636.

<sup>71</sup>Estate of Robert Goodwin, payment of £1.4.0 for coffin made January 27, 1801. York County Wills and Inventories, 23, 1783-1811, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, p. 541.

<sup>72</sup>Receipt dated November 1803, Folder 93, SGT papers.

<sup>73</sup>Receipts dated 1817-1822, Auditor's Item 152, Lunatic Hospital papers.

1805,<sup>74</sup> while Guthrie received \$4.50 from St. George Tucker for "makeing a Coffin for old man Phill, by request of Docr Cole" in September 1824.<sup>75</sup> In 1814 William P. Graves provided St. George Tucker with "a coffin for Old Bridget" at a cost of \$3.00.<sup>76</sup> In 1817 Graves made another coffin for \$3.00 and in 1823 a small coffin, also for \$3.00 for St. George Tucker.<sup>77</sup> See Appendix R. In addition to private customers, Graves also provided coffins for both the College of William and Mary and the Public Hospital. See Appendix S. In June, 1817, Graves was paid an unspecified amount by the College for "a coffin for Lemon," who was possibly a College servant<sup>78</sup> and in 1823 was paid \$4.00 by the Hospital for a coffin made for Jane Murdaugh.<sup>79</sup>

Two other craftsmen, of whom little is known, also provided coffins for Williamsburg customers. James

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<sup>74</sup>Receipt dated October 26, 1805, Robert Waller Papers, Group VI, Box 1, Folder 9, in Blow Family Papers, Special Collections, Swem Library, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia.

<sup>75</sup>Receipt dated September 25, 1824, Box 97, SGT papers.

<sup>76</sup>Receipt dated May 17, 1814, Box 95, SGT papers.

<sup>77</sup>Receipt dated November 22, 1817, Box 96 and receipt dated October 5, 1823, Box 97, SGT papers.

<sup>78</sup>Entry dated June 1817, Folder 255, Bursar's Accounts, WM.

<sup>79</sup>Receipt dated February 12, 1823, Auditor's Item 152, Lunatic Hospital papers.

Thompson made a black walnut coffin for Mary Charlton in 1811.<sup>80</sup> Thomas C. Lucas charged St. George Tucker \$4.50 in 1824 for "making a Coffin for old negro woman" and \$.50 for "carrying to the ground."<sup>81</sup> See Appendix R.

Richard T. Booker, probably the son of the cabinetmaker Richard Booker, was a kind of "jack of all trades" in Williamsburg during the nineteenth century. He served as constable and jailor for the city of Williamsburg and was apparently involved in the shipping business, for on occasion he billed St. George Tucker wharfage fees.<sup>82</sup> Booker also worked as a carpenter and was known to be a coffinmaker. In September 1825 St. George Tucker paid him \$3.33 for making a coffin for one of Tucker's servants.<sup>83</sup> See Appendix R.

Williamsburg cabinetmakers also found competition from non-woodworking tradesmen. Francis Timberlake, who ran an ordinary in Williamsburg between c.1803 and 1833, made a "press for papers and records" in 1815 for the

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<sup>80</sup>Receipt dated March 23, 1811, Folder 143, Robert Anderson Papers, Estate Papers, Mary Charlton Estate Papers, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia.

<sup>81</sup>Receipt dated October 1824, Box 97, SGT papers.

<sup>82</sup>Receipts dated July 3, 1824 and November 1825, Box 97, SGT papers.

<sup>83</sup>Receipt dated September 1825, Box 97, SGT papers. Richard T. Booker continued to make coffins, as well as undertaking some furniture making and furniture repair into the period not covered by this thesis, SGT papers.

Public Hospital for \$12.00.<sup>84</sup> See Appendix C. No other furniture made by Timberlake has been recorded, but at least this one time he supplemented his tavern income with cabinetmaking. It may be more than purely coincidental that a number of Williamsburg cabinetmakers, including Anthony Hay and Richard Booker, turned to tavern-keeping after retiring from cabinetmaking. There is no information, however, on Timberlake's activities prior to opening his ordinary in Williamsburg in 1803. Thus, although he may have been a cabinetmaker at one time, this piece of furniture made for the Public Hospital may also have been simply an isolated incident of his cabinetmaking.

Timberlake's single piece of cabinetwork, however, in addition to the coffins and furniture made and repaired by carpenters, meant that less work was available for Williamsburg cabinetmakers. Customers purchasing these objects or demanding repairs from non-cabinetmakers may have chosen to do so for several reasons, such as convenience or lower cost. Another reason, however, might be that by 1800 John Hockaday was the only

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<sup>84</sup>Receipt dated June 5, 1815, Auditor's Item 152, Lunatic Hospital papers. Timberlake is listed in the Williamsburg People File as an ordinary keeper from 1800-1833. Timberlake was first listed in the Williamsburg Personal Property and Land Tax records in 1803 at which time he was taxed for an ordinary license and the ownership of two lots. Williamsburg City Land Tax Record, 1803, and Williamsburg City Personal Property Tax Record, 1803, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia.

cabinetmaker in Williamsburg. It is conceivable that while there was possibly not enough work for two cabinetmakers, there were, on occasion, too many demands for Hockaday to handle alone. On these occasions, Williamsburg customers turned not only to outside sources, but to local carpenters for furnishings and repairs.

## Chapter VI

### CONCLUSION

The cabinetmaking trade in Williamsburg was greatly reduced in the post-Revolutionary period. From its halcyon days as an important social and political center with an important cabinetmaking school during the eighteenth century, Williamsburg became a small, rural town, able to support only a single cabinetmaker. Williamsburg's fate was probably not unlike that of other small towns; where it once depended upon its own craftsmen for many of its needs, it found itself obtaining goods more frequently from outside sources. Many cabinetmakers in towns similar to Williamsburg found that the only way to survive in their traditional craft was to move further west, where their craft was still an important part of the local economy. Wendell Garrett has observed that

[i]ndependent craftsmen were unsympathetic to the spread of the factory and improved transportation system, because increased trade brought in competing goods that took bread out of their mouths. Working with their hands, they were not in a position to expand their output. The perennial shortage of cash frequently left them in debt. The rural artisan was to become an increasingly restless element in the population. Moving with the spread of settlement into the newly opened regions and setting up his workshop, he was protected in his local market by the distance that raised the cost of competing goods brought in from the East. There he had a large

amount of control over the price he obtained. It was the transportation revolution that destroyed the comfortable security of the individual working-man after 1820.

Williamsburg cabinetmakers, and those who wished to set themselves up as cabinetmakers in Williamsburg, found their trade difficult to practice in such a small town, especially with the availability of less expensive and more stylish furniture sent from the north. The cabinetmakers' responses were diverse; some, such as Benjamin Bucktrout and Richard Booker, turned to other occupations such as retail sales or tavern-keeping. James Honey left cabinetmaking for the related craft of house-joinery. A few, such as William Cardwell and Sampson Avard, unable to find another trade either to suit or support themselves, probably left for more prosperous towns. Even Williamsburg's sole cabinetmaker for the first two decades of the nineteenth century, John Hockaday, temporarily traveled west to seek his fortune. Apparently not finding it, he returned to Williamsburg, where his vacated spot had remained empty.



## Appendices

Note: All costs listed as approximate costs in dollars have been computed on the basis of approximately 16.67 cents to a shilling (a pound being worth \$3.33). These figures remained constant in Williamsburg accounts throughout the period studied (between 1790 and 1826). The sources of these figures are the original accounts and receipts studied in which costs were listed in both pounds and dollars. In comparison to the dollar value of a pound in Williamsburg, Charles Montgomery found that in Hartford in 1792, one shilling was worth approximately 13.33 cents.<sup>1</sup> In New York, however, a shilling was worth approximately 12.5 cents.<sup>2</sup> This figure comports with the cost comparison computed by Howard Rock in his study of New York artisans.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Charles F. Montgomery, American Furniture: The Federal Period (New York: Bonanza Books, 1978), p. 179.

<sup>2</sup>Montgomery, American Furniture, pp. 179-180.

<sup>3</sup>Howard B. Rock, Artisans in the New Republic: The Tradesmen of New York City in the Age of Jefferson (New York: New York University Press, 1979).

Appendix A

Williamsburg Cabinetmakers in the  
Post-Revolutionary Period

<u>Cabinetmakers</u>	<u>Period of Cabinetmaking Activity</u>
Richard Booker	1773-c.1793
James Henry	1776-1787
Rookesby Roberts	1788-1796
William Cardwell	1793
Charles Hyland	1796-1798
William Durfey	1797-1799
Sampson Avar	1800
John Hockaday	1800-1817 1817-1819 in Lynchburg 1819-1822 back in Williamsburg

Note: Benjamin Bucktrout, while an active cabinetmaker in Williamsburg from 1766, is not recorded as having performed any cabinetmaking activities after c.1775.

Appendix B

Williamsburg Carpenters in the Post-Revolutionary Period  
Who Engaged in Cabinetmaking Activities

CarpenterDates of Activity

David Middleton	1751-1800
William Pigget	1785-1810
William Henley	1793-1795
John Bowden	1803-1817
Thomas Sands	1805-1821
James Thompson	1811
William P. Graves	1814-1823
James Guthrie	1815-1824
James C. Lucas	1824
Benjamin E. Bucktrout	1824 and onwards
Richard T. Booker	1825 and onwards

Appendix C

Total Furniture Production of Williamsburg  
Cabinetmakers and Carpenters in the  
Post-Revolutionary Period for both  
Private and Public Customers  
(Listed in Descending Order of Cost)

Form and Description	Cabinetmaker/Carpenter	Patron	Date	Cost in Pounds	Cost or Approximate Cost in Dollars
Wardrobe-mahogany	John Hockaday-cabinetmaker	St. George Tucker	June 24, 1805	£18.0.0	\$ 60.00
Wardrobe-mahogany	John Hockaday-cabinetmaker	St. George Tucker	January 12, 1807	18.0.0	60.00
Bedstead-mahogany (cost may include all fittings and bed furniture)	John Hockaday-cabinetmaker	St. George Tucker	July 23, 1812	--	34.00
Book Press-walnut	John Hockaday-cabinetmaker	St. George Tucker	June 24, 1805	9.0.0	30.00
Bedstead-mahogany (cost may include all fittings and bed furniture)	John Hockaday-cabinetmaker	St. George Tucker	June 30, 1808	9.0.0	30.00
Clothes Press-walnut	Rookesby Roberts-cabinetmaker	St. George Tucker	June 1, 1795	8.0.0	26.67
Chest of Drawers-mahogany	John Hockaday-cabinetmaker	St. George Tucker	June 24, 1805	7.0.0	23.85
Chest of Drawers-mahogany	John Hockaday-cabinetmaker	Robert Waller	January 7, 1805	6.18.0	23.00
Six chairs-walnut	Richard Booker-cabinetmaker	Humphrey Harwood	October 24, 1792	6.0.0	20.00
Two "nice" chairs	James Guthrie-carpenter	Public Hospital	January 25, 1817		20.00
Bookcase and Clothes Press	William Pigget-carpenter	St. George Tucker	November 1792	5.0.0	16.67
Paper Press-colored black walnut	John Hockaday-cabinetmaker	St. George Tucker	May 24, 1805	5.0.0	16.67
Paper Press with pigeon notes-colored black walnut	John Hockaday-cabinetmaker	St. George Tucker	December 1, 1810	5.0.0	16.67
Hanging Press-black walnut	John Hockaday-cabinetmaker	St. George Tucker	June 22, 1815		15.00
Book Press-walnut, stained	Benjamin E. Bucktrout-carpenter	St. George Tucker	May 28, 1825		15.00
Double Book Press-walnut colored to resemble mahogany	Benjamin E. Bucktrout-carpenter	St. George Tucker	March 8, 1824		13.00

Form and Description	Cabinetmaker/Carpenter	Patron	Date	Cost in Pounds	Cost or Approximate Cost in Dollars
Large bookcase-pine	Richard Booker-cabinetmaker	St. George Tucker	November 28, 1792	£3.15.6	\$ 12.60
Book Press	John Hockaday-cabinetmaker	St. George Tucker	March 1806		12.00
Hanging Book Press	John Hockaday-cabinetmaker	St. George Tucker	June 22, 1811		12.00
Press for Papers and Records	Francis Timberlake-Ordinary Keeper	Public Hospital	June 5, 1815		12.00
Cabinet-mahogany	John Hockaday-cabinetmaker	St. George Tucker	June 24, 1804	3.6.0	11.00
Small Bookcase ("and other jobs")	John Hockaday-cabinetmaker	St. George Tucker	March 12, 1822		11.00
Large Press	William Pisset-carpenter	St. George Tucker	May 1793	3.0.0	10.00
Press	William Durfey-cabinetmaker	St. George Tucker	October 1798		10.00
Book Press	John Hockaday-cabinetmaker	St. George Tucker	March 4, 1819		10.00
Small Book Case	John Hockaday-cabinetmaker	St. George Tucker	February 28, 1822		10.00
Trunnel [Trundle?] Bedstead-colored poplar	John Hockaday-cabinetmaker	St. George Tucker	January 1811	2.2.0	7.00
Large Table-pine	John Hockaday-cabinetmaker	Public Hospital	July 20, 1805		6.00
Safe (30 shillings) and painting same (6 shillings)	John Hockaday-cabinetmaker	St. George Tucker	October 25, 1806	1.16.0	6.00
Two Chamber Tables, stained	Benjamin E. Bucktrout-carpenter	St. George Tucker	May 8, 1824		6.00
Frame and Stand with drawer for dressing glass	John Hockaday-cabinetmaker	St. George Tucker	June 19, 1806	1.13.0	5.50
Highpost Bedstead-poplar	Richard Booker-cabinetmaker	St. George Tucker	November 28, 1792	1.10.0	5.00
Stand-mahogany	John Hockaday-cabinetmaker	St. George Tucker	October 31, 1812	1.10.0	5.00
Table	Thomas Sands & James Guthrie-carpenter	Public Hospital	March 3, 1820		4.00



Form and Description	Cabinetmaker/Carpenter	Patron	Date	Cost in Pounds	Cost or Approximate Cost in Dollars
Case with moldings round it-walnut	Hyland & Durfey-carpenters	St. George Tucker	June 26, 1798		\$ 3.00
Candlestand	Richard Booker-cabinetmaker	Humphrey Harwood	October 24, 1792	£0.15.0	2.50
Three cases for Bookcases	William P. Graves-carpenter	St. George Tucker	June 1815	0.12.0	2.25
Two rails for a Bedstead-walnut	Richard Booker-cabinetmaker	St. George Tucker	September 18, 1792	0.12.0	2.00
Knife Box-mahogany	Rookeby Roberts-cabinetmaker	Richard Corbin	December 6, 1794	0.12.0	2.00
Raised top tester-pine	Richard Booker-cabinetmaker	St. George Tucker	October 3, 1792	0.10.0	1.67
Bedstead cornice and valence frame	John Hockaday-cabinetmaker	St. George Tucker	October 25, 1806	0.10.0	1.67
Stand for a Case	Richard Booker-cabinetmaker	St. George Tucker	March 15, 1790	0.9.0	1.50
Four posts for a cradle and a tester-mahogany	Richard Booker-cabinetmaker	St. George Tucker	August 18, 1792	0.6.0	1.00
Seat for a Necessary House-walnut	Richard Booker-cabinetmaker	St. George Tucker	October 23, 1792	0.5.0	.83
Tester frame for Bedstead	John Hockaday-cabinetmaker	St. George Tucker	October 25, 1806	0.4.0	.67
Tester for Bedstead	William Pigget-carpenter	St. George Tucker	July 1793	0.3.0	.50
Drawtop case for ink stand	John Hockaday-cabinetmaker	St. George Tucker	April 6, 1808	0.2.6	.42
Case for inkstand-mahogany	William Pigget-carpenter	St. George Tucker	August 23, 1792	0.2.0	.33

Appendix D

Furniture Produced by Richard Booker

Date	Form and Description	Patron	Cost in Pounds	Cost or Approximate Cost in Dollars
March 15, 1790	Stand for a case	St. George Tucker	£0.9.0	\$ 1.50
August 18, 1791	Four mahogany posts for a cradle and a Testor	St. George Tucker	0.6.0	1.00
September 18, 1792	Two rails for a bedstead-walnut	St. George Tucker	0.12.0	2.00
October 3, 1792	Raised top testor-pine	St. George Tucker	0.10.0	1.67
October 23, 1792	Seat for Necessary houses-walnut	St. George Tucker	0.5.0	.83
October 24, 1792	Candle stand	Humphrey Harwood	0.15.0	2.50
October 24, 1792	6 walnut chairs	Humphrey Harwood	6.0.0	20.00
November 28, 1792	Large bookcase for John Randolph (SGT's stepson)-pine	St. George Tucker	3.15.6	12.60
November 28, 1792	Highpost bedstead-poplar	St. George Tucker	1.10.0	5.00

Appendix E

Furniture Repairs and Other Commercial Activities  
of Richard Booker

Date	Repair or Activity	Patron	Cost in Pounds	Cost or Approximate Cost in Dollars
1790	Phaeton	Richard Randolph	£25.0.0	\$ 83.35
February 14, 1791	Provided 14 ft. walnut plank at 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ /ft.	St. George Tucker	0.3.3	.54
March 7, 1791	Repaired mahogany chair	St. George Tucker	0.2.0	.33
June 18, 1791	Repaired ink box	St. George Tucker	0.1.6	.25
August 13, 1791	Repaired and stuffed sofa	St. George Tucker	3.9.9	11.63
August 13, 1791	Mended 5 mahogany chairs	St. George Tucker	0.12.6	2.08
August 25, 1791	Repaired mahogany night chair	St. George Tucker	0.12.6	2.08
August 29, 1791	Repaired large arm chair	St. George Tucker	0.3.0	.50
October 6, 1791	Provided 7 ft. pine plank	St. George Tucker	0.4.6	.75
December 13, 1791	Repaired mahogany table	St. George Tucker	0.5.0	.83
December 13, 1791	Repaired chair	St. George Tucker	0.6.0	1.00
December 13, 1791	Repaired large chest	St. George Tucker	0.5.0	.83
March 17, 1792	Repaired mahogany card table	St. George Tucker	0.3.0	.50
May 16, 1792	Repaired mahogany pembroke table	St. George Tucker	0.5.0	.83
December 14, 1792	Provided 9 ft. poplar scantling at 3 $\frac{1}{3}$ /ft.	St. George Tucker	0.4.6	.75
December 9, 1793	Repaired mahogany chair	St. George Tucker	0.1.6	.25

Appendix F

Furniture Produced by Rookesby Roberts

Date	Form and Description	Patron	Cost in Pounds	Cost or Approximate Cost in Dollars
December 6, 1794	Knife Box-mahogany	Richard Corbin	-0.12.0	\$ 2.00
June 1, 1795	Clothes press-mahogany	St. George Tucker	8.0.0	26.67

Appendix G

Furniture Repairs and Other Commercial Activities  
of Rookesby Roberts



Date	Repair or Activity	Patron	Cost in Pounds	Cost or Approximate Cost in Dollars
January 26, 1794	Repaired three mahogany chairs	St. George Tucker	£0.4.8	\$ .78
February 20, 1794	Repaired wash hand stand	St. George Tucker	0.2.6	.42
May 2, 1794	Repaired one chair	St. George Tucker	0.1.3	.21
June 7, 1794	Repaired dressing box	St. George Tucker	0.1.3	.21
August 12, 1794	Repaired chair and table	St. George Tucker	0.1.6	.25
August 17, 1794	Repaired tea borde[?]	St. George Tucker	0.4.6	.75
December 3, 1794	Put four legs and boton [bottom?] to child's crib	St. George Tucker	0.7.6	1.25
January 29, 1795	Glazed top of a box	St. George Tucker	0.0.6	.07
April 4, 1795	Made walnut coffin (for child)	St. George Tucker	2.10.0	8.34
April 10, 1795	Repaired frame of dressing glass	St. George Tucker	0.1.3	.21
April 29, 1795	Screwed on top of pembroke table	St. George Tucker	0.1.0	.17
June 25, 1795	Repaired mahogany chair	St. George Tucker	0.1.6	.25
September 21, 1795	Repaired chest of drawers	St. George Tucker	0.3.6	.58
September 21, 1795	Repaired bookcase	St. George Tucker	0.4.6	.75
November 7, 1795	Moldings made and put on bookcase at St. George Tucker's house		0.7.6	1.25
November 7, 1795	Mended wash hand stand	St. George Tucker	0.2.0	.33
November 27, 1795	Made walnut coffin	St. George Tucker	1.16.0	6.00

Appendix H

Furniture Repairs Made by William Cardwell  
and Sampson Avard

William Cardwell

Date	Repair or Activity	Patron	Cost in Pounds	Cost or Approximate Cost in Dollars
July 16, 1793	Repairing mahogany chair	St. George Tucker	£0.1.6	\$ .25
July 16, 1793	Repairing a glass frame	St. George Tucker	0.1.6	.25
July 24, 1793	Repairing three mahogany chairs	St. George Tucker	0.4.6	.75
September 3, 1793	Repairing wash stand	St. George Tucker	0.3.9	.63
Sampson Avard				
Date	Repair or Activity	Patron	Cost in Pounds	Cost or Approximate Cost in Dollars
August 5, 1800	Repairing five chairs	St. George Tucker	£0.7.6	\$ 1.25

Appendix I

Furniture Produced by Hyland & Durfey  
and William Durfey

Hyland and Durfey

Date	Form and Description	Patron	Cost in Pounds	Cost or Approximate Cost in Dollars
June 26, 1798	Case with moldings round it-walnut	St. George Tucker	£0.18.0	\$ 3.00

William Durfey

Date	Form and Description	Patron	Cost in Pounds	Cost or Approximate Cost in Dollars
October, 1798	Press	St. George Tucker	—	\$ 10.00

Appendix J

Furniture Repairs and Other Commercial Activities  
of Charles Hyland, William Durfey and  
Hyland and Durfey

Charles Hyland

Date	Repair or Activity	Patron	Cost in Pounds	Cost or Approximate Cost in Dollars
November 1796	Altering a four foot mahogany table, cutting it shorter & cleaning it, and new joint	St. George Tucker	£0.9.0	\$ 1.50
November 1796	Putting a new foot in a table and cleaning it	St. George Tucker	0.4.0	.67
May 1797	Putting new foot in a table	St. George Tucker	0.4.0	.67
May 1797	New tets (testors?) on bedstead	St. George Tucker	0.1.0	.17
May 1797	Mending one chair	St. George Tucker	0.1.0	.17
May 1797	Mending wash hand stand	St. George Tucker	0.7.6	1.25
February 18, 1798	Mending mahogany chair	St. George Tucker	0.2.6	.42
February 18, 1798	Mending mahogany [cradle?]	St. George Tucker	[illegible]	
February 18, 1798	Mending mahogany teatable	St. George Tucker	0.1.3	.21

William Durfey

Date	Repair or Activity	Patron	Cost in Pounds	Cost or Approximate Cost in Dollars
April 1799	Walnut coffin	John Walker	£5.0.0	\$ 16.67
September 1799	Walnut coffin for child	John Walker	2.2.0	7.00
		Hyland & Durfey		
Date	Repair or Activity	Patron	Cost in Pounds	Cost or Approximate Cost in Dollars
June 22, 1797	Mending chariot blind	St. George Tucker	£0.1.3	\$ .21
June 29, 1797	Glueing and pinning a chair	St. George Tucker	0.1.6	.25
September 3, 1797	Walnut coffin for child	St. George Tucker	0.15.0	2.50
June 26, 1798	Repaired desk drawers and sundries	St. George Tucker	0.2.0	.33

Appendix K

Furniture Produced by John Hockaday



Date	Form and Description	Patron	Cost in Pounds	Cost or Approximate Cost in Dollars
January 7, 1805	Chest of draws-mahogany	Robert Waller	£6.18.0	\$ 23.00
May 24, 1805	Paper press-colored black walnut	St. George Tucker	5.0.0	16.67
June 24, 1805	Wardrobe-mahogany	St. George Tucker	18.0.0	60.00
June 24, 1805	Chest of Draws-mahogany	St. George Tucker	7.0.0	23.35
July 24, 1805	Extra work done to draws of wardrobe	St. George Tucker	0.12.0	2.00
July 24, 1805	Extra locks, escutcheons, screws, etc.	St. George Tucker	0.10.0	1.67
June 24, 1805	Book press-walnut	St. George Tucker	9.0.0	30.00
June 24, 1805	Cabinet-mahogany	St. George Tucker	3.6.0	11.00
July 20, 1805	Large table-pine	Public Hospital	—	6.00
March 1806	Book press	St. George Tucker	—	12.00
June 19, 1806	Frame stand with draw for dressing glass	St. George Tucker	1.13.0	5.50
October 25, 1806	Safe 30/-, painting ditto 6/-	St. George Tucker	1.16.0	6.00
October 25, 1806	Bedstead cornice and valence frame	St. George Tucker	0.10.0	1.67
October 25, 1806	Teastor frame to bedstead	St. George Tucker	0.4.0	.67
January 12, 1807	Wardrobe-mahogany (like one made for Miss Carter 6/24[1805?])	St. George Tucker	18.0.0	60.00
April 16, 1808	Drawtop case for inkstand	St. George Tucker	0.1.6	.42
June 30, 1808	Bedstead for Mrs. Cabell-mahogany	St. George Tucker	9.0.0	30.00
December 1, 1810	Paper press with pigeon holes-colored black walnut	St. George Tucker	5.0.0	16.67
[January] 1811	Trunnel [Trundle?] bedstead-colored poplar	St. George Tucker	2.2.0	7.00
June 22, 1811	Hanging book press	St. George Tucker	—	12.00
July 23, 1812	Bedstead-mahogany	St. George Tucker	—	34.00
October 3, 1812	Stand-mahogany	St. George Tucker	1.10.0	5.00

Date	Form and Description	Patron	Cost in Pounds	Cost or Approximate Cost in Dollars
June 22, 1815	Hanging press-black walnut	St. George Tucker	£ --	\$ 15.00
March 4, 1819	Book press	St. George Tucker	--	10.00
February 28, 1822	Small book case	St. George Tucker	--	10.00
March 12, 1822	Small book case ["& other jobs"]	St. George Tucker	--	11.00

Appendix L

Furniture Repairs of Other Commercial Activities  
of John Hockaday

Date	Repair or Activity	Patron	Cost in Pounds	Cost or Approximate Cost in Dollars
June 16, 1804	Work for College (no description)	College of William & Mary	£ —	\$ 2.25
November 13, 1804	Repairs to stand	Robert Waller	0.2.6	.42
December 24, 1804	Provided corn	College of William & Mary	—	25.80
1805	Repairs to a seting [sitting?] chair	St. George Tucker	0.2.6	.42
1805	Repairs to a folding table	St. George Tucker	0.4.6	.75
January 7, 1805	Repairs to round mahogany folding table	Robert Walker	0.6.6	1.08
January 7, 1805	Working over and polishing table	Robert Walker	0.9.0	1.50
December 18, 1805	Repairs to a desk and bookcase	St. George Tucker	1.4.[torn]	approx. [4.00]
December 18, 1805	Worked over and polished desk	St. George Tucker	1.[torn]	[3.33]
December 18, 1805	Worked over and polished bookcase	St. George Tucker	0.18.[torn]	[3.00]
December 18, 1805	Repairs to folding table	St. George Tucker	0.7.[torn]	[1.17]
April 24, 1806	Repairs to dressing glass frame	St. George Tucker	0.1.6	.25
July 19, 1806	Repairs to College organ	College of William and Mary	—	4.00
October 25, 1806	Repairs to bedstead and two casters	St. George Tucker	0.4.6	.75
October 25, 1806	Putting up bedstead cornice, taking off and putting lock to a bookcase	St. George Tucker	0.2.6	.42
October 25, 1806	Working over and polishing tea table	St. George Tucker	0.6.0	1.00
October 25, 1806	Repaired joint for teatable and other glueings	St. George Tucker	0.5.0	.83
October 25, 1806	Made 2 windowboards	St. George Tucker	0.5.0	.83
October 25, 1806	Provided 2 staples	St. George Tucker	0.2.0	.33
October 25, 1806	Putting up windowboards	St. George Tucker	0.2.0	.33
January 12, 1807	Repairs to wash stand	St. George Tucker	0.10.0	1.67

Date	Repair or Activity	Patron	Cost in Pounds	Cost or Approximate Cost in Dollars
January 12, 1807	Repairs to a dressing glass	St. George Tucker	£0.0.9	\$ .13
May 30, 1807	Putting on lock to walnut case and repairs	St. George Tucker	0.1.0.	.17
May 30, 1807	Putting caster to tea table	St. George Tucker	0.4.	.06
May 30, 1807	Putting key to above lock, new lock furnished	St. George Tucker	0.1.6	.25
May 30, 1807	Went to Greenhow's [Williamsburg merchant] for lock and putting on	St. George Tucker	0.1.6	.25
June 17, 1807	Repairs to backbind of carriage	St. George Tucker	0.3.0	.50
June 13, 1807	Putting desk lock on at SGT house	St. George Tucker	0.1.6	.25
October 24, 1807	Repairs to a stand	St. George Tucker	0.2.6	.42
October 24, 1807	Putting 2 springs on 2 doors at SGT's house	St. George Tucker	0.4.0	.67
December 20, 1807	Making pine drawer	St. George Tucker	0.6.0	1.00
December 20, 1807	Painting above drawer 4 times	St. George Tucker	0.4.6	.75
December 20, 1807	Repairs to and painting chear [chair?] box	St. George Tucker	0.5.0	.83
December 20, 1807	Provided long screws	St. George Tucker	0.1.6	.25
December 20, 1807	Provided short screws	St. George Tucker	0.0.6	.08
January 8, 1808	Provided barrel of cider, the barrel to be returned	St. George Tucker	0.18.0	3.00
April 6, 1808	Repaired one walnut box, put in 10" screws	St. George Tucker	0.2.3	.38
April 15, 1808	Worked over, colored, and polished one pot cupboard	St. George Tucker	0.12.0	2.00
April 15, 1808	Repairs to above 4/6d, one lock and escutcheons 3/6	St. George Tucker	0.8.0	1.33
June 11, 1808	Repairs to a folding table	St. George Tucker	0.2.6	.42
June 11, 1808	Putting up hanging cupboard	St. George Tucker	0.3.0	.50

Date	Repair or Activity	Patron	Cost in Pounds	Cost or Approximate Cost in Dollars
June 11, 1808	Putting cords in windowsash	St. George Tucker	£0.3.0	\$ .50
July 16, 1808	Repairs to 2 chairs	St. George Tucker	0.3.0	.50
July 16, 1808	Putting cords in 2 windows in Dining Room	St. George Tucker	0.3.0	.50
September 1808	Provided plank for College	College of William and Mary	—	11.63
October 16, 1808	Putting cords into 3 windows	St. George Tucker	0.4.6	.75
October 16, 1808	Provided plank for SGT's use	St. George Tucker	0.1.6	.25
November 10, 1808	Repairs for College [unspecified]	College of William and Mary	—	7.81
January 12, 1809	Provided plank for College	College of William and Mary	—	4.79
June 22, 1811	Repairs to settee	St. George Tucker	—	.50
October 31, 1812	Plinthing, working over and varnishing 4 mahogany bedstead posts	St. George Tucker	2.8.0	8.00
October 31, 1812	Putting cord into 3 windows	St. George Tucker	0.4.6	.75
February 27, 1815	Payment for safekeeping SGTs household goods	St. George Tucker	—	20.00
December 15, 1817	Payment to Benjamin B. Hockaday (son) for 7 barrels 1½ bushels corn	St. George Tucker	—	24.33
November 12, 1818	Payment for storage and attendance of SGT's belongings	St. George Tucker	—	30.00

Appendix M

Furniture Produced by Williamsburg Carpenters

Furniture Produced by William Pigget			
Date	Form and Description (if any)	Patron	Cost or Approximate Cost in Dollars
August 23, 1792	Case for inkstand-mahogany	St. George Tucker	\$ .33
November 1792	Book case and clothes press	St. George Tucker	16.67
May 1793	Large press	St. George Tucker	10.00
July, 1793	Teastor for bedstead	St. George Tucker	.50

Furniture Produced by William P. Graves

Date	Form and Description	Patron	Cost or Approximate Cost in Dollars
June 1815	Three cases for Book cases	St. George Tucker	\$ 2.25

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Furniture Produced by James Guthrie

Date	Form and Description	Patron	Cost or Approximate Cost in Dollars
January 25, 1817	Two nice chairs (\$10 each)	Public Hospital	\$ 20.00

Furniture Produced by Thomas Sands and James Guthrie

Date	Form and Description	Patron	Cost or Approximate Cost in Dollars
March 3, 1820	1 table	Public Hospital	\$ 4.00

Furniture Produced by Benjamin E. Bucktrout

Date	Form and Description	Patron	Cost or Approximate Cost in Dollars
March 8, 1824	Double book press-walnut coloured to resemble mahogany	St. George Tucker	\$ 13.00
May 8, 1824	Two chamber tables-stained	St. George Tucker	6.00
May 28, 1825	Book press-walnut, stained	St. George Tucker	15.00



Appendix N

Furniture Repairs Made by Williamsburg  
Carpenters (Divisions Represent a Single Receipt)

Form and Work Done	Carpenter	Patron	Date	Cost in Pounds	Cost or Approximate Cost in Dollars
Mending Stand for wash-basin	David Middleton	St. George Tucker	May 12, 1790	£0.6.0	\$ 1.00
Mending table			May 12, 1790	0.3.0	.50
Mending three chairs			May 12, 1790	0.7.6	1.25
Repairs to Large Press (3 shillings) and putting in eight locks (4 shillings)	William Pigget	St. George Tucker	September 30, 1791	0.7.0	1.17
Putting four locks on a desk			March 29, 1792	0.1.6	.42
Mending drawer of desk	William Pigget	St. George Tucker	August 23, 1792	0.1.0	.17
Mending frame of looking glass			August 23, 1792	0.1.0	.17
Repairing cradle	William Pigget	St. George Tucker	November 1792	0.0.9	.13
Repairing table			November 1792	0.0.6	.08
Repairing some furniture			November 1792	0.3.0	.50
Repairing furniture			July 1793	0.2.0	.33
Making lid to chair box and hanging			July 1793	0.2.0	.33
Taking off lock and putting on desk	William Pigget	St. George Tucker	May 1793	£ 0.7.½	\$ 1.17
Putting on lock and work done on cradle			May 1793	1.9.0	4.83
Mending bracket of table			May 1793	0.7.½	1.17
Repairing desk bracket	William Henley	St. George Tucker	1795	0.1.0	.17

Form and Work Done	Carpenter	Patron	Date	Cost in Pounds	Cost or Approximate Cost in Dollars
Repairing chest of drawers sundries	William Piaget	St. George Tucker	January 21, 1980	0.3.0	.50
Putting legs to and fixing correction chair	John Bowden	Public Hospital	September 22, 1816		.83½
Supplying six feet of scantling for table legs at 6 cents and repairing one table	Thomas Sands and James Guthrie	Public Hospital	March 3, 1820		part of a charge of \$4.00 for numerous carpentry activities

Appendix O

Furniture Purchased Outside of Williamsburg  
by St. George Tucker

Date	Form and Description	Firm and City of Origin	Cost in Pounds	Cost or Approximate Cost in Dollars
July 18, 1790	One table	(no source given)	0.2.6 freight only	.42
March 19, 1791	1½ dozen chairs	Philadelphia	0.15.0 freight only	2.50
August 10, 1791	Couch	Norfolk (?)	0.6.0 freight only	1.00
	Settee and 2 chairs	Norfolk (?)	0.3.0 freight only	.50
March 27, 1791	Laths & chairs	Norfolk	1.13.0 freight only	5.50
November 4, 1792	Trees & Beds for Mr. Randolph	New York	50.0.0	125.00 (NY)
April 10, 1798	Round Corner Table with Casters	James Woodward/Norfolk	3.12.0	12.00 (Wash.)
April 10, 1798	2 Tea Caddies	James Woodward/Norfolk	2.2.0	5.25 (Wash.)
April 20, 1798	1 table	James Woodward/Norfolk	0.2.0 freight only	.33
June 23, 1810	14 Fancychairs for Mrs. Skipwith	Maclure & Robertson/Phila.		49.00
June 23, 1810	2 Fancy settees	Maclure & Robertson/Phila.		36.00
July 10, 1810	10 Chairs, 2 Elbow chairs	(no source given)	freight & wharfage	2.12
November 19, 1819	3 Dozen Chairs	(no source given)	wharfage	0.37½

Appendix P

Furniture Purchased Outside of Williamsburg  
by Richard Corbin

Date	Form and Description	Firm and City of Origin	Cost in Pounds	Cost or Approximate Cost in Dollars
November 20, 1794	Bolliction [?] front sideboard	Laurence Sink/Philadelphia	L20.0.0	\$53.33 (PA)
"	2 Dining Tables L 9.10.0 each	"	19.0.0	50.65
"	2 Dining Table ends L6.0.0 each	"	12.0.0	32.00
"	Mahogany Bedstead	"	8.10.0	22.66
"	Set of Cornices for Bedstead	"	3.7.6	9.00
May 10, 1794	2 sofas	Samuel Swann/Richmond	28.0.0	93.35
"	10 chairs at 50/	"	25.0.0	83.35
"	1 p[air] Card Tables	"	9.0.0	30.00
"	1 Pembroke [table]	"	3.0.0	10.00
"	12 chairs at 50/2 Arm chairs at 56/	"	32.16.0	109.36
August 19, 1795	1 Cabrioal Sopha	"	18.0.0	60.00
"	2 Beuro's with circular fronts & column corners at Bill.0.0 each	"	22.0.0	73.35
"	1 Beuro circular front-plain	"	9.0.0	30.00
"	6 Windsor Chairs with mahogany arms at 28/-	"	8.8.0	28.00
"	12 Windsor chairs plain at 20/	"	12.0.0	40.00
"	1 Night Stool Chair	"	5.0.0	16.67
December 8, 1794	2 Bedsteads	(no source given)	0.12.0 freight	2.00
"	1 Table	(no source given)	0.6.0 freight	1.00
"	Desk and 2 Tables	(no source given)	0.12.0 freight	2.00
November 29, 1797	Mahogany side board	George Taylor & Co./Richmond	24.0.0	80.00
December 5, 1798	Writing desk	Wythe & Langley/Richmond	3.12.0	12.00

Appendix Q

Furniture Purchased Outside of Williamsburg  
by the College of William and Mary



Date	Form and Description	Firm and City of Origin	Cost in Pounds	Cost or Approximate Cost in Dollars
December 30, 1810	1/2 Dozen chairs	(Provided by George Lang, Williamsburg merchant - no source given)	L- ---	\$ 9.00
February 25, 1811	Settee	(no source given)		10.00
June 20, 1826	2 dozen chairs & cushions	(no source given - possibly Richmond)		133.00

Appendix R

Coffins Made by Williamsburg Cabinetmakers and  
Carpenters for Private Customers

Date	Cabinetmaker/Carpenter	Patron	Type/Description	Cost in Pounds	Cost or Approximate Cost in Dollars
January 7, 1794	William Pigget-carpenter	St. George Tucker	Walnut coffin for child	10.10.0	\$ 1.68
November 13, 1794	William Pigget-carpenter	John Moody	Coffin	1.15.0	5.83
April 4, 1795	Rookesby Roberts-cabinetmaker	St. George Tucker	Walnut coffin for son	2.10.0	8.34
November 22, 1795	Rookesby Roberts-cabinetmaker	St. George Tucker	Walnut coffin	1.16.0	6.00
September 3, 1797	Hyland & Durfey-cabinetmakers	St. George Tucker	Walnut coffin for child	0.15.0	2.50
April 1799	William Durfey-cabinetmaker	John Walker	Walnut coffin	5.0.0	16.65
September 1799	William Durfey-cabinetmaker	Tabitha Walker	Walnut coffin	2.2.0	7.00
January 27, 1801	Picket [William Pigget?]-carpenter	Robert Goodwin	Coffin	1.4.0	4.00
November 1803	John Bowden-carpenter	St. George Tucker	Neat pine coffin with mouldings for Miss Betsy Carlos	1.16.0	6.00
October 26, 1805	Thomas Sands-carpenter	Robert Waller	Bearing to the ground	1.4.0	4.00
1811	James Thompson-carpenter	Robert Anderson	Coffin for Miss Patsy Harris	2.4.0	6.00
1814	William P. Graves-carpenter	St. George Tucker	Black walnut coffin		25.00
August 1816	William P. Graves-carpenter	St. George Tucker	Coffin for old Bridget		3.00
October 5, 1823	William P. Graves-carpenter	St. George Tucker	Coffin		3.00
September 20, 1824	James Guthrie-carpenter	St. George Tucker	Small coffin		3.00
October 1824	Thomas C. Lucas-carpenter	St. George Tucker	Coffin for old man Phill		4.50
September 16, 1825	Richard T. Booker	St. George Tucker	Coffin for old negro woman		4.50
			Coffin for servant		3.33

Appendix S

Coffins Made by Williamsburg Carpenters  
for Public Customers

Date	Carpenter	Patron	Type/Description	Cost in Pounds	Cost or Approximate Cost in Dollars
August 3, 1803	John Bowden	Public Hospital	Coffin for Joe Thomas	£1.0.0	\$ 3.33
August 4, 1803	"	"	Coffin for Mary Johnson	"	"
August 26, 1803	"	"	Coffin for Nancy Farm	"	"
September 26, 1803	"	"	Coffin for Agatha Charnie	"	"
August 2, 1804	"	"	Coffin for John Tann	"	"
February 9, 1805	"	"	Coffin for Addington	"	"
February 12, 1805	"	"	Coffin for Chishlom	"	"
August 11, 1805	"	"	Coffin for Rebecca Mitchell	"	"
April 13, 1806	"	"	Coffin for Ann Clark	"	"
July 1806	"	"	Coffin for Mr. Attwell	"	"
March 15, 1808	"	"	Coffin for Joshua Hoffman	"	"
September 20, 1808	"	"	4 coffins at 20 shillings each	4.0.0	13.32
September 27, 1808	"	"	Coffin for Simon Allen	1.0.0	3.33
December 5, 1808	"	"	Coffin for Mary Davis	"	"
June 26, 1809	"	"	Coffin for Jon Cook	"	"
October 5, 1809	"	"	Coffin for Ben Atkins	"	"
October 23, 1810	"	"	3 coffins at 20 shillings each		10.00
May 10, 1810	"	"	Coffin for Bryant	1.0.0	3.33
January 5, 1811	"	"	Coffin for Go Chipley	"	"
February 10, 1811	"	"	3 coffins for Lunatics		10.00
July 1, 1811	"	"	Coffin for William Lawson	1.0.0	3.33
October 24, 1811	"	"	Coffin for Lenny Fioras	"	"

Date	Carpenter	Patron	Type/Description	Cost in Pounds	Cost or Approximate Cost in Dollars
November 6, 1811	John Bowden	Public Hospital	Coffin for John Sellers	£1.0.0	\$ 3.33
December 4, 1811	"	"	Coffin for Robert Collor	"	"
January 19, 1812	"	"	Coffin for Yost Lowshor	"	"
February 12, 1812	"	"	Coffin for Jon MacRub	"	"
May 26, 1812	"	"	Coffin for Mr. Whiteman	"	"
July 28, 1812	"	"	Coffin for Elizeith [sic] Bennett	"	"
August 11, 1812	"	"	Coffin for Michael Fister	"	"
September 9, 1812	"	"	Coffin for Thomas Foin	"	"
September 21, 1812	"	"	Coffin for Martha Ayres	"	"
September 2, 1812	"	"	Coffin for Mr. Love	"	"
November 11, 1813	"	"	Coffin for Graves	"	"
November 11, 1813	"	"	Coffin for James Allen	"	"
November 25, 1813	"	"	Coffin for Benjamin Rearndon	"	"
December 31, 1813	"	"	Coffin for Thomas Best	"	"
January 14, 1814	"	"	Coffin for Lucy Evins	"	"
January 18, 1814	"	"	Coffin for Jeremiah Mince	"	"
February 28, 1814	"	"	Coffin for John Harris	"	"
May 12, 1814	"	"	Coffin for Nancy Williamson	"	"
June 23, 1814	"	"	Coffin for Mary Sydnor	"	"
August 20, 1814	"	"	Coffin for Martha Garrett	"	"
September 24, 1814	"	"	Coffin for Samuel Aslin	"	"
March 22, 1815	"	"	Coffin for Lucy Turner	"	"
August 3, 1815	James Guthrie	"	Coffin for Martum [sic] Quarles	"	"

Date	Carpenter	Patron	Type/Description	Cost in Pounds	Cost or Approximate Cost in Dollars
September 30, 1815	John Bowden	Public Hospital	Coffin for Peggy Brown	£1.0.0	\$ 3.33
October 15, 1815	James Guthrie	"	Coffin for James Boucher	"	"
October 21, 1815	James Guthrie	"	Coffin for Benjamin Leady	"	"
November 16, 1816	"	"	Coffin for Isaac Sperry	"	"
November 28, 1815	"	"	Coffin for Sally Bowden	"	"
November 29, 1815	"	"	Coffin for Parish Garner	"	"
December 14, 1815	"	"	Coffin for Betsy Swiney	"	"
January 16, 1816	John Bowden	"	Coffin for Mr. Carter	1.4.0	4.00
February 27, 1816	"	"	Coffin for Michl Carnovan	"	"
February 27, 1816	"	"	Coffin for Mrs. Rex	"	"
September 22, 1816	"	"	Coffin for Alexander Hanna	"	4.00
April 25, 1817	James Guthrie	"	Coffin	1.4.0	"
June 1817	William P. Graves	College of William & Mary	Coffin for Lemon		unspecified
August 22, 1817	Thomas Sands & James Guthrie	Public Hospital	Coffin	1.4.0	4.00
October 1, 1817	"	"	Coffin	"	"
October 1, 1817	"	"	Coffin	"	"
October 6, 1817	"	"	Coffin	"	"
October 18, 1817	"	"	Coffin	"	"
November 22, 1817	"	"	Coffin	"	"
November 28, 1817	"	"	Coffin	"	"
October 21, 1819	"	"	Coffin	"	"
November 9, 1819	"	"	Coffin for Milner	"	"

Date	Carpenter	Patron	Type/Description	Cost in Pounds	Cost or Approximate Cost in Dollars
September 30, 1815	John Bowden	Public Hospital	Coffin for Peggy Brown	£1.0.0	\$ 3.33
October 15, 1815	James Guthrie	"	Coffin for James Boucher	"	"
October 21, 1815	James Guthrie	"	Coffin for Benjamin Leady	"	"
November 16, 1816	"	"	Coffin for Isaac Sperry	"	"
November 28, 1815	"	"	Coffin for Sally Bowden	"	"
November 29, 1815	"	"	Coffin for Parish Garner	"	"
December 14, 1815	"	"	Coffin for Betsy Swiney	"	"
January 16, 1816	John Bowden	"	Coffin for Mr. Carter	1.4.0	4.00
February 27, 1816	"	"	Coffin for Michl Carnovan	"	"
February 27, 1816	"	"	Coffin for Mrs. Rex	"	"
September 22, 1816	"	"	Coffin for Alexander Hanna	"	4.00
April 25, 1817	James Guthrie	"	Coffin	1.4.0	"
June 1817	William P. Graves	College of William & Mary	Coffin for Lemon		unspecified
August 22, 1817	Thomas Sands & James Guthrie	Public Hospital	Coffin	1.4.0	4.00
October 1, 1817	"	"	Coffin	"	"
October 1, 1817	"	"	Coffin	"	"
October 6, 1817	"	"	Coffin	"	"
October 18, 1817	"	"	Coffin	"	"
November 22, 1817	"	"	Coffin	"	"
November 28, 1817	"	"	Coffin	"	"
October 21, 1819	"	"	Coffin	"	"
November 9, 1819	"	"	Coffin for Milner	"	"



Date	Carpenter	Patron	Type/Description	Cost in Pounds	Cost or Approximate Cost in Dollars
June 21, 1820	"	"	Coffin	"	"
September 24, 1820	Thomas Sands & James Guthrie Public Hospital	"	Coffin for Thos. Darly	£1.4.0	\$ 4.00
October 1, 1820	"	"	Coffin for Robert Camaron	"	"
December 18, 1820	Thomas Sands	"	Coffin for Mr. Russel	"	"
April 8, 1821	"	"	"Making Coffin for one of the mad men"	"	"
December 6, 1821	"	"	Coffin for Davis	"	"
February 24, 1822	"	"	Coffin for Diner	"	"
March 7, 1822	"	"	Coffin for a man	"	"
March 22, 1822	"	"	Coffin for a man	"	"
August 6, 1822	"	"	Coffin for a man	"	"
September 1, 1822	"	"	Coffin for a man	"	"
September 1, 1822	"	"	Coffin for a man	"	"
October 6, 1822	"	"	Coffin for a man	"	"
October 9, 1822	"	"	Coffin for a woman	"	"
October 17, 1822	"	"	Coffin for a woman	"	"
February 12, 1822	William P. Graves	"	Coffin for Jane Murdaugh	"	"

Appendix T

Account of St. George Tucker (in Tucker's handwriting)  
with Benjamin E. Bucktrout for a Double-Book Press  
dated March 8, 1824

Dimensions Mar. 7, 1824  
For a double Book-case, pref'd,  
of black Walnut; colour'd  
so as to resemble mahogany.

Feet of lower part.  
3: 4: <sup>inches</sup> wide on the outside.  
1: 4: — Deep. . . . . ditto.  
3: 6: — High. . . . . ditto.

Two moveable Shelves on the  
Inside —

Feet In. Upper-part:  
3: 2. wide on the outside  
1: 1. Deep. . . . . ditto  
4: 6. High. . . . . ditto

Four Shelves at equal distances  
on the inside.

N.B: all the Shelves must be  
of strong plank to support the  
weight of the Books

Two first rate Locks; &  
every thing else neat and  
complete. — price \$13. dollar

March 8. 1824. *[Signature]*  
For Mr. Bucktrout

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